9-1-2021

Above the Oxbow: The Construction of Place on Mount Holyoke

Danielle R. Raad
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Above the Oxbow:
The Construction of Place on Mount Holyoke

A Dissertation Presented

by

DANIELLE R. RAAD

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2021

Anthropology

Above the Oxbow:
The Construction of Place on Mount Holyoke

A Dissertation Presented

by

DANIELLE R. RAAD

Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Whitney Battle-Baptiste, Chair

_____
Julie Hemment, Member

_____
David Glassberg, Member

_____
Julie Hemment, Department Chair
Department of Anthropology

The Mountains—grow unnoticed—
Their Purple figures rise
Without attempt—Exhaustion—
Assistance—or Applause—

In Their Eternal Faces
The Sun—with just delight
Looks long—and last—and golden—
For fellowship—at night—

— Emily Dickinson, 1863
From *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (1999)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to first thank my advisor, Whitney Battle-Baptiste, who has supported me on this journey and advocated for me since before I even joined the program. Thank you to my committee members and mentors Julie Hemment and David Glassberg, for your academic and professional guidance and for the care and attention with which you have read my work.

I would like to also thank many of the faculty and staff at UMass for your insights and instruction. Thank you to Anthropology faculty members: Felicity Aulino, Jackie Urla, Haeden Stewart, Jason Kamilar, Tom Leatherman, Amanda Walker-Johnson, Krista Harper, Boone Shear, Sonya Atalay, and Eric Johnson. Thank you as well to professors in other departments: Marla Miller, Katie Young, Wenona Rymond-Richmond, and Nathan Chan. I am indebted to Shelley Silva, Academic Program Manager in the Department of Anthropology, for answering my countless questions and for always helping me find my bearings, and to Mary Lashway, Graduate Program Coordinator in the Department of History.

Thank you to my fellow Anthropology graduate students for your friendship and camaraderie, and for sharing your ideas and research which have influenced me in intangible ways. Thank you in particular to Meredith Degyansky, for always being willing to go on a long walk with me, and to the rest of my cohort: Sofiya Shreyer, Cedar Robideaux, Peteneinuo Rulu, and Çağla Ay. Thanks as well to: Erica Kowsz, Victoria Bochniak, Eunice Caetano e Silva, Caroline DeVane, Claire Gold, Justin Helepololei, Terrell James, Kay Mattena, Ryan Rybka, Ana Smith-Aguilar, Evan Taylor, and Elena

Sesma. Thank you to my Public History peers: Brian Whetstone, Taneil Ruffin, and Peter Kleeman. Thank you to Emma Grazier for being my Zoom writing and yoga buddy.

Thank you to members of the advising team at the Commonwealth Honors College who carved out a home for me and helped anchor me to the campus community: Brenda Barlow, Alex Deschamps, Momina Sims, LizAnette Perez Lind, Nicole Avakian, and Peter Woodsum.

Thank you to the UMass Amherst Department of Anthropology for funding this dissertation project in the form of a Pre-Dissertation Research Grant. Thank you to the Public History program, Dr. Judith A. Barter, and Dr. Charles K. Hyde for providing me with fellowships that allowed me to pursue two museum internships during my time as a graduate student.

Thank you to the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, in particular Pat Eagan, Dave Meuser, and Hattie Finkel, for welcoming me into their organization and supporting my research project. Thank you to Rick and Mary Thayer and Wayne and Sandi Buckout for inviting me to their homes and showing me their collections. Thanks as well to everyone else who agreed to give me their time and talk to me about Mount Holyoke.

Thank you to my spouse, Zac Del Nero, for encouraging me, helping me find motivation, and for always being open to talking through ideas with me. Thanks as well to my sister, Maya Raad, my parents, Karim and Ranwa Raad, and the rest of my family, including Jehan Ramadan, Jeremy Del Nero, John Hamilton, and Constance and Rosario Del Nero. And of course, I am deeply grateful to Pilar, who surpasses all in terms of emotional support to body size ratio.

ABSTRACT

ABOVE THE OXBOW:
THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE ON ON MOUNT HOLYOKE

SEPTEMBER 2021

DANIELLE RAAD, B.Sc., BROWN UNIVERSITY

M.A., HARVARD UNIVERSITY

S.M., MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

M.Ed., LESLEY UNIVERSITY

Ph.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by Professor Whitney Battle-Baptiste

This dissertation is a study of the orogenesis of Mount Holyoke, or the making of place on a mountain. It is an orogenic ethnography and a contemporary archaeological ethnography of place. Mount Holyoke is a mountain in Western Massachusetts that rises above the Connecticut River Valley. It is a prominent destination for tourists and locals alike to recreate outdoors in a state park, to observe the view of the valley below, and to visit the historic, nineteenth-century Summit House. I explore the nature and nuances of attachment to Mount Holyoke through time, by examining conceptions of place over two centuries. In each core chapter, I delve into rich descriptions and analyses of human engagement with a different aspect of Mount Holyoke: the view from the summit; its natural environment; its history; and its materiality. In Chapter 3, I explore understandings of the landscape and show how the view from Mount Holyoke is

collectively understood as a vision of Arcadia, constructed by nineteenth-century elites and propagated today at the exclusion of the realities of modernity. In Chapter 4, I describe perceptions of the more-than-human environment and argue that a perceived dichotomy between the human and natural has driven conservation efforts and enhanced the conception of Mount Holyoke as a place of therapeutic respite and unique experiences. In Chapter 5, I describe engagement with the Summit House through preservation advocacy, collecting, and attending tours and demonstrate how the building was a more active site of engagement during its period of abandonment as a contemporary ruin versus as a renovated and preserved museum. In Chapter 6, I consider the ways in which memory is materialized on Mount Holyoke in the structure of the Summit House, the sites of a World War II plane crash, and the hiking trails, showing how this material engagement allows the mountain to remain an active site of memory. While my conclusions are about the ways in which people make meaning and construct place, I center the mountain and view Mount Holyoke as a product of social construction.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"A peculiar logic / In going up for the coming down...
But it's the clear conversion at the top can hold
Us to the oblique road" (Plath 1995)

Going on a Hike

Around eight in the morning one mid-September day in 2019, I turned off Route 47 in Hadley, Massachusetts, onto the dirt parking area and pulled the nose of my black hatchback Subaru up to the treeline. Tacked to a tree above me was a sign indicating I was entering state property—the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park. It was the coldest morning of the fall yet, and although I was wearing several layers, I regretted forgetting my gloves. I switched on my GPS device, attached it and my keys to the exterior of my lightweight backpack with a carabiner, and walked up to the notice board at the Taylor's Notch Trailhead. Stapled to the board were informational posters on interpreting trail signs and public advisories warning hikers about ticks, dehydration, and deer hunting season. A final sign encouraged visitors not to set out without a map of the park. I did not take a map out of the covered plastic box as I already had one in my backpack.

After reading the announcements, I set off on the trail. I came across my first junction after about ten minutes, marked by a brown wooden sign with white engraved text and the Department of Conservation and Recreation logo in the bottom-right corner (Figure 1.1). Taylor's Notch Trail to the left, 1.0 miles to the Summit House. Halfway House Trail to the right, 1.3 miles to the Summit House. I took the trail to the left.

Figure 1.1. A trail sign at the junction near the Taylor's Notch Trailhead.

Figure 1.2. The Mount Holyoke Summit House.

After another fifteen minutes, at a point where the hiking trail crosses over the paved road, I opted to walk up the road the rest of the way. I knew I was close to the summit when I reached the lower parking lot. It was empty, its white, parallel painted lines reaching from the road towards the expansive view of the valley below. The Summit House towered above me, a wooden structure elevated on vertical and trussed beams painted white with bright blue window trimmings, and a wrap-around porch accessible either by stairs or a long ramp (Figure 1.2). A wooden sign read "MT. HOLYOKE SUMMIT / ELEVATION 942 FEET."

I was on the summit of Mount Holyoke, straddling the town line separating Hadley and South Hadley, Massachusetts. The mountain is the westernmost peak of the

Mount Holyoke Range and, even though it is not the tallest peak in the range, it commands the best views. Mount Holyoke has been attracting visitors like myself to its summit for centuries, well before the current Summit House structure opened in 1851 as a hotel for affluent guests. Across New England and upstate New York in the nineteenth century, buildings like this one, offering amenities atop a mountain, became quite popular. The Summit House on Mount Holyoke was the first such summit structure built during this era and remains the last one still standing. It is currently operated as a historic site and museum, accessible via a paved auto road as well as a network of hiking trails.

The mountain has inspired many artists, poets, and writers over the years. In Chapter 3, I discuss at length cultural works from the nineteenth century depicting the view from Mount Holyoke, such as Thomas Cole's famous 1836 painting *The Oxbow*, poetry by Emily Dickinson, and prose by Henry James. Here, I would like to introduce the site with a poem written by Sylvia Plath. Plath wrote a poem about Mount Holyoke and the Summit House called "Above the Oxbow" in 1958 (Table 1.1; Plath 1995). She wrote a short story in the same year with the same title (Plath 1985). At the time, Plath was living in Northampton and teaching at Smith College, of which she was an alumna. I borrow the title of this dissertation from the title of her poem. It is a poem that I first came across as I was proposing this research project, and to which I have returned over and over again during the past three years. These lines have been a source of inspiration for me, influencing my own sense of place of Mount Holyoke, and serving as a lens through which I see the mountain as well as my data. I briefly analyze the poem here as a way to set the scene and establish some of the major themes I explore in this dissertation.

Above the Oxbow
By Sylvia Plath

Here in this valley of discrete academies
We have not mountains, but mounts, truncated hillocks
To the Adirondacks, to northern Monadnock,
Themselves mere rocky hillocks to an Everest.
Still, they're our best mustering of height: by
Comparison with the sunken silver-grizzled
Back of the Connecticut, the river-level
Flats of Hadley farms, they're lofty enough
Elevations to be called something more than hills.
Green, wholly green, they stand their knobby spine
Against our sky: they are what we look southward to
Up Pleasant Street at Main. Poising their shapes
Between the snuff and red tar-paper apartments,
They mound a summer coolness in our view.

To people who live in the bottom of valleys
A rise in the landscape, hummock or hogback, looks
To be meant for climbing. A peculiar logic
In going up for the coming down if the post
We start at's the same post we finish by,
But it's the clear conversion at the top can hold
Us to the oblique road, in spite of a fitful
Wish for even ground, and it's the last cliff
Ledge will dislodge our cramped concept of space, unwall
Horizons beyond vision, spill vision
After the horizons, stretching the narrowed eye
To full capacity. We climb to hopes
Of such seeing up the leaf-shuttered escarpments,
Blindered by green, under a green-grained sky
Into the blue. Tops define themselves as places
Where nothing higher's to be looked to. Downward looks
Follow the black arrow-backs of swifts on their track
Of the air eddies' loop and arc though air's at rest
To us, since we see no leaf edge stir high
Here on a mount overlaid with leaves. The paint-peeled
Hundred-year-old hotel sustains its ramshackle
Four-way veranda, view-keeping above
The fallen timbers of its once remarkable
Funicular railway, witness to gone
Time, and to graces gone with the time. A state view-
Keeper collects half-dollars for the slopes
Of state scenery, sells soda, shows off viewpoints.
A ruddy skylight paints the gray oxbow

And paints the river's pale circumfluent stillness.
As roses broach their carmine in a mirror. Flux
Of the desultory currents — all that unique
Stipple of shifting wave-tips is ironed out, lost
In the simplified orderings of sky-
Lorded perspectives. Maplike, the far fields are ruled
By correct green lines and no seedy free-for-all
Of asparagus heads. Cars run their suave
Colored beads on the strung roads, and the people stroll
Straightforwardly across the springing green.
All's peace and discipline down there. Till lately we
Lived under the shadow of hot rooftops
And never saw how coolly we might move. For once
A high hush quietens the crickets' cry.

Originally published in *The Collected Poems of Sylvia Plath*, 1959. Reprinted in *The Pioneer Valley Reader: Prose and Poetry from New England's Heartland*, 1995.

Table 1.1. Sylvia Plath's poem "Above the Oxbow," written in 1958.

In the first stanza, Plath acknowledges that Mount Holyoke, along with the peaks of the rest of the Mount Holyoke Range, are not tall mountains at all, relatively. Perhaps they are not even mountains by some definitions, but mere "truncated hillocks." However, "they're lofty enough." It is not just the elevation that makes the view from Mount Holyoke so captivating, but rather what we see in the valley below, the

“silver-grizzled” Connecticut River, the Hadley farms, and the “discrete academies,” or contained college campuses. These mounts are “green, wholly green,” differentiated from the farmland, from Northampton, because they have unbroken swaths of forest.

Plath contemplates the “peculiar logic” of hiking in the second stanza, highlighted in the epigraph of this chapter. When we climb a mountain, we go up only to go back down, finishing at the starting point. However, “it’s the clear conversion at the top” that we seek, a transformation that occurs on the mountain. On the top of Mount Holyoke, our “cramped concept of space” is dislodged, horizons are unwalled, and our narrowed eye stretches to full capacity. We climb through “leaf-shuttered escarpments,” immersing ourselves in green in the hopes of reaching the top and seeing the valley below. For me, these lines of the poem define my core research questions. Why do we go to Mount Holyoke? What is the nature of this conversion that many feel on the mountain? What “can hold / Us to the oblique road”?

When we emerge from the forest, we come out “into the blue,” Plath writes in the third stanza. As “tops define themselves as places / Where nothing’s higher to be looked to,” the only thing to do at the summit is to look down. We see “black arrow-backs of swifts” and other birds, as well as the “grey oxbow.” Also at the summit is a “paint-peeled / Hundred-year-old hotel” with a “ramshackle / Four-way veranda.” In the 1950s, the Mount Holyoke Summit House was abandoned, a decrepit building that had fallen into disrepair. It was a ruin, after its days as a luxury hotel and before it was renovated to become a historic site (Figure 1.3). The “once remarkable / Funicular railway,” a feat of engineering that took guests up the steepest, final portion of the ascent

right into the lobby of the hotel, had collapsed. The Summit House stands “witness to gone / Time,” a physical materialization of memory on the mountain. A park ranger collected coins, a fee to help maintain state scenery, but not the Summit House.

In the fourth and final stanza, Plath observes the view from the summit. The poem starts in the streets of downtown Northampton, takes us up the mountain, around the Summit House’s veranda, and back out across the landscape. Above, from our “sky- / Lorded perspectives,” the valley below is simplified. We see no “desultory currents” or “shifting wave-tips” in the Connecticut River, just “pale circumfluent stillness.” The farmland is “Maplike” and “ruled / By correct green lines.” Down on the valley floor, “All’s peace and discipline.” We are removed from the hustle and bustle, and feel peaceful, quiet, and calm at the summit.

Figure 1.3. A birds-eye view of the Summit House at sunset, taken by a drone. Courtesy of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range.

Research Goals

Mountain summits are locations where people experience a strong sense of space, by being able to situate themselves geographically while looking down from a high elevation. Particularly in New England, where accessing mountaintops has been written into the script of domestic tourism and outdoor activity for centuries, mountain summits are also locations where people may experience a sense of history. Mount Holyoke is a well-known and locally cherished mountain destination in Western Massachusetts with sweeping views of the Connecticut River Valley below and a two-hundred-year-old Summit House perched on the top. Mount Holyoke thus represents a convergence of history, space, and place. My dissertation project focuses on the site of Mount Holyoke as a case study to investigate place attachment on mountains as it relates to both sense of space and sense of history.

My core research objective is to understand the nature and nuances of people's attachment to Mount Holyoke. I thickly describe and analyze how place is and has been constructed on the mountain. The following questions guided my project design: Why and how has this particular mountain summit become so important in people's lives? To what extent do history and historic sites facilitate place attachment? To what extent does sense of space facilitate place attachment? I will also explore diachronic shifts or consistencies at the site. In what ways have the conception of the landscape and use of the summit changed or stayed the same over time? In what ways has a version of New England identity proliferated through collective memory at the site? Through this research, I seek to gain a deeper understanding of how a mountain can become so special

to people, how environmental and historical consciousness are interrelated, and how the attachments to place of contemporary people are influenced by collective, family, and personal memory as well as local cultural movements. In this dissertation, I provide rich and descriptive answers to the above questions through a mixed-methods, qualitative, ethnographic study. Next, I present a summary of the scholarly literature that has influenced my thinking and upon which I build. I then clarify the theoretical framing of the dissertation and provide an overview of the subsequent chapters.

Literature Review

I situate my work in a transdisciplinary space spanning the fields of anthropology, archaeology, history, and geography. This dissertation draws inspiration from the bodies of literature on landscape and place, mountains, archaeology of the contemporary, and public archaeology and public history. Within each particular chapter of the dissertation, I revisit and discuss in more depth the relevant literature which I draw upon to build my analyses and arguments. Here, I supply a synopsis of these four categories of scholarly works with which I am in dialogue.

Landscape and Place

The subject of landscape and place studies is interdisciplinary, attracting anthropologists, public and architectural historians, geographers, psychologists, and urban planners. The themes within this body of literature that inform my research include theoretical understandings of landscape, collective memory, and sense of place. Additional themes include migration, attachment, the ways in which gender, race, and

class are coded into the landscape, and the complexities present in the commemoration and preservation of landscapes.

Scholars have developed increasingly nuanced theoretical understandings of landscape. Landscapes are not physical realities but ways of seeing the world, constructs created by social values and individual orientations. Donald Meinig (1979) argues that we make meaning of a landscape based on a mental viewpoint. Our interpretation of a landscape depends on the conceptual framework we use to make sense of the elements that we see, therefore landscapes are "composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads" (Meinig 1979, 34). The relationship between thought and landscape is also explored in the work of Yi-Fu Tuan (1979b). He argues that since our thoughts organize and interpret the data we take in through our senses, landscape is a construct of the mind and dependent on human cognition and feelings. "Landscape is an ordering of reality from different angles" (Tuan 1979b, 90). The perception and use of landscapes are informed by social values and collective ideologies (Baker 1992). Robert Layton and Peter Ucko (2005) describe two overarching approaches to landscape studies: explanation and understanding. The explanation approach sees landscape as a physical object capable of being described. The understanding approach instead views landscape as the expression of an idea, or an ideologically motivated representation of the world. Timothy Darvill (2005) espouses the understanding approach, rejecting traditional models of landscape as subject or object and further articulating a theory of landscapes as context. Landscape "becomes the socially constituted structure or web of values, categories and understandings that is imposed by a society on its surroundings at any one

time—the very context of social existence" (Darvill 2005, 110). I, too, take the understanding approach to landscape studies. The landscape is not something that exists in a physical reality but rather a perspective on a place held in common by groups of people. In Chapter 3, I explore the landscape viewed from Mount Holyoke and the underlying values and cultural context which shape it.

Many authors have written about the concept of place (Gheorghiu and Nash 2013; Glassberg 2001; Hayden 1997; Tuan 1979a). Like landscape, place is polysemous, socially constructed, and more than a physical space or environment. Understanding sense of place is an ethnographic endeavor, as it must be understood from the perspectives of people. I draw upon ethnographies of place and anthropologies of landscape. In particular, two books that most influenced my thinking include Setha Low's *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (2000) and Christopher Tilley and Kate Cameron-Daum's *Anthropology of Landscape: The Extraordinary in the Ordinary* (2017). Low spent more than a decade studying the ethnography of the Costa Rican plaza, immersing herself over several field seasons in daily life at two plazas in San Jose. Her monograph is a multi-genre ethnography of place, interweaving personal narrative, ethnography, history, and literature and provides a multivocal and multilocal representation of the plaza as a form of public space. Overall, Low presents a complex and compelling narrative of plaza life and its role in society. She also provides maps and diagrams showing the patterns of movement of people through and around the plaza at certain times of day, based on her observations.

Tilley and Cameron-Daum (2017) conducted an extended study of a rural heathland in southwest England employing a phenomenological, experiential approach to landscape studies. The authors spent a significant amount of time, over four years, in the local heathland environment, gaining visceral knowledge of the land, getting to know all of the groups of people and ways the land is used. They organize their writing around landscape as taskscape and leisurescape, richly documenting the ways people both work and recreate at the site. They trace the themes of materiality, embodiment, contestation, and emotion and make a point of providing thick descriptions and grounding their theory in physical, sensual experiences. Their emphasis on phenomenology and description of the variety of experiences of a place has been a useful model of landscape anthropology that has helped me to think expansively about all the ways in which people interact with Mount Holyoke.

Many works foreground materiality, considering both the ideological and physical construction of place, studying landscape in a way that centers the tangible, material world. Archaeologists in particular approach landscape studies from this perspective, focusing on artifacts and architectural features in a cultural landscape. Dragoş Gheorghiu and George Nash (2013) write that place creates individual and group identity and that it is a social construct with arbitrary boundaries formed by history, conformity, and consensus. They also pose the question: Can place be materiality? Roberta Dods sees place as a chrono-material relationship, resulting from the interplay between the temporal. She encourages us to consider different ways to perceive time in order to catch

“the rhythm of a place in time and how this may be manifest in the material world” (Dods 2013, 35). I explore the concepts of materiality and temporality in Chapters 5 and 6.

Analyses of the visual representations of landscape and place, in particular paintings and maps, have also influenced my work and led to my integration of artwork as a core component of the creation of the landscape on Mount Holyoke. Angela Miller (1993), for example, sees art as an active shaper of culture and landscapes, rather than a reflection. She explores the social and political context in which artists, collectors, and critics invented the American national landscape. Similarly, Janice Simon (2006) considers the American nationalistic metaphors embedded in paintings of forests. In Chapter 3, I also reference works specifically about representations and perceptions of the landscape in New England and the Connecticut River Valley (Sears 1998; Casey 2002; Truettner 1999).

Studies of place attachment from psychology and environmental history have shown that memories influence how we perceive our environment—not just memories of the physical aspects of a place but emotions and activities experienced there. Early “encounters with the environment influence the development of our place attachments and landscape preferences as adults… our sense of place is also influenced by larger patterns of group communication and collective memory” (Glassberg 2001, 116). Connections to place can also occur later in life. For immigrants and other new residents of an area, an interest in the past helps to foster a sense of continuity. When newcomers take an interest in the history of a place, they can more easily form emotional bonds with the new place (Lewicka 2014). A conscious focus on the past enables people to situate

themselves in a history and achieve a high level of attachment in a place in which they may have not lived long; memory and history can facilitate a connection to place despite frequent migration.

Mountain Studies

There is a growing sub-body of landscape studies focusing on mountains with which I engage and contribute to. Most texts about mountains are accounts of mountaineering expeditions which typically center the drive of white American and European men to explore, "discover," and summit peaks, including the Cascades (Beckey 2003), the White Mountains (Howe 2010), the Sierra Nevada (Duane 2000), and the Himalaya (Davis 2011; Krakauer 1997). Some more recent works highlight the mountain experiences of women and people of color, such as an account of the first all-African American team to attempt an ascent of Denali in Alaska (Mills 2014), the story of two female hikers in 1902 whose advocacy work in the White Mountains of New Hampshire led to its preservation as a National Forest (Bell and Goodwin 2018), and a compilation of narratives by and about a set of racially and ethnically diverse female climbers and explorers (Straub 2019). Many landscape studies involving mountainous regions are linked to the history of the conservation movement in the United States (Jacoby 2014; Mittlefehldt 2013; Bell and Goodwin 2018) or consider mountains as sacred sites (Schama 1995; Christenson 2008; Maddrell 2010).

Photographs of mountains, as well as visual culture studies of mountain photography, have also influenced my thinking. Ansel Adams was a prominent twentieth-century environmentalist and photographer of the American West (Georgia

O'Keeffe Museum 2008; Phillips 2008). Adams' commitment to American values is inextricably linked to the manner in which he presented his images of mountains. He was a strong believer in a particular version of American principles and was convinced that the natural and human worlds were distinct, that there was no human element in the mountains. Adams sought to capture the essential character of the western landscape, with its grand and powerful mountains. Adams' link between nationalism and upholding natural beauty in the twentieth century echoes similar trends in American politics and art in the nineteenth century, when places like Yosemite were first incorporated into the national mythology and parks system (Spence 1996; Sears 1998). Adams' conception of the mountains as places devoid of humans reminds me of William Cronon's caution about the "trouble with wilderness" (1996), and the problems of a dualism between the human and the natural, which I draw from in Chapter 4. Thomas Southall's (1979; 1977) comprehensive study of nineteenth-century stereograph images and catalogs from the White Mountains reveals extensive similarities between the works of different photographers, whose stereographs were extremely similar in terms of subject matter and style. He argues that White Mountain photographers shared a collective vision. Through thinking about these photographic representations of mountains, as well as paintings of mountains, I developed an argument about the role that visual media and a collective vision play in the production of American mountains (Raad 2021). My publication contributed to the field of mountain studies and developed ideas about the collective understanding of mountain landscapes which I apply and extend in this dissertation to the specific site of Mount Holyoke.

Marco Armiero (2011) has shown how the Alps and Apennine mountain ranges shaped the development of the modern nation-state of Italy. He looks at the ways in which Italy incorporated the wildness of mountains, and their reclaiming and taming, into its national narrative. Armiero considers the mountains as a place of rebellion, athleticism, war, and commemoration, especially during World War I when mountains and mountain climbing were nationalized as alpinists transformed into soldiers and the mountains into the nation's borders. Armiero argues that WWI literally and figuratively remodeled the mountains, which shift around on the emotional and physical map of Italy and are inextricably linked to the process of the nationalization of Italy. This was a useful study to compare with works analyzing the role of mountains in constructing American identity.

I am perhaps most inspired by geographers Bernard Debarbieux and Gilles Rudaz's book *The Mountain: A Political History from the Enlightenment to the Present* (2015), translated from French by Jean Marie Todd. Debarbieux and Rudaz chart the origins of the concept of the mountain, which is more of an idea than a geographic or geologic feature. Like landscapes, mountains are not just material realities but social and political constructs whose meanings change over time under the influence of shifting cultural attitudes and political climates. In *The Mountain*, the authors use the term "orogenesis" to refer to the creation of mountains. They use the term in a social, rather than geological, sense. Orogenesis is the process by which people create mountains, which participate in social and political life. I borrow this definition of orogenesis to think about the creation of Mount Holyoke as a social actor.

Lastly, my work builds on the research of another UMass graduate student who conducted an ethnography on Mount Holyoke over twenty years ago. In the mid-1990s, Patricia Foley, a master's student in Communications, wrote her thesis about ritual communication on Mount Holyoke. She conducted an ethnography of visitors to the summit and posed the following question: How does the place, Mount Holyoke, create particular experiences for visitors, and how, in turn, does their talk about their experiences create the place? Foley concludes that:

> Strong feelings surrounding a visit are also influenced by the sense of history, collection of memories and the continuity of experience that are encompassed in Mt. Holyoke visits. In the nearly 200 years of Mt. Holyoke's operation as a tourist area, visitors have engaged in the particular activities connected with the mountain visit and passed those traditions to others through their actions and words. (Foley 1997, 80)

Foley sees the mountain as the orchestrator of a ritual cycle enacted by visitors. The ritual has five main features: (1) going to the top of the mountain; (2) commenting on the weather and the natural environment; (3) observing and commenting on the view; (4) expressing the spiritual or emotional nature of the experience; and (5) sharing the experience with others during and after the visit. She describes the homogenization of the experience of the mountain due to history and collective memory, which I further interrogate in this dissertation.

Archaeology of the Contemporary

Archaeology of the contemporary, sometimes referred to as an archaeology of the present or of the contemporary past, is a relatively new interdisciplinary space that has emerged in the past decade. It is not a cohesive body of literature where scholars employ

a standard set of methodologies and ask similar questions, but rather a dynamic, new theoretical lens from which to consider material remains and the intersections of materiality and temporality. According to Lauren Olivier, the archaeology of the present is all archaeology. The practice of archaeology always takes place in the present, studying material remains of the past decidedly lodged in the "heterogeneous mass of our present" (Olivier 2011, 62). The present is where we are always situated when we interpret the past. Rodney Harrison and Arthur John Schofield similarly write that the "archaeology of the contemporary past is an archaeology of all time periods and the way in which the material remains of the past are mobilized and help to create the present" (2010, 8). They consider the surface of the earth as an amalgam of all historical layers which is necessarily interpreted in the present. Harrison and Schofield dissolve the temporal distance between subject and object, past and present, living humans and material remains, paying attention to the ways in which the past intervenes in the present. Alfredo González−Ruibal (2018) refers to this as a deperiodization. Due to the dual focus on both material of the past and ongoing socio-material practices, methods integrate archaeology and ethnography, weaving together strands of evidence from material culture, historical documentation, and ethnographic accounts (Graves-Brown, Harrison, and Piccini 2013; Harrison and Breithoff 2017).

In Chapters 5 and 6, I rely heavily on the works of archaeologists of the contemporary Shannon Lee Dawdy and Alfredo González-Ruibal. In her article "Clockpunk Anthropology and the Ruins of Modernity" (2010) as well as her book *Patina: A Profane Archaeology* (2016), Dawdy writes about recent ruins and

archaeological ruptures. Ruins have social lives, and "are tears in the spatiotemporal fabric through which new social forms emerge" (2010, 777). Ruins shape experiences of time; while western scholars narrate time linearly, we experience it in multiform ways. I use Dawdy's theory on contemporary ruins to interpret the period of decay of the Summit House, and on the folding and recycling of cultural elements to think through Summit House renovations and collecting practices in Chapter 5. *Patina* is an ethnography of human and material entanglements in New Orleans following the destruction of Hurricane Katrina. Dawdy studies the influence of physical objects and remains, such as Mardi Gras souvenirs, antique heirlooms, and hurricane ruins to show how New Orleans residents use material culture to understand history, social relationships, and the passage of time. She writes that objects have an aura, a patina. They have aesthetic and narrative qualities that give them meaning to people and accumulate generations of social formation. I draw on her understanding of patina and theory of the "antique fetish." Dawdy also writes of a "social stratigraphy." Things from the past have agency in constituting our lives in the present, and human and nonhuman elements are co-formed, layered, and deep (Dawdy 2016, 45).

I employ González-Ruibal's (2008) categorization of three sorts of places with varying relations to memory: places of abjection; *mnemotopoi*; and *lieux de mémoire*. Places of abjection are beyond social remembrance, locales where memory is erased. *Mnemotopoi* are places of memory, constituted in relation to a group's identity. Lastly, *lieux de mémoire*, building off of the work of Pierre Nora (1989), are cliché sites of fossilized and trivialized memory. I also draw from the theories articulated by Olivier in

The Dark Abyss of Time: Archaeology and Memory (2011). Olivier conceptualizes landscapes as repositories of memory and archaeological constructs that are constantly being added to. People in the present activate and shape the memory of a site, which is ever-evolving. I use this theory to frame my analysis of hiking trails as archaeological sites in Chapter 6.

Public Archaeology and Public History

I am lastly in dialogue with the subfields of public archaeology (Bollwerk, Connolly, and McDavid 2015; Lassiter 2005; Merriman 2004), closely related to public history (Cauvin 2016; Glassberg 1996). This scholarship promotes the study of historicization, or the processes by which archaeology and history become part of the wider culture. It is valid and necessary to study the historicization and the processes by which meaning is created from archaeological materials and historic sites in the public realm (Merriman 2004). I am also inspired by community-based archaeology and Sonya Atalay's idea of "braided knowledge," where "[c]ommunity knowledge intertwines with archaeological data to create new and richly textured interpretations of the past" (2012, 27). I draw as well from the fields of museology and museum studies for analyses of visitor engagement at historic sites (Vagnone and Ryan 2015; Anderson 2012; N. Simon 2010).

Lastly, I am pursuing the study of historicization within the framework of archaeological ethnography (Hamilakis 2011; Meskell 2005). Archaeological ethnography is an approach that centers around materiality and temporality. It destabilizes conventional archaeology and questions its ontological principles of excavation and site

destruction. The Mount Holyoke Summit House is a historical archaeological site. The current structure was built in 1851 but the building has existed and continued to play a role in people's lives from then until now. Aligning with the goals of archaeological ethnography, I merge ethnographic and archaeological practices to investigate the meaning of the material past for contemporary publics (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). In Chapter 2, I discuss my mixed-methods approach and how I see it sitting in the space of archaeological ethnography.

Theoretical Framework

This dissertation is a case study of place-making on a mountain. I draw from the theoretical framing of mountains as social actors presented in the literature on mountain studies. My research is therefore an exploration of orogenesis, or the creation of place on a mountain. Place-making is a cultural activity, understood only in the context of ideas and practices with which it is accomplished (Basso 1996). I explore the ways in which both understandings of space and history contribute to creating place, or how a sense of space and a sense of history contributes to a sense of place on Mount Holyoke. I employ the theoretical concepts of space and place, long established at the core of the discipline of geography since the 1970s (Tuan 1979a) and adopted by anthropologists since the 1990s (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Feld and Basso 1996). One space can be made up of many places and a space becomes place when it is given meaning by a person or group of people.

Elevated on a mountain, with a view of the valley below, Mount Holyoke is a location where people experience a strong spatial awareness. I conceive of the buildings, hiking trails, trees, animals, and all other beings and materials on Mount Holyoke as part of the space. The space of Mount Holyoke includes these geographic and physical realities. I have identified two major themes which emerged when I sought to understand how a sense of space informs a sense of place. The first is the conceptualization of the landscape viewed from Mount Holyoke and the second is perceptions of nature on the mountain.

My other research objective is to investigate how a sense of history informs place creation. Places "make memories cohere in complex ways" (Hayden 1997, 133) and are "locations in which people have long memories, reaching back beyond the indelible impressions of their own individual childhoods to the common lores of bygone generations" (Tuan 1979a, 421). Places are embedded with personal, familial, and inter-generational societal memory, or personal and public histories. A sense of history refers to the attitudes and perspectives people hold about the past. As David Glassberg writes, a "sense of history and sense of place are inextricably intertwined; we attach histories to places, and the environmental value we attach to a place comes largely through the historical associations we have with it" (Glassberg 2001, 8). The Summit House on Mount Holyoke is a historic structure. It serves as a locus of engagement with the past for visitors, and the nexus around which my investigations about the role of history in place-making revolve. Two archaeological sites on the mountain I consider

include the remains of a WWII bomber that crashed on the slopes in 1944 and the network of hiking trails.

This dissertation is an orogenic ethnography, or a contemporary archaeological ethnography. It sits at the intersection of the theoretical frameworks of archaeological ethnography and the archaeology and history of the contemporary past. Yannis Hamilakis and Aris Anagnostopoulos define the emerging concept of archaeological ethnography as "the merging of ethnographic and archaeological practices in order to explore the contemporary relevance and meaning of the material past for diverse publics" (2009, 66). It is neither ethnoarchaeology nor, in the case of my project, paired with archaeological excavations. It blends two subdisciplines in the field: cultural anthropology and archaeology. Lynn Meskell writes that "[a]rchaeological ethnography is a holistic anthropology that is improvisational and context dependent" (2005, 83). It is less of a *practice* and more of a *space*, "a space for multiple conversations, engagements, interventions, and critiques, centered on materiality and temporality" (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009, 67). I see my orogenic ethnography as living in this space. I embrace the conception of archaeological ethnography as multitemporal, "attuned both to durational and multitemporal properties of matter and to the various social-vernacular modes of temporal perception and historicization" (Hamilakis 2011, 405–6). I seek to understand how people have connected to Mount Holyoke through time, from when it first became a recreational destination for European settlers in the region in the late eighteenth century to the present day. This orogenic ethnography, which mixes

methodologies from cultural anthropology, archaeology, and history, is an archaeological ethnography of the contemporary past centering on the social construction of a mountain.

Chapter Overview

In Chapter 2, I outline the methodological framework of the dissertation, explicating my methods and the rationale used to design my study. I describe in further depth my innovative fusion of ethnographic, archaeological, and historical methodologies which make up my orogenic ethnography. This includes detailing the types of data I collected and the ways in which I collected and analyzed the data. I highlight in particular the hiking interview, a novel mobile interview methodology borne from my attempts in the field to best access understandings of place while on a mountain. Throughout the dissertation, I intertwine ethnographic data with historical research, weaving information from archives and government documents with individual and group conceptions of the mountain as expressed in interviews, paintings, and poetry.

Each of the next four chapters delve into a major theme around which my data coalesced. I begin with the view from Mount Holyoke. The view of the Connecticut River Valley below is arguably the most salient feature of the mountain. In Chapter 3, I explore understandings of the landscape and the collective sense of space on Mount Holyoke. My research revealed that the same four components of the view are most frequently noticed and commented upon. These include the snaking Connecticut River, farmland, steepled towns, and mountains in the distance. I place this discussion within the historical context and legacy of the nineteenth-century cultural movement of

Romanticism. I shift back and forth between historic accounts and contemporary ethnographic data to show how the view is consistently seen as an iconic landscape of Arcadia, or an idyllic countryside where humans exist in harmony with nature. I demonstrate how this persistent vision obscures the realities of modernity and development.

Chapter 4 treats human engagements with the more-than-human. I analyze the ways in which people interact with and talk about the natural environment on Mount Holyoke, including trees, animals, and rocks. This analysis is situated within the context and legacy of twentieth-century environmentalism. I discuss environmental conservation efforts on Mount Holyoke and the values and ideologies which underlie conservation work and understandings of the environment. Through my analysis of the perceptions of nature on Mount Holyoke, two major motifs emerged: the perceived therapeutic benefits of being in nature and the environmental exceptionality of Mount Holyoke. While Mount Holyoke does have distinctive flora, fauna, and geology, it is personal associations and memories that really attach people to place. I argue that a perceived duality between humans and nature has driven both environmental conservation efforts and enhanced the conception of the mountain as a place of both respite and unique experiences.

In Chapter 5, I consider historical engagement on Mount Holyoke and the creation of a collective sense of history revolving around the Summit House. I first provide a context of the Native American history in the area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries around when Mount Holyoke was first named as such and the earliest white visitors came. I then recount the often retold narrative of the mountain's

history, not to present a full and accurate historical account but to interrogate the ways in which visitors interact with and disseminate this history. I identify and describe three ways in which visitors engage with the history of Mount Holyoke and create a sense of history. The first is historic preservation. The Summit House has been a site of community preservation advocacy for a century; it went through a period of abandonment in the middle of the twentieth century and was saved and renovated through the work of activists. The second mode of engaging with the history of the site is collecting Mount Holyoke memorabilia and artifacts. The third involves consuming interpretation within the Summit House, including attending guided tours and reading exhibit materials. I argue that the Summit House was a contemporary ruin when it was in disrepair and was better able to foster a sense of history than when it became a renovated historic house museum. A surprising or perhaps counterintuitive conclusion I reach is that the Summit House was an active site of deep historical engagement as a ruin.

I explore in Chapter 6 the ways in which memory is materialized on Mount Holyoke. In this chapter, I take a contemporary archaeological approach to studying the cultural landscape. I consider the Summit House structure, focusing on the physical building material of the structure rather than its status as a historic site, and how people have interacted with its wood. I also investigate the story of a World War II plane crash on the side of the mountain. This narrative is multi-local and includes the crash site itself, a commemorative memorial on the summit, and a little exhibit inside the Summit House. Lastly, I describe my conceptualization of the hiking trails as archaeological sites. I argue

that engagement with material on Mount Holyoke resists the institutionalization of memory and allows the mountain to remain an active site of memory.

The dissertation concludes with Chapter 7, where I summarize the ways in which sense of space, sense of history, and material engagements braid together to construct a sense of place on Mount Holyoke. I clarify the theoretical and methodological contributions of this dissertation to the fields of anthropology and history. Lastly, I offer future directions and recommendations for other scholars to apply this research to their own work. I encourage others to take up the mantle of orogenic ethnography.

CHAPTER 2

A METHODOLOGY FOR AN OROGENIC ETHNOGRAPHY

"Place incarnates the experiences and aspirations of a people. Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of people who have given it meaning"
(Tuan 1979a, 387).

Place-Making on Mount Holyoke: An Orogenic Ethnography

Orogeny is the process of mountain creation. While typically used in the geological sense to describe the motion of tectonic plates to physically form mountains, drawing from the work of Debarbieux and Rudaz (2015), I employ the term to refer to the processes by which societies construct mountains as social and political actors. In other words, I use orogeny to refer to the making of place on a mountain. In this dissertation, I explore and characterize the orogeny of, or construction of place on, Mount Holyoke. I accomplish this through a novel mixed-methods approach blending ethnographic, historic, and archaeological practices. Since a sense of place is constructed from the perspectives of people who give it meaning (Tuan 1979a), ethnographic methods are best suited to access understandings of place of living people while historic and archaeological methods are appropriate to study people of the past. I refer to my innovative fusion of methods used to explore place-making on Mount Holyoke as an orogenic ethnography. It is an ethnography of place, in which a mountain is anchored at the core.

Mount Holyoke cannot be separated from its geomorphic categorization as a

mountain. Hiking upwards and gaining elevation as well as the ability to see the vast view of the Connecticut River and the valley below from the summit are integral experiences on Mount Holyoke. The mountain can also be seen from many locations; its presence looms over the lives of people dwelling in the valley. John Brady, a Professor of Geology at Smith College, was interviewed in a documentary about the Mount Holyoke Range called *Focusing on the Range*. He said, "it's our landscape, it's our setting, it's the background for our lives" (2005, 34:06). Mount Holyoke and the Mount Holyoke Range form both a physical and metaphorical background for the lives of people in the region. Judy, a member of the local conservation non-profit Kestrel Land Trust, wrote me an email after our interview in 2019, expressing a similar sentiment:

> ...it's the people's various projections and desires that are all tangled up in these mountains. They are the backdrop to our lives, a source of pride and a place of safety. They challenge us physically and artistically with both their constancy and change and endless possibilities to learn, grow, or simply retreat to rest.

Judy begins to describe the varied and sometimes contradictory roles these mountains play in people's lives. They both challenge us physically but offer a place to rest, they are constant yet change, they push us to grow, and yet are safe. The peaks of the Mount Holyoke Range are more than piles of rocks and trails to walk on, they are social and political agents with complex parts to play. Photographer Robert Floyd was also interviewed in the documentary about the Mount Holyoke Range. "The mountains are a source of strength to all of us, they've been a part of our culture," he said. "And wherever you are, you can turn around and find the mountain. It's always there for us" (*Focusing on the Range* 2005, 33:19). Throughout this dissertation, I interrogate the ways in which

the mountain plays an active role in the lives of people in the Valley and are a part of their (our) culture, ultimately seeking to richly understand the place of Mount Holyoke.

In Chapter 1, I outlined the theoretical framework of this dissertation, providing a review of the literature on landscape and place, mountain studies, public archaeology and history, and archaeology of the contemporary. Here, I will describe the specific research methodologies I employed in order to study place attachment and how visitors to Mount Holyoke, both past and present, casual and long-term, have engaged and currently engage with different aspects of the mountain. My orogenic ethnography centers but extends beyond ethnographic methods; I blend historical and archaeological investigations with the results of anthropological research in order to understand place on a historic mountain. This study is diachronic. Unlike other ethnographies examining sense of place, which typically focus on how a group of people understands place at one point in time, I look at how the orogenesis of Mount Holyoke developed and evolved over two centuries. I also examine how environmental and historical consciousness are interrelated, or how the creation of a sense of place is linked to a sense of history. In these ways, the approach to studying place which I present in this dissertation is interdisciplinary and original.

The Types of Data

Here I summarize the types of data used in the dissertation, before more thoroughly discussing the methodologies used to collect and analyze the data in the next section. My data roughly falls into three general groupings of archival, ethnographic, and

archaeological; however, some documents, photographs, and maps do not neatly fit into just one of these categories.

Archival Data

Archival data includes a variety of primary source documentation. Published materials written by authors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—primarily guidebooks, memoirs, and poems—are drawn upon in the discussions of visitors' comments on the view in Chapter 3 as well as the historical background in Chapter 5. In the discussion of environmental conservation in Chapter 4 and historic preservation in Chapter 5, I reference an assortment of government documents including Massachusetts and federal legislation and reports and plans published by state and national agencies. Newspaper clippings, obituaries, and organizational websites (including defunct sites accessed through the Wayback Machine archive) accessed online, two digitized films about Mount Holyoke, as well as printed maps, pamphlets, and newsletters, are cited throughout the dissertation.

Ethnographic Data

The ethnographic data comes from participant observation and interviews. The interviews I conducted were semi-structured and either brief or substantial, stationary or hiking. Some interviews were partially informational meetings with an expert and others were akin to oral histories. As a participant-observer, I hiked on Mount Holyoke and interacted with people who were there visiting or working. I also attended public events like tours, a birdwatching program, and the summer concert series, and became a member of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range. The ethnographic data takes the form of

transcripts of recorded interviews, email correspondence with informants, photographs taken by me of objects, views, and events on Mount Holyoke, and fieldnotes and memos I wrote after observing public spaces, conducting an interview, or attending an event. Some of my fieldnotes are autoethnographic; I wrote at times about my own thoughts and feelings about being on the mountain. Extensive ethnographic data is used in all chapters of the dissertation.

Archaeological Data

I did not excavate or conduct a systematic field survey. However, I took note of the built environment and human engagement with material culture. I also mapped my routes on Mount Holyoke while in the field. My archaeological data includes photographic documentation of buildings and features in the landscape as well as GPS data of my location and paths collected both while on my own walking the trails and interacting with visitors and while conducting formal interviews. It also includes references in my fieldnotes to structures and architectural features, objects on display in the Summit House, objects collected in people's homes, and the ways in which I observed people interacting with these physical materials. Some of this data lies on a blurry line with archival and ethnographic data, like a local couple showing me Mount Holyoke memorabilia in their home or a photograph that an informant brought to our interview of herself as a young child visiting the mountain in the 1950s. However, I consider these to be archaeological as I analyze interactions with material culture and the cultural landscape in Chapters 5 and 6 with an archaeological sensibility. In this way, I am aligned with the work of archaeologists of the contemporary past, like Victor Buchli and Gavin

Lucas who write that "archaeologists, with their methods and theoretical perspectives, can bring unique contributions to modern material culture studies (2001, 8). Alfredo González−Ruibal asks what knowledge can be gained from turning the "archaeological gaze" to the recent past and the present (González−Ruibal 2018, 6). This focus on the present means that an archaeology of the contemporary is one not underground but on the surface, expanding beyond excavation.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

I adopted a mixed-methods approach to collecting the data described above, drawing from historical, ethnographic, and archaeological methodologies. It is this fusion of methods that forms my orogenic ethnography. The ethnographic fieldwork phase of the dissertation took place during the summer and fall of 2019. While I had planned a second season of fieldwork for 2020, to include additional participant observation, focus groups, and community workshops, I ceased any further in-person interactions once research restrictions were put in place during the spring of 2020 due to the coronavirus pandemic. While I visited Mount Holyoke on my own, out of an abundance of caution—many of the community members with whom I work are elderly—I chose to not pursue updates to my IRB protocol. I did not feel comfortable approaching visitors on Mount Holyoke or reaching out to my existing contacts who indicated an interest in being interviewed. Although I had been drawing from archival texts and records, at this point in my research I shifted to emphasize historical and archaeological investigations that I could safely carry out without putting others at unnecessary risk.

Historical Methods

Before beginning the formal fieldwork phase of the dissertation, I met with Matthew Villamaino, former Skinner State Park Interpreter and Visitor Service Supervisor, who is writing his own account of the history of Mount Holyoke. Matt graciously supplied me with two primary source document compilations which were invaluable starting points for my historical investigations. One of these is a document with excerpts from 21 nineteenth-century tourist guide listings and personal accounts (Villamaino 2015b) and the other is a collection of 12 plans, proposals, and reports published throughout the twentieth century by Massachusetts state conservation and recreation agencies (Villamaino 2016). In a few cases, I could not track down the full text of some documents scanned by Matt; however, he had meticulously included all front matter which allowed me to fully cite these texts. I am indebted to his work.

Although I spent one day in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, MA looking for references to Mount Holyoke in their collections of nineteenth-century manuscripts, I soon discovered that the vast majority of primary source materials I would need are digitized and available online. I relied on Google Books, as most of the nineteenth-century guidebooks and memoirs are now in the public domain, and the online repository of the State Library of Massachusetts, which has freely available the full-text of state legislation and other public documents between 1692 and 2010.

Kristen DeBoer, Executive Director of Kestrel Land Trust, and Pat Eagan, Chairperson of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, supplied me with pamphlets

and newsletters printed and distributed to the membership of their organizations. Judy Eiseman emailed me many internal documents related to the planning of grassroots conservation events such as the 2001 Summit on the Range and the 2004 Focusing on the Range Photo Contest. Pat also loaned me a DVD copy of Gwen Clancy's 1976 *The Summit House*, along with an audio transcript for the film written by Gini Traub. New England Public Media mailed me a DVD copy of the *Focusing on the Range* documentary produced in 2005 by WGBY Springfield when I alerted them that the film was no longer available to stream on their website.

In this dissertation, I reference a variety of websites, including news articles, blog posts, obituaries, and organizational pages for Kestrel Land Trust, Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, and Scenic America. In searching for references to the 2000 controversy about a proposed luxury home development on Mount Holyoke, I came across a doctoral dissertation by UMass School of Education student Ibrahim Mohamed (2003). Mohamed conducted a cross-cultural program evaluation of environmental activists in Sudan and Massachusetts. His Massachusetts case study was the "Save the Mountain" campaign, which was in motion as he was conducting fieldwork. In addition to providing historical context for this era of activism, Mohamed extensively references the Save the Mountain website. I had not previously known about this site, as it is now defunct, but after reading his dissertation I tracked down the web pages archived in the Wayback Machine. One page of this archived website included images of newspaper clippings from 1999 and 2000 about the movement to stop the proposed housing development on Mount Holyoke. This and other amateur and organizational databases of digitized articles and reports were

helpful in reconstructing the story of grassroots activism and public engagement in conservation efforts on Mount Holyoke.

Ethnographic Methods

In addition to the historical investigations described above, I approach my study of human engagement with Mount Holyoke as a qualitative social science researcher. Ethnographic methods are central to this project as I seek to understand people's relationships to a particular location and landscape. In order to collect this data, I employed multiple forms of ethnographic fieldwork methods at the site including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and autoethnography.

Autoethnography

As a hiker, life-long Massachusetts resident, and lover of both nature and historic sites, I developed my own attachment to Mount Holyoke during the years of this project. I embraced my emotions, infusing in my fieldnotes references to my feelings of excitement, frustration, tranquility, and discomfort. At times I felt awkward, embarrassed, or uncomfortable in the field. For example, while attending a birdwatching program I mistakenly looked through a small pair of binoculars from the wrong side. I attempted to capture these moments in writing, as well as my own evolving connection to the environment, the people, and the history on Mount Holyoke. Recognizing my own embodied, subjective experience of the landscape and asking about the feelings and multisensory experiences of people I interviewed constitutes a phenomenological approach recently popular in landscape anthropology and archaeology (M. H. Johnson 2012). This approach led in particular to my analysis in Chapter 6 of the trail system on

Mount Holyoke as archaeological sites. While hiking on the trails, I would occasionally become disoriented, losing track of the painted blazes that mark the path. Reflecting on these brief moments of uncertainty, I began to see the trails themselves as archaeological traces maintained by the action of myself and the hikers who came before me.

Participant Observation

During my fieldwork on Mount Holyoke, I conducted participant observation and kept detailed fieldnotes. I interacted with visitors on the mountain who were engaged in various activities such as hiking, picnicking, and birdwatching as well as people at work, like painters and park interpreters. I attended a guided tour of the Summit House and a birdwatching program, in addition to attending several of the shows that were part of the 2019 summer concert series put on by the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range.

I became a participant observer on Mount Holyoke by hiking around the site. My choice of clothing and accessories signaled my status as an insider (R. M. Emerson 2001). On the mountain, I typically wore hiking boots, water-resistant hiking pants, and one to three layers of technical fleeces and jackets in the fall. I also brought with me a map and a small backpack which contained a water bottle. My own material culture signaled belonging to others who recognized the material language I was displaying. Hanging off my backpack was my GPS device, and occasionally I wore binoculars around my neck which helped me to negotiate entrée with birdwatchers in particular. I have actually become an avid birdwatcher through these interactions. In all cases, people have been happy to talk to me when I tell them I am a UMass Amherst graduate student

studying people's relationship to the mountain, especially as many of the people I spoke to had some connection to UMass.

I became, along with my spouse, a dues-paying member of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range. I joined the organization at their annual meeting in November 2018, before I had formally begun the fieldwork phase of my project. I then sat in on a board meeting in June 2019, invited by Pat, the Chairperson of the organization, and attended their next Annual Meeting in November 2019. All three of these gatherings were held at the Notch Visitor Center in the Mount Holyoke Range State Park. I joined the organization's November 2020 annual meeting, which was held over Zoom. Through attendance at these membership meetings, one board meeting, and several of the concerts, I built connections with the group and recruited people for formal interviews. In general, the Friends have been excited about my research project and that a mountain they care deeply about is receiving academic attention. I have overlapping roles as someone who was a genuine participant before becoming a social scientist and "participant-observer." I am a visitor to and hiker on Mount Holyoke and a voting member of the Friends group. At the concerts, I was a ticket-paying attendee enjoying the music with my spouse but also a researcher observing others and actively recruiting interviewees for my project.

Ethnographic fieldwork involves two central activities: immersive participation in a social world and the production of a written account of that world (R. M. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). As such, an essential task for an ethnographer is writing detailed notes in order to capture, or thickly describe, the fieldsite (Geertz 2001). Following conversations with people, I would find a moment alone to sit on a bench or lean against

the railing of the Summit House to quickly write down the topics of conversation, descriptive details of the individuals I met, and any direct quotes I could remember. During the Summit House tour, birdwatching event, and Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range meetings, I had my notebook out and was constantly jotting observations down, as they were appropriate contexts in which to be taking notes (R. M. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). I would occasionally take photographs of signage or objects. Back at home, I used my jottings and photographs to write detailed and descriptive fieldnotes, employing the first person in a real-time perspective. I also wrote in-process analyses in my fieldnotes to capture my evolving thought processes and interpretations of events and conversations. For example, when typing up my fieldnotes from a formal tour of the Summit House I attended, I began to notice the ways in which the physicality of the building was signaled by the tour guide. While writing everything I could remember from the tour, I took note in brackets whenever the materiality of the structure was mentioned, like the wooden floorboards, the rocks in the basement, and the architectural vestiges from the destroyed expansion. This evolved into the analysis in Chapter 5 of how the engagement with the materiality of the Summit House works to maintain it as an active site of memory.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The core of my ethnographic research is composed of interviews with people who are actively visiting Mount Holyoke or have a personal connection to the mountain. Between June and December of 2019, I conducted 26 interviews with 31 total people. Five interviews were with two people (four married couples and one pair of friends). All

interviews were semi-structured. Some were shorter interviews conducted with someone I approached while in the field but most interviews were longer and scheduled in advance. All interviewees reviewed and signed my Informed Consent Form, which was approved by the UMass Institutional Review Board (Protocol ID: 2019-5425). Participants decided if they were comfortable with their full names or first name only used, or if they would prefer I use a pseudonym. The first time in each chapter I reference someone by a pseudonym, I include a footnote to indicate that it is not their real name. They gave consent for me to record audio of the interview and decided if they agreed to have their photograph taken.

My sampling method was both convenient and purposeful. My qualitative interview data constituted convenience sampling since I approached visitors who were at my site on any given day. Because my research question involves accessing the perception of Mount Holyoke by visitors, the people present on the mountain by default meet the criteria for inclusion in my project. I have also employed snowball sampling by word-of-mouth and personal introductions to people who live in the Hockanum neighborhood of Hadley, right at the base of the mountain, as well as members of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range and Kestrel Land Trust.

Short interviews lasted five to 15 minutes and took place with participants I approached on Mount Holyoke and asked for an interview on the spot. This allowed me to access a broad range of visitors to whom I could briefly talk without necessitating any follow-up engagement. These impromptu interviews all took place sitting down somewhere on the summit of Mount Holyoke: on a bench on the Summit House deck, a

picnic table in the shaded grassy area adjacent to the Summit House, or on a rock at the outcrop near the secondary picnic area a short walk away. I had on hand my consent forms, recording device, and GPS device. I conducted six short, impromptu interviews with seven people in total. I asked them why they were on Mount Holyoke that day and what kinds of activities they were doing. I also inquired whether it was their first time on the mountain. All seven replied "no" to this question, although some had brought up people with them who had never been there before. I asked everyone what they notice in the view. Early on, during the preliminary phases of developing this project, I realized how anyone I spoke to about Mount Holyoke—friends, colleagues, my first community contacts at the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range—would mention the view. Building on my own experiences as a hiker, selecting particular peaks and trails because of the vantage points and expected view, I wanted to understand exactly what in the view from Mount Holyoke is most captivating. I also asked how they feel when they are on the summit and what they know about the history of the Summit House. My final question was always to ask what Mount Holyoke means to them. I slightly adapted my line of questioning based on each participant, asking follow-up questions to draw out more detail in some instances, and keeping it concise when people seemed to want the interview to wrap up, out of respect for their time.

My interviews with Andrea, Hal, and Christine exemplify the variety of reasons for being on the summit. Andrea is a white mother from Ludlow whom I spoke to after she had just hiked up the mountain with her three teenage children. She now brings her kids up Mount Holyoke just like her parents brought her up for picnics. Hal is a Black

man from Springfield who was on the job, mentoring his "little buddy," a young disabled boy from Chicopee whom he was taking out to enjoy being outside. Hal also told me about taking a girl on a first date up Mount Holyoke and growing up going for Sunday drives with his mother. Christine is a white science teacher from Springfield who, in the last few days of the school year, was teaching a three-day field trip course on nature and art. She spoke to me while her (white, Asian, and Latinx) students were gathered around a picnic table painting. I also interviewed Allen, Christine's husband who was there to assist on the field trip, Moe, a young Lebanese man from Springfield who brought up his cousin from out of state, and Marcus and Josephine,[1] a middle-aged married couple enjoying an afternoon walking around the summit. While these more casual visitors were not actively engaged in any long-term conservation or preservation efforts on Mount Holyoke, like many of the others I interviewed, the mountain is still significant to them. As most of the people I interviewed this way came from the city of Springfield, I was able to compare their responses with those from people who live in the more immediate and rural area near Mount Holyoke and found much overlap in conceptions of the landscape and natural environment explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

My recruitment strategy for longer interviews was multi-pronged. When I attended the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range Board Meeting in June 2019, I gave a brief presentation of my project to the board, who offered their support. The Friends shared my recruitment information with their membership via email and posted my flyer on their Facebook page and their website. These online recruitment methods were not

[1] These are pseudonyms.

very productive; only one person contacted me via email after seeing the Facebook post. I also put a stack of printed copies of my flyer inside of the Summit House, next to other informational pamphlets. During the summer concert series in 2019, Dave Meuser, the organizer of the series, made an announcement about my project to the crowd and directed them to talk to me and provide contact information to schedule an interview. I have also made connections with community members informally at the concerts and by contacts introducing me to their friends and colleagues. Recruiting in person at the concerts and Friends meetings and via snowball sampling through personal connections were the most fruitful avenues to find research participants.

I scheduled longer interviews with people who volunteered to meet me through these recruitment methods. I conducted 20 scheduled interviews with a total of 24 people. These interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, depending on the availability of the participant(s) and the length of their responses to my questions. These conversations were responsive and moved in different directions based on the stories that informants shared and their willingness to divulge additional details. The questions I asked in the semi-structured long interviews were essentially the same as those I asked in the shorter interviews, but with more time for follow-up questions and exploring family histories and personal memories in depth. People construct realities by narrating their stories, so I designed my interview guide around questions that elicited personal stories and experiences from interviewees and adapted my line of questioning based on their replies (Marshall and Rossman 2014). In responsive interviews, interviewees are viewed more like conversational partners rather than research subjects (Rubin and Rubin 2012).

My first long interview took place in June 2019 on the deck of the Summit House. I spoke with both Hattie, a white woman in her mid-60s on the Board of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range who grew up in Hadley, and Mary Alice, a 92-year-old white woman who first moved to the area in 1958 when her husband was hired as a professor at Mount Holyoke College. Hattie, whom I met at a Friends meeting, brought Mary Alice along for me to meet her. Both women spoke about their experiences visiting the mountain in the 1950s and 60s. During our conversation, we moved to different locations on the Summit House deck to look out at various points in the landscape. I spoke with Martha, who married her partner of 30 years on the summit after the federal legalization of gay marriage, and Jean, who married her spouse on the summit as well. Both my interviews with Martha and Jean took place sitting on a bench on the Summit House deck. I also met Jan on the summit, conducting the first half of our interview sitting at a picnic table and the second half hiking around the summit. My interviews with Brian, a UMass History graduate student, and Pat, Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range Chairperson, occurred while hiking on Mount Holyoke. These hiking interviews will be further described in the archaeological methods section below.

Many interviews took place in cafes and homes, as I attempted to accommodate the schedules and physical abilities of community members willing to give me their time. I interviewed Mary and Rick, Joel and Gretchen, and Wayne and Sandi in their respective homes, all of which are near the base of the Mount Holyoke Range. Rick's family has occupied their home since 1747, and Rick and Mary have a large collection of Mount Holyoke memorabilia that has been passed on and added to by several generations.

Wayne and Sandi also had a sizable collection of Mount Holyoke material culture. By meeting them in their homes, I was able to see their collections and how they interact with and talk about these objects. This experience resulted in my exploration in Chapter 5 of collecting practices as a way to actively engage with the history at the Summit House. I also interviewed Steve, who proposed on the summit in 1984, David Graci, who self-published a history of Mount Holyoke in 1985, Dave, organizer of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range summit concert series, John, environmental conservationist, and Judy, Kestrel Land Trust advisor, all at local cafes in Amherst, Hadley, and Northampton. I met with Bette, whom I connected with at one of the summer concerts, on the campus of Amherst College during her lunch break. My conversation with Denise occurred on her family's farm at the base of Mount Holyoke, while she was working. We sat at a table at her family's bakery and then I received a tour of Barstow's Longview Farm, which her family has been operating since 1806. One interview occurred over the phone; I talked with Gwen Clancy, who now lives in Nevada, about a documentary about the Summit House she made in 1976 which ended up playing a role in its protection during that era. We also spoke about her wedding on the summit in 1986.

Some of the interviews were also informational. My conversation with Barbara,[2] a staff member of the Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR) who works in Visitors Services, was partially an informational interview about DCR programming. I also spoke at length with Barbara about birds; her excitement about bird watching led me to attend one of her guided bird walks on the summit and to become a birder myself. My

[2] This is a pseudonym.

interview with Kristin DeBoer, Executive Director of Kestrel Land Trust, also centered on the organization's goals and projects. Lastly, I spoke with William,[3] a professor who has studied land management practices in the Mount Holyoke Range and elsewhere in the region. All three of these interviews took place in the informants' offices.

I recorded audio from all interviews on a Sony ICD-UX560 digital voice recorder and transcribed the interviews using ExpressScribe. I did not use computer-generated transcription software; ExpressScribe allowed me to easily speed up, slow down, and rewind my transcript using keyboard shortcuts while I manually transcribed. The process of transcription is not merely a technical task; it involves judgment and interpretation (Marshall and Rossman 2014). I then coded all fieldnotes and interview transcripts in NVivo12. I used a grounded theory approach, starting first with open coding and generating a long list of codes, or "nodes" from the data (R. M. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011). I did this by going line-by-line through my notes and transcripts while in tandem writing memos to myself (Carmaz 2001). These memos allowed me to explore preliminary ideas and develop emerging theories from the data. I also created themes, or clusters, by grouping my original list of codes (R. M. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011; Marshall and Rossman 2014). The grouping of codes into themes led to the organization of the dissertation into four distinct body chapters around human engagement with the landscape, environment, history, and materiality of Mount Holyoke. Additionally, I coded events and topical markers such as people and organizations as "cases" in the software (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Through the iterative process of coding, reviewing the clustered

[3] This is a pseudonym.

coded text, and writing memos, I developed emerging theories about place attachment on Mount Holyoke which I could refine over subsequent rounds of reviewing and analyzing my qualitative, ethnographic data. For example, I began coding all instances when someone remarked upon a feature in the view. In reviewing these segments of my fieldnotes and interview transcripts, I began to see that these comments coalesced around several components in the landscape: farmland, town centers, the Connecticut River and its Oxbow. Through concurrent analysis of nineteenth-century memoirs and guidebooks, I noticed connections between the elements in the view commented upon by contemporary and past visitors. From this emerged my interpretation that a dominant vision established two centuries ago of the landscape from Mount Holyoke as Arcadia persists today.

Archaeological Methods

In line with the view of archaeological ethnography as a holistic anthropology, my archaeological methods constitute an engagement with materiality and temporality, rather than traditional archaeology (Meskell 2005; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009). I did not excavate or even grid the mountain characteristic of a systematic archaeological field survey. Visitors to Mount Holyoke stick to the paved road and the hiking trails, and so I did too (with the exception of my search for the plane crash remains, which took me off-trail). I have hiked on every trail on Mount Holyoke at least once; I used printed trail maps to plan my routes. I collected copies of the "Joseph Allen Skinner and Mt. Holyoke Range State Parks" trail map printed by the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR) and placed at trailhead kiosks for hikers to take. I have the 2014 and 2019 editions of this map, as well as a digital version of the 2019 map (Figure 2.1).

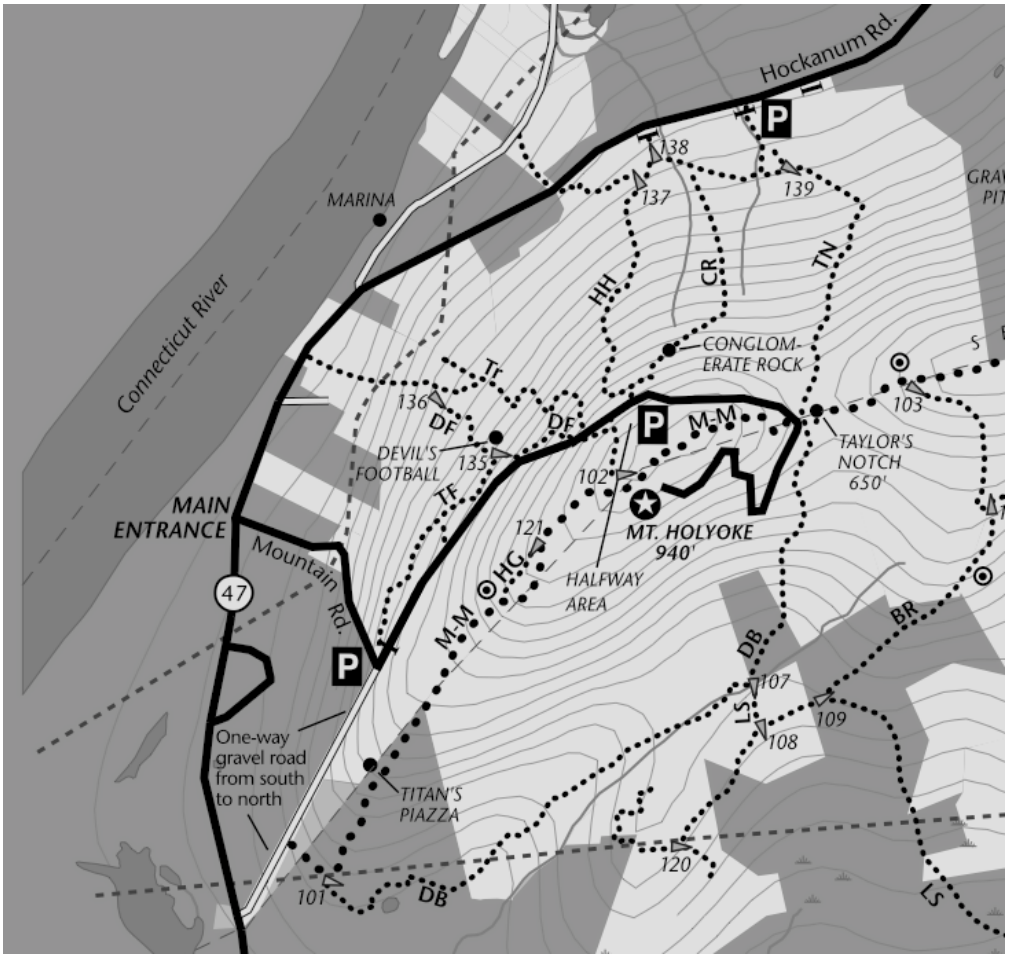

Figure 2.1. The Skinner State Park Trail Map published by DCR in 2019 (top) and a closer look at Mount Holyoke, corresponding to the white box (bottom). The summit of Mount Holyoke is at the location of the star. The solid black line represents paved roads accessible to cars and the dotted lines are hiking trails. Each hiking trail is identified by a two-letter code.

Understanding the symbols and codes on these maps takes a certain amount of cartographic literacy. While on the mountain, I paid careful attention to material culture and evidence of human presence, including the trails themselves, trail blazes painted on trees, picnic tables and grills, directional signage, and informational posters and flyers on the kiosks located at trailheads. I took note of the built environment, including structures in active use like the Mount Holyoke College Cabin and the Summit House but also the rubble foundations of an early 1820s cabin and the destroyed Summit House expansion. I also noted how visitors engage with the Summit House and the materials and exhibits inside it. I took digital photographs of all of these features and objects, which I primarily used to jog my memory of the day's encounters while sitting down to write my comprehensive fieldnotes back at home.

During my fieldwork on Mount Holyoke, I had on my person a handheld GPS device, a Garmin eTrex 20x. I used this to collect spatial data about my paths during participant observation and interviews. I consider this geospatial documentation, in addition to portions of my fieldnotes referring to material culture and the built environment, to be my archaeological data. After each day in the field, I imported my GPS data into Google Maps. Figure 2.2 shows the overlaid maps of five separate days in the field during the fall of 2019. Figure 2.3 is a representation of the same data as in Figure 2.2, but with a satellite-image background, zoomed in on the summit area. I have only included five days worth of geospatial data so that the routes can be easily visually differentiated. These maps serve as a record of my journeying on the mountain. They helped me to make sure I accessed every trail and have elucidated points of interest on

Mount Holyoke where I have lingered. While it is clear that I spend much time in and around the Summit House, I also paused for extended periods to interact with people at specific vantage points to the north and south.

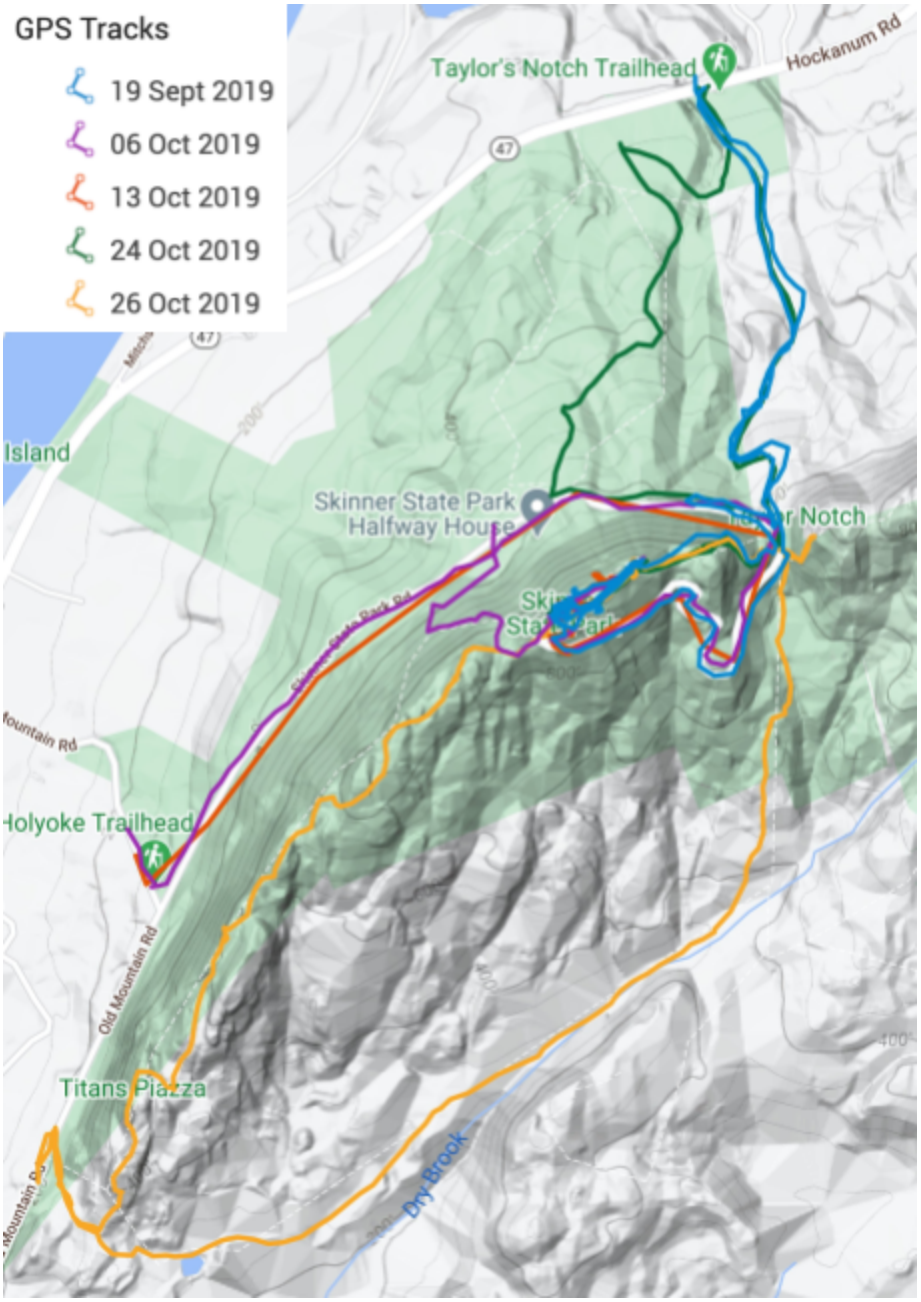

Figure 2.2. A Google Map of the hiking routes I took during five days of fieldwork on Mount Holyoke in the fall of 2019.

I also frequently traversed back and forth along the stretch of the summit, which extends northeast from the Summit House. The maps are therefore a record of my own movement and, paired with my fieldnotes, help to identify specific areas where I encountered people engaged in various activities. I see them as a visual, spatial journal of where I went and tools to help me think through my own physical engagement with the mountain. I further utilized digital mapping methods during hiking interviews.

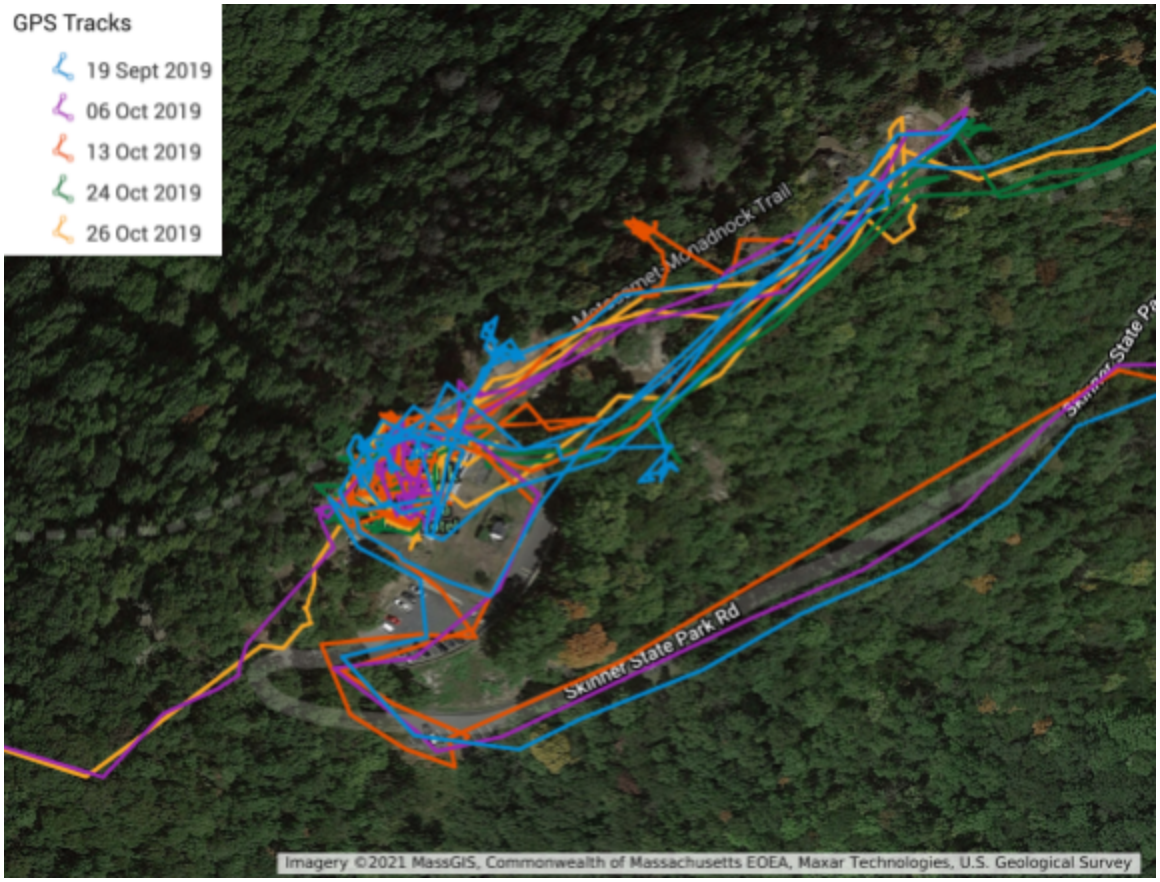

Figure 2.3. A satellite-background Google Map close-up of the summit area. This map reveals that I spent much time in and around the Summit House, traversing between the Summit House and the rocky outcrop to the northeast, as well as some vantage points to the north and south.

Hiking Interviews

During my dissertation research, I have begun developing the "hiking interview" as a qualitative research method to understand place-making and how humans perceive the landscape (Basso 1996; Ingold 2002). The hiking interviews I conducted were all semi-structured long interviews and therefore already partially described in the ethnographic methods section above. However, I will further describe the hiking interview here as an archaeological ethnographic method. Hiking on Mount Holyoke was my first, and continues to be the primary, way that I physically experience the mountain. The activity of hiking is a central component for many people who come to recreate on the mountain. I decided to start conducting some interviews while hiking after reading about the advantages and insights gained by mobile interviews conducted by landscape anthropologists and other scholars.

My hiking interview builds upon the mobile methodologies used by social scientists in fields such as geography, community planning, and urban design to access understandings of place (Ingold and Vergunst 2008; Jones et al. 2008; Kusenbach 2003). While moving around a relevant location, aspects of the natural landscape or built environment can prompt the ideas or memories of an interviewee. James Evans and Phil Jones (2011) have written about the walking interview as a qualitative GIS technique in order to gather data concerning people's understanding of place. They argue and demonstrate that there is a measurable difference between the quantity and spatial specificity of place narratives arising from walking versus sedentary techniques. These emplaced, mobile interviews, sometimes called walking interviews or the "go-along"

method, are particularly suited to reveal subtle and implicit meanings attached to place. Walking interviews both "generate place-bound narratives and reveal landscape values and local knowledge" (Bergeron, Paquette, and Poullaouec-Gonidec 2014, 109). They bring "greater phenomenological sensibility to ethnography by allowing researchers to focus on aspects of human experience that tend to remain hidden to observers and participants alike" (Kusenbach 2003, 478). Anthropologist Tim Ingold has written extensively about the interrelationships between movement, knowledge, and description. As we perceive the world by moving through it, meaning and understanding of our lives and landscapes emerge from movement (Ingold 2011). Therefore, by moving around on Mount Holyoke, we are actively constructing meaning and engaging in orogenesis as my research participants share their memories and describe what they see. Interviews that occur while hiking on trails, walking around the summit, and looking out from different vantage points, are particularly suited to ethnographically accessing sense of place. There is value even in emplacing sedentary interviews that I conducted on the summit of Mount Holyoke. Even though many interviews took place sitting on a bench or picnic table, we were still able to look out at the view in multiple directions.

I am calling this method a hiking interview because the action of hiking is quite distinct from walking. Hiking occurs on rough terrain over roots, rocks, and other uneven surfaces. Especially on a mountain, the activity involves changing elevations and a degree of physical exertion above walking. The elevation gains and resulting viewshed, or the area that can be seen from a certain vantage point, are also important factors while on a mountain. To accomplish the spatial analysis of my interviews, I refined a workflow

for collecting and pairing audio recordings and GPS data, embedding interview transcripts into a digital map. While in the field, I had my GPS device, which was set to continuously record my location every 30 seconds. The data collected by the device includes longitude, latitude, elevation, and time. During the interview, I set up my recording device with the microphone and affixed it to my participant's collar or lapel. Once I began recording, the audio included a timestamp. When I connected the GPS device to my computer, I accessed the metadata and modified it in CSV format to include an additional piece of data for each point, titled "Transcript." When transcribing the interview, I used the timestamp on the audio recording to link it to the GPS data. Each data point represents a location in space and includes a transcript of everything that was said in the 30 seconds since the previous location. Once I transcribed the interview, I imported the spreadsheet into Google Maps, which displays each point in space. The transcript can thus be read connected to locations on the map; I can see where we talked about certain topics. These maps are similar to the layering technique used by Bergeron et al. (2014) to represent geo-localized discourses of participants.

I am interested in exploring what can be learned by talking with informants while walking around a historic or archaeological site and the application of this interview methodology to public history and archaeology. My interviews with Pat and Brian were conducted while hiking extensively on trails on Mount Holyoke while my interviews with Jan, Hattie, and Mary Alice involved moving around the summit area. Figure 2.4 is a screenshot of the spatial transcript of my interview with Pat, showing one point selected and a 30-second snippet of our conversation that took place in that location. We had come

across stone posts on the side of the trail and Pat was speculating that they demarcated an old carriage road. This is an example of archaeological remains encountered in the landscape influencing the nature of our interview. When I interviewed Jan, we hiked over to the exact rock that she used to picnic on with her family in the 1950s. This was an emotionally charged experience, as both of her parents and her sister have since passed; her parents' ashes were scattered nearby on the mountain.

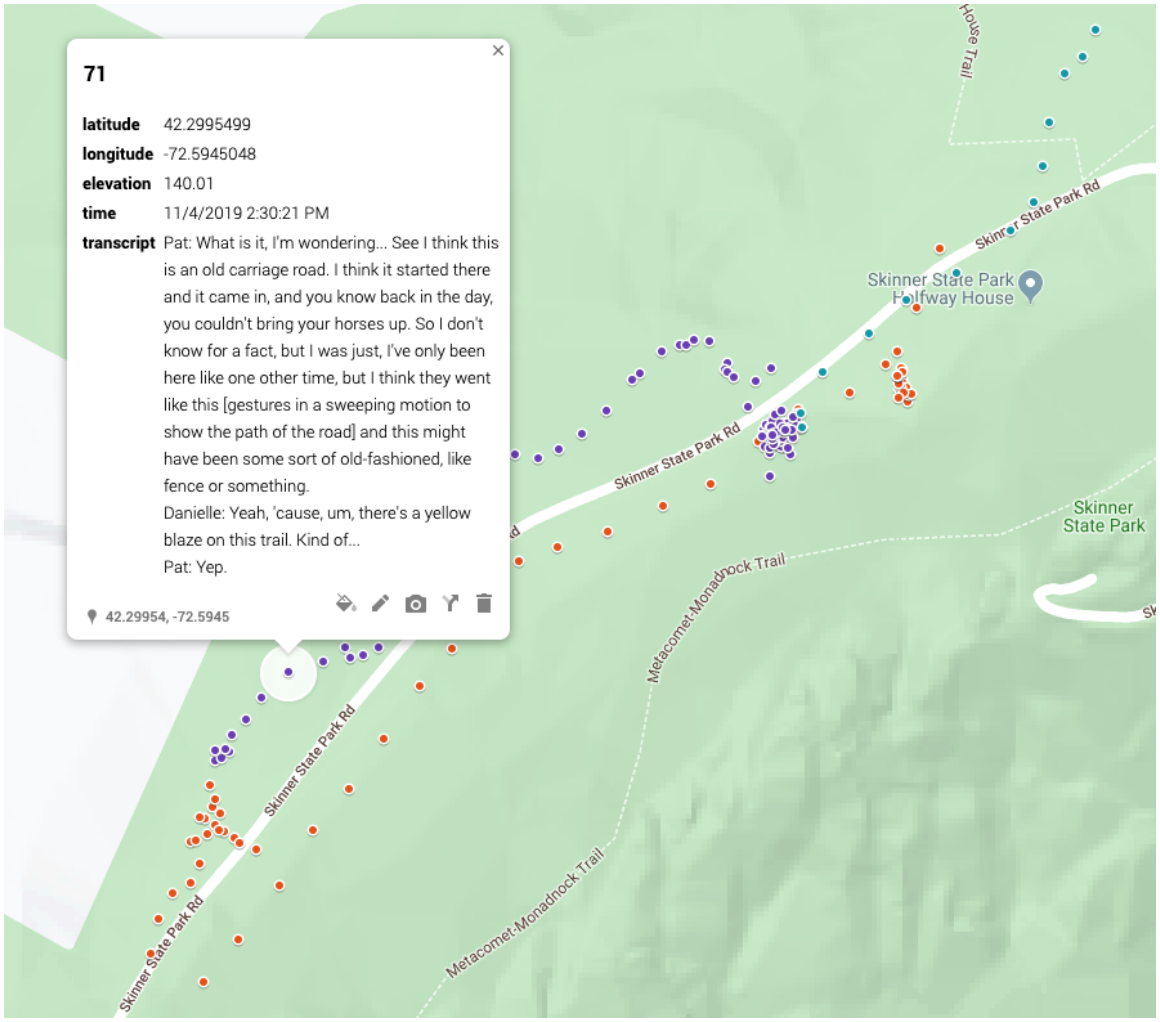

Figure 2.4. A Google Map spatial transcript of my hiking interview with Pat. One data point is selected, showing the latitude, longitude, elevation, and time as well as the transcript of the previous 30 seconds.

In the future development of this method, I will compile and share these interactive spatial transcripts. Additional next steps in the improvement of this method involve combining a textual and spatial analysis of the hiking interviews and adding photographic documentation of viewshed in order to further develop the hiking interview as a form of phenomenological interviewing (Marshall and Rossman 2014).

Archaeological Ethnography of the Contemporary Past

In this diachronic study, I examine changing conceptions of place as well as how contemporary visitors to Mount Holyoke locate themselves in space as well as time, or history of the site. It is a layered story, as subsequent generations internalize and respond to the past. This is especially pronounced at the Mount Holyoke Summit House, which, due to its current status as a historic site, is a place where contemporary visitors relate to the mountain by learning about how people two centuries ago experienced it. My study is, therefore, "deperiodized" but not "dehistoricized" (González−Ruibal 2018, 8). In addition to narrating chronologically, often I jump back and forth in time and trace other nonlinear paths. It is my fusion of methods that allows for this original approach to studying place.

The Summit House is a historical archaeological site; the current structure was built in 1851 but the building has existed and has continued to play a social role through the different stages of its life. While the Summit House is a central node around which attachments to the mountain revolve, the orogenesis of Mount Holyoke involves many more facets of the mountain. These include the view of the Connecticut River, farmland,

and town centers visible from the summit, the flora, fauna, rocks, and hiking trails. I consider the mountain as broadly as possible: as a historic site, a recreational park, a forest. As I examine human interactions with the landscape, natural environment, history, and material culture, this study is transdisciplinary, drawing from other fields such as geography, environmental psychology, literary analysis, and visual culture studies. My mixed-method orogenic ethnography is an archaeological ethnography of the contemporary past focusing on the social construction of a mountain. I turn first to the ubiquitously remarked upon feature of Mount Holyoke: the view. In the next chapter, I describe conceptions of the landscape viewed from the vantage point of the mountain's summit.

CHAPTER 3

THE VIEW FROM MOUNT HOLYOKE AND THE LANDSCAPE

"From Mount Holyoke… is seen the richest prospect in New-England, and not improbably in the United States… The variety of farms, fields, and forests, of churches and villages, of hills and vallies, of mountains and plains, comprised in this scene, can neither be described nor imagined." (Timothy Dwight 1823, 318–19)

Setting the Scene

Even though there was a thick fog in the air when I left my house one September morning in 2019, the southern view from Mount Holyoke was clear. From the lower parking lot, I could make out Springfield and even the hazy outline of the Hartford skyline in the distance. I rounded the last hairpin turn, past a bright orange port-a-potty to the smaller upper parking lot, and the Summit House became visible in front and above me. I walked up the steep paved ramp and stood on a rocky outcrop to soak in the view to the west (Figure 3.1). There was a line of low-lying clouds hovering above the Connecticut River, following the river's path and obscuring the view of Northampton. I walked up the staircase, ascending the steps to the white-painted wooden observation platform. I did a couple of laps around the deck to see the panoramic view twice over. I then walked down the path by the picnic tables to the rocky outcrop with an unobstructed view to the north and the University of Massachusetts Amherst campus. Through my polarized sunglasses, the orange and brown rocks had a slight sparkle to them. Some trees had started to turn colors, and the grass was still wet with morning dew. The dull hum of cars speeding by in the distance on I-91 was audible as a background to the birdsong.

Figure 3.1. Photograph of the western view from the summit of Mount Holyoke. The Connecticut River runs north to south across the image. Beyond the river are open fields of farmland, the Northampton city center, and distant mountains on the horizon.

The Mount Holyoke Range bisects the Connecticut River Valley. It runs east to west, unusual for mountain ranges on this continent, which results in different ecosystems on the south and north faces. Located on the western edge of the Range, overlooking the Connecticut River, is Mount Holyoke. The mountain is situated in Hadley and South Hadley, Massachusetts; the town line runs along its ridge. At 410 miles in length, the Connecticut River is the longest in New England. It snakes from a lake adjacent to the Canadian border in New Hampshire south through Connecticut, where it discharges into the Long Island Sound. On a clear day, from the summit of Mount Holyoke one can see a range of about 80 miles of the Connecticut River Valley, from peaks in southern Vermont and New Hampshire to Hartford skyscrapers in north-central Connecticut. The Connecticut River dominates the view to the west. The city of Northampton is on the opposite side of the river from Mount Holyoke (Figure 3.1). South of Northampton are the river's Oxbow and the Mount Tom Range. To the North lies Amherst and the tall buildings of UMass, and to the South, the city skylines of Holyoke and Springfield,

Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut. The view east is of the ridgeline of the rest of the Range, mostly obscured by trees.

This chapter will focus on perceptions of the view from Mount Holyoke and the next on perceptions of the natural environment on the mountain. In these two chapters, I explore how observations and understandings of the geographic and environmental setting create a collective sense of landscape and space and how these understandings are impacted by the legacy of cultural movements in New England. Here, I situate a discussion of the view and the landscape within the context of nineteenth-century Romanticism. In the next chapter, I consider the impact of twentieth-century environmentalism on perceptions of nature and conservation efforts.

The fascination with the summit of Mount Holyoke and its panoramic views runs centuries deep. Thomas Cole's 1836 painting *The Oxbow* famously depicts the scene from this summit (Figure 3.2; discussed below), and the Valley's natural beauty captivated nineteenth-century literary figures like Emily Dickinson and Henry James. *The Mt. Holyoke Hand-Book and Tourist's Guide* of 1851 describes the view from Mount Holyoke as an "uninterrupted and magnificent amphitheatre of landscape. And what a glorious view!" (Eden 1851, 5–6). I draw on the theoretical body of literature on landscape studies and conceptualize landscapes as expressions of ways of seeing the world. A landscape is not a material reality, but a "spatially referenced, socially constituted template or perspective of the world that is held in common by individuals and groups" (Darvill 2005, 111). We make meaning of landscapes based on mental viewpoints; our interpretation of a landscape depends on the framework that we use to

make sense of the elements that we see (Meinig 1979). The perception and use of landscapes are shaped not merely by individual thoughts and viewpoints but by underlying collective ideologies and social values (Baker 1992; Tuan 1979b). I interpret the conceptions of the landscape in order to understand these underlying values. On Mount Holyoke, a Romantic, Arcadian vision of the Connecticut River Valley landscape constructed by academic, social, and political elites in the nineteenth century persists today. This view of Arcadia is an ideological lens rather than an objective reality, a hegemonic and dominant way of seeing the landscape perpetuated by elites. The values that shape this landscape of rural New England are liberty, independent labor, and human harmony with nature.

The Connecticut River and its Oxbow, surrounding farmland and meadows, chains of mountains in the distance, and Northampton and other town centers are four iconic components of the view that are consistently remarked upon and lauded over the centuries. These elements reflect a vision of Arcadia, or pastoral harmony with nature. Charles Sumner, Massachusetts Senator, recounted in an 1862 speech an excursion to the mountain in the 1820s while a student at Harvard College. He narrated, "From Amherst we walked to Northampton, and then, ascending Mount Holyoke, saw the valley of the Connecticut spread out before us, with river of silver winding through meadows of gold. It was a scene of enchantment, and time has not weakened the impression it made" (Sumner 1873, 249). To today, the passage of time has in many ways still not weakened this dominant Arcadian impression of the Connecticut River Valley as viewed from Mount Holyoke. I trace consistencies and shifts in the aspects of the view on which

tourists of the nineteenth century and contemporary, twenty-first-century visitors focus. My data includes archival accounts of people writing about the view from Mount Holyoke in letters, memoirs, and guidebooks, as well as interviews with contemporary visitors. I toggle between the accounts of nineteenth and twenty-first-century visitors to show how the vision of the landscape from Mount Holyoke constructed by elites in the nineteenth century persists as the dominant way of seeing the view today.

I begin by placing this discussion in the context of the nineteenth-century cultural movement of Romanticism, which manifested in New England as Transcendentalism. This intellectual and artistic movement greatly influenced the manufacture of the Connecticut River Valley landscape as Arcadia. I then describe the conception of the valley as an Arcadian landscape, identifying four components of the view remarked upon similarly by visitors past and present: the Connecticut River; farmland and meadows; mountains in the distance; and nearby town centers. In the final section of this chapter, I argue that what people notice and do not notice in the view from Mount Holyoke today, and the denial of changes in the landscape over the past two centuries, are caused by the hegemonic vision of the Arcadian landscape constructed by nineteenth-century elite visitors and the legacy of New England Romanticism.

Cultural Context and Legacy: Nineteenth-Century Romanticism

Sometimes called the American Renaissance, American Romanticism was a cultural movement that dominated the majority of the nineteenth century's artistic and literary scene. According to James E. Young (2000), it is not possible for a historian to

really understand the history of an era without knowing its art and literature and, by extension, how subsequent generations responded in their own art and literature. A wealth of essays, poems, novels, and paintings are directly or indirectly related to Mount Holyoke and its views. I will discuss a sampling of this corpus spanning nearly two centuries to understand how Romanticists understood the Connecticut River Valley as viewed from Mount Holyoke as a landscape created by the honest, hard work of independent farmers in harmony with the natural world.

American Romanticism arose from European Romanticism of the previous century, which rejected Neoclassical concepts of order, balance, and rationalism. The Romantics instead championed the emotional, irrational, and spontaneous, emphasizing the subjective experiences of individuals and their imaginations as well as the awe and grandeur of capital "N" Nature. Transcendentalism, an offshoot of Romanticism that came out of Massachusetts in the early nineteenth century, was one of the biggest influences on this American, or New England, Renaissance. Transcendentalists advocated for a return to the simple, agrarian life of early America. They rejected mechanism and conformity and denied industrial progress, upholding immediate individual experience over inherited social norms. Transcendentalists believed that the spiritual trumped the logical and that truths were intuitively discovered, not learned (Rein 1968). Like the Romantics of Europe, members of the movement sought out what they felt were authentic experiences in nature. Ralph Waldo Emerson, philosopher, writer, and leader of the Transcendentalist movement, visited Mount Holyoke on August 4, 1823. Emerson wrote in his journal, "The prospect repays the ascent… all the broad meadows in the immediate

vicinity of the mountain through which the [Connecticut River] winds, make a beautiful picture seldom rivalled" (1995). This visit, as well as his other excursions in New England, likely contributed to Emerson's conception of the landscape expressed in his seminal 1836 book *Nature*, "widely regarded as the first literary and philosophically sophisticated articulation of distinctively American ideas" (B. P. Dean 2007, 76). Emerson writes that although farms and parcels of land are owned by individuals, "none of them owns the landscape. There is a property in the horizon which no man has but he whose eye can integrate all the parts, that is, the poet" (2003, 38). He distinguishes between the land and the landscape; only a poet is capable of appreciating the landscape properly, possessing a refined ability to synthesize the disparate elements of the scene into a whole that transcends concepts such as ownership. It is important to note that Native American understandings of this landscape, which do not have a conception of land ownership in the colonial sense, are not explicitly referenced.

This aspect of the Transcendentalist vision impacted the written and visual arts in New England. Poets writing about mountains previously tended to do so speculatively. However, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, they started climbing mountains, physically exerting themselves to reach summits for the sake of spiritual enlightenment and their craft (Sutch 2014). Henry David Thoreau, seeking revelation during his time living at Walden Pond, spent two weeks in 1846 attempting—unsuccessfully—to summit Mount Katahdin, the tallest peak in Maine. Unlike Katahdin, Mount Holyoke is manageable as a half-day trip and offers commanding and relatively accessible views. It was a location easily accessible to privileged social elites consuming Romantic works of

art and literature inspired to seek out their own experiences in the natural world. The scenery from Mount Holyoke was described for prospective visitors in *Burt's Illustrated Guide* as follows:

> Violent storms, terrific peals of thunder, vivid lightning, beautiful sun-sets, fogs, and rainbows; the glittering crystallizations of winter, the deep green foliage of mid-summer, and the golden tinted forest of autumn, have all formed scenes in which poet and artist would find abundant themes for song and picture. (Burt 1867, 231)

James Walker described the sunsets from the summit as "celestial pyrotechny" (1860, 201). In the intervening 150 years, poets and artists have taken up these themes despite the caution of Theodore Dwight that, "It would be an almost hopeless task for an artist to attempt the representation of all the beauties which are here presented in one view to the eye" (Theodore Dwight 1829, 16).

Augustus Silliman, whose family had strong ties to Yale University, vividly captures the experience of summiting Mount Holyoke in his memoirs. In *A Gallop Among American Scenery*, first published in 1843, he describes his visit in flowery language:

> Now, a little more climbing; take care of those loose stones; a few steps additional ascent; give me your hand; spring! here we are on the rocky platform of its summit. Is not the scene magnificent? We stand in the centre of an amphitheatre two hundred miles in diameter. (Silliman 1881, 145)

Silliman's prose verges on the poetic; he takes up the "hopeless task" of representing the view from Mount Holyoke with words. Other poets and authors would also be creatively inspired by Mount Holyoke. Emily Dickinson, Mount Holyoke Seminary student and lifelong Amherst resident, visited the summit of Mount Holyoke, perhaps on the college's

annual Mountain Day. Several of Dickinson's poems are about mountains and as she never traveled far from the Connecticut River Valley it is likely that she is referencing the Holyoke Range. Three are "The Mountains—grow unnoticed" (1863), "The Mountain sat opon the Plain" (1865), and "The Mountains stood in Haze" (1871), reproduced below:

> The Mountains stood in Haze -
> The Valleys stopped below
> And went or waited as they liked
> The River and the Sky.
>
> At leisure was the Sun -
> His interests of Fire
> A little from remark withdrawn -
> The Twilight spoke the Spire.
>
> So soft opon the Scene
> The Act of evening fell
> We felt how neighborly a thing
> Was the Invisible. (Dickinson 1999, 482)

She evokes a scene of a sunset in the mountains with a river and valley below and reflects on the intangible values of nature. In 1875, four years after Dickinson penned "The Mountains stood in Haze," Henry James published his first full-length novel, *Roderick Hudson*. At the start of the book, the character Rowland, traveling from Boston to visit his cousin in Northampton, journeys to Mount Holyoke with the sculptor and titular character Roderick. Rowland "sat up beside his companion and looked away at the far-spreading view. It seemed to him beautiful and suddenly a strange feeling of prospective regret took possession of him." He then says, "This is an American day, an American landscape, an American atmosphere." Roderick replies by declaring "that he was above all an advocate for American art. He didn't see why we shouldn't produce the

greatest works in the world. We were the biggest people, and we ought to have the biggest conceptions" (James 2016). In this fictional work, James uses Mount Holyoke as a setting to inspire his characters to create more art. Rowland and Roderick evoke American exceptionalism and see something inherently American in their view of the landscape from the summit.

A Christian spirituality also underlied the Romantic and Transcendentalist movements. On July 17, 1860, James Walker, minister and religious philosopher, penned a letter for publication in *The Religious Educator*. Writing from the summit on July 17, 1860, James Walker described why he dropped everything to spend the summer on Mount Holyoke as well as the rejuvenating effects of the trip. Just months after concluding a seven-year presidency of Harvard College, he claims that he was in desperate need of rest and recreation. On Mount Holyoke, after experiencing "the combined influence of pure mountain air, the matchless scenery, the relaxation and 'dreamless sleep' possible amid such beneficent surroundings," the Unitarian minister and professor hoped to return to Boston "stimulated and literally re-created" (Walker 1860, 198). Writing from the summit of Mount Holyoke, Walker compels his readers to visit, arguing that their religious education would be served:

> There is an inspiration in the very bulk and form of a mountain, rearing its storm-beaten and cloud-capped head towards heaven; and the view therefrom, even though it include [*sic*] no single object of beauty, is grand from its very extent. Your ideas of space are enlarged; and 'infinity,' which has hitherto been but a soulless word, becomes, at least faintly, comprehensible as a reality. (Walker 1860, 199)

The early nineteenth-century visitors to Mount Holyoke were primarily, if not

exclusively, Christian. Thoreau felt that for him being on a mountain was how he experienced spirituality. “I suppose that I feel the same awe when on [mountain] summits that many do on entering a church” (Thoreau 1857). It is not just the natural beauty, it is the intermingling of civilization with nature. A travel guide quoted an unnamed visitor who said “nowhere else are the dwellings of man and his labors, so beautifully and harmoniously blended with the works of the Creator” (Fiske 1877, 50).

Figure 3.2. Thomas Cole’s painting, *View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm—The Oxbow* (1836). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In addition to guidebooks, letters, memoirs, essays, novels, and poems, Mount Holyoke and its views have been a popular subject of visual art. The most famous painting associated with the mountain is Thomas Cole’s 1836 *View from Mount Holyoke,*

Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm—The Oxbow, typically called *The Oxbow* (Figure 3.2). *The Oxbow* portrays the awe and wildness of nature, in the form of a passing storm in the foreground, and the order and refinement of civilization, represented by the idyllic cultivated fields in the background on the valley floor. After seeing a sketch of the view from the summit of Mount Holyoke by fellow artist Basil Hall, Cole traveled to the mountain himself to create his own sketch and later oil painting which now hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Art historian Marianne Doezema asserts that this painting is "considered the most important American landscape painting" (*Focusing on the Range* 2005).

Cole was a leader of the Hudson River School, a landscape painting movement in upstate New York that was greatly influenced by Romanticism. The idea of the American landscape was constructed by artists such as those in the Hudson River School as distinct from that of Europe. The European Romantic vision of beautiful scenery was linked to evidence of history, like ancient castle ruins and villages with medieval spires. America did not have picturesque landscapes that recalled many centuries of European settlement on the land. In *Essay on American Scenery*, penned the same year that he painted *The Oxbow*, Cole writes that:

> … nature has shed over this land beauty and magnificence, and although the character of its scenery may differ from the old world's, yet inferiority must not therefore be inferred; for though American scenery is destitute of many of those circumstances that give value to the European, still it has features, and glorious ones, unknown to Europe. (1836b)

Artistic ideals shifted away from the European vision of the picturesque, increasingly including trees, mountains, and other aspects of "wild" nature. American poets and

painters turned to the concept of the sublime, an awe-inspiring grandeur distinct from beauty, to emotionally intensify the American scenery as a way to assert cultural independence from Europe (Sanford 1957, 435).

In *The Oxbow*, Cole represents the view from Mount Holyoke with "a dramatic synthesis of the Sublime and the Beautiful, a delicate balance between primitive wilderness and pastoral peace and plenty" (Parry 2003, 44). Cole foregrounds wild nature and paints serene farmland in the background, with a storm's abyss between the two. The painting is an allegory for agrarian life holding out against encroaching industrialization (Casey 2002). Cole painted *The Oxbow* over a recycled canvas with an unfinished first draft of another painting, determined via digital infrared photography. (Parry 2003). It was painted over a first attempt at *The Consummation of Empire*, the third piece in Cole's "Course of Empire" cycle. In the five-part series of paintings, Cole allegorically explores the links between nature and civilization. In the first painting, *The Savage State* (1834), Cole depicts hunter-gatherers roaming an untouched forest. In the second, *The Pastoral or Arcadian State* (1834), he "shows a domesticated nature harmoniously poised between wilderness and civilization" (A. Miller 2007, 95). But this balance of Arcadia is only momentary; the third painting in the series, *The Consummation of Empire* (1836), depicts the rise of an empire. Cole predicts the inevitable collapse of excessive wealth and luxury in the final two paintings in the series, *Destruction* (1836) and *Desolation* (1836). Romantics like Cole saw the pastoral, Arcadian landscape as the ideal phase of civilization. Cole's dissatisfaction with his draft of *The Consummation of Empire* and repurposing the canvas into the pastoral view from Mount Holyoke underscores the focus

of his artistic movement on the Arcadian landscape. *The Oxbow* collapses the first two phases of Cole's "Course of Empire" together, implying that the next step in development will take the landscape towards increasing urbanization and inevitable destruction (A. Miller 2007). The painting can be thus read as a warning and an urge to maintain a pastoral balance with nature.

The perception of the landscape from Mount Holyoke as a blend of beauty and sublimity is expressed by other visitors to the summit, past and present. "In the view from Holyoke we have the grand and the beautiful united," wrote Edward Hitchcock, an Amherst College professor and geologist (1842, 18). In our interview, Pat, Chairperson of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, said, "Sublime is a word that I don't typically use unless it's referring to being up there." A visitor in the 1870s is quoted in Fiske's *Pleasure Resorts* as saying the following similar sentiment:

> Many other mountains have a higher altitude and offer wilder and more unmixed natural scenery—but no other blends in its wide prospect so much that is rich in soil and cultivation, presenting so much agricultural wealth of beauty, mingled with so much that is wildly majestic, grand and inspiring. (Fiske 1877, 50)

What makes the view so arresting is not "wilderness" alone—many other vistas in New England are much more "wild," and the problematic concept of wilderness will be explored further in Chapter 4—but the commingling of natural scenery with evidence of human cultivation. In other words, an Arcadia.

In 2002, the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum staged an exhibit called "Changing Prospects: The View from Mount Holyoke" and published an accompanying book of the same title (Doezema 2002). Along with *The Oxbow* on loan from The

Metropolitan Museum of Art as the centerpiece of the exhibit, the curators featured artwork of and from the mountain. Three standard views were developed and codified in the nineteenth century: the view of the Oxbow from the summit, of Hadley from the summit, and of the mountain from the valley below (Hoppin 2002). Artists including Cole and Hall painted grand panoramic views of the Connecticut River and the valley from Mount Holyoke. These types of images peaked in the mid-1800s before expansive, detailed views fell out of vogue (Hoppin 2002). In the 1890s and 1900s, artists John Gue and Elbridge Kinsley chose to paint views that limited human figures and evidence of civilization. These artists used subdued colors and tones to evoke quieter moments in the landscape (Danly 2002). Nostalgic for a slower pace of life, they omitted portrayals of railroads, steamships, and factories that would have been visible from the summit at this period, choosing only to portray farmhouses and fields in the distance. These turn-of-the-century paintings were part of the Colonial Revival, a movement that idealized the colonial period and expressed disdain for modern industrial advancements.

The second half of the twentieth century saw a resurgence of interest in Cole and *The Oxbow*. This renewed interest in painting the mountain coincided with state and local concern to preserve it. "Landscape painters today desire to recapture the spirit of Cole's arcadian, pre-industrial world. They pay homage to his painting in order to show that they belong to a tradition and that they embrace continuity with the past" (Hoppin 2002, 40). Modern and contemporary depictions of the view of the Oxbow from the summit of Mount Holyoke span the spectrum from Romantic to Realist. On one end is Alfred Leslie, who painted a modern revisionist interpretation of *The Oxbow* in 1972. In his

reinterpretation, the balance of nature and humankind has shifted. From the mountain, Leslie would have seen a similar view as the present day. Route 5 parallels the train tracks and follows the river along its new path after the flood of 1840 cut off the Oxbow. Interstate 91 crosses right over Oxbow Lake and Island. The land removed from Oxbow Island was filled into the Oxbow to allow the new highway to cut through it. In his painting, Leslie clearly depicts the highway and the pond in Oxbow Island gouged out to use as landfill for I-91.

On the other end of the spectrum is James Winn, who in his 1987 painting completely omitted power lines, cars, and roads. The work of Stephen Hannock also harkens back to Romanticism. Hannock overlays handwritten text on the rows of farmland in his paintings, representing his own personal attachment to the place (Hoppin 2002). These and other contemporary artists engage with the past. They are in dialogue with past views and ways of representing the scenery.

> [A]rtists who depict Mt. Holyoke today convey their personal response to the beauty of the landscape, one that almost all have lived in at some point. The majority softens, minimizes, or even eliminates traces of modern civilization in a return to Arcadia. They suppress roads, cars, railways, industry, and housing in favor of bucolic fields and verdant forests. Inherent in their nostalgia is a plea to preserve the balance of man and nature. (Hoppin 2002, 58)

Janice Simon (2006) similarly argues that art keeps the ideal alive, citing the formulaic style of late-nineteenth-century guidebook illustrations of regions like the Adirondack Mountains in New York. Despite increasing environmental change and exploitation, images in these guidebooks consistently depicted nostalgic representations of the pre-industrial landscape. In an attempt to hold on to the pastoral sublime and values of

Cole and the landscape painters of the nineteenth century despite modernization, painters of the late twentieth century choose to represent the view from Mount Holyoke without the power lines, highway, and cars that are now always visible. Strong pastoral ideals therefore lead to obscuring the consequences of industrialism in the visual representations of landscapes. This ethos carries over to visitors' comments on the view, which I will explore in the subsequent section.

An Iconic Landscape of Arcadia

The literary and artistic movements in the nineteenth century fostered a growing interest in nature and the outdoors, which motivated a rise in regional tourism in the Northeastern United States. During this era, before the growth of the middle class in the twentieth century, only social elites were privileged enough to have disposable income and leisure time to travel. They would spend days, weeks, or perhaps an entire summer escaping everyday life. Many of these well-to-do tourists wrote memoirs widely read as travel guides. The earliest tourist attractions were natural features and environments including Niagra Falls and the Hudson River Valley in New York, the White Mountains in New Hampshire, and the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts. Travelers increasingly sought out remote parts of New England, looking for an "imagined world of pastoral beauty, rural independence, virtuous simplicity, and religious and ethnic homogeneity" (Brown 1995, 9). Many symbols of this idealized landscape could be seen from atop Mount Holyoke: cultivated farmland; barns; small towns; church spires. Mount Holyoke's allure is actually the view *from* the summit, not *of* the summit (Benfey 2002).

The sentiment of the view from Mount Holyoke as incredibly beautiful and rich, first expressed by Reverend Paul Coffin in 1760 (Coffin 1855), is echoed repeatedly in historical accounts. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, helped establish Mount Holyoke as the most famous attraction in the Connecticut River Valley with the 1823 publication of his widely read memoir *Travels in New-England and New-York* (Sears 1998). "From Mount Holyoke...is seen the richest prospect in New-England, and not improbably in the United States," he wrote (Timothy Dwight 1823, 318). Mount Holyoke became considered one stop on an American Grand Tour. This was modeled on the European Grand Tour, a traditional long-term voyage that a young, upper-class English man would take when he came of age. A typical itinerary would take him and his entourage back and forth across continental Europe, stopping in cultural centers such as Paris, Geneva, Venice, and Rome. An American Grand Tour was also enjoyed by the upper class, however, it prioritized areas of natural beauty and striking views rather than urban centers. This is in line with the establishment of American cultural independence from Europe through asserting the nation's natural, rather than historic, scenery.

The phrase used by Timothy Dwight, the "richest prospect in New England," is repeated verbatim in subsequent guidebooks. Both Coffin and Dwight focus on the human elements of the scene; the farms and villages viewed from the summit are what make the view so rich. This is an image of Arcadia, a utopian vision of an idyllic countryside, a landscape that harmoniously blends the pastoral with the natural. The river and the mountains in the background bound the meadows, farmland, and villages. Though forests blanket Mount Holyoke and the rest of the range, it is not an image of

wild nature, but one tamed and controlled by humans. It is also not an image of urbanization or excessive human development. An 1854 guidebook titled *American Scenery Illustrated* described the view as follows:

> Turn our gaze as we will, from the top of Mount Holyoke, and we everywhere see vast sweeps of cultivated meadow, and interminable chains of distant hills. Beautiful villages, with their soaring church spires, rise thickly around us, and the gleaming river, in its winding flight, leads our delighted eye far away to the peaks of the Green and the White Mountains. (Richards 1854, 298)

William[4] gave a very similar description of the view when I asked why he thinks it is so iconic. I interviewed William, who moved to the area in the 1990s to take up a faculty position, in his on-campus office. "I mean," he said, "you've got some of this juxtaposition of the river, the sinuous river, and the farmland, you know, and the cities and villages and the mountain ranges, you kind of get the whole sweep of what this valley looks like." Two centuries in the past as well as the present, visitors notice and talk about the same elements in the view. Since we make meaning from a landscape based on our mental viewpoints, I describe how contemporary visitors talk about the Connecticut River, farmland, mountains on the horizon, and villages in order to examine underlying collective ideologies behind the continued maintenance of the dominant narrative of the Connecticut River Valley as Arcadia, despite the modern developments of the past century.

My data includes both historic documents and qualitative interviews. I cite and analyze published memoirs, guidebooks, letters, and poems, in order to access

[4] This name is a pseudonym.

conceptions of the landscape of nineteenth-century visitors. These are juxtaposed with quotes by contemporary visitors gathered during my ethnographic fieldwork. As the view from Mount Holyoke is ubiquitously remarked upon, in this chapter I directly quote or paraphrase 28 out of the 31 people I interviewed. In some places, I provide a series of quotes to demonstrate the range and quantity of comments on a particular theme and do not elaborate on the identities of the speakers. In other places, I provide more depth on the background of the person quoted. Rather than anonymize comments, I have chosen to keep names attached to quotes.

The Connecticut River and Its Oxbow

Everyone perceives the river. For many, it is the first and primary focal point in the view. Yale President Timothy Dwight wrote in his guidebook, "But the most exquisite scenery of the whole landscape is formed by the river, and its extended margin of beautiful intervals" (1823, 319). When I asked visitors what they notice in the view, the Connecticut River was the most common immediate response. "A lot of it is the river," replied Barbara[5], and Wayne said, "Well, without doubt, the river itself." "I think the river is the primary, you know, focus," said Martha. Some offer a love of bodies of water as an explanation, like Gretchen, who said, "The first thing is the river for me, I love water," and Pat, who explained, "I'm a real river person. I love rivers. So, that's one of my first things, what's going on in the river."

The shape and path of the Connecticut River are also frequently remarked upon by visitors. Making its way from North to South, it does so through a series of curves.

[5] This name is a pseudonym.

These curves are referenced sometimes as evidence against a common assumption that the river travels in a linear path. “I think most people are impressed by the view,” said Martha, “it’s just so beautiful and just the curves of the river and seeing that, you know, I think when you think of like the Connecticut River, I think of it as a straight line down between Vermont and New Hampshire, so it’s really nice to see all the contours.” Gwen Clancy expressed a similar sentiment: “There’s this wonderful view and that wonderful—the river just meandering along, the Connecticut River.” She added, “It has a lot of bends in it, you know.” From up on Mount Holyoke, it is possible to get a larger-scale perspective and see the Connecticut River’s actual path, impossible from down on the valley floor.

In guidebooks and other historical accounts from the nineteenth century, the Connecticut River is personified; its meandering path is equated to the river’s desire to remain in the valley for longer. In a letter written from Amherst in September 1867, intended for publication in a Boston newspaper, George Bryant Woods wrote, “The Connecticut seems reluctant to pass through this section, and indulges itself in bends which treble and quadruple the distance accomplished” (Woods 1873, 210). Augustus Silliman also describes the sinuous nature of the river’s path.

> See! at the base of the mountain curls, like a huge serpent, the Connecticut, its sinuosities cutting the smooth plains into all sorts of grotesque figures; now taking a circuit around a peninsula of miles, across whose neck a child might throw a stone; here stretching straight as an arrow for a like distance; and there again returning like a hare upon its course. (Silliman 1881, 145)

Silliman references the Oxbow’s neck, a U-shaped bend in the river where it curves back

upon itself. Edward Hitchcock, geologist and eventual President of Amherst College, wrote *Sketch of the Scenery of Massachusetts* during his years as the State Geologist and a Professor of Chemistry and Natural History. He wrote:

> But the object that perhaps most of all arrests the attention of a man of taste, is the Connecticut, winding its way majestically, yet most beautifully, through the meadows of Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton; and directly in front of Holyoke, as if it loved to linger in so tranquil a spot, it sweeps around in a graceful curve of three miles extent, without advancing in its oceanward course a hundred rods.* (Hitchcock 1842, 18)

Hitchcock describes the river as the most arresting component in the landscape for a "man of taste," a phrase that emphasizes that the primary audience of the view is upper-class and male. He also wonders if it curves around the Oxbow to be able to stay in the valley for longer. However, at the bottom of the page is a footnote, adding a correction. Between when Hitchcock wrote the text for the book and its publication, the path of the Connecticut River was significantly altered.

> *Alas! as if indignant at this personification, the river during the floods of last spring (1840,) has cut across the neck of this peninsula! It still continues, however, to pass around the curve, as well as through the new channel: and for several years we may hope that the beauty of the spot will not be at all impaired. (Hitchcock 1842, 18)

In 1840, the river flowed across the neck so narrow that a child might throw a stone across it. Eventually, the Oxbow would be completely cut off from the river's flow, becoming a lake. An 1851 guidebook directly copies Hitchcock's writing, merging the alterations described in his footnote with the original body text:

> It winds its way majestically, yet most beautifully, through the meadows of Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton, and directly in front of Holyoke, it formerly swept around in a graceful curve of three miles, without advancing in its

> oceanward course a hundred rods; but in the spring of 1840, (as if impelled by the go-ahead character of the age,) it cut across the neck of this peninsula, though as it still continues to pass around the curve, as well as through the new channel, the beauty of the spot is unimpaired. (Eden 1851, 8)

John Eden plagiarizes Hitchcock but also adds a reassurance. Hitchcock worried that the "beauty of the spot" would be "impaired" if the river ceased entirely to flow around the Oxbow. Eden confirms, nine years later, that this beauty is indeed "unimpaired" since the river, at that time, flowed both through the neck and around the three-mile curve. In 1863, Hitchcock later recounted an 1845 speech made by Professor Shepard to the Amherst College senior class after cutting a horse-path on Mount Holyoke to the summit.

> ...what struck [Prof. Shepard] with the most astonishment, was to discover that even the old Connecticut herself, which for ages had held on the even tenor of her way, had seemingly caught the spirit of improvement, and of her own accord ceased to flow round the Ox-bow, as when he last looked down upon her, and now hastens her waters forward to the sea, in one hour less of time each day, than she was wont to do before—relinquishing her ancient bed for the benefit of a railroad company!" (Hitchcock 1863, 222)

This comment indicates that the river was no longer flowing through the Oxbow and it was, like it remains today, a separate body of water from the river. Railroad tracks were laid down parallel to the Connecticut River on the new land between the flowing river and the curved lake. Thomas Cole's anxieties reflected in his painting *The Oxbow* about industrialization encroaching on the pastoral ideal were coming true.

According to Hitchcock and Eden, the Oxbow being cut off from the flow of the river should negatively impact the beauty of the area. Their personification of the Connecticut River, as wanting to linger in the valley as long as possible, and then their

lamentation of it compelled towards efficiency reveal the latent values guiding their vision of the landscape. It is a tranquil spot, blending the natural with the human in perfect harmony, the river charting its own path. The Oxbow remains, however, a quintessential component of the view, a primary aspect of the river mentioned by some as the first thing they see. During our interview, I asked Jan, who grew up visiting Mount Holyoke with her family as a child in the 1950s, what she notices in the view. Jan said, "The river, I think. First of all. And the Oxbow because our family always talked about the Oxbow." In answering the same question, William said, "Certainly the Oxbow. I mean the Oxbow, the Connecticut River, that's a really iconic view, right, is the Oxbow." William, the university professor, has a painting of the Oxbow above his mantle at home. Many contemporary visitors such as William are quite aware of Cole's *Oxbow*, and there is a print of the painting hanging inside the Summit House. William said, "What I like about the Thomas Cole painting and the pictures up at the Skinner House is you kind of see the history of the valley, how it's changed and how in many ways it looks the same, which I think is sort of, you know, allows it to feel a little timeless." Despite acknowledging some changes, for William the view from Mount Holyoke feels "timeless" and looks in many ways the same as Cole's 1836 painting.

Any impairment to the beauty of the scene mentioned by contemporary visitors relates not to the path of the river but to twentieth-century development. "I-91 cuts over it and there's like boats and stuff on it and it just looks kind of grody," Brian said. "It's kind of sad what happened to the Oxbow." Brian, a graduate student in History, mentioned the Oxbow Marina, a full-service boating facility with over three hundred vessels (Oxbow

Marina 2020). Both the marina and highway were constructed in the 1960s. Hattie, Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range board member, referenced the marina as well. “My husband looked into fishing out of there. But they said the water is very stagnant.” She added, “and there’s an odor off the river.” Although the lake’s stagnation has to do with it being cut off from the continual flow of the river in the mid-1800s, its putridity is rather linked to modern developments which conflict with the Arcadian vision.

The path of the Connecticut River is also used to make connections. Contemporary visitors trace its route to pick out certain locations down below. Christine, whom I interviewed while she was chaperoning a high school field trip from Springfield, said, “When you get up where you can see down at a valley, you can see all the connections. You can see the river running through it, you can see how close we really are to everything.” Like being able to see the true meandering shape of the river, the change in perspective from the summit clarifies connections and distances between locations in the valley. Bette, who works at Amherst College, likes to look down from the deck of the Summit House, “where you can see the river and where it’s going and you can see the bridges in Northampton.” Steve, a long-time Northampton resident who owns an ice cream parlor in downtown Northampton, also looks for the bridge that crosses over from Hadley to Northampton. “And I look for the river,” he said. “Well, the river is pretty much in front of you. Trying to follow it along up to the Coolidge Bridge, Route 9, you know, across the river.” While on a guided tour of the Summit House, I overheard one man pointing out this bridge in an attempt to help his mother find her bearings. “Do you see the bridge? It’s Route 9, connecting Hadley to Northampton. If you can see the

bridge, that might help you." The river and the bridges crossing over it are used as tools to achieve a greater geographical awareness of the valley's layout.[6]

Barbara, who works for the Department of Conservation and Recreation in the Skinner State Park, talked to me about an interview she heard on the radio about the Connecticut River. "This guy was saying that it kind of, it divides towns," she said. "And you have to drive over a bridge, you have to drive over the river to get from town to town." There are few bridges in the area. The Coolidge Bridge crossing from Hadley to Northampton is the only bridge accessible to cars visible from Mount Holyoke; the next closest crossings are about ten miles to the north in Sunderland and ten miles to the south in Holyoke.[7] Barbara continued, "And it's almost like this huge river, it's like people, those of us who live here, um, don't really notice it anymore 'cause it's just there but it's always in our subconscious." We plan our routes around available bridges; the river controls our movement in the valley even though we often move near it without fully registering it. "It divides towns, it's always flowing, you know, it's been part of this area for millions of or hundred of years, or tens of thousands of years at least," Barbara said. "So, um, yeah just, whenever I see the river, that's what I think of. Is how long that

---

[6] The Calvin Coolidge Memorial Bridge, built in the 1930s, takes Route 9 from Hadley across the Connecticut River to Northampton and I-91. The Depression-era Coolidge Bridge with its Art Deco stone pylons is the most recent iteration of a bridge in this location. A narrow wooden toll bridge first crossed the river in this spot in 1808. It was destroyed and rebuilt multiple times as a wooden covered bridge and then an iron truss bridge before the current structure (Lockwood 1989). The Coolidge Bridge runs parallel to the Northampton Lattice Truss Bridge, originally built in 1887 for rail transport and still standing as a pedestrian and bike path. There have therefore been one or two bridges crossing the Connecticut River at this location for centuries.

[7] People in the nineteenth century had the option of crossing the Connecticut River by ferry. Several ferry lines plied the river including one line that took visitors and their horses and carriages from Northampton to the Hockanum neighborhood of Hadley at the base of Mount Holyoke.

river's been here and how long it's, you know, maybe been in our subconscious and kinda influences how we think." Barbara can see how the river separates towns, dictates infrastructure, and influences her life. From Mount Holyoke, a different perspective and new understanding of the geography of the Connecticut River Valley is possible.

Farmland and Meadows

The open farmland and meadows in the valley below are other aspects of a pastoral Arcadia frequently expounded upon in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts as well as by current visitors. Reverend Paul Coffin wrote in July of 1760: "The View here far exceeds all I ever had before. Hundreds of Acres of Wheat, Rye, Peas, Flax, Oats, Corn, &c., look like a beautiful Garden, variously yet elegantly laid out" (1855, 38). Hitchcock wrote that "it is not a barren unenlivened plain... but a rich alluvial valley, geometrically diversified in the summer with grass, corn, grain, and whatever else laborious industry has there reared" (Hitchcock 1842, 18). The valley is conceived of as rich, enlivened, and full of the products of industrious farmers. The view to the south, on the other side of Mount Holyoke from the Connecticut River, "is not as interesting as that on the west and north; chiefly because the land is less fertile" (Hitchcock 1842, 19). It is the fertility and the variety of crops grown below that form the beauty of the scene.

The "verdant valleys" are "one great carpet of cultivation," "rich with the labor of good old New England's sons," wrote Augustus Silliman (1881, 146). Coded in the landscape are the values of honest hard work and production that is not excessively mechanized. This vision of rural independence rendered invisible hired laborers (and the enslaved laborers before slavery was abolished in Massachusetts in the 1780s) who

worked the land. Hitchcock's reference to "laborious industry," stands in contrast to his and Shepard's lament when the Connecticut River caught the "spirit of improvement" of the time and cut off the Oxbow, rerouting "for the benefit of a railroad company" (Hitchcock 1863, 222). Josephine[8], a visitor I interviewed one summer day while she was visiting casually with her husband, enjoys seeing the farmland because "it's really neat to see farmers still trying to make a go of it." This conjures sentiments of nostalgia for a traditional New England way of life that is perhaps perceived as outdated. Many contemporary visitors enjoy looking down at the farms and grassy meadows that fill in the curves made by the river and most referenced the farmland generically, not indicating crops by name. Tobacco, corn, and hay were the only crops specifically mentioned in my interviews. This is both due to the disconnect between the average visitor and the farming industry in the area as well as an actual decrease in the variety of crops.

Denise Barstow's family has been farming at the base of Mount Holyoke since 1806. The Barstows rent hundreds of acres from land-owning families who have ceased farming their land themselves. Many of these families put narrow restrictions on what the Barstows can plant and farm on their properties. "They're like, we only want it to be corn because then it blocks our neighbors or we only want it to be hay which is, mostly they just want it to be hay because they want to see the view," Denise said. Hattie acknowledged that the use of the area for farmland has decreased over the past century. "The entire area has changed in that it's not, it's less agricultural," she said, "and, so, at one point if you had looked down into the Valley you would have seen more farmland."

[8] This is a pseudonym.

The allure of the geometry of the farmland, touched on by Hitchcock, persists. Andrea likes looking at "the cuts in the farms" and, similarly, Martha looks at "the stripes in the fields, the different colors, sometimes different patterns." For some, like the bends in the river, the expanse of the farmland is only visible from atop Mount Holyoke. "What always surprises me is how open things actually are," said Brian, who moved to the area from Nebraska to attend graduate school. "Because just on the other side of the river there's like a huge, open field… And that always surprises me to see it. Because when I'm down on the roads it feels like there's no open space…But up here you can see how open everything is." From Mount Holyoke one gains a different perspective on the valley below and the ability to see new shapes and patterns.

I previously referred to a speech by Charles Sumner, which he began with a reference to his first visit to Mount Holyoke as a Harvard College student. Making a series of rhetorical moves, Senator Sumner invokes the values imbued in the Connecticut River Valley landscape to link farmers and their land to the abolition of slavery. Sumner, a Radical Republican and leader of anti-slavery coalitions, delivered this oration on October 14, 1862, eighteen months into the Civil War. Titled "Farmers, Their Happiness and Liberal Sentiments," the speech was presented in Northampton to the Hampshire County Agricultural Society. After his opening story about seeing the view from Mount Holyoke as a young man, he talked of the vistas he had seen since in countries across Europe. "[B]ut my youthful joy in the landscape which I witnessed from the neighboring hill-top," Sumner said, "has never been surpassed in any kindred scene" (2015, 249–50). He explains that while other "places are richer in the associations of history," the

Connecticut River Valley has "enough already in what Nature has done, without waiting for any further illustration" (2015, 250). In Sumner's view, although it possesses less of a historical time depth than European landscapes, this valley possesses natural beauty. Sumner repurposes the same sentiments used by Thomas Cole to distinguish the American landscape from Europe in a political speech. "Nature has done so much, and where all that Nature has done is enhanced by an intelligent and liberal spirit" (2015, 250). Sumner lauds the farming profession, citing data from the 1850 census showing the long average lifespan of the farmer. He also uses census data to show that corn and wheat are the two largest staples in the United States, above cotton. These data "shed new light on the lofty pretensions that have been made for King Cotton. There is no crown for hay, or wheat, or Indian corn, and yet two of these stand above cotton" (2015, 251). Here, Sumner is implying the importance of New England farmers for the country's economy over the Southern cotton plantations. However, by 1862 the majority of the nation's corn and wheat was being grown by farmers in the Midwest. In order to compete, Connecticut River Valley farmers had begun to turn to broom corn and tobacco.

Sumner also creates a link between the farmland of the Connecticut River valley and the ideals of patriotism and progress. "The farmer is patriotic and liberal," he said (2015, 252). The farmer "thinks for himself, and acts for his country… he does not set himself against the ideas of the age" (2015, 252). Sumner then shifts more explicitly to talk about abolition and the Civil War. He says that the country is in peril and his audience—Hampshire County farmers—must not hesitate to enlist. "And now at last a new power is invoked," Sumner said as he began to wrap up his speech, "being nothing

less than that great [Emancipation] Proclamation of the President [Lincoln] which places Liberty at the head of our columns" (2015, 253). He foregrounds the concept of liberty, which is at the heart of the anti-slavery movement. In the final line of the speech, Sumner connects this all back to the local landscape. "I offer the following sentiment: *The Valley of the Connecticut*. Happy in its fertility, and also in its beauty; happier still in that inspiration of Liberty which is better than fertility or beauty" (2015, 254). The Connecticut River Valley and the fertility of its farmland inspire liberty. By reading this value coded in the landscape viewed from Mount Holyoke, Sumner links this Arcadian New England landscape to the abolition movement and mission of the Civil War.

Christopher Clark (1990) studied changes in rural New England between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, specifically looking at the Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts where agriculture and industry grew together. Between 1780 and 1860, the area went through a profound social and economic transformation, from independent farmers supplying locals to articulation with a national market. Clark argues that American industrial capitalism emerged from such rural societies in the Northeast. By the 1850s, the Connecticut River Valley was an outpost of industrial capitalism, farmers were employers to permanent wage workers, and an economy of independent farmers working their own land was in the past. Sumner's 1862 vision of the New England landscape was already outdated.

Mountains in the Distance

In the background of the scene are chains of mountains that bound the valley. From Mount Holyoke, it is possible to see peaks and mountain ridges in other states. On

clear days, Mount Greylock, the highest point in Massachusetts, is visible in the Berkshires, as are Mount Snow in Vermont and Mount Monadnock in New Hampshire. While some can pick out particular mountains, many regular visitors remain vague on identifying peaks by name. “I love the fact that they’ve got those little charts,” said Bette, referring to the illustrated signage on each of the four sides of the Summit House deck identifying mountains and other points of interest in the view. “You know, it’s really helpful,” Bette continued, “even though it’s still hard to figure out which hump is which.” “My eyes automatically go to the horizon,” Martha said. “I love to look at mountains and layers of mountains. So, I’ve probably looked at the signs a million times to see what they are.” Steve tries to see everything that he can. “There’s a guide up there for the various mountains that are further away and if it’s a clear day I’ll make sure I can see those, including Mount Monadnock in New Hampshire.” Visitors enjoy looking into the distance. According to Pat, “it’s always good to look into the distance and see, you know the Berkshires. And beyond.”

The mountains are a common element of the view that people mention. They are important because they delineate and shelter the valley. They provide a frame for the other elements of Arcadia that are perceived as more immediate and in the foreground. The mountains also block the view of more urban, developed, and racially and economically diverse regions of the valley.

Towns and Church Spires

The final component of Arcadia frequently commented upon in the view from Mount Holyoke are the villages and cities dotting the valley. People past and present use

the extent of development to make assumptions about the size of the population, conferring qualities on the landscape based on perceived urbanization. Visitors also use the town centers and their distinctive buildings to trace their routes and see the places in which they live. Lastly, church spires were specific features of town centers referenced in most nineteenth-century descriptions but are all but absent from contemporary visitors' comments.

The visibility of many different towns from the summit was formerly an indication of a high human density. The "villages, in glistening whiteness, are scattered, like patches of snow, in every part of the landscape" (Silliman 1881, 145–46). Villages were present in *all* parts of the valley below. Several guidebooks use the number of church spires as proxies for town centers and growth. "This valley contains the most extensive and beautiful plain in New England, well-cultivated, and populous," wrote the Scottish politician James Stuart. "About thirty churches, all with spires, are seen from the top of Mount Holyoke" (Stuart 1833, 297). Thomas Richards wrote of the view, "Beautiful villages, with their soaring church spires, rise thickly around us" (Richards 1854, 298). Though once regarded as populous, the portion of the Connecticut River Valley viewed from the summit is now seen as decidedly not urban.

I spoke with multiple Springfield residents who commented on how few people seem to live in the valley below. Moe said, "There's not much people living here… Springfield, it's like a big city, man. It's like a village here." Allen walked over to the Summit House deck to see the view while I was interviewing his wife, Christine. When he came back, he said that he was surprised at the lack of urban development. "I see the

hilly country, I see the flat farmland down below, the river," he said, not mentioning any towns. Today, there is still a sense that the valley is peaceful, quiet, and not that developed. Many visitors shared a sense of calmness on Mount Holyoke, some linking this to the scene below. Hal, also from Springfield, sighed when I asked what he notices in the view. "The serenity," he said. "Serenity. Just looking at the farmland, structures, building structures. But it's all peaceful from this, from this level, you know, from this height." Hal attributes these feelings to being removed from the valley, looking down from above.

Residents of Northampton, Hadley, and Amherst frequently look for their spheres, locations they can identify as part of their daily lives. Denise said, "I look at the center of town, Hadley. That's where my school is." "I always look for downtown Northampton," said Steve, who lives and owns a business there. Rick, whose family has been living in Hadley at the base of Mount Holyoke for generations, said, "My eye probably goes to the distant hills around, and then it comes back to, you know, finding places in Northampton. I can tell you, 'okay that's that, that, that, that.' And then I'll walk around the corner and start looking at Amherst." Brian, a Northampton resident, also looks for buildings he can identify. He said, "I try to pick out the places that I know in Northampton and situate myself from up here and the paths that I take in Northampton." Brian uses a church and a courthouse as landmarks to identify Main Street and downtown. Zac enjoys the view because he likes looking down on places that he typically experiences from within. Thoreau similarly wondered if the sense of awe on a mountain is invoked by the ability to observe one's home from on high. "To see what kind of earth that is on which you have a

house and garden somewhere, perchance!" (Thoreau 1857).

While on the summit of Mount Holyoke, people are elevated enough out of their lives to feel moments of respite, but not too far removed that they can't see where they've been and where they may go. Gretchen said of Northampton, "I mean, it's right there." One visitor sighed as he looked out at Northampton from the Summit House balcony. "You see something new every time," he said. "It looks so compact from up here." This ability to step away provides a vantage point from which to see your life mapped out in front of you and perhaps to see something new. According to Bette, "It just takes your breath away every time being up there… you get a view of the world you live in from a whole different perspective."

Brian was the only person I interviewed who identified a church in the landscape, and he only did so as he uses the building to help pick out downtown Northampton. While church spires are used to aid in locating town centers, they have decreased in their representation of religious coding into the landscape. Churches were a common aspect of the landscape mentioned in nineteenth-century personal accounts and guidebooks. "The valley is the most attractive object, the full river coiling through the meadows, and the spires of village churches being clustered at intervals along its banks," wrote Harriet Martineau, the British sociologist, in her *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838, 15). The view is "not unfrequently enlivened by villages and church-spires," a sentiment first written by Hithcock and repeated verbatim in at least three subsequent guidebooks (Appleton 1893, 90; Bryant 1872, 79; Eden 1851, 10; Hitchcock 1842, 19). Depending on the weather, tens of churches could be made out from the summit. "More than 30 church

steeples may be counted here by taking advantage of different kinds of weather" (Theodore Dwight 1826, 257), "and even the spires of some of the churches in Hartford may be seen in good weather" (Eden 1851, 10; Hitchcock 1842, 19).

Burt's Guide through the Connecticut Valley of 1867 exaggerates the amount of churches that can be seen from the mountain: "So great a diversity of scenery is rarely met with. Mountain, meadow, river and valley are harmoniously blended, while here and there the tall spires, of hundreds of churches are seen pointing heavenward" (Burt 1867, 84; 1874, 80; Sweetser 1868, 49). These exact sentences are repeated in Burt's later 1874 guide as well as plagiarized by Sweetser in his *Book of Summer Resorts*. This overstatement of the number of churches visible points to how the landscape was read as a Christian one. In Edward Fiske's *Pleasure Resorts in Worcester County*, he wrote, "All the world beneath is covered by the fog, while the lofty spires of the churches here and there press through the mist" (1877, 51). The view evoked in many an awareness of heaven and a religious significance, in line with the philosophical outlook of Romanticism. Mount Holyoke is a unique place to view such a blend of the human and the natural which for some inspires spirituality. Over time, however, the coding of a distinctly Christian spirituality in the landscape has diminished.

This dominant Arcadian vision of the valley with the river, farmland, distant mountains, and villages, which was manufactured by social elites steeped in the Romantic movement, is maintained and reproduced despite significant changes in the landscape over time. In the final section of this chapter, I will further explore how this vision determines what is seen and unseen in the view from Mount Holyoke.

Seen and Unseen in the View

Everyone who comes to Mount Holyoke looks out at the view. As described in the previous sections, nineteenth- and twenty-first-century visitors comment upon the same elements in the Connecticut River Valley landscape visible from the summit. They notice the Connecticut River, the farmland and meadows, Northampton and other town centers, and the mountains in the distance framing the scene. There have indeed been changes over the past two centuries. Telephone poles, wires, and highways now streak the valley. I-91 goes right over the Oxbow, parallel to the Connecticut River. The Oxbow Lake is not quite crescent-shaped anymore. On sunny days, the skylines of Springfield, MA and Hartford, CT are visible in the distance. The UMass Amherst campus, with its twentieth-century brick and concrete towers, is often mistaken as a nearby city. However, like the twentieth-century painters working in the tradition of the Romantics, contemporary visitors frequently omit modern developments from their descriptions of the view. They also omit the Native presence on the landscape.

While hazy outlines of the Springfield and Hartford skyscrapers are visible on clear days in the distance to the south, they are not discussed by contemporary visitors as integral and immediate parts of the landscape in the same way as the pastoral scenes to the west are. People I spoke with on the Summit House observation deck describe it as "fun" to see if they can make out these two cities on the horizon. One man said that Hartford is "not a place I like to go, but I like to see it." He explained that he likes his "country living" and generally avoids the cities unless he's going to gamble at the MGM in Springfield. Springfield and Hartford are in the Connecticut River Valley, and the

metropolitan area spanning southern Massachusetts to central Connecticut is home to about two million people. These cities are far enough away to be indistinct and blurry, the background to the scene rather than part of it. The "city" that visitors talk about the most is actually the UMass Amherst campus.

A man visiting from out-of-state approached me. "This is kind of a stupid question," he said, gesturing to the north. "But what city is that?" Visitors to Mount Holyoke, particularly those who grew up in the area or attended UMass, acknowledge the significant development over the decades in the university's campus. "UMass has completely evolved," said Hattie. "I mean, I remember seeing buildings, but now it resembles, it changed into more of the appearance of a small city." It is sometimes cited as the only difference to the landscape when I asked the people I interviewed how the view has changed over time. "UMass exploded in the '70s," Mary, who grew up in Amherst, said, "so the view hasn't, I mean it's changed, but that was the dramatic change." The buildings mentioned by people who know the campus include the Southwest Residential Area, which includes five 22-story high-rise dormitories built in 1966, and the W. E. B. Du Bois Library, a 28-story brick tower built between 1969 and 1973. Jan referenced the expansion of the campus as the most perceptible change in the landscape:

> There certainly has been a lot of growth at UMass. I think that's a big big change. That's probably the biggest. I don't think I notice as much the other, the fields are still there. The boats are still there. So maybe I don't see them as much as, you know, other people might notice.

UMass has been the biggest alteration for Jan, while the fields and river have remained the same.

For some, the UMass campus is not quite part of the view, but something that *disrupts* it. David Graci refers to the campus as an "intrusion on the view." John, who was a postdoctoral researcher at UMass in the late 1960s, described what he notices in the view. "The meadows are out there. The permanence… of the meadows," he said, "and the small size of the buildings across the river. As I look to the north I see these awful Stalinesque monumental pieces that are UMass." For John, who has a doctorate in Russian history, the "awful" buildings of the campus stand in stark contrast to the quaint structures around Northampton. The Arcadian vision of rural New England codified by academic elites from the campuses of Harvard and Yale conflicts architecturally and ideologically with the Brutalist towers of the growing public university.

Many long-term residents in the region assert that the view from Mount Holyoke has indeed not changed. Hattie remarked that "it's been pretty much the same," and Gwen similarly shared that "there was always farmland but it seems like that, you know it didn't seem like it changed that much over the years." For Jean, the trees, the farmland, and the river are the constants in the landscape:

> I just like to see that there's still trees and the farms are still there. Connecticut River. It doesn't, when you're up here, it doesn't look like anything changed. Really. I mean, I'm sure that there's some stuff that changed, but I don't see anything that changed. I still see green.

Martha expressed a similar sentiment:

> I really don't think so, it's interesting. I certainly know it has to have. I know UMass has like twenty more buildings than it used to, but the view doesn't

> change it, it's sort of, you know, UMass is there, sort of an old, old brick city here still looks the same to me. The river, you know, is a constant… But I really feel like the view has stayed the same.

Both Jean and Martha acknowledge that the landscape must have somehow changed in the decades that they have been going to Mount Holyoke, but they do not really see any changes. "As you look down from the mountain, what you see is pretty much a permanent piece of landscape," said John. "That's why it's such an amazing site, 'cause one of the few things in America that doesn't change, that hasn't really changed dramatically." For Steve, something major would have to happen to alter the view.

> If there was a change that you could notice from the top of Mount Holyoke, it would have be a pretty big one. Like an earthquake or a fire or a forest fire area. So, or a new bridge, probably notice. So I think it would be very significant to notice something.

He would notice either a bridge or the effects of a major natural disaster. Slowly encroaching developments of modernity are often excluded; only changes to the river with the addition of another bridge or catastrophic destruction of the quaint villages, meadows, or farmland would be noticed. Steve is grateful that the view hasn't changed, except for the UMass library. "It seems to be the same, thank goodness," he said.

Why don't visitors notice changes in the view or see the modern developments that have taken place over the decades, besides the construction of buildings at UMass? One reason is the line-of-sight from Mount Holyoke offers a particular slice of the Connecticut River Valley. Perceptions of the landscape are dictated by the viewshed, or the area visible from a vantage point, excluding what is beyond the horizon or obscured

by terrain, trees, and other obstructions. When I asked Brian why the view from Mount Holyoke is his favorite, he responded:

> It's the view that is least encroached upon by, I guess you could say modern developments... So, like on Mount Tom you really can only see the interstate and you can only really hear the interstate from Mount Tom. And Mount Sugarloaf, like one side of it has suburban housing built right up to the base. And you look out and the view is kind of like uninterrupted by those things. I don't want to say it feels more natural, because nothing is natural. But, but it feels more, I don't know, like taken out of our time.

Brian recognizes that the valley does indeed have elements of modern development, like an interstate highway and suburban neighborhoods. Still, they are not significant components of the viewshed from Mount Holyoke for him. He enjoys the view so much because it lacks much evidence of suburbanization or urbanization; it feels "taken out of our time," perhaps like a scene from the nineteenth century. Wayne and Sandi talked about the Holyoke Range as a barrier between villages to the north and cities to the south. Wayne grew up in Hadley and Sandi in South Hadley. I met them at their home in South Hadley at the base of Mount Holyoke.

Wayne:	Seems like the Great Wall.
Sandi:	It could be, I think everything is just big—I think from South Hadley down everything is just bigger. Schools are bigger, classes, you know, all that stuff is just bigger. More towards the cities. When you cross that line into Hadley it's agricultural and it's farming and it's—
Wayne:	However, you will say that the malls changed a lot of that.

Wayne is referencing the malls and strip malls that line Route 9 in Hadley, the major commercial area in this part of the valley. These buildings are part of the Mount Holyoke viewshed, visible from the rocky outcrop to the north in front of the UMass campus.

Springfield and Hartford's highly urbanized regions are too far away to be clearly seen, but these commercial areas, although much closer, are also not typically acknowledged as part of the view.

From the Summit House deck, the buildings of the strip malls are obscured by trees on the summit itself. But from the rocky outcrop a short walk away, a clear view to the north is possible. "Certainly if you look closely you can see UMass and the tall buildings there and the development around Hadley and UMass," William said. "But they're sort of at a distance so you don't see them as close up when you're up on the mountain as you do when you're driving in the landscape." No one else remarked upon the commercial development in Hadley. Perhaps the malls are not noticed because the buildings are low-lying and seem, from the height of the mountain, to be nestled amongst the trees and some farms. Perhaps the tall buildings of UMass catch the eye first. I argue that these exclusions are caused by the vision of Arcadia constructed by nineteenth-century social elites that is perpetuated even today as the dominant way of seeing the landscape. People do not notice the strip malls or the power lines and deny changes in the landscape. The river, the farms, and the towns are what make the view while UMass is an aberration and major cities are merely peripheral because we collectively see and propagate a pastoral ideal from the summit of Mount Holyoke.

Also denied in this assertion of an unchanging landscape is the presence of Native Americans. In the nineteenth century, American histories created and propagated a series of historic myths which disconnected contemporary Native communities from their landscape and histories (Bruchac 2004). One of these myths is that before colonial

settlement, the Connecticut River Valley was untouched by human activity. Another myth is that local Native people willingly abandoned these lands and moved on. In reality, English settlers moved into a landscape that had been inhabited and carefully managed. On both sides of the *Kwinitekw* (Connecticut River) at the base of Mount Holyoke, Nonotuck Indians efficiently cleared fields and forests and planted corn. Myths about the "last Indians" are still believed today and continue to efface Native narratives, despite their continued survivance in New England (Bruchac 2006; O'Brien 2010). The persistence of the vision of the Connecticut River Valley as an Arcadia further entrenches this erasure. The omission of Indigenous presence on the past and present landscape of the *Kwinitekw* Valley will be further explored in Chapter 5.

The mountain is also an important place for people to situate themselves geographically. The mountain's elevation is tall enough to remove people from the patchwork of fields, roads, and buildings below, but not so tall that they cannot find their place in the landscape. As a DCR interpreter giving a formal tour of the Summit House said, "It's a big view, but you still feel so close. You still feel connected to what's going on below." Many people I interviewed evoked the concept of "perspective," often with a double meaning. While on Mount Holyoke, they gain a literal high perspective of the valley as well as a figurative heightened perspective on their lives. "They're not very big, but they're big enough," said Steve of the Holyoke Range. "And you can go up on top of them and get a perspective on your life and nature and civilization and everything." The mountains are the right height to offer a new point of view. Dave, who organizes the summer concert series at the Summit House, goes to Mount Holyoke when he needs to

feel stable and calm. “I mean it,” he said, “if you’re feeling stressed or whatever, man, you just go up on that porch of the Summit House and look out for half an hour and you’re good, you know. It gives you that perspective.” Dave said that the mountain is an important and special place for him.

Both Gretchen and Brian used the phrase “important to me” when talking about being able to see places in the valley that are a part of their lives. “The sense of perspective, of where I am in the physical world,” said Gretchen. She went on, “how wonderful and beautiful and, you know, it all is, and how blessed I am to be able to look out at it and all of that is important to me.” Mount Holyoke is a vantage point from which Gretchen can look down upon what is important to her. For Brian, the mountain itself is important to him because it has offered him this vantage. He talked about the first time he summited Mount Holyoke as being particularly significant:

> Because I think it was the first time I really felt situated in this entire, like, region… But coming up here, I could so clearly see everything in relation to everything else. And it provided that same kind of sense of comfort and stability that the flatness and openness of my home and Nebraska provided for me. So, that was really important for me to come up here and be able to see where everything was at and be able to kind of trace my path. Like I can see the bridge, I can see Route 9 in Hadley and all of that. And UMass of course, you can see. So I can trace my own route to get from my apartment over to UMass or wherever I end up going, so. Yeah. That’s why it’s important to me.

Going to the top of Mount Holyoke only a couple of months after moving to the area from Nebraska for graduate school was a stabilizing experience for Brian, who was able to gain a new understanding of the valley in which he now lives.

During our interview at his home in South Hadley, Wayne posed the question

"Why do people climb mountains?" before answering it with the following reflection: "There's something at the top that you just enjoy looking out around your surroundings and getting a little different perspective… it's a place to, not necessarily to find yourself but just puts things in perspective." Thoreau similarly wrote: "You must ascend a mountain to learn your relation to matter, and so to your own body" (1857). Wayne's wife Sandi elaborated:

> I think it grounds you because especially with, you know, in our gen—so many decades, things have changed so quickly. And you go up to a place like that and for some reason time stands still, and you do have the changes, you have UMass or whatever, but then there's so much stuff that's kind of stayed the same. You know, the farming and the crops and all that, the view is, you know, over like decades.

Sandi links the ability to get a different perspective on Mount Holyoke to the lack of change in the landscape. She says that "time stands still," similar to what Brian said about the view being "taken out of our time." Especially for people in Wayne and Sandi's generation, the unchanging view grounds them.

In Edmund Clarence Stedman's poem "Holyoke Valley" (Stedman 1876), he writes of revisiting Mount Holyoke after many years. The first four stanzas of the poem are as follows:

> How many years have made their flights,
> Northampton, over thee and me,
> Since last I scaled those purple heights
> That guard the pathway to the sea;

Or climbed, as now, the topmost crown
Of western ridges, whence again
I see, for miles beyond the town,
That sunlit stream divide the plain?

There still the giant warders stand
And watch the current's downward flow,
And northward still, with threatening hand,
The river bends his ancient bow.

I see the hazy lowlands meet
The sky, and count each shining spire,
From those which sparkle at my feet
To distant steeples tipt with fire.

Stedman references the Connecticut River, the Oxbow, the meadows, Northampton, and near and distant church steeples. At the conclusion of Clifford Johnson's 1887 text *Mount Holyoke and Vicinity*, he excerpts from "Holyoke Valley" and analyzes the poem. "All about him is unaltering peace and beauty; he feels change in himself alone," Johnson writes (1887, 32). While the narrator of the poem has undergone personal aging and growth, the landscape before him is unchanged from his youth. Johnson reflects further on how human lives go on while Mount Holyoke remains consistent:

> Amid the turmoil of life men come and men go; for a moment they stir the little world about them and then are lost from sight. The resistless current sweeps all on alike, all disappear. They are soon forgotten; the stones in the graveyard become moss-grown and the graven names wear away. The world's face is turned ever forward. Still the flinty rocks of Holyoke seem to withstand the assaults of Summer's rain and Winter's frost, and seem ever destined to look down with unchanging face on our valley with its purple encircling hills. (C. C. Johnson 1887, 32)

This is similar to Sandi's notion that the view from Mount Holyoke grounds us because of its constancy amidst our ever-evolving lives. The perspective and a sense of comfort that many gain from the mountains is in part owed to the perceived permanence of the Arcadian vision of the Connecticut River Valley.

CHAPTER 4

ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF NATURE

"I just feel… more whole, more complete as a human being at times when I can be in nature and touch dirt and feel the breeze and swat the bug, instead of our artificial human world where those things don't happen." (Interview with Christine, June 2019)

Humans and the More-than-Human

The natural physical features on Mount Holyoke include scenic vistas, ridgeline trails, trees, and distinctive geology (Villamaino 2015a). The mountain is used as a vantage point from which to see not only the Arcadian landscape below but fall foliage, sunsets, the night sky, and other astronomical phenomena. The southern slope of the mountain has an oak-hickory forest while the forest on the northern slope is composed of hemlock, white pine, birch, beech, and maple. Geologic formations include basalt outcrops, smoothing and grooves caused by the action of glaciers, and columnar basalt formations. Many different kinds of animals make their homes on the Mount Holyoke Range. While black bears, bobcats, coyotes, fishers, and foxes are known to live there, these mammals are rarely sighted. Snakes and mammals such as chipmunks, squirrels, and occasionally deer are more commonly observed. Birds, of which there are well over a hundred different species seen on Mount Holyoke, including songbirds, woodpeckers, hawks, and ducks, are the primary animal that people observe, from the casual visitor to the dedicated birdwatcher (Villamaino 2015a).

In Chapter 3, I explored perceptions of the view from Mount Holyoke and how the collective understanding of the landscape has been impacted by the legacy of

nineteenth-century Romanticism in New England. In this chapter, I interrogate perceptions of the natural environment on the mountain and explore the nuances of how an appreciation of nature informs a sense of place. I situate this discussion in the context of conservation efforts on Mount Holyoke as well as the wider Environmentalism movement of the twentieth century, which evolved in part from Romanticism.

In the next section, I outline national, regional, and state conservation trends from the late nineteenth century through the twentieth century. To write this historical context, I draw from primary source texts and rely heavily on the scholarship of environmental historians. I then move on to chart conservation efforts on Mount Holyoke specifically, weaving information from primary source Massachusetts government documents, newspaper clippings, and organizational websites uncovered through my investigative historical research alongside ethnographic data from my interviews with research participants who are involved in conservation efforts and environmental advocacy. Major themes that emerged through my research include anxieties about suburban sprawl and development and contestation over the ownership of and purpose of the land. The mountain is valued for a variety of reasons—its scenery, natural resources, recreation opportunities, and wildlife habitats—and land use and management are frequently negotiated between constituencies.

I then transition to explore perceptions of nature on Mount Holyoke. In this section, I draw from my ethnographic fieldwork including participant observation as well as interviews with a wide range of visitors on Mount Holyoke. My analysis of visitors' comments about the natural environment on the mountain yielded two major motifs.

Perceived therapeutic effects of nature and environmental exceptionality both inform visitors' connections to nature on Mount Holyoke. I use the term "nature" to specifically refer to non-human nature. As animals ourselves, humans are an inextricable part of nature. Even the most built-up cities contain natural environments and ecosystems composed of countless non-human organisms and nonliving, physical components interacting in complex networks. Throughout the chapter, I interrogate this false dichotomy between the human and the natural. It is this dichotomy that underscores the vision of Mount Holyoke as a special place where unique encounters with the natural world can occur. I argue that Mount Holyoke's distinctive arboreal, geological, and faunal attributes come secondary to personal associations and memories of formative experiences in facilitating place attachment on the mountain. I conclude this chapter by discussing the ways in which an appreciation for the natural environment is cultivated and communicated. Place attachment motivates land protection and pro-environmental behaviors (Lokocz, Ryan, and Sadler 2011; Kudryavtsev, Stedman, and Krasny 2012). I explore how a sense of place on Mount Holyoke is informed by a personal connection to the national environment, undergirded by assumptions about what "nature" is, and how this leads to a desire to bring others to Mount Holyoke and participate in conservation advocacy.

Cultural Context and Legacy: Twentieth-Century Environmentalism

At the turn of the twentieth century, John Muir wrote, "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains

is going home; that wildness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life" (1901, 1). This quote captures changing sentiments about non-human nature as a place of spiritual benefit to humans and a place to escape civilization and find personal growth, which led to new initiatives to protect natural environments in the United States. These preservationist sentiments go back to the mid-nineteenth century when Romantic landscape painters like Thomas Cole and Albert Bierstadt and authors including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau helped cultivate new respect for nature as a spiritual resource. Yellowstone and Yosemite National Parks were established in 1872 and 1890, respectively, protected as natural works of art and cultural resources (Sears 1998). The first large-scale public effort to preserve areas that Anglo-Americans such as Muir would call wilderness was catalyzed by a proposal to dam the Tuolumne River in Yosemite's Hetch Hetchy Valley to provide water to San Francisco, California. Between 1908 and 1913, debate raged between two factions. The conservationists, who were in favor of building the dam, advocated for the responsible use of natural resources for the benefit of society. The preservationists, who were led by John Muir and wanted to block construction, believed that the value of Hetch Hetchy Valley was in its beauty, not its resources. Ultimately, Woodrow Wilson signed the bill into law in 1913 and the dam was built. Although the preservationists lost, the concern for protecting nature and "wilderness" entered the mainstream public consciousness, leading to the creation of the National Park Service in 1916 (National Archives 2017).

In his essay "The Trouble with Wilderness," William Cronon (1996) critiques the

concept of wilderness and the environmental movement. He writes that "wilderness" is a human construct imbued with cultural and moral symbolism. It is the foundation on which the values of modern environmentalism rest, and there is nothing natural about it. Cronon argues that the modern environmental movement is a grandchild of Romanticism and post-frontier ideology; the transition from resource extraction to caring about nature's aesthetic qualities stems from the two concepts of the sublime and the frontier (Cronon 1996, 10). The sublime is a Romantic cultural movement that worked to transform wilderness into a sacred American icon. In the nineteenth century, wilderness was "the landscape of choice for elite tourists," who saw it as a place of recreation, not productive labor, rhetoric that pits urban recreationists against rural people who earn their living from the land (Cronon 1996, 15). "Wilderness is the natural, unfallen antithesis of an unnatural civilization that has lost its soul. It is a place of freedom in which we can recover the true selves we have lost to the corrupting influences of our artificial lives" (Cronon 1996, 16). Wilderness is seen as an authentic landscape, "a place where we can see the world as it really is" (Cronon 1996, 16). Consider the quote by John Muir, in which he describes the necessity of wildness, where "over-civilized people" feel as if "going to the mountains is going home" (Muir 1901, 1). This belief in turn leads people to neglect the environment of their actual homes. The 1964 Wilderness Act defined wilderness "in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape… as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." The law federally-designated certain areas to be protected in order to preserve their "wilderness character" and "leave

them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness" ("National Wilderness Preservation System (16 U.S. Code § 1131)" 1964). But this dualistic vision of the human world as separate from the natural is false. Cronon argues that the concept of wilderness is a threat to responsible environmentalism. "Wilderness" is more of an idea than a fact of nature, which privileges some aspects of nature over others. He urges environmentalists to abandon the dualism where the tree in a city garden is viewed as artificial while the tree in a forest is natural. "Instead, we need to embrace the full continuum of a natural landscape that is also cultural" (Cronon 1996, 24). In this chapter, I interrogate false perceptions of a duality between the human and the natural on Mount Holyoke.

Environmental historians have written much in recent decades about the origins of modern-day environmentalism in the United States. Scholars have identified three traditions, or "major historic strands of conservation thinking and action that provided historic foundations for the contemporary environmental movement" (Chapman 2020). These strands are utilitarian conservation, which emphasizes natural resource management, preservationist conservation, which focuses on preserving scenic nature, and wildlife habitat protection, which takes an ecological view. Transcendentalist writers like Emerson and Thoreau, discussed in Chapter 3, were at the forefront of an ideological shift from sustainability practices that centered on resource extraction and responsible human exploitation of the environment to an appreciation of the natural world for its aesthetics, intrinsic beauty, and positive impact on humans' quality of life. It is no coincidence that Massachusetts, with its tradition of Transcendentalist philosophy, has been a leader in environmental conservation practices. Thoreau differentiated between

wilderness and wildness; *wilderness* is a state of nature while *wildness* is a state of humanity (O'Toole 2017). Where wilderness is found in large parcels of land far away, wildness, which is a spiritual attribute, can be embodied wherever one lives. Following this, while the conservation movement nationally, and particularly in the West, "focused on preservation of large wilderness tracts of land at distant locations," conservation in Massachusetts has been "about people interacting with nature in their own communities," as it says on the National Park Service's (2020) web page about the history of conservation in Massachusetts (which employs a photograph of Thomas Cole's *Oxbow* painting as the banner image).

Massachusetts "played an important role in shaping American ideas and actions through a wide range of conservation initiatives" (National Park Service 2020). The state is home to three conservation organizations that served as national role models. The Appalachian Mountain Club, founded in 1876 in Boston and dedicated to the protection of the outdoors, was the first permanent organization of mountaineers and hikers in the nation. The Trustees of Reservations, established in 1891, was the first land trust in the world (National Park Service 2020). Lastly, the Mass Audubon Society, a nonprofit dedicated to protecting "the nature of Massachusetts for people and wildlife," was founded by two women in 1896 (Mass Audubon 2021a). Harriet Lawrence Hemenway and her cousin Minna Hall, two Boston socialites, established the organization to protect birds from being hunted for the sale of their plumes. Mass Audubon's mission has since transitioned into ecological habitat preservation. The first state-level Audubon Society in the country, Hemenway and Hall's model caught on. Within two years, 15 states had

Audubon Societies, and this grew to 35 by 1901 (Chapman 2020).

A great deal of scholarly attention has been paid to the decades following World War II when the modern American environmental movement matured. Developments in the mid-twentieth century contributed to the rise in environmentalism centered on three interlinked elements of environmental concern: nature as amenity; environmental health; and ecological concepts (Hays 1989; Rome 2003). Newly affluent Americans, boosted by a booming economy, became less willing to accept the degradation of the environment as a byproduct of progress. Growth in outdoor recreation in the 1950s led to an increasing concern with protecting natural environments. Americans with disposable income and leisure time saw the outdoors exclusively as places for scenic and recreational experiences. Secondly, anxiety grew around the environmental hazards posed by new technologies, such as the atomic bomb and chemical pesticides. Finally, the popularization of ecological ideas led to an increased understanding of the risks of environmental manipulation. Scientific research brought forward the web of life concept, showing how biological and geological systems relate and the ways in which human activity can apply pressure and destabilize them. Throughout the 1960s and 70s, Americans increasingly espoused environmental values and ecological concepts, measured through public-opinion surveys (Hays 1989, 32–33). They began to accept personal responsibility for how their daily life can impact the natural world. Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* in 1962, which chronicled the devastating effects of DDT and other chemical pesticides on bird populations, arousing public awareness of the negative impacts of environmental interventions. Congress passed the Wilderness Act in

1964 to preserve over nine million acres of newly designated "wilderness areas" (U.S. Department of Justice 2015). In 1970, the first Earth Day was celebrated in April and by December the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was founded.

New England continued to be at the forefront of change in local environmental policy through the twentieth century. According to Richard Judd (1997), conservation ideas in the region were informed by Colonial beliefs in the democratic access to land and the shared responsibility for resources. The idea of the local conservation commission was born in New England in the 1950s and 60s. A conservation commission is a group of citizens appointed by a local government tasked with the responsibility to identify, manage, and protect land, water, and biological resources in the municipality. Since the passing of the Massachusetts Conservation Commission Act in 1957, every one of Massachusetts' 351 towns and cities has established its own commission (Massachusetts Association of Conservation Commissions n.d.).

Samuel Hays (1989), who has written about the history of American environmental politics between 1955 and 1985, argues that public interest in environmental affairs arose from a desire to improve personal, family, and communal life. Natural resources became important not just for their ability to be exploited as commodities, but for their ability to promote personal health and well-being. The environmental movement grew out of concern for the quality of the physical settings in which people live and work. Environmental activists organized around "a shared sense of what was at stake on the part of many people in a given place" (Hays 1989, 36). People increasingly moved to the countryside and the suburbs; their "search for a higher quality

of living involved a desire for more space both inside and outside the home" (Hays 1989, 23). Rather than a desire to preserve wilderness areas of national importance, people were primarily driven by environmental concerns in their own communities.

Concerns about the environment related to efforts to increase the quality of life for people in the suburbs. Christopher Sellers (2012) argues that the environmental movement was mobilized by suburbanites' conceptions of nature. These grew from "proto-ecological" ways of thinking about health in the nineteenth century, "anticipating that commingling of concerns about ecology and human health that in the later twentieth century became fundamental to environmentalism" (Sellers 2012, 13). The countryside was where you could find nature and health, not the city. Moving out of the city, those in the suburbs developed a fondness for the natural settings around them. Sellers demonstrates that the shared suburban experience nourished a love of nature that was linked strongly to its positive health benefits. "What finally secured the breadth of environmentalism's appeal," he writes, "was how nature love itself had become ever more suffused with anxieties about human health" (Sellers 2012, 12). In the early twentieth century, the Connecticut River Valley was still largely an agricultural area and a rural vacation retreat. After World War II, with the construction of Interstate-91 and the exponential growth of UMass Amherst, the area became increasingly suburban. Fighting sprawl became a pressing concern to local environmental groups in Western Massachusetts and across the state. Adam Rome (2001) has also studied the relationship between suburban sprawl and American environmentalism in the years between 1945 and 1970. The movement garnered strength from protests against the environmental cost of

tract-housing development. Suburbanites opposed additional developments that would disrupt local ecology, uninterrupted natural space, and their views. Tied up in a concern about maintaining scenic views are class and cultural biases. In New England, conservation policy emerged out of class struggles between groups with differing interests in nature (Judd 2003).

Grassroots activism is and has been at the core of the environmental movement. Often led by women, grassroots groups advocate for the preservation of forests and open spaces. Some environmental histories have focused on the role of women in conservation and environmental movements and how womens' distinct conceptions of nature have informed a long history of caring about the environment (Norwood 2014). Massachusetts women were involved in state and local forest conservation initiatives, for example. Two state forests were donated by women's groups: the Federated Women's Club and the Daughters of the American Revolution State Forests (National Park Service 2020). In her study of female environmentalists between 1960 and 1990, Carolyn Merchant (1996) concluded that women become activists when their bodies, or the bodies of people they care for, become threatened by toxic substances, or when a species they care about becomes threatened by extinction. Women tend to prioritize health and ecology (Merchant 1996).

In Stephen Fox's history of John Muir's legacy and conservation movement between 1890 and 1975, he stresses the role of the "amateur radical," who "comprised the heart and soul of American conservation" (1985, 334). The tradition of the amateur conservationist began around the turn of the twentieth century, inspired by the work of

John Muir, and was revived after World War II. Fox writes that a common thread amongst these amateurs was a love of the natural world developed in childhood, often connected to a specific moment or event in the outdoors, which imprinted the individual with a lifelong attitude about the environment. “Generally conservationists were neither born nor made but reborn in a riveting instant of immediate conversion” (Fox 1985, 335). As amateurs, these conservationists were people who had extra time and money to devote to environmental causes. Therefore, until the mid-1960s, conservationists were primarily White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP). “No other American reform movement of a general nature was so exclusively the providence of one ethnic group” (Fox 1985, 351). After 1965, the movement underwent a fundamental transformation evolving from conservation to environmentalism, from a focus on outdoor activities and protecting nature to human-centered concerns. The WASP hegemony ended and the movement opened up to a more diverse group of participants who may not have had the traditional amateur conservationist’s interest in outdoor recreation but who cared about ecology and health.

Robert Gottleib (2005) argues that the environmental movement emerged in part from complex social responses to urban and industrial changes geared towards the health and well-being of humans, not protecting nature. The period between 1970 and 1990 was one of professionalization and institutionalization of mainstream environmental advocacy groups relying on scientific and legal expertise. At the same time, populist, community-based groups continued to organize around single issues. Today, the environmental movement is a diverse group of organizations, ideas, and approaches

composed of professional groups, environmental justice advocates, traditional conservationists or protectionists, local grassroots groups, as well as radical direct-action groups (Gottlieb 2005, 34).

In the next section, I explore the professional and grassroots conservation efforts that have taken place on Mount Holyoke and in nearby areas on the Mount Holyoke Range. I situate this discussion in the context of the history of the American environmental movement. In the following section, I explore the perceptions of the natural environment on Mount Holyoke as expressed by contemporary visitors.

Community Activism: Conservation Efforts

Efforts to actively conserve land on Mount Holyoke began over a century ago when a group of local businessmen banded together to incorporate the Mount Holyoke Company in 1908, the same year the Hetch Hetchy controversy began in Yosemite. They were motivated out of a concern for what would happen to the mountain following the death of Reverend Dwight, who privately owned the structures and most of the land on the mountain and who left behind no heirs (Graci 1985). The Mount Holyoke Company, led by Joseph Allen Skinner of Holyoke and Christopher Clarke of Northampton, purchased the mountain from the Dwight estate.[9] The sole purpose of the company "was to preserve the mountain for the benefit of the community at large" (Rane 1916, 117). Clarke had a vision that it would become a Massachusetts state forest reservation, free

[9] The history of the Summit House structure on Mount Holyoke, its construction, expansion, and efforts to preserve it to the present day, will be discussed in Chapter 5. This chapter will focus on land conservation.

and open to the public. Based on his efforts, State Forester Frank Rane conducted an evaluation in 1915 to investigate the potential to acquire Mount Holyoke. In his report, Rane recommended that the state purchase the mountain, not for economic but for aesthetic value. He wrote, "It is not merely a forestry question. It is a question of preserving for all time to the State a beautiful spot" (Rane 1916, 121).[10] The report also mentions that the "present owners consist of a number of our public-spirited citizens who became interested more from public concern than from the possibilities of profitable investment" (Rane 1916, 121). Clarke died of pneumonia in 1915 and did not live to see the state legislature vote down the proposition to acquire the mountain in 1916. Espousing a utilitarian standpoint, they determined that it was not of high commercial worth and that they already had many public parks across Massachusetts. Although local residents espoused a preservationist standpoint and disagreed, the state did not think at the time that the value of Mount Holyoke was great enough economically to justify its acquisition, in terms of the natural resources that could be extracted and the need for additional public recreational facilities.

After this letdown and the passing of Christopher Clarke from pneumonia, the other shareholders of the nearly bankrupt Mount Holyoke Company agreed to sell their shares to Joseph Allen Skinner (Graci 1985). Skinner, who bought the mountain to save it from going to auction, became its sole proprietor for the next twenty-four years. He spent

[10] Of note in the State Forester's report is reference to chestnut trees. He wrote that the chestnut was the primary type of tree on Mount Holyoke, but that 97% of them were already infested with chestnut blight. "It is safe to assume that within two years nearly every chestnut tree on the reserve will be killed," he wrote (Rane 1916, 114) . He recommended that, while they still have commercial value as lumber, they should be harvested and utilized. The chestnut today is a critically endangered species, and there are no chestnuts on Mount Holyoke.

much of his own money, earned through his silk manufacturing ventures, on improvements. Skinner quickly removed all of the dying chestnut trees, using them for their remaining economic value, and reforested the mountain with white birch. Suffering financially during the Great Depression, he tried to sell it to the state for $40,000 in 1936 and again in 1937, offering a lower price of $30,000 (E. J. Dean 1936; 1937). The Commissioner of Conservation, Ernest Dean, presented two special reports to the state congress in 1936 and 1937 related to acquiring Mount Holyoke. In the first report, he wrote that the Mount Holyoke Range "represents one of the most unusual and impressive natural land formations in New England" and that Mount Holyoke is one of the most attractive segments of the range (E. J. Dean 1936, 7). He also acknowledged the "considerable interest and desire on the part of many citizens that the Mount Holyoke area be purchased and preserved by the Commonwealth" (E. J. Dean 1936, 3) and submitted with the report letters of support from community organizations such as the Springfield Council Parent-Teachers Association. Ultimately, Dean recommended that Mount Holyoke should be acquired by the state eventually, but there were other more pressing needs for recreational areas in other locations of the State, and he did not recommend purchase at that time. Again, Mount Holyoke was passed up due to a perceived need for state parks in other locations, primarily areas around Boston in the eastern half of Massachusetts.

These early refusals on the part of the state to take responsibility for Mount Holyoke inform the feelings expressed by residents in Western Massachusetts that their natural resources are overlooked and neglected by Boston, a sentiment still shared by

many today. These feelings were exacerbated in 1938 when residents of four Western Massachusetts towns were forced out of their homes so that the state could build the Quabbin Reservoir. Dana, Enfield, Greenwich, and Prescott were disincorporated and flooded to create a water supply for the Boston area. Antagonism between Western Massachusetts and Boston perhaps goes as far back as Shays' Rebellion in the 1780s.[11]

Joseph Allen Skinner eventually decided to gift Mount Holyoke to the state, donating 375 acres of land in Hadley and South Hadley to the Massachusetts Department of Conservation in 1939 (Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation 2013). The property was worth about $75,000 total, including the land and the structures (Graci 1985, 80). Skinner gave only one condition related to the naming of the new park. The state accepted the land and the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park was dedicated in 1940. Most of Mount Holyoke is today still part of the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park, although some tracts of land are privately owned. The rest of the mountain range is today part of the Mount Holyoke Range State Park, which was not established until four decades later.[12] Mount Holyoke, therefore, became a publicly-owned reservation, not because of efforts by the state, but because the private owner willingly turned it over, motivated by community support for establishing a public park and eager to give up financial responsibility for it. Prices for timber on the mountain had decreased and at the

---

[11] Daniel Shays led several thousand rebels in an uprising against the state government, which was increasing taxes and foreclosing farms due to a debt crisis at the end of the Revolutionary War. Legend has it that some of Daniel Shays' men hid out after their defeat in the Horse Caves on Mount Norwottuck, in the Mount Holyoke Range.

[12] Confusingly, the Mount Holyoke Range State Park is sometimes referred to as the Mount Holyoke State Park. Note that Mount Holyoke is not part of the Mount Holyoke Range State Park, but rather the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park.

time there was not much development pressure in the area, which had not yet become suburban in the way that it would be thirty years later. Throughout the 1940s, hiking trails were passively maintained but the Department of Conservation put in "limited personnel and funding" to the upkeep of the new park (Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management 1989, 3).

Skinner State Park received increased attention and care in the 1950s, overlapping with the post-war maturation of the environmental movement and an emphasis on outdoor recreation discussed in the previous section. In 1953, the Massachusetts Department of Conservation was reorganized into the Department of Natural Resources. This sparked "renewed interest in expansion and development of the Holyoke Range" (Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management 1989, 3). A 1955 report from the Massachusetts Conservation Committee references a proposed piece of legislation to authorize the Commissioner of Natural Resources to sell a portion of the land in Skinner State Park to Mitchell Drozdal, long-time owner of nearby Mitch's Marina. The bill was turned down, with the explanation that the "Department intends to spend a considerable amount in improving Skinner State Park for public use, and it does not seem wise to dispose of any property connected with this park at this time" (*Report on the Joint Standing Committee on Conservation Sitting in Recess* 1955, 15). It wasn't until 1957, seventeen years after the park was established, that recreational facilities like parking areas were developed (Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation 2013). The next year, the Department of Natural Resources presented to the Massachusetts state senate a comprehensive plan for acquiring and developing land across the state. In the

report were two entries in the Holyoke Range, abutting the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park. One was a proposal for a long-term acquisition plan of 8,560 acres of land on the Mount Holyoke Range and the other referred to a 260-acre parcel of land that "should be acquired immediately, since development is taking place in this area at the present time. Provision should be made for picnicking, hiking, and scenic overlooks" (*Report of an Inventory and Plan for Development of the Natural Resources of Massachusetts* 1958, 18). The increased attention and sense of urgency towards protecting the Mount Holyoke Range in the 1950s closely maps onto nationwide trends towards environmentalism and anxieties about urban sprawl. Across Southern New England, auto-dependent development was consuming large areas of farmland and forests as "cookie-cutter subdivisions" and commercial strip malls multiplied (O'Connell 2013, 225).

In the 1960s, residents who lived close to Mount Holyoke rallied around blocking the paving of new highways near the mountain. Between 1960 and 1967, Interstate 91 was extended north through Massachusetts, connecting Connecticut and Vermont. The highway was going to run along the eastern side of the Connecticut River in this segment, at the base of Mount Holyoke.[13] During my research, I met locals who had family members involved in protesting road placement. Wayne Buckhout has spent most of his life living at the base of Mount Holyoke. I met Wayne at one of the summer concerts at the Summit House and interviewed him and his wife Sandi in their South Hadley home.

[13] Interstate-91 was going to remain on the western side of the river from Harford, Connecticut through Massachusetts. Politicians in Springfield, however, rallied to have the highway cross over to the eastern side in order to pass right by their city. After this change, I-91 was then going to pass between Mount Holyoke and the river. Advocates further north from Springfield lobbied to have the highway cross back over the river to avoid Mount Holyoke. It therefore crosses over the Connecticut River twice to accommodate both of these groups.

Wayne's parents organized to prevent the highway from passing between the river and Mount Holyoke. He said, "Route 91 was supposed to come on this side of the river and my parents and my uncle and a whole mess of other people fought against it and got it on the other side." The highway was constructed on the western side of the Connecticut River, where it instead impacted the eastern edge of the Mount Tom State Reservation (Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation 2013). Route 116, which now bisects the Mount Holyoke Range at a natural gap called "the Notch," was planned for the same route as the original proposal for I-91, looping around the western side of Mount Holyoke where the less-trafficked Route 47 is (Figure 4.1). Denise Barstow is a seventh-generation farmer in her late twenties who grew up and still lives at the base of Mount Holyoke. I first met Denise at Kestrel Land Trust, where she was working as their Community Engagement and Regional Conservation Coordinator, and interviewed her at her family's farm, where she also works. Denise shared that her family members were involved in relocating this road. "They were talking about putting 116 through here instead of through the Notch... all of our neighbors really fought that," she said. "And I think that if 116 came through here, this whole landscape would be different, this farm probably wouldn't be here anymore. Because the development value would've been so much higher." Denise appreciates that the alternative placement of the road enabled their corner of the mountain to keep property value in check so that people wouldn't move there and they could keep farming the land. Although I-91 and Route 116 were relocated away from the immediate vicinity of Mount Holyoke, they both still impacted state parks.

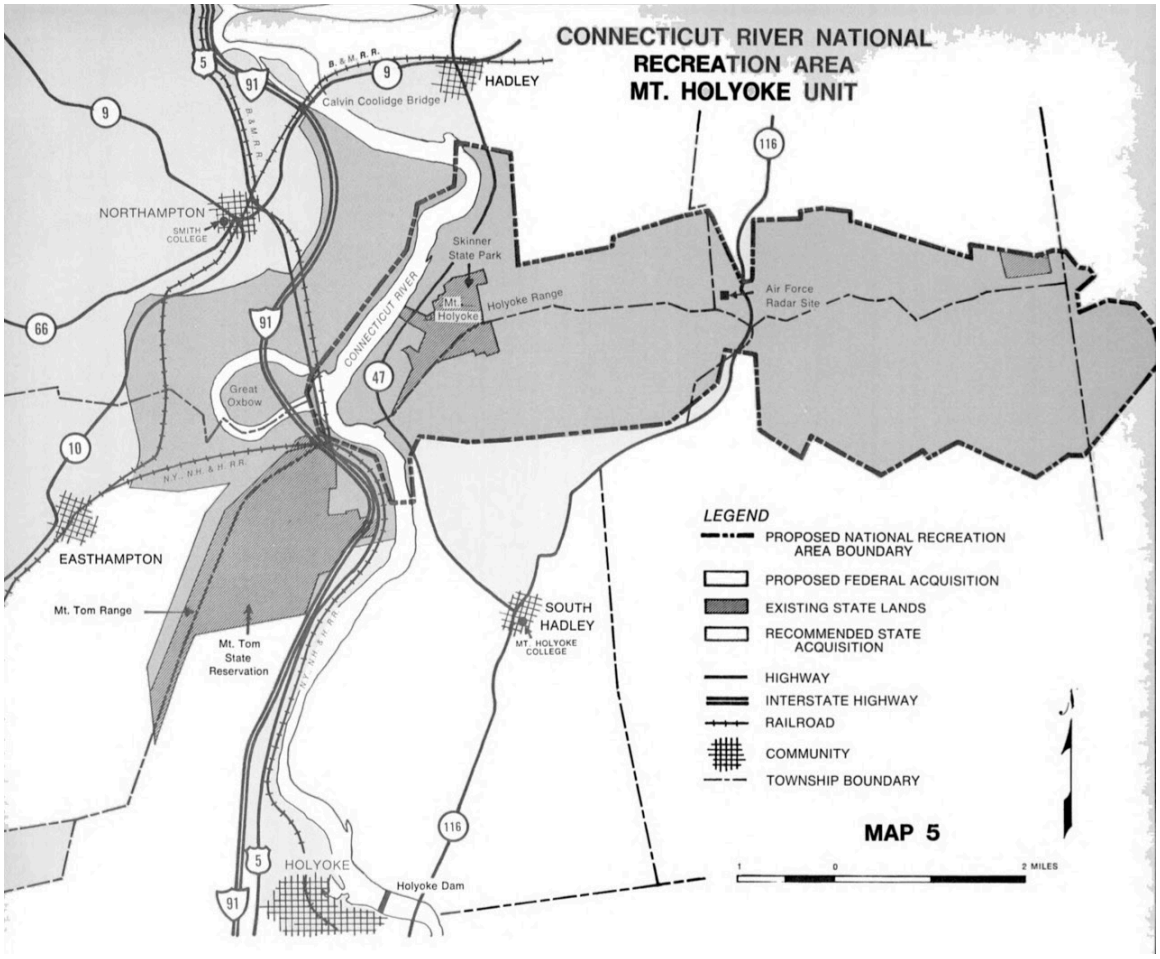

Figure 4.1. Map of the proposed Mt. Holyoke Unit of the Connecticut River National Recreation Area (United States Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1968, 43).

In 1961, the South Hadley Conservation Society, Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources, and the New England Regional Office of the National Park Service collaborated to conduct a survey on the national and historic resources of the Holyoke Range (R. L. Johnson and Foster 1962). A few years later, Senator Ribicoff of Connecticut led a major effort to create a Connecticut River National Recreation Area. In 1966, the United States Congress passed legislation to "authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the feasibility and desirability" of a National Recreation Area along a

corridor around 400 miles of the Connecticut River, from its source in New Hampshire, through Vermont and Massachusetts to its mouth in Connecticut ("Public Law 89-616" 1966). The Bureau of Outdoor Reaction conducted the study over two years and published the results in 1968. Edward Crafts, the Director of the Bureau, recommended that Congress authorize a three-unit National Recreation Area—the central one being the Mt. Holyoke Unit—to be administered by the National Park Service (United States Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1968). The Mt. Holyoke Unit would be around 12,000 total acres, including the existing 500 acres of the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park (Figure 4.1). Of this total acreage, 85% were held in private ownership. While the proposal allowed for families to continue farming and living on the land for the time being, it included a phased plan whereby parcels would be taken by the state or conservation restrictions would be applied by eminent domain.[14] The report mentioned "population pressures" from the nearby cities of Springfield, Holyoke, and Chicopee, which combined had a population of half a million people, which "threaten to engulf scenic vistas" (United States Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1968, 42).

In 1969, Representative Silvio O. Conte of Massachusetts and Senator Ribicoff introduced legislation to implement this plan for a new National Recreation Area in Congress and the Senate, respectively. Citizens of all four states that the Connecticut River National Recreation Area would span reacted negatively to the proposal. In 1970, a public hearing on the proposal was held in South Hadley. A "hostile overflow crowd of

[14] Eminent domain is a government's legal right to take control of private property for public use, providing fair compensation.

400 people" showed up to denounce the proposal, objecting to the plan to phase out homes and farmland (Curtis 1975). Neither the property owners nor the municipalities which would be seriously affected by the proposal were involved in the development of the plan, which came down from above. Concerned about ecology, people were worried that increased levels of recreation would degrade the environment. At the hearing, some held placards that read "conservation not recreation." This meeting took place the same year of the first Earth Day and the founding of the EPA; the residents of South Hadley and surrounding towns embraced environmental and ecological values increasingly reflected in the American public at large. Gregory Curtis (1975) wrote soon after the proposal was completely shut down that it failed because state and local governments were not consulted in the preparation of the feasibility study. There was a fundamental disagreement between the goals of Congress, centered on recreation, and the concerns of local residents, who prioritized preservation and who feared destruction by overuse.[15]

The local residents' stance reveals underlying beliefs about personal property, resistance to top-down decision-making, and anxieties about outsiders coming to recreate in their backyards. As discussed in Chapter 3, people have already been coming to recreate around Mount Holyoke since the late eighteenth century. However, these visitors were overwhelmingly white and middle-to-upper class. The new fear that the creation of a National Recreation Area would result in the destruction by overuse is imbued with

[15] The National Park Service reassessed the creation of a Connecticut Valley National Recreation Area during a Connecticut River Valley Special Resource Reconnaissance Study in the mid-1990s. The 1998 report of the study was unequivocal in the lack of interest by NPS in creating an NRA in the Connecticut River Valley (National Park Service 1998a). There was no public demand and implementation of a plan would be completely unrealistic, especially in light of the failure of the 1960s proposal.

class and racial bias. The new visitors who would come to the newly established and promoted recreation area would presumably come from urban areas. These non-white or working-class visitors would presumably not know how to properly appreciate the scenery or behave in the outdoors. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, which advocated for the creation of the Connecticut River NRA, was set up with the explicit goal of creating federal sites of outdoor recreation closer to urban populations, in contrast to the existing National Parks which were located mostly in rural areas in the West (Sprinkle 2019b). This initiative resulted in the National Park Service establishing many urban National Recreation Areas in the 1970s, including Gateway NRA near New York City, Golden Gate NRA in the San Francisco Bay Area, and Santa Monica Mountains NRA near Los Angeles. In the wider social context, these initiatives were taking place in the aftermath of urban uprisings such as those following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. All three of the proposed units of the Connecticut River NRA encountered local opposition because the overwhelmingly white populations in these areas did not want any part of this emerging federal urban agenda.

Concurrently, the Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources had established a Citizens' Advisory Committee in 1969, with representatives from six towns. This Committee supported the publication of a 1973 plan for protecting the Holyoke Range which guided the state's approach to land acquisition throughout the decade. Informed by concerns raised by the federal effort to create a National Recreation Area, the emphasis on this plan was conservation and preservation, not recreation (Carr 2009). In 1974, the state body was again renamed the Department of Environmental

Management (DEM). DEM began concertedly acquiring privately owned land on the Holyoke Range beginning in 1975; between then and 1989, around 3,000 acres were protected via purchase or easement (Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management 1989). In 1988, DEM published a document called GOALS: Guidelines for Operations and Land Stewardship. In it, the organization laid out a ten-year plan to continue to acquire and protect land on the Mount Holyoke Range. The stated intentions were to develop land for recreational purposes, to protect rare species and enhance wildlife habitat, and to promote citizen involvement. "The entire mountain range possesses exceptional natural, scenic, historic, and recreational values which merit careful stewardship and wise use," it says in the GOALs document, which laid out plans to zone land according to four categories of unique resources, environmental protection, natural resource management, and developed areas (Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management 1988, 2). Although now the sale of commercial timber from state forests is no longer allowed, the philosophy and most of the goals presented in this 1988 document remain relevant (Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation 2013).

There are two organizations that formed in the late twentieth century that have played and continue to play a major role in conservation on Mount Holyoke. Inspired by the first Earth Day, the Kestrel Trust (now called the Kestrel Land Trust) was formed in 1970 by Amherst residents who were part of the first Town Conservation Commission (DeBoer 2021). In our interview, John Sinton, an environmental conservationist in his eighties, described Kestrel and the land use trust concept more generally as "products of

the general environmental movements… a reflection of the national trend." What began as an all-volunteer organization in one town has grown over the decades to employ full-time staff and encompass surrounding towns. The growth of Kestrel reflects the professionalization of environmental activists over the past five decades. John and his wife Wendy, interviewed in Kestrel's newsletter, *Your Valley,* called the organization "the beating heart of our conservation community" ("Why We Conserve the Valley We Love" 2019, 7). Kestrel's initiatives reflect other recent trends in the environmental movement, such as an increasing concern for diversity and inclusion. Another local organization that is involved in land protection is the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, entirely composed of volunteers. The group, which formed in 1982, is "dedicated to the preservation of the Mount Holyoke Range through land conservation, natural history education, recreational activities and cultural events" (Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range 2017). The Friends are involved in efforts to both conserve the environment and preserve and interpret the historic sites on Mount Holyoke; in this chapter, I will focus on their role in land conservation efforts, while Chapter 5 will treat their involvement in historic preservation. When Pat, the organization's Chairperson, introduced the goals of the group at their annual meeting which I attended in November 2019, she said that their "passion is land acquisition." The Friends assist "environmental groups and state agencies purchase land for conservation" (Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range 2017). They provide volunteers, advocacy, and funds to the state and to Kestrel in order to facilitate conservation on the Mount Holyoke Range.

A recent significant environmental threat to Mount Holyoke happened in 1999 when Bercume Development proposed to build a 1,000-foot four-lane road leading to a new neighborhood of forty to sixty luxury homes about half a mile east of the Summit House, right outside the bounds of the Skinner State Park (Walsh 2000). Ron Bercume was in negotiations to purchase a 106-acre tract of forest that included a former quarry from a private owner, Camella World Peace. He already had over 30 people interested in buying the homes, which would cost around $500,000 each (The Associated Press 2000). I spoke with Judy Eiseman, who has been an environmental activist in Massachusetts since the 1970s, about this development threat. Judy served on the board of the Kestrel Land Trust between 1986 and 2016 and was chairing the organization in 1999. "There was a meeting called," she said, "and it was having these folks who were upset about the idea that there was going to be a development on this side of the mountain." John Sinton recounted that "suddenly a group from nowhere came together" to protest the development. I recount these protest efforts by weaving information gleaned from newspaper articles written at the time, the recollections of people I interviewed who were involved in the effort, and archived organizational websites.

Save the Mountain was a self-proclaimed "diverse, grassroots citizens' group" that coalesced in November 1999. The group formed "in response to a sudden specific threat to the Mt Holyoke Range, a planned purchase of mountainside land and proposal for a huge subdivision of large homes," it says on the organization's now-defunct website, which I accessed through the Wayback Machine (STM 2001). The website was created in 2000 by a 15-year-old Hadley resident who lived at the foot of the mountain in

a house built in 1929. “I love nature,” the teenage webmaster said to a reporter at the time, “and it’s just going to be so destructive to everything, to the view, to people who come to hike there” (Walsh 2000). Many children were mobilized by this issue; they cared about the environment and the habitats of animals, especially those endangered. In the same article, a 10-year-old is quoted saying, “I think it’s stupid and it’s going to ruin the Connecticut River watershed. It will change the whole Holyoke Range and make it look like another bedroom town.” A fifth-grader objected to the development saying that it was just being done for money. “Money is just man-made stuff, and Mount Holyoke is a beautiful, real thing,” said the child. The 18-year-old Senior Class President of Hopkins Academy spoke up at a town meeting. “I trust that the Planning Board will not let our peaceful environment be ruined and destroyed forever,” he said (Walsh 2000). Quoted in a different article from 2000, the Senior Class President said, “Should this proposal pass, history will be lost and our identity will be lost. The mountain symbolizes the strength of this community” (The Associated Press 2000).

Around 3,000 area residents signed petitions against the development, and around the same number of people showed up to a Planning Board meeting. Of those thousands, only one person spoke up in favor of the development—the project surveyor attending on behalf of Bercume Development (Walsh 2000). “Public response was overwhelming,” it said on the group’s homepage. “Hundreds of citizens flooded their officials and media with letters and calls, attended and testified at hearings, contributed time and money, and helped in countless other ways” (STM 2001). Judy hired a design team to create a mock-up of what the side of Mount Holyoke would look like with “a reasonable, not a

hysteria-inducing development proposal" that ran in a local newspaper. Save the Mountain formed partnerships with state and local governments and conservation groups and, through their advocacy and fund-raising, stopped the development. Inspired by the activism of the group, Jean Beard, an Amherst resident, donated several hundred thousand dollars to the state to purchase the land, which was added to the Skinner State Park. The state took the parcel of land by eminent domain, blocking Bercume Development from purchasing it. Beard is quoted in a news article from the time saying that she was inspired by the "passion of those involved in this extensive grassroots effort to join and work together on behalf of a common cause" (Lederman 2000). Community and local government groups cooperated to conserve land on Mount Holyoke, "something no federal recreation plan ever managed to achieve" (Carr 2009, 354).[16]

Save the Mountain proclaimed to not be anti-development, but rather advocated for responsible development. "We do not believe that putting houses on the slopes of the most beautiful and prominent natural feature of our valley, the Mt. Holyoke Range, is responsible development by any stretch of the definition!" (STM 2000). They do not specify where exactly they thought development was acceptable in Hadley. The mission of the organization was "to protect the Mount Holyoke Range (including its ecosystem and its view) from harm caused by unwise development, and to maintain the range as a regional environmental, geological, archeological and recreational resource" (STM 2000). Their aims match closely with Adam Rome's (2001) accounts of protests against

[16] The Town of Hadley passed a zoning bylaw to prevent construction above 350 feet above sea level, which would restrict future mountain-side developments, but the restriction was too late to affect the Bercume development which was already under way.

suburban housing developments in the 1950s and 60s on the grounds of protecting ecology and the view. It also reflects a division between beautiful natural areas that should be protected and other areas where development is acceptable, which William Cronon warned was an outcome of the false human-nature dichotomy. Many of the people who protested this development live in homes near or at the base of the Mount Holyoke Range and some families have occupied their homes since the 1700s. They see themselves as legitimate dwellers in this landscape but object to others moving into new, luxury homes.

The active membership of Save the Mountain were progressives who were also politically active in civil rights and peace movements. They formed strong coalitions with the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range and Kestrel and managed to rally conservative groups, like hunters in Hadley, towards the cause (Mohamed 2003). Shel Horowitz, a co-founder of Save the Mountain said in a newspaper article published at the time that they weren't going anywhere. "Just because we organized around this parcel, we're looking at long-term strategies" (Lederman 2000). Although there was a massive outpouring of public support for this issue, the group did not mobilize around further issues and eventually stopped maintaining their website. This is in line with histories of grassroots environmental activists which tend to organize around single issues (Gottlieb 2005). When I asked Sandi during our interview if she thinks young people today might be invested in a movement to save Mount Holyoke, she wasn't sure. Sandi mentioned that since there are currently no active crises or threats on Mount Holyoke, there is

nothing to rally around. “I kind of wonder if it became a crisis like it has a couple of times before where everybody had to rally, would they rally in the end?” she asked.

However, the Save the Mountain movement did garner enough momentum to keep offshoots of the group going in some form for about five more years. Additional motivation came when, in 2000, Scenic America accepted a nomination submitted by local advocates and named the Mount Holyoke and Mount Tom Ranges as one of ten endangered “Last Chance Landscapes” in the nation.[17] Scenic America is a non-profit that exists to protect America’s visual character. In their mission statement, the organization proclaims that “America’s beauty and community character are being obliterated by a steel curtain of visual spam… Change is inevitable. Ugliness is not” (Scenic America 2021). Their mission is entirely about visual beauty, conceptualizing nature as exclusively an amenity for humans. Scenic America prioritizes pastoral areas and “wilderness,” denigrating urban areas and traces of modernity, like telecommunication towers. Determining what makes a beautiful landscape is subjective and such aesthetic determinations subtly reinforce class and racial constructs.

Following Save the Mountain’s success and the “Last Chance Landscape” designation, a group led by Judy Eiseman, John Sinton, and others held the “Summit on the Range,” a day-long public workshop in 2001. Out of the Summit on the Range workshop came a “Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) for Protection of the Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke Ranges,” signed by seven municipalities, the Massachusetts

[17] In 2000, Scenic America also named the entire state of Colorado as a “Last Chance Landscape” (Scenic America 2001).

Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, and a range of environmental and land trust organizations including the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range and Kestrel. The MOA referenced the "Last Chance Landscape" designation and the "Summit on the Range." The signatories agreed to form a Summit Land Use Task Force and work cooperatively to protect the mountain ranges, the "unique attributes and vital natural resources" of which "are key components in defining the community character and quality of life" in the surrounding towns (Town of Amherst 2003). Another result of the workshop was the formation of the Connecticut Valley Summit, a citizen action project composed of professional and amateur volunteers coordinated by Kestrel to promote land conservation and community preservation. The CT Valley Summit declared 2004 "The Year of the Range." They hosted a photography contest called "Focusing on the Range" exhibiting all photographs submitted by professionals and amateurs, children and adults alike. They produced a half-hour film with the same title that was made and distributed by WGBY Springfield (*Focusing on the Range* 2005). In 2003, the Department of Environmental Management changed names again to the Department of Conservation and Recreation.[18]

The controversy over the Bercume Development raised awareness about how much land on the Mount Holyoke Range remained in private hands and was therefore at risk of future development. Although Save the Mountain, the CT Valley Summit, and the working groups that arose from the 2001 Summit on the Range are no longer active, the Kestrel Land Trust and the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range continue to protect the

[18] The Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation oversees the state's natural, cultural, and recreational resources. Along with the Department of Environmental Protection, it is a constituent department of the state's Executive Office of Environmental Affairs, founded in 1975.

mountains by acquiring land or conservation restrictions. While Kestrel works on projects around the valley, the Mount Holyoke Range is a high-priority area. As of my December 2019 interview with Kristen DeBoer, of the 16,000 acres on the range, 11,000 were conserved, Kestrel was actively working on the next 1,000, and would then tackle the remaining 4,000. Kristin is Kestrel's Executive Director, serving in the role since 2006. She first came to Kestrel as a volunteer in 2000 and then became their first part-time employee. In our interview, Kristin described the goals and methods of the organization.

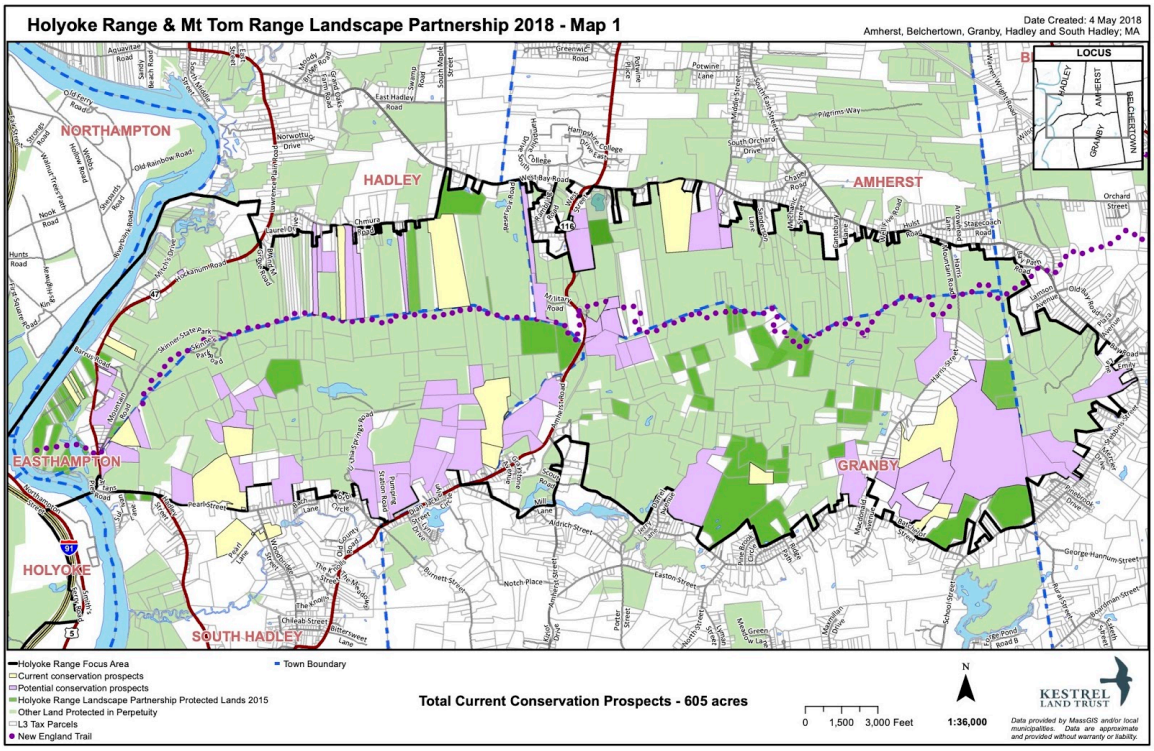

Figure 4.2. Kestrel Land Trust map from 2018 showing the Holyoke Range Focus Area, outlined in black. Parcels in green are protected in perpetuity (dark green parcels more recently protected as part of a 2015 effort), yellow are sites of current conservation effort as of 2018, and in pink are potential conservation prospects. Courtesy Kestrel Land Trust.

Most often, Kestrel buys not the land itself but the conservation restrictions, for around 80% of the cost of the land. People retain ownership of their parcel, but Kestrel owns the

conservation rights in perpetuity so that no one can ever develop there. Kestrel recognizes that many rely on their land financially. For some elderly people, it may be their only or largest asset. They try to compensate them with nearly as much money as they would get from selling the land to developers. Kestrel takes the same tactics with the developers themselves, buying land off them so they can walk away with nearly as much money as they would have earned developing the land, but they do not have to actually build anything. The Mount Holyoke Range is today a complex patchwork of land parcels protected in perpetuity within the bounds of the state parks or through other conservation restrictions as well as unprotected private property (Figure 4.2).

Working with the Town of Hadley, Kestrel conserved 320 acres in the range in November 2019. A laminated paper sign stapled onto a wooden pole staked by the entrance to a trail on Mount Holyoke in October 2019 urged Hadley residents to attend a town meeting to vote to conserve the parcel "for public recreation and forest conservation." I attended the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range Annual Meeting held on the same night as the Town of Hadley voted on these 320 acres. Pat, the Chairperson of the organization, encouraged any Hadley residents to go to the Town Hall to vote. She held up a map of the range and pointed to the parcel under question, explaining that even though it is currently a recreation area, it is still at risk of development. This would make it "permanently untouchable," Pat said. Denise Barstow attended the Hadley Town Meeting that night. "It was remarkably easy," she said. "I thought there was going to be more confusion but I think it passed almost unanimously." Just one person was confused about whether or not they could use their snowmobile on the land, which she could. You

just can't use an ATV, but you can fish and hunt and "do everything you want," said Denise. Kestrel announced a new Landscape Partnership Project in October 2020 to permanently protect 583 acres via conservation restrictions in Hadley, South Hadley, and Amherst owned by a private family, the Town of Hadley, and Amherst College. Kristen DeBoer has prioritized ecological conservation and is quoted in the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* saying, "In the face of climate change, there's even more urgency to ensure that critical wildlife lands are connected to allow animals safe passage to find water and food" (Merzbach 2020). In the next section, I will delve in further to explore how the natural environment is perceived on Mount Holyoke, drawing on ethnographic data of participant observation and interviews with casual visitors and dedicated conservationists alike.

Perceptions of Nature on Mount Holyoke

On Mount Holyoke, nature is often talked about as a space that one can go to, separate from the human world. I met Christine and Allen one June day in 2019 on the summit. Christine, a teacher at a high school in Springfield, was facilitating a field trip. Her husband, Allen, had come along to help chaperone. I spoke to them at a picnic table while their students painted at another table nearby. Quoted in the epigraph of this chapter, Christine remarked that she feels "more whole" and "more complete as a human" when she can be in nature and interact with dirt, the breeze, and the bugs. She contrasts this with "our artificial human world where those things don't happen." Allen expressed that Mount Holyoke is meaningful to him because "even though we're in a more developed area, you can still get out and see what nature really was." He uses the

past tense, implying that Mount Holyoke is a place to glimpse the natural world of the past, not our present. Christine, Allen, and others perceive the natural environment on the mountain as mutually exclusive from the human world, somewhere people can go to experience both nature and personal growth. Their comments espouse a false dualism between the natural and the human world and are remarkably similar to John Muir's sentiments from 1901 of mountains as fountains of life for "over-civilized" people.

In the subsections below, I draw from ethnographic data with visitors to Mount Holyoke, both long-term and casual. Through my analysis of how visitors talk about the more-than-human, I have identified that the creation of a sense of place coalesces around two themes. One is the mentally and physically therapeutic effects of being in nature and the other is the exceptional character of the natural resources on Mount Holyoke. The conception of a human-nature dichotomy both reinforces and is reinforced by these perceptions. Mount Holyoke is perceived as a place where nature can be "truly" experienced. This is also linked to aesthetic and cultural judgments about what makes a scenery beautiful, such as the image of the landscape as Arcadia discussed in Chapter 3. The therapeutic benefits of being in nature have indeed been demonstrated by psychologists and the unique flora, fauna, and geology on Mount Holyoke documented by naturalists. I argue, however, that it is primarily personal associations, feelings, and cherished memories that make Mount Holyoke a special—rather than ordinary—landscape, and which inform the creation of a sense of place.

Therapeutic Effects of Nature

On Mount Holyoke, visitors experience the therapeutic health benefits of being in nature. Nature can have a relaxing effect on humans; even looking at a photograph of plants while indoors has been shown to have positive benefits (Jo, Song, and Miyazaki 2019). Experiences with nature have been shown to relieve stress, positively influence mood, and promote learning (Kuo, Barnes, and Jordan 2019). There is a growing body of literature, primarily from East Asia, on the physiological and psychological effects of Shinrin-Yoku, or Forest Bathing (Hansen, Jones, and Tocchini 2017; Song, Ikei, and Miyazaki 2016). I met Gretchen and her husband Joel at one of the concerts at the Summit House and interviewed them in their home. Gretchen and Joel, who are in their seventies, live in a neighborhood at the base of the Mount Holyoke Range; they moved to Amherst in 2018 to be closer to their grandchildren. Gretchen directly invoked this Japanese concept of Forest Bathing when talking about her experiences hiking on Mount Holyoke. "Basically it means being cleansed by the forest," she said. "And I feel that every time I go…to me it's a wonderful feeling." Both casual and long-time visitors to Mount Holyoke referenced the therapeutic effects of being in the natural environment. People talked about experiencing peace and quiet, contemplative thought, and feelings of spirituality. In contrast to the discussion of the iconic, Arcadian view from Mount Holyoke in Chapter 3, which foregrounded vision, here smells, sounds, touch, and activation of these senses other than sight are as important to facilitating nature's healing properties.

Nature is a place where Gretchen, a Quaker, can engage with her "spiritual life." She said that she finds that being in nature brings her "closer to the Creator, the essence, the whatever that surrounds us." "It's very important to me to have the opportunity to be in a beautiful natural environment," she went on. "I can't imagine being separated from beauty in the natural world." This is an aesthetic judgment and likely linked to the importance of the vision-oriented Arcadian view of the landscape explored in Chapter 3. For them, sensory stimulations beyond vision form the experience of Forest Bathing. Gretchen elaborated on smells she notices on the trails. "Certainly smell in the fall with the leaves starting to decay," she said. "It's that kind of musty wonderful leaf smell and there, occasionally, you'll get a little pine scent although the hemlocks don't give off as much smell." Gretchen is able to identify the smells of specific types of trees. Joel mentioned "the feel of the wind" and "the sound of birds, of course." Gretchen talked about "the sound of the wind." "If it's a windy day, you can just hear the power of all the trees like going, creaking, and moving." They also said that the sounds of other people talking and socializing form the soundscape on the summit of Mount Holyoke. The presence of other people was presented neutrally, not as an intrusion on the scene. "Everybody is delighted," Joel said. Gretchen and Joel feel that their identity as Quakers influences how they perceive nature and interact with the environment. Their desire to be in nature is driven in part by their spiritual outlooks and the therapeutic benefits they derive.

Martha, who is in her fifties, has been going to Mount Holyoke since she was a teenager, and who married her wife on the summit, also connected her experiences hiking

there to the spiritual. “I just get something,” she said, “you know that sort of spiritual feeling you get in nature. I like to hike by myself, you know, I like the quiet.” For Martha, her ability to hear the soundscape of the natural environment is crucial to the experience. “I would never have headphones in or something, I just like to hear how quiet it is,” she explained. Martha also talked about tactile engagements with trees and rocks on the mountain. “I like to touch the trees when I hike, I just sort of touch them on the way by,” she said. Martha also loves the rocks. “They’re different than a lot of other places… they’re flat and the way they break away. So it’s a whole different feel and sound walking on them.” Like Gretchen and Joel, for Martha, the therapeutic and spiritual benefits of being out in nature are linked to the activation of the senses.

Wayne Bukhout, who lives at the base of the mountain and who, along with his wife and parents, is an advocate for preservation and conservation on Mount Holyoke, enjoys taking in the soundscape of the mountain. “I love solitude. I love hearing all the insects around me and just nature doing its thing,” he said. “And I don’t want people in that space, so to speak.” For Wayne, other visitors are not part of his ideal aural environment, and humans are not a part of nature. “Silence is one of the biggest things I listen to,” Barbara[19] said. “‘Cause it’s hard to find, is real silence. So I think that’s the main thing that I notice is how quiet it is compared to other places.” Listening for “silence” and for “nature doing its thing” is a skill, an ability to tune in to the sounds of a non-human nature. As a park interpreter, Barbara delivers public forest programs. She did one called “The Hidden Forest” and was developing another called “The Living Forest.”

[19] This is a pseudonym.

“And the theme is kind of listening to trees,” she explained. Barbara teaches people how to listen to the forest. In my own field notes, I found references to a variety of different sounds and noises recorded over the summer and fall of 2019. I jotted down notes about hearing the wind rustling in the trees, the chirping of insects, and bird calls. On the summit, I listened to the scraping of a metal grill, the loud whirring of a weed whacker, and children playing. I also heard a propeller prop plane, a military helicopter, a fighter jet, a far-off train, and the constant hum of I-91. Finding the quiet involves selectively tuning out these other noises. Or perhaps, as Barbara mentions, it is the lack of sounds “compared to other places” that make Mount Holyoke seem so quiet.

Allen, who is a resident of Springfield and a casual visitor, feels more peaceful on Mount Holyoke. “I can feel all the blood pressure going down, and be relaxed.” Other than mosquitoes, he loves the coolness of the air and feels like “the breathing is cleaner.” Another Springfield resident, Moe, also feels more relaxed on the mountain and comes to look at nature away from people. “Relaxing, good vibes,” he said of his feelings on the mountain. It takes “all the stress away… Yeah, the breeze, natural breeze. You know, natural. And um, everybody’s calm. It’s nice.” For Moe, the wind on the mountain is more “natural” than any gusts in the city. He said that the landscape reminded him of his home back in Lebanon, from which he moved to Springfield in 2005. Several others cited the feel of the breeze. Andrea, a woman I briefly met on the mountain who was out on a summer afternoon hike with her children, mentioned the “crisp air and the cool breeze.” Steve said that the air “seems different.” “There’s usually a breeze and it seems cooler up there,” he said. Steve notices the sky and the clouds but doesn’t take note of the trees as

much. He said, “I guess there is some vegetation around there, I don’t pay too much attention to it.” The relaxing feeling, or “good vibes,” on Mount Holyoke is attributed to the cool, natural breeze. The breeze, which is perceived as different out in nature versus in suburban or urban locations, is primarily felt on the body, inhaled into the lungs, and heard rustling the leaves.

Environmental Exceptionality

In addition to these therapeutic effects of nature, Mount Holyoke is a location where people have what they describe as unique interactions with the natural world. Mount Holyoke is perceived as a location of environmental exceptionality, a place to experience the natural world not possible elsewhere. What makes Mount Holyoke exceptional to people are their experiences and memories that they have on the mountain, more so than knowledge of the mountain’s particular geological and arboreal features. The espousal of a dichotomy between the human and the natural predisposes people to these special, or “magical” interactions with nature while on Mount Holyoke. In this section, I describe the ways in which people talk about their memories on Mount Holyoke of astronomical phenomena, like the moonrise and sunset, storms, trees and their fall foliage, rocks and geological formations, and birdwatching.

I met Bette at one of the summer concerts in 2019, and later met up with her for an interview on the campus of Amherst College, where she works. She mused that she has never noticed any bugs or mosquitos on Mount Holyoke. “That’s how magical it is,” she said. Gretchen expressed a similar sentiment. “There weren’t even very many mosquitos when we were at the concert. I was surprised. We brought insect repellent and

everything." The perceived lack of irksome insects on Mount Holyoke makes it exceptional, or "magical." Several others in addition to Bette invoked the concept of magic to describe the mountain. Gwen Clancy, who grew up hiking on Mount Holyoke but who currently lives in Nevada, wanted to know what the contemporary visitors say about the mountain. "Do they say it's sort of magical?" she asked. (Gwen made a documentary to save the Summit House building in 1975, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 5.) Hattie Finkel, a board member of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range in her late 60s, said that areas of her favorite hiking trail "are just magical… really like a painting." Dave recounted an early experience visiting Mount Holyoke while he was a student at Hampshire College in the 1970s. Tripping on LSD, Dave went up to the summit with some friends. "There was something about the mountain and the way the very tops of the rocks push up through the dirt and the grass, you know, to remind you you're on this mountain," he said. "There's something very magical and ethereal about it all." Mount Holyoke is for these long-time visitors magical, a location that they know well but which seems mysterious or too amazing to be real. For many like Dave, conceptions of the exceptionality of Mount Holyoke are linked to personal, cherished memories.

Wayne shared two different kinds of magical experiences he has had from the summit: viewing thunderstorms and going up during a full moon. "There's almost always a breeze up there. It's always wonderful. If you have a lightning storm, thunderstorm situation it's magic…" Wayne started off by mentioning the breeze, described in the last section by many as a primary aspect of the environment on Mount Holyoke leading to

feelings of peace. He likes to watch storms, see the lightning, and hear the thunder. One time, I, too, observed a far-off storm, with rain and lightning coming down from a gray mass of clouds, while the weather on Mount Holyoke remained unperturbed. Wayne also described moon-lit winter hikes.

> Wayne: You want to go in January. Full moon. Snow on the ground. You get up there and it's one of the most magical nights you'll ever have. The lights dance below.
>
> Danielle: Do you hike up during sunset or do you go when it's already dark?
>
> Wayne: You wanna go with the full moon. So you gotta wait 'til the moon comes up. And it's so bright, most of your path it's, I mean it's amazing how light it is. You get up there and the moonlight all over the fields, it's just like, wow, look at this! It's just a super magical time.

Although Wayne speaks in general about these nighttime hikes, I can sense that he is imagining scenes from specific times he has looked out from Mount Holyoke onto the moon-soaked valley below. Pat, Chairperson of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, used to go on sunrise and sunset walks with a friend. "And we'd do 'em right in winter," she said. "I love seeing, looking at the stars and the sky from, at night, from the Summit House. Absolutely love it." Rick and Mary, long-time residents of Hockanum, hiked up before sunrise to observe five planets at once. They were not able to see the right spot in the sky from their home, since the mountain was in the way. "So we thought, alright, we're gonna climb," Mary said. "So at like 3 am we took out headlamps and we went up the Halfway Trail." They arrived at the summit and saw all five planets. For these long-time visitors, Mount Holyoke is a vantage point from which to experience the night sky in a special, magical way.

The summer concert series held at the Summit House offers an opportunity for concert-goers to watch the sunset. While it's always possible to watch a sunset from Mount Holyoke, the parking lot and paved road to the summit close before nightfall, and the vast majority of people do not hike at night. For the concerts, the road is kept open so that people can safely drive home. During one concert I attended in June 2019, the sky changed color from light blue to orange, pink, and purple as the show went on. Around intermission, the sky was glowing a neon dark blue color that was eerie and stunning but impossible to capture in a photograph. The intermission was timed such that people could divert their attention to the most colorful part of the sunset, which seems as much a draw as the live music. Tickets to enter the Summit House for the concert were only $10 (much cheaper than most live concert venues in the area), but many chose to forgo the ticket and spend the entire evening on the deck, enjoying the entire sunset and the music in the background.

In addition to sunsets, even the most casual visitor in autumn uses Mount Holyoke as a vantage point from which to observe the New England foliage. Andrea usually hikes up in the fall to "see all of the foliage and look out and see all the nice scenes." Pat noted that on the summit "there is more foliage than other places." From there, you can pick out where the leaves have already fallen and where the stands of evergreen trees are, she described. John likes to look at the change in colors, which he says are different on Mount Holyoke than the colors in the rest of the woods. "It's pretty brown, I like the browns since they change in the fall but they're this kind of brilliant change in color. It gets oak brown, different kinds of brown, very interesting." John observes the different

colors, many shades of brown that are difficult to describe. Andrea, Pat, John, and many others love observing the foliage, but their descriptions do not include detailed identification of different types of trees.

In fact, the composition of trees on Mount Holyoke is quite distinctive. William,[20] who moved to the area from out of state in the 1990s to take up a faculty position, is keenly aware of the arboreal make-up of the mountain:

> Especially for me, you know, about the plant life and the ecosystems up there, they're very interesting, to see things that you wouldn't usually see together. Like you see the northern woods on one side of the mountain and you see the southern woods on the other side and they meet right there and you can sort of see them from one vantage point so it's great to experience those different places. Like the northern walk when you hike up is cool and shady and there's evergreens and ferns and things and that south side from South Hadley is pretty hot and there's oak trees and hickories and things you find in the warmer climates. So you kind of have a diversity of, of plants and experiences.

For William, this unique ecological juxtaposition is a focal point of Mount Holyoke. William explained that the different climates on the northern and southern sides of the mountain range have to do with its unusual east-west orientation.

> Most mountain ranges on the East Coast, in the whole US, run north-south because that's the way the continent was formed. So a mountain range like the Appalachian, they run north-south, generally. And the Rockies, the Sierra Nevadas. But this mountain range goes transverse where it goes east-west and because of that it creates a sort of south face: hot, warm; north face: cool, shady. Um, because of the climate. So that makes it unique compared to other mountain ranges around here.

The distinctive microclimates and different types of forests on the north and south face influence William's attachment to Mount Holyoke. These two climates are referenced in

[20] This is a pseudonym.

the Interpretive Park Profile (Villamaino 2015a) as well as a New York Times article encouraging tourists to visit when the Summit House was renovated in 1987. Due to Mount Holyoke's east-west orientation, "its plant life is unusual: The birches and hemlocks characteristic of northern New England grow on the north side of the range; oaks and hickories grow on the south slope, which is more temperate" (Kotker 1987, 19). Due to his professional experience in land management and planning, William possesses a depth of knowledge about trees and climates well above the level of the average visitor. Even after my conversation with him, I had a hard time noticing the difference in tree composition. For most, it is less about the species of trees and more about the colors of the leaves and, as described in the last section, their textures and smells.

The orientation and formation of the mountain have also resulted in distinctive geologic features. "Yeah, there's like two hundred million years literally of geologic history here, which is extremely important," Barbara emphasized. When John Sinton takes people up Mount Holyoke, he tries to teach them about the rocks, despite shushes from his wife, "who hates geology."

> You're sitting on these old volcanoes, you're sitting on top of this dramatic event, these dramatic events that change, literally change the whole world. That's very present in my mind as I walk up... Yeah, it's always present in my mind. That I get to participate in the history of the world. It's very cool.

For John, walking on Mount Holyoke, more so than other places, invokes feelings of participation in the history of the earth. He has an awareness of a geological time scale and understands how the mountain range was formed, and therefore feels a connection to the origins of the mountain, a two-hundred-million-year story. In fact, John Sinton

recently published a book about the history of the nearby Mill River (2018), and titled the first chapter "From Lake Hitchcock to 1720: The First 20,000 Years." Wayne, who is a high school teacher, also has a strong understanding of how Mount Holyoke was formed. Wayne has taken students to Mount Holyoke for earth science field trips. Enthusiastic and dynamic, he described to me the way he explains how the mountain was formed to his students. He also recounted that on multiple occasions, graduating seniors cited his field trip as a highlight of their time in high school. Wayne is part of a long history of professors and science teachers bringing students to Mount Holyoke for geology field trips, starting with Edward Hitchcock at Amherst College.

One September afternoon in 2019, I was walking down the paved road from the summit when I noticed a large group of people around the bend. I headed down the road towards them and made out 14 children and three adults. I asked the adult at the front of the group, "Is this a field trip? What are you studying?" "We're from the Pelham School! We're studying rocks!" She was clearly the teacher in charge of the class, which looked to be around fifth grade. A boy in the class smiled at me and silently held up a rock to show me. "Now it's time for your rock quiz!" said the teacher. She elaborated on the rules of the quiz, which were to find a sedimentary rock and hold onto it until they reached the top. She also gave a lesson at this juncture, before they left the road and went up the trail that I had just come down. She gestured to the rock formation towering above one side of the road. "The lower one, with all the layers. What kind of rock is that?" Responding to a din of replies from the students, she said, "Yep, sedimentary!" She explained that in this spot, basalt lava flowed over, making igneous rock over the sedimentary. The teacher

pointed to the rocks above the sedimentary, layered ones. “This spot is important.” She spoke a bit more about the formation of igneous rock. “Now, we’ll walk on the trail, and we’re entering where the basalt formed from lava.” I veered off from the group of children, several of whom were clutching rocks for this rock quiz.

Judy Eiseman also focused on the unique geology of Mount Holyoke as a point of engagement. Judy served on the board of the Kestrel Land Trust for 30 years and remains active in several local conservation organizations. I interviewed her in a cafe in downtown Amherst and asked her why she thinks the mountain is special. “Well, I guess, the geology of it interested me, actually. Being an east-west orientation.” Judy went on to describe a now-deceased geologist friend, Michael,[21] who was an expert in volcanoes, and two other men with whom she used to work on conservation projects. “All these guys seemed to be excited about it. They were like, you know, a six-year-old who had just picked up an interesting rock,” she said. “They would get all excited and talk about the geology of it, you know. And that intrigued me because I have a limited background in geology. That’s just not my thing.” Judy went on to describe how Michael used to teach her son, who grew up to be a field naturalist, about rocks. Her son “would bring him this rock and [Michael] suddenly would become 10 years old, you know, he’s explaining everything and he’s telling him about this and he’s telling him about that.” She said, “it’s just a rock, to us.” But not to her son. Judy said that Mount Holyoke is important because of its geology, but her explanation transformed into a personal memory from decades ago about a deceased volcanist friend teaching her young son, who ended up pursuing a

[21] This is a pseudonym.

career as a naturalist. The geology of the mountain is linked to an early experience inspiring her son to become a scientist.

Right on one of the trails on the northern slope of Mount Holyoke, not too far from a trailhead, is a large boulder called the Devil's Football. Denise Barstow asked me if I knew it. "Yeah, the glacial erratic," she said. "So every time we hike that, and even still, we climb up that. So even as a kid that was a big deal because that first step is a big one." The 15-foot tall ovoid boulder was moved and deposited by the action of glaciers. It has deep pockets that people use to clamber up to the top. Denise asked me if I've climbed up the Devil's Football yet and I said I hadn't yet. "You have to go!" Denise encouraged me. "There's only really one good route up it, but we'd always try and find another. Doing that with my cousins." Denise can identify the Devil's Football as a glacial erratic, but the significance of the rock is much more about her memories of climbing it with her cousins. Martha also mentioned this particular rock. "That's such a neat thing to look at, each time I just sort of feel how solid it is. I like that." Martha did not offer a detailed geological explanation for the Devil's Football; she interacts with it using her sense of touch and appreciates it for its solidity.

Birdwatching and encounters with various avian species are the final factors I will discuss here that inform Mount Holyoke's perceived exceptionality. Mount Holyoke, along with the rest of the Mount Holyoke Range, Mount Tom, and the East Mountain Range on the other side of the Connecticut River, is a Massachusetts Important Bird Area recognized by the Mass Audubon Society (2021b). It is a large, unbroken habitat for many species. According to the Interpretive Park Profile, most birders come to Mount

Holyoke in the spring during mating season and in the fall to watch the hawk migrations. Birdwatchers visit in the early morning, arriving between 6 and 7 am and walk up, while those coming to see hawks may come throughout the day (Villamaino 2015a, 15). During the summer of 2019, I interviewed Barbara, an ecologist, nature guide, and park interpreter. Rare bird sightings on Mount Holyoke came up several times in our conversation. She said that, due to the different elevations on the mountain, there is an incredible diversity of birds of Mount Holyoke. Barbara talked about the cerulean warbler, a bright blue songbird. "This is not part of their range," she said. "And on top of that, this is a bird that lives in South America and they're declining, as far as I know, I think they're very rare." Cerulean warblers, despite Mount Holyoke ostensibly not being a part of their range, are spotted on the mountain. "We'll have ten or fifteen birders every day looking for this bird. Every single day," Barbara explained. "That's an extremely special thing that we have… there's other habitats across Western Mass, they used to be at Quabbin [Reservoir], there's other places where they could live and they don't. We don't know why. But they love this mountain for some reason." The Skinner State Park Interpretive Profile corroborates this, stating that the "cerulean warbler is a popular draw" (Villamaino 2015a, 15).

Barbara also shared memories of two instances where she saw rare birds for the first time on Mount Holyoke. "There's an indigo bunting, like this neon blue bird, and I had never seen one before I came here," she said. "And I thought, oh I'd have to look for it, it would take years and years. But I showed up and it's on top of the tallest tree just

singing its heart out." She also told me about a calendar that she had up in her bathroom with a different bird featured each month.

> One May, this was a very long time ago, it said rose-breasted grosbeak which is a really beautiful bird with rose-red and white and black and it's just gorgeous. And I was brushing my teeth and reading about it and then my husband took me up here for the very first time and we were at the picnic tables having lunch. And I'm just sitting there eating and he thought I didn't know anything about birds, see, he thinks he knew that I was completely clueless when it came to the birds. And one of those birds on the calendar landed right on the branch in front of me… And so I said, 'That's a rose-breasted grosbeak!' And my husband's like, 'What?' He was completely shocked. And so that's my favorite memory.

As her favorite memory, her first encounter with this bird is tangled with her first visit to the mountain and a proud moment. Barbara would go on to work in the park and even teach people how to birdwatch. Mount Holyoke is not the only place to see a rose-breasted grosbeak; I have seen several out of the window from my home office in Amherst. But Mount Holyoke is a special place for Barbara because it is where she had this formative encounter.

I attended one of Barbara's birdwatching programs, "Picnic Birding," on Mount Holyoke in October 2019, four months after our interview. I was the only person who showed up for the public event and spent an hour walking around the summit with Barbara, looking for and talking about birds. As we walked over to a good vantage point, she told me about a birdwatcher she met once on the mountain who was looking for a cerulean warbler. Barbara had been trying to figure out why it is that there are cerulean warblers here and nowhere else in the area. She reasoned that it's because we're elevated and at the right height to be able to see the birds at eye level, not overhead. When we

arrived at the prime birdwatching spot, we both kneeled down onto the soft moss at the edge of the rocky landing and trained our binoculars on the branches. I had a hard time tracking the birds, and mistook many leaves for avian beings, but at least by this time I was using the binoculars correctly. Babara heard a bird call that may have been a goldfinch and pointed out a black and white warbler as well as markings on a tree caused by a pileated woodpecker. “I think that’s maybe what we’re hearing, too.” The raven from earlier circled above overhead and gave off its distinctive squawk. “Was that the raven’s croak?” I asked. “Yep, that’s definitely a raven. Earlier I wasn’t quite sure if it was a crow or a raven, but it’s definitely a raven.” This particular raven had some feathers on its left wing missing, which allowed us to identify it as the same individual as before. “It may be molting,” Barbara explained. To a novice like myself, Barbara is an experienced birdwatcher. Through working on Mount Holyoke and actively studying birds, Barbara has come a long way in the years since she spotted the rose-breasted grosbeak to her husband’s astonishment. Special bird sightings on Mount Holyoke are linked to her growth as a more experienced birder and her profession as a nature guide and park interpreter.

In addition to songbirds and woodpeckers, hawks are frequently sighted on Mount Holyoke. During one of the Summit House Concerts in July 2019, a red-tailed hawk hung about in the trees close to the house, drawing the attention of visitors who speculated that the bird was enjoying the music. One afternoon in October 2019, I walked over to the rocky outcrop that overlooks UMass, near where Barbara and I had looked for birds the month before. A family of two middle-aged parents and two teenage daughters were

looking up at the sky. I looked up as well and saw two hawks flying around with each other. I quickly took up my binoculars in time to see one of the hawks contort its body and take a dive. (I had purchased my own pair of binoculars since my birdwatching session with Barbara, in an attempt to learn more as well as gain entré with the more serious birders.) The mom exclaimed in delight and took her phone out to take photos. I went up to her and we talked about how cool it was to see the birds. I said that I thought they might have been red-tailed hawks, but she pointed out that those would be bigger and that these actually had white bellies. I said that I wasn't really sure, that I'm only just learning. My daughters are starting to learn, too, she said, looking over towards them. They just joined a birdwatching club. "Is this at school?" I asked. Yes, she replied, they go out on trips to look for birds in the area. Following our short conversation, the family of birdwatchers left to hike down the trail. For Barbara, myself, and these teenagers, Mount Holyoke is one place to learn and practice the skills of birdwatching.

John Brady, a Professor of Geology at Smith College, was interviewed in the short documentary *Focusing on the Range* (2005). In the film, he says, "Massachusetts is a wonderful place to be out-of-doors and the Holyoke Range offers to us a unique, a very special place for us to walk and encounter nature that we wouldn't be able to do if the range wasn't there." He believes that the natural encounters on the Holyoke Range could not happen elsewhere. During our interview in his on-campus office, I asked William what Mount Holyoke means to him. "It's like a little piece of, I hate to use the term wilderness 'cause it's not really a wilderness, but something like that," he said. "A wilder kind of rugged mountain experience in the middle of this kind of, you know, bucolic

rural, kind of rural, or suburbanizing kind of place." Mount Holyoke's status as an exceptional place is partly a result of its unique geology, flora, and fauna, but also constructed by formative experiences, cherished memories, and calm and relaxing feelings that people have on the mountain. These are enhanced by the belief that the natural environment is separate from the human world, and an image of Mount Holyoke as an incongruous, wilder, rugged mountain in the middle of a rural, suburbanizing area.

Cultivating and Communicating Nature Appreciation

I asked Mary during our interview in her home at the base of Mount Holyoke why she thinks people are so drawn to the mountain. She explained that "it's free, it's good exercise, it's getting out in nature, it's beautiful views… there's a feeling of just peace I think." Mary went on to emphasize how important it is for people to get out into nature, and that Mount Holyoke is a great location to do so. "I think it's just a way to connect to nature. If you're out in nature, that's when you'll appreciate nature," Mary said. "I think it's so important for people to connect to nature and want to preserve it and, you know, they aren't gonna get that watching TV or, you know, being on the computer, they need to be out in nature." Those who regularly "go out in nature," like Mary, believe that exposure to the natural environment is essential, as it can lead to an appreciation and a desire to conserve it. This exposure includes the smells, sounds, and feelings described in this section as well as the sights of the landscape explored in the previous chapter. These sensations coalesce to create psychologically and physiologically therapeutic effects on the body. The conception of Mount Holyoke as an exceptional natural resource, and the

many unique engagements with the non-human world that people experience there is another major factor that contributes to its appreciation. The attachment to the mountain comes about by fond memories and formative experiences tied to Mount Holyoke.

The ideology that getting out in nature is important drives some to bring others who may not normally have access to the outdoors, like children and teenagers from urban areas, to Mount Holyoke. Hal, a Black man from Springfield who often comes to the mountain on his own time, was working on a June day in 2019 when I met him. He was mentoring a child around the age of eight or nine from Chicopee, who he brought to the mountain for "exposure to the environment." While I spoke to Hal, the boy was clambering around the rocks. Christine and Allen were also supervising students on the June 2019 day I met them on the summit. Christine had planned the field trip for students to spend time outdoors and make art. Allen, her husband, had come along to help her out and grill lunch for the group. It was the final week of the school year, and students had their pick of field trips to attend. Allen described the gist of the trip planned by Christine: "so they come out and hike and supposed to get inspired by nature and paint." Christine chose Mount Holyoke as one of the spots for the field trip because she feels comfortable bringing a group of teenagers there as she goes there a lot by herself and with her family. "It gives them a chance to be outside and enjoy nature, and out of the city." She explained that many students in the school opted instead for field trips that stayed within Springfield. "These are city kids and a lot of our students are more comfortable in the city and they had other opportunities to do things." Christine uses the word "comfortable"

twice to describe how she feels bringing the students to Mount Holyoke and once to describe how the students feel remaining in the city.

The majority of the group of about ten students on the field trip were sitting around a picnic table painting, talking, and laughing. Two students went off to sit on a rocky outcrop. “There’s two boys sitting on a rock over there that are actually painting the view,” Christine said. One of these two, an Asian male student, had carefully sketched in pencil on his canvas an outline of the scenery of the valley below and was beginning to paint it in. The group at the picnic table was not painting the view, even though that’s what Christine “thought was going to be happening.” She told them that they did not need to paint exactly what they saw. “I said to be inspired by nature, even if it just makes you have a feeling that you want to express. So um, I was leaving that up to them,” Christine told me, as she laughed. This group of students was having a “painting contest.” One had painted a sunset over an ocean, a scene of generic natural beauty unrelated to the Connecticut River Valley below. These students were not taken in by the Arcadian landscape below in the same, almost standardized way, that artists before them were.

Martha is also a high school teacher in Springfield. She talked to me about the disconnect her students feel with the natural world, and one time when she took some students out for a hike on nearby Mount Tom. She said that one student expressed anxiety that a tree would fall on their head. The “city kids” seem to have a harder time accessing the therapeutic effects of nature due to discomfort in and sometimes fear of nature. Some people develop an aversion to nature because of experiences they or members of their racial or cultural group have historically had there. There is generational trauma

associated with Black people's first interactions with the environment in America, for example (Finney 2014). Black and white experiences in nature followed drastically different trajectories; Black people worked as enslaved people on someone else's land while white people were property owners and homesteaders. Eastern European immigrants also experienced discrimination related to engagement with the outdoors at the turn of the twentieth century. Around 1900, white, American citizens considered the environmental attitudes and habits of more recent immigrants uncivilized (Rome 2008). Today, America's national parks host predominantly white visitors and the National Park Service is one of the least diverse federal agencies (Jacobs and Hotakainen 2020). However, visitorship to state and national parks should not be the only metric by which to measure diversity in the outdoors, as there are a variety of different ways that people can engage with the natural world (Schiavo 2016). For example, gaining an appreciation of the natural ecosystems within a city is possible without leaving an urban area (Adams et al. 2017).

The beginning of conservation debates on Mount Holyoke in the early twentieth century centered on the exploitation of its natural resources. The focus shifted to prioritize quality of life concerns. This included scenery and the view of and from the mountain as well as the health benefits of being on the mountain. Many visitors experience therapeutic effects while immersed in the natural environment on Mount Holyoke. Feelings of comfort and an activation of the senses is a culturally learned way of experiencing the outdoors. It is not universally experienced, but a learned skill that many try to pass on to others. While several people did talk about protecting wildlife

habitats—and this is one of Kestrel Land Trust's major missions—overall, ecological concerns come secondary to the mountain as an amenity to humans.

Place attachment motivates environmentalist attitudes and an interest in conservation. Lokocz, Ryan, and Sandler (2011) found that place attachment is a strong motivator for land protection and stewardship in rural Western Massachusetts. Through surveying local residents, they found a correlation between level of attachment to rural scenes and a desire to preserve the rural character of the landscape. Researchers in the field of environmental education advocate direct experiences in order to foster a sense of place and therefore encourage pro-environmental behaviors (Kudryavtsev, Stedman, and Krasny 2012). On Mount Holyoke, place attachment occurs through the creation of personal associations and memories. People engage with the geology, flora, and fauna on the mountain. It is not the uniqueness of the more-than-human environment on Mount Holyoke that intrinsically makes it special to people, but rather that they have been able to have special experiences. The perceived dichotomy between the human world and the natural world led in part to the establishment of Mount Holyoke as a state park. This persistent dualism, and the mountain's status as a park, set aside from human residential and commercial areas, sets the stage for people to have these unique experiences, which can only happen "in nature."

CHAPTER 5

THE SUMMIT HOUSE AND HISTORICAL ENGAGEMENT

"Recent ruins do not simply evoke a memory of rupture. Through their slow state of decay they *sustain* a rupture of space-time in the present until they can be folded into the landscape as something old, comfortable, and homey—once they have acquired patina. Contemporary ruins shape possible futures." (Dawdy 2016, 47)

Sense of History on Mount Holyoke

History involves representing and explaining occurrences of the past. Sense of history, however, is an orientation towards history held by people that is linked to their identities. It is "a perspective on the past at the core of who they are and the people and places they care about" (Glassberg 2001, 6). A sense of history is more than an ability to recount events of the past. It allows us to locate ourselves in space, time, and society. The value attached to a place depends in large part on our historical associations with that place. This chapter treats not only the history of Mount Holyoke, but the nature of the historic sensibility held by people for whom Mount Holyoke is a highly valued place. Through my analysis, the two themes of intimacy and temporality come to the foreground. Sense of history "reflects the intersection of the intimate and the historical—the way that past events of a personal and public nature are intertwined" (Glassberg 2001, 6). At the Mount Holyoke Summit House, intimacy manifests not only in the convergence of individual and familial histories with public ones but in certain interactions with material culture from the past. I include in this conception of sense of history the ways in which people interact with objects with historical connections.

In this chapter, I explore how a sense of history is developed on Mount Holyoke and how that sense of history informs the creation of and attachments to place. In this chapter, I first outline the contours of Mount Holyoke's historical narrative before moving into a discussion of how visitors to the site engage with its history. Specifically, I identify the dominant narrative of Mount Holyoke, which is just one story of place. I begin a narration of Mount Holyoke's history by foregrounding Indigenous presence in the area. In the *Kwinitekw* (Connecticut River) Valley, Native Americans predated English colonists, who forcefully arrived in the seventeenth century, and some continued and continue to live in the area alongside white settlers and other immigrants. I compare the narratives of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Indigenous presence around Mount Holyoke written by white authors in the nineteenth and twentieth century with recent retellings by Native scholars. In doing this, I expose the ways in which the history of Mount Holyoke is an exclusionary one and the denial of Native presence on the land is perpetuated through centuries. I then outline the subsequent dominant narrative of the site through 1940. While I do not comprehensively delve into alternative tellings, I identify some points in the narrative with missing perspectives. I outline Mount Holyoke's dominant historical narrative here because it is told and retold by historic preservation advocates who mobilize the historical narrative in order to upkeep and preserve the Summit House structure and by interpreters who relay the narrative on to casual or new visitors.

In 1940, Joseph Allen Skinner donated the mountain and its structures to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Mount Holyoke became a state park and the Summit

House was effectively abandoned. It is at this point, when the Summit House enters a state of decay, that I shift to focus on the structure as a locus of engagement with the past. I have identified this as a transition point because it is a moment when visitors to Mount Holyoke began to interact with the Summit House as a historic site rather than a contemporary business. It is at this point in the story where I move from a discussion of the history of the site to an analysis of the construction of a sense of history.

I identified three modes of engagement with the history of the site that visitors participate in. My research revealed this set of significant practices, which include historic preservation advocacy, collecting, and the consumption of interpretive material at the Summit House. First, I trace failed and successful historic preservation efforts and advocacy to protect the Summit House from the 1940s to the present day. A clear theme that emerged from my analysis of historic preservation initiatives is antagonism with the state of Massachusetts, which was blamed and held accountable by advocates for neglecting the Summit House. I start with efforts by members of the Northampton-based Pioneer Valley Association to—unsuccessfully—save the covered tramway up the side of Mount Holyoke. I bring in the stories of two men who live near the base of Mount Holyoke, Rick and Wayne, whose parents were involved in this advocacy. I then focus on the efforts of Gwen Clancy and David Graci, who are key figures in the production and dissemination of Mount Holyoke's dominant historical narrative. My research enabled me to interview Gwen Clancy, who created a documentary film about the Summit House in 1975, and David Graci, who researched and self-published a history of Mount Holyoke in 1985. Their creative works significantly aided historical preservation efforts at the site,

and both continue to be shared and discussed today. The analysis of historic preservation on Mount Holyoke adds another layer to the conservation efforts recounted in Chapter 4; the two movements have been closely intertwined.

The second mode of historical engagement that I identified is collecting practices. In this section, I primarily draw from my interviews with David Graci, Rick and Mary Thayer, and Wayne and Sandi Buckhout, who all own or have owned extensive collections of Mount Holyoke artifacts and memorabilia. Archaeologist of the contemporary Shannon Dawdy has written about the patina, aura, or sense of historical connection that distinguishes everyday objects as antiques. These objects have both a historicity and irreducible materiality (Dawdy 2016, 138). I explore interactions between these long-time visitors and preservation advocates of Mount Holyoke with such antique, patinated objects relating to the mountain's past. I draw from my conversations about their acquisition and curation of objects related to the mountain with the Thayers and the Buckhouts, who invited me into their homes where I was able to see their collections.

The third and final mode of historical engagement that I discuss in this chapter is the consumption of interpretive material at the Summit House, which has been renovated and currently operates as a museum. In this section, I cite archival documents of interpretation plans published before, during, and after the Summit House was renovated in the 1980s. I also analyze my fieldnotes from watching a variety of visitors interact with exhibits inside the Summit House and from attending a guided tour of the building, interviews with both casual and long-term visitors whom I asked what they know about the history of the site, and my interview with a Department of Conservation and

Recreation park interpreter. The narrative of the Summit House presented via exhibits and tours is narrow, focusing on one decade—1890, the building's "golden age"—excluding the period of abandonment. The dominant historical narrative, in addition to excluding Native American presence, is also incongruous with the family histories of the immediate community.

During its period of decay, between the 1940s and 1980s, the Summit House was a ruin. Recent ruins, through their slow state of decay, sustain a rupture of space-time in the present, according to Shannon Dawdy. Modern ruins are places "continually re-created out of a conjunction of imagination and materiality" that reveal "the lived environment as a historical process with an uncertain future" (2010, 772). Until they acquire patina and are "folded into the landscape as something old, comfortable, and homey," these ruins "shape possible futures" (Dawdy 2016, 47). In this state of ruin, the structure was an active site of historical engagement in the lives of visitors.

Now, following its renovation, it is a refurbished and maintained historic house museum interpreted to the 1890s. Through this transformation from ruin to museum, the Summit House's social role shifted. Community-based preservation advocates who worked tirelessly during these decades were eventually successful in saving and renovating the structure. However, paradoxically, once they succeeded in refurbishing the Summit House as a historic house museum, its ability to foster a connection to the past and a sense of history decreased. I argue that visiting the site in ruin and engaging in activities such as preservation advocacy and collecting fostered a sense of history, much more so than visiting the Summit House as a renovated museum.

In the conclusion to this chapter, I compare engagement with the rehabilitated Summit House compared to the Summit House as ruin. I situate this discussion within the framing of the historic house museum critique presented by Franklin Vagnone and Deborah Ryan in *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (2015). I consider successes and failures at the site and identify avenues to better foster a sense of history for first-time or casual visitors who have not engaged with the Summit House as a ruin.

Narrating the Mountain's Past

A narrative is a story, and always one story among many. Any one narrative of a place amplifies some voices while silencing others. According to William Cronon, "the very authority with which narrative presents its vision of reality is achieved by obscuring large portions of the reality" (1992, 1349). I outline the dominant narrative of Mount Holyoke in recognition that it presents one version of reality while necessarily obscuring others. I do this in order to explore in subsequent sections how various groups in the present understand and interact with this narrative.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2015) has demonstrated that silences and erasures enter the process of historical production at four moments. Portions of reality are obscured at the moments of fact creation (sources), fact assembly (archives), fact retrieval (narratives), and retrospective significance (history). I do not present here a thorough excavation of erasures or present competing narratives, as compellingly done for King Philip's War by Abenaki writer Lisa Brooks in *Our Beloved Kin* (2018) or for the 1704 Deerfield raid by Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney in *Captive Histories* (2006). In the

next section, I weave alternate narratives about Native American presence on Mount Holyoke, drawing from these texts as well as the work of Abenaki scholar Margaret Bruchac, alongside white authors who have been constructing the history of the site for centuries. I demonstrate how the initial creation, or orogenesis, of Mount Holyoke is steeped in a story rife with erasures, silences, and partial perspectives that continues to dispossess Native Americans of their homelands. I then move to outline the contours of the rest of the retold narrative of Mount Holyoke.

Native American Presence

Mount Holyoke is located on the traditional homelands of the Nonotuck, one of the many Indigenous groups from the *Kwinitekw* (Connecticut River) Valley. Nonotuck territory included what is now South Hadley, Hadley, and Northampton (Brooks 2008). Norwottuck is an orthographic variant of Nonotuck and refers to the same Algonkian people and territory. The homelands of the Pocumtuck and Abenaki lie to the north, the Nipmuc to the east, and the Agawam to the south. This region of the *Kwinitekw* is at an ancient crossroads of Native nations, home to Indigenous peoples for centuries before Europeans arrived in the 1630s (Haefeli and Sweeney 2006). The Native American presence on and around Mount Holyoke, however, is not a significant component of the dominant narrative of the mountain. When Native presence is occasionally acknowledged, it is done in a way that entrenches the myth that Indigenous people were unjustifiably violent towards European settlers until they left willingly and faded into extinction, rather than the reality that they were violently dispossessed from their homelands and yet survive to this day. In this section, I contextualize the omission of

Native peoples from the prevailing version of Mount Holyoke's history in order to call attention to the consequences of omission and how subsequent generations of white visitors reproduce this narrative of Mount Holyoke's history.

Mount Holyoke is named after Elizur Holyoke, a seventeenth-century settler and surveyor from Springfield, Massachusetts. He was appointed in 1653 by the Massachusetts Bay Colony to appropriate and divide lands along the Connecticut River into plantations for settlers (R. L. Johnson and Foster 1962). Mount Holyoke appears named as such in Northampton records as early as 1664 (Timothy Dwight 1823). The Mount Holyoke Range, Mount Holyoke College (located in South Hadley), and the nearby city of Holyoke, are all named after the mountain. A Historical Resources Survey from the Massachusetts Historical Commission in 1993 referenced a Native American footpath up Mount Holyoke dated from the "Contact Period through c. 1725." However, in this same document, the first sentence of the historical narrative states, "Mount Holyoke on the east border of Hockanum was *first explored* [emphasis added] in the early 1650s by a group of Springfield men" (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1993). This narrative denies the presence of Native Americans in the area, even in a sentence that locates Mount Holyoke in Hockanum. Hockanum is the Nonotuck name for the area which means "fish-hook," or "bend in the river," due to its location near the Oxbow.

Europeans first entered the Connecticut River Valley in the 1630s. They brought with them deadly disease which killed more than 90% of the inhabitants of some Indigenous villages along the Connecticut River (Haefeli and Sweeney 2006). English and Dutch colonists politically manipulated various Algonkian groups against each other,

resulting in wars that compounded the death caused by disease (Brooks 2008). By the time Elizur Holyoke was surveying the mountain that would be named after him, English colonists had taken possession of the rich farmlands between the base of the mountain and the river, fields that had been carefully cleaned, maintained, and farmed by Native peoples long before they had arrived (Bruchac 2004; Haefeli and Sweeney 2006). In a 1962 document urging the state to invest in the protection of the Mount Holyoke Range, authors Richard Johnson of the South Hadley Conservation Society and Charles Foster of the Massachusetts Department of Resources, provide a brief "human history" of the area. They write that John Pynchon purchased Hockanum in 1662. Pynchon was a fur trader and entrepreneur who acquired vast tracts of Nonotuck and Pocumtuck land. "The Norwottucks knew perfectly well what the sale of land implied," Johnson and Foster wrote, "and it is interesting to know that their sachems were well satisfied with the purchase terms and that no trouble ever arose later on this account" (1962, 14). David Brule, President of the Nolumbeka Project, which seeks to promote a more accurate depiction of the history of the Native Americans of New England before and during European contact and colonization, has a different take on John Pynchon ("Our Mission" 2013). Brule's alternative narrative is recounted in a November 2020 news article covering a lecture as part of the Nolumbeka Project's series "River Stories 2020: Recovering Indigenous Voices in the Connecticut River Valley," which "focused on the suspicious transactions that allowed Massachusetts to incorporate the land [around] Deerfield" (Marcus 2020). Pynchon acquired land by sowing political unrest and reaping the benefit of fallout. He likely had a hand in the unexpected 1633 assassination of

Mohawk ambassador to the Pocumtuk from the Hudson Valley. When Pocumtuk people fled the area due to the resulting turmoil, Pynchon had many sign deeds, turning over their vacated land to him. “These deeds don’t hold up under legal scrutiny; in almost all cases, the signers had no right to the land,” says Brule (Marcus 2020).

Johnson and Foster assert that “no trouble ever arose later” on the account of the Nonotuck “selling” their land in Hockanum. They go on to describe that during King Philip’s War, “Hockanum Meadow was the scene of an Indian raid in which several Hadley settlers were killed while working in the fields.” Following this, the farmers worked in larger groups “in order to better repel Indian attacks” (R. L. Johnson and Foster 1962, 14). By writing their narrative in a way that legitimizes the English settlers’ possession of the land, Johnson and Foster imply that the attacks by Native Americans on the white farmers are unjustified and senseless. The 1993 Historical Resources Survey recounts that during King Philip’s War, relations with Native Americans “made the area extremely dangerous,” so farming and lumbering had to be limited (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1993). Contrary to Johnson and Foster’s assertion, trouble did indeed arise on account of Nonotuck land being forcibly possessed by English settlers. During King Philip’s War, which lasted between 1675 and 1677, Native residents attacked English settlements, struggling to defend their homelands. It was “an ongoing, multifaceted Indigenous resistance, led by an uncontainable network of Indigenous leaders and families” (Brooks 2018, 8). Narrated by Europeans as a contained rebellion, King Philip’s War was used as a marker for the end of Native occupation in the area and as a justification of Indian removal (Bruchac 2004).

In the years afterward, the Connecticut River Valley continued to be a wide zone of constant interaction between English colonists and Native groups who remained in the area. Many colonists spoke a Native language, and many Indigenous peoples could communicate in English (Haefeli and Sweeney 2006). Following a period of peace, war erupted again in 1704, centered around Deerfield. Native groups from as far as Montréal, Canada, joined with locals. Those involved had varied reasons for engaging in war: reclaiming traditional homelands; participating in one part of a series of ongoing Anglo-Abenaki Wars; allyship with the French (Haefeli and Sweeney 2006). In the entry for Mount Holyoke in his 1826 guidebook *The Northern Traveler*, Theodore Dwight writes about an event from the same year:

> It may, perhaps, add to the interest of the visitor to Mount Holyoke, while looking down on the scene of peace and fertility beneath them, to be told, that during the French wars, on May 13th, 1704, the Indians fell upon a little settlement at the foot of Mount Tom, and killed 20 persons, more than half of whom were children; and that a tradition states, though without designating a precise time, that a captive woman was once brought up to the top of the mountain where we stand, and scalped—such trials had our forefathers to endure who introduced civilization into this once savage country. (Theodore Dwight 1826, 257–58)

This narrative is overtly skewed and racist. I wish to call back to conceptions of the landscape explored in Chapter 3. The vision of the landscape from Mount Holyoke as one of peace and fertility is implicated with the violent erasure of Native American presence on the land. Dwight's stereotypical image of Indigenous people parallels the fictive portrayals of Native Americans propagated in the nineteenth century (Bruchac 2006). Margaret Bruchac observed that nineteenth-century white historians did not document the lives of Native people "unless they were intriguing, dramatic, or destitute enough,"

obscuring realistic portrayals of Indigenous people and denying their continued existence all while they continued to live their ordinary lives (Bruchac 2006, 268). I will also note that I have found no other mention of this May 13 incident on Mount Holyoke recounted by Theodore Dwight.

The highest peak in the Mount Holyoke Range is called Mount Norwottuck, named after the Nonotuck people and territory. On July 4, 1846, Edward Hitchcock, President of Amherst College at the time, officiated a ceremony on the peak. In what he called a "mountain-christening," he officially renamed the mountain from Hilliard's Knob to Mount Norwottuck (Halttunen 2002). Hitchcock also renamed Mount Nonotuck, across the river in the Mount Tom Range, and a variety of other peaks, which all received either Native American or geological names. In doing so, out of an "urgent need to affirm the antiquity of the New England landscape," he links geologic time to the Native American past (Halttunen 2002, 167). Margaret Bruchac (2004) has written that nineteenth-century historians created myths that disconnected contemporary Native communities from their history and landscape. Similarly, Jean O'Brien has explored how white people in southern New England between 1820 and 1880 convinced themselves that Native Americans had become extinct. She writes that "New Englanders embraced Indians because doing so enabled them to establish unambiguously their own modernity" (O'Brien 2010, xxi). Here, in the renaming of Mount Nonotuck and Mount Norwottuck, Edward Hitchcock establishes the ancientness of the landscape, and in doing so asserts that Indians are also ancient and extinct. Although an attempt to acknowledge Native

American heritage, he commits one further act of cultural dominance and violence by calling the ceremonies "christenings."

A 1970 Interpretive Prospectus for Mount Holyoke provides a cultural history of the mountain. The authors note that "land in the Connecticut Valley and its adjacent uplands was taken from the Indians by the European settlers in the 1600's. Gradually all the land fell into the ownership of the colonists" (Baxter et al. 1970, 8). While they acknowledge that European settlers took land from the Indigenous residents, the use of passive voice in the next sentence downplays this aggression. The authors also assume that Native Americans are extinct. They describe that their interpretive objectives on Mount Holyoke "are to cultivate an appreciation for the changes through time in the use of the Skinner area, from Indian times to the present" (Baxter et al. 1970, 10). This historical narrative, used in the construction of interpretive material on Mount Holyoke, propagates the myth that does not account for Native persistence and survivance (O'Brien 2010).

A Narrative of Mount Holyoke's History

In this section, I continue chronologically and outline the narrative of Mount Holyoke. The story recounted here is the story about Mount Holyoke told and retold by historic preservation activists and by interpreters at the Summit House. This is not presented as a full and complete history of Mount Holyoke. Rather, this narrative is a dominant one that is presented to and repeated by visitors to the mountain. It is the narrative assembled and disseminated in Gwen Clancy's 1975 film "The Summit House" and David Graci's 1985 book *Mt. Holyoke: An Enduring Prospect*, two works I will

discuss further later on in this chapter. Although I do not fully explore alternative narratives, I have identified, in brackets, several locations in the story where there is a clear missing perspective which future investigative research could be fruitful in expanding the story.

Throughout the colonial era, Mount Holyoke grew in popularity as a location from which to observe the Connecticut River Valley. In the early nineteenth century, it underwent a commercial transformation into a tourist destination. Development of the summit began in 1821 with the construction of the first log cabin. The town of Hadley paid $120 for supplies for the cabin, which was erected by a group of volunteers. Willis Pease leased the cabin and provided refreshments to visitors who made the trek up (Graci 1985). In this era, the summit was a male-dominated scene. The first log cabin "appears to have been a refuge where the young men of the neighboring towns could meet far from the non-athletic ladies of the age, and quaff their thirsts" (Ferro and Foster 1977, 5). In the first summer after it was built, over 6,000 people visited the cabin (Burt 1867). In 1822, Pease lost his lease on the first cabin and built a second on the summit; for the next 15 years, there were two competing cabins. Due to property disputes, Pease's second cabin eventually had to be removed (Burt 1867). The remains of the Pease cabin are still visible; a trail passes right through the rubble foundation.

Visitors went up to the summit frequently in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, primarily using horses for the first part and hiking up the steeper final portion. Around forty people per day ascended the mountain every nice day of summer in the early 1820s, as reported by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1995). These visitors, undertaking

the ascent on foot, would have purchased refreshments at the cabin on the summit. Theodore Dwight published his account of Mount Holyoke five years after the construction of the first cabin. He wrote that the "ascent of this mountain has lately become very fashionable, perhaps more so than any similar enterprise in this country, if we except that of the Catskill Mountain in New-York" (Theodore Dwight 1826, 255). It was common for nineteenth-century tourist attractions to blend amenities (e.g. ginger beer, fine food, and dancing) with a connection to nature (Sears 1998). [Missing perspective: The staff who worked in the cabins, brought up supplies, and served these amenities.]

Demand for resort getaways in the mountains increased during this time. Inspired by artists and writers lauding New England's natural beauty, urban "rusticators" came in droves by steamboat and train "to spend the entire summer months in big hotels which suddenly mushroomed atop mountains" (Tree 1976, 223). [Missing perspective: Working people in Northampton who could see the Summit House but who did not have leisure time or funds to patronize it.] The Mount Holyoke Summit House is one of many wooden hotels built in the region, primarily in Western Massachusetts, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and the Catskills of New York. The Catskill Mountain House, mentioned by Theodore Dwight, was the largest of these summit hotels. It was built in 1823, only two years after the first cabin on Mount Holyoke. The Catskill Mountain House started off modestly but boasted fifty guest rooms by 1825. Eventually, it had about three hundred rooms and a capacity of over five hundred guests. This luxury hotel in the "wilderness" expressed the opposing dual themes that tourists were seeking in this

era: romanticized nature and idealized home (Sears 1998). The Catskill Mountain House was torn down by the State of New York in the mid-twentieth century. Other peaks in the Holyoke Range—Mount Tom and Mount Norwottuck—had summit houses that competed with the one on Mount Holyoke. The Mount Holyoke Summit House is unique amongst the nineteenth-century wooden summit structures, however, not only because it was one of the first, but because it is still standing.

During the cabin era of the 1820s and 30s, Mount Holyoke was a popular summer destination, visited by both locals and travelers from as far as England. The most famous painting depicting the view from Mount Holyoke was completed in 1836 by Thomas Cole. *The Oxbow* depicts the dramatic curvature of the Connecticut River that was a focal point of the scenery for visitors during these decades. But in 1840 a large flood permanently altered the course of the river, cutting off the Oxbow and creating Oxbow Island. As we saw in Chapter 3, the impressions of the view of visitors to the summit of Mount Holyoke during the eighteenth and nineteenth-century domestic tourism boom were closely linked to the arts and literature of the Connecticut River Valley.

Edward Hitchcock, geologist and president of Amherst College, took a keen interest in Mount Holyoke and its traprock formations. Using his authority as president, in 1845 he brought the junior and senior classes of the all-male Amherst College, as well as some faculty members, to the mountain to cut and grade a horse path up to the summit. Town members were invited but, although they wanted a wider road up the mountain, they chose not to participate. According to Hitchcock, they thought it was an impossible task and did not want to be laughed at (Hitchcock 1863). Students from Mount Holyoke

Female Seminary, as Mount Holyoke College was called at the time, came to the mountain and served a picnic at the summit once the boys completed their task. Several men gave speeches at this picnic, including Charles Shepard, mineralogist, professor of natural history, and Amherst College alumnus. Hitchcock recounted Shepard's speech in his memoirs, where he mentions the changing path of the Connecticut River allowing for the faster navigation of the river by boat and for train tracks to be laid on the western side of the river, east of the Oxbow. These more efficient modes of transportation and the creation of the new path to the summit heralded an era of increasing development on Mount Holyoke. [Missing perspective: The female students and faculty from Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.]

By 1849, both of the log cabins had been demolished. Visiting on their honeymoon, John and Frances French became captivated by the economic potential of the view from Mount Holyoke. John French bought land on the mountain and in 1851 built a new, larger structure that was more luxurious than the cabins of the previous decades and remains standing to this day.[22] With its construction, "the flavor at the summit changed from the raucous, man-dominated, have-a-drink-with-the-boys spirit of the cabin era to a more wholesome, friendly, family-outing, let's-have-a-picnic atmosphere" (Ferro and Foster 1977, 7). The Summit House Hotel drew in paying visitors with the lure of feeling like family guests and an abundance of leisure activities. John French built tennis courts and a bowling alley on the summit and an observatory in

[22] This building has been called the Mount Holyoke Summit House, the Prospect House, and the Mount Holyoke Hotel at various points in time. For the sake of clarity I refer to it only as the Summit House.

the house which provided a 360-degree view of the valley below. One visitor commented that the games offered relief from the immensity of looking at the landscape (Woods 1873). During an average summer season in the 1860s, the Summit House entertained 15,000 to 20,000 visitors (Burt 1867). French built an enclosure around the Summit House with an entrance fee required even just to enter it (Graci 1985). [Missing perspective: Visitors who were denied entrance because they could not pay the fee.]

Figure 5.1. Stereoscopic image of the Mount Holyoke Summit House and Railway, c.1867-1894. This was photographed by the Knowlton Brothers of Northampton, sometime after the 1867 enclosure of the railway but before the 1894 expansion of the Summit House. Courtesy of Historic Northampton.

In 1854, John French built the Halfway House, named for its location halfway up the mountain. He also built himself a home in this area, which is no longer standing. In addition, French installed an inclined tramway that lifted guests up the steepest part of the mountain from the Halfway House to the Summit House. Four passengers at a time, seated side-by-side on two short benches, paid 25 cents each to ride up with their backs to

the mountain, watching the view unfold before them (Graci 1985). After five or six minutes of ascent, they exited the tramway car immediately into the lobby of the hotel. The railway was first powered by horse and pulley, but in 1856 French installed a steam engine. A second track was added in 1860 to allow cars to travel in both directions. French completed major changes to the tramway in 1867. He replaced the two-track railway that followed the contours of the mountain with a three-track system that ascended in a linear incline and installed new six-passenger cars. He also added a wooden roof and walls around the railway to protect it from the elements (Figure 5.1). This enclosure blocked the view of the Valley below from sight until visitors emerged onto the lobby at the top.

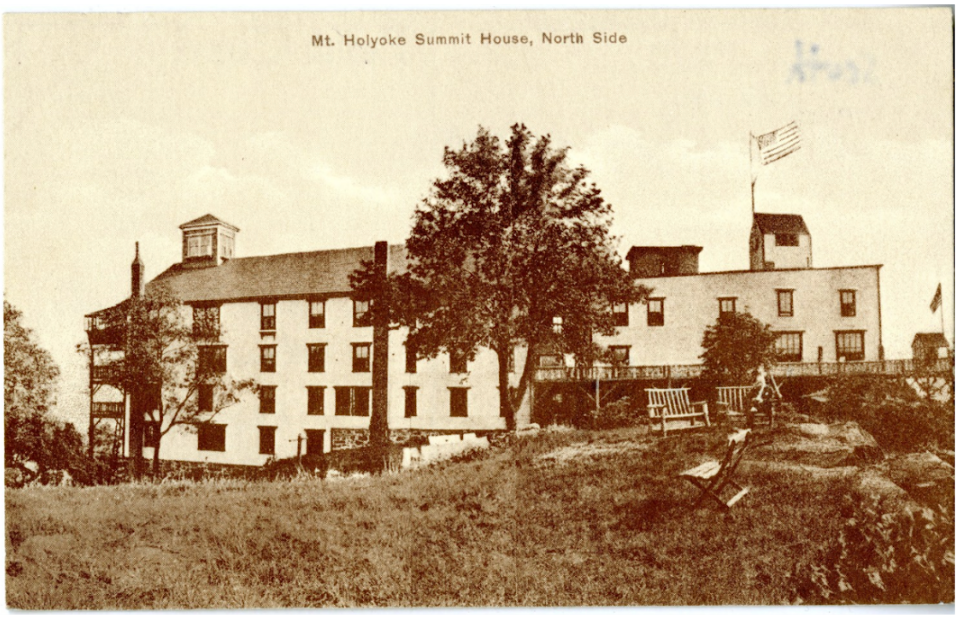

Figure 5.2. Postcard with a photograph of the Mount Holyoke Summit House with expansion, c. 1894-1900. This photograph was taken following the 1894 expansion showing the two-storied 1851 structure with wrap-around deck on the right and the four-storied expansion on the left. Courtesy of South Hadley Historical Society.

John Dwight, a successful entrepreneur of household cleaning products, purchased the Summit House in 1871. By then, Dwight was a longtime resident of New York City but had grown up in South Hadley and maintained connections to his hometown. The terms of the sale allowed for John and Frances French to continue to live on the mountain and operate the hotel. Telephone service was installed in 1877, replacing French's system of communicating to a general store in Northampton using light flashes and pointing to letters written on a large board (Graci 1985). John French died in 1891 leaving Frances, for whom the mountain was home for forty years, to operate the hotel in his absence. In 1894, John Dwight added an expensive addition to the Summit House (Figure 5.2). He built an east facade of four stories, significantly increasing the number of guest rooms. In 1899, Frances French died and her grandson took over management until John Dwight's death in 1903.

Soon after Dwight's passing, the Mount Holyoke Company was formed by a group of local residents invested in caring for and continuing to operate the hotel. The creation of the Mount Holyoke Company in 1908 is the first instance of a concerted community effort to preserve not only the land on the mountain but the Summit House. In Chapter 4, I recounted over a century of environmental conservation efforts on Mount Holyoke, from the formation of the Mount Holyoke Company to the present day. Here, I retell the events of the twentieth century centering the story on the ownership, modernization, and preservation of the Summit House.

After the state declined to purchase the mountain from the Mount Holyoke Company in 1916, Joseph Allen Skinner, then president of the Mount Holyoke Company,

bought enough stock in the company to become the sole owner of the mountain, including the hotel. Skinner was immensely invested in the preservation and enhancement of the site, both the land and the structures. He put in electricity in the hotel, electrified the tramway, and widened the road to the summit to accommodate automobiles. Even while making these improvements through the 1930s, Skinner kept trying to sell the mountain to the state. [Missing perspective: The eighty Italian laborers hired to widen the auto road (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1993).]

A main point of contention was the Summit House. When the Commissioner of Conservation, Ernest Dean, evaluated Mount Holyoke in 1936 and assessed the value of the land and buildings, he wrote that while the state was interested in acquiring a new forest, they were not interested in purchasing and maintaining a hotel. Following Dwight's expansion, the hotel had forty rooms and was quite a large structure, and rather expensive to keep up. Dean wrote in the report, "it is, perhaps, somewhat questionable whether the increasing desire of the public for recreation in nature's beauty spots, even in one providing such outstanding scenic beauties as the Mount Holyoke Hotel offers, will be sufficient to make the present hotel a financial asset" (E. J. Dean 1936, 6). He recommended that the Mount Holyoke Company reduce the size of the hotel back down to the original 1851 structure before the state would seriously consider acquiring it.

A devastating hurricane hit the region in 1938. The storm damaged the 1894 addition so severely that it had to be dismantled, which accomplished the downsizing recommended by the state. Once the addition was torn down, the building was indeed back down to the original 1851 structure, which was not significantly affected by the

storm. [Missing perspective: The workmen from the American Wrecking Company of Springfield who were hired to dismantle the wrecked addition (Graci 1985).] In 1940, Skinner gave up on trying to persuade the state to buy the mountain and turned it over for free. He had suffered personal financial losses, was devoting much effort into developing the Skinner Museum in South Hadley, and could no longer maintain the hotel. Mount Holyoke became the J. A. Skinner State Park, which it remains named to this day. There was a dedication ceremony in September 1940, where 400 guests picnicked on the summit and the Holyoke High School band played (Graci 1985).

It is at this point that the history of the Mount Holyoke Summit House undergoes a turning point, a transition from operational hotel to decaying historic structure. Although finally part of a public park, the confluence of the state's general lack of interest in maintaining the structure with the onset of World War II resulted in an extended period of neglect. The story will continue below in the context of efforts, both successful and unsuccessful, to preserve the Summit House.

The Summit House as Locus of Engagement with the Past

In this section, I consider people's interactions with the history of the Summit House in the more recent past. I have identified three modes of engagement which represent three distinct ways that people actively connect to the past. These include historic preservation advocacy, collecting practices, and consuming interpretive material inside the Summit House. I first discuss endeavors to preserve the historic structure since the 1940s, which were typically community-based and often antagonistic with the state. I

then examine the collecting practices of a few community members who have maintained extensive personal collections of Mount Holyoke hotel memorabilia. Lastly, I consider engagement with interpretation at the site, including exhibits inside and guided tours of the Summit House.

Community Activism: Preservation Efforts

During and following World War II, the Summit House fell into disrepair. In a Historic and Economic Assessment of the Summit House prepared for the Department of Environmental Management in 1977, the period 1938 onward is called the "Era of Deterioration" and, similarly, David Graci categorizes the years between 1938 and 1978 as a period of decline (Graci 1985; Ferro and Foster 1977). Gasoline rationing and bans on pleasure driving severely reduced the number of visitors to the mountains of New England in the late 1930s and early 1940s. With a drop in attendance, the upkeep of the Summit House was not a priority for the state. The structure received an exterior painting in 1942 but otherwise did not receive much maintenance (Graci 1985).

Saving the tramway was one of the earliest issues around which community preservation activists rallied. The electrical motor burned out in 1942, stopping the cars in the middle of the track, and the tramway would never operate again. After the war, Massachusetts Conservation Commissioner A. K. Sloper decided to improve the road to the summit, enlarge parking areas, and demolish the defunct tramway. The Pioneer Valley Association, a community group based in Northampton made up of hundreds of local businesses, rallied to try to save the historic railway. The group, a "fiercely loyal constituency" in support of the Summit House, was led by Roger Johnson (Carr 2009,

343). Johnson, who grew up in the Hadley neighborhood of Hockanum at the base of Mount Holyoke, lobbied the state legislature to repair the tramway. This battle to save the historic railway was widely reported in local news outlets. Before this issue was resolved, during the winter of 1948, the wooden roof of the tramway collapsed under the weight of heavy snow. Undeterred, in 1949, Johnson secured a promise from the state for $20,000 to be allocated to repairs to the tramway. However, these funds never came through for their intended purpose. By 1953, the Pioneer Valley Association gave up the cause. What remained of the tramway, attested by Johnson to be the only covered funicular in the world, was intentionally burned down in 1965.

This false promise represents a decades-long pattern of funds allocated for repairs to the Summit House never actually being delivered. "Apparent success in the legislature never resulted in the Department of Conservation receiving or using the funds as intended" (Carr 2009, 344). For community members whose parents advocated for preserving the tramway, this failure is blamed on the state. Rick Thayer and Wayne Buckhout's parents were involved in these efforts to save the tramway in the 1940s. I met the two men at one of the summer concerts held at the Summit House and we arranged for long interviews in their respective homes, joined by their wives. In each interview, we spoke about the state of the tramway in the mid-twentieth century. Rick's dad, who used to walk up the staircase right beside the rails, was also involved in the effort. Speaking to both me and Rick, Rick's wife Mary recollected:

> I think his dad, your dad, your folks tried to save the tram. 'Cause that, you know, that had gotten crushed and falling down and the motor had stopped working and they were really hoping the state would save that and I guess the state decided it wasn't worth fixing and it was a liability so they had it taken down completely.

The judgment that it was not worth repairing the tramway was made by the state, not community members. Wayne's mother had ridden the tramway as a young woman and, as a boy, he would walk atop its collapsed roof. Wayne said that "because the state didn't take care of things, [the tramway] came under disrepair and started to falter." Following the demolition of the tramway were several more decades of uncertainty about the Summit House structure itself. Ethan Carr, historian and preservationist of public landscapes, wrote an essay on the history of preservation on Mount Holyoke. Carr writes that after the announcement that the tramway would be demolished, Mount Holyoke "became the center of a long struggle between local preservationists and the state of Massachusetts over what place and role, if any, historic structures should have in the new park" (2009, 343).

This struggle about the role of historic structures was playing out more broadly across the state and the nation as the historic preservation movement coalesced. At the turn of the twentieth century, "preservation in Massachusetts matured from a string of spontaneous efforts to an institutionalized movement" (Holleran 2019, 32). In 1947, the year the state decided to demolish the tramway, there was only one historic preservation organization in Massachusetts. The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), now called Historic New England, was "America's first standing regional preservation institution" (Holleran 2019, 32). SPNEA was chartered in 1910 by William Sumner Appleton, Jr. who had a vision for an organization dedicated to preserving New England antiquities. His work focused primarily, however, on

Colonial-era residential structures in the Boston area. While the National Park Service administered a Historic American Building Survey in the 1930s and the U.S. National Trust for Historic Preservation was founded in 1949, state and federal governments did not start enacting historic preservation laws until the 1960s. The Massachusetts Historical Commission was established in 1963 and the National Historic Preservation Act passed in 1966. It was only then that the federal government began to push for the regularization of preservation rules (Mason and Page 2019). Preservation practitioners during the era between the 1935 Historic Sites Act and the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act "created the criteria and conventions that defined how Americans would identify, classify, and recognize historic places" (Sprinkle 2019a, 385). Meanwhile, the ongoing parks movement emphasized recreation over landscape preservation. It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that planners and environmentalists united to save rural landscapes (Holleran 2019, 37). The debates around the best way to preserve the historic structures on Mount Holyoke were situated in this wider context of a nascent preservation movement gaining momentum.

Meanwhile, Mount Holyoke was regaining popularity as a recreational destination. Although visitation dropped off during World War II, it rapidly increased again after the war, setting a new record every year. Annual attendance went up from 3,000 people in 1934 to 13,000 in 1954 (Carr 2009, 343). During the 1950s and 60s, the practice of outdoor recreation transformed. Backpacking and hiking caught on as new trends, and visitors to the mountain came to hike. The walk up became the purpose of the visit, rather than as a means to access the amenities of the Summit House. Visitors also

started driving their own cars up the maintained paved road, visiting on day trips, and not requiring overnight lodging. This is another way in which the site was transformed over time by people's changing desires and behaviors. These new recreation patterns rendered the tramway and hotel obsolete for the daytrippers and recreational hikers. The state thus focused on upgrading the road and parking facilities and completed only surface-level maintenance for the Summit House, such as sporadic repainting. There was no perceived need by the state to fix up, maintain, and operate the Summit House; maintaining a hotel was not part of the vision for their public parks. In fact, the more visitors who accessed the Summit House, the greater their potential legal liability. In 1968, a storage shed caught on fire, and furniture, photographs, guest books, paintings, and other objects from the Mount Holyoke Hotel were lost (Ferro and Foster 1977).

As described in Chapter 4, the 1950s and 60s were a period of increased attention towards environmental conservation on Mount Holyoke and the rest of the Mount Holyoke Range. But the cycle of false promises and ultimate inaction continued with respect to improvements to the Summit House. In 1956, Commissioner Arthur T. Lyman said, "The time is long past for the preservation of the historic summit house and I am very happy that it can be started now with funds available" (Graci 1985, 85). Following this declaration, legislation passed in 1957 authorizing the Commissioner of Natural Resources to "develop, improve and operate recreational facilities at the Joseph Allen Skinner State Park." In order to "reconstruct and renovate the Summit House" as well as reconstructing the tramway, engine house, and Halfway House, $850,000 was appropriated (*Senate Bill 0190* 1957). A sum of $50,000 was immediately set aside for

necessary repairs. While some of this was used to make sure the Summit House wouldn't immediately collapse, most was spent on architect fees. An architectural firm based in Boston, Perry, Shaw, Hepburn & Dean, famous at the time for their restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, designed a million-dollar plan to reconstruct the Summit House (*Daily Hampshire Gazette* 1958). Their ambitious proposal involved saving only the original main lobby and one guest room, reconstructing the entire exterior, and adding restaurant facilities. Again, the promised funds were never completely delivered and this plan was abandoned.

In 1962, a booklet called *The Case for the Holyoke Range… and a Proposal* was produced by the cooperative efforts of a community, a state, and a federal organization (R. L. Johnson and Foster 1962). Richard Johnson, now President of the South Hadley Conservation Society, collaborated with Charles Foster, Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources, to write this report on their 1961 survey of the natural and historic resources of the Holyoke Range. This work was carried out with the assistance of the New England Regional Office of the National Park Service. They determined "that the Holyoke Range possesses, to an unusual degree, a wide diversity of public recreational, natural and historic values, and is worthy of public ownership" (R. L. Johnson and Foster 1962, 3). This survey was conducted only a few years before the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation began their feasibility study for a Connecticut River National Recreation Area in 1966 (United States Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1968). In the brochure, Johnson and Foster outline the natural and human history of the mountain, making the case for its upkeep. Their proposal for improvements

on Mount Holyoke included a new mechanical lift as well as interpretive signage and a concession stand. Their focus was on outdoor recreation on the mountain, including picnicking, camping, hiking, horseback riding, and cycling. While conservation efforts in the range continued, no action was taken on architectural or interpretive developments at the summit.

Figure 5.3. Photograph of the Summit House, 1976. Image by Robb Strycharz, courtesy of chronos-historical.org.

Around 1970, university students in an Environmental Design studio course, in collaboration with a Park Administration class, prepared a study of the Skinner State Park (Baxter et al. 1970; Villamaino 2016).[23] As this was a class project, it is not known if their interpretive prospectus and recommendations for the development of the Summit House and its facilities were shared with or taken seriously by state administrators. However, their assessment of the structure is useful as a snapshot of the situation at this time. The students write that "the building was of interest many years ago, but time and vandals have turned it into an empty shell" (Baxter et al. 1970, 21). They recommended

[23] While it is unclear which institution the students were from, these courses were most likely taught at UMass Amherst.

tearing down the Summit House and building a completely new building containing a restaurant and gift shop. “Due to insufficient funds and improper management,” they explained, “the house has been beset by vandalism and further structural decay. Present valley residents have little faith in the State’s ability and desire to maintain the Park” (Baxter et al. 1970, 7). The Summit House was in quite a dilapidated condition by the mid-1970s (Figure 5.3), and the blame is placed squarely on the state.

In 1975, Massachusetts also determined that the Summit House should be demolished. The Commissioner of the newly renamed Department of Environmental Management (DEM), Bette Woody, held a public hearing in South Hadley. She declared the Summit House structurally unsound and restoration prohibitively expensive (Carr 2009). Commissioner Woody was clear that DEM was prioritizing environmental conservation, and would not use any of the funds earmarked towards land acquisition to restore the hotel. She advocated for complete demolition and replacing the Summit House with an observation platform or simple structure. Wayne and Sandi, who were in college at the time, remembered the uproar over the proposal to completely tear down the Summit House. “That was a huge grassroots uprising,” Sandi said during our interview in their South Hadley home. “I mean, everybody got either schools or auditoriums filled with people.” Of the 150 people in attendance at this public hearing, 80% wanted the building to be completely restored without delay and were angry at the state for letting it deteriorate (Graci 1985). Also present were 25 members of a new Summit House Task Force, composed of local residents and historians. The group strongly advocated for restoration.

Gwendolyn Clancy was a member of this task force. In 1975, Gwen produced a 26-minute film, *Summit House*, about the history of the Summit House. She recorded oral histories from elderly community members and overlaid their audio over video footage and historical photographs. Soon, Gwen's documentary was shown all over the region, inspiring people to join the movement to resist the demolition of the Summit House It was "one of the most successful efforts to build support for the Summit House at this time" (Carr 2009, 353). Sandi, who went to South Hadley High School with Gwen, and her husband Wayne reflected on the impact of the documentary.

Wayne:	And when it came time and they showed her film, oh my goodness.
Sandi:	I think they showed it in Boston, didn't they?
Wayne:	Yeah. It really resonated. It's like, wow, you know.

Many credit Gwen with saving the Summit House. Hattie said, "She saved, she really was the mover and shaker, actually, because at one point the option was to take this whole thing down, which would have been…[long pause]." Gwen herself said that she produced the film "to help it not be destroyed, to not be torn down."

I interviewed Gwen Clancy over the phone as she currently lives in Nevada. *Summit House* was actually her second film about Mount Holyoke. The very first film she ever made, back when she was picking up filmmaking for the first time, was called *The Mountain House*. Following a year in Paris after college, Gwen moved back to South Hadley to reconnect with her family in 1974. "That was before we knew the state had plans to tear it down," Gwen recounted. "And I just love that place so much that I decided I would make—I just wanted to make a film." She got a job at UMass making public relations films and had a silent film camera at her disposal. "And I thought, wow I

could actually make a film that would be sort of a tribute. It was kind of a tribute to, very autobiographical, and it was a tribute to the mountain and the relationship that I had with the mountain."

The Mountain House was a 15-minute silent film set to music that shows a young woman, someone Gwen found who looked like her, walking up to the summit with Gwen's dog. She sits on the deck of the Summit House and looks out at the view. Gwen screened the film in local elementary schools in South Hadley, Amherst, and Northampton. "I loved that film," she said. "It made me feel so good it was just, all about connection, you know? To a place." It was through the creation of this short piece that Gwen first learned filmmaking skills, leading not only to the second film about the Summit House but to a decades-long career as an independent documentary filmmaker. "And then it projected, it propelled me with plenty of energy into the next project. You know, the bigger project," Gwen reflected.

After a showing of *The Mountain House* at Mount Holyoke College, Gwen was approached by one of her neighbors who asked if she thought about making another film for the upcoming South Hadley Bicentennial. He encouraged her to raise money to support herself so that she could do some research, like find old photographs and interview people, and produce a documentary about the Summit House. Gwen explained what she did after this inspiring conversation:

> So, sure enough, I set off and submitted a little grant proposal to the Bicentennial Commission or something. Got some small amount of money but it was enough at that point. I was 25 I guess. It was enough to propel me forward with great enthusiasm to doing this project and even though I had hated history in high school, I thought it was so boring that I never even took another history class ever again in college. But then here—lo and behold—here I am in the archives in the

> Northampton Library pawing through all of these old photographs of Mount Holyoke, I mean of the, not the college, but of the old Mountain House. And then finding people to interview and then finding old footage from Mount Holyoke College of the students going up there on Mountain Day. You know, and so it's sort of turned into this, one door kept leading to another, kept opening up.

Having received funding from the town, she created the film "as a Bicentennial Project in cooperation with the South Hadley Bicentennial Committee" (Clancy 1975). Gwen invested herself in historical research to create the film. She also interviewed elderly neighbors in Hockanum, including Roger Johnson, going into their homes with her recording equipment. Her goal was to preserve the history of the Summit House:

> And my idea in making the film had been, well if they do tear it down at least there'll be something so we can remember it. We can all remember it. And I had been, I really didn't make it thinking it would help save the place. That wasn't my intent. I wanted to save the history of it… I was so, like, I'm in love with the Summit House.

Motivated by her love of the Summit House and her growing interest in documentary filmmaking and historical research, Gwen produced this film in her mid-twenties. Soon after completing the project, she moved west to Nevada.

Gwen's friend Nancy, who "was a good community organizer," took the film and used it as a tool with which to advocate for saving the Summit House. Gwen explained Nancy's involvement and the formation of a more cohesive community group rallying around the cause of saving the Summit House:

> So she became part of this little group of people on the Hadley and South Hadley side who wanted to restore the Summit House. Because at that point the state of Massachusetts was getting furious. They said, "Look, this is a hazard, we need to tear this down. There's gonna be arson, there's gonna be a fire and it's gonna be a disaster, we just need to get rid of this thing." So they were really intent on doing this.

Nancy and this citizen's group, the Holyