Material Culture

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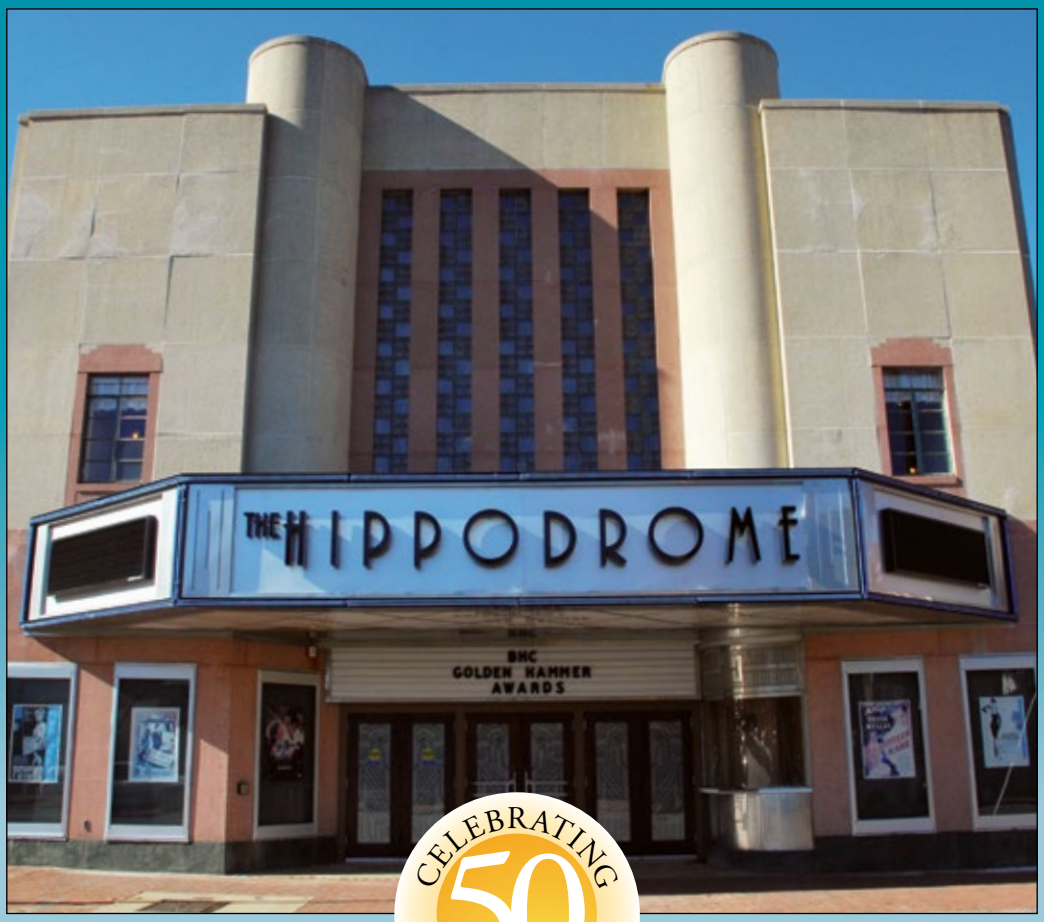
The Journal of the International Society for Landscape, Place, & Material Culture



CELEBRATING 50 FIFTY YEARS

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Cover image: The Hippodrome opened in 1914, showing motion pictures and hosting live performances of African-American entertainers, including Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Lena Horne, Billie Holliday, and Ella Fitzgerald through the 1940s, when the building burned. After reopening as a movie theater, the Hipp served the needs of African-Americans until racial integration led to its closure in 1967. In 2011, the building was restored to its former grandeur and once again hosts live performances, with a full-service dining room and bar. It is part of a larger effort at revitalizing this historic African-American neighborhood. (Photo by Dr. Dawn Bowen)

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Feature Essays

Article Reprints

from Volume 1, Issue 2, July 1969

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR
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Looking ahead...

As ISLPMC members enjoy this year's Annual Meeting, plans are already underway for 2019, when the Society will meet in the Motor City – Detroit, Michigan, a rich venue for investigating landscapes, places, and material culture. As details develop, we will be posting them in the coming months at *www.pioneeramerica.org/annualmeeting.html*.

Editor's Note

Dear Colleagues,

It is with great pleasure that I bring you the second of two issues that celebrate the 50th anniversary of the publication of *Material Culture* (or *Pioneer America*, the journal's original title). Like the first issue, which came out in Spring 2018, this one has some special features. One of my goals with this issue was to give more pages to women's voices. Fifty years ago, women were a minority in the field of material culture studies, but thankfully, that has changed. Therefore, in this issue, we have both contemporary women's voices and those of women who were active in the field in the late 1960s. From the first volume of the journal, published in 1969, I have reprinted an article written by Joyce E. Wilkinson, then Chairperson of the Northern Virginia Chapter of the (then) Pioneer America Society. To offer a contemporary perspective on the field, geographer Dawn Bowen reflects on how her approach to these studies, and the field of cultural geography and landscape studies, has changed over the course of her career. Another contemporary woman's voice is presented by Jennifer Black, whose essay on scrapbooking examines how an activity (and subject of academic interest) thought to be only of concern to women, is represented in the literature.

This issue is further enriched with a reprinted article by Tony P. Wrenn who, at the time of publication in 1969, was project coordinator for the Northern Virginia Chapter of the Pioneer America Society. Also included is an essay by Richard Schein, who reflects on the changes to the study of cultural landscapes and the new meanings that have emerged as a result. Finally, a research article by Jeffrey Roth re-considers some of Terry Jordan's original work on the diffusion of long lots in Texas and New Mexico. I hope you enjoy this commemorative issue!

I would also like to welcome two student copy editors to the journal's staff. Emily Brown and Alyssa Minch are both undergraduates at SVSU in the Rhetoric and Professional Writing program. After almost a year without a copy editor, I am overjoyed that these two bright young women have joined my team!

I look forward to seeing many of you in New Orleans at this year's annual meeting, and as always, I welcome your comments and suggestions!

Sincerely,

Sara Beth Keough, Ph.D.
Editor

A Geographer's Perspective on Landscape, Place, & Material Culture

Dawn S. Bowen, Department of Geography, University of Mary Washington

Material culture is a term that, in its narrowest definition, I would never use to describe my own work. Nevertheless, my very first conference paper was delivered at a Pioneer America Society meeting almost thirty years ago, when I was still conducting the research for my Master's degree. Thinking back to that presentation, I recall that my paper compared the experiences of Ukrainian and Mennonite settlers who made their way to Alberta's Peace River country in the early twentieth century and the communities that they created in this isolated region. When I think back to that conference, while I certainly felt welcomed by the group, I did not believe that my work was an especially good fit with the other presentations.

As I evolved as a geographer, I found myself thinking much more broadly about what it meant to study material culture and how I understood the concept. My own trajectory has been multifaceted; I find myself drawn to out-of-the-way places and want to understand how they evolved, and I have focused on those research questions that allow me to engage with concepts of landscape, culture, and community. This, I believe, has also coincided with the change that has occurred within the society itself, now named the International Society for Landscape, Place, and Material Culture. As an organization, we still have many presentations on traditional material culture at our annual conferences, but there is an increasing emphasis on the experiences of others whose voice has typically been overlooked. This is especially true with our flagship journal, which has included recent articles on graffiti as place-making in the West Bank and the feminism of protest as expressed using knitted items being placed in unlikely parts of the common landscape.

As a historical geographer, I have always had the evolution of place and landscape at the forefront of my interests. A number of years ago, I had the opportunity to dedicate some time to understanding how a street in Richmond, Virginia became the focal point of African-American commerce in the early part of the twentieth century. Enterprises of all types clustered along Second Street,

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Figure 1: The Hippodrome Theatre on Second Street in Richmond, VA (Photo by author)

just north of Broad Street, Richmond's main thoroughfare and the center of white business activity. While some scholars had argued that there was, in fact, never a separate black economy, it is clear that this street was the hub of African-American economic and social life in Richmond. Professional and personal services, banks, hotels, restaurants, and general merchandise stores were established along Second Street to meet the needs of Richmond's black population. Denied access to the white-owned theatres and clubs, African-Americans also created a unique entertainment district, which was home to numerous social clubs, restaurants, and theatres (Figure 1). The paper and resulting publications (including the 2001 edition of *PAST*) explored the emergence of this African-American business district during the first half of the twentieth century and explained its subsequent decline in the latter half of the century.

As I worked on this project, I also became interested in Jackson Ward, the neighborhood that surrounds Second Street. This evolved into another series of papers documenting the residential patterns of Richmond's African-American citizens who lived in Jackson Ward in the first decades of the twentieth century. These patterns were clearly prescribed by segregation, but they also reflected African-Americans' strong desire to create a neighborhood of their own. Several blocks that were home to a broad spectrum of Richmond's black population, from the elite to economically marginalized persons, served as the focal point of this investigation. Using Sanborn Insurance maps and Richmond City directories, as well as the U.S. Census of Population, I was able to demonstrate how the African-American neighborhood evolved and was constrained by institutionalized segregation, how socio-economic differentiation among residents contributed to

Figure 2: An abandoned home in Seroe Colorado, Aruba (Photo by author)

spatial differentiation, and how this neighborhood changed through time. Here again, it was community and landscape, far more than the built environment, that was the foundation for this project.

A bit closer to my home, a dedicated group of volunteers who have spent years on the transformation of a former railway right-of-way into a recreational trail, asked for my assistance in investigating the history of the rail line. The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail has been a controversial rails-to-trails conversion project on an abandoned military railroad in King George County, Virginia. The Friends of DRHT made remarkable progress starting in 2006, clearing the land, creating a trail head, organizing support from county residents, and educating those who were opposed to trail development. While working with the Friends, I realized that one of the greatest gains from the trail was the chance to preserve history – not only the railroad line itself, but historic events related to the community through which the line was built. I wrote and designed eleven markers that could be placed in locations along the trail to inform trail users of the historic events and locations associated with the trail. The markers drew attention to the efforts to create the trail, information about Friends of DRHT, two significant eighteenth century Episcopal churches, three historic homes, and others dedicated to the significant technological developments that occurred at the naval installation at Dahlgren, including the role played by women during World War II. While the trail provides almost no access to these sites, installation of markers will serve as a reminder of the area's cultural heritage, an essential foundation of its historic preservation (a few samples of these markers appear in the 2009 edition of *PAST*).

Figure 3: A couple works in their garden five miles north of Main Brook, NL (Photo by author)

I believe that there are opportunities for understanding the landscapes around us wherever we find ourselves. My husband and I have been fortunate enough to travel to the Caribbean on numerous occasions. Many years ago, we first encountered a cluster of distinct neighborhoods associated with an oil refinery built on Aruba in the late 1920s. Right next to the refinery was the rough and tumble town of San Nicolas, home to many of the refinery's laborers, while a short distance to the southeast lay Seroe Colorado, a gated community that housed the white American managerial work force. I delivered a paper on this topic at the Barbados meeting in 2003 that was organized by Frank Ainsley, but like so many things when you work at a teaching institution, it got put into a file only to be pulled out more than a dozen years later when I earned a sabbatical leave. In the last year, I have finally completed a manuscript which emphasizes the lived experience of women and children who made this community home. While the extant built environment certainly offers some clues to how its residents lived, it is their memories that enable a more complete story to be told of how this landscape, which was created by the oil company, became a focal point in the lives of those expatriates who lived on Aruba for so many years (Figure 2). There is little tangible evidence that remains of the town, but the abandoned homes and the walls of the refinery encourage one to ask what this place was like in its heyday and then, in my case, to spend time at the archives and reading the reminiscences of former residents to gain a full appreciation for the American way of life that emerged here. The article was recently in the *Journal of Cultural Geography*.

My love for out-of-the-way places also guides my research. Newfoundland is one of those places. The natural and the built environment, and most especially

the culture of the people living in such a rugged place, have drawn me to the island more than half a dozen times. On Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula are small gardens situated beside the area's principal roads, often miles from the nearest dwellings. These unexpected landscape features, of course, raised numerous questions, including why were they here and to whom did they belong? Analysis of the gardens, based on field work, interviews with gardeners, and the limited literature on the subject, shows that the gardens came into existence in the 1960s in conjunction with construction of the first roads that penetrated this part of Newfoundland, and that their utilization follows well-defined patterns. These include cultivation techniques, types of crops, consumption of the produce, and means of protection against predators, including moose and caribou. Numerous gardens have since been abandoned, and most of those that remain are worked by older men and women who will not be able to continue this practice much longer (Figure 3). As the gardens disappear, and weeds and trees take over their sites, it is apparent that Newfoundland is losing another element of its cultural distinctiveness. The sad reality on the island is that the collapse of the cod fishery has forever changed the way of life, especially for those living in isolated communities along the coast.

While conducting research on the gardens, I was drawn to a tiny community, known as Raleigh, near the northwest tip of the island. Like hundreds of other outports on the Newfoundland coast, the closure of the cod fishery destroyed the economic support of this village. With a population of fewer than 200 people, and with three-quarters of them over the age of 65, the future is not especially bright. This is not an uncommon situation in these isolated outports, but efforts to preserve the heritage and traditions of its residents are. In 2003, community members formed the Raleigh Historical Corporation (RHC), a non-profit, volunteer organization, with a mission to investigate, preserve and promote historic resources in Raleigh for local, social, and economic development. Here I was concerned with the material culture of Raleigh. More than a dozen years after RHC's organization, one might ask: what has the RHC created? Have visitors been drawn to its heritage landscape? Has material culture been preserved? The short answers are: not much, not many, and not much. The RHC has received small amounts of funding from the province to support its efforts, and with those funds it has salvaged and reconstructed a few traditional buildings along the shore, but visitors are not common and much of what remains of the infrastructure of the old fishery has disappeared. Like much in Newfoundland, isolation and competition for economic resources means that Raleigh's future is likely to be one of continued decline.

It is possible to travel even further north by taking a ferry across the Strait of Belle Isle. It was here that I discovered the phenomenal charm of Battle Harbour, a small island off the Labrador coast, which was established in the 1770s as a center for the salt cod fishery. For over two centuries, the island was one of Labrador's primary fishing and trading centers. In the 1960s, the Newfoundland government offered economic incentives for people to relocate to larger, more centralized

locales. By the late 1960s, nearly all of the community's residents had moved to a nearby town. Battle Harbour continued to function as a fish processing center until the moratorium on the cod fishery in 1992. What was distinctive about Battle Harbour was that its "room" – the term given to the totality of the buildings dedicated to fish processing – remained wholly intact. During the next seven years, a total of 20 buildings were restored and interconnected walkways and wharves were rebuilt. The project provided a significant boost to the local economy, with 20 former residents hired to reconstruct buildings. Battle Harbour's structures are significant because they provide tangible evidence of an industry and a way of life that once defined the province, and it has been designated as a National Heritage Site. Photos of this incredibly well-preserved landscape appear in the 2017 edition of *PAST*.

My most recent exploration of landscape and culture has involved a return to Montana, following in the footsteps of Isaiah Bowman. In July of 1930, Bowman first journeyed into the region which he termed "Jordan Country." Most of that territory was located in eastern Montana, particularly in Garfield County. Like other geographers, Bowman called attention to the fact that this was still a frontier region, a place where homesteaders were establishing claims in a place which he thought had great agricultural potential. Although he appeared to have spent just a few days in the area, it fit neatly into his project which resulted in the publication of the *Pioneer Fringe*. Fifty years later, John Alwin revisited Jordan Country, whose population had fallen by nearly 60 percent over the course of five decades, noting its transformation but pointing out that many of the same characteristics that Bowman identified remained visible. In the twenty-first century, as the population has continued to decline, with fewer than one-third of the 1930s number living in the county, can similar conclusions be made? While very much a work in progress, my examination of life in this still isolated region – considering education, health care, transportation, agriculture, and community activities – is a clear indication of my interests in landscape, place, and material culture. It is both surprising and perhaps more unremarkable that Jordan Country in the twenty-first century is in many ways little different from what it was when Bowman visited almost a century ago.

As I think back over my long relationship with the Society, I have become aware of how I have matured as a geographer. I have a far deeper connection to landscapes and their meanings, as well as a growing appreciation for the next generation of scholars who are thinking more broadly about material culture and the myriad ways that it can be considered in a holistic assessment of landscape and place. This is a challenge to be sure, but we cannot understand or appreciate any element of culture in isolation; we must search for the larger patterns and the ways in which certain dimensions of material culture have evolved, continue to interact, and are linked in ways that provide clues to the past as well as a better understanding of the present.

Thoughts About Landscapes

Richard Schein, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

Forty years ago, I took a leave of absence during my junior year at Franklin and Marshall College and found myself back home in State College, Pennsylvania. While there, I decided not to waste my "time off" and signed up for Geography 102 at Penn State: "The American Landscape" taught by Peirce Lewis. That course, to paraphrase Professor Lewis, "caused the scales to fall from my eyes." I discovered that one could legitimately study the American landscape and, relatedly, questions of material culture that seemed so bound up in what Peirce famously called "the tangible, visible scene." I returned to F&M and graduated the following year when I also applied to Penn State's MS program in Geography. I joined the program and by the spring of 1980, I was assigned as a teaching assistant in Geography 102; renamed "TheAmerican Scene."

Comparing the syllabi from those two iterations of the same class (1978 and 1980) makes it clear that Peirce was manic in his constant revision of the course in those years. That two-year timeframe also saw the publication of *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (1979; Donald Meinig, Ed.). These two events mark the foundational moment for this short reflection. But it also was an important transitional-cum-foundational moment for one strand of landscape study – drawing upon previous scholars such as Carl Sauer, J.B. Jackson, and W.G. Hoskins, and grounded in Geography-as-a-discipline – which nevertheless was interdisciplinary in its subject and approach and opened an era of radical changes for landscape theory and interpretation.

Sara Beth Keough gave me license to reflect on my experience with material culture and cultural landscapes, including changes I have seen in the field. I will focus particularly on the question of cultural landscapes and on forty years of "paradigm shifts" that might be traced, perhaps teleologically, to the late 1970s. And I do so as a Geographer who is nevertheless cognizant that there is, as Groth and Wilson have written, a polyphony of landscape approaches. I note that material culture is "in there." Peirce's courses came with voluminous, typescript handouts. The 1978 class had a 26-page, single-spaced bibliography that was catholic in its

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constitution of a fledgling landscape literature. A quick perusal will note entries for material culture work on: architecture (by Banham, Burchard and Bush-Brown, Downing, Gowans), common house types (Burch, Kniffen, Buchman, Newton), barns (Hart, Jordan, Raitz), lawns (Hecht), and fences (Mather and Hart, Raup). There are six entries from Fred Kniffen, ten entries from the work of Henry Glassie, two dozen from J.B. Jackson, and an important piece on fieldwork in material culture by Warren Roberts. Peirce apologized that he had tried to track down as much material as possible, yet the bibliography was "grossly inadequate," especially because he had almost no entries from what he deemed important periodicals, such as *The Journal of American Folklore* and *The Journal of Popular Culture.* There are long-standing links between this strand of cultural landscape study and material culture studies, as reflected in organizations such as the *Pioneer American Society* and the *Vernacular Architecture Forum*. Clearly, material culture is always in and of the landscape. Therefore, while my comments following are more about landscape than they are material culture (*qua* material culture), the material is always present through an attention to the *tangible,* visible scene, and as captured in my own neologism characterizing the cultural landscape as *discourse materialized*.

Professor Lewis's famous course on the American Landscape was organized in two parts, addressing in turn: (1) the *idea* of landscape including lessons on "reading" (famously captured in *Axioms for Reading the Landscape*); (2) the making of the American landscape, focused on deciphering the American landscape as it evolved over time. At the end of my time at Penn State, I was hooked on landscape as a course of study, was most intrigued by the possibilities in the second of those foci, and was convinced that my understanding of landscapes was superficial and that getting below the surface meant attending to the deep historical foundation of the American landscape. In my discipline, that meant turning to historical-cultural geography, and where better than Syracuse University where David Sopher (one of the last Sauer students) and Donald Meinig were on the faculty. Meinig was then just beginning his four-volume series on the Shaping of America, in which he presented five centuries of Euro-American imperial expansion as a study in spatial systems, social geographies, and cultural landscapes. Meinig's conception of landscapes was loosely Sauerian, and referred to the manner in which particular locations were stamped with a distinctive landscape; drawing on work, for example, that identified and traced the emergence of the distinctive New England village, the Pennsylvania town, or the plantation landscape ensemble – tangible, visible scenes inextricably linked to particular historical geographies of the American experience. I have come to think of this kind of landscape study as paying attention to landscape history.

There certainly is a broad-ranging, interdisciplinary literature on American landscape history. I view this approach and the body of work in two ways. First, I view it as important in its own right. Landscape history appeals to those of us who love the landscape, the built environment, and material culture, who want an understanding of landscape creation *as* landscape, and who simply enjoy learning about the origins and transformations of the tangible, visible scene.

The popularity of John Stilgoe's work or Michael Conzen's edited volume on the making of the American landscape attest to this appeal. Second, I view this approach as the empirical foundation for work that also moves beyond landscape *per se* to ask questions about landscape meaning and the work that landscape does, including questions of social reproduction and the importance of landscape as a site of intervention into social processes. This second set of ideas inevitably raises questions of landscape theory, its methodological implications, and the place of landscape in everyday life. In short, it takes us back to the first part of Professor Lewis's course: the idea of landscape.

There was, in the early 1980s perhaps, the beginning of a renaissance of landscape study in the US, and especially in Geography, around the *idea* of landscape. Both the long-standing Sauerian landscape concept and the Lewisian inversion were subject to admiration, emulation, and critique. Sauer posited his famous linear formulation of [culture→physical landscape = cultural landscape] in the 1920s, and Lewis reversed the linearity, urging us to start with the landscape and "work backward" to the culture that created it; in effect, from the material to the culture. This is captured in his perhaps most often-quoted statement that the "human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in a tangible, visible form." Lewis's invocation of textual metaphors (unwitting autobiography; axioms for reading the landscape) implied the idea of landscape as a written document, a kind of text, and captured scholarly imaginations intrigued with developments in literary theory at the time. On the one hand, the vague textual metaphors appealed to a new generation of landscape enthusiasts and scholars – such as Jim Duncan, Nancy Duncan, and Audrey Kobayashi – interested in the idea of landscape and its imbrication with and implication in social processes and with establishing a more formalized manner for interpretation. On the other hand, many of the unquestioned theoretical and social problematics of many key terms and concepts in the Sauerian and Lewisian landscape approaches also fomented a burgeoning literature on the theoretical assumptions at the heart of the landscape concept. Rethinking landscape theory was not an insulated or isolated academic exercise for the landscape tradition grounded in Geography-as-a-discipline. It coincided with Geography's empiricist critique and reached across academic boundaries to engage theoretical developments in literary theory, in Anthropology's "crisis of representation," in Sociology, and perhaps most importantly, in the academy's engagement with French, British and German social theory and its increasing political commitment to acknowledging then-to-fore often ignored questions of class, race, and gender in social science and the humanities in general, and for landscape interpretation in particular.

It was an exciting time, even if you weren't "theoretically inclined." It brought the idea of landscape to the center of conceptual vibrancy across the humanities and social sciences. It also was unsettling. The very core of landscape study was under scrutiny and challenge: what and who did the notion of "culture" represent (some super organic structure? What about agency?), who was the "our" in

"our unwitting autobiography"? How could/should we get at the implication of "meaning" associated with landscape? Was it embedded and universal? Was it differential depending upon who was "reading?" Was "authorial intention" primary or did we create landscape by reading? And so on. The movement generated new literatures and important articles and books. Denis Cosgrove's Marxian explication of social formation and symbolic landscapes raised the idea of landscape as both an epistemology (a way of knowing where seeing is believing) and as a politically expedient mechanism for legitimating and facilitating the capitalist transformation of modern European social class structure predicated on landholding practices. Gillian Rose challenged the implication of the masculinist universal subject in the distanced view or the "gaze" central to the reading of landscape as coherently received ensemble. Don Mitchell made clear the critical links between landscape, the labor it relies upon, and the manner in which class relations are negotiated. In my own work I hoped to show how landscape was related to subject formation through its discursive constitutions, and how landscape could become a place for intervention into the structures of everyday life, especially as related to questions of race and racism and especially around ideas of equity and social justice.

