

Welcome to PAST!



Main Street, Bramwell, WV. (Courtesy Dawn Bowen.)

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PAST consists of papers and abstracts of papers presented at the annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes. Any paper that was presented at the previous year's annual meeting is eligible for publication in this Journal. Manuscripts are not peer-reviewed, and the Editor will make grammatical corrections only. Authors should consult the most recent edition of PAST for examples of the preferred editorial style. Manuscripts should be submitted directly to the Editor via email as Word attachments or via conventional mail on disk or CD-ROM as Word documents. Photos and illustrations should be submitted electronically as .jpg files. "On the Road" is an annual collection of photographic essays devoted to topics relating to material culture in the Americas, and the editor will consider submissions from any member of the Pioneer America Society. Address inquiries, including copyright permission, reprints, inquiries about manuscript and "On the Road" submissions, and letters, to the Editor.

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Treasurer. Information is also available online at the Society's web site, www.pioneeramerica.org. Back issues of several volumes of PAST are available. Please contact Paula Reed, Treasurer, for more information:

Paula S. Reed, Treasurer

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Echoes of the Past

Scott C. Roper, Editor

41ST ANNUAL MEETING

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Croghan at Aughwick: History, Maps, and Archaeology Collide in the Search for Fort Shirley

Jonathan A. Burns, Axis Research, Inc.; George John Drobnock, Huntingdon Borough, Huntingdon, PA; Jared M. Smith, Juniata College

Sheet Music as an Indicator of Material Culture (Economics): A Case Study of the Barr Dry Goods Store in St. Louis, and the Collection of Ida Burrough Coit, Cape Girardeau

Ralph Hartsock, University of North Texas

The Baroque Parapet: Cultural Diffusion and the Sense of Place in the American Southwest

Marshall S. McLennan, Eastern Michigan University

The National Park Service: Federal Partner in Nation Heritage Area Interorganizational Domains

Susan Martin Williams, Concord University

Echoes of the Past

This marks my fifth issue as editor of *Pioneer America Society Transactions*. The last five years certainly have been eventful, and have brought some significant changes to *PAST*. In 2006, we put together a volume representing a meeting which was not held due to Hurricane Katrina. From 2006-2009, in an effort to reduce the backlog of unpublished book reviews intended for *Material Culture*, we moved a number of reviews to *PAST*. We experimented with photo essays for a few years. Perhaps most significantly, last year we successfully (though not without considerable effort, and thanks in large part to Deborah Slater's hard work) moved *PAST* to an online-only format.

This year, *PAST* is returning to its roots, at least partially: the book reviews and photo essays are gone, leaving nothing more than four papers presented at the Pipestem, West Virginia meeting. At the same time the online format is proving invaluable in presenting these works. Between them, these four papers include 71 figures, most of them in color, and some of them featuring multiple images. In fact, we have had to find innovative new ways to present some of the photos so as not to detract from the articles they accompany — again, thanks in large part to Deb Slater.

In this issue, Jonathan Burns, George John Drobnock, and Jared Smith contribute an article about the search for Fort Shirley in Pennsylvania. Theirs is a part of a wider effort to locate the eighteenth-century fort, as suggested in a June 30, 2010 report by Emily Reddy for Pennsylvania's WPSU Radio (which you can listen to here). Susan Martin Williams investigates how the role of the National Park Service as a federal partner is changing in response to the evolution of National Heritage Areas, and comes up with some insights that professionals are sure to find interesting and important. In "Sheet Music as an Indicator of Material Culture," Ralph Hartsock takes us to nineteenth-century Missouri through the sheet music left by the Burrough family, while Marshall McLennan takes us on a well-illustrated tour through the evolution and diffusion of southwestern baroque parapet. I hope you enjoy reading the articles as much as I have.

I want to thank everyone involved in making this issue a reality, particularly Marshall McLennan, who worked so diligently to rework his illustrations and obtain permission for their use; George John Drobnock for pointing me to web sites relating to the Fort Shirley project (hence the link above); and the other authors, all of whom are great people with whom to work. Thank you also to Cara Holtry, Librarian at the Cumberland County Historical Society; Emily Reddy, WPSU Radio in State College, Pennsylvania; and of course, Deb Slater for her layout expertise, comments, great ideas, and willingness to experiment with *PAST*'s layout and format.

Scott C. Roper, Editor

P.S. I hope to see you all in Vermont for this year's annual meeting!

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41ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE | PIPESTEM, WV | OCTOBER 29 – 31, 2009

Abstracts of Papers Presented

A Social Geography of Saltpeter

Katie Algeo, Western Kentucky University

Conventional treatments of the saltpeter trade during the early nineteenth century tend to emphasize political and economic factors. While not denying their importance, this paper adds a dimension to our understanding of linkages between Northern gunpowder manufacturers and Southern saltpeter suppliers by examining the social relations behind the saltpeter trade. A case study of saltpeter purchases by the DuPont Company, at the time the largest US manufacturer of gunpowder, emphasizing their attempts and ultimate failure to establish a reliable Southern saltpeter supply, is used to illustrate the importance of networks of acquaintances and business associates, relations of trust, and business competency in creating and maintaining trade relations. Data is derived from the archives of the DuPont Company housed in the Hagley Library of Wilmington, Delaware, and numerous other primary and secondary sources. I argue that it was a failure of social relations and not a change in international trade laws that led to the demise of the Southern saltpeter industry following the War of 1812. Read the article.

The Invisible Streetscape: Vernacular Buildings and Being in 1850s Wheeling

Dan Bonenberger, Eastern Michigan University

Three dimensional computer modeling of the past, or virtual heritage, typically emphasizes great buildings rather than vernacular architecture. If this fledgling pursuit is to gain acceptance among disciplines that study the past, it must acknowledge the importance of the world beyond monumental architecture. Common building forms, landscapes, and invisible things such as sounds, smells, ideas, stories and rituals are essential components of human experience. Recent work in cultural geography, architectural history, preservation, philosophy, and other fields can provide some guidelines for integrating these realities into virtual heritage. This paper examines the tangible and intangible components that characterize the urban environment of American cities. From popular building forms, infrastructure and people, to terrain and wildlife elements, the author presents a conceptual model of the objects, rituals, and ideas that constitute the “life-world” of a city in the antebellum United States. The model is explored in a case study set on Webster Street in Wheeling, (West) Virginia in the 1850s, through the perspective of Rebecca Harding, a young writer about to challenge the literary status-quo.

Toward Small Town Revitalization in the Middle Susquehanna River Valley: Re-Assessing Historic Resources and Regional Landscapes for Collaborative Development

Caru Bowns, Pennsylvania State University, and Alison Stevenson, SEDA-Council of Governments

Both maligned and romanticized, small towns comprise a significant segment of the American settlement landscape but are not perceptibly considered an administrative category politically comparable to “cities” for the purposes and benefits of government policies and funding. This may be due to the independent spirit

associated with most small towns or the regional differences that distinguish “towns” in New England from “towns” in New Mexico. Even before the current economic downturn, a common thread many towns share is the challenges they face for their communities’ economic and social survival. Some towns are shedding their centuries-old persona of rugged individualism. They are re-assessing historic and cultural assets for communal betterment that transcends local and regional boundaries. This study celebrates collaborative revitalization efforts taking place in the Middle Susquehanna River Valley of Pennsylvania. This region is part of the greater Appalachia cultural landscape and is within the eastern reaches of America’s Industrial Rust Belt. The study provides the context for issues associated with economic loss and depopulation in small towns in Pennsylvania’s “Rust Belt” region. A case study of MSRV towns illustrates capacity-building efforts to preserve existing assets and to re-purpose the region’s civic and cultural landscapes for sustainable economic development.

Preserving the Lonaconing Silk Mill

Richard J. Brand, Maryland Historical Trust

At the turn of the twentieth century, several entrepreneurs decided to look for a cheap labor supply for their industry. They found it in the Appalachian coal fields. Mining was a difficult and poor paying job. Miners were recruited from the newest immigrants to America and mining became a family tradition. Businessmen realized that mining families needed extra money and knew that women, young boys, and men who were not physically fit to work in the mines would be a ready source of cheap labor. Thus began the silk thread industry in Appalachia. Factories were located in Cumberland and Lonaconing in Maryland, and in other places in West Virginia and Virginia. The Klotz Throwing Company or Lonaconing Silk Mill was established in 1905 and closed its doors in 1956 after a strike over pay and working conditions. The Lonaconing Silk Mill still stands today, virtually unchanged from that fateful day in 1956. It is believed to be the only fully preserved historic thread factory in the United States. Not only is the building intact but the machinery used to make silk thread for the garment industry is still there just like it was. You can almost trace the evolution of the industrial era from wooden thread winders to aluminum and plastic bobbins.

Moving Coal to Market: Anthracite, Gravity Rail, Roebling, and the Delaware and Hudson Canal

Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College

The mineral wealth of the Anthracite Coal Region of northeastern Pennsylvania was explored and mapped in the early nineteenth century by Philadelphia businessman William Wurts. He and his brothers started buying large tracts of land in the region in 1812 to mine the coal, but found it was very difficult to get the coal to market on the crude roads and not very navigable rivers. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company was chartered in Pennsylvania and New York in 1823, and the canal was completed in 1828. To get the coal out of the Wyoming Valley a gravity railroad was constructed from Carbondale to Honesdale, Pennsylvania. The canal was constructed from Honesdale, using (and crossing) four river systems, to Kingston, New York, on the Hudson River. In the 1840s, John Roebling (of Brooklyn Bridge fame) designed four aqueducts over the major streams which cut travel time by several days. This presentation will discuss the history and geography of the Delaware and Hudson canal, and will be illustrated by maps and pictures of the ruins of the canal. Roebling’s suspension structure aqueduct over the Delaware River is still in service as an automobile bridge.

Croghan at Aughwick: Maps, History, and Archaeology Collide in the Search For Fort Shirley

Jonathan Burns, AXIS Research, Inc., George John Drobnock, Huntingdon Borough, and Jared Smith, Juniata College

Fort Shirley was an important colonial era frontier site erected by George Croghan as a trading post but later reconfigured as a provincial fort in October of 1755 to facilitate trade and to protect English colonists against the aggressions of the French and their Native American allies. The archaeological remains of the fort lies somewhere in the agricultural fields north of the town of Shirleysburg, Pennsylvania; however, its exact location remains a mystery. Local historical accounts differ from period land surveys and maps. Much more than just an outpost, the site was a hub of activity for travelers, traders, and emissaries of the commonwealth and Native Americans; therefore it is mentioned often in historic accounts. A few early attempts to locate the fort have been made in the past based from journals and manuscripts, but modern scientific techniques been never been applied towards the goal. This research demonstrates how archaeology may be used to complement and even correct the historic record, as confounding historical references collide with archaeological inquiry to locate the traces of the fort. The historical record can be a paradox for researchers as it is often proven that the past was not necessarily as it was recorded. [Read the article.](#)

The Johnson-Marquis House: A “Cajun Cottage” in Appalachian Ohio

Kevin Coleman, Intrepid Historical Services

It is rare to find a French-American house type in Ohio, but a house on a rural hilltop in south-central Ohio appears to be one. With incised front and rear “galleries” under a side-gabled roof, two front doors, and a loft stairway in a front porch-room, this “grenier house” fits the definition of a Cajun or Grenier House. However, it began as a one-story double-pen cottage probably in 1840, which was enlarged and probably moved in 1907-12 into its current form. Investigation is still underway, but a family with a possibly French surname owned the property when the alterations appear to have begun. Similar houses in the area include a now-lost galeried 2.5-storey house built about 1820, and mid-nineteenth-century “Georgian Cottages” in the county to the west, with incised porches and possibly Pennsylvania German origins—but otherwise Johnson-Marquis House is unique in the area, except for two others very similar to it that have recently been discovered deeper in Upland South Ohio. Now the object of a preservation effort, the building accents the natural attractions of its surrounding “Buzzard’s Roost” preserve with its unique ethnic connection and historic presence.

Sheet Music as an Indicator of Material Culture

Ralph Hartsock, University of North Texas

During the nineteenth century music printing, like book printing, increased due to the introduction of steam power. People of means collected music (solo piano music, songs for voice and piano). Many hired printers to bind these together subsequent to their purchases. Some even numbered the pages of the entire “book.” The University of North Texas Libraries, like other libraries, has collected and accessed these various collections. Jacob Burrough, an attorney, was on the first board of regents for what is now Southeast Missouri State University. His daughter Rachel Ida, born about 1858, performed at the college’s inauguration, and collected this music. Several pieces, compliments of William Barr Dry Goods Store, St. Louis, included its catalog of nonmusical merchandise on the back cover. Their advertising forms the nucleus of this study of 19th century

material culture as communicated on sheet music covers. Materials studied are from two collections of music, piano music collected by Ida Burrough Coit of Cape Girardeau, now housed at the University of North Texas, and published sheet music at Washington University in St. Louis. [Read the article.](#)

Excavating Memory: Mining History, 1931

William M. Hunter, Heberling Associates

In 1931, the National Miners Union (NMU), a radical alternative union, deployed politics of hunger and the wage to organize miners and disrupt production in the eastern Ohio coalfields. The NMU chose specific nodes in the networks of production as sites for direct action, a strategy intended to disrupt temporally sensitive chains of production throughout the integrated coal, ore, shipping and steel industries. They were met by the power of the state activated through the coal operators, the county government, and civil society, and roundly defeated. This paper examines the NMU attempt to realize this strategy at the New Lafferty mines of Hanna Coal Company; the response of the company, miners, their families, and the local authorities; and the suppression of the radical union. It examines how landscape, hunger and scale factored in the strategy of the “Bolshevik insurrection,” its suppression, the expulsion of the NMU from the eastern Ohio coalfields, and the erasure of historical memory in this forgotten prelude to Bloody Harlan.

Spatial Patterns of Recent Native American Body Proportions: Climate or Colonization History?

Claire Jantz, Shippensburg University, Paul Marr, Shippensburg University, Richard Jantz, University of Tennessee

On a global scale, human populations exhibit body morphology that correlates with climate as expected under the Bergmann-Allen ecogeographical rules, which predict that cold-adapted populations will have compact bodies and shorter limbs. Native American populations generally fit Bergmann-Allen expectations, but few studies have clearly documented this supposition. This paper examines body measurement-climate correlations and spatial trends in Native North Americans using a data set collected by Franz Boas between 1890 and 1901. We examined the relationship between mean annual temperature and the following measurements: height, sitting height, leg length, arm length, shoulder breadth, and three indices (relative sitting height [cormic index], relative arm length, and relative shoulder breadth). The absolute dimensions show that larger, wider bodies are found in warmer temperatures, the opposite of expectations. Relatively longer legs in warmer climates agrees with Bergmann-Allen expectations. However, spatial trend surface analysis shows that cormic index increases from the southeast to the northwest, indicating a strong east to west trend rather than the expected north to south trend with temperature. We conclude that body measurements provide little evidence of climate patterning. Rather, the patterning is more likely to reflect colonization history of the continent.

The Alvis Partin Farm: Memories of a Farm in Bell County, Kentucky

Jon Kay, Indiana University

The Alvis Partin Farm can serve as a lens through which one can view elements of traditional regional agricultural techniques, community life and cultural experience. The farm references not only a pattern of agriculture, but also a complete way of life common during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in rural Bell County, Kentucky. This paper describes fifteen resources present at the farm that reflect a

traditional way of life, once integral to this community. The molasses mill and evaporator were the centerpieces of “stir-offs,” the walnut crib, potato holes and bee gums point toward regional foodways; and the worn pathways and foot-logs that connect the buildings to the lay of the land speak about past and contemporary patterns of daily life on the farm. Through the use of oral histories, I discovered that the Partin Farm is more than words on a deed or buildings on the landscape; it is a complex system bound with memories, experiences, words, wood, stone, nails and dirt, all of which point toward the cultural, historical and individual meaning of this farm.

The Power of Place

Margaret J. King and Jamie O’Boyle, Center for Cultural Studies & Analysis

We rarely think in any systematic way about the fact of place itself: our situational awareness and the factors that affect its power over the brain and mind as thematic cognition. However, human thinking and behavior is highly situational. Where we find ourselves at any given moment determines what we think about, and how we process that thought. This process is driven by social surroundings (who we are with), the cultural imprint of place (meaning) along a behavioral range (action within place), and the potential and outcomes of what happens in various venues (expectations, values, and decision making). Cultural studies can define and analyze these factors to explore the potentials of a variety of settings and their effects—from simple seating to complex theme parks. Considered will be the five senses, especially sight and sound, in gauging the setting’s physiological DNA and its ties to perception and meaning. The role of place is a rich example of cultural software as an IIS, integrated information system, that accommodates and facilitates the many venues encountered as everyday experience.

Uncovering Sundown Towns in Southern Appalachia

James W. Loewen, Catholic University of America

Between 1890 and 1968, thousands of towns across the United States drove out their black populations or took steps to forbid African Americans from living in them. Thus were created “sundown towns,” so named because some posted signs typically reading, “Nigger, Don’t Let the Sun Go Down On You In Salem,” a town in north central West Virginia that boasted such a sign, according to oral history. Sundown towns are rare in the South, but they spread across Appalachia from 1890 to 1940. Whole counties went sundown, driving out their black populations and maintaining themselves as all-white for many decades. Counties that did so near Pipestem include Giles County, Virginia, about fifty miles west; and probably Webster County, West Virginia, seventy miles north. Wide stretches of Appalachia went sundown, including almost the entire Cumberland Plateau, seven contiguous counties in north Georgia, and entire river valleys in Pennsylvania.

Finding Fort Morris: The Search for Shippensburg’s Elusive Colonial Fort

Paul Marr, Shippensburg University

On July 31, 1755 following the defeat of General Braddock’s army in western Pennsylvania, Governor Robert Morris commissioned the construction of two stockade forts, one in Carlisle and one in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. Built by Colonel William Burd, Shippensburg’s Fort Morris was one of a line of frontier defenses erected to protect local settlers and garrison provincial troops. While the location of the fort at Carlisle is well documented, there has been much confusion over the location of Shippensburg’s small fort.

While contemporary documents concerning the fort exist, they do not pinpoint its location and in some cases offer conflicting information. For over one hundred years historians have argued about the exact location of the fort without reaching consensus, to the point that there are now three locations recognized by various state agencies and local organizations as the site of the fort. Through the use of the available historic evidence and geo-spatial techniques a site was proposed as being that of the historic Fort Morris. Ultimately an archaeological excavation at the proposed site was conducted and fort-period artifacts and structures were found... but was this Fort Morris?

The Evolution of Mountain Top Removal Sites

Chris Mayda, Eastern Michigan University

In 2005-06 I spent my summers in West Virginia investigating mountaintop removal. I lived with people from Coal River Mountain Watch and recorded their attempts to get the world to notice what was happening in their communities. This is a small portion of what I learned at two different MTR sites.

The Baroque Parapet: Cultural Diffusion and Sense of Place in the American Southwest

Marshall McLennan, Eastern Michigan University

The intent of this paper is to trace the diffusion and vernacularization of the baroque parapet from seventeenth-century Spain to Mexico and thence to the American Southwest. High style baroque cathedrals and churches, among them the Spanish rococo baroque variant called churrigueresque, were introduced to and constructed in Mexico. In Mexican territories later to be acquired by the United States, frontier mission churches incorporated simplified vernacular renditions of the baroque parapet, whereas churrigueresque details barely gained a foothold. During the second half of the nineteenth century, some secular buildings began to utilize vernacular forms of the baroque parapet in the American Southwest. A more self-conscious use of the baroque parapet, within the context of the Mission and Spanish-Revival styles, emerged early in the twentieth century as a regional expression of the colonial-revival architectural fashion. Domestic, commercial and public forms of popular architecture made use of the baroque parapet, and thereby embellished the regional sense of place in the Southwest. Key elements of the baroque parapet include curved and/or stepped gables, bell screens, corner pinnacles and piers, statuary niches, and circular or quatrefoil windows. [Read the article.](#)

The Case for Coalwood, WV: Historic Preservation and Economic Development in Appalachian Coal Mining Towns

Lisa Mroszczyk, City of Frederick Planning Department

This paper looks at the role historic preservation can play in the economic development of the former coal mining company town of Coalwood in rural McDowell County, primarily through a series of interviews with members of varying levels and agencies of government, non-profit organizations working on the state, county, and local levels, and long-time residents of Coalwood, as well as field visits. The paper will present the history and significance of Coalwood and the issues presently hindering its preservation and economic development, and assesses how historic preservation can enhance current plans for economic development. From this information, a historic preservation proposal is presented that addresses all of the major issues in an attempt to bring a viable alternative economic base and a long-term solution.

Coal Patch Communities in Indiana County, PA: Industrial Age Urbanity in Rural Appalachia

Kevin Patrick, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

When Indiana County was founded in 1803 it was literally on the frontier. The seat of Indiana was centrally located at the junction of the county's two most important Indian paths. Forests were cut, farms planted, and to this day the land use beyond the borough limits of every town is decidedly agricultural. The exploitation of Indiana County's agricultural resources created a rural landscape of small crossroad villages. The exploitation of the county's coal resources, however, created miniature city systems dependent on the export oriented infrastructure of railroads located relative to the county's topography, hydrology and underground geology. Although small, the high density coal patch communities were decidedly urban, and assembled hierarchically into a network of larger towns. A cluster of semi-isolated coal patch communities made up the base of the hierarchy. These clusters were tributary to conveniently located market towns. Indiana, with its public administrative and private headquarters functions, higher order retail goods and services, well developed infrastructure, and social elite, was at the top of the county hierarchy. These communities have survived into the post-industrial present, but they are no longer connected through the production of coal and coke. Ironically, 21st century Indiana County's links to even larger metropolitan places has stimulated construction of new infrastructure to import coal into power generating facilities.

Graveyard Traditions in Southern West Virginia and Southwest Virginia

J. Daniel Pezzoni, Landmark Preservation Associates

The presentation, an outgrowth of research on the folk graveyards of the South, focuses on interesting aspects of form, material, symbolism, and ethnicity in selected cemeteries of the region. Discussion includes the Pocahontas Cemetery, notable for its Hungarian and Italian grave markers; the exceptional folk Germanic gravestone tradition of southwest Virginia; cemeteries in Lewisburg, West Virginia, and Blacksburg, Virginia, containing work signed by or attributable to the German-influenced carver B. F. Spyker; and modern trends.

Transportation Costs and Social Change in Western New York, 1800-2010

Tom Rasmussen, Gainesville State College

Transportation costs have declined steadily in rural western New York for 200 years. Improvements that have transformed social life include the quality of foot paths and later, roads on the frontier; construction of railroads in the 1850s connecting western New York farms and eastern seaboard cities; invention of the automobile which transformed rural life in the 1920s; and construction of the interstate highway system after World War II. Transportation costs shaped where the first European migrants chose to settle; why farmers abandoned subsistence production for cash crop farming; why farm dwellers steadily moved to village and city; how social status and economic opportunities for women improved; and how vernacular housing style evolved over 200 years.

Rediscovering Rural Appalachian Communities with Historical GIS: A Case Study of Summers County, WV

George Towers, Concord University

From the late nineteenth century until World War II, agrarian southern Appalachia was a patchwork of small, close-knit farm communities. This historic rural settlement pattern is locally recorded in community case studies by ethnographers and historical geographers but has not been mapped systematically. This paper explores the hypothesis that GIS analysis of historic topographic maps adequately identifies the boundaries of bygone southern Appalachian agricultural neighborhoods. Using the ArcGIS cost allocation analysis function, least cost regions are generated around neighborhood nodes based on the energy cost of foot travel relative to distance and slope. These prospective agricultural neighborhoods closely match ethnographers' and historical geographers' spatial descriptions. Mapping historic Appalachian agricultural neighborhoods provides an important basis for comparison with past and present settlement patterns. The research method is significant because it is easily replicated and may be extended across Appalachia and the past century.

Speak, Landscape: Conversation with a North Carolina Textile Mill Village's Nodes, Edges, Paths and Landmarks

Julie K. Trotter, Alamance Community College

Interviews and oral histories collected from former Southern textile mill workers often solely reflect what no longer exists—mill village life while the mill was operational. When the direction of inquiry primarily looks backwards, without the balance of also looking at the present, accounts of mill life appear frozen in past time, as one book title suggests (and laments) that *My World is Gone*. What can we learn from the present-day mill village landscape that might offer insight into what is important to current people who reside there, and what might have impacted the tight-knit mill village life of yesteryear? Using Kevin Lynch's framework for organizing elements of a city he identified in his classic book *The Image of the City*, the current landscape of a former thriving textile mill village, Bynum, North Carolina, will be analyzed to look for indicators of how place affects people's lives. Studying the current topographical landscape of a former mill town serves as a connecting agent; it grounds our understanding of social relationships in the physical world where they take place, it creates a bridge from past to future, and it offers an awareness of how the landscape figures in everyday cultural life.

Exploring the National Park Service as a Federal Partner in National Heritage Areas: Perceptions and Practices Over Time

Susan Martin Williams, Concord University

Using case study analysis, this qualitative research project explored National Heritage Areas' perceptions about the role of the National Park Service as a Federal Partner over time. An evolutionary model resulted, showing that the role of the NPS as Federal Partner changes as National Heritage Areas evolve as interorganizational domains. This information is especially important as public, private and non-profit sectors are forced to rely on partnerships and collaboration to withstand increasingly turbulent economic environments, avoid competing for common resources and duplication of efforts. [Read the article.](#)

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41ST ANNUAL CONFERENCE | PIPESTEM, WV | OCTOBER 29-31, 2009

2009 Awards

Henry H. Douglas Distinguished Service Award

Honors an individual who has made significant contributions in furthering the goals of the Pioneer America Society

Dawn S. Bowen, Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Mary
Washington, Fredericksburg, Virginia

Fred B. Kniffen Book Award

Recognizes a best-authored book in the field of North American material culture

Ann Norton Greene of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008

Allen G. Noble Book Award

Recognizes a best-edited book in the field of North American material culture

Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007

Warren E. Roberts Graduate Student Paper Award

Recognizes excellence in original graduate student fieldwork, documentary research, and writing in the area of traditional North American material culture

Jonathan E. Kay of the Department of Folklore at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, "The Alvis Partin Farm: Memories of a Farm in Eastern Bell County,

Hubert G. H. Wilhelm Student Research Award

Awarded to an undergraduate or graduate student to recognize excellence in student fieldwork, research, and writing in the material culture of the Americas

No award was given in 2009.

PAS:APAL Historic Preservation Award

Established in 2000, recognizes the preservation, interpretation, instruction, celebration, or exhibition of North American material culture

Historic Preservation Award

Cockayne Historic Preservation Committee for its project, first, to preserve the Cockayne Farmstead in Glenn Dale, WV, and secondly, to create an educational and cultural center at the farm that will benefit all West Virginians. <http://www.cockaynefarm.com/>

Historic Preservation Certificates of Merit

Historic Beverly Preservation in recognition of its outstanding efforts to preserve, restore, and interpret four historic downtown buildings for use as the Beverly Heritage Center, Beverly WV.

<http://www.historicbeverly.org/bevhcent.htm>

Don C. Wood and the Berkeley County Historical Society in recognition of their outstanding efforts to promote preserve, restore, and use the Belle Boyd House in Martinsville, WV, as an archive and research center. <http://www.bchs.org/civilwar.html>

Croghan at Aughwick: History, Maps, and Archaeology Collide in the Search for Fort Shirley

Jonathan A. Burns, Axis Research, Inc.

George John Drobnock, Huntingdon Borough, Huntingdon, PA

Jared M. Smith, Juniata College

Introduction

During the mid-1750s, the mountainous Ridge and Valley section of southern central Pennsylvania was an important theater for colliding European and Native American cultures. The “no-man’s land” of the time, these unsettled forests were located between colonial Philadelphia to the east and the Ohio Country to the west (Wainwright 1959, 69-85). The area that is located in the southeastern part of modern-day Huntingdon County lay along new trade routes through the mountains. In 1753, George Croghan, an Irish immigrant referred to as the “King of the Traders,” made his home in the fertile fields along Aughwick Creek, just north of the modern-day town of Shirleysburg (Volwiler 1926). Aughwick was chosen as a prime location to keep a safe distance from the French at Fort Duquesne, who put a price on his head, as well as the authorities back east, who would arrest him for bankruptcy since his trading activity was interrupted by the start of the Seven Years War (figure 1).

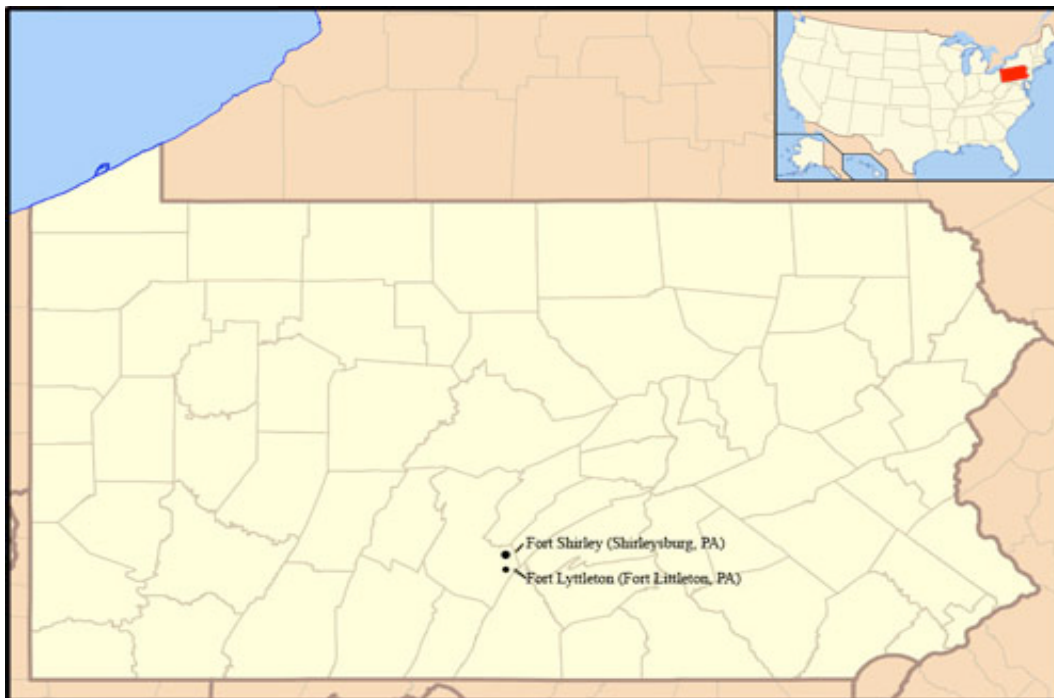


Figure 1. Map of Pennsylvania showing approximate locations of both Fort Shirley and Fort Lyttleton. *All images courtesy the authors unless otherwise noted.*

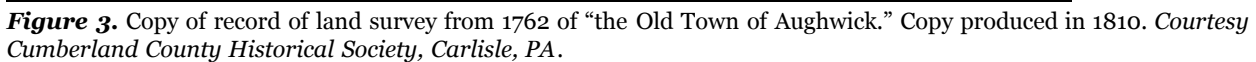
It was here that a well-populated settlement, Aughwick Old Town, sprang up adjacent to George Croghan’s homestead and trading post. Because of Croghan’s presence, the location became an important council place between Natives and the provincial government of Pennsylvania. After Major General Edward Braddock’s

defeat in the summer of 1755, Croghan fortified his position at Aughwick (then in Cumberland County) at his own expense; this was done in order to protect his stores and the 200 Iroquois that had fled there after George Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity. Croghan's fort was strengthened by provincial troops and officially named Fort Shirley early in 1756 by the British under Hugh Mercer. This fort became an important link in the chain of provincial British forts that protected the frontier from the French and their Native American allies. Fort Shirley served as Colonel John Armstrong's advanced post for the raid on Kittanning in the fall of 1756; and although the expedition was viewed as a success, this garrison was abandoned by Provincial forces later that September (Waddelle and Bomberger 1996, 24).

Frequent mention is made of Fort Shirley in historic letters, records, and accounts; however, there is no modern above-ground evidence of the fort. Despite the text on the Pennsylvania State Historical marker located just north of Shirleysburg, the exact location of the palisade fort is unknown. This report assembles and evaluates the historical evidence for the fort's location in preparation for subsequent archaeological investigations. Our research team explored leads pertaining to the fort at Aughwick in the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, historical accounts, maps, deeds, and aerial photos (figures 2-6).



Figure 2. Early survey map of Croghan's land conducted by J. S. Africa. Courtesy Africa Engineering Associates Inc., Huntingdon, PA.



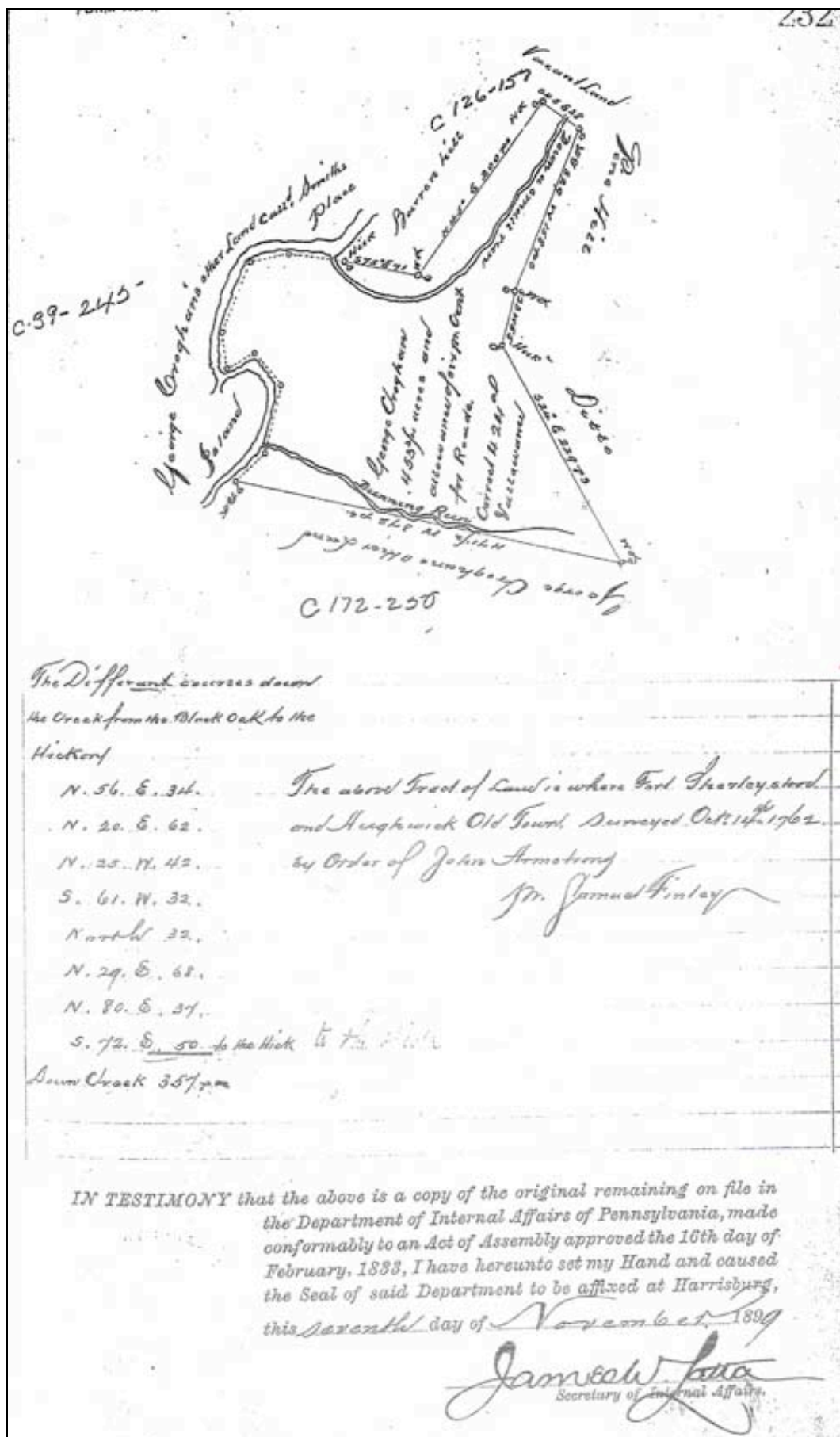


Figure 4. Survey maps of George Groghan's land. *Courtesy the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission,* http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/land_records/3184/land_warrant_applications/387338.

FORM No. 1

C207-294
Nº 3.

24

A Draught of a Tract of Land situate Near Aughwick—in Cumberland County
Containing five Hundred and Eleven Acres and an half and the Usual Al-
lowance of Six p-Cent for Roads; Survey'd for Jeremiah Warder & Com-
pany in right of George Croghan

John Armstrong

To John Lukens }
Surveyor General }

O.S.

IN TESTIMONY that the above is a copy of the original remaining on file in
the Department of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania, made
conformably to an Act of Assembly approved the 16th day of
February, 1833, I have hereunto set my Hand and caused
the Seal of said Department to be affixed at Harrisburg,
this fourteenth day of July 1904

James B. Brown
Secretary of Internal Affairs

Figure 5. Circa 1762 Warrant map showing location of village of Aughwick, site of Croghan's Fort, later Fort Shirley. *Courtesy the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*, http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/land_records/3184/land_warrant_applications/387338.



Figure 6. Aerial photograph of northern Shirleysburg, late 1960s. Courtesy Penn Pilot, <http://www.pennpilot.psu.edu/>.

Fort Shirley on the Cultural Landscape

Located in Southern Huntingdon County, Aughwick Creek is a tributary of the Juniata River, providing a travel route through the rugged mountains of Pennsylvania's Ridge and Valley Province. The land north of present-day Shirleysburg occupies prime agricultural ground on the eastern bank of the Aughwick, where the floodplain is wide along the bend in the creek. A small tributary stream, named Fort Run, joins Aughwick Creek at the northern end of a farmed corn field. The story of Fort Shirley cannot be told without elaborating on the life of its "high profile" founder, George Croghan, who likely had his eye on this land as early as 1747 during his expeditions as a trader. He built a house and trading post here in 1753 after moving from the Cumberland Valley of Maryland. Weiser (1916) writes, "This famous valley heretofore referred to as Aughwick, is described as being in the extreme southern part of Huntingdon County, one of a series of valleys through whose entire length ran the celebrated path from Kittanning to Philadelphia, being the great western highway for footmen and packhorses" (573).

The Evans Map, dated 1749, guided trade and travel from Philadelphia and Lancaster to the central mountains of Pennsylvania (figure 7). Of specific interest is the westward route labeled "new trail" that ends just past Black Log. Croghan's homestead was off the map to the west. Always pushing the envelope of the

western frontier, Croghan states in a letter written to Sir William Johnson dated September 10, 1755, “I Live 30 Miles back of all Inhabitation on ye fronteers...” (Volwiler 1926, 48). By 1755, Croghan was essentially “hiding out” in the back country of the province, since he lost many assets provisioning Braddock’s expedition, in addition to his losses in the Ohio Country during the previous year.

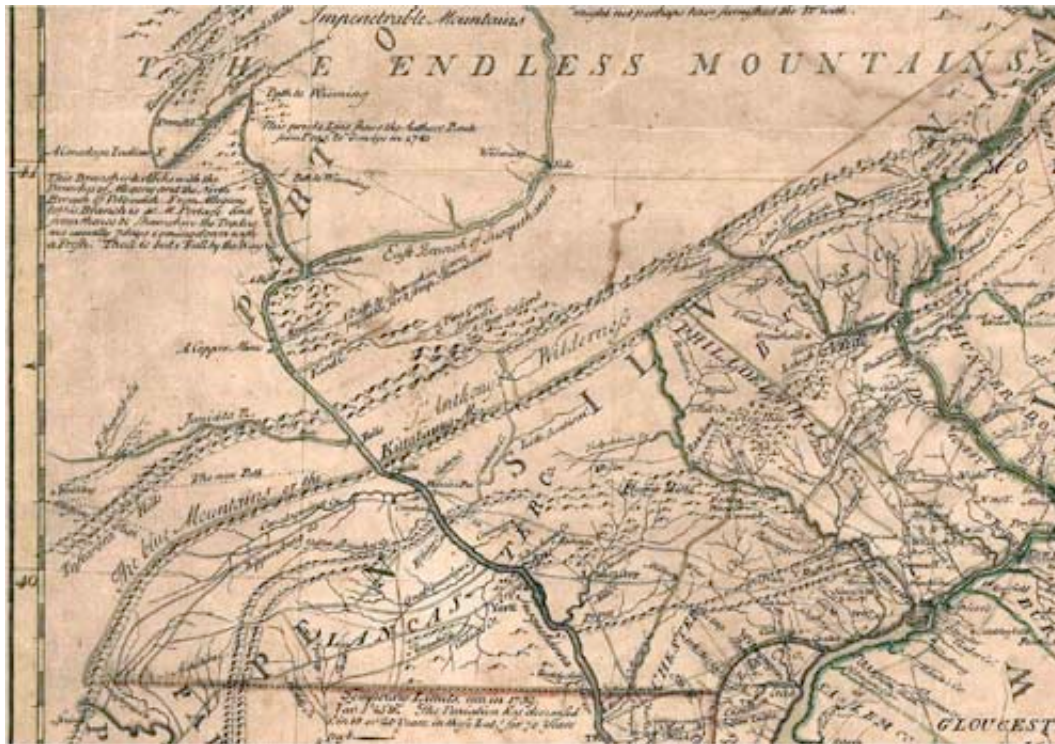


Figure 7. The Evans Map, used to direct traders from Philadelphia and Lancaster to the western frontiers of Pennsylvania. Courtesy Historical Maps of Pennsylvania, <http://www.mapsofpa.com>.

An early map of south-central Pennsylvania was produced by John Armstrong in 1755, and showed the proposed chain of forts to protect the western frontier (Waddell and Bomberger 1996, 18-19). Darlington’s 1882 map was copied from Armstrong’s map on file at the Public Record Office in London. Croghan was commissioned by the Provincial governor to manage the establishment of this line of forts in 1755, and used his existing fort for the defensive location at Aughwick.

The European concept of lines of forts was no doubt influenced by local topography, in that their presence facilitated the movement of goods and people through travel arteries and provided fortified refuges in times of hostility. A similar situation is documented in colonial Massachusetts, wherein a chain of frontier forts traversed a straight line distance of 38 miles over the rough terrain of the northern Berkshires. Coe (2006) writes, “[a]ll construction in them was timber, with no masonry beyond chimneys and chimney bases, and no earthworks” (5). One of Coe’s archaeological case studies was also called Fort Shirley, by the same namesake. Another similarity lies in the pioneering activities of the local leaders and the speculation of “wild lands.”

Croghan’s Trading Post and Aughwick Oldtown

To reveal the location of Fort Shirley, it is necessary to understand the cultural and geographical significance of the settled land adjacent to the fort. A substantial settlement, Aughwick Old Town, developed around George Croghan’s homestead, a place where Native Americans and whites conducted trade and found refuge. In a letter dated August 16, 1754, Croghan wrote to the governor of the province that the Half King and his

fellow Mingo Seneca people had been staying with him at Aughwick since Washington's defeat (Hazard 1853, 140-41). In a deposition given on August 27, 1754 on file in The British Public Records Office, some Native American allies of Washington informed a Captain John B. W. Shaw that they were going to "Jemmy Arther" for protection. The reference to Jemmy Arther is likely an early reference to the trading post of Jerhemia Wardner, employer of George Croghan. Having no place to go after losing their village at the Forks of the Ohio, the Half King expected his people to be harbored and protected by the provincial government of Pennsylvania. Croghan pleaded to the governor that he could not provide for this many families alone and that he needed funding or compensation.

Conrand Weiser visited Croghan's homestead at Aughwick on September 3, 1754 to investigate the situation and reported to Governor Hamilton that Croghan had a plentiful bounty of butter, milk, squash, pumpkins, and ample acres of the best Indian corn he had ever seen. Included in the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, Weiser also reported that "...he had encountered about twenty cabins about Croghan's house, and in them at least 200 Indians, men, women and children..." (149). From announcements regarding runaway slaves near the frontier, we know that Croghan was listed as a contact person for their return. Croghan attracted quite a population with his entourage of partners, employees, servants, slaves, and pack teams, when widespread violence and military actions disrupted his thriving business.

As the political climate was abruptly changing during the time leading up to the French and Indian War, Croghan emerged as a colonial militia leader and the most capable Indian Agent. Croghan scouted for and supplied Braddock's failed expedition during the summer of 1755; in fact, he and his seven scouts made the first engagement with French forces. Had Braddock accepted the help of the Seneca, Mingo, and Oneida warriors rallied by Croghan, the results may have been much different; however, only seven of the 40 warriors that traveled with him from Aughwick took part in the expedition due to Braddock's distrust of them. After Braddock's death and upon returning to his home, Croghan received credible intelligence reports that war parties from Kittanning were planning to attack the frontier from the West. Rather than waiting for provincial funding, Croghan erected a stockade fort at his own expense during the fall of 1755 to protect his stores and the settlement at Aughwick Old Town.

The Fort

A cunning frontiersman, Croghan had no doubt thought out his homestead's defenses, so when the time came to formally fortify his position during the fall of 1755 he likely incorporated existing buildings into the stockade enclosure. He was quite familiar with the fighting tactics of Native American war parties, and was looked to by the provincial government as an expert on fort construction. In addition to his fort at Aughwick, Croghan laid the plans for and oversaw the beginning of the construction of Fort Lyttleton.

The situation at Aughwick was somewhat different from the erection of military forts, as Croghan's fort was built after his cabin and store houses, implying that those structures influenced the positioning of the stockade. He is reported to have completed the construction with the help of his men and local labor. Originally referred to as "Croghan's fort," it was taken over by provincial forces and renamed "Fort Shirley" in January, 1756. Croghan was commissioned by the Governor as a captain and commanded Fort Shirley for the first three months of 1756 until Captain Mercer assumed command of the garrison of 75 men. In a letter

written by Governor Morris to General Shirley, dated February 9, 1756 (and published by in the Pennsylvania Archives in 1853), Hazard writes:

...about twenty miles northward of Fort Lyttelton, at a place called Aughwick, another fort is erected something larger than Fort Lyttelton, which I have taken the liberty of naming Fort Shirley. This stands near the great path used by the Indians and Indians traders, to and from the Ohio, and consequently the easiest way of access for the Indians into the settlements of this Province (569).

The fort remained active as a key outpost until its abandonment was ordered by the governor in 1756. Weiser (1916) writes, "We see thus that Fort Shirley during the times of Braddock's disastrous venture was an important post to and from which bodies of armed men under Provincial authority were being constantly directed..." (573). Due to its advanced location, Colonel Armstrong and his troops set off from Fort Shirley on August 29, 1756, during the Kittanning Expedition in reprisal for the destruction of Fort Granville. As is written in the minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, "As Fort Shirley is not easily defended, and their Water may be taken possession of by the Enemy, it running at a Foot of a high bank Eastward of the Fort, and no well Dugg, I am of Opinion, from its remote situation, that it can't serve the country in the present Circumstances..." (Hazard 32-33).

According to Hunter, "Except that it was a stockade fort and that it was 'something larger than fort Lyttelton,' little is definitely known about the structure of this defense" (Hunter 1960, 394). General Forbes described Fort Lyttelton and Fort Loudon as measuring 100 feet square; thus providing a minimum size for the stockade of Fort Shirley.

Using Clues from the Historic Record ***Court Cases and Deeds***

The ownership of the tract where the fort once stood can be tracked by using deeds and surveys available on the PHMC website and other sources. Croghan was the first owner of the land where the fort stood after the area was opened up for settlement. In fact, he is said to have purchased the Aughwick tract from the Onondaga rather than from the Penn family; and therefore, this transaction was a point of contention with the provincial government.

Ownership of Croghan's land at Aughwick was contested in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in a case heard in Huntingdon in 1799. In this case John Armstrong's sons, James and John Jr., were defending their ownership of the land along with Thomas Duncan against John Morgan, the plaintiff (Supreme Court of Pennsylvania 1871, 529-30).

After a visit to the local survey company, Africa Engineers, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, we believe that we have found the map of the survey ordered (if not done by) John Armstrong (figure 2), who had a vested personal interest in the property at Aughwick as he owned the deed to one of the three tracts (also redrawn and reprinted in Africa 1883, 342a).

The parcel appears again in the records when the land is deeded to James Fowley in 1773. Rev. Philip Fithian, who was commissioned to survey the Presbyterian churches scattered about Pennsylvania in 1775,

wrote about the fort and his stay at the Fowley's home. Published by the Huntingdon County Historical Society, he writes in his diary: "We crossed Ofwick (Aughwick) Creek and arrived ...at Mr. Fowley's who lives within the walls of old Fort Shirley" (No author 1937, 16). Ownership of the parcel is then transferred to Paul Warner in 1776 and recorded by another survey map.

In 1783, an Irish immigrant named Samuel McCammon came to Shirleysburg from Bucks County and bought the tract that included the fort stockade. This is perhaps the most important account of the change of ownership, as Mr. McCammon is reported to have built his house from the round logs of the old fort house (Jordan 1936, 716). From this, we know that the fort stockade was still visible at this time. It is possible that all the usable wood from the stockade and structures was scavenged for use in the construction of cabins and out buildings, leaving only subsurface features and artifacts to reveal the fort's location. Any mention or surveys after this period would have been done without visual reference to the stockade.

Written Accounts

There are multiple accounts, from both primary sources and historical interpretations, regarding the location of Fort Shirley; and each of these come along with their own specific complications and contradictions. The first account for the location of Fort Shirley after the Colonial Period appeared in a newspaper called *The Standing Stone Banner* (published 1853-1855) that was edited by J. Simpson Africa and Samuel G. Whitaker. The *Banner's* description appeared in the *Pennsylvania Archives* (Hazard, 458) during the first attempt to locate the frontier forts of Pennsylvania.

In his history of Huntingdon County, Lytle states:

... (I am) indebted to Samuel McVitty, ESQ., formerly of Shirleysburg, now of Clay Township, this county, with reference to the natural surroundings in its immediate vicinity. The site of the fort has been frequently pointed out to him by those who had seen it, and by Isaac Morgan, who claims to have fortified in it in his boyhood days. It was a log fort of considerable strength and size, standing on the edge of the plateau, south of the fort run and west of the road entering Shirleysburg from Mount Union (sic) Aughwick was situated about half-way between the fort and Aughwick Creek, where the depot of the East Broad Top Railroad now stands. Mr. McVitty spent many hours of his youthful hours in gathering arrow-heads, stone tomahawks, beads, and musket balls from this historic ground" (Lytle 1875, 64-65).

Africa writes in his history of Huntingdon County:

The fort stockade was located on the left or south bank of Fort Run, about half-way between the Benjamin Leas house and the farm of Nelson Barton, and a little south of a line drawn between the two. The house of Capt. Croghan, who was in command of the fort, stood a little west or southwest of the fort, near a large pine-tree then, and for three-quarters of a century after, standing near where the station of the East Broad Top Railroad now stands" (Africa 341-342).

A report on the frontier forts was published by Weiser, but according to Waddell and Bomberger it was assembled without critical analysis or organization. However, according to Weiser:

The writer, after an inspection of the site found it on an elevated plot of ground, where now stands the Shirleysburg Female Seminary, within the limits of the borough of Shirleysburg and on the east side of it about one-fourth of a mile from Aughwick. A small stream passes southwest through Germany Valley between the spot where the fort was located and the end of Owing's Hill, and empties into Aughwick Creek" (567-566).

The reference to an "elevated plot of ground" is unclear, as the seminary location is set back from Fort Run and its confluence with Aughwick Creek. The report also states that the fort supposedly stood opposite a high ledge of rocks used for target practice; however, modern highway construction impacted this hillside so that it cannot be used as a reference.

Another historian, Charles Hannah, presents a photo of the field from 1909, labeling it as the field where Fort Shirley Stood (Hannah 1911, 253). The Huntingdon Borough Sesquicentennial publication from 1938 repeated Lytle's 1875 description of fort while Samuel McVitty recounts of local elders talking about the fort's size and recalls collecting military and Indian artifacts in the field as a child thus reinforcing an oral account of the fort's location.

One of the oldest parcel maps documenting the tract where the fort stood is dated November 23, 1762, and was obtained through the Hamilton Library Collection in Carlisle; unfortunately, the fort location is not indicated. Next we have Surveyor General Armstrong's survey map of the parcel apparently dated 1761; this, was obtained at the local engineering office and it does show a location for the fort. The map indicates that the parcel that includes the fort was deeded to Jeremiah Warder and Company in right of George Croghan. This map was later redrawn for a plate published by Africa (342a).

At first glance, the scale and proportions seemed to be relatively accurate when compared to modern aerial photographs and topographic maps of the site. Therefore, we wanted to check to see if the mapped location of the fort could mark the spot. To evaluate the accuracy of the map we went to the Huntingdon County Mapping Office (figure 8) where we had the map overlaid onto the GIS database (figure 9). While fitting the maps, we discovered that the survey from Carlisle was close to 100 perches too short along one of the survey legs (one perch is equivalent to 16.5 feet). This may explain why there is another survey map dated November 25. While it is a more accurate survey map, the date is difficult to decipher, complicating our understanding of the timeline of events surrounding the surveys and court documents. Using distinct features as control points we attempted to match the survey maps to the modern aerial image. We then re-surveyed the three-mile-long tract using the survey notes to reveal that the boundaries match up best nearest along Aughwick Creek, while distortion and inaccuracy occurs along Owing's Hill and Fort Run. From the GIS, we know that the symbol used to represent the fort measures 600 by 400 feet, which is much too large to have been drawn to scale. Additionally, the overlay places the fort on the steep hill and in the middle of Route 522, so we know that the placement of both the fort and Fort Run are skewed. The GIS is flexible in the different view options as shown in this figure; with the redrawn parcel boundary over the areal on the left, and the parcel boundary over a hill-shade surface on the right.



Figure 8. On a visit to the Huntingdon County Mapping office the authors worked with local personnel to overlay maps found in the colonial record onto more recent maps. *Courtesy Huntingdon County Mapping Department, Huntingdon, PA.*

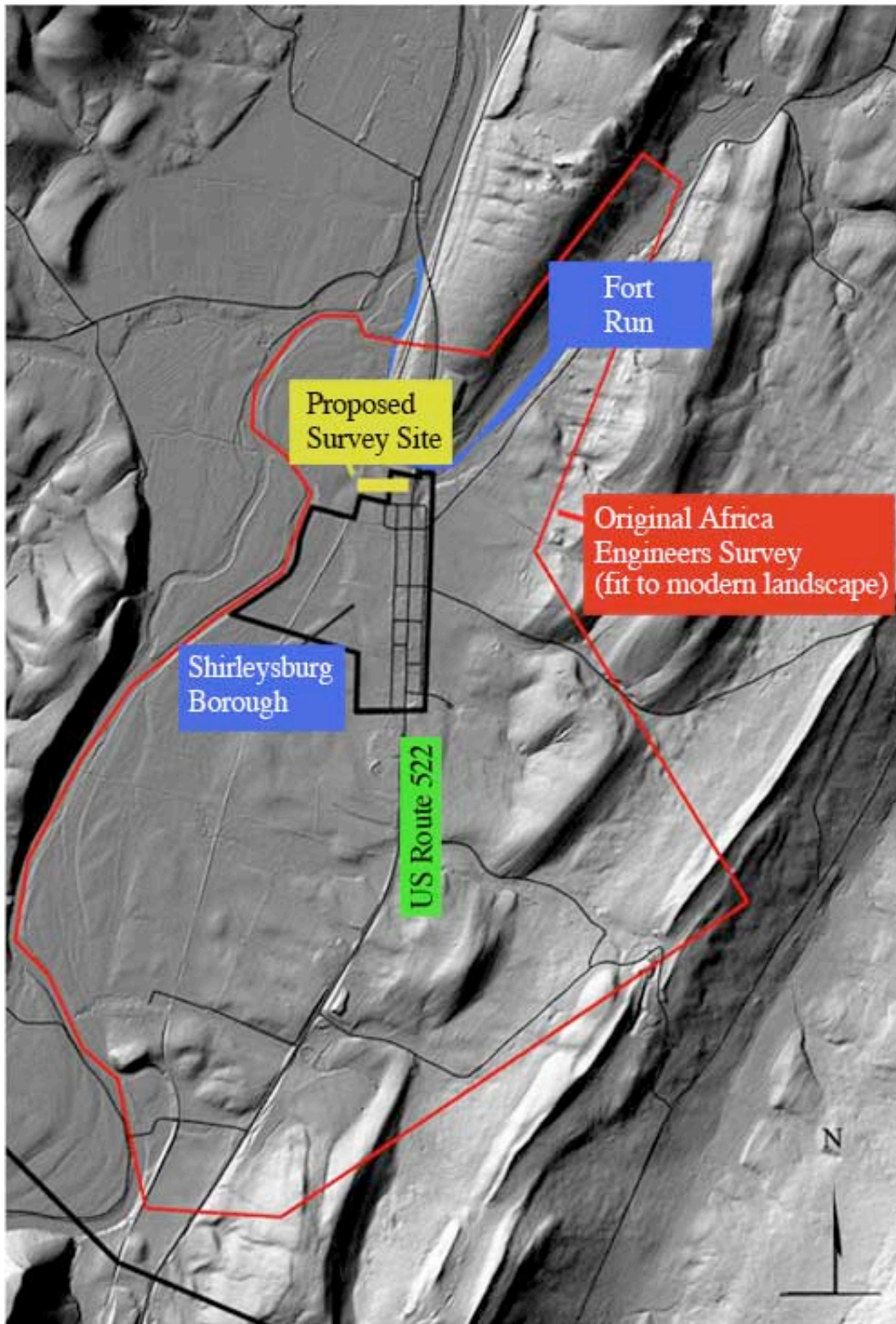


Figure 9. An outline of the J.S. Africa Map (red) on a modern Shirleysburg (black). *Courtesy Huntingdon County Mapping Department, Huntingdon, PA (with assistance from Brian Young, Huntingdon County Mapping Department).*

The Need for Archaeology

After reviewing the maps and assembling the written clues, we now need archaeology to confirm or refute the plausible location of Fort Shirley. The presence of a palisade fort and the activities of the troops garrisoned there would produce specific features and distributions of artifacts that should allow the determination of its

presence archaeologically. When chosen by Croghan, the location was appealing as a good spot for a homestead rather than defensible ground for a fort. Bearing this in mind, we must consider the fact that the 1750s landscape may have been transformed by geomorphologic processes (for example, by flooding, erosion, and stream channel migration) as well as subsequent farming activity. After visual inspection of various air photo series, there are few (if any) apparent effects on the vegetation coverage from subsurface features. At first glance, we are faced with a seemingly featureless cornfield; but by using clues from the written record and the maps, we have targeted up to four localized areas for investigation.

There are no obvious traces of the fort or any other structures from Croghan's homestead visible on the aerial photographs of the site. Adding to the complications is the fact that old Route 522 could have impacted the fort and village sites. One way to focus the search for a compound structure such as Fort Shirley is to use geophysical prospecting techniques to detect any traces of subsurface features such as foundations, the palisade wall, and the powder magazine. After narrowing our search using the written record, maps, and GIS; a geophysical survey was started in November with the help of Indiana University of Pennsylvania. A site grid has been established and the test blocks have been staked-out using a laser total station; then, ground-penetrating-radar and resistivity equipment were used to collect data during close interval traverses (0.5 or 1.0 m). The geophysical data will be interpreted further to help guide subsequent archaeological testing.

In lieu of professional archaeological excavations, conventional wisdom suggests that the site is somewhere near the Female Seminary or Leas House. In 1984, a frizen and a .30 caliber lead ball were recovered using a metal detector (approximately 20 ft.) directly behind the Leas house (figure 10). This location is nearer the old railroad station mentioned in the latter accounts of the fort, but further from the mapped location suggested by the Armstrong survey. Military and Native American artifacts are rumored to have been collected from this part of the field over the past 100 years or more; but, these accounts should be substantiated with informant interviews.



Figure 10. A sample of preliminary artifacts uncovered around the presumed site of Fort Shirley.

Conclusions

As it fades from recollection and slips into obscurity, it is clear that Fort Shirley's location north of Shirleysburg will not reveal itself with the passage of time; rather, it is time for informed archaeological testing to confidently locate this colonial-era stockade. From the historic record, we know that important events transpired at Aughwick between 1753 and 1756 related to George Croghan's presence there. With Aughwick Oldtown factored in, it is evident that the search for Fort Shirley is complicated by the fact that the location was much more than just a military fort. The historic accounts, with all their contradictions and exaggerations, have taken us as far as possible in this search. In cases like this, it takes archaeology to set the written record straight. Fort Run was the obvious reference for the fort's location on the survey map; however, we have revealed the limitations of the mapping techniques used 250 years ago. To aid in the search for Fort Shirley, a geophysical survey was conducted by Dr. Beverly Chiarulli (Indiana University of Pennsylvania) using a GSSI Sir 3000 Ground Penetrating Radar Unit with a 400MhZ antenna. The location of the survey block, measuring 20 by 70 meters, was based on the historic map and accounts, and the data were collected at 0.5 meter intervals to detect possible fort-related artifacts and features. Although the results are preliminary, potentially meaningful patterning was evident and will help guide archaeological investigations during upcoming summer fieldwork. The data were processed using a computer program (GPR-SLICE) to provide detailed graphic displays of the survey results. In short, variable microwave velocities indicate zones of reflectivity in the subsurface block. The highest reflective zones likely indicate rock concentrations or other features that may have been associated with the fort. Archaeological excavation, however, is needed to explore these potential cultural features. The survey produced 20 incremental slices to a depth of one meter (figure 11). The combination of all 20 slices (figure 12) resulted in a detailed view of the spatial data, making the patterns of subsurface anomalies more visible. Dr. Chiarulli pointed out at least two

geometric anomalies of interest in the survey block, which will be explored in future excavation as possible cultural features.

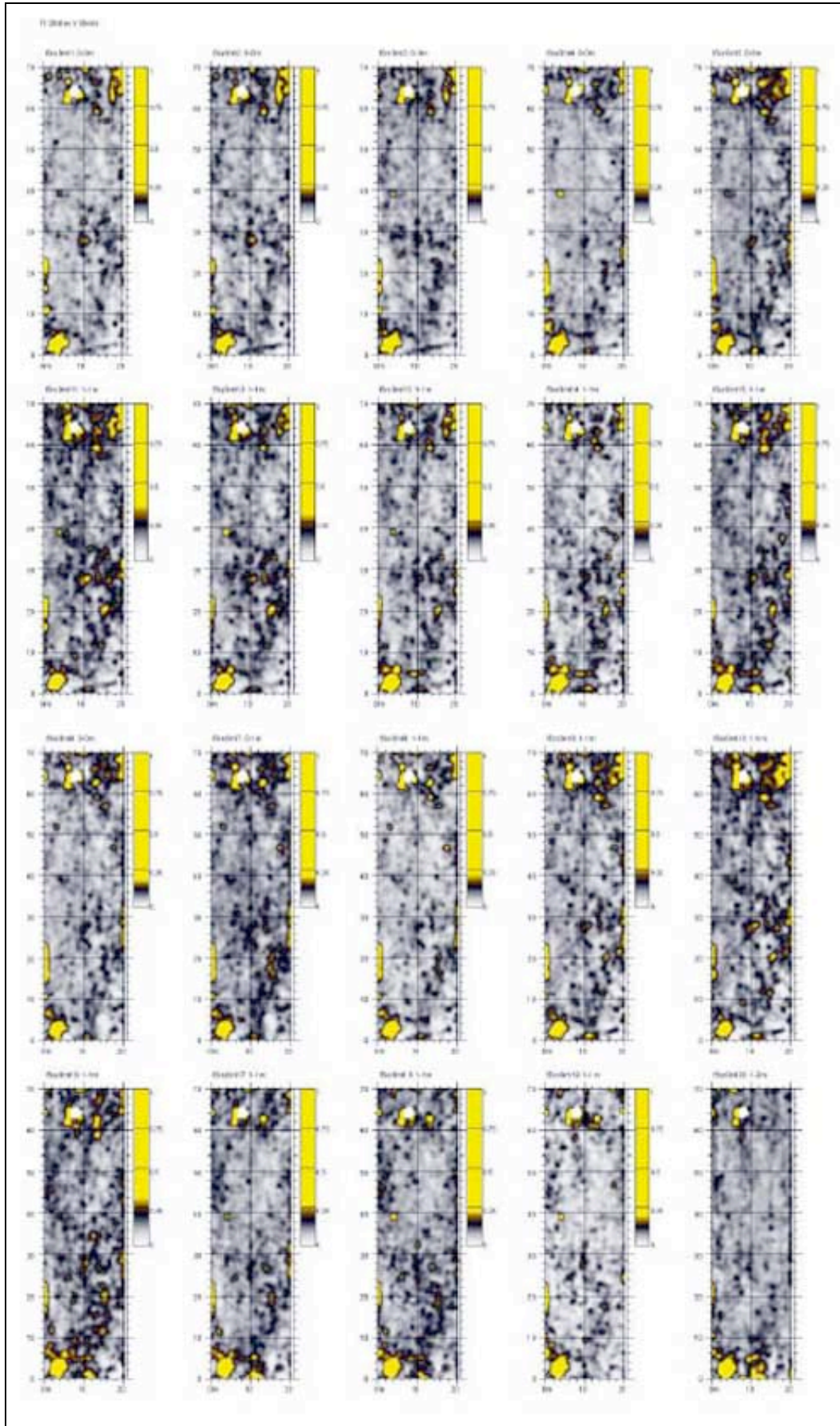


Figure 11. Twenty GPR slices in 4 ns 50% overlapping views. The surface slice is found on the upper left while the deepest slice is on the lower right. *Courtesy Dr. Beverly Chiarulli, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.*

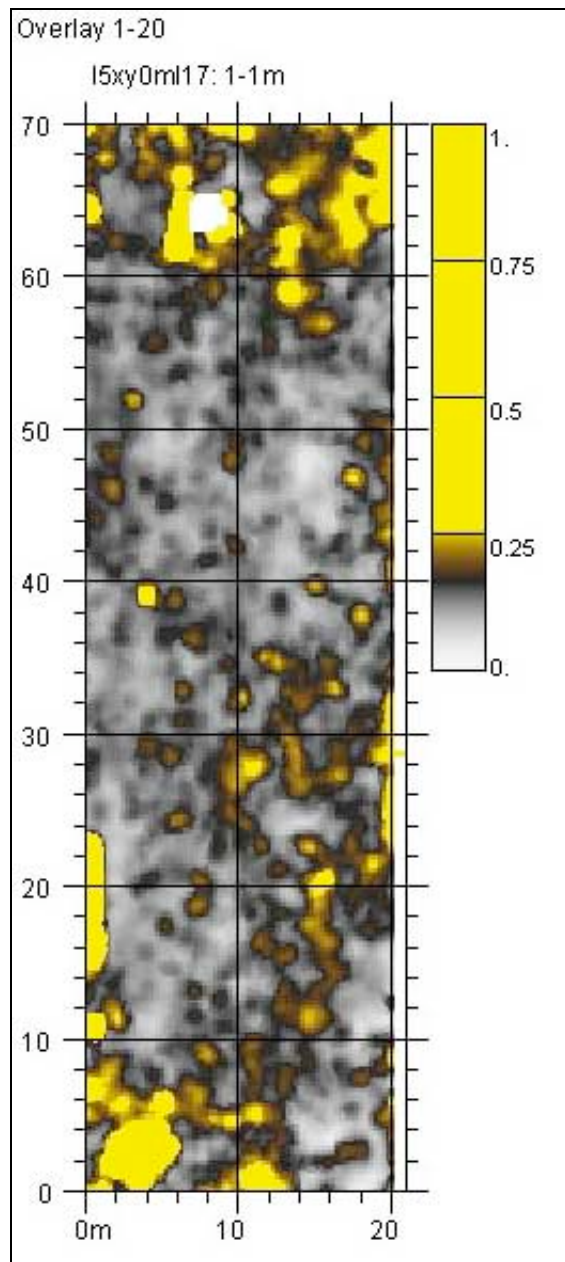


Figure 12. The combination of all twenty GPR slices collected by Dr. Chiarulli. *Courtesy Dr. Beverly Chiarulli, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.*

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Sheet Music as an Indicator of Material Culture (Economics)

A Case Study of the Barr Dry Goods Store in St. Louis, and the Collection of Ida Burrough Coit, Cape Girardeau

Ralph Hartsock, University of North Texas Libraries

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, music printing, like book printing, increased due to the introduction of steam power. Annual sheet-music production rose from 600 titles in the 1820s to 5,000 in the early 1850s (Cornelius 2004, 18-20). Boston publisher Oliver Ditson had an inventory of 33,000 piano pieces; by the 1870s this had increased to 200,000 (Blumhofer 2005, 151).

People of means purchased pianos and other instruments, and collected music (solo piano music, songs for voice and piano). Those buying pianos began using installment credit in 1854 (Lynn 1957, 420). In 1866, Americans purchased 25,000 new pianos at a total cost of \$15 million. Production increased each year, and by 1890, 232,000 pianos were manufactured in the United States (No author n.d.[a]). Many hired printers to bind their music together subsequent to their purchases. Some even numbered the pages of the entire “book.” The University of North Texas Libraries, like those of Library of Congress, Eastman School of Music, Indiana University, and others, have collected and accessed these various “binder’s collections” (figure 1).

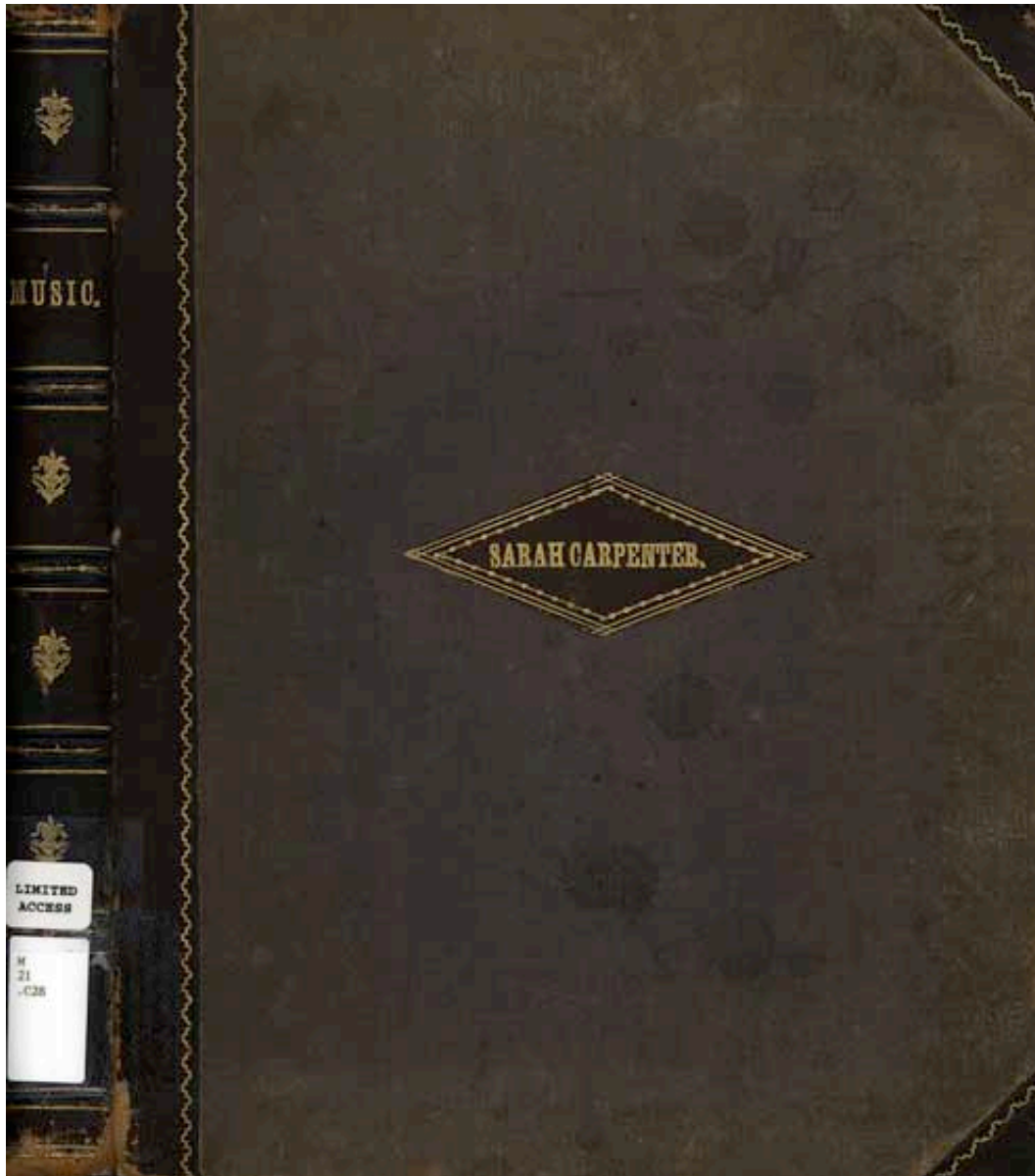


Figure 1. Binder's collection, collected by Sarah Carpenter. *Courtesy University of North Texas Libraries.*

In this paper I will outline the regional influence in southeastern Missouri of the Burrough family. I will describe the component parts of one specific binder's collection (that of Ida Burrough Coit), a separate collection in St. Louis surveyed for this study, and the companies that advertised on sheet music and other communicative venues. I will also chart the materials advertised and discuss their material-cultural values.

Music and Music Collectors

Although several genres of music are represented in binder's collections, most are the popular music of the period, fantasies or variations on known opera themes, minstrel songs and tunes, and other dance forms, such as polkas, quadrilles, waltzes, and schottisches. Genteel women learned the basics of piano playing, and practiced and performed these pieces in their homes. It was thought at the time that women could not absorb the abstract content of the higher musical genres, such as sonatas and symphonies, either as composers or performers. Sheet-music production in the United States reached its pinnacle in the 1890s and early decade of the 1900s. At that time, local department stores would hire a pianist, often a young female, to

play these popular songs.

Ida Burrough Coit

Jacob H. Burrough (1827–1883), an attorney from Cape Girardeau, Missouri, was on the first board of regents for what is now Southeast Missouri State University. His daughter, Rachel Ida, was born in 1858 (age 12 at the time of the 1870 census), performed at that college's inauguration, and collected piano music. Her brother, Frank E. Burrough (1865-1903), was a prominent prosecutor in the area in the late nineteenth century.

The genesis of what became Southeast Missouri State University occurred in St. Louis, on October 28, 1873. A board determined that a school should be established in Cape Girardeau, and appointed Jacob Burrough to the executive committee of the Missouri Normal School (Cape Girardeau), the third such college in Missouri. On June 25, 1874, a public program to inaugurate the college was held in Turner's Hall; this program included music, oration, and the reading of essays (Douglass 1912, 424-25). Following a chorus, an oration by Alex. H. Miller, and an essay by Belle Green came music presented as a duet by Ida Burrough and Mary Ross (figure 2). They sang "In the Starlight," most likely composed by Stephen Glover around 1860 (Glover 1860a, 1860b). Later in the program was an untitled instrumental duet by Ida Burrough and her sister, Emma (born 1862). A short time later, Ida read an essay on Mary, Queen of Scots. In spring of 1875, Ida Burrough was among the first students to complete the elementary course, a series of classes from various disciplines: geography, composition, vocal music, and philosophy, to name a few.



Figure 2. Ida Burrough Coit, 1880s. *Private collection.*



Figure 3. A gathering at the Coit house in Denton, Texas. Courtesy Portal of Texas History, University of North Texas, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph16130/?q=john%20coit>

On February 25, 1886, Ida Burrough married John Clinton Coit (1858-1941), in Denton, Texas (see figure 3). The son of John Taylor Coit (1829-1872), John C. Coit was born December 25, 1858, in Cheraw, South Carolina. In 1859 J.T. Coit left South Carolina for Texas, and settled a 320 acre homestead on what is now the Dallas/Collin County line. John C. Coit attended Austin College in Sherman, Texas, and after his marriage to Ida, spent most of his life in Denton, in banking and real estate (Dallas County Pioneer Association, Stories).

Collections surveyed in the study are the Coit collection at the University of North Texas, and the Supplementary Sheet music collection of Washington University, St. Louis. The Coit collection consists of 42 pieces collected by Ida Burrough Coit. Several pieces, compliments of William Barr Dry Goods Store, St. Louis, included its catalog of nonmusical merchandise on the back cover. Their advertising forms the nucleus of this study of 19th century material culture as communicated on sheet-music covers.

Advertising on Sheet Music

The first perspective one may gain from viewing this sheet music is the relative place in society occupied by Barr Dry Goods Company. William Barr founded his business in 1849 (No author n.d.[b]). They describe

themselves as the people “who keep the largest stock and make the lowest prices in the west” (Freeman 1884). The population of the United States during this time was 50,189,209. The center of population was a few miles southwest of Cincinnati, Ohio, in Kentucky (U.S. Census Bureau). The address for the Wm. Barr Dry Goods Co., as listed on several title pages of this music, was Sixth and Olive, to Locust, St. Louis, only blocks from what we know today as Gateway Arch.

As previously noted, the sample for this study includes three scores from the University of North Texas Music Library, and sixteen from the Music Library of Washington University in St. Louis. All music examined was published and sold during the 1870s and 1880s. Some advertisements included patent dates in the mid-1880s. Forty-six different companies are represented in this sample by 242 separate advertisements, most from the textile industry, with others from cosmetics, food, and household items (Table 1).

Table 1. Industries listed in sampled sheet music.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Textiles: coats, shirts, underwear, corsetry, umbrellas, gloves, silk | 180 |
| Cosmetics: cologne, freckle lotion, soap, dental care, hair restoration | 25 |
| Decorations: lamps, interior | 14 |
| Food, drugs, tonic water | 13 |
| Hardware, dry goods | 10 |

Some of the concerns in the era were similar to those of today – outward appearance, anatomical silhouette, and hair loss. Other advertisements reflect the weather of the region and time, with a definite winter season occurring annually. In one title, Enoch Morgan had an entire page of narrations, similar to a comic strip, all to sell their soap product, Sapolo. The top six specific advertisers were: Star shirts, J&P Coats, silks from Briggs & Company, interior decorations from Arabesque Hollands, linens from Gilbert, and underwear from Star (Tables 2-3).

Table 2. Advertisements in sampled sheet music. .

| | |
|---|----|
| Star shirts | 14 |
| J & P Coats | 13 |
| Briggs & Co., New York, silks | 11 |
| Arabesque Hollands, interior decoration | 10 |
| Gilbert Cut Linen, patterns | 10 |
| Star underwear | 10 |

Table 3. Types of textiles represented in Table 2.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----|
| General Textiles | 78 |
| Textiles, silk | 35 |
| Textiles, underwear, corsetry | 33 |
| Textiles, shirts | 15 |
| Textiles, coats | 13 |

Textiles, other: gloves, umbrella, quilts

6

Parallels to material culture of today can be seen, particularly in the cosmetics (figure 4). Sozodont renders teeth pearly white. H.W. Taylor uses pure vegetable oil for hair restoration. Professor Byrne sold genuine Florida water. There was also a sense of self-sufficiency required for living on the frontier. Thus, Gilbert Manufacturing Company sold patterns that could be sewn by those living in what was called “the west.”

No. 4711
Eau de Cologne
CELEBRATED FOR
ITS STRENGTH and SWEETNESS.
Essential to the Toilet of the
No. 4711
Toilet Soaps,
Try the Transparent White
Toilet Soap.

PEARLS IN THE MOUTH.

BEAUTY AND FRAGRANCE
ARE COMMUNICATED TO THE MOUTH BY
SOZODONT,
which renders the teeth tender white, the gums
red and the breath sweet. It is the most
valuable and indispensable article of the
toilet, and is sold by all druggists.
SOLD BY DRUGGISTS.

TRY A BOTTLE
OF
PROF. BYRNE'S
GENUINE
FLORIDA WATER,
The Best in the World.
FOR SALE BY THE
WM. BARR DRY GOODS CO.

BEST MATERIALS.

FIT GUARANTEED.
THE STAR-SHIRT WHITE.
Sold by all First-Class Dealers.
See how much they like the STAR-SHIRT WHITE.

The Parisian Wireless Bustles.

Light, easy for the waist,
Unobtrusive, flexible, and
slightly made to the
natural and most ap-
proved shape. Ad-
justable to the waist,
because of the elastic which
is built into the bustle.
Beware of Imitations.
First Illustrated in the
Illustrated London News,
February 12, 1870.
Made by C. C. CARPENTER,
Parisian,
and sold by the
WM. BARR DRY GOODS CO.

The Celebrated
STAR UNDERWEAR.

Manufactured at
ENGLAND.
Noted for its Beautiful Finish, Durability and
Softness after Washing, making it Superior
to any other Underwear Manufactured.

REGATTA SILKS

REGATTA
WARRANTED TO WEAR
First in Washington, D.C. and Paris, France.

FINEST
French Sewed
CORSETS.
Perfect Fitting.
Gracefully Shaped.
Elegantly Made.
Positively the latest and most im-
proved style.
Fit Guaranteed.
Call for this Corset and notice that
every pair is stamped
L. C. a la Persephone.
For Sale by First-Class Dealers.

ASK FOR
GOLD MEDAL
GERMAN TURKEY RED and WHITE
Lunch Cloths, and Bleached
Cloths and Doilies to match.
FOR SALE BY
WM. BARR DRY GOODS CO.
Imported solely by G. & J. B. BARR
219 CHURCH STREET, NEW YORK.

RICHARDSON'S
Celebrated
LINENS.
Fine Linens, all Widths.
EMBROIDERED PILLOW AND SHEET CASES.
Damask Table Cloths, with Napkins to Match.
Unsurpassed in Design or Quality.
GLASS CLOTH IN EVERY CHECK.
Household of all kinds.
DINNER, DINNER, DINNER, AND EVERY CLASH
OF LINEN GOODS.
WARRANTED TO GIVE SATISFACTION.
Sold by all First-Class Dealers.

COROLLAS.
A PURELY VEGETABLE TONIC
FOR THE
Growth, Restoration & Preservation
OF THE
HUMAN HAIR.
It is a most useful remedy for all cases
of Baldness, Thinning, Falling-out, or
Dandruff, and is sold by all
First-Class Dealers.
SEND STAMP FOR CATALOGUE
H. W. TAYLOR & Co.
New York.
No. 31 East 20th Street.

Wm. Barr Dry Goods Co.

Figure 4. Malley, W. E. 1870. *Under the Elms: Waltz*. St. Louis: Wm. Barr Dry Goods Co. Courtesy University of North Texas Libraries.

Barr was not alone in this method of advertising (figure 5). Stine's Department Store in Chicago issued a store directory on the back page of their Dime Series Popular Music (Wrighton 1878).



Figure 5. Wrighton, W. T. 1878. *Her Bright Smile Haunts Me Still*. Chicago: Wyman & Davis; Stine's Red Star Department Store.



Conclusion

A large amount of knowledge about material culture may be gleaned from artifacts of artistic expression: music, film, paintings, sculpture. Two of my colleagues have shown how much research can be performed on our cultural heritage. Garth Tardy of the University of Missouri, Kansas City, has cataloged music, with colorful pictorial art on the title pages and sheet music covers. These include animals, landscapes, artifacts (such as clothing), and various other concepts (extra-terrestrials, war, nature) (Tardy 2009). Patrick Loughney, formerly the head of the Moving Image Section of the Library of Congress, and now chief of the Library's Packard Campus for Audio-Visual Conservation in Culpeper, Virginia, noted that early films of Thomas Edison are being examined not only by film enthusiasts, but by scholars in various disciplines – sociology and history (Museum of Modern Art, Library of Congress 2005). Like the sheet music and printed materials of the time, the films present a record of culture during the early 20th century, such as lifestyles, attires, buildings that no longer exist, and technology used at the time, such as horse-drawn fire engines. There is room for more research into American culture of the late nineteenth and early 20th centuries through its music, art, and media materials.

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The National Park Service: Federal Partner in Nation Heritage Area Interorganizational Domains

Susan Martin Williams, Concord University

Introduction

Increasingly, sustainable tourism finds strength and longevity in the tourism partnerships that occur on a local, state, or regional level. Community leaders, managers, policy makers, and stakeholders view tourism partnerships as a means of leveraging both monetary and human resources to address the uncertainty and turbulence brought about by economic constraints, globalization, and population attrition. Additionally, tourism partnerships play a vital role in the conservation and preservation of significant cultural, natural, and historical landscapes (Barrett, 2003; Daly, 2003; Eugster, 2003; Gunn, 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Vincent and Whiteman, 2004).

The concept of tourism partnerships as a vehicle for conservation has evolved, both internationally and within the United States, beyond the traditional concept of protected areas as exclusively nature-based to not only encompass the human presence, but also acknowledge the interdependence between man and the environment (Judd, 2003; Minter and Manning, 2003; Mitchell, 2003; Phillips, 2003; Stowkowski, 2003; Vivanco, 2003). While stakeholders value an area's cultural, historical, or natural aesthetics, tourism provides the economic value and often the impetus for cross-sectoral cooperation and involvement (Gunn, 1994; Selin and Chavez, 1994). Such management models are found in the United Kingdom's national parks, France's regional parks, and other protected areas throughout the world. In the United States, National Heritage Areas (NHAs) symbolize these new trends in policy and theory.

Since 1984, Congress has recognized 49 NHAs while numerous other areas seek designation. Meanwhile, increasing public scrutiny parallels the program's rapid growth and calls for a thorough knowledge of NHA as interorganizational partnerships. Park planners, managers, policy-makers and stakeholders must be equipped with a comprehensive understanding of the interorganizational dynamics of NHAs in order to make efficient and effective management, partnership and policy decisions. Additionally, although each NHA is inherently unique, they share the commonality of some level of partnership with the National Park Service. This study explores the role of the National Park Service as a federal partner over time as NHAs evolved as interorganizational domains.

Methodology

Literature from management sciences and partnership theory was used to create an a priori model of the evolutionary stages of NHAs as interorganizational domains (i.e. Gray, 1985; Waddock, 1989; Long and Arnold, 1995; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Caffyn, 2000; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000). An emergent model was then elaborated and specified using data from case study analysis (Yin, 2003) of the developmental histories of five NHAs: the Illinois and Michigan National Heritage Corridor, designated in 1984; the Delaware and Lehigh National Heritage Corridor, designated in 1988; the National Coal Heritage Area, designated in 1996; the Shenandoah Battlefields National Historic District, designated in 1996; and the Lackawanna Heritage

Valley National Heritage Area, designated in 2000. The sites were selected using purposeful sampling to represent a variety of management structures, years in existence, geographic location, and willingness to participate in the study.

Research took place between November, 2006 and January, 2007. A data triangulation method was employed to collect multiple sources of data to control for biases caused by the researcher being the sole observer (Patton, 2002). Data sources for each case study included semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders; enabling legislation; Management Plans; administrative documents (by-laws, meeting minutes, letters, annual reports, brochures, publications); NPS research, reports and documents; and press clippings. Individuals with a rich knowledge of a particular NHA's interorganizational evolution and partnerships over time were selected using purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). Beginning with the current Executive Director of each NHA, the researcher then identified and located other current or former personnel, political advisors, board members, or stakeholders. Interview participants were selected based upon their willingness to participate in the study and their ability to offer an historic perspective of the site's evolution. Additionally, care was taken to identify negative cases, where interviewees were sought based on their ability to provide alternative perspectives or opinions for a more credible and holistic view of the NHA's evolution (Patton, 2002).

Content analysis identified patterns, or themes, within the participants' responses about the NPS role as a federal partner within the NHA domain and were categorized topically under the broad headings of "NPS Regional Office as Catalyst" and "NPS as Local Partner." It is important to note that, although the NPS is involved with the NHA program on many levels (such as serving as the conduit through which NHA funds flow), their partner relations occur on two levels: with the regional office and with local NPS units.

Illustrating the NPS Role as Federal Partner

The role of the National Park Service as federal partner changes over time. The NPS regional office is heavily involved during the NHA's initial phases and then diminishes as the NHA matures. Local NPS units are less likely to be involved during initial phases but become more involved as the NHA matures. Figure 1 illustrates the evolutionary stages NHA's pass through as interorganizational domains and how the role of the NPS as a NHA federal partner change over time. As seen in figure 1, the role of the NPS changes over time. The NPS regional office is heavily involved in the early stages of each NHA's interorganizational development; however, its role as catalyst is temporary and the partnership shifts to include local NPS entities as project partners as the NHA matures and becomes a stand-alone, institution.

Model of NHA Interorganizational Domain Development and Role of the NPS as Federal Partner

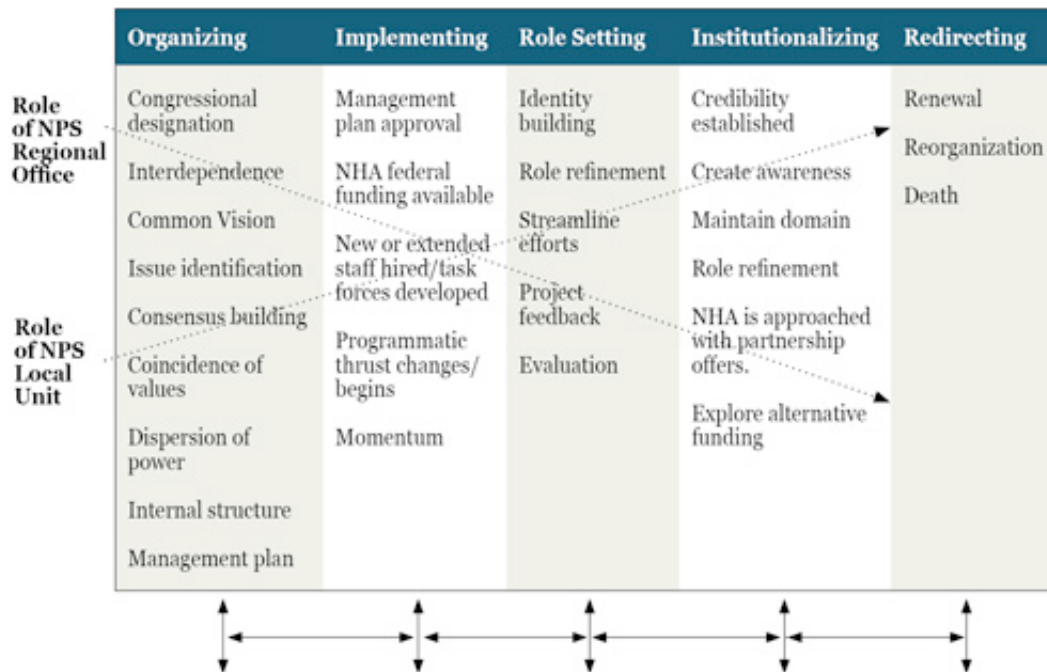


Figure 1. Emergent model of NHA interorganizational domain evolution and of the role of the NPS as NHA federal partner over time.

It is important to note that the role of the regional office does not completely diminish and may experience periods of resurgence. For example, in the case of the I&M Canal National Heritage Corridor, the NPS regional office's role changed minimally over time since the Commission was staffed with NPS employees; however, the new management authority, the Canal Corridor Association, is currently involved in writing its updated management plan and is working closely with the NPS mid-western office for guidance and technical assistance.

NPS Regional Office as Catalyst

Early in an NHA's existence, the NPS role as an NHA partner focuses on providing information, advice, recognition, technical assistance and planning. The partnership occurs between the NHA and its respective regional NPS office and serves to lay the groundwork for the NHA's future. During an NHA's initial planning process, the NPS regional office helps develop the vision, relationships, and workable plan for a successful future (DiBello, 2003; Vincent and Whiteman, 2004). Research participants describe the NPS as being heavily involved in the beginning of the NHA's formation. One research participant described the regional office as "critical" during the NHA's initial stages.

As a NHA matures and evolves, the relationship with the regional office diminishes. Congress expects NHAs to become self-sufficient over time and the NPS role as "catalyst" is considered temporary (Tuxill and Mitchell, 2001, 11; Vincent and Whiteman, 2004, 7). Research participants describe contact with the regional office as transitioning from occurring frequently to on an as-needed basis. One interviewee stated, "they're not as accessible and they're not as engaged as they once were;" however, this is not viewed negatively since research participants view their NHAs as having "weaned" themselves from the high level of assistance required during the organizing phase. Another explained, "we've really sort of become a stand-alone entity." Hence, while the partnership does not dissolve, NHA's dependency upon the NPS regional office for planning

and technical support decreases.

The NPS as Local Partner

Content analysis of the participants' responses revealed that, as the NHA matures, the partnership with the NPS regional office declines, but the partnership shifts to local NPS units (if any) and becomes more project-oriented. The relationship between the NPS and NHA becomes more centered on the local level.

This role shift or refinement usually occurs after the NHA's Organizing Phase. One interview participant stated, "[...] in the planning process [the NPS staff person] was very, very effective;" however, as the NHA began implementing projects, the relationship waned.

As stated in the literature, constantly refining partners in response to new environmental factors is a key to successful partnerships (Gray, 1985; Waddock, 1989; Selin and Chavez, 1995). Moreover, as the NHA reaches the Institutionalizing Phase, its credibility within the community is established; hence, it is positioned to form new partnerships and assume different roles (Gray). One interviewee explained, "They own a little bit of land [locally...] and the Park Service is intimately involved with that part [...]."

Local NPS units are more likely to realize interdependence with the formally organized NHA and both organizations perceive mutual benefits from the relationship (Gray, 1985; Waddock, 1989). One research participant explained that the NHA had become a local source of expertise: "[The NHA] has been involved with the National Park Service in setting up the [new local NPS unit]. We have a place at the table on that advisory committee." Thus, the NPS role as partner shifts from one of guidance from the regional office to become one of project partner on a community level as the NHA evolves.

Findings

The research suggests that the role of the NPS as a federal partner changes over time as the NHA matures, but also elucidates the details of the transformation. The NPS regional office is heavily involved in the early stages of the NHA's interorganizational development. The NPS regional office serves as a partner as the NHA develops its vision, relationships, and management plan (DiBello, 2003). Research participants described the NPS as being heavily involved during the NHA's organizing stage. Subsequently, as the domain moves forward through its evolution, the partnership with the regional office declines. Congress envisioned the regional office's role to be one of a catalyst to assist NHAs to plan and organize (Hill, 2004; Vincent and Whiteman, 2004) and that vision is reflected by the research participants who stated that the relationship, although intense in the beginning, waned as NHAs matured and no longer needed the level of guidance and assistance required during their organizing phase.

As NHAs mature and move through the redirecting stage, renewal or reorganization may cast the NHA into a new organizing phase; hence, the relationship with the regional office may rekindle and intensify. For example, when the I&M Canal National Heritage Corridor was reauthorized with a new management authority, the NPS regional office resumed its role of providing technical assistance and planning as the new management entity began a fresh cycle of developmental evolution. Hence, although the role of the NPS regional office diminishes over time, the relationship is iterative and does not completely dissolve. It remains available to provide assistance should the need arise.

In addition, the findings suggest that as the NHA gains credibility on the local level and becomes a stand-alone institution, partnership opportunities with local NPS units increase. The NHA may serve on a local NPS unit's advisory board, offer technical assistance or expertise, or provide funding for projects and programs.

Hence, the role of the NPS shifts from one of heavy involvement from the NPS regional office during the early stages of NHA interorganizational development to one of local partner as local NPS units become more involved as the NHA matures and institutionalizes.

Limitations of the Research

This research project focused on five NHAs' evolution as interorganizational domains and the role of the NPS as federal partner. Because only five NHAs were analyzed, the results of this research cannot be generalized with precision to represent all NHAs. Additionally, the rapid growth of the NHA movement and the newness of the NHA initiative make these findings more difficult to generalize to all NHAs since the initiative itself continues to evolve and change.

Although care was taken to select a variety of participants and viewpoints, respondents may have provided "inflated" depictions of their NHAs evolution, either out of bias or vested interest. The results are further limited by the researcher's ability to accurately interpret and analyze them and could be subject to other interpretations.

Management and Policy Implications

The findings from this research project suggested that NHAs as interorganizational domains exist within an inherently fragile environment and are subject to a variety of turning points and environmental forces (Gray, 1985; Waddock, 1989; Selin and Chavez, 1995). The research also begins to identify characteristics within each stage of interorganizational development and to analyze the role of the NPS as a federal partner over time.

The NHA model of interorganizational domain development and role of the NPS as federal partner imply that the characteristics of the evolutionary stages are identifiable and, therefore, manageable. Equipped with an understanding of the processes and forces effecting their NHA's development, decision-makers are empowered to be adaptive and pro-active in the evolution of the domain. Rather than responding reactively to the circumstances and forces within each phase, decision-makers can anticipate and plan for them. Moreover, knowledge of the components of each stage allows managers and decision-makers to streamline their efforts and strategically plan for long term projects and the partner commitments needed to implement them.

This knowledge also serves as a source of dialogue between existing partners and with potential partners. Clearly communicating each anticipated phase with partners and stakeholders helps create and maintain trust, as well as realistic expectations. This knowledge also stabilizes partner relations and contributes to the domain's longevity.

For heritage areas seeking NHA designation, this research serves as a tool for understanding the impact NHA designation may have upon existing partner frameworks and how they may change over time.

On a national level, a model of NHA interorganizational domain development contributes to our understanding of the NHA movement. The NHA initiative as a whole continues to evolve and change. This research will help address the public scrutiny that has resulted from the program's growth, as well as provides a starting point to address congressional inquiries about NHA accountability, evaluation, and NHA policy (Hill, 2004). Because these findings offer an explanation about how NHA partnerships operate at the domain level and how they evolve over time, they may contribute to the development of consistent standards, processes for accountability, and evaluation measures as the NHA program matures.

Likewise, an understanding of the NPS role over time enables decision-makers, policy-makers, stakeholders, and partners to have clear expectations about the NPS as the federal partner. Understanding the changing NPS role as federal partner over time allows both the NHA and the NPS to make effective and efficient management decisions that are timely and constructive.

Research Implications

This study explored the role of the NPS as a federal partner during NHAs evolution as interorganizational domains. It extended theory from the management sciences and organizational behavior by analyzing the process of NHA evolution and identifying conditions necessary to propel the domain through stages of development while analyzing the role of the NPS as federal partner during each stage.

Much remains to be learned about NHAs and many future research opportunities exist. This research was exploratory and preliminary, suggesting a theory of NHA interorganizational development that can be expanded by further analysis and detail. This may be achieved through case study analysis of NHAs and longitudinal research designs to provide additional insight about NHAs as complex partnership systems. The emergent model of NHA interorganizational domain development requires further testing and future examinations could expand the sample size to include other NHAs.

Other research inquiries may look at developing indicators of successful NHA partnerships or the barriers to their success. Creating a typology of partners within NHA domains may be another line of inquiry. As the number of NHAs continues to grow, the importance of understanding their interorganizational dynamics becomes more important.

The model suggested here is an attempt to create a theoretical framework to help practitioners as well as the academic community to understand NHAs and the NHA movement; however, management sciences and partnership theory could be further expanded by exploring other domains, such as international, state or local heritage areas, and the circumstances that governed their formation and subsequent evolution.

In conclusion, although the project focused on the NPS as a federal partner, a NHA cannot be discussed without acknowledging the importance of local people in the visioning, management, and maintenance of NHAs. Hopefully this research will help harness their passion and provide a tool for framing their natural, cultural, and historic heritage in such a manner that enriches our identity as a nation and instills a sense of local empowerment and pride, not only for the past, but for the present and future as well. A quote from an anonymous research participant illustrates this sentiment:

People share and work together. And, that's what's so special about our community and that's one of the

things we treasure about our heritage. That we had all these different ethnic groups and different socio-economic groups coming to this area in, in ways, or simultaneously, instead of fighting with each other, they each developed their own little ethnic enclave but they respected and worked together, and, you know, learned about each other. So we don't like to call it a melting pot, we call it a quilt. Because people kept their own identity but we're still all tied together. And that's true to this day. And our biggest challenge has been to get people to understand, through the depressed times, that they should be proud of being from here....a place of greatness.

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EXPRESSIONS IN BAROQUE
High Style, Vernacular, and Popular

Figure 1. Churrigueresque facade of the Santiago de Compostela Cathedral, Galicia, Spain (Neva Micheva, Wikimedia Commons), Kit Carson House, stepped baroque parapet, Taos, New Mexico.



Figure 2. The First Baptist Church in Winslow, Arizona, has a prototypical Southwestern style baroque gabled parapet. Courtesy the author.



Figure 3. The Iglesia Castrense de Madrid. William Avery, Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 4. Church espadañas in Spain. Clockwise from upper left, Monasterio de San Pedro de Cardena, Castrillo del Val, Burgos (jtspotau, Wikimedia Commons); Nambroca, (marianistas.org/galeria); Ermita del Rocio, Huelva (Javier Carro, Wikimedia Commons); parochial church, Cervillejo de la Cruz, Valladolid province (Tierras de Medina); and the Iglesia de la Santísima Trinidad de Alcázar de San Juan (Ángel Serrano Sánchez de León, Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 5. Decorative ceramic pinnacles, the Santuario de la Virgen del Rocío, Huelva, Spain. Hermandad del Rocío de Sevilla.



Figure 6, Mexican examples of Churrigueresque. Upper left, facade detail with choir window, Zacatecas Cathedral (J.Vitela, Wikimedia Commons); lower left, church in San Miguel de Allende (Dick Schmitt, fmschmitt.com); upper and lower right, and lower center, the Metropolitan Cathedral of Chihuahua (Lyricmac, Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 7. “Mexican Baroque” church facades. Clockwise from upper left, Mazatlan Cathedral (Mexico99.com); San José parish church, Tlaxcala City (Wolfgang Sauber, Wikimedia Commons); church, Sta. Lucia Ocotlan (Thomas Aleto, Flickr Commons); church in San Pedro Martir, near Ocotlan Oaxaca (Thomas Aleto, Flickr Commons); church in the Miahuatlan district, Bramaderos, Oaxaca (Thomas Aleto, Flickr Commons); San Nicolas, Oaxaca (Aleto, Flickr Commons), and, center, the church of Tlaquepaque, Jalisco (Mexico99.com).



Figure 8. Statuary niches, variously Churrigueresque and Mexican baroque. Clockwise from upper left, Zacatecas Cathedral (Nicolas R. Winter); Metropolitan Cathedral of Chihuahua (Lyricmac, Wikimedia Commons); Church of El Carmen, San Luis Potosí (Charlotte Ekland, mexican architecture. org); Amatenango del Valle (Thomas Aleto, Flickr Commons); and San Martin, Tepozotlan (Charlotte Ekland, mexican architecture. org).



Figure 9. Pinnacles, urns and crenellations are a common feature of baroque parapets. Clockwise from upper left, Monasterio de San Pedro de Cardena, Castrillo del Val, Burgos, Spain (Jtspotau, Wikimedia Commons); San José parish church, Tlaxcala City, Mexico (Wolfgang Sauber, Wikimedia Commons); San Cristobal de las Casas Cathedral, Chiapas, Mexico (China Crisis, Wikimedia Commons); and church in San Miguel de Allende, Mexico (Dick Schmitt, fmschmitt.com).



Figure 10. Oval, attenuated hexagon, and lobed-mouth choir windows. Clockwise, from upper left, San Martin, Tepozotlan (Charlotte Ekland, mexican architecture.org); San Pedro Martir, near Ocotlan, Oaxaca (Thomas Aleto, Flickr Commons); La Enseñanza Church, Mexico City (Leigh Thelmadatter, Wikimedia Commons); Convento de la Concepcion Franciscana, Cuenca, Spain (Zarateman, Wikimedia Commons); and Tlaxcala City (Wolfgang Sauber, Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 11. San Diego Mission Church at Tesuque Pueblo, northern New Mexico ca 1870 (escholarship.org).



Figure 12. San Diego Mission Church at Tesuque Pueblo, northern New Mexico photographed in 1935 (Fraser Foto Postcard Collection, Pomona Public Library).



Figure 13. Sta. Clara Mission Church in 1899. Marc Treib, Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

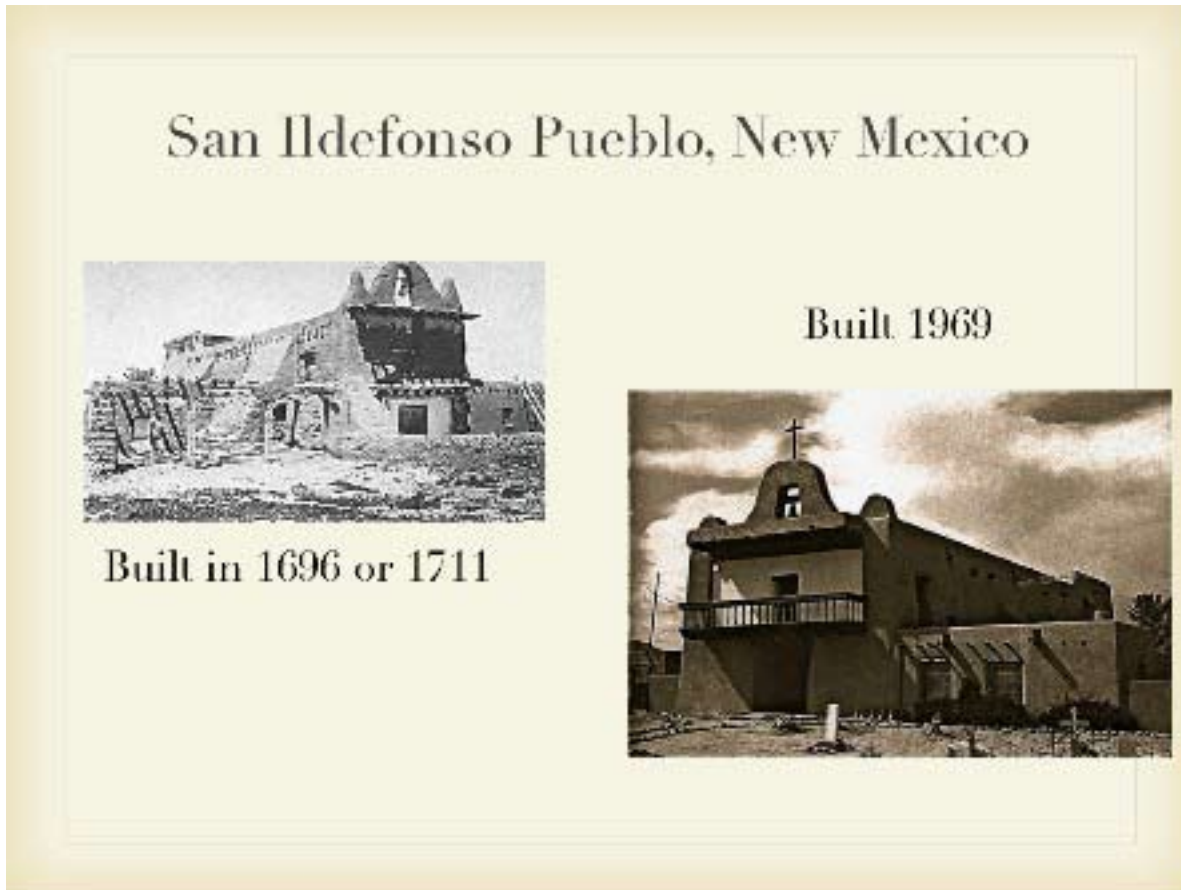


Figure 14. The original and current mission churches at San Ildefonso Pueblo, 1899. Treib; escholarship.org.

CHURRIGUERESQUE
San Jose Mission Church, Texas.
1768

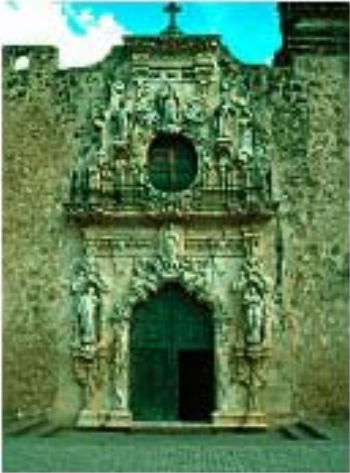


Figure 15.
Churrigueresque retablo.
Courtesy the author.



San Xavier del Bac,
Arizona, 1783-97



Figure 16. San Xavier
del Bac, Arizona. Left: Jim
Griffith, National Park
Service. Right: Nancy
Yackel.

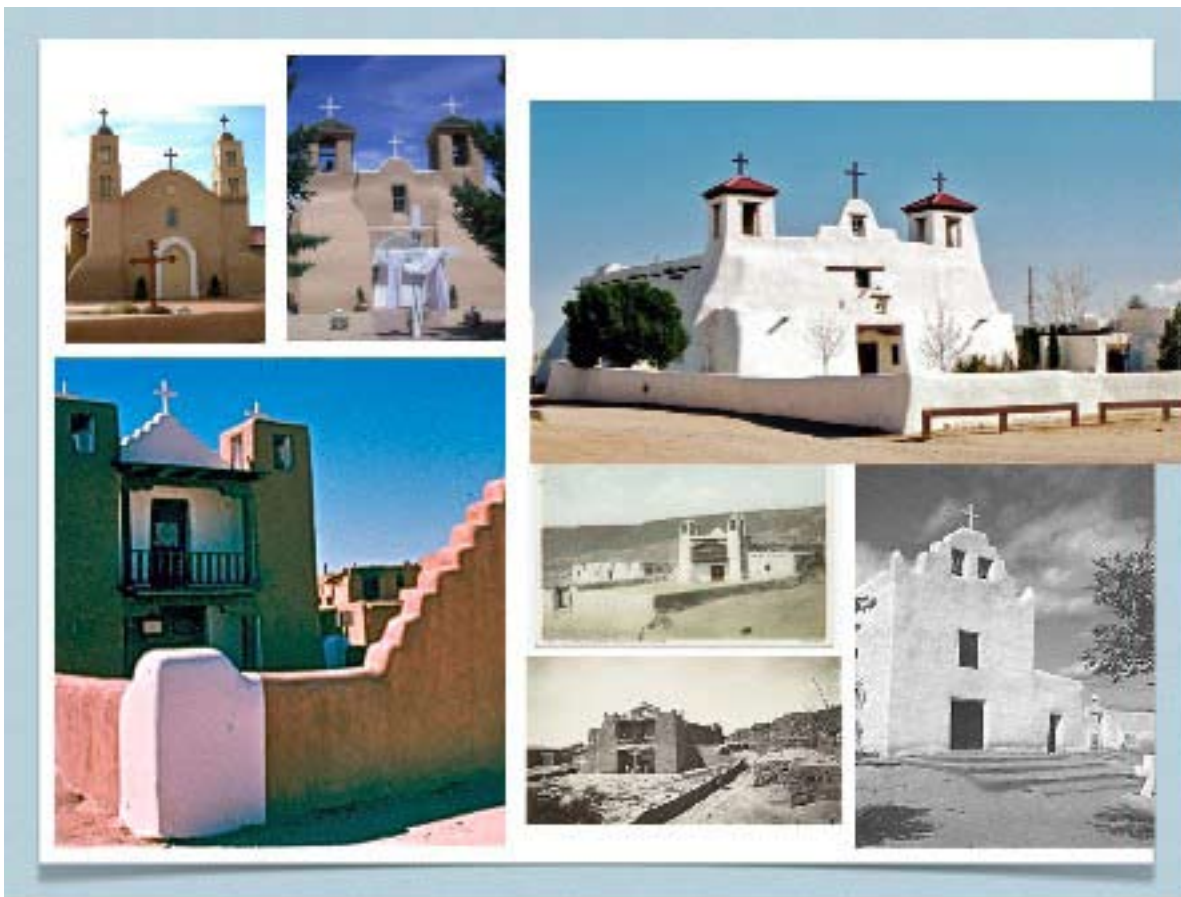


Figure 17. Sampling of New Mexico Missions. Clockwise from upper left, San Miguel, Socorro (Erin Willett, Flickr Commons); San Francisco de Asisi, Ranchos de Taos (Rico Cedro); St. Augustine Mission Church, Isleta Pueblo (New Mexico Department of Tourism); San Jose de la Laguna (Treib); and, center, church at Pueblo San Felipe (New York Public Library); church at Zuni Pueblo, ca 1871-3 (Timothy H. O'Sullivan, New York Public Library); and mission church, Taos Pueblo (courtesy the author).



Figure 18. A sampling of Texas mission churches and chapels. Clockwise from upper left, Mission Espiritu Santo, Goliad (National Park Service, 1940); Mission San Francisco de la Espada, Church, Berg's Mill Community, Bexar County (HABS, n.d.); Ysleta mission church (Susan Dial, Texas Beyond History, University of Texas, Austin); La Bahia Presidio Chapel, Goliad (Richard MacAllister, HABS, 1936); Mission San Juan, near San Antonio (National Park Service); Iglesia de San Elceario (Sanel, HABS, 1971); and, center, the Alamo (courtesy the author).

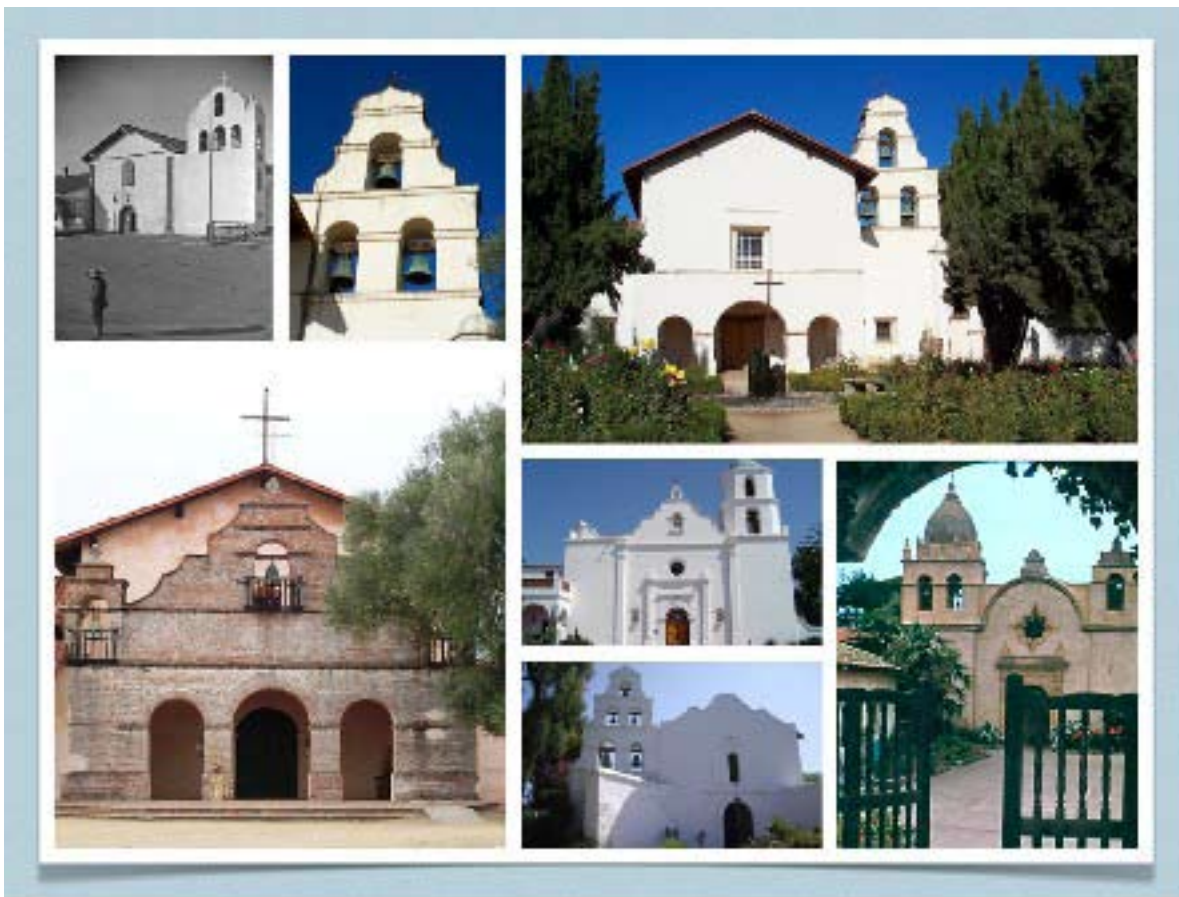


Figure 19. A sampling of California mission churches and chapels. Clockwise from upper left, Mission Sta. Ynez, Solvang (Keystone-Mast Co, ca 1900, Wikipedia. org); belfry, Mission San Juan Bautista (Eugence Zelenko, Wikimedia Commons); facade and bell tower, Mission San Juan Bautista (Eugence Zelenko, Wikimedia Commons); Mission San Carlos Borromeo (courtesy the author); Mission San Diego de Alcalá (Dmadeo, Wikimedia Commons); Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mlhradio, farm3. static.flickr.com); and, center, Mission San Luis Rey de Francia (Urban, Wikimedia Commons).

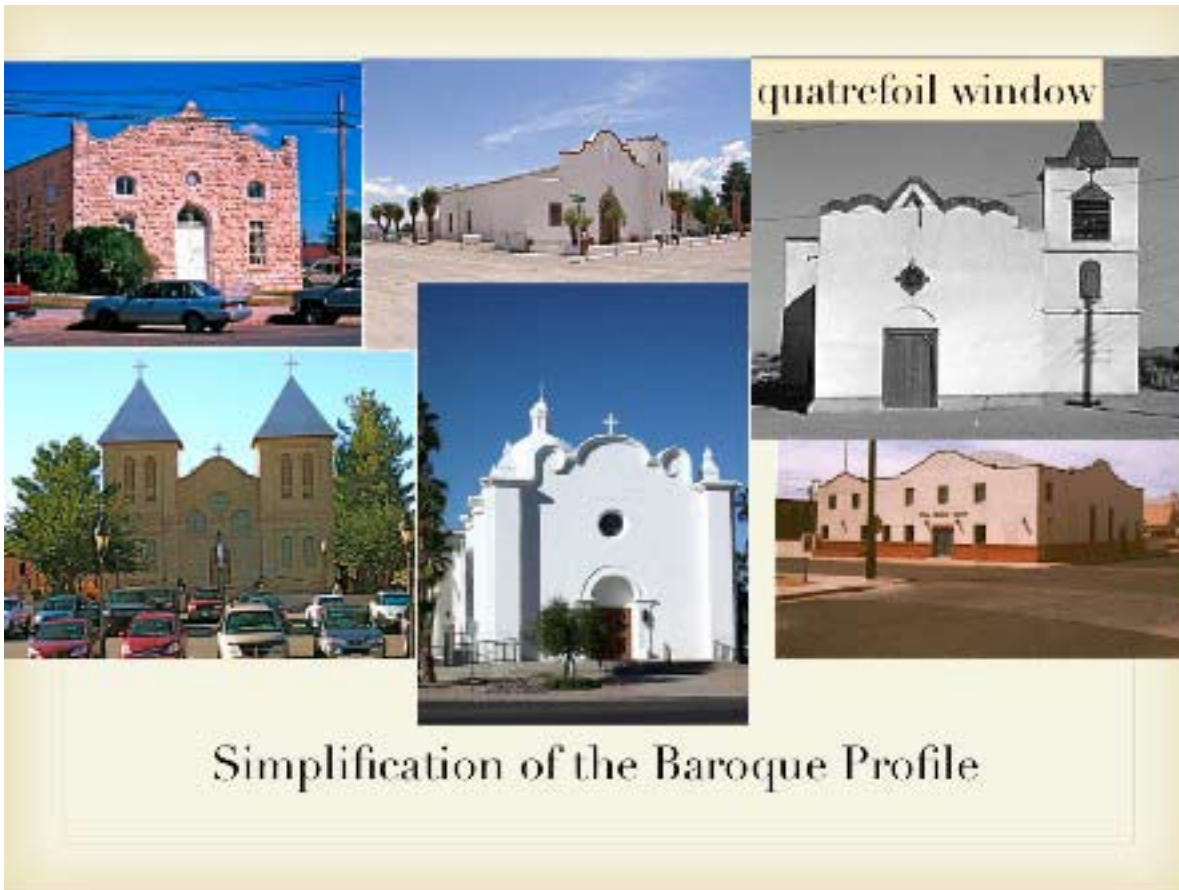


Figure 20. A sampling of baroque churches in California and the Southwest. Clockwise from the upper left, St. Joseph's Hall, Fredericksburg, Texas (courtesy the author); Fort Hancock, Texas (Barclay Gibson, TexasEscapes. com); Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria church, Doña Ana, New Mexico (Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library); First Baptist Church, Winslow, Arizona (courtesy the author); Church of the Immaculate Conception, designed by George Washington Smith, Ajo, Arizona (holywhapping.blogspot. com); and San Albino Church, La Mesilla, New Mexico (courtesy the author).

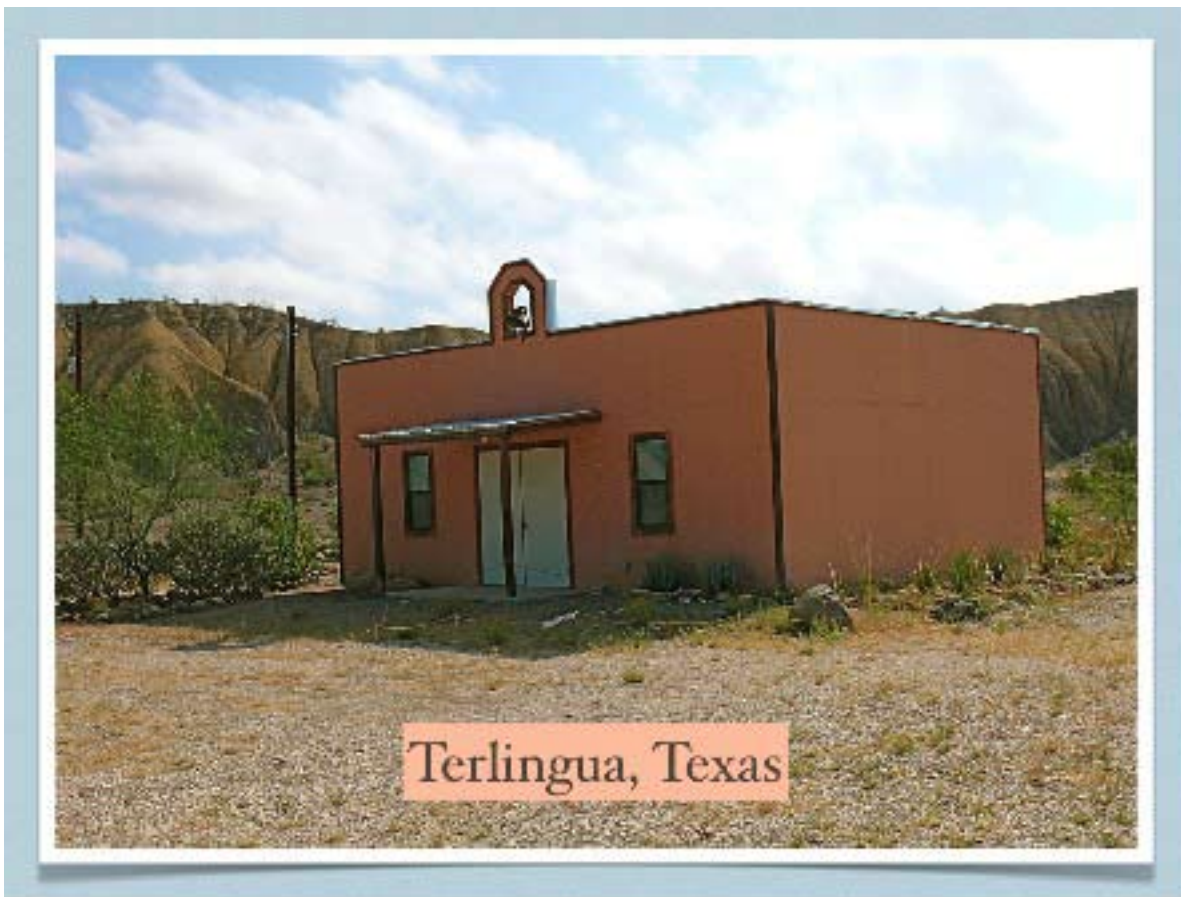


Figure 21. Only the beveled corners of the bell screen link this chapel in Terlingua, Texas, to the baroque idiom and seventeenth-century Spain (courtesy the author).

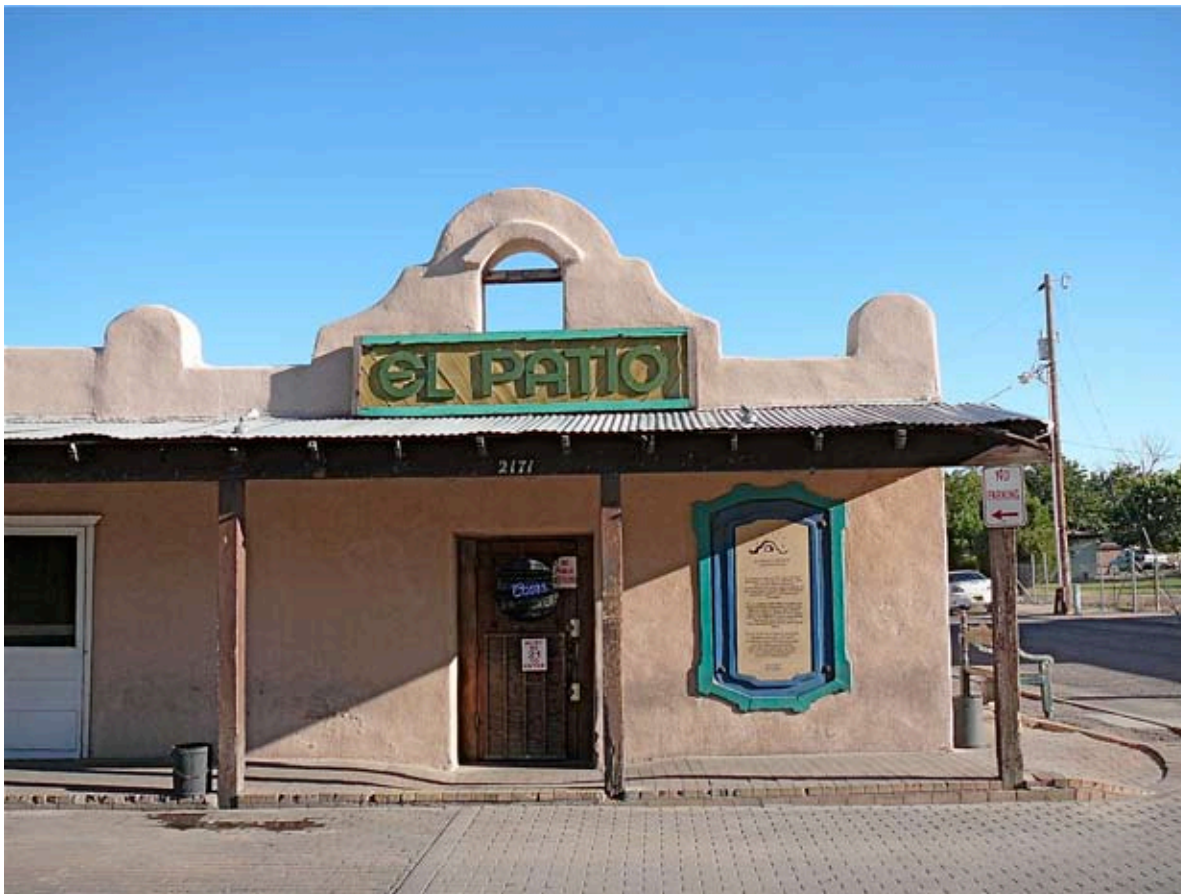


Figure 22. El Patio, a cantina facing the plaza in La Mesilla, New Mexico, dates to the mid-nineteenth century (courtesy the author).

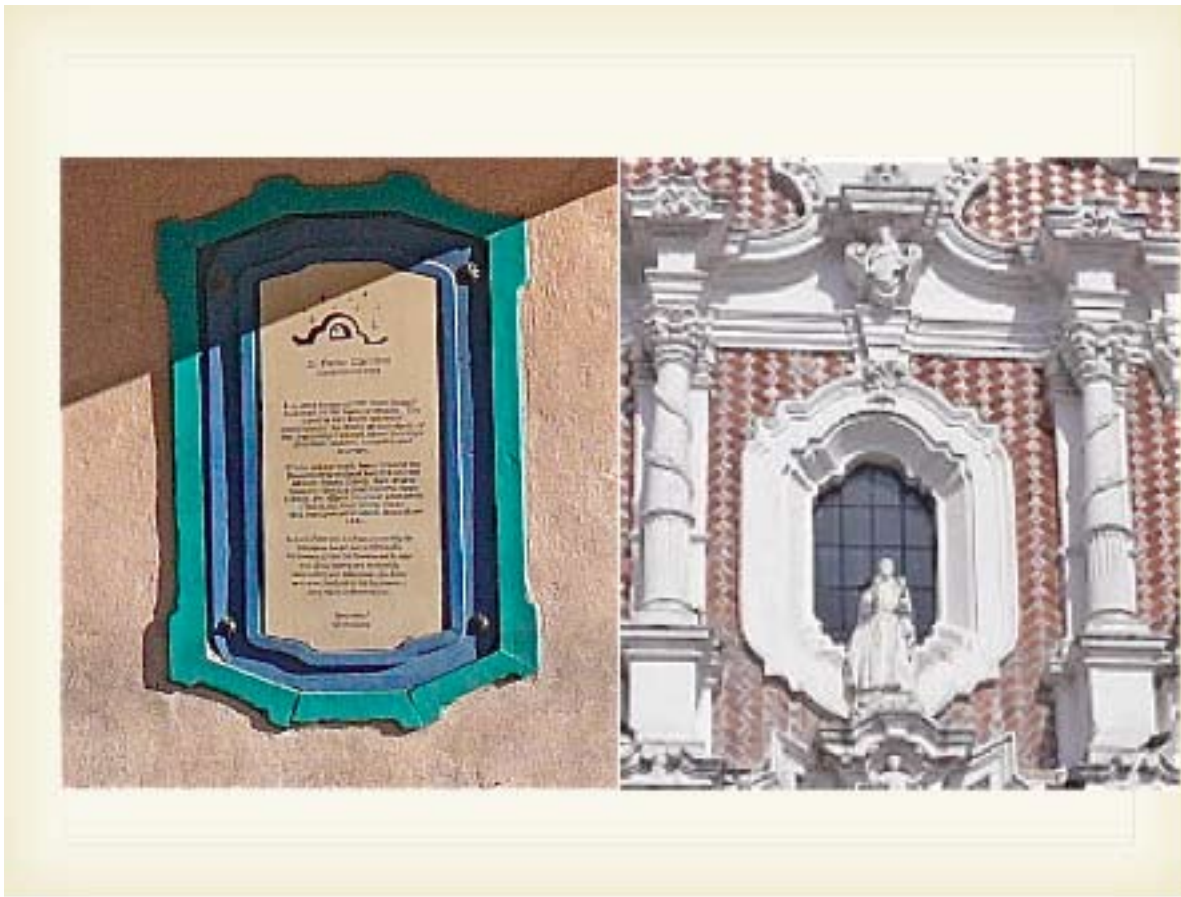


Figure 23. The interpretive sign on the El Patio cantina (courtesy the author) emulates a common baroque choir window design exemplified here by a church in Tlaxcala City, Mexico (Wolfgang Sauber, Wikimedia Commons).



Figure 24. Clockwise from the upper left, simple vernacular parapets derived from the Spanish folk tradition are the famous OK Corral in Tombstone, Arizona (John Crossley, americansouthwest.net); a stone building in Castroville, Texas (courtesy the author); and Kit Carson's home of over twenty years, beginning in 1848.



Figure 25. Fred Harvey's Hotel Castañeda (1898), Las Vegas, New Mexico (Denver Public Library).



Figure 26. Owl's Club, Mission style with churrigeresque retablo, Tucson, Arizona (Julie Nellis).



Figure 27. Early twentieth-century homes in the new mission style, Galveston, Texas, left (Tom Fletcher's Essential Architecture); top, right and center, Fullerton, California (Fullerton Heritage); and, lower right, Los Angeles (Thomas W. Paradis).

This elaborate
Churrigueresque
window
configuration...



...was simplified to...



a quatrefoil

Figure 28. Casa del Prado (left) in Balboa Park, San Diego, California, is a lavish revival of Spanish Baroque, or Churrigueresque, architecture (Jackie Craven). The parapet on a Mission-Revival home (right) has a square window vent in the gable with a decorative quatrefoil surround (Glendale Design Guidelines for Residential Buildings in Adopted Historic Districts, Historic Preservation Planning Department, Glendale, California). A more intricate quatrefoil is featured (center) in the gable of a Los Angeles home (Adam Janiero).

THE BELFRY MOTIF INSPIRED FAUX BELL NICHES



Figure 29. Examples of the belfry motif, left to right, La Purisima Mission, Lompoc, California (grandmasandy&chucks photostream, farm3.static.flickr.com); faux statue niches, and porte cochere (Glendale Design Guidelines for Residential Buildings in Adopted Historic Districts, Historic Preservation Planning Department, Glendale, California).



CIRCULAR WINDOW OR NICHE MOTIF

Figure 30. The circular niche in the gable of this abandoned Texas school probably once housed a clock (Barclay Gibson and TexasEscapes.com).



Figure 31. Mission-style houses with baroque parapet gables. Top row, Ajo, Arizona (Thomas W. Paradis); bottom row, Richmond, California (Opticos Design, Inc).



Figure 32. A range of commercial buildings with baroque-derived parapet gables (all photos by the author).

STA ANNA, CA



MARFA, TX



PECOS, TX

F'T HANCOCK
TEXAS

PALO ALTO, CA



TAOS, NM

COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

Figure 33. More commercial buildings with baroque-derived parapet gables. The Knights of Pythias Hall, Sta Ana, California (Mark Shapiro); the Brite Building, Marfa, Texas (courtesy the author); vernacular commercial building with stepped gable, Pecos, Texas (Stephen Michaels and TexasEscapes.com); two-story commercial building with minimally curved parapet and corner piers, Fort Hancock, Texas (Barclay Gibson and TexasEscapes.com); mission-style laundry with circle motif in the curvilinear gable, Palo Alto, California (Museum of American Heritage); and a bell-screen parapet in a Taos, New Mexico streetscape (Robin Stevens).



Figure 34.

Representative mission style railroad depots in the Southwest. Clockwise from upper left, the Sta. Fe station, Gainesville, Texas (Barclay Gibson and TexasEscapes.com); baroque gable, Pecos, Texas (TexasEscapes.com); Atcheson, Topeka & Sta. Fe depot, Kingman, Arizona (Trainweb.org); Quanah, Texas, depot museum (Barclay Gibson and TexasEscapes.com); Sta. Fe station, Las Cruces, New Mexico (Warren Tipton, Branigan Cultural Center); and center, the Southern Pacific depot, Burlingame, California (Wikimedia Commons).

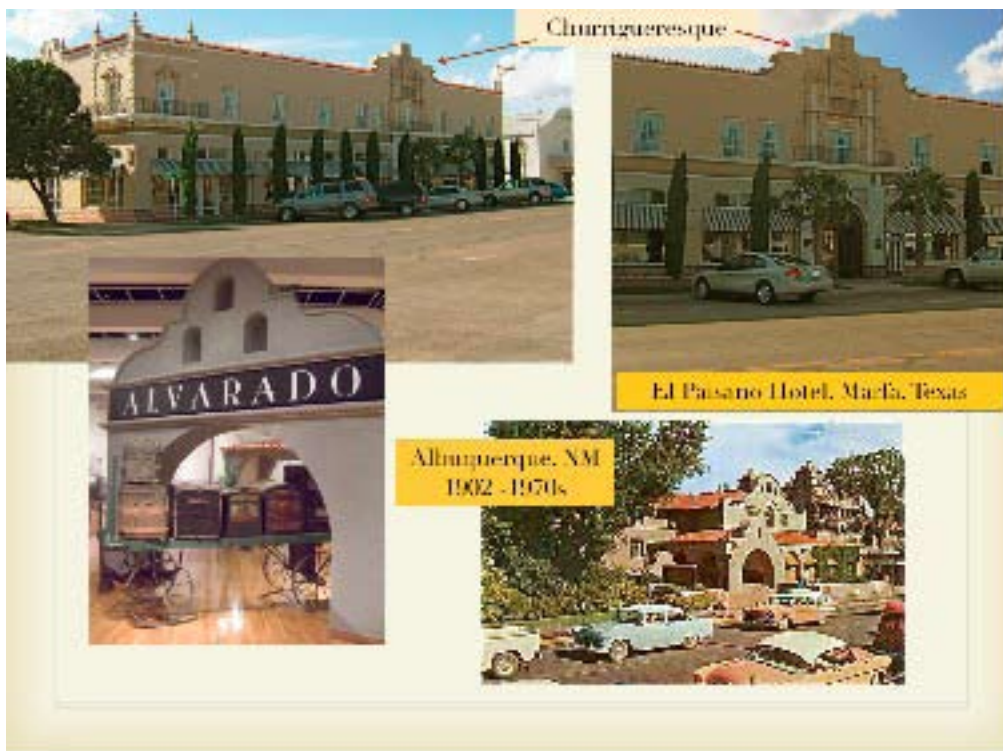


Figure 35. The entry of the El Paissano Hotel is set in a churrigueresque retablo (courtesy the author). The mission style railroad hotel, the Alverado, was demolished in 1970; its central gable, with its belfry motif, currently resides in the Albuquerque Museum (Sally Moore).

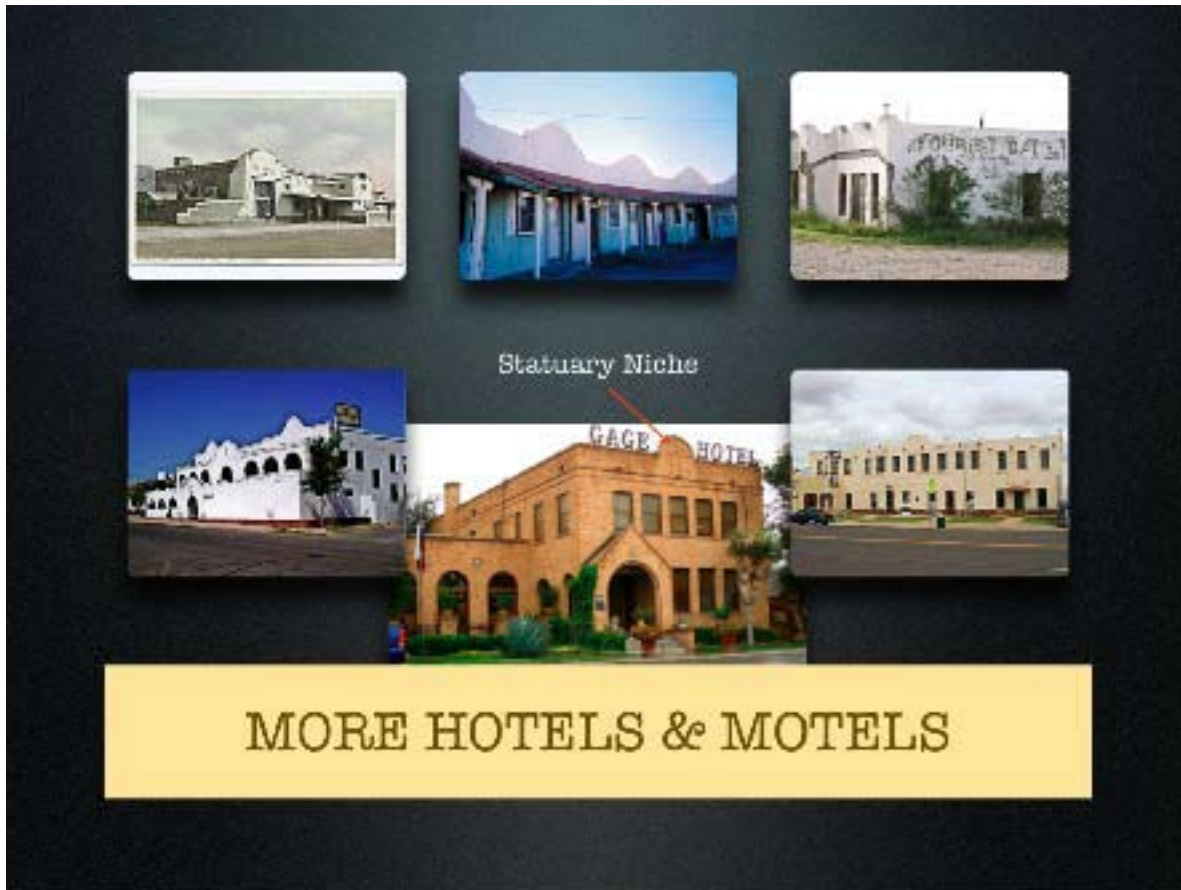


Figure 36. Clockwise from upper left, vintage postcard, El Ortiz, New Santa Fe Hotel, Lamy, New Mexico (New York Public Library Collections) Alamo Motel, Lordsburg, New Mexico (<http://home.comcast.net/~bygonebyways>); old tourist court, Marathon, Texas (Barclay Gibson and TexasEscapes.com); Clark Hotel (the center portion was once a courthouse), Van Horn, Texas (Stephen Michaels and TexasEscapes.com); Gage Hotel, Marathon, Texas (courtesy the author); and the Hotel Cornelia, Ajo, Arizona (Thomas W. Paradis).



Figure 37. Mission-style baroque parapet with faux statuary niche, Gage Hotel, Marathon, Texas (courtesy the author).

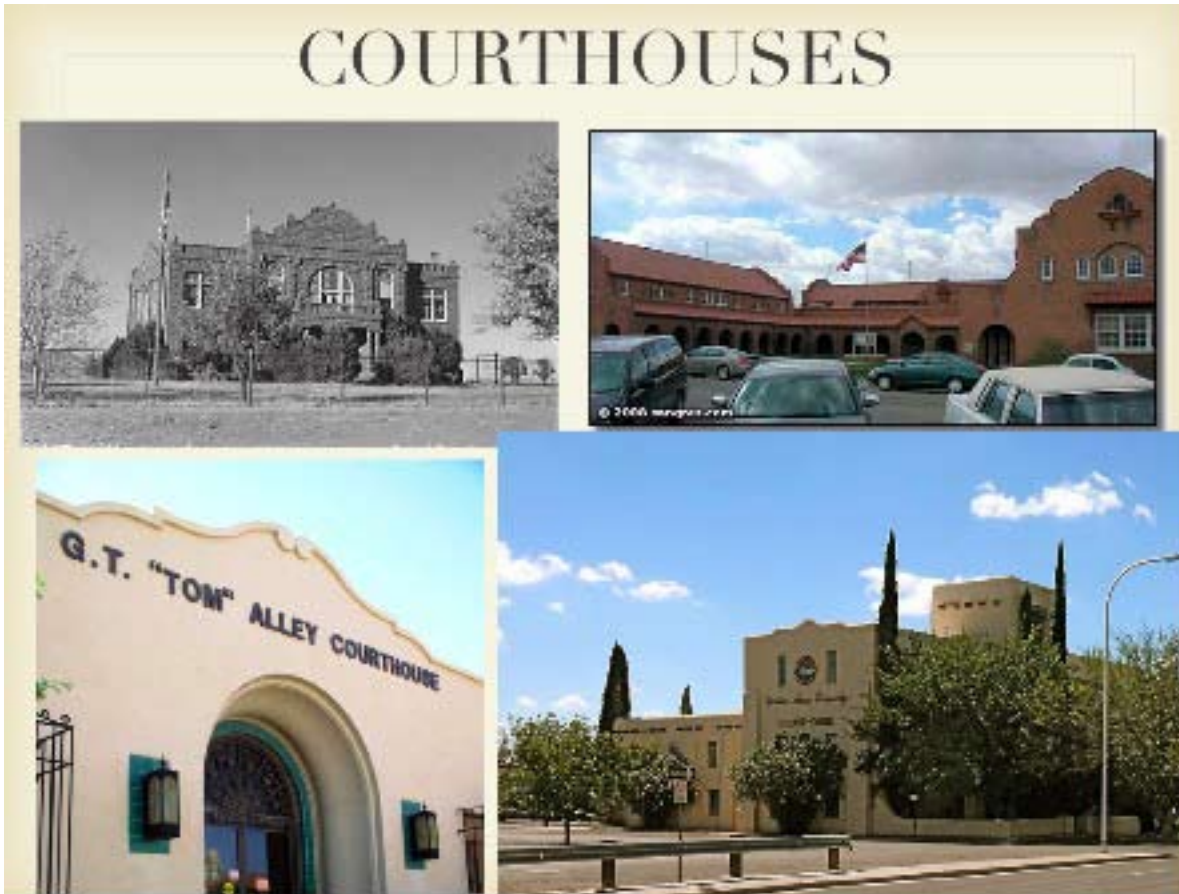


Figure 38. Clockwise from upper left, the Culberson County Courthouse, built in 1912, Van Horn, Texas (Texas Department of Transportation); Alamosa County Courthouse, Alamosa, Colorado (sangres.com); the Doña Ana County courthouse is pueblo style, but note the stylized and scaled-down rounded and shouldered side gable (courtesy the author); and the G.T. “Tom” Alley Courthouse, Ajo, Arizona (Thomas W. Paradis).



Figure 39. Many early twentieth-century schools in Texas were designed with baroque parapet gables. On the left, a quatrefoil design is embedded above the entry to the Kermit School. Upper right the Mission-style Del Rio High School is the subject of a vintage postcard, while the façade wall of an abandoned school in Kent, Texas, lower left, still bears a Mission-style entry (Brian Brown, photographer). All images courtesy TexasEscapes.com.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS COWTOWN, U.S.A.



Figure 40. Baroque buildings in Fort Worth's Stockyard historic district. Clockwise from upper left, the Stockyard Hotel (Plantware.com); roofline of the Fort Worth Live Stock Exchange Building (Suzie Garner); street sign (i.telegraph.co.uk/telegraph/multimedia/archive); the Cowtown Coliseum, 1908, with espadaña (Cowtown Coliseum).



Figure 41. The head of a longhorn steer featured in the parapet gable of the Fort Worth Live Stock Exchange in Fort Worth, Texas, is a clear iconic statement of the relationship between the Spanish baroque cultural landscape of the traditional Southwest and the landscape of western cattle culture. (Cindi Smith).

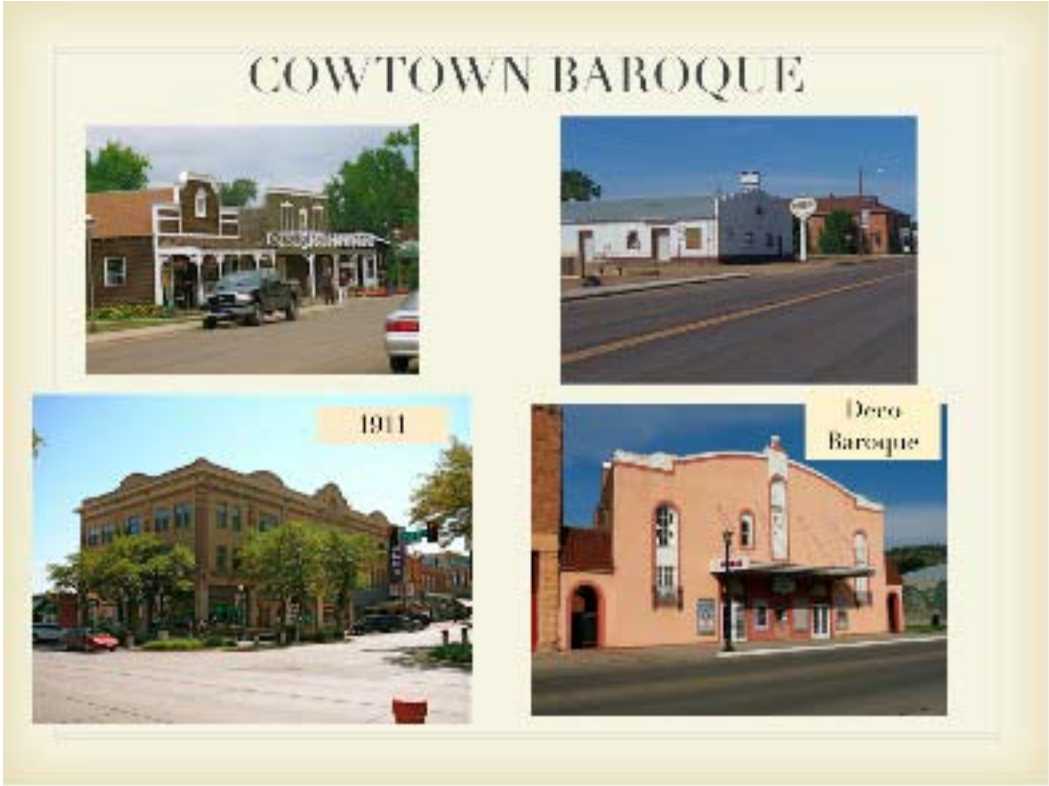


Figure 42. Clockwise from upper left, these buildings are in Medora, North Dakota, and Buffalo, Hot Springs, and Rapid City, South Dakota (courtesy the author).



Figure 43. Commercial buildings in Hot Springs, South Dakota (courtesy the author).



Figure 44. Clockwise from upper left, store with quatrefoil, and the bank building are both located in Arkansas City, Kansas (www.arkansascityks.gov); Mission-Revival public building, Montana (Chacon, Montana Historical Society); Rapid City, South Dakota; and Custer, South Dakota (courtesy the author).



Triangle Ranch,
South Dakota

Ranch House, 1922, &
Garage,(now a Bunkhouse)



Figure 45. A Sears catalog house in the Mission-Revival mode, the Triangle Ranch house is a foursquare dwelling. The garage, now a bunkhouse, is a stylistic match to the main house. Jackson County, South Dakota (courtesy the author).



Figure 46. Durango,
Colorado (Thomas W.
Paradis)



Figure 47. Buffalo, South Dakota (courtesy the author)



Figure 48. Windows as baroque parapet silhouettes; Richmond, California, left (Opticos Design, Inc); and, right, Southern Pacific depot, Brownsville, Texas (Waymarking, photographer, Jimmy Ev).

BAROQUE BUSINESS SIGNS



**SAN MIGUEL
CALIFORNIA**



**CAVE CREEK
ARIZONA**



**WESLACO
TEXAS**

Figure 49. Left to right, Country Diner (citydata.com); Cave Creek Road House (guidspot.com{michaeljon}); and Villa de Cortez (waymarking, Jimmy Ev).

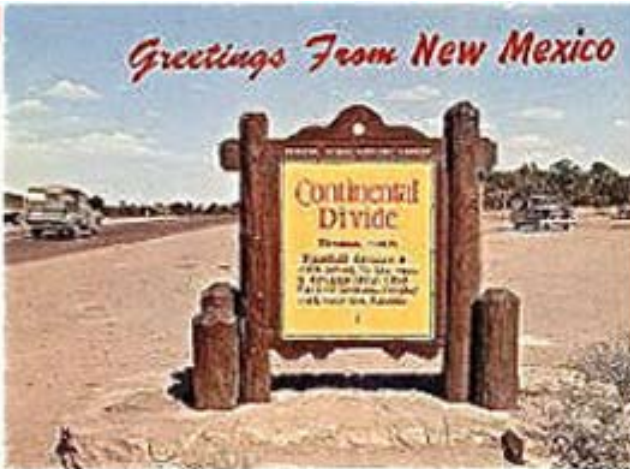


Figure 50. California State Historic Site marker (www.hmdb.org, Syd Whittle, photographer) and a New Mexico informational highway sign on a vintage postcard.

FRANCHISE BAROQUE

bell
screen
logo



Figure 51. The Taco Bell logo is based on the Spanish baroque bell screen motif. Moreover, many of the franchise outlets incorporate one or more baroque curvilinear gables into their facades (logo, upper left, public domain image B69D, flickr.com; lower left, cdntn.madison.com/images; right, courtesy the author).



Figure 52. A Mission-style Mexican adobe residence in El Paso, Texas, with a three-bell espadaña parapet gable, vintage postcard dated October 20, 1919 (W.H. Horne Co., eartharchitecture.org).