It seems to me that theoretical foment of the 1980s and 1990s produced at least three important outcomes for landscape study. First, it enlivened the landscape. This meant giving it a central place in constituting cultural meaning and to understand that landscapes work in the interest of political, social, and economic (re)production. Landscapes (if they ever were) could no longer be seen only as the material detritus of human activity, a writing on the land as the end result of monolithic cultural practice. Landscapes always are invested with social meaning, and that social meaning itself is always subject to contestation. For my money, the place of landscape as a site of contestation or social mediation often is the most exciting part of landscape study: the sites where landscapes and landscape meaning are fought over, where they really matter to people. This position inevitably drew some animosity of course, especially for those who perhaps did not like the idea that landscapes could be (always are?) "political." In the early 2000s, I was giving a talk on the normative qualities of racialized landscapes to a professional gathering of landscape scholars in honor of J.B. Jackson. One prominent colleague in the audience objected to the "tainting" of the landscape with the implications of racist social practice. It made him feel guilty about the landscape and so unable to "enjoy" it. For him, my talk made landscape a messy part of everyday life, rather than a thing of aesthetic beauty. I suggest that landscapes are perfectly capable of holding such contradictions in tension, and could be both of these things, and that, anyway, how is it that "aesthetics" and "beauty" are universal qualities without controversy in their own right? There is no "rule" that says you cannot revel in the beauty of a landscape even as you understand the hard circumstances of its creation and, more importantly, the *work* that it does. Landscapes are not innocent.

Secondly, came the realization that cultural landscapes are always becoming and always open to (re) and (multiple) interpretations. This realization coincided with and drew from the rising academic challenge to the idea of the master

narrative. At the risk of appearing glib, the interpretation of ordinary landscapes was wrested from the ownership of "expert" interpreters and, more importantly, was freed from the (implied, empiricist) idea that there was *one* meaning embedded in a landscape that those expert readers-from-a-distance could impart to us, once and for all. This often post-structuralist position, too, drew ire in some quarters, especially from those who saw this as a slide into subjectivity or cultural relativism and feared that there would now be as many "interpretations" as there are landscape denizens. Or perhaps they just preferred the certainty of "one answer" in the world. But they were caught in a constricting interpretive mandate that assumed the goal of landscape study is to definitively identify *a* cultural meaning from evidence in the tangible, visible scene, rather than the new goal of landscape interpretation to understand how enlivened landscapes work and how they might help constitute or hold together important social meaning for everyday life. Landscapes that are always in the process of becoming demanded new approaches and new methods for understanding the tangible, visible, *lived* scene. We needed methods and approaches for bringing people back into a landscape tradition that often saw only particular people as powerful shapers of the landscape (e.g. Capability Brown, Robert Moses), or saw people in general only as categorical adjectives, unproblematically embedded in ideas of the folk, the vernacular, and the cultural. Theories generally not associated with landscape interpretation took on new salience. British geographers, in particular, drew from non-representational theory and interest in the practices and performances of embodiment to speak of landscape's more-than-representation qualities. The importance of affect and emotion and the manner in which we engage the landscape through our bodies augmented previous methodological dominance of the textual, the discursive and the visual in landscapes studies. Scholarly methods aimed to give voice to marginalized people, and especially those not represented in the archives served to "bring the margins to representation" in the landscape, to borrow a phrase from Stuart Hall. Oral history and feminist methodologies that address questions of power (with a small p) in and through the landscape and that demanded attention to positionality, power and politics provided ways to engage landscape meaning that opened up myriad possibilities for grappling with the place of landscape in multiple lives as well as a social discipline.

The third was the renaissance of a strong, broadly interdisciplinary field of landscape studies. Geographers as landscape scholars joined people in other fields pursuing parallel and complementary developments in landscape studies. People like Sharon Zukin in Sociology, Bernie Herman in folklore and American Studies, Barbara Bender and Tim Ingold in Anthropology, and Tom Mitchell in Art History were creating fertile ground for richly interpretive new directions in understanding the place of the American landscape in everyday life. It seems to have gotten to the point in my own discipline where *landscape* – long a key term in the discipline – is once again central, as a taken-for-granted important perspective on our geographical selves, and one that engages across the human sciences rather than isolating us as idiosyncratic.

In the end, it is the realization that *cultural landscapes* (as things and collections of things, as an ensemble, as a tangible, visible scene) and *the cultural landscape* (as an idea, as epistemology) have the capacity to hold a multiplicity of approaches and meanings. My own approach to landscape variously pays attention to: landscape histories; to landscape meanings (collective and individual); to the place of landscape in mediating social life; to landscape as a materialized discourse active in subject formation and providing a point of intervention in social (re)production; to landscape as an assemblage of multiple sites that can hold in tension sets of individualized experiences; to a common ground for holding and adjudicating important normative qualities of the human condition– such as justice, identity, and belonging.

That last paragraph is a lot, of course, and I have not even begun to address the ideas of landscape as archive, landscape as method, or landscape as social wrong that also help to bring life to the cultural landscape and to re-center landscape in social life. I will end with a very brief example that might bring together a little piece of material culture with a particular landscape to suggest these multiple possibilities. It is a highly speculative example, based on very thin evidence, and means only to be suggestive and certainly not definitive – to open up interpretative possibilities. Figure 1 depicts a pencil or charcoal on plaster drawing circa 1860-1875 that was once a part of the wall in the building in Figure 2, a former slave cabin on a former plantation in central Kentucky. I expect readers more versed in American vernacular architecture and material cultural practices can speculate more informatively than I about these two objects as objects. Perhaps they would start with figure two as a double pen log construction cabin, and speak about timber frame construction methods, the timing and regional instantiation of this particular iteration, the place of folk housing as a key to diffusion, the obvious modification to the original building (raised second floor? new roof?), and so on. Figure 1 might lead from the cabin itself (lathe construction; plaster walls?) to the drawing, which seems to depict a woman of color, in formal (Sunday best?) dress, wearing a bonnet, gazing upward toward the light of the moon (looking north?), standing on the herringbone brick pattern walkway that still sits just under the grass in front of the building.

Each of these is ripe for material culture interpretation in myriad ways, from historical creation and modification to their meaning for the people who inhabited the place. Each of these also is part of a landscape ensemble, an assemblage evoking a particular remnant 19th century regional plantation landscape (of the big house, agricultural fields, over 60 slaves and expected outbuildings and plantation material culture accoutrements), linked to other places through the flows of commodities and people, and people as commodities; that is, a peculiar southern American historical geography. That landscape might variously mean different things to different people. To the plantation owners, it might have evoked economic prosperity and social superiority. To their living descendants (who still own the farm) it might evoke particular family memories, the glory of an agricultural heyday now long gone, and the basis for land-based wealth that

extends through generations. To all observers, the landscape might signal the most egregious of social wrongs in America, the chattel slave system that in this county meant over 50% of the population was owned by another person. For the slaves or their descendants (who also still live in the area), it might evoke an entirely different set of meanings altogether.

If we focus particularly on the woman in Figure 1, we might speculate on her actual identity, perhaps discoverable in the historical slave records and manuscript census records. We might speculate on what that drawing meant to the people who lived in the cabin. We might trace the descendants of the woman to present day citizens in the county, who hold that former plantation and myriad other sites in tension – surely as a reminder of slavery's evil past – but also as a landscape assemblage

Figure 1: (Left) Pencil drawing from a former slave cabin in central Kentucky circa 1860-1875 (Photo by author)

Figure 2: (Below) Former slave cabin (Photo by author)

that holds individual and personal markers of belonging not defined only by an ancestor's place as property, but as a human being, with a life not defined only by its place in a plantation economy or its historical legacy. That drawing and the plantation also are part of family stories (white, black, rich, poor) that do not live only in the traditional archive. They also live through the landscape, in stories and oral traditions marking the common landscape with differential meanings and as potential sites for adjudicating past and present social wrongs as well as for valorizing individual and collective place-based identities. It is complicated. It should be. Landscape and life are. But we are presented with a landscape comprised of things and sets of things that is historically recognizable (and describable) that holds meaning, that is not fixed through a certain, unwavering master narrative, but which is open to differential interpretation even as its tangible, visible qualities stand for a seeming constancy that is always becoming.

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The Early Orange and Alexandria Railroad, 1849-1854

Joyce E. Wilkinson

All pictures are from the archives of the Southern Railway and used with permission.

As we travel the original 90 mile route of the Old Orange and Alexandria Railroad, we find few historic landmarks of that early company. We can hope that those few which do remain will be preserved as a reminder of the important role that this railroad played in the economic, social, and political growth of Northern Virginia.

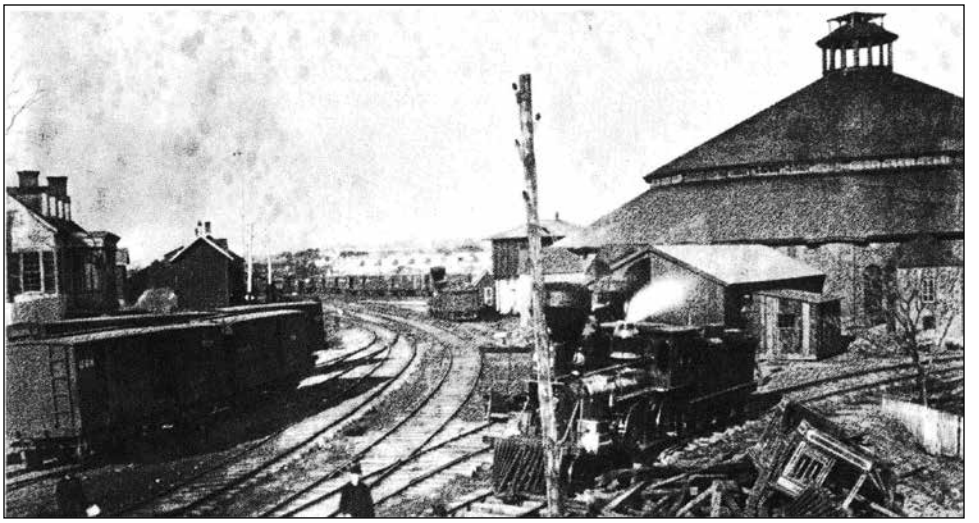
One of these early landmarks is a charming passenger station in the town of Rapidan. This station, set back among large trees, has been deserted not only by the passengers but even by the railroad track, which was taken up in 1903 when the road bed was moved. This Victorian structure, with its slate roof, colored glass windows, and ornate trim, remains a reflection of the early era of railroad growth.

There is a fascinating story behind the beginning and construction of this railroad route which is still active today as part of the Southern Railway System. March 27, 1848, marked the beginning of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. By an act of the Virginia General Assembly, the company was incorporated to lay a railroad from Gordonsville to Alexandria, by way of Orange Court House and Culpeper Court House.

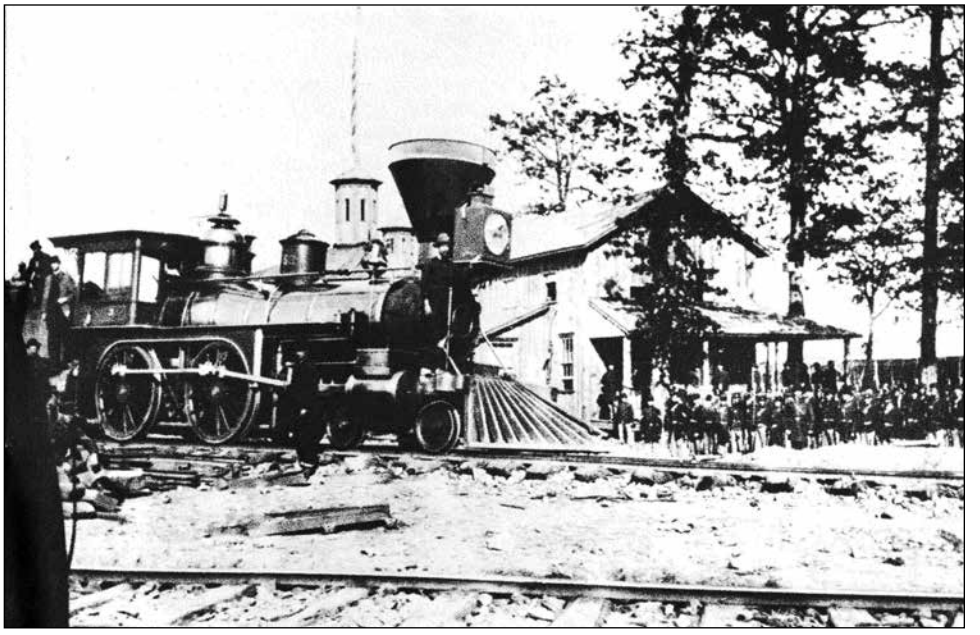
Basic to the act were some stipulations. Financing was to come from the sale of 10,800 shares of capital stock, sold at fifty dollars a share. (Virginia indicated ardent state support by agreeing to finance up to three-fifths of the share capital.) Secondly, as soon as one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars worth of shares were sold, an organizational meeting could take place.

One major defect in the act of incorporation was to create financial problems for the company. The act divided the capital stock into three parts, each of which supposedly was to be sold within a given geographical area – the first or eastern section, spanning Alexandria to Tudor Hall (Manassas Junction); the second spanning Manassas to Culpeper; and the third, or western section, reaching

Joyce E. Wilkinson, chairperson of the Northern Virginia Chapter of the (then) Pioneer American Society, as well as of the Fairfax County Historical Commission, was an inveterate worker who had long been concerned that so much of our history was slipping away unrecorded and undocumented. Ms. Wilkinson was a graduate of George Washington University with a major in Psychology. An active worker on many projects, she was the organizer of the Conservation Committee for Mason Next. She was the mother of two children. Her husband was William E. Wilkinson, Director of the Alexandria School of Music.



Round House, Alexandria, Va., looking east. "Soldier's Rest" is beyond the box cars in the background. The picture has three locomotives. The house at left could be an official headquarters or officer's residence.



Federal troops at Alexandria station awaiting transportation to the battlefield. The engine (No. 62) is a captured Orange and Alexandria locomotive pressed into service on the U. S. Military Railroad.

from Culpeper to Gordonsville. State funds were to be made available only when stockholders in each section subscribed to their necessary two-fifth shares. Contrary to anticipation, the railroad was not supported in the west, which threatened the enterprise with failure. Without the western section, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad could not meet with the other lines to Richmond and on south. The only solution to this problem was to have the so-called "western" shares sold in the other two sections with the approval of the state.

This was done.

By May, 1849, the necessary funds as stipulated by the General Assembly had been raised. The subscriptions followed: Culpeper – $29,850, Fauquier – $7,000, Prince William – $11,050, Orange – $6,600, Fairfax – $3,400, and Alexandria – $115,000. (At the later organization meeting, it is not surprising to note that the elected officials come from the area of controlling financial interest – Alexandria.)

With the quota of funds met, a three-day organizational meeting was scheduled in Warrenton, Virginia, beginning May 9, 1849. The first morning session opened in the hotel of Alexander Barker. Thereafter the meeting adjourned to the newly constructed Warrenton Methodist Episcopal Church South, on the northwest corner of Lee and Culpeper Streets.[1] There were present, in person or by proxy, 2244 of a possible 2667 stockholders. On the agenda was the election of company officials and a discussion of business affairs. George H. Smoot of Alexandria was elected president of the company and allowed an annual salary of $1,000.[2] Dr. William L. Powell of Alexandria was elected vice-president. After six ballots a director was finally elected – Henry Daingerfield of Alexandria. Three other directors were appointed by the State Board of Public Works: Charles Hunton, John S. Barbour, Jr., and Charles J. Stover. The main order of business was the employment of a competent engineer to examine, survey, and estimate the cost of two routes. The route selection was to be determined by the stockholders at the next meeting.

T.C. Atkinson was hired as the chief engineer and he began working on the selection of the route immediately. Survey parties were started out from both ends of the authorized route. It was determined that the line should cross the Rappahannock River at Martin's Mill (since known as Remington), but between Alexandria and that crossing the usual conflicting forces affected the location of the railroad.[3] Seven possible routes were mapped and presented to the stockholders in December 1849. While the route selected was not the first choice of the engineers, in the stockholders opinion it was "the most direct and advantageous route, in justice and good faith to the various sections from which the stock had been contributed."

In January the engineers set out with tents and surveying tools to stake the selected route, which included a branch line to Warrenton.[4] In spite of the frustrations of an "extraordinary rainy season" and refusal of admittance by several Fauquier County residents, the staking was completed by August.

Having selected the route, the stockholders appointed a committee to go to New York and contract for enough iron rails to lay the eastern section of track thirty miles to Manassas. This contract was signed with Davis Brooks and Company for twenty-five hundred tons of best quality iron rails of the U or bridge pattern, of fifty-one pounds per lineal yard. The price was forty-two dollars per ton of 2240 pounds with delivery to be in Alexandria. The rails were being imported from England, which, in addition to Wales, was the main source of this product. (These U rails did not prove to be serviceable. As early as 1854 the engineer reported that

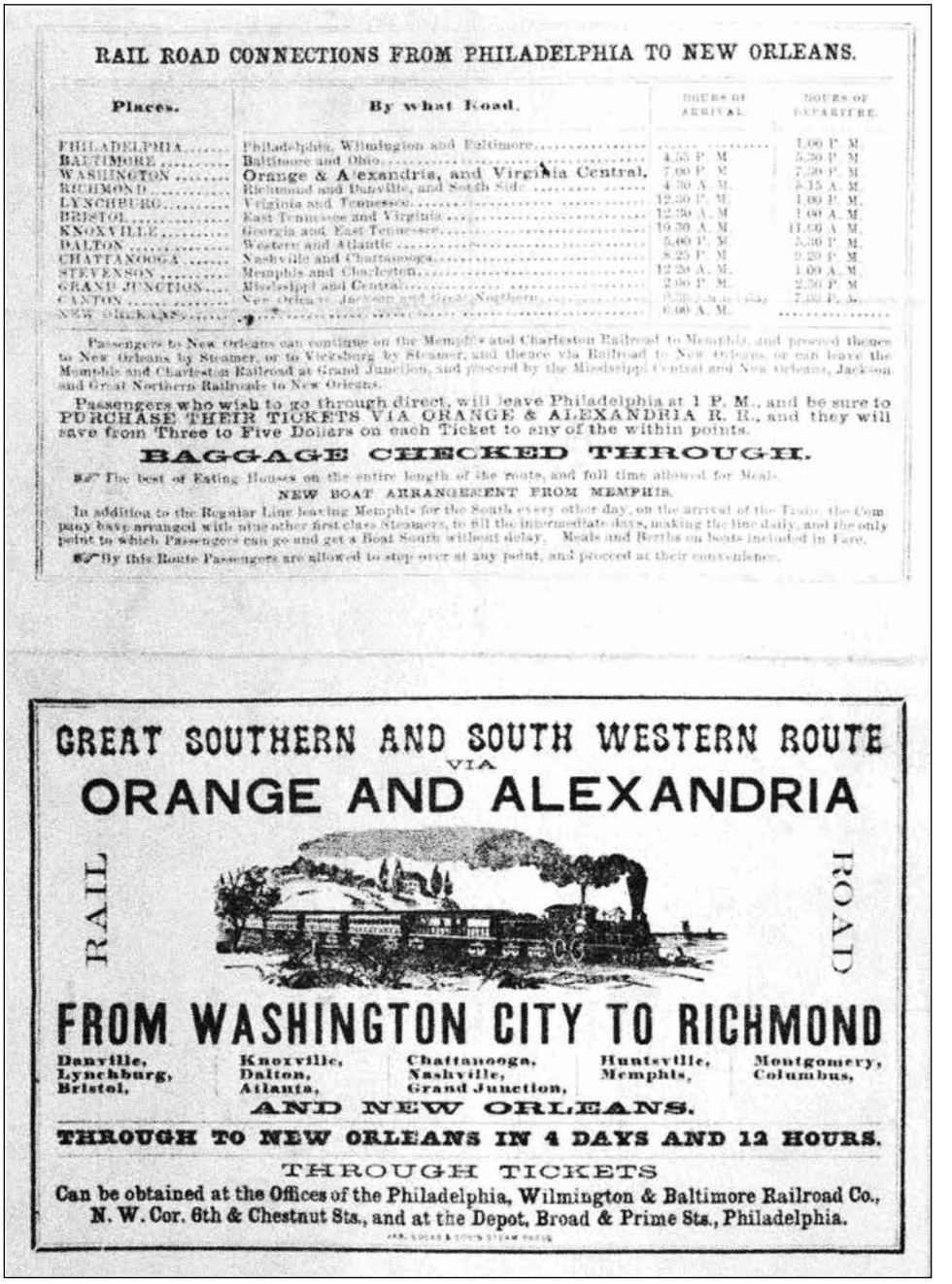
This railroad bridge at Bull Run, near Manassas, VA, had been destroyed, rebuilt by military railroad engineers and had soldiers stationed to guard it by the time this picture was taken. Soldiers, women and children got into this picture. Note the eagle on upper crossbeam.

it was necessary to replace parts of the eastern section track.) The more sturdy T type rail was introduced by 1861 and the U rail became obsolete.

The method for laying the tracks in the eastern section is described by the chief engineer in a report to the president: "The crossties are laid two feet apart from center to center on a bed of broken stone, sand, or gravel. The latter are about one foot in depth. The iron rails are then pat in place and secured by spikes and other fastenings." The stone for the beds was reported as coming from the quarries at Little Falls on the Potomac.

The lumber for the crossties was usually purchased from local residents. One such resident was Richard Marshall Scott of Bush Hill in Fairfax County.[5] Mr. Scott noted in his journal in November 1849: "sent in proposals to the office of Orange and Alexandria Railroad to furnish them 1,640 cross ties of white oak, box oak, locust, cedar and chestnut, seven and one half feet long for $1.00 a piece to be delivered by myself at the section of the road called the crossing at Holmes Run." Lumber was also used for the construction of some railroad bridges. Wooden abutments were used at Cameron Run bridge No. 5, Popes Head, Cannon Branch, and Kettle Run. The superstructures for the bridges were framed in the shop in Alexandria and then transported to the location of the bridge abutment.

Once the sources for the necessary materials had been determined, contracts for the grading, masonry, and rail laying were signed. Malone and Crockett were selected for the work within the city of Alexandria. The larger contract for the sixty miles between Alexandria and Culpeper was awarded "after a vigorous competition" to Messrs. Eggleston, McDonald, and Company. In spite of the fact that this company accepted eighteen percent of their compensation in railroad stock, the selection of this company proved to be a mistake. George Smoot's dissatisfaction with this firm is expressed in his report to the stock-holders, October 18, 1851, the day before he resigned as president of the Orange and Alexandria:



RAIL ROAD CONNECTIONS FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW ORLEANS.

Places.	By what Road.	HOURS OF ARRIVAL.	HOURS OF DEPARTURE.
PHILADELPHIA	Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore	.....	1.00 P. M.
BALTIMORE	Baltimore and Ohio	4.55 P. M.	5.30 P. M.
WASHINGTON	Orange & Alexandria, and Virginia Central,	7.00 P. M.	7.30 P. M.
RICHMOND	Richmond and Danville, and South Side	4.50 A. M.	8.15 A. M.
LYNCHBURG	Virginia and Tennessee	12.50 P. M.	1.00 P. M.
BRISTOL	East Tennessee and Virginia	12.50 A. M.	1.00 A. M.
KNOXVILLE	Georgia and East Tennessee	10.30 A. M.	11.50 A. M.
DALTON	Western and Atlantic	5.00 P. M.	5.30 P. M.
CHATTANOOGA	Nashville and Chattanooga	8.25 P. M.	9.20 P. M.
STEVENSON	Memphis and Charleston	12.20 A. M.	1.00 A. M.
GRAND JUNCTION	Mississippi and Central	2.00 P. M.	2.30 P. M.
CANTON	New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern	5.00 P. M.	7.30 P. M.
NEW ORLEANS		6.00 A. M.	.....

Passengers to New Orleans can continue on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad to Memphis, and proceed thence to New Orleans by Steamer, or to Vicksburg by Steamer, and thence via Railroad to New Orleans, or can leave the Memphis and Charleston Railroad at Grand Junction, and proceed by the Mississippi Central and New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroads to New Orleans.

Passengers who wish to go through direct, will leave Philadelphia at 1 P. M., and be sure to PURCHASE THEIR TICKETS VIA ORANGE & ALEXANDRIA R. R., and they will save from Three to Five Dollars on each Ticket to any of the within points.

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Danville, Lynchburg, Bristol, | Knoxville, Dalton, Atlanta, | Chattanooga, Nashville, Grand Junction, | Huntsville, Memphis, | Montgomery, Columbus,

AND NEW ORLEANS.

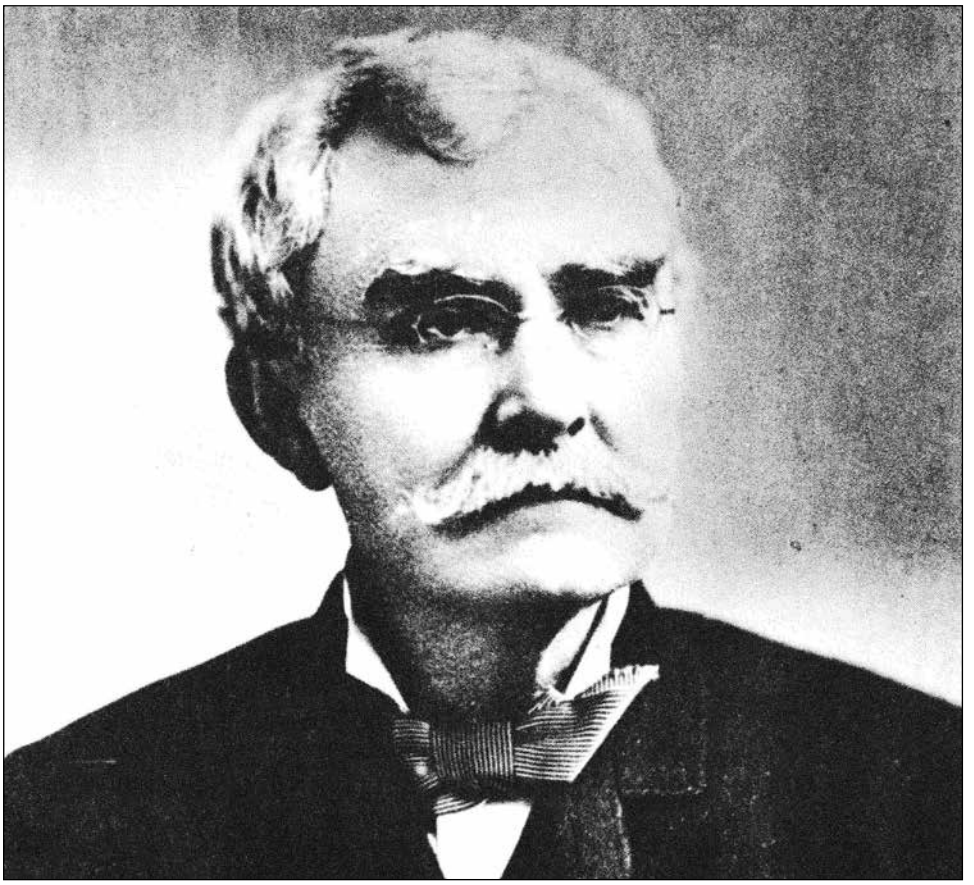
THROUGH TO NEW ORLEANS IN 4 DAYS AND 12 HOURS.

THROUGH TICKETS

Can be obtained at the Offices of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Co., N. W. Cor. 6th & Chestnut Sts., and at the Depot, Broad & Prime Sts., Philadelphia.

Orange and Alexandria Railroad timetable issued sometime between 1854 and 1860. (Property of Mrs. A. S. Cassel, Winston-Salem, N.C.)

"...not withstanding the embarrassment arising from the failure and abandonment of the work by the first company of contractors in November 1850, which resulted in a delay and loss of time equal to six months, the eastern section of the railroad is nearly completed...."

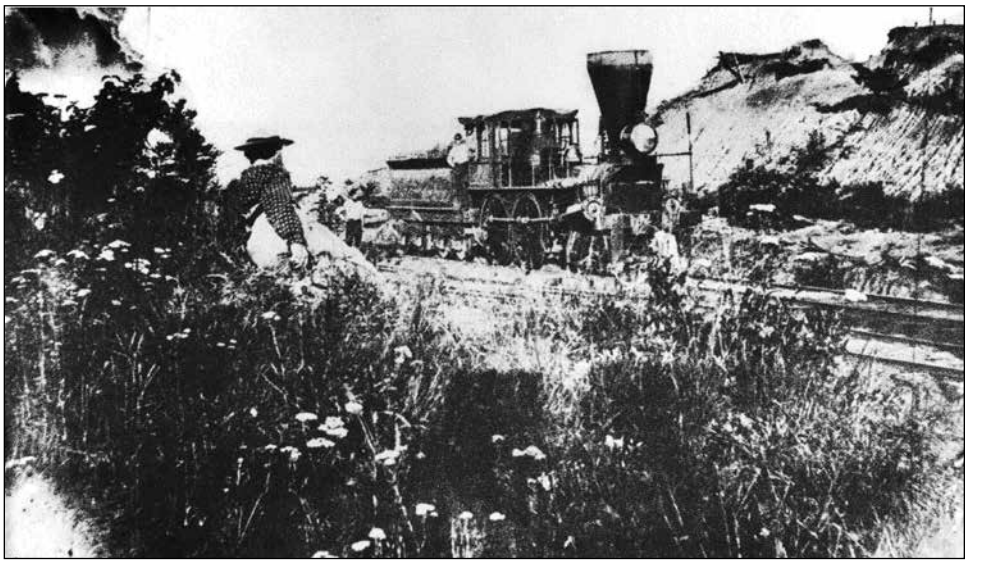


John S. Barbour, Jr., President of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad 1851 – 1885. Date of picture not known.

The railroad was completed to Tudor Hall (Manassas Junction) in October of 1851. Both passenger and freight service were available twice daily except Sundays.

As the track was extended towards Gordonsville, stations were needed for the passengers and freight.[6] Permanent stations were built in most of the larger towns such as Manassas, Warrenton, Culpeper, and Orange. The station at Orange was described as being constructed of brick and iron as security against fire. The station at Rapidan, which was also considered to be a permanent station, was frame.

To service the steam engine locomotives, round houses, turntables, and water towers were needed. The round house, which still stands in Alexandria, is the oldest permanent structure recorded in the early records of the company. It is described in the chief engineer's report of 1851: "The arrangement at Alexandria extends at present only to the building of a semi-circular house of brick, with a sheet iron roof, and large enough to accommodate eight engines and tenders, with a central turntable and a principal track running diagonally across the lot toward Duke Street." This huge building dominated the skyline of Alexandria for many years and was the subject of several Matthew Brady photographs. The original roof no longer remains but inside the building, on the great wooden



This picture is identified in the Southern Railroad archives only as an early Orange and Alexandria locomotive. The debris scattered about on the other side of the tracks might inidcate the spot had been the site of a work camp some years before the Civil War. From the top of the picture we might safely assume that it is a daguerreotype which Matthew Brady did not use after 1855. We might also assume that the figure in the foreground is Brady, who set the camera (see shadow in foreground) and placed himself nonchalantly in the picture. He is also holding a bulb in his hand. He has a small carrying case attached to his belt.

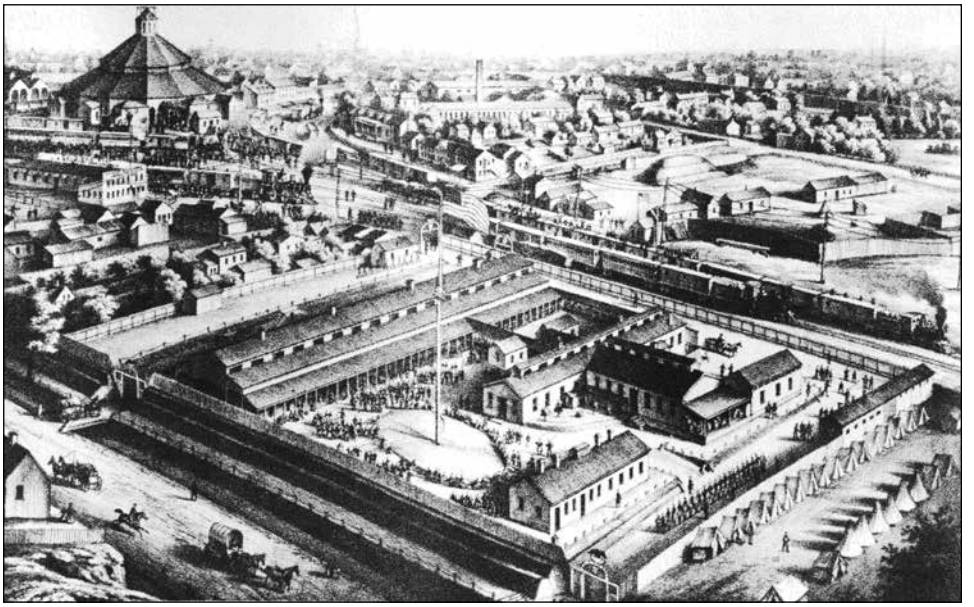
beams which supported this roof, can be seen the black soot from the old steam engine locomotives.

Turntables were located at both ends of the line and also in Culpeper and Orange. These turntables were needed to turn the locomotives around for their return trip since the Orange and Alexandria used only a single track.

Water stations were constructed every few miles and a scarcity of streams to supply these stations demanded the use of hydraulic rams at two stations, the use of manual labor at two others, and the construction of a windmill at Broad Run. Since a dam had been built across the river at Rapidan, that station was able to boast of a 12,000 gallon water tower.

The first locomotive to pass through the stations had been purchased from an Alexandria foundry – T.W. & R.C. Smith Iron Works. This foundry was located at Wolfe and Union Streets. It covered 51,000 square feet and fronted 177 feet on the Potomac River.

There were two articles in the *Alexandria Gazette* in 1850 which referred to this foundry. The first article describes the type of engine which Smith & Smith were producing as being constructed on the oscillating principle with its great advantage being compactness and simplicity. They were twelve horsepower, high pressure engines which took up a space of less than four square feet. The second article is a proud announcement: "A beautiful steam engine, perfect in every respect and of admirable make and finish, has been manufactured at the foundry of T.W. & R.C. Smith of this place."



Soldier's Rest, Alexandria, Va. This drawing, by an unknown artist, shows the Union Army compound and portions of Alexandria in great detail – soldiers drilling and relaxing inside the compound, riding on freight cars, guns stacked, tents pitched, and covered wagons moving about. The round house is at the upper left. See stockade fence across top of picture. The signs below the round house say "Soldier's Rest, U.S. Sanitary Commission" and "Sanitary Commission, Lodge for Invalid Soldiers." Also "Soldier's Rest" is inscribed on the arch under an eagle at the tops of the four gates. The trains in the picture are facing east.

The name of the first Orange and Alexandria engine was the Pioneer and its completion, in May 1851, was considered to be an important event by the local residents. The *Alexandria Gazette* reported on May 6th:

> "The first locomotive was put upon the track of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad yesterday and in the afternoon steam was got up and the locomotive was run over the line from the north end of Union Street (Oronoco and Union) to the tunnel on Wilkes Street. The performance was good and gave general satisfaction. Great numbers of our citizens collected and much joy was manifested at the successful commencement of railroad travel through our town."

The Pioneer was a small locomotive; it weighed only 17,000 pounds. This was less than half of the weight of the other engines which were ordered by the railroad. The names of these larger locomotives can be found on the map along the train route: Fairfax, Virginia, Alexandria, Fauquier, Prince William, Culpeper, Orange, Rapidan, and Cameron. Eight of these early engines were purchased at the Smith foundry in Alexandria. The necessary expenditure of funds for these locomotives plus the other construction costs resulted in a period of financial crisis for the Orange and Alexandria Railroad.

The early financial reports were discouraging; construction costs had greatly exceeded the original estimates. In May 1851, the stockholders were advised of the

precarious financial situation which the company was in. The original capital stock had proven to be inadequate; the eastern section alone had cost $100,000 more than originally budgeted, and the construction on the middle western sections had not yet begun. The stockholders in the middle section were not making the installment payments on their stock. The residents in the western section had not subscribed to the stipulated number of capital shares and, therefore, the State would not advance the money to finance the construction of the track in that section.

There were also no funds available to meet the land damage. It had been anticipated that landowners would be satisfied with the increased value of their land which would result from being on a railroad route. The majority of landowners were willing to grant free right-of-way but there remained demands for $20,892 which had to be met.[7] The six-month delay in the opening of the Manassas station had denied the company the passenger and freight revenue which they had counted on; this added to the discouraging state of affairs.

It was at this time of discouragement that John S. Barbour of Culpeper became the second president of the Orange and Alexandria.[8] Mr. Barbour was an exceptional man; he was able to convince the stockholders that all was not lost. The railroad could succeed if only the money could be raised to complete the middle and western section. He was confident that the revenue from passenger and freight service would realize a profit for the company as soon as the line was completed.

In order to raise the necessary capital, the stockholders voted to mortgage all of the railroad property as security for the sale of $400,000 worth of bonds. It was difficult to sell railroad bonds in the 1850's; the market was flooded with stocks for railroads. Faced with this situation, it was necessary to sell nearly half of the Orange and Alexandria bonds at 80% par value, with many of the bonds being sold in Europe.

The money was finally raised to complete the line. Culpeper station opened in November 1851. The following month, Warrenton was able to offer daily passenger and freight service. Service was extended to Orange late in 1853, and to Gordonsville – the end of the line – in March 1854.

John S. Barbour was justified in his confidence in the ninety mile long Orange and Alexandria Railroad. With the opening of the middle section, he was able to report a net earning of $54,357 in the year 1853. With the completion of the line in 1854, a net earning of $89,752 was reported. This same year the stockholders received their first dividend – 5%.

We can only imagine the great personal satisfaction which must have been realized by those men who worked from the conception of the railroad, through the years of doubt, to the successful conclusion of this early railroad.

The success of this line was an event of more than just local importance. It was now possible to commute by rail most of the way from Boston to Richmond. Within the year the Orange and Alexandria was to begin an extension of their route to Lynchburg where it would join with other lines extending to New Orleans. The iron tracks of these small railroad companies were to be instrumental in shaping

the destiny of this country as they spread across the country binding town to town and state to state.

Notes

1 Reverend Minnick, a Methodist minister in Warrenton, gave the following description of the 1849 Methodist Church: "the ground floor consisted of a large Sunday school room while the sanctuary was on the second floor. The balcony, at the rear, was used by the Negro members. Today this building houses an appliance store and several apartments, and is known as the Wallach Building."

2 George E. Smoot was born April 10, 1801, in St. Mary's County, MD. His family moved to Alexandria in 1815. As a young man, George attended the banquet given for Lafayette in Alexandria, Feb. 21, 1825. He was a distinguished Alexandrian, having been director of the Chesapeake and Ohio, and Alexandria Canals, member of the City Council, President of the Bank of Old Dominion, President of the Alexandria Water Co., and, of course, President of the O. & A. Railroad. He died March 11, 1870. His residence still stands in Alexandria at 124 S. Fairfax Street.

3 The story is told, by a resident of Brentsville, that the people of that town, bursting with pride over having recently become the County seat of Prince William County, decided to demand a premium price from the railroad for right-of-ways coming through their area. It never occurred to them that their new town with its handsome court house, new jail, and elegant clerk-of-the-courts-house, might be dispensable to the Orange and Alexandria, but it was. Brentsville remains today a small town with few houses, one large court house, and an empty jail – the railroad selected Bristow for its station.

4 The cost of the branch line to Warrenton was estimated to be $5,560 per mile. The iron rails were purchased from Andrew Low and Co. of Savannah, for $37.50 per ton.

5 Mr. Scott had made another entry in his journal which I believe worthy of note. On July 4, 1851, he wrote: "We witnessed for the first time today, a train passing over the Orange and Alexandria Railroad carrying about 600 people who were going on an excursion up the road to Backlick, a distance of 11 miles from Alexandria and the present termination of the rails – as seen from the north windows (6 in number) passing through our meadow with their gay passengers, presented a very pretty sight and to me one of great interest."

Bush Hill is still standing today. It is in good repair and being used as a school.

6 In 1854 the following stations are listed: Springfield, Burke, Fairfax, Sangster's, Union Mill, Manassas Junction, Bristow, Weaversville, Warrenton Junction, Warrenton, Bealton, Rappahannock, Brandy, Culpeper, Mitchell's, Rapidan, Orange, and Gordonsville. The four stations doing the most freight business were: Culpeper – $16,199, Warrenton – $11,511, Gordonsville – $5,924, and Brandy – $5,432.

7 Land damages: Fairfax – $6,895, Prince William – $2,770, Fauquier – $100, Culpeper – $11,127.

8 John S. Barbour, of Culpeper, received a law degree in 1842 from the University of Virginia. He served in the House of Delegates for four years. He was appointed a director of the railroad by the Board of Public Works in 1849. Mr. Barbour, the second president of the railroad, remained in that office for 33 years.

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The Honest Man – Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire

By Tony P. Wrenn

Just off the Everett Turnpike in New Hampshire, between Nashua and Manchester, lies Thornton's Ferry. Hardly more than a crossroads, the town evidences its namesake[1] in many ways, for here Matthew Thornton, a New Hampshire signer of the Declaration of Independence lived, and here he is buried.

Opposite the turnpike exit, at New Hampshire Route 3 and Griffin Street, is the state monument erected in Thornton's memory. Dedicated in 1892, it is a simple shaft, on a stepped base. Of Concord granite, it was erected by the New England Granite Works of Concord, and is 13 feet high, and 6½ ft[2] at the base.[2] Though approved by the Legislature in August of 1885, "a disagreement between the authorities of the state and town for a short time delayed, but was not allowed to prevent, an early consummation of a patriotic impulse of the people."[3] The monument bears the following inscription:

In Memory of
Matthew Thornton
one of the signers of the
Declaration of Independence
Erected by the State of
New Hampshire upon a lot
and foundation presented by
the Town of Merrimack

This simple statement certainly represents a severe compromise between Thornton's supporters who probably would have preferred flowery Victorian prose, and his detractors who wanted nothing, for the argument seems to have been over whether Thornton was a traitor or a patriot.[4] The actual reports of the legislative committee that studied the matter could not be located in either the New Hampshire Historical Society Library or in the State Library, but seemingly

Tony P. Wrenn was a native of North Carolina who, as a youngster, first became conscious of old buildings as objects of real interest when a house made of "mud" was pointed out to him. He was a graduate of Wake Forest University and studied further at American University, the Department of Agriculture Graduate School, and the University of Vienna. He was a consultant for the Fairfax County Historical Commission, the Massachusetts Historical Commission, and was project coordinator for the Northern Virginia Chapter of the Pioneer America Society.

Figure 1: Street facade, Thornton House in Thornton's Ferry. Photo by Tony P. Wrenn for the National Park Service.

Thornton was unfortunate enough to have had a nephew named Matthew Thornton who was not only a Tory, but after 1776 emigrated to New Brunswick. The argument over which Thornton was which was still going on in the late 1890s when Ezra Stearns presented a spirited defense of Thornton to the New Hampshire Historical Society containing not only a biography of Thornton, but of the errant nephew as well.[5]

Thornton is still, however, an enigma, for no complete biography has yet been written. Charles Thornton Adams attempted one in 1903,[6] which is, in spite of its briefness, the most complete single document concerning Thornton. Born in Ireland c. 1714, Matthew came with his family to Wiscasset, Maine, in 1717. Soon they moved to "the neighborhood of Worcester, Mass., where Matthew received his early education and began to study medicine. He completed his studies in 1740, and began to practice in Londonderry, N.H."[7] On December 19, 1778, Judge Thornton purchased from Jonathan Norris, his farm of fifty acres, on the Kingston Road, about two miles from the Village of Exeter. He did not, however, sell his house in Londonderry until April 15, 1779, when he conveyed it, with his pew in the Rev. Davidson's Meeting House. He was of Londonderry as late as June 15, 1779, but shortly after that time moved to Exeter. In 1780 Thornton moved from Exeter to Merrimack, where he resided until his death.

> He bought the Lutwyche Farm near the Ferry which crossed the Merrimack River to Litchfield. This Ferry had been granted to Edward G. Lutwyche in 1767. Thornton bought the Lutwyche Farm in 1781, and in 1784 the Legislature granted him the exclusive right of keeping a ferry for two miles above and below his house. This place has ever since been known as Thornton's Ferry.[8]

It is interesting to note that a township history, published in 1846, contains more information about Lutwyche than about Thornton.[9]

Sanderson, in his 1824 work on the Signers, describes Thornton as:

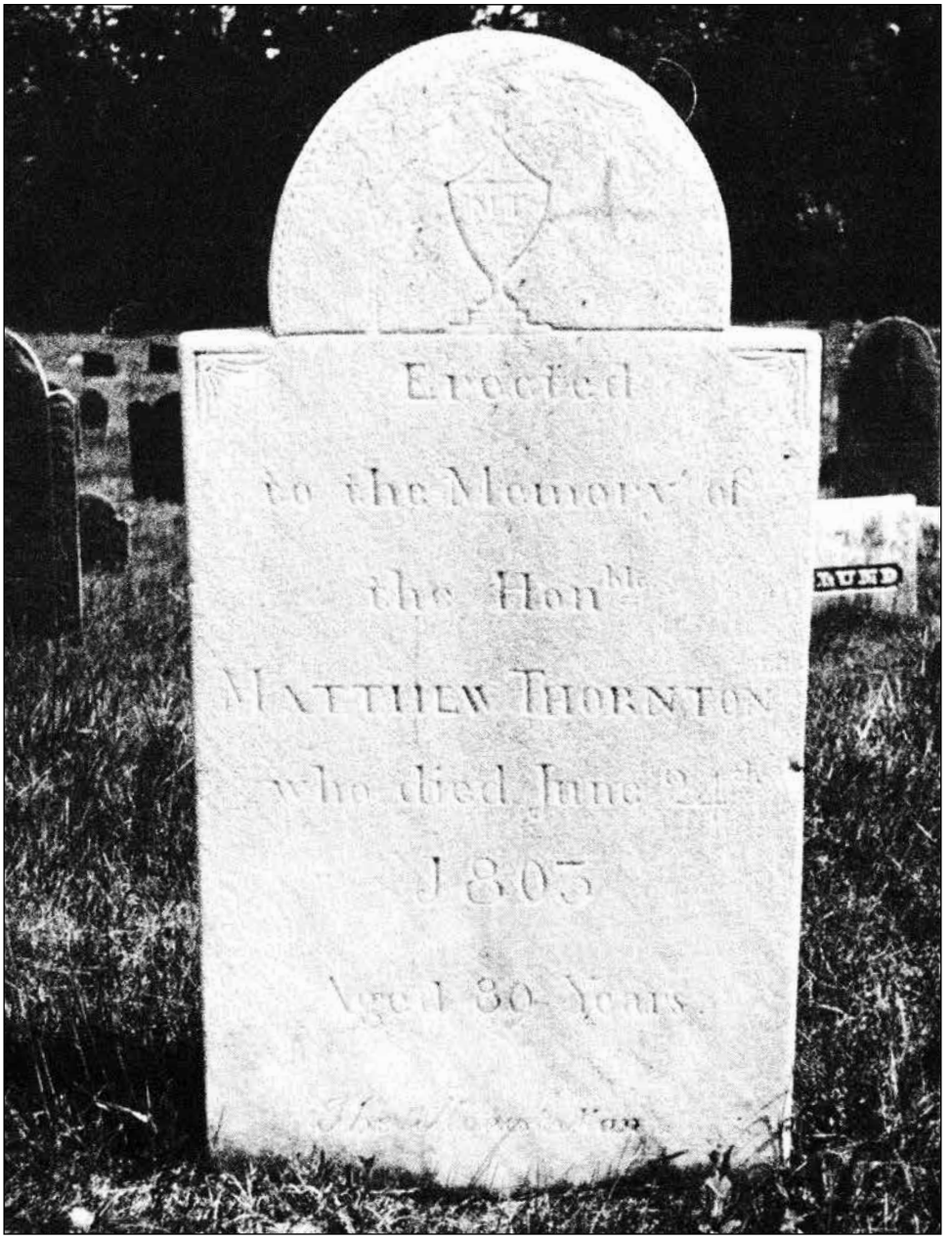

Figure 2: Headstone over the grave of Matthew Thornton. Photo by Tony P. Wrenn for the National Park Service.

> [A] Man of large stature, exceeding six feet in height, and his form was symmetrically proportioned: his complexion was dark, and his eye black and penetrating. His countenance was invincibly grave, like that of Cassius who read much, and never smiled; and this trait is the more remarkable, as he was distinguished for his good humored hilarity.[10]

Likewise Judson, in his 1839 work on the Signers, reports that Thornton never smiled, but compares him to Franklin: "His mind was stored with a rich

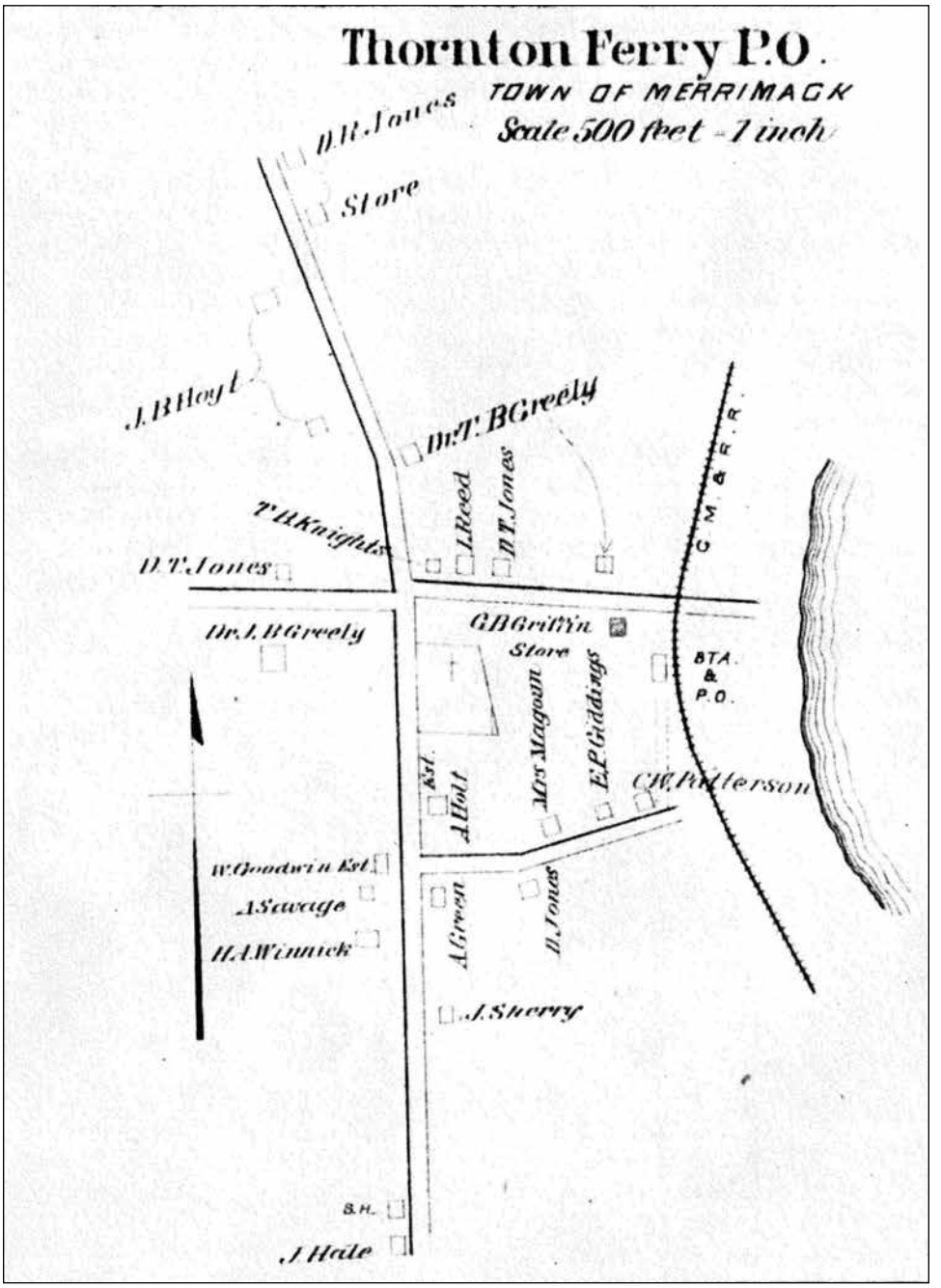

Figure 3: Doorway and entrance porch, beneath present tar paper and screen porch, Thornton House, Thornton's Ferry. Photo by Tony P. Wrenn for the National Park Service.

variety of useful and practical knowledge which rendered him an interesting companion."[11] He also notes that he "sustained an un-blemished private reputation, and discharged all the social relations of life with fidelity and faithfulness... He was very exact in collecting his dues, by some thought too severe, and was rigidly scrupulous in liquidating every farthing he owed."[12]

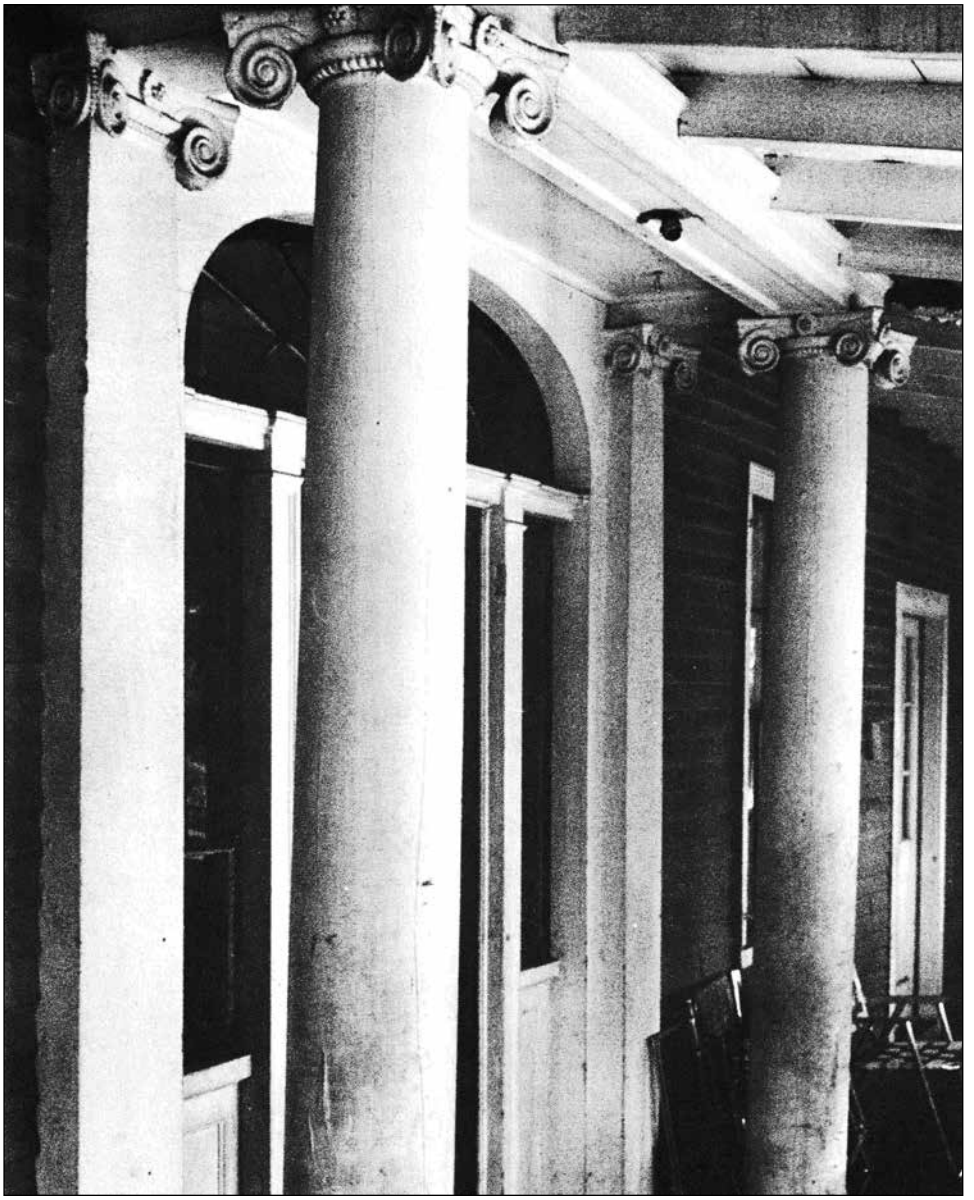

Figure 4: Map, Thornton's Ferry, 1891. Photo from Library of Congress, copy by Wm. Edmund Barrett.

Thornton was appointed to the continental Congress late, and was unable to take his seat until November of 1776, when he signed his name at the bottom of the column in the lower right-hand corner of the document. Boatner calls this his claim to fame, and notes that he was "permitted to sign the Declaration of Independence."[13] Michael also notes that he was "allowed to sign."[14] It seems likely, however, as Judge Mellen Chamberlain points out in his *Authentication of the Declaration of Independence*, "When Thornton came down from New Hampshire in November, he doubtless signed the parchment Declaration in compliance with the order of July 19, 'that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member

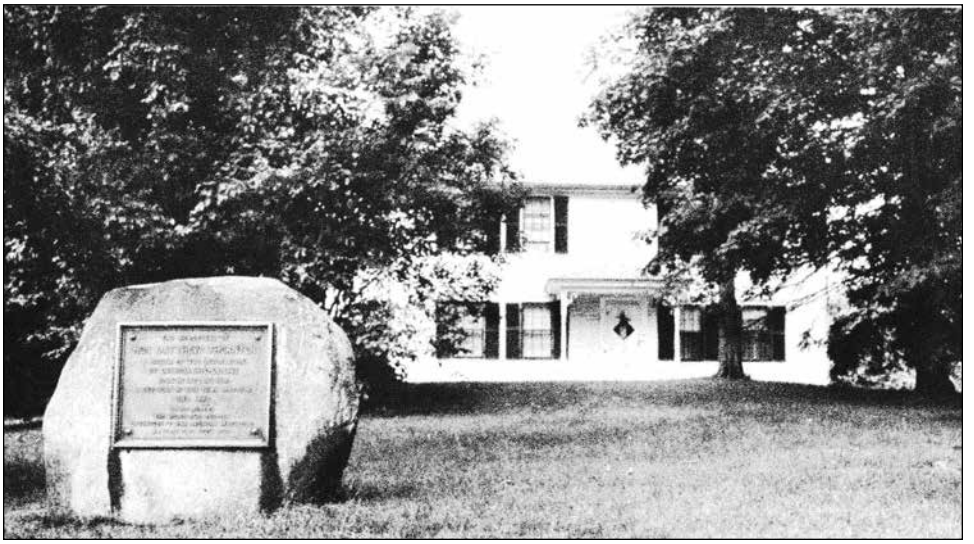

Figure 5: Thornton House, Derry, N.H., as published in 1861. Photo from Library of Congress, copy by Wm. Edmund Barrett.

of Congress.' Though coming late, Thornton was a member of Congress."[15] As for the implication that Thornton has no other claim to fame, Adams notes that

> he was a farmer, a physician, a patentee of town grants, a selectman, a moderator at town meetings, speaker of the Provincial House of Representatives, a Colonel of Militia, Justice of Peace, President of the Provincial Congress, member of the Committee of Safety; as legislator, a maker and reviser of the laws, and as judge an expounder and enforcer of them; a framer of State Constitutions, a member of the State Council, a State Senator, a member of the Continental Congress; a writer of political essays, poetry and philosophy....[16]

At least one of these talents, that of essayist, is worth further mention, for in his last few years the Signer busied himself writing:

> *Paradise Lost*; or the *Origin of the Evil* called Sin examined; or how it ever did or ever can come to pass, that a creature should or could do anything unfit or improper for the creature to do; or how it ever did, or ever can come to pass, that a creature should or could omit, or leave undone what that creature ought to have done, or was fit and proper for that creature to do; or how it ever was, or can be possible for a creature to displease the Creator in Thought, Word, or Action.[17]

If Thornton intended the work to be as comprehensive as his title, he probably should have considered starting it at an earlier age.

Thornton died out of state[18] while visiting a daughter in Newburyport, Mass., but was returned to Thornton's Ferry and is buried in the cemetery adjacent to the monument. The stone is decorated with an urn, which bears the initials "M.T." beneath a weeping willow. The inscription is simple:

Figure 6: Street facade, Thornton House, Derry, August 1968. Photo by Tony P. Wrenn.

Erected
to the Memory of
the Honble
Matthew Thornton Esq
who died June 24th
J803 [sic]
Aged 89 years.

The epitaph is even simpler:

The Honest Man.

Directly across the road from the cemetery and monument is a house and barn complex. A plaque on an outbuilding in the complex states that it is a

Signers House
Built circa 1750 and
home of
Matthew Thornton
1714-1803
a signer of the
Declaration of
Independence.

The five bay, two story, ridge roof house is obscured by asbestos shingles. A tar paper and screen porch runs across the front, and only the roof of an earlier porch, which still shows, indicates any architectural distinction. Beneath this porch the earlier entrance, a fan and sidelighted front door, early sash and clap-boarding still exist, providing a visual shock when one walks into the newer porch. I was unable to inspect the interior for the occupants were not at home, and in spite of the fact that a note on the door said "Walk in - Go upstairs," the door was locked.

Later, I asked E. Blaine Cliver, architectural historian and restoration architect, to look at my photographs and make some comments on the possible age of the doorway and porch. He would obviously not commit himself to date a house on the basis of a photograph, but did come up with some interesting comments on the doorway:

> The half oval shape of the fanlight, and the sidelights are Federal in character and probably dateable from the 1790's to the 1830's; however, the Ionic capitals of the ante or porch, if contemporary with the doorway, are Roman in character, rather than Greek. Such a capital is dateable from the mid-18th century to the 1820's. This type of capital appears in *Gibbs' Rules for Drawing*, but not in the more classic works of Vignola or Palladio. Based on the photograph, without the benefit of any on site architectural inspection, it is possible to say that the doorway could date from the first 10-15 years of the 19th century, possibly slightly earlier. The capitals, if they are not contemporary with the doorway, would date from the turn of the century (1890's) neo-Classical or Classical Revival period.

Should this work out when on site architectural investigation is accomplished, then obviously the house could not have, at least in its present form, been built in 1750. It could, however, have been early enough for Matthew Thornton to have lived there. There is, of course, no evidence that he did, but there is other evidence to be considered.

The Fields', writing in the DAR Magazine, have accepted this as the Thornton House,[20] and there is certainly no doubt that it was a Thornton House. At the dedication of the Thornton Monument, it was noted that,

> Upon the arrival of the Governor and Council and other representatives of the State Government, they were escorted...to the Thornton Mansion, owned and occupied by Dr. James B. Greeley, where they were hospitably received by Mrs. Greeley and other descendants of Matthew Thornton.[21]

At the same time the Honorable George A. Ramsdell, Chairman of the State Committee on Arrangements, said that

> As we survey this landscape of water, intervale and hill, a single feature of which - this beautiful River [the Merrimack] - is enough to mark a completed picture, we wonder not that Matthew Thornton selected this spot as a residence, and held it until his decease at a good old age.[22]

Figure 7: Thornton House, Derry, rear facade. Photo by Tony P. Wrenn for the National Park Service.

Can you not visualize his pointing to the house across the road when he said "this spot"? There is no doubt that the house which is marked was the home of Dr. J. B. Greeley. I walked over the site with a copy of Thornton's Ferry Map from an 1892 Atlas[23] and not only is Dr. Greeley's house still standing and in the same relationship to the cemetery which it had in 1892, but other landmarks are the same as well. "G. B. Griffin's Store," now the Thornton's Ferry Social Club still stands, and the Concord and Montreal R. R. tracks seem not to have changed. Opposite the Social Club, a road, now discontinued, still crosses under the tracks. The "A. Holt" house also stands, along with several others.

Adams notes that, at the time of the dedication of the Thornton Monument, "The town of Merrimack united with the State in the dedication ceremonies, which were held at Thornton's Ferry, on the farm which formerly belonged to Matthew Thornton, and then owned by one of his descendants, Dr. James B. Greeley."[24] Note that Adams does not say that Greeley's house was Thornton's, though he may well have meant that. That would clearly seem to be what Stearns means when he says that "Hannah Thornton, a daughter of James Thornton [granddaughter of Matthew] ...married Col. Joseph Greeley, and their son, James Bonaparte Greeley, M.D., now owns the Matthew Thornton farm at Thornton's Ferry, and occupies it as his summer home."[25]

It is also Stearns, however, who throws the entire picture off center by stating that,

> The Lutwyche farm was a beautiful one, lying upon the intervale of the river. The house was frame, large, double, with two stories, and a peaked roof. I have seen it many times. When the Concord Railroad was built, it was condemned with the strip taken for the track, and for many years was the Railroad Station. My Father-in-law, John Andrew McGaw, has told me interesting incidents of his boyhood connected with it when he

was visiting his uncles, James Thornton's family. Within a few years it has been taken down. Some of the magnificent elms yet remain.[26]

The building marked "Sta. & P.O." on the 1892 map has indeed been destroyed. The site would probably be at the present corner of Thornton and Griffin Street. A relatively modern house now stands there, though an old barn, and one large elm tree remain on the site. Foundations also exist on the opposite side of the present street from this site, but they seem to be newer ones, of concrete and cinder block. There is also no indication of access to the railroad from this site, though there is a gentle bank near the site of the new house.

The Greeley house, which was James Thornton's, and was presumably the one Mr. McGaw was visiting, is on the hill, and not in the intervale, so he must have been visiting there rather than at the Lutwyche house. It would seem reasonable that Matthew Thornton, in purchasing the Lutwyche Farm, would have lived in the Lutwyche house, unless there was another equally large, or unless he built his own later. It seems likely that, had he built his own house, someone would have noted that. As to the other, it seems unlikely that there would have been two large, finished houses on the Lutwyche farm in 1780. Stearns, in an attempt no doubt to clear this up, notes that Thornton "lived at the Thornton Ferry Farm from 1780 to the day of his death...."[27]

It is possible, since Matthew Thornton also had a son named Matthew Thornton, that the present Thornton Mansion was built by the son, but a good deal of local record and on-site architectural research would be necessary to firmly establish the house in one way or the other. As of now, the in-escapable conclusion to the puzzle is that either the surviving Thornton's Ferry Thornton House was Matthew Thornton the Signer's House, or it wasn't.

The Thornton House at Derry would seem to stand without question, though I have seen neither an architectural analysis, nor an historical account of this house. Records of the houses are not included in the files of the New Hampshire Historical Society or the Historic American Building Survey. At any rate, a boulder on the lawn in front of the Derry House, at 2 Thornton Street, states:

The homestead of
Hon Matthew Thornton
A Signer of the Declaration
of American Independence
Born in Ireland
A physician in this town
1740-1783
To his memory
The Molly Reid Chapter
Daughters of the American
Revolution
Dedicated this Stone
1901.

The house is certainly the same that appears in Brotherhead's book,[28] published in 1861, though it has been somewhat modified. The site of the house is a magnificent one, on a rise overlooking Derry Village, in an area where there are many other good structures. The structure was being remodeled when we visited it in August of 1968, and much good panelling had been removed. We were able to tour the inside with the owners, and the massive hand-hewn beams in the basement, the hand split lathing, excellent panelling in several rooms, and the box of wrought Rose head nails they had gathered give every indication of age.

As nearly as I have been able to determine, no biography of Matthew Thornton is being written, and no architectural, archaeological, or historical recording is planned on either of the houses. We were also not able to locate any survey for Thornton sites in Wiscasset, Worchester, or Exeter. Clearly "The Honest Man"[29] deserved better treatment.

Endnotes

1 *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State,* American Guide Series, Houghton Mifflin, 1938, p. 300. "Thornton's Ferry, the Southernmost Merrimack village, was named for Matthew Thornton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence." Thornton, N. H., is also named for the family.

2 *Addresses at the Dedication of the Monument Erected to the Memory of Matthew Thornton at Merrimack N.H.*, September 29, 1892, Concord, The Republican Press Association, 1894.

3 Ibid.

4 Addresses..., op cit.

5 *Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, Volume III, June 1895-June 1899, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, 1902, pp. 76-108.

6 Adams, Charles Thornton, *Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire*, Philadelphia, Dando Printing & Publishing Co., 1903.

7 Malone, Dumas, Editor, *Dictionary of American Biography,* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935-36, Volume IX, part 1, pp. 503-04. Wright, Esmond, *Fabric of Freedom*, New York, Hill & Wang, 1961, states that "According to Tradition, at least one signer of the Declaration of Independence, Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire, had been an indentured servant...," p. 9. I do not know the basis for this statement, and it seems un-likely unless Thornton made some such arrangement to secure his medical education.

8 Adams, op cit.

9 Fox, Charles, *History of the Old Township of Dunstable*, Nashua, Charles T. Gill, Publisher, 1846. "Edward Goldstone Lutwyche, Esq., an English Gentleman of education and property, resided in Merrimac before 1776 at Thornton's, then Lutwyche's Ferry. He was Colonel in the regiment in 1775, but on the Declaration of Independence he joined the English, left the Country, to which he never returned, and at the close of the war his estate was confiscated by the state." p. 226. "Hon. Matthew Thornton,

one of the Signer's of the Declaration of Independence resided in this town for many years previous to his death." p. 225.

10. Sanderson, John, *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,* Philadelphia, R. W. Pomeroy, 1324. Portraits of Thornton appear on P. 102 of Malone, Dumas, *The Story of the Declaration of Independence* Oxford University Press, 1954, and facing p. 27 of Michael, William H., *The Declaration of Independence*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904.

11. Judson, L Carroll, *A Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,* Philadelphia, J. Dobson and Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1839

12. Ibid.

13. Boatner, Mark N., III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, New York, David McKay Company, Inc., 1966, p. 1099.

14. Michael, op cit.

15. Chamberlain, Judge Mellen, *Authentication of the Declaration of Independence,* Cambridge, John Wilson and Son, 1885.

16. Adams, op cit.

17. Ibid.

18. Farmer, John, *A Catechism of the History of New Hampshire*, Concord, Hoag and Atwood, 1830, Second Edition. Farmer notes that Thornton died at 89, out of state, that he was a physician, counsellor, judge, and one of the Signers of the dec. [sic] of independence..." and that he did not go to Harvard.

19. Michael, op cit, and Malone, op cit, both report that the epitaph was "An Honest Man," but it is actually stronger in that Thornton is identified as "The Honest Man."

20. Fields, Elizabeth and Dr. J. E., "The Signers Lived Here," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, May, 1951.

21, Addresses..., op cit.

22. Ibid.

23. Hurd, D. H., *Town and City Atlas of the State of New Hampshire*, Boston, D. H. Hurd & Co., 1892.

24. Adams, op cit.

25. Ibid.

26, Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Brotherhead, William, *The Book of the Signers*, Philadelphia, William Brotherhead, 1861, p. 65.

29. The headstone over Mrs. Thornton's grave also has a notable epitaph. The full inscription reads:

Momento Mori
Erected in memory of Mrs
Hannah Thornton
Wife of the Honble
Matthew Thornton
who departed this life
Decr 5th AD 1786
Aged 44 years.
SHE DESIR'D TO DIE, APPEA'D
CONTENTED.
SHE LIV'D BELOV'D, AND DIED
LAMENTED.

COORDINATES: Thornton House at Thornton's Ferry – 1953 MANCHESTER 15' WC/7/7/3/8 Thornton monument and grave at Thornton's Ferry – 1953 MANCHESTER 15' WC/7/7/3/8 Thornton House at Derry Village – 1953 MANCHESTER 15' EC/1/8/6/6

Two other New Hampshire Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Josiah Bartlett, 1719-95, Kingston, New Hampshire, and William Whipple, 1730-85, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, are not dealt with in this article.

Gender in the Academy: Recovering the Hidden History of Women's Scholarship on Scrapbooks and Albums

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Abstract: In the early years of material culture studies, persistent hierarchies of high and low framed scholarly examinations of certain media and elevated the study of men's professional work over amateur products created by women. Through a case study of the diverse scholarly works on scrapbooks and albums, this article points to the challenges in reconstituting that literature and argues that the hierarchical privileging of men's work has been mirrored in the academy, resulting in the marginalization of the work of female scholars writing about women's amateur production.

Keywords: Scrapbooks; Albums; Gender; Women's History; High / Low Culture

In 1987, Anne Higonnet proposed recovering an iconography of "feminine imagery" from nineteenth-century albums made by women. Higonnet argued that women rehearsed the prescribed gender norms dictated by Victorian culture through the images they created in albums, and while skillfully rendered with technical precision, the pictures had been largely neglected by scholars. The culprit, reasoned Higonnet, was gender biases within the discipline of art history, which had privileged "high" art produced by men while dismissing the work of women as emotionally-motivated amateurism ("low" art, or "craft") (Higonnet 1987, 32-34).

While designed as a corrective for the art historical canon, Higonnet's argument sheds light on an implicit hierarchy within the field of material culture studies as well. In 1982, Jules Prown explicitly stated that the goal of material culture studies was to work against the hierarchy of high-low artistic production perpetrated by art historians, but early work in the field nevertheless replicated similar hierarchies along gendered lines by elevating men's artisanal production over women's amateur work (Prown 1982). Much of the now most oft-cited scholarship was written by men looking at the products of men's labor: books, furniture, monuments, and like objects. Works such as E. McClung Fleming's theoretical treatises, Thomas Schlereth's and Richard Bushman's studies of nineteenth-century America, and Jules Prown's discussions of American painters became canonical works in the

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field (Bushman 1992; Fleming 1974; Prown 2001; Schlereth 1992).[1] Meanwhile, female scholars took up the study of women's amateur and ephemeral production as part of the history of women's culture (i.e. Higonnet 1987). While men's scholarship appeared in major journals and was reprinted in textbook anthologies (i.e. Prown 2001; Schlereth 1999), women's scholarship initially appeared in minor publications. The literature on scrapbooks and albums provides an illustrative case study of this problem, where the majority of the work has been undertaken by women. The first essays appeared in collectors' magazines and specialized journals, which inspired masters' theses and book chapters later. Many of these sources remain difficult to find because of their highly specialized nature. Large research databases (such as JSTOR and EBSCO) still privilege information in flagship journals and many specialized sources have only recently been added to such indexes (while scores of others remain unindexed, such as *Ephemera Journal*). Savvy researchers must follow the bibliographic trail, using one source's footnotes to locate additional resources, then repeat the process again and again. Such research is challenging to be sure, especially given the wide variety of disciplinary fields represented by the literature on scrapbooks and the often marginal location of the publications. But the marginal location of many publications, coupled with the transdisciplinary nature of this area, does not wholly explain why works on scrapbooks and albums have not had more of an impact.

Gendered hierarchies of high and low still frame our consideration of certain media, our elevation of certain publication venues, and our understandings of "important" research in material culture studies. As men's work (such as Schlereth's and Prown's) is featured in retrospectives, women's work is pushed to the edges, making it seem obscure. Such discrepancies likely stem from the marginalization of women's scholarship on "low" or amateur art and craft production. The literature on scrapbooks is primarily a field written by women about the women (and some men) who made objects that were wholly cast aside by the dominant male culture as fanciful distractions, rather than legitimate practices that created knowledge or resulted in valuable cultural products (Higonnet 1987; Mecklenburg-Faenger 2012). Thus, the scholarship on scrapbooks seems to be devalued in the same way that the objects themselves were in the past.

But how might one prove the claim that men have had more of an impact in the field of material culture studies? Tracing the impact of a scholar's work is difficult, especially when one seeks quantitative rather than anecdotal evidence. Google Scholar offers one potential avenue, albeit an imperfect one. A survey of the sources referenced here shows that while Richard Bushman's *Refinement of America* (1992) has been cited over 1,200 times in other scholarly works, most of the women here have been cited less than 100 times each. Ellen Gruber Garvey's *Adman in the Parlor* (1996) has been cited over 250 times – the highest number for a scrapbooks scholar – while Pulitzer Prize-winning author Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has about 300 citations of her material culture study *The Age of Homespun* (2001). Thus, Google Scholar's analytics point to the wider impact that Bushman's

Refinement of America has had over female scholars' work, despite being published within the same decade.

Gender dichotomies like this extend to our teaching as well. In an attempt to further understand the ways that gender has influenced the field of material culture studies, I conducted a follow-up survey of over 100 sources assigned on material culture syllabi and graduate reading lists across the US. This search similarly revealed a preference toward the work of men – especially the work of Prown, Fleming, and others – and discussions of men's artisanal production in the past (furniture, art and decorative arts, and the built environment). Likewise, the survey produced a dearth of sources that examined ephemera in general or scrapbooks more specifically.[2] Pedagogical approaches are idiosyncratic to be sure, but they can serve as a close approximation for a canon of material culture readings in the absence of defined textbooks. From these cursory surveys, it appears that a gendered hierarchy exists in material culture studies, not just in the preference for men's scholarship, but also in the preference for historical objects produced by men. Higonnet's arguments about art history's gendered hierarchies clearly apply here as well. Taking my survey data as an approximate canon for material culture studies, it would appear that the study of ephemera, and of scrapbooks more specifically, is an outlier in the field.

Yet rather than a dearth of voices, the literature on scrapbooks and albums boasts a cacophony of varied interpretations. The study of these objects has continued to attract scholars (albeit mostly female) from an array of disciplines since the early 1990s. In fact, there have been so many different approaches to examining and writing about scrapbooks that the field might feel overwhelming once truly assembled, as literary scholars, historians, archivists, sociologists, psychologists, communications specialists, and others read and reread the genre for their own disciplinary purposes. What follows is an effort to correct the approximate canon I've outlined above, by underscoring the importance of scrapbooks and albums to material culture studies, and likewise, the important contributions of female scholars to our field. Many of the women discussed here make similar arguments about objects and culture to those made by Bushman and other men, but their contributions are largely diminished in favor of citing and teaching the work of men. It is time to amplify these female voices. Just as Higonnet proposed recovering scrapbook-makers into the history of art, the work of these mostly female scholars writing about scrapbooks, from very diverse disciplinary perspectives, must be recovered as a coherent literature into the canon of material culture studies.

One persistent problem in this literature is defining the objects themselves. The term "scrapbook" has been used to describe a range of collectible albums containing bits of paper, texts, images, fabrics, pressed flowers, and other ephemera gathered together in idiosyncratic arrangements by the compiler. Several scholars have traced scrapbook- and album-making to early modern *album amicorum* ("friendship albums") and to James Granger's extra-illustrated books in the early-modern period (Nickson 1970, 13; Tucker et al. 2006, 6-7). In the United States, the practice of keeping and sharing albums grew from the 1830s through the end

of the century and stemmed from a range of motives while encompassing equally varied functions and audiences. Thus, many albums defy categorization even in broad terms, as archivists have rightly noted (Kuipers 2004; Zboray and Zboray 2008). While some albums contain printed materials, others contain handwritten texts and images, and still, others combine print and hand-made materials. Some albums contain only imagery; others contain only texts. Some albums were built for public display, while others show clear diaristic intentions, and still, others do all of these things simultaneously. The messiness of the archive, therefore, reveals the messiness of lived experience for historical actors (Zboray and Zboray 2008). Given the overlapping purposes and content of such albums, I have attempted to provide a diverse (though not exhaustive) review in an attempt to reconstitute the study of scrapbooks and albums as a coherent literature.

Some of the earliest scholarship on scrapbooks suggested that the objects provided autobiographical records of an individual's lived experience (Buckler and Leeper 1991). Applying literary theory to the medium, Patricia Buckler and C. Kay Leeper argued that scrapbooks could be read as visual diaries: autobiographical compositions created in a fragmentary form that were "constructed by associated images" instead of through a linear logic (Buckler and Leeper 1991, 2). Using an antebellum album that contained drawings, pasted materials, and written inscriptions, the authors argued that albums helped historical individuals make sense of the outside world, and thus provide a visual record of the compiler's life through formal arrangements that resembled the construction of contemporary literary magazines. In a separate study, Buckler (an English professor) showed that scrapbooks could illuminate how antebellum women understood the doctrine of separate spheres and the cultural values that society laid out for them (Buckler 1991). In this way, Buckler demonstrated that scrapbooks helped record and illustrate cultural maxims, in much the same way that Kenneth Ames did for Victorian hallstands (Ames 1992). While they made similar arguments in publications that appeared only a year apart, Ames has enjoyed a much wider impact in the field of material culture studies.

For the study of scrapbooks, however, Buckler proved to be inspirational for future scholars. In her work, Buckler further asserted that the nineteenth-century scrapbook was a diaristic medium, whose function was to record and preserve family history while serving as a reference book when a woman wished to ponder sentimental topics. Thus, Buckler noted that scrapbooks marked the intersection of public views and private ideas, and could, therefore, be a "vehicle for self-definition" (Buckler 1991, 169). Her initial examinations of the autobiographical importance of scrapbooks and albums provided threads that carried through later scholars' work, including artist Starr Ockenga (1993), archivist L. Rebecca Johnson Melvin (1997), graphic designer Jessica Helfand (2008), collector David Freund (2012), and historian Molly A. McCarthy (2013).

Building on this early work, two masters' theses appeared in the 1990s suggesting that scrapbooks and albums, like diaries, narrated the compiler's aspirations, desires, and fantasies. Jessica Dallow and Raechel Elisabeth Guest

each attempted to catalog the myriad ways that nineteenth-century Americans used scrapbooks and albums: as private expositions on personal thoughts, dreams, and desires; as collaborative engagements with friends; and as sentimentalized depictions of a domestic life that was sheltered from industrialism (Dallow 1995; Guest 1996, 31). They delineated the scope of scrapbook production and consumption in the nineteenth century, noting that Americans "materialized" their fantasies and consumer desires in their albums, which also served to commemorate personal relationships (Guest 1996, 14). Speaking in a language known to their contemporaries but partially lost to today's scholars, scrapbook compilers may have purposefully omitted key narrative elements in order to protect the privacy of their material transmissions (Dallow 1995). In providing the most detailed surveys of scrapbooks as a genre at the time, Dallow and Guest each offered a firm foundation for the field and illuminated important directions for the next decade's research in this area. Their lasting impact can be seen in the works below, despite the somewhat marginal status of their MA theses in the realm of academic publications.

Moving away from the interpretation of scrapbooks as records of private desires and aspirations, other scholars use albums to better understand public sphere developments such as consumption. A central figure in this area is literary scholar Ellen Gruber Garvey, who emerged in the mid-1990s as a leading expert on scrapbooks in nineteenth-century American society. Building on the work of Deborah Smith (a curator), Garvey argued that scrapbooks, and the media they contained, helped to socialize women and children to the emergent consumer regime of the 1890s (Garvey 1996, 2003a; Smith 1993). Collecting and pasting advertisements in scrapbooks helped to "prime" children for consumer interaction with the sphere of commerce by allowing them to rehearse their consumer desires on the scrapbook page. Moreover, scrapbooks recorded and memorialized everyday life, including the experience of shopping (Garvey 1996, 17, 34, 49). As cultural objects, scrapbooks could thus be important lynchpins that would help scholars understand both the form and function of commercial culture. For Garvey (whose work also parallels Ames [1992]), scrapbooks provide a type of Rosetta stone for uncovering the reception of cultural processes, events, and ideas in the past.

While Garvey emphasized consumerism, others, following Buckler, suggested that women rehearsed prescriptive gender roles through albums. In a subset of collage albums known as "paper-doll houses," users created domestic scenes of parlors and other home interiors using fabric and wallpaper samples interspersed with found imagery from magazines, pattern books, and other printed ephemera. Refining Garvey's argument, curator Rodris Roth suggested these "scrapbook houses" helped to socialize young women into the gender roles they would assume as adults, which required "familiarity with a range of social and domestic activities, an awareness of the fine and applied arts, [and] an acquaintance with household management" (Garvey 1996 and 2003a; Roth 1998, 309). As young women practiced collecting, sorting, and arranging materials in their collage albums, they likely imagined their future lives as mothers and wives, projecting their social

desires and aspirations onto the scrapbook page. Design historian Beverly Gordon later reiterated the socialization aspect of Roth's arguments, adding that collage albums provided a "self-contained miniature world" that facilitated fantasy play. For Gordon, the albums enabled individuals to imagine themselves inhabiting the constructed space on the page while fostering artistic skill and "aesthetic sensibility" (Gordon 2006b, 48, 56).

A turning point for the study of scrapbooks and albums came in 2006, with the publication of *The Scrapbook in American Life* (Tucker et al. 2006). Edited by Patricia Buckler, curator Katherine Ott, and archivist Susan Tucker, this volume provided important historical and contextual information that comprehensively framed the creation of scrapbooks in the nineteenth century. The essays within offer a digest of several major areas of the field, including photograph albums, fan-club albums, paper-doll "houses," and others. In short, this anthology mapped the field for future scholars, detailing the range of possibilities, interpretive paths, and archival repositories for this medium.

After the appearance of this volume, much of the literature on scrapbooks subsequently argued that scholars could decode a compiler's thought process through the arrangement of objects in his/her scrapbook. Garvey first proposed this method in her work on trade-card scrapbooks, and later expanded on the idea (Garvey 1996, 2003b, 2006a, 2012). In her later work, Garvey argued that scrapbook-making provided a mode of categorizing and processing information, allowing some individuals to appropriate the authoritative voice of print in constructing their own scrapbook narratives (Garvey 2003b, 2006a). Examining compilers' arrangements on the scrapbook page thus offers an exercise in uncovering readership practices, illuminating how users in the past understood and connected to the world around them, and how they colonized print to create meaningful narratives for themselves and others (Garvey 2006b, 2012). Finding evidence of user interaction with the object, Garvey's work here paralleled that of scholars working in the history of the book (i.e. Sherman 2007; Stallybrass 2016).

Garvey's ingenuity in applying readership analysis to scrapbooks spurred a host of further applications by scholars in diverse fields. For example, Meredith Eliassen (an archivist) notes that arranging photographs in albums taught turn-of-the-century children how to read and value the world around them, while Claire Pettitt, a professor of nineteenth-century literature and culture, suggests that scrapbooks provide records of the phenomenological experience of space as individuals traveled throughout the landscape (Eliassen 2006, 206; Pettitt 2016). Gender studies scholar Emily Hamilton-Honey argues that the scrapbooks of Smith college women demonstrate the ways that consumer culture provided a framework for navigating personal choice, group dynamics, and self-development in the early twentieth century (Hamilton-Honey 2012, 388). Scrapbooks have also helped literary scholars untangle the writing processes of notable authors (Brinkman 2011, 2015; McGill 2007). Most recently, historians, including myself, have shown that a careful reading of media arranged on the scrapbook

page demonstrates public reception of the complex interplay between sentiment and capitalism (Black 2017).

Furthermore, albums can help historians understand how individuals in the past processed and memorialized important historical events, reinforced official histories, and created counter-narratives. Just as Robert Rydell (1984) used world's fairs to explain intellectual, social, and cultural currents in American society, scholars working on material culture have used scrapbooks to demonstrate public interaction with memory, global peoples, and identity. Using an album commemorating the 1893 Columbian Exposition, art historian Jennifer Jolly convincingly argues that the arrangement of materials on the scrapbook page illuminates how the individual consumed historical narratives presented at the fair. Here, the scrapbook becomes an "object lesson" that reproduced the fair's romanticized and patronizing vision of global Others (Jolly 2006). Like Jolly, other scholars show how albums helped individuals to connect their personal lives to national narratives, even revealing how men processed the experience of the American Civil War (Garvey 2006b; Rusk 2013; Siegel 2010). Applying Garvey's technique, these scholars use albums to visualize the public reception of cultural processes. As such, albums and scrapbooks have become incredibly important to historians of consumption, readership, and intellectual history.

Scrapbooks and albums have also become central sources for understanding memory-recall and memory-making. Turning to photograph albums, art historian Martha Langford suggested that the "visual syntax of collage" in albums can help historians understand how images narrated memory for the individual (Langford 2001). Similarly, in a well-researched study of the female custodians who preserved the memory of the American Revolution, literary scholar Susan Stabile revealed how memory might be mapped onto objects. Albums circulating among communities of women mimicked the process of creating memory itself, haphazardly collecting "traces and topoi" that collectively narrated national and personal experience (Stabile 2004, 15). Following the work of communications specialists Tamar Katriel and Thomas Farrell, Stabile argued that individuals in the past exercised authority over memory – their own and others' – through scrapbook narratives (Katriel and Farrell 1991; Stabile 2004). Likewise, in the decades bridging 1900, club women constructed and challenged official histories of their work using collaboratively-made scrapbooks. Later, silent film actress Colleen Moore attempted to control her public image and preserve her legacy using scrapbooks (Hastie 2007; Mecklenburg-Faenger 2007). In these ways, albums provided a medium through which individuals could assert control over public memory and dialogue. Indeed, many scholars point to the ways that scrapbooks functioned (and continue to function) as tools for memory even as they emphasize other important arguments about the genre (i.e. Freund 2012; Guest 1996; Melvin 1997; Pettitt 2016; Williams and Lent 2008; Wills 2010).

Moreover, several scholars have demonstrated the ways in which albums helped individuals perform culturally-defined identities and maintain social networks. Stabile and others conclusively demonstrate that many albums circulated in public

or semi-public spaces, within communities of users who collaboratively contributed to the albums' construction (Hamilton-Honey 2012; Rosenthal 2009; Siegel 2010; Stabile 2004; Vosmeier 2006). Taking a cue from Buckler's pioneering work, these scholars suggest that album entries became a public extension of the self, performing one's classed, gendered, and racial identity (Buckler 1991). This is most evident in the albums of African American women living in the antebellum North. Historian Erica Armstrong Dunbar and art historian Jasmine Nichole Cobb each suggest that albums offered free black women an opportunity to display and perform idealized notions of middle-class status and sentimentality, while also serving as a forum linking women to the community outside the home (Dunbar 2008; Cobb 2015a). Other scholars agree that scrapbooks offered compilers an outlet for displaying their gendered, classed, and cultural identities to their communities (Good 2013; Hastie 2007; Katriel and Farrell 1991; Matthews 2000; Rosenthal 2009; Siegel 2010; Wills 2010). Therefore, scrapbooks and albums had as much performative function for individuals in the past as furnishings did for genteel performance, or Copley's colonial portraits did for their aspirational sitters (Bushman 1992; Staiti 1995). Through collaboration and performance, individuals likely used albums and scrapbooks to maintain social networks, intimate relationships, and friendships from the early-modern period through our contemporary moment, as historians, anthropologists, and others have shown (Davis et al. 2008; Good 2013; Lehuu 2000; Ockenga 1993; Rosenthal 2009; Scheiner 1998; Stabile 2004; Vosmeier 2006). Yet importantly, the canon of material culture studies has not fully recognized the parallel function of albums to furnishings or portraiture in facilitating self-display and identity performance.

Finally, much of the literature on scrapbooks and albums categorizes the genre as part of nineteenth-century women's culture (i.e. Kuipers 2008; Ockenga 1993; Wills 2010). Yet recent research shows that this was not the case. In fact, in the nineteenth-century United States, men and women of diverse classes regularly made scrapbooks and albums (Garvey 2012; Rusk 2013). Furthermore, men had long been involved in album-making before the nineteenth century. American studies professor Karen Sánchez-Eppler and art historian Margaret F. Rosenthal each connect these nineteenth-century practices back to early-modern *album amicorum* exchanged and collaboratively made by young men in school (Rosenthal 2009; Sánchez-Eppler 2007). Their work provides an important corrective to the gendered hierarchy that historically relegated album-making as women's work. At the same time, the work of Dunbar and Cobb in demonstrating the participation of people of color in the practice dispels myths that album-making was an exclusively white pursuit (Cobb 2015a & b; Dunbar 2008).

Thus, the perception that scrapbook- or album-making was solely a white, middle-class, and female activity is outdated at best, but it is worth considering how the nineteenth-century feminization of amateur artistic production continues to influence historical scholarship. Amy Mecklenburg-Faenger, a literary scholar, has argued that nineteenth-century ideas about high / low art and gender have colored (and continue to color) scholars' understanding of scrapbooks as an art

form, as an educational and intellectual practice, and as a mode of rhetorical production. Gender biases that devalued female pursuits from the mid-eighteenth century forward reduced album-making to the domain of "low" art. By the early nineteenth century, practices that had been previously acceptable for men (such as the works examined by Sánchez-Eppler and Rosenthal) had been relegated to the woman's sphere. That is, nineteenth-century album-making was gendered: creating a commonplace book was a pastime valued for its connection to education and knowledge production (and also linked to men) while creating a scrapbook was thought of as decorative busywork – a semi-artful, yet seemingly mindless mode of passing the time (Mecklenburg-Faenger 2012). As the historical profession developed from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, it replicated these same gendered divisions of culture, practice, and production when favoring certain subjects and sources of study (Scott 1986; Smith 1998). Historians privileged men's work in the public sphere of politics and economics, while many historical dimensions of women's work would languish until the late twentieth century women's movement pushed female scholars to examine and recover these topics (Scott 1986). Mecklenburg-Faenger's work uses scrapbooks to prove this point, and echoes Higonnet (and others), who asserted that nineteenth-century women's albums have been dismissed by historians as inferior or amateur products when in fact, they rivaled the most sophisticated examples of "high" art – such as the collages of Braques and Picasso (Higonnet 1987; Hartigan 1993; Gordon 2006b, 61; Brinkman 2015, 26).

This hierarchy of high and low was replicated in the discipline of material culture studies, however unintentionally, by elevating the artisanal production of men (written about by men in the early years of the field) over the amateur creations of women (written about mostly by women). Despite Prown's explicit goal to break the high-low divide through the study of material culture, gendered hierarchies persisted in determining which objects we studied and whose work we taught and referenced as a field (Prown 1982). Implicitly, women's research into the fascinating area of scrapbooks and albums has been devalued in the field of material culture studies. It remains difficult to locate much of the research on scrapbooks; many chapters and articles are buried in anthologies and in collectors' magazines that are not indexed in major research databases (i.e. Smith 1993; Scheiner 1998). With the exception of Ellen Gruber Garvey, few scholars have devoted more than one article or book chapter to the study of scrapbooks and albums. Moreover, because the field has attracted scholars from a wide range of disciplines, it is difficult to coalesce the field coherently. Setting aside a few book-length studies, the field has thus existed mostly on the margins – outside of the flagship journals, retrospectives, and other sources at the center of material culture studies – not unlike the proto-modern collage artists referenced by Higonnet.

Gendered hierarchies in academia thus simultaneously elevated and devalued the study of certain media, while relegating the study of amateur activities – such as the making of albums and scrapbooks – to the margins of historical scholarship. Just as Higonnet proposed recovering women's scrapbooks into the canon of art

history, it is necessary to recover the work of female scholars as well as female scrapbook-makers from the past. This heretofore marginalized literature has important contributions to make to the study of material culture, warranting its place in a revised "canon" of the field. The literature on scrapbooks and albums is incredibly diverse, encompassing over three and a half decades of complex research that has mined the genre from nearly every conceivable angle. Yet we still know very little about albums that may have been kept by the populations which are even underrepresented here – African Americans and ethnic minorities, working class peoples, but also men. More work could be done to flesh out the ways in which class, race, and gender influenced the idiosyncratic creation of albums and scrapbooks, and/or how underrepresented populations might have used the medium differently (or the same, which might, in turn, destabilize understandings of typical "middle-class" behavior). Future researchers might also look for ways to challenge or break down the gendered divisions of album-making that predominated the field early on (the notion that scrapbooks were for women, and commonplace books for men). Furthermore, we should reconsider the terms we use to describe historical media. "Scrapbook" suggests a tome containing "scraps" – bits of material and paper intended to be thrown away – and thus the term helps to reify gendered hierarchies of implicit value cemented in the nineteenth century through language itself. These points notwithstanding, it is my hope that compiling this literature will inspire new scholars to stand on the shoulders of the women and men enumerated here, acknowledging the work they have done to elevate this amateur activity to the center of historical scholarship. It is time that we in the field of material culture studies acknowledge the ways in which gender hierarchies shape our own past and present so that we can work purposefully toward rectifying those deficiencies in the future.

Endnotes

1 A cursory search through Google Scholar of some of the top names in material culture studies revealed that Bushman, Prown, and Schlereth are among the most frequently cited scholars in the field (over 500 times cited each), followed closely by Fleming (about 300 times cited).

2 I surveyed 25 material culture syllabi and graduate reading lists published online and dated between 2001 and 2017, from institutions across the US, including major research universities (such as Yale, Columbia, and the University of Virginia), state institutions, smaller four-year schools, and community colleges. From these, I created a list of approximately 115 readings assigned, which can be used to approximate the "canon" of key works in material culture studies published since the 1970s. This sample set demonstrated that of the top 14 readings assigned (which appeared on at least three syllabi), approximately 70% were authored by men. Of the top 30 readings assigned (appearing on at least two syllabi), approximately 59% were authored by men. The most heavily assigned topic within this sample set was household objects (which includes fashion and consumer goods, approx. 31% of the whole), followed by monuments and the built environment (25%), arts and decorative arts (17%), theoretical treatises

(14%), technology (7%), and ephemera (5%). Scrapbooks as a topic for discussion only appeared in 0.6% of the readings surveyed.

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Long Lot Colonial Landscapes in New Mexico and Texas: the Spanish-French Frontier Connection, 1693-1731

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Abstract: In New Mexico and Texas, small ribbon-like farm plots form the foundation of the Spanish historical landscape. These elongated rectangles of land, known as long lots, represent an interesting yet understudied aspect of North American settlement patterns that blended Spanish and French traditions. When the Spanish formed settlements in New Mexico after 1693, and later in the vicinity of modern San Antonio, Texas after 1721, they divided the land into long lots. In both regions, permanent agrarian settlements emerged around a French-like landscape, and historical evidence suggests that the French may have introduced this land management practice to the northern frontier of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Long lots are parcels of narrow rectangular agricultural fields often configured in riverine settings with homes and structures paralleling the watercourse above the flood plain. This paper differs from standard academic opinion, first developed by Terry Jordan-Bychkov, that holds that long lots appeared in Texas and New Mexico as a result of independent invention, and instead marshals evidence to argue that long lots diffused from the French to the Spanish in New Mexico after 1693 and in San Antonio from 1718 to 1731.

Kewords: Cultural landscapes, Long lots, Settlement patterns, New Mexico, Texas, Terry G. Jordan.

As they quickly pass by on highways of New Mexico or Texas, most people pay little attention to the small ribbon-like farms at the foundation of the Spanish historical landscape. While often ignored, these elongated rectangles of land, known as long lots, represent an interesting yet understudied aspect of North American settlement patterns that seemingly blended Spanish and French traditions. When the Spanish formed settlements in New Mexico after 1693 and from 1718-1731, within a riverine setting that developed into modern San Antonio, Texas, they divided the land into long lots. In both regions, permanent agrarian settlements emerged around a French-like landscape. Elsewhere, the Spanish typically alienated irrigable land into square or rectangular plots with one by two dimensions which varied in size from about three and a half acres and up. While squares of land and rectangular plots of any size were sometimes subdivided in a manner which created or augmented long lot patterns, "no precedent" for its use "was found in

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Figure 1: French-Spanish Frontier Connection in North America. In 1718, King Louis XIV's geographer represented the extensive flow of knowledge taking place between the Spanish and French. Guillaume Delisle produced his map from documents and reports generated in North America but never visited North America. He depicts well-established transportation routes connecting the French and Spanish worlds (Guillaume Delisle. 1718. *Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipi*).

Spain or New Spain" for original grants in riverine settings within New Mexico and San Antonio (Jordan 1974, 70). This article postulates that long lots diffused from the French to the Spanish while they cooperated in colonial outposts in proximity along the northern frontier of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Figure 1).

Long lots are parcels of narrow rectangular agricultural fields often configured in riverine settings with homes and structures paralleling the watercourse above the flood plain. The system afforded great flexibility because additional tiers of lots could be easily added or extended along the watercourse as local conditions permitted (Price 1992, 290). Other colonial land alienation schemes were used in North America, but most French and eventually some Spanish communities on the frontier preferred to adopt this system for at least seven practical reasons: 1) high density development with centralized nodes containing a church and other structures required the construction and maintenance of fewer miles of roadway, 2) neighbors lived nearby facilitating mutual support, 3) ploughing long fields

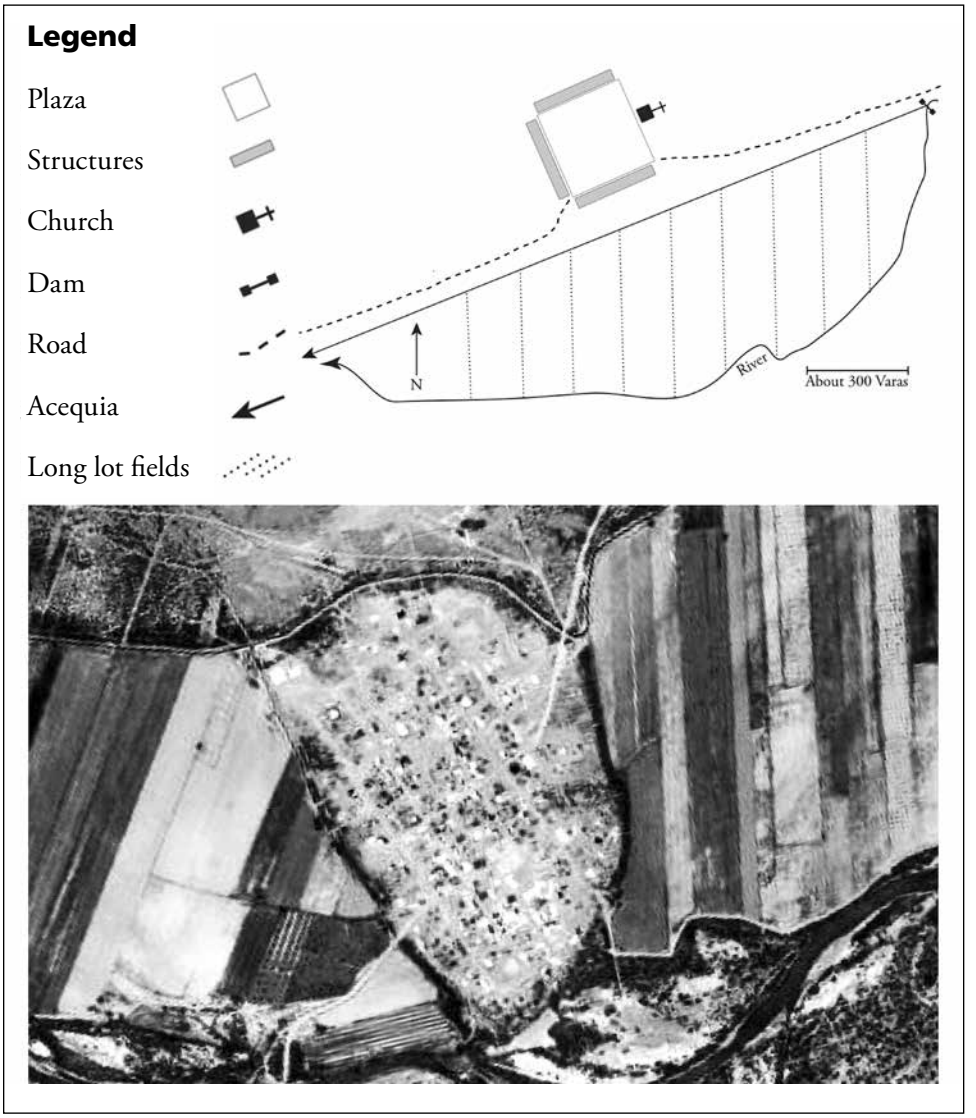

Figure 2: A generalized middle to late eighteenth century Spanish long lot village downstream from New Mexico within the Rio Grande Basin in Mexico. The role of the long lot in village morphology offers a direction for future research in Spanish language documents in Mexico (Roth after Google Maps, 2007, Imagery ©2018 CNES / Airbus, DigitalGlobe, Landsat / Copernicus, USDA Farm Service Agency, Map data ©2018 Google, INEGI).

was easier because the team had to be turned fewer times, 4) the ease of surveying and establishing boundaries helped communities avoid conflict, 5) when utilized in arid regions fewer miles of irrigation canals had to be constructed for the same number of farms, 6) long lots facilitated drainage of fertile flood plains in the humid east and irrigation in arid regions, and 7) long lots maximized access to available resources including water rights within a river valley (Figure 2). While it was a common landscape in France and French settlements in North America, the long lot pattern of development was absent from generalized Spanish settlement guidelines found in the *Laws of the Indies*. This created a possibility for syncretic

adaptations that appeared in New Mexico and Texas (Nuttall 1922; Roth 2017; Wright and Campbell 2008, 552). This paper marshals historical evidence to argue that long lots diffused from the French to the Spanish in New Mexico after 1693 and in San Antonio from 1718-1731. This work differs from standard academic opinion holding that long lots appeared in Texas first and later New Mexico as a result of independent invention (Nostrand 2018, 18-27).

In Terry Jordan's paper published in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* in 1974, he opined that unknown Spanish officials independently invented long lots in 1731. When a Spanish soldier utilized the system in 1731 for a group of colonists, Jordan found no French influence in San Antonio (Jordan 1974, 71-82). While this may be possible, no known official report or document supports this argument. Jordan's 1974 work was reprinted by *Material Culture* in 2005.

Following Jordan's conclusion in 1975, Alvar Carlson published an article in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* claiming that long lots appeared in New Mexico with a series of grants issued in the 1750s and resulted from "knowledgeable assessment of local physical conditions." According to Carlson, unnamed Spaniards made this innovation (1975, 55, 48-57). Carlson concluded, "There is no indication that the French influenced Spanish settlement in the Rio Arriba" (Carlson 1975, 55).

Both Jordan and Carlson were asked for comment on research leading to this paper, and neither provided a source or insight into why they adopted their theory of independent invention. Geographer Edward T. Price recognized a yet unfilled gap in scholarship on long lots in his 1992 work *Dividing the Land.* He writes, "No completely satisfactory explanation has been offered for the special association between French settlement and riverine long lots in North America" (Price 1992, 302). Price welcomed the search for a direct French connection to the Spanish long lot settlement pattern that emerged early in the colonization of New Mexico and Texas (Price 1992, 338)**.** My paper offers a new timeline for the introduction of Spanish long lots, the identification of possible sources, and evidence of a French antecedent to the Spanish version. A revised story of the Spanish long lot begins at the source where the pattern held an integral place in the French colonial landscape.

Long Lot Patterns in North America

Colonists from France adhered to traditional land alienation and tenure patterns in North America and they held a strong preference for the use of the long lot. Before 1731, significant numbers of French colonists settled on long lots within the Mississippi River Basin in places such as Natchitoches, Louisiana. They pushed westward using ribbon-shaped agricultural plots that stretched away from waterways or roads. By the eighteenth century, dimensions of the lots varied but each was apportioned to accommodate the needs of a single family in sizes varying from about 100-160 acres (Price 1992, 289-304).

French people preferred this pattern when distributing agricultural land (Butzer 2002, 451-464; Harris and Warkentin 1974, 39-41). The French formed

their settlements in the New World based on practices learned in Europe and successfully used long lots before New Mexico and Texas were colonized (Hart 1968, 464). Cole Harris and John Warkentin described long lots appearing in the Americas after 1630 as "the preference of the settlers" rather than dictate from central authorities (1974, 39-40). Walter Kollmorgen and Robert Harrison noted the habitual use of the long lot in line settlements of Louisiana and called it a "cultural phenomenon" rather than adaptation to the physical environment. They write, "Like the French language and Catholic religion, line settlements and the complex and intimate social life which they engender, have become an integral part of the culture of French Louisiana" (Kollmorgen and Harrison 1946, 153). A century of evidenced based academic work recognizes that almost everywhere the French settled, they etched the long lot into the landscape.

In contrast, the plots were much smaller in New Mexico and Texas because the Spanish accommodated grazing and lumbering outside of the irrigated long lots. Dividing large parcels of land into groups of long and narrow lots proved to be an efficient manner of distributing individual plots in colonial settings. Importantly, the long lot system provided a sense of greater fairness among colonists because it offered a potential for equitable access to water resources. Landholders and communities perceived a great benefit from this system as local authorities easily granted numerous individual plots without complex surveying or technical skill beyond the use of a compass. Only the narrow corners of the plots along the waterway had to be measured at fixed intervals with a common oblique or perpendicular compass direction. The length could be pre-established but often remained undetermined until after settlement commenced (Price 1992, 290). Once allocated, long lots facilitated population growth because old plots were subdivided and new tiers of lots were added. In North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, long lot settlements were distinctively French and came to exist almost everywhere the French settled (Butzer 2002, 452, 464-465; Harris 1966, 119-121; Jordan 1974, 81; Kollmorgen and Harrison 1946, 153, 156; Peattie 1922, 174-179).

A New Timeline for the Introduction of Long Lots in New Mexico

The Spanish occupation of their northern colonial frontier started in 1598 and sustained a decade long interruption following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. During that period, the Pueblos destroyed most all documents, land records, and property deeds; however, no evidence suggests that the Spanish used long lots before the reoccupation of New Mexico during the 1690s. The earliest documentation of settlement in New Mexico appears after the Reconquest of 1693. Alvar Carlson claimed that long lots in New Mexico appeared during the early 1750s or about sixty years after reoccupation of New Mexico (Carlson 1975, 53-55).

My examination of archival documents from the 1690s in State Archives of New Mexico showed numerous individual long lot grants after land distribution commenced in 1695 (SANM I, Roll 4). Among others in the documents, we learn Matías Madrid, a presidial soldier, and Diego González, a member of the militia,

received long lots which they lived on until their deaths (Chávez 1992, 190; SANM I Roll 3, 7; Twitchell 1914, 1-31). Long lots described in deed records establish a new timeline for earliest use in New Mexico, which shifted the possibility of French cultural influence into a much earlier period.

A French Source for Spanish Long Lots

In 1693, the roster of New Mexico's reconquest listed two men from France. These two arrived in the New World with Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle's failed expedition to the Mississippi River which floundered in Texas. In 1687 La Salle was murdered and most survivors returned to Canada. Jean l'Archeveque and Jacques Grollet (in Spanish Juan Archibeque and Santiago Gurule), remained in Texas where they sought refuge with the Tejas Indians. They went on to lead extraordinary lives in New Mexico (Gilmore 1998, 43; Joutel in Foster 1998; Parkman 1968).

Archibeque was well educated and from an upper-class family in the lowlands of Western France (Esquibel and Colligan 1999, 53; Weddle 1987, 240). He was probably born on December 24, 1665, in Bayonne along the lower Adour River near the Atlantic.[1] While the story of his early life and experiences remains unclear, around the age of eighteen he was recruited by La Salle as a cabin-boy or sailor of some kind. Gurule was one of La Salle's naval officers from La Rochelle, a city in the freshwater marshes of western coastal France. He was born around 1664 and by the time he joined the final La Salle expedition, he was an experienced sailor (Esquibel and Colligan 1999, 54). Little is known about their time with the Tejas, but they received tattoos and learned the Tejas language well enough to serve as interpreters for the Spanish.

For reasons that remain unclear, the Frenchmen arranged a meeting with the Spanish and surrendered to Captain Alonso de Leon the leader of an expedition into Texas on May 2, 1689 (Casis 1899, 290; Esquibel and Colligan 1999, 58-59; Hacket 1923). While in the custody of the Spanish, Gurule measured and provided the Spanish with depth soundings of Matagorda Bay and assisted in mapping the area (Weddle 1999, 197-198). In completing this task, Gurule demonstrated technical skills common to many naval officers of the period which included training in geometry and cartography. To accomplish the surveying, he used a compass, cross-staff, and astrolabe demonstrating valuable skills needed in determining gradients and building irrigation canals (Watkins 1973, 2-7). In January 1690, the Frenchmen arrived in Spain under the care of Don Andres Pérez, and then faced interrogation by members of the court of King Charles II for two years (Bandalier 1893, 295; Weddle 1972, 417). In May 1692, Archibeque and Gurule petitioned for a return to New Spain (Weddle 1972, 417). At the time of their release, the Spanish gave them clothes and a stipend and in July 1692, the two crossed the Atlantic on their third voyage which ended in New Mexico (Esquibel and Colligan 1999, 61).

With a decade of experience instrumental in a colonial frontier setting, Archibeque and Gurule joined the reconquest of New Mexico led by Don Diego

Vargas some time during 1692 or 1693 (Esquibel and Colligan, 61). Gurule, as already demonstrated, possessed requisite skills necessary for surveying of land and building irrigation canals. Evidence suggests that Gurule and Archibeque drew from their cultural heritage and introduced long lots in Spanish North America. The similarity between the line settlements constructed on the irrigable lands of New Mexico and those of French settlements suggests a potential for cultural transference of long lots.

Archibeque and Gurule's social role and opportunity for influence can be measured with their prominence in the historical record. Both received land grants before 1697. From 1695-1699, the Frenchmen participated in the campaigns that reestablished the Spanish colony within the upper-Rio Grande. At the same time, authorities planned communities based on irrigated agriculture and granted land to colonists. Within New Mexico, Gurule alone possessed demonstrable technical skills needed for surveying and building *acequias* (Kessel 1998).

Archibeque thrived in public life and lived in New Mexico until his death in 1720. Of the two Frenchmen, Archibeque was always characterized as the leader. In his twenty-seven years among the Spanish, Archibeque became a prominent soldier, trader, and citizen (Weddle 1972, 419; Weddle 2001, 257). Demonstrating technical skills when he had surrendered in 1689, Archibeque painted La Salle's ship the La Belle. This painting on animal skin vellum offers a lateral perspective from the ship's stern and shows details of its construction and layout. Apparently, Archibeque painted it from memory, but the sails and complex rigging appear to be accurately portrayed. This provides evidence that Archibeque, like Gurule, possessed comprehensive knowledge of the ship, sailing practices, and a range of skills associated with the occupation. At the least, he was an accomplished and precise draftsmen with keen powers of observation and memory (Archibeque: 1689). Scholars who study long lots in French colonial landscapes recognize that technically competent Frenchmen such as Gurule and Archibeque possessed knowledge of this land alienation practice and used long lots habitually when possible (Butzer 2002, 452, 464-465; Harris 1966, 119-121; Jordan 1974, 81; Kollmorgen and Harrison 1946, 153, 156; Peattie 1922, 174-179).

While he advanced in Spanish society, Archibeque participated in the military campaigns to defeat the Pueblo Indians between 1693-1697. Official documents and other sources recorded numerous accomplishments and notable participation in governance. This included the distribution of cattle to landowners and service as an assistant magistrate in Santa Fe (Kessel 2002, 166-178; Twitchell 1914; Twitchell 1931, 183). In 1893, A. F. Bandalier discovered a collection of documents describing Archibeque as well respected by both Spanish leaders and the general population. Bandalier writes, "He was consulted concerning all important enterprises..." (Bandalier 1893, 299). The historical record reveals bits of his character and described him as a person of "particularly strong spirit" (Franklin 1985, 120; Weber 1992, 170-171). Historian Ralph Twitchell wrote of him, "In his vacant hours he was much inclined to volunteer advice..." (Twitchell 1963, 166). Tellingly, his last will was eighty-five pages, and it indicates he was one of

the most powerful people in New Mexico at the time of his death (Archibeque 1721 in SANM I, Roll 1; Kessel 2000, 127-129; Twitchell 1914, 185). Archibeque and Gurule left no direct documentary evidence that they contributed the long lot system or influenced its use by the Spanish in New Mexico; however, both spoke French and possessed other undocumented cultural attributes from their homeland that no scholar would doubt. In all likelihood, long lots formed an integral part of their cultural knowledge like other French people in North America (Kollmorgen and Harrison 1946, 153). The historical record demonstrates an opportunity for French influence while the Spanish planned and occupied New Mexico using long lots. In addition, Gurule possessed technical skills associated with surveying and both originated from a culture that commonly promulgated the long lot settlement pattern elsewhere.

Don Diego Vargas and Spanish Leadership in New Mexico

Don Diego Vargas was appointed governor of New Mexico on February 22, 1691. Thereafter, Vargas reestablished the Spanish colony and used his power to grant land; however, seven volumes of his translated writing provided no evidence that he introduced long lots to the colonial landscape (Kessel 1989, 50-55; Weber 1992, 137-141). Without specific instruction directing the use of long lots, the acclaimed and capable leader ordered settlement around Santa Cruz, New Mexico which resulted in a French-like landscape. There, colonists received grants of long lots between 1695 and 1699 (Twitchell 1914, 20). While long lots were clearly used, Vargas had been informed about colonial practices by laws which directed the use of square or one by two rectangular farm plots and he never mentioned long lots or innovative settlement patterns (SANM I, Roll 42, PLC 80, 1; Weeks 1947, 158-159, 167-168).

Vargas was born into Spanish nobility and served as a career government official in New Spain. In describing his outlook on life, John Kessel writes, "[Vargas] held firmly to the honored tradition of warrior-knight" (Kessel 1989, vii). Vargas was adaptable and well-read on a range of subjects including politics, law, military science, architecture, and cooking. He carried a copy of the *Laws of the Indies* with him and reported using it as a guide in making decisions on the colony (Kessel 1989, 11-91). Importantly, neither his orders nor the Spanish planning edicts, *Ordenanzas de descrubimiento, nueva población y pacificación* forming part of the *Laws of the Indies*, contained directives on long lots. Further, the *Laws of the Indies* lacks sufficient instruction on agricultural systems which created potential for syncretic innovation on the northern frontier (Blake 1958-59 vol. 50, 54; Nuttall 1922; Wright and Campbell 2008, 553).

In his translated writings, Vargas detailed agricultural planning, but this reflected the logistical concerns of an administrator. Apparently, he never witnessed the use of long lots in Spain or Mexico, and his recorded experiences fail to portray him as someone who invented the settlement pattern in the region (Kessel 1989, 156-161, 165, 294). Absent some external stimulus, Vargas quite likely would have followed Spanish cultural patterns and issued irregularly shaped or rectangular

plots of about 100 by 200 *varas*. A *vara* is a Spanish measurement of approximately 33 inches in length.

The first settlers of Santa Cruz wanted to become *encomenderos* (the privileged class in Spanish colonial feudalism) and petitioned Vargas for Pueblo conscripts to work their fields. Commenting on their shortcoming, Vargas wrote, "[the colonists] have not the energy and ability for the profitable cultivation of their cornfields for the reason that they were never brought up to do this kind of labor" (Vargas 1696 in SANM I, Roll 6, Archive 818, 1-7). After the settlers ate their supply of seeds and consumed their breeding livestock, Vargas further derided their abilities and may have been open to experiments in cultivation methods, field layout, or other aspects of administration in unfamiliar circumstances (Kessel 1998, 3-19). Vargas described his colonists as in a state of "excessive misfortune and nakedness." Calling them ignorant and incompetent, Vargas claimed that no one had any useful talents (Kessel 1998, 1076). Even though they planned to issue numerous grants of land surrounding new agricultural villages, there were no Spanish surveyors or farmers recorded in the group (Kessel 1995, 34-67, 77-97, 223-343; Kessel 1998, 467-572). Of the colonists, historian John Kessel wrote, "while a wide variety of occupations was included among the group of recruits, there seems to have been no systematic attempt to provide all the skills necessary for the success of the frontier colony" (Kessel 1995, 8-9).

One of the foremost scholars on the origin of the Spanish in New Mexico, Fray Angélico Chávez, agreed and explained how New Mexico's colonists wanted to be "feudal" lords like the generation that preceded, but it soon became clear that all they would receive would be the material benefits of the land much like the colonists of New France who preferred long lots (Chávez 1992, xvi-xix). When the Spanish settled at Santa Cruz, a number of features made the long lot useful and beneficial. Fairness in the allocation of farms was a problem for the new agricultural settlement that had no Spanish surveyor. At that time, they needed to divide and alienate numerous individually-sized plots and document the land each received. Considering the roster of known colonists, this could have been a tedious and contentious affair among aspiring *encomenderos*. Officials in Mexico City voiced an expectation that the colonists should settle in homes around a central defensible plaza and work irregularly distributed fields (Carlson 1975, 49-50). Often, they settled in houses dispersed on their fields and created settlements much like the French (Chávez 1992, xvii). Thus, as occupation and cultivation became a necessity, initial surveying of many lots at one time was a significant obstacle requiring immediate action.

Between 1693-1697, the Spanish adopted long lots which became a common settlement pattern within the irrigable valleys of the Rio Grande Basin. In March 1695, Vargas ordered Luis Granillo to go to Santa Cruz and "confer with the others how many citizens can settle the land. . ." (Kessel 1998, 605, 619; Twitchell 1914 in SANM I, Roll 7, Archive 882, 1-31). Nothing in the historical record suggests that the career soldier Granillo knew about long lots, and he had never owned land (Kessel 1995, 48). Due to his military rank, Vargas appointed him the leader

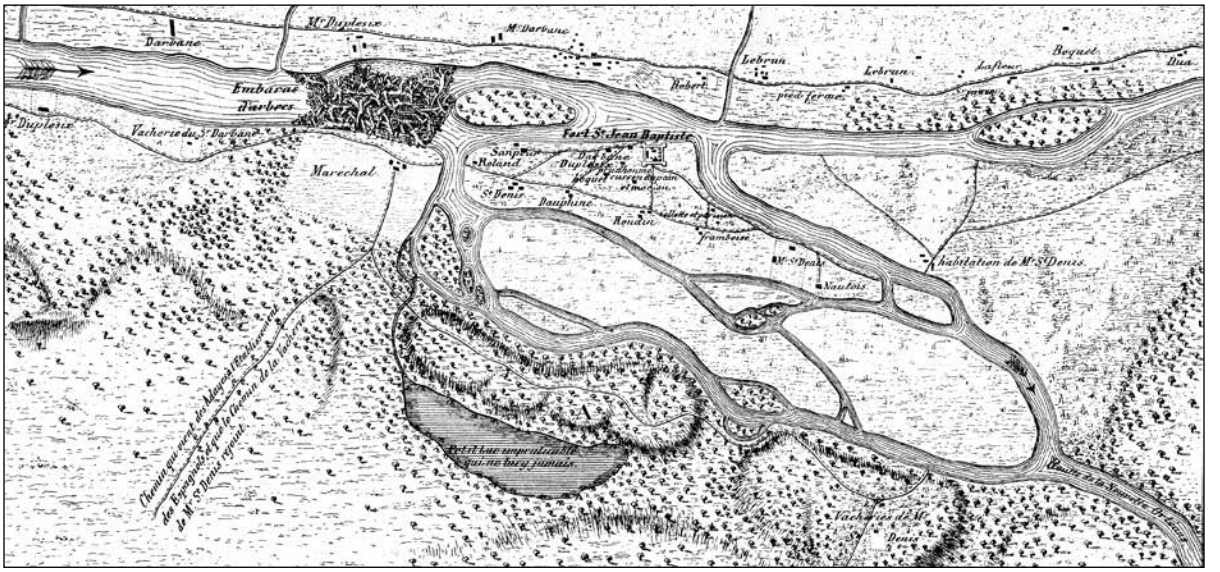

Figure 3: A detail of the French line settlement at Natchtitoches in 1722 which included long lots. Natchitoches served as a node of diffusion connecting the French and Spanish and this figure portrays proximity of the Spanish colonies to French long lot settlements. De Alarconne, Aguayo, and Fernando Perez de Almazan all toured Natchitoches and returned to San Antonio. (Original unknown, this detail from copy of Ignace-François Broutin, 1722, 1732, under varying titles such as '*Carte des Natchitoches Etsablissement des Espagnols appellé les Adayes*)

responsible for planning an agrarian community and ordered consultation with the "others", which included Archibeque and Gurule (Kessel 1998, 618-619; Twitchell 1914, 18-19). They alone possessed surveying and planning skills necessary for creating agricultural systems. Their arrival coincided with the sudden appearance of a French-like landscape in New Mexico and provides a plausible alternative to the notion of independent Spanish invention of long lots. At about the time of Archibeque's death, Spaniards were learning of long lots in Texas and adopting them for use along the San Antonio River.

San Antonio, Texas and the Second French Connection

Long lots appeared in San Antonio before 1731, and archival evidence points to diffusion as a likely explanation for the origin of the pattern because of cooperation with the French colony in Natchitoches, Louisiana. The La Salle expedition motivated the Spanish to protect their northern territory even though Spain maintained only a sputtering presence in Texas from 1690-1721. During this time, the French established an outpost in Natchitoches, Louisiana and often travelled a well-known road linking the French at Natchitoches to Spanish Texas. The Spanish and French mixed freely in the remote region around Natchitoches, where the first three Spanish governors, Martín de Alarcón, Marquis de Aguayo, and Fernando Perez de Almazan, fraternized with influential Frenchmen like Louis Jouchareu de St. Denis and Jean-Baptiste Bénard de la Harpe (Figure 3).

The Spanish and French shared life-ways while creating mixed frontier communities. In 1718, the French founded New Orleans while the Spanish

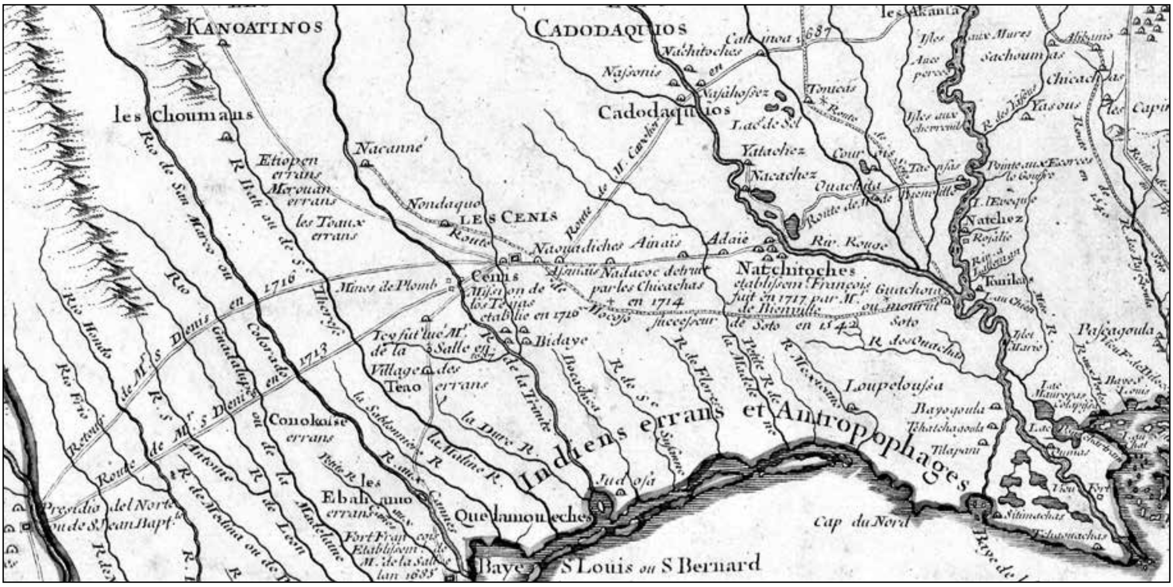

Figure 4: Spanish-French Proximity and Diffusion Route. Detail of Delisle's 1718 map showing the road connecting French long lot system at Natchitoches to the site of San Antonio founded later that year. The French and Spanish interacted freely along this route.

undertook construction of San Antonio, which augmented the connection with flow of commerce (Bolton 1913, 427; Broutin 1722; Chabot 1937, 138; Kessel 2002, 100 205; La Harpe to De Alarconne 1719; Nardini 1963, 31-46, 254; Peña 1722; Phares 1988, 15-17; Peña and Santos 1981, 22, 112; Phares 1999; Roth 2017). In 1721, the Marquis de Aguayo moved into Texas with a substantial Spanish force and established an authoritative presence which included additional colonization around San Antonio (Figure 4). Aguayo led about 500 well-equipped colonists who entered Texas with thousands of horses, cattle, and other farm animals. They established missions, *presidios,* and claimed the irrigable valleys around San Antonio. Far from the scrutiny of the Spanish administrative center in Mexico City, conditions facilitated economic and cultural exchange between the Spanish living in proximity among the French on the eastern frontier (Kessel 2002, 170-174, 205-208, 216-217; Nardini 1998, 7-32). As this relationship developed during the 1720s, Spanish settlement around San Antonio deviated from the *Laws of the Indies* and included the distribution of long lots (Austin 1905, 301).

To colonize the region, the first three Texas governors needed a system that provided farm plots to numerous settlers. With a Spanish long lot precedent already existing in New Mexico by that time, three possibilities seem plausible for the appearance of the pattern in Texas, 1) diffusion from a French source, 2) diffusion from New Mexico, or 3) independent invention by a Spaniard. Diffusion from New Mexico may have occurred, but the earliest known New Mexico to Texas connections seem to have appeared after the mid-eighteenth century. Archives, including those in Mexico and Spain may lead to other conclusions (Bolton 1913). After 1721, significant numbers of Spanish settlers, soldiers, and government

officials moved north from Mexico. They travelled through the "gateway to Texas" at Guerrero on the *Rio del Norte* (Rio Grande) on their way to San Antonio and onward to the frontier near French Louisiana. While Spaniards constructed an irrigation system at Guerrero during the period, nothing suggests they used long lots there. The long lot pattern seems to be a frontier adaptation incorporated after 1718.

Fernando Pérez de Almazán took over as governor in 1722 and records demonstrate that he was well-prepared for his administration.[2] He had been a surveyor and the *alcalde mayor* (chief magistrate) of Saltillo and Parras (Chabot 1937, 138; Peña and Santos 1981, 22, 112). In the same cities, he served as *juez comisario* (judge commissioner) by appointment of King Philip V, and he had distributed land (Bolton 1913, 427). Almazán initiated settlement around San Antonio at the same time he opened the eastern border of Texas to French Louisiana (Nardini 1998, 42).

Initially, the Spanish traded livestock for French goods and grain, but nearly free trade followed (Phares 1999, 186-187). One historian of Louisiana describes the motive and opportunity for exchange on the Natchitoches-Adaes frontier by 1725:

> The governor of . . . the Texas region was lenient with the Spanish who wished to trade with the Frenchmen. He is to be noted as one of the most popular and most loved governors of the Adais-Texas region by the French, the Spanish, and the Indians. Almazon [sic] did more to encourage Spanish settlers to come and settle in the Los Adais area than any other governor who was to hold the same title (Nardini 1963, 43).

During the 1720s, Spanish leadership observed farm operations in the French settlement and returned with knowledge gained from their neighbors (Jordan 1974, 82). Kessel describes border conditions where Frenchmen and Spaniards all but lived together creating "constant exchange" and "intimacy" (Kessel 2002, 237).

Deep ties developed and mixed friendships and families formed. Almazán reportedly granted land to Frenchmen in Texas (Nardini 1998, 31). The French observed Catholic mass in Texas and attended church with the Spanish for lack of a priest in Natchitoches (Nardini 1998, 42). The Spanish even fought alongside the French in a regional war against the Natchez Indians in 1731 (Nardini 1963, 44-46). Between 1718-1731, a substantial relationship formed and apparently influenced decisions of Alarcone, Aquayo, and Almazan. Clearly, social exchange and cultural diffusion had already occurred by the time the Spanish used long lots in San Antonio.

Long Lots for New Immigrants at San Antonio, Texas

The history of San Antonio between 1716-1731 has yet to be definitively detailed and conflicting published accounts exist. The historical record clearly demonstrates that several hundred colonists farmed irrigated plots of land during the period before 1731. During the 1720s, Aguayo requested support for the

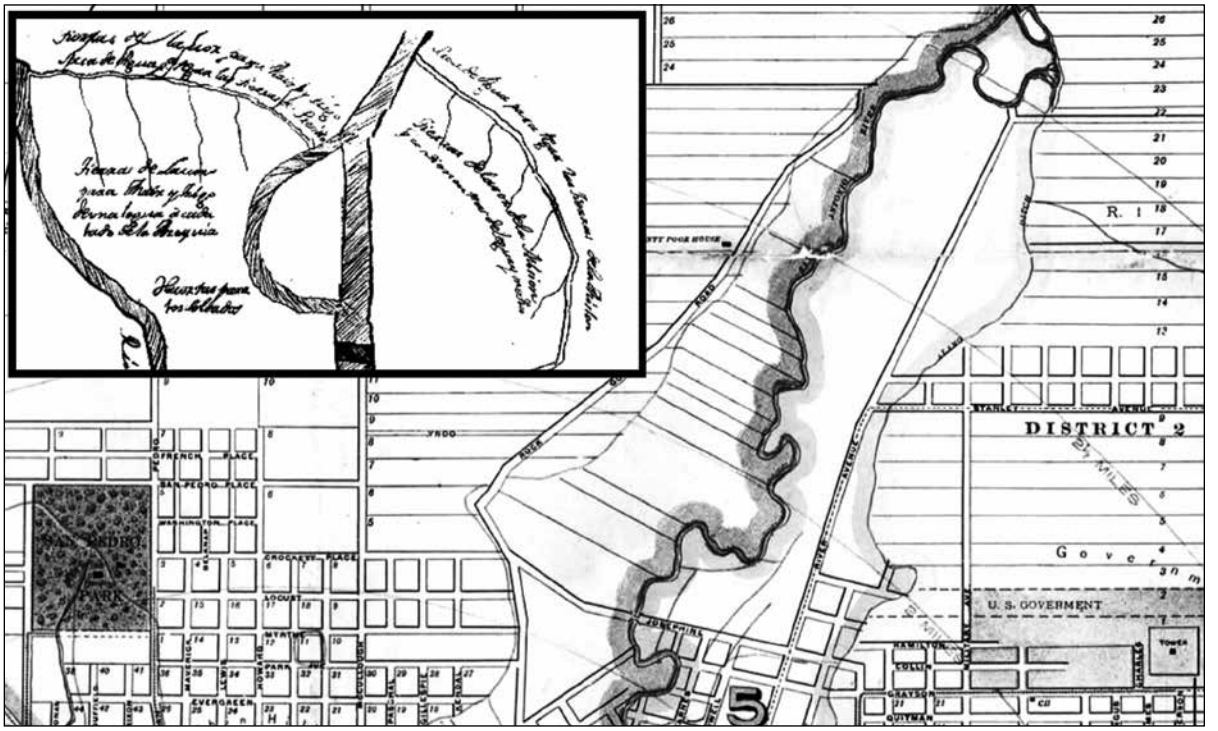

Figure 5: Upper Labor and Alamo Ditch Long Lots, Aguayo, 1730 (detail upper left inset) and San Antonio City Map, 1889. Aguayo sketched farm plots surveyed as early as 1718 along an *acequia* (upper labor ditch) that connected the headwaters of the San Pedro Creek in the east and San Antonio river in the west. Aguayo's map also documents farm plots divided by width along an *acequia* (Alamo Ditch) west of the San Antonio River. The farm plots that Aguayo sketched by width in 1730 appear as long lots on the 1889 city map. A road called French Place connects tiers of long lots on the "upper labor ditch" to the head waters of the San Pedro Creek. La Harpe Street parallels an *acequia* diversion dam on the San Pedro Creek leading south to long lots surveyed later. (Roth after Aguayo 1730; *San Antonio, Texas* 1889).

resettlement of about 200 families from the Canary Islands in San Antonio but only sixteen families actually arrived. All aspects of the settlement of colonists from the Canary Islands had been planned before they arrived in 1731 (Chabot 1937, 140; Kessel 2002, 225; Leutennegger 1981). Officials in Mexico City expected settlement at San Antonio to occur within guidelines established by the *Laws of the Indies*, and the Viceroy's orders specified equally divided rectangles of 100 by 200 *varas* – or three to four acre squares of irrigable land (Austin 1905, 342-343; Glick 1972; Nuttall 1922; Price 1992, 307-308). However, an unscientific sketch map drawn by Aguayo in 1730 accompanied the Viceroy's orders, and it shows plots that subsequent maps portray as long lots (Figure 5). On his sketch map drawn from memory while in Mexico, Aguayo portrayed plots divided by width utilized as early as 1718 along *acequias* now known as the "upper labor ditch" and the "Alamo ditch." He also left vacant a space for land to be occupied in 1731 (Cox 2005; McKenzie 2017).

Aguayo labeled the first tiers of long lots along the upper labor and Alamo ditches as *tierras de lavores* (working fields) to be used for corn, wheat, and beans

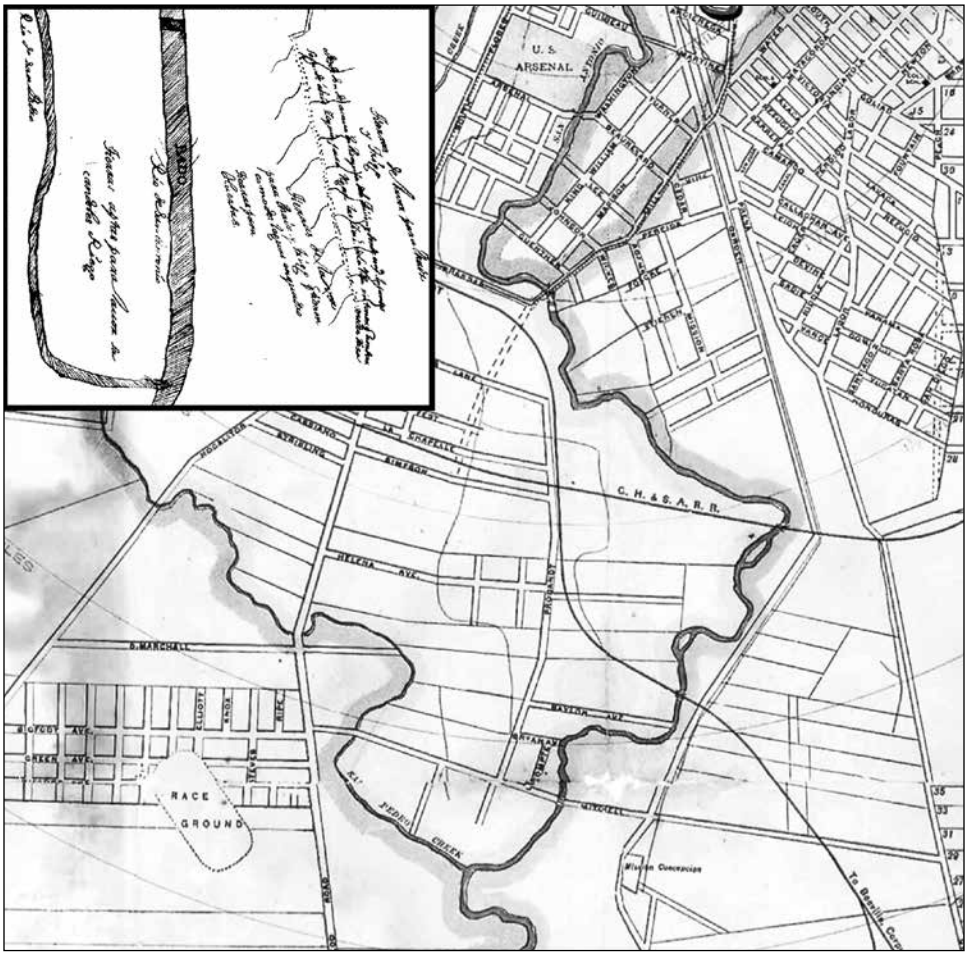

Figure 6: Aguayo's 1730 sketch map (detail upper left) and corresponding long lot landscape in 1889. Aguayo's sketch follows the San Pedro Creek and San Antonio river downstream and shows farm plots divided by width west of the river which match long lots depicted in 1889. In 1731, Canary islanders settled on tiers of long lots reflected in the landscape appearing between the waterways in 1889. (Roth after Aguayo 1730; *San Antonio, Texas* 1889)

(Weber 1992, 165). Apparently, local authorities distributed 105 *vara* wide long lots to colonists from 1718-1730 (Austin 1905, 276-352; Bolton 1913, 132, 427; Buckley 1911, 3-63; Glick 1972, 31; Jordan 1974, 71-72; Phares 1988, 17-19; West 1904, 3-78).

In 1731, the task of distributing land to the Canary Islanders was delegated to Juan Antonio Pérez de Almazán, the ranking official in San Antonio. He granted fields oriented in a French-like manner to colonists and told his superior officers that he had followed orders after measuring sixteen long lots along a pre-existing irrigation ditch (Austin 1905, 344-345). Seemingly, Juan Antonio Pérez de Almazán deviated from the central authority and obeyed orders that originated locally, which reflected instructions implied on Aguayo's sketch map. I have demonstrated that the French influenced the first three Texas governors and theorize diffusion of long lots took place from 1718-1731 (Figure 6). Even though

officials hoped for large numbers, very little official colonization occurred during the Spanish period other than at San Antonio. As a result, use of the riverine long lot pattern was isolated. Elsewhere in Texas during the Spanish-colonial era, more traditional methods of land alienation were used where no French influence existed or in areas lacking a stimulus to change (Jordan 1974, 74, 76; Almaraz 1989, 14).

Jordan has suggested that San Antonio's natural environment was the impetus for the long lot (Jordan 1974, 71-81). Yet, the local environment around San Antonio was no different from other semi-arid locations such as Guerrero where no long lots are found. Until scholars discover a source supporting Jordan's independent invention argument, proximity to French influence resulting in cultural diffusion becomes a more plausible explanation for the origin of long lots.

Conclusions

Key historical evidence suggests that Jordan and Carlson erred on several points regarding the origin and diffusion of long lots. First, Jordan theorized that independent invention of the method took place around San Antonio in 1731 and concluded that long lots were probably unique in New Spain at that time (Jordan 1974, 70-84). Carlson apparently accepted Jordan's conclusions as accurate and applied them in error to New Mexico, where he determined that long lots were invented locally and independently during the mid-1700s (Carlson 1975, 48-55). Neither provided a source for these assertions and no evidence appeared in research leading to this paper.

A review of translated primary sources demonstrates that Vargas used long lots in the 1690s. This shifts the timeline of introduction six decades earlier to the era of initial colonial reoccupation. At that time, Archibeque and Gurule shared French culture as they lived in New Mexico, had the means and opportunity to introduce the long lot, and worked among the Spanish motivated by need for a method of apportioning plots of land. Archibeque and Gurule knew about long lots, understood the rational system of land alienation, and possessed the technical skills to institute the long lot pattern. It seems plausible that Archibeque and Gurule stimulated change among the Spanish by 1695 as they constructed their first agricultural settlement. Historical records clearly demonstrate the importance of two Frenchmen living in the Spanish community and evidence supporting independent invention or another conclusion never materialized during extensive research.

On the Texas frontier near Natchitoches, interaction also took place between the French and Spanish from 1718-1731. The historical record confirms proximity and cooperation on the frontier within a timeline associated with demonstrable cultural exchange. Natchitoches served as a diffusion node for French ideas going to Spanish territory and vice-versa. Elements of French culture including long lots appeared on a known route of diffusion which suggests Spanish long lots in Texas were of French origin.

During the colonial era, a strong Spanish-French connection existed along a porous boundary that separated people in the imagination of empire builders

living beyond the frontier. The long lot pattern, associated with the French almost everywhere they settled, appeared on the ground at the time of initial settlement in New Mexico, Louisiana, and parts of Texas. In this paper, I described long lots appearing in New Mexico by 1695 and demonstrated a pattern of general cultural exchange occurring between 1693-1731 in both New Mexico and Texas. This notable French connection casts doubt on assumptions about independent innovation of long lots by the Spanish. The evidence portrays a story of cooperation among groups isolated in a region far from central authority and imperial rivalry. In North America, people constructed something different as they shared ideas and life on the frontier where new and enduring institutions developed.

Postscript

I was fortunate to have a conversation with Terry Jordan during the fall of 2000 when I presented a preliminary paper on this topic. We later exchanged email after I questioned his conclusions from the 1970s.[3] On both occasions, Jordan told me he could not remember why he thought long lots were independently invented by the Spanish. I am gratified to report that he also told me I was probably correct in pursuing the French as a source of all early long lots in Texas and New Mexico. Graciously, in 2002, Jordan wrote, "Of course I remember your ongoing work on long lots. Your idea that the French may have played a role in New Mexico makes a lot of sense to me. I believe you are onto something there. . ." After his death in 2003, Jordan's work on long lots from 1974 was reprinted in its original form in *Material Culture* in 2005.

Endnotes

1 Some confusion about Archibeque's age appears in the academic and genealogical literature. The confusion arises because Archibeque claims to be younger after reaching New Mexico. Archibeque apparently forgot his age or lied about it in Spanish documents indicating he was born in 1671. Esquibel and Colligan traced birth records of the family in France and found 1665 to be the likely year of birth.

2 There is no complete source on Almazán's tenure. Moreover, the multiple sources that exist which discuss elements of Almazán's career differ in details including his terminal date in Texas. The information from this paragraph was gleaned from multiple sources.

3 The Southwest Association of American Geographers annual meeting at College Station, Texas, in 2000. Personal Email Correspondence, Jordan-Bychkov to this author, 2002. Terry Jordan-Bychkov died October 2003. Alvar Carlson declined offers to comment on this research.

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State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico. This repository contains historical materials on New Mexico. In addition to regional primary and secondary source material, important information on the Spanish era is found in the extensive microfilm records of the Court of Public Land Claims, 1891, (PLC) and the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1621-1821, (SANM I and II).

Western History Collections, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. These collections support the study of the Trans- Mississippi West of the United States. In addition to most relevant journals and primary and secondary sources, the Western History Collections has a range of specialized material including microfilm editions of the Bexar and Nacogdoches archives.

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Route 66 Crossings: Historic Bridges of the Mother Road

By Jim Ross

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. XXII + 186pp. 596 color and 134 b/w illustrations, 24 line drawings, 24 maps. $29.95 (Hardcover), ISBN: 978-0806151991.

Reviewed by Gregory Vance Smith, smithgv@sfasu.edu, Department of Languages, Culture, and Communication, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX, 75962

Jim Ross presents a historical record that demonstrates the ephemeral nature of bridges and the cultural changes that have shaped their relevance. The purpose of his project is to catalog a variety of bridges that existed during the different historical paths of Route 66, the iconic U.S. highway that reached from Illinois to California. The book uses simplified historical details, general locations, and some basic information about bridge structures. While it does not present a theoretical perspective or a unified history, the book offers scholars many starting points for their own research. Aside from the chapter introductions, the text is mostly captions for the cataloged images. He details the type of bridge, and when available, the date it was built and when and why it was abandoned. While the dataset may not be as detailed as specialists might need for field research, it does offer an addendum for historical and cultural research in both transportation and location specific areas. More important than the text is the visual record created through Ross' combination of contemporary and historical photographs. While some locations still exist and are in use, others seem to be isolated on private property or have otherwise been destroyed.

Ross opens the book with diagrams of different bridge types and general information used to differentiate them. He also provides maps of a selection of the bridges covered. In the first section he profiles existing bridges that are still accessed, demonstrating a continuum of their use – at least to a local community. Many, like a heavily damaged concrete deck girder over Lilly Creek in Oklahoma, show the wear and tear of years of use and abuse (p. 31). Others have survived or have been reconditioned at different times, leaving them with a legacy of styles or simply being patched together for safety concerns. Many of these bridges offer photogenic landscapes and a visual history that can be appreciated by travelers who know the historical significance.

Images like the three-pan timber stringer over the Rio San Jose and the sweeping curve of the Luten Arch Canyon Padre Bridge stand in stark contrast to their surroundings (pp. 103, 110). Even though modern roads are nearby, many of these structures and the landscape they occupy seem abandoned. When decommissioned, highway officials sometimes deeded the bridges to local governments or private

landowners. This kept many bridges from being destroyed and now their remains dot the abandoned trails. Images are haunted by the absence of roads and buildings in the empty fields, forests, and deserts. While some of these bridges still have use for locals, pedestrians, or cyclists, many have no purpose. Bridges seem eternal but when the road moves elsewhere or they decline with age, they tell a story of a culture that has changed and a population that has been removed from the area. In a historical sense, they may have no more meaning than the graffiti painted on the ruins. They stand as a signature to the culture and people who built them.

Many bridges have simply disappeared as traffic flow exceeded their girth or more modern bridges replaced those dilapidated to the point when they became too costly to repair. Through the use of historical photos, Ross highlights many of the bridges that have been replaced, and in turn, losing the historical significance of the area. Photos highlight many unique structures that once made both Route 66 and their local communities function. This includes a suspension bridge built by an Oklahoma businessman as a toll bridge. Even though it had a relatively short life from 1921 until it was replaced in 1934, it can be seen as a microcosm of how a bridge opened the possibility for the development of roadside commerce (p. 132). With a sandwich and drinks shop that opened after its completion and the objective of tolling people, vehicles, and livestock, it met a need for the movement of commerce even before being taken over by the state.

Preservationists may feel heartened by the successfully preserved bridges outlined in the "Afterlife" chapter. Repurposed structures include the more than one-mile-long Chain of Rocks Bridge taken over by Trailnet to the bedstead truss bridge that was disassembled by the city of Catoosa and put in storage for later use as a pedestrian bridge. While this section is short and the long-term fates of many of the bridges are tenuous, it does offer a range of alternate uses and ways the structures can continue to be part of their communities moving forward.

While the readership of this journal may be more concerned with the historical implications of the sites illustrated, this volume should appeal to those with less scholarly interests who want to see both the historical structures and the effect that time and use etched into the concrete and steel. If I worked at a university near these sites, I would try to plan a class trip to at least a few of them. While some offer an appealing aesthetic and others seem more like ruins, the stamps and plaques commemorating their construction give weight to history that cannot be duplicated in a textbook. Seeing a structure like the timber stringer bridges between Glenrio and San Jon in New Mexico makes it easy to understand the pace and stress of long-distance travel in the 1930s (p. 49). In many ways, Ross' collection tells a history of a culture where changes in technology and mobility created such rapid development that even the infrastructure of travel either accommodated modernity or became relics of a vanished society.

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Heading Out: A History of American Camping

By Terence Young

Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2017. xii + 367pp. 51 halftones, 5 maps, 3 charts, notes, and index. $35.00 (cloth), 978-0-8014-5402-8.

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Scholars of vacation and tourism history have necessarily included camping among the pastimes that emerged in the nineteenth century, but no one has yet explored camping's history as a discrete enterprise. Geographer Terence Young's *Heading Out: A History of American Camping* provides this analysis while employing more than a simple change-over-time narrative. Young argues that camping's wide diversity of destinations prompts inquiry beyond the differences between seashore and mountains to observe that the locations where Americans camped shared an essential element – they were not part of ordinary life and, most importantly, not urban. Focused on the changing meaning of camping from its post-Civil War popularity until the third quarter of the twentieth century, *Heading Out* explores how noneconomic social relations, science, and technology, instead of economic forces, impacted participants' values, attitudes, beliefs, and practices.

Because Young focuses on abstract conceptions of camping, rather than upon specific vacation landscapes, he relies primarily on written accounts to construct his argument about camping's appeal. The author explores camping through its promotional literature as well as contemporary accounts by campers to reveal the pulls and pushes that culture and technology advanced. Each chapter revolves around individuals who shaped camping or were somehow representative of trends – a biographical method justified because Young is interested in the shared set of beliefs, ideas, attitudes, and judgments that formed camping culture. From the biographies, Young approaches rhetoric as well as technological changes that necessitated rethinking camping as an activity as well as the places where to enact it.

Young's sweeping introduction lays the methodological and theoretical groundwork by exploring recurring themes, including modernization, pilgrimage, and technological change, that made camping become and stay popular for over a century. Young situates a strong anti-modern impulse drawn from the antebellum conventions of romanticism; that camping offered an antidote to a rapidly urbanizing society after the Civil War. Relatedly, Young sees camping providing a pseudo-religious pilgrimage experience, bound with tourism and using "nature" for restorative purposes. The third trend, technological change, will most appeal to readers of *Material Culture* in its discussions of equipment and the ways campers gradually increased their degree of comfort. In doing so, Young argues, campers eroded the value of the first two trends in anti-modernism and pilgrimage, as campgrounds increasingly resembled the domestic spaces from which participants fled. Young's exposition of this topic raises flashpoints about what constitutes "true" camping; such as whether using cars and RVs really has the same psychological effect as backpacking. At the core of Young's examination is the (anachronistically-

named) concept of "McDonaldization," in which continual efforts to streamline camping initially made it more accessible and ultimately undercut its impetus.

Young's chapters act as vignettes, which follow particular "modes" in the history of camping. Chapter One looks at the impact of William H.H. Murray's landmark bestseller, *Adventures in the Wilderness*, arguing "American camping had begun" in 1869 with its publication (22). While antebellum publications advocated for interactions with nature, Murray for the first time included "useful" technical information, rather than merely lofty prose, that espoused the healthfulness of camping.

Chapter Two describes camping in the late nineteenth century by focusing on a proliferation of guidebooks, such as one penned by Civil War veteran John Mead Gould, whose wartime camping know-how helped spread the idea that anyone could do it. Here, Young also describes equipment limitations to the expansion of camping – that primarily those living in the dense Northeast could easily undertake such excursions – as well as the roles played by canoeing, backpacking, and horses.

Chapter Three transitions to the impact of the automobile in the early twentieth century and the ways camping grew in popularity following Ford's Model-T in 1908, including the shifting class dynamics of who could now camp. Young argues that equipment, such as the advent of the Coleman stove, began to set apart those who felt they were "true" campers from the new motor campers.

Not until Chapter Four does Young examine the impact of camping on the landscape, but here he discusses how post-WWII camping emerged more popular than ever with the expansion of road networks. Young traces how landscape designers like E. P. Meinecke advocated for spatial strategies to mitigate camping's environmental damage while simultaneously maintaining the appeal of sites for campers. By scripting campground landscapes through roads, parking areas, and tenting areas, designers sought to prevent trampling. These ideas, borrowed from burgeoning suburban developments, ironically brought more campers for longer stays as camping's amenities improved.

Chapter Five discusses class and racial issues that emerged in the postwar period – how campgrounds became segregated, how residents were forcibly removed to create pristine campgrounds, and how the National Park Service became the first federal agency to officially eliminate racial segregation in 1942.

Returning to the issue of technological change and definitions of true camping, Young looks at the age of trailer and RV camping in Chapter Six. Young argues that trailer campers sought the same pilgrimage experience as nineteenth-century campers on foot, despite the fact that critics saw RVs as bastardizing the activity.

Using this as a counterpoint, Young's final chapter explores the rise of backpacking and long-distance trail camping. Hiking along the Pacific Crest Trail or Appalachian Trail was one way certain stripes of campers combatted the comfort campers in RVs. Returning to guidebooks from the 1870s, Young looks at the ways camping's motivations have remained constant even as technological shifts have increased its popularity among the population. Yet, Young points out, even the "hardcore" backpackers benefitted from technological gains, as equipment

became ever lighter and more waterproof, allowing them to access more rugged landscapes. This latter cadre of campers spurred the efforts to preserve wilderness, Young argues, following the degradation of landscapes they saw ushered in by the advent of car camping and the failures of landscape designers to control landscape usage.

Young's epilogue offers final thoughts about camping's trajectory at the turn of the twenty-first century. He uses statistics to show that while camping is the fourth most popular activity by participation rate (14% of all Americans annually), its numbers have been declining since the 1980s. Young attributes this in part to the fact that the initial driver of camping – fears of the ills of urbanization – no longer carry the same threat, especially as cities become "greener" and there is less need to "head out." The author could, perhaps, have mentioned in this section the emergent "glamping" craze that takes such luxuries and domestic comforts to the extreme.

As justified as Young is in setting his chronological parameters after the Civil War through the 1970s, readers of this journal will be surprised to see that religious camping, such as Methodist camp-meetings, receive no mention in the volume. While the book demonstrates that camping technology and ideology shaped some landscapes, the author could have included more examples of the ways landscape shaped camping. Overall, however, *Heading Out* provides an admirable history of why Americans camped and how; rather than being simply another form of vacation, the activity is a unique phenomenon endowed with its own meaning.

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By All Accounts: General Stores and Community Life in Texas and Indian Territory

By Linda English

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xi + 268pp. $29.95, 9780806143521.

Reviewed by Brandon Duxbury, bduxbury@iastate.edu, Department of History, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, 50011

In *By All Accounts: General Stores and Community Life in Texas and Indian Territory*, Linda English highlights the importance of using general store ledgers as historical documents. She argues that placing transaction records in nineteenth century context can not only reveal "complex relationships and power dynamics in local communities" but also how race, class, and gender played into the community's "power hierarchy" (8-11). English highlights that while saloons and brothels have been studied in order to construct these hierarchies, general stores tend to be overlooked but are more central to both the local economy and the community as a whole (16). In doing so, she attempts to place the commercial affairs of rural Texas and Indian Country into the broader economic trends seen across the nation. This

allows her to contest the common argument that frontier economies were driven by different rules and methods as compared to established eastern towns and cities.

English also builds on themes of power, influence, race, class, and gender by looking at how certain individuals involved themselves in local commerce. Analyzing ledger notations allows her to better understand how merchants labelled individuals within the community. This led her to describe a typical power hierarchy of those communities while also explaining how some individuals challenged that power structure and attempted to make space for themselves. Looking at how merchants recorded race, ethnicity, gender, and class in their ledgers let English place individuals within the frontier power hierarchy.

To highlight the complexity of the nineteenth century local economy, English identifies multiple women, freedmen, poor farmers, Native Americans, Mexicans, and Germans recorded in general store ledgers. She not only analyzes the items everyone bought by placing the material goods into a rural, small town context, but she also notes how merchants recorded everyone within the ledgers. The titles, abbreviations, and comments found in the ledgers indicate how the shopkeepers placed their customers into the local hierarchy. English then uses these records to uphold the commonly accepted ideas of the "persistence of social divisions in late nineteenth century America" while also highlighting how some individuals challenged that hierarchy through their economic involvement (133). While ledgers are helpful in understanding the economy, there are two flaws that English didn't take into consideration in this book.

The first flaw is the lack of other traditional historical sources to supplement her ledger analysis. English includes some newspaper articles to provide context to what was happening within the communities, but they do not suggest much about the power hierarchies which existed. Some use of tax and census records indicate the backgrounds of store owners and their customers and help English explain their buying patterns. However, her reliance on transaction records ultimately results in speculation upon understanding the fact that racial and ethnic minorities and women frequented general stores. Although they are often incomplete, inaccurate, or difficult to track down, incorporating analysis of diaries, newspapers, and letters into the argument would help her move away from speculation and reveal why these individuals participated in their local economies.

The second flaw is that the examples used in the study seem to be exceptions to the rules of economic participation. Single instances of women showing up in a general store ledger does not necessarily mean they challenged gender roles within the community. Native American purchases are not necessarily broad representations of ethnic inclusion into an economy. How merchants recorded those customers in the ledgers indicates how one person viewed their presence in their store and isn't representative of how the community viewed the same person. Merely highlighting the economic activity of individuals along lines of race, ethnicity, and gender provides few answers to the bigger questions English is asking. While these people may have been significant in the fight for space within

the "power hierarchy," they could just as easily have been mere exceptions in the records – the ledgers cannot provide those answers.

Despite the few methodological flaws, *By All Accounts* is a valuable study of western economies which places them in the context of broader consumption patterns across nineteenth century America. Analyzing what individuals were buying, like Germans purchasing Christmas trees or staple goods bought by farmers, provides the means to compare those Germans or farmers in Texas to Germans or farmers in other parts of the nation. Analyzing how rural Texas merchants recorded their relationships with cattle ranchers, freedmen, and immigrants can break down the commonly held belief that westward expansion required different economic functions than in longer settled eastern states.

English succeeds in highlighting the importance of general store ledgers as primary historical documents. She demonstrates that studying the purchasing patterns of nineteenth century frontiersmen gives us clues as to how people lived and what material goods they placed value on. Her thorough analysis of ledgers provides an excellent example of how those interested in material culture can effectively use the documents to supplement their source base and strengthen their arguments. The careful study of general store records also allowed English to place transactions and material goods into the context of everyday life, which led her to question how individuals of different classes, races, genders, and ethnicities participated in the local economy and interacted with each other. Anyone interested in material culture, western history, social history, small town economies, questions of race, gender, and class should find Linda English's book of great value.

Brandon Duxbury is a graduate student at Iowa State University. His current research involves nineteenth and twentieth century environmental, rural, and agricultural history of the northern Great Plains.

Public Nature: Scenery, History, and Park Design

Edited by Ethan Carr, Shaun Eyring, and Richard Guy Wilson

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, X + 260pp. Black-and-white photographs, architectural drawings, engravings, forward, preface, notes, and index. $45.00 (cloth), ISBN: 9780813933436.

Reviewed by Christopher Baas, rcbaas@bsu.edu, Department of Landscape Architecture, Ball State University, Muncie, IN, 47306

Landscape historians Carr, Eyring, and Wilson have edited a collection of essays presented at a pair of 2008 conferences on the history of the design of public open spaces. The text's goal is to provide an "opportunity to better understand the story of park design over time as it relates to current and future park designs" (p. ix). The National Park Service, Designing the Parks, The Cultural Landscape Foundation, and other groups advocating park design in the United States sponsored the conferences under the theme that "well-designed public parks and healthy communities have a direct and measurable relationship" (p. ix).

Ethan Carr's introduction proposes that the shared thesis among the volume's varied works is that "park history is primarily a design history," and that public

open spaces "often share a history of complex and continuing development and interpretation." Therefore, studying park design history "allows us to appreciate how very different parks sometimes express common ideological purposes" (p. 1). For instance, parks "share the attribute that they are defined by designations and designs that express cultural values" (p. 1). Carr uses Olmsted and Vaux's idealized, naturalistic design for Central Park and Olmsted's preservation of the Yosemite Valley's natural landscape as examples representing opposites ends of the spectrum of park types. In a brief description of the current influences of future park forms, Carr identifies changes in the economic and sustainable models of park design but upholds how the good of the public remains the primary argument for investing public dollars in open spaces.

The text includes sixteen essays divided into the following five themed sections: nature, movement, politics, identity, and monuments. Essay topics range across geographies including park and monument design in Australia, Sweden, Turkey, Israel, and France. The impressive array of subjects covered include Romanticism, experiencing nature from carriages and cars, park design in Second Empire Paris, New Deal landscapes, landscapes of segregation, and Neutra's Gettysburg Cyclorama Center. Aside from Olmsted's work, and perhaps the Gettysburg battlefield, North American readers will likely be unfamiliar with the landscapes – which as new material, is the major strength of the book. As individual essays, the rigor and breadth of many articles is impressive. As one example, John Dixon Hunt's *The Influence of Anxiety* traces the philosophical influence of Britain's picturesque movement on early America's park designers and promotors. Hunt describes the mid-nineteenth century psychological theory of associationism's role in forming picturesque principles, the picturesque was more than contrived views of dramatic, natural landscape forms, but about "stimulating or moving the mind, promoting associations and ideas and emotions and sentiments" (p. 16). His conclusion that these design principles, or philosophies, should "continue to be the aim of landscape architecture in the twenty-first century" is a rare textual bridge from history to future design provided by the volume's authors (p. 16).

The volume's essays as individual works are very informative, often engaging, and mostly novel. However, as a collection most of the essays lack discussions for the reader regarding how their histories are pertinent to the dialogue of the design of future parks. This is especially apparent in articles describing the development of open spaces beyond North America. Aside from the articles sharing a common theme of public space, there are few editorial bridges connecting essays to the book's goals or providing the reader a rational connection of one chapter to the next. Though the introduction attempts to encourage the reader to understand the importance of meaningful twenty-first century park design, the chapters leave little to be desired. As a book wanting to present the past for the express purpose of influencing the form, function, and meaning of the future, it lacks meaningful context. What the editors, authors, and sponsors view as "public nature" in the future park is unclear, and they miss the opportunity to engage in this dialogue to form a framework for their readers to consume the book's highly diverse material.

It is unclear if the section themes of nature, movement, politics, identity, and monuments have meanings to carry forth into future park forms. What is the future park's role in presenting either real or idealized nature? Are there future roles for current park design models of health and wellness, resilient urban ecologies, and disaster recovery? As Frederick Law Olmsted envisioned, does nature as expressed in public parks still have a role in "civilizing" its users (p. 34)? At the very least, some discussion of the role of green space in addressing predicted anthropogenic and natural climate changes should be presented – i.e. storm water management, the cooling effects of green space, and the potential for alternative transportation systems.

Understandably, the volume cannot be an all-inclusive history of park design. However, the significance of the topics are often so narrowly focused that it is challenging to extract their larger influences. Only a few of the essays provide broad, meaningful historical frameworks to interpret the subject of their essay. Noticeably missing, but within the park design spectrum, are historical contexts for the social influences of park form. Consider the transcendentalist influence of restorative nature, the City Beautiful Movement's inspiration for the design of city-scale park systems, Progressive Era playground and recreation movements, the Conservation Movement's boom of state and national parks. Granted, this information is available in published national and regional landscape design histories and raises the question regarding how this collection of histories is best at informing future park design. Therefore, the volume would have benefited from a summary chapter projecting the thesis of this collection into the future of park design.

Despite these critiques, the individual essays in *Public Nature* are impressive histories, and are valuable as assigned readings for students of landscape history and as case studies for student designers.

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Final Take

"Das Schimmbad" | Evan H. Carver | University of Washington

It is not difficult to climb a 3m diving platform without a ladder -- if there happens to be a medium-sized beech tree growing right next to it. The beech tree cannot have been older than about 25 years, since the pool was in use until 1989. Like many features of the urban landscape in Berlin, the pool offers a cross-section of a tumultuous century's worth of history. It was built in 1928 as part of a larger sporting complex owned by Berlin's transportation authority, and it was used by international athletes for practice during the 1936 Summer Olympics. Toward the end of WWII, German anti-aircraft munitions were stored in the stadium, and the whole complex suffered considerable damage from bombing and street fighting. In the 1970s, the East German government restored the pool and reopened it to the public. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the complex fell back into disrepair, although today certain parts of it are maintained and used. On the morning I visited, a small group of Vietnamese men was playing pickup soccer on the mowed and brilliantly verdant pitch in front of the crumbling stadium, just on the other side of a fence outside the photo frame. There had been a week of hard rain; the pool is normally empty. Presumably the graffiti writers visited when it was dry, but I like the image of them lolling shirtless on inflatable pool floats, slowly drifting up to the walls and painting there in midsummer languor.

Berlin, Germany, 10 September 2017, Fujifilm X100T, ISO 200, f 8.0. 1/120sec

(The photo was taken during a fellowship at the Berlin Program, Freie Universität Berlin.)

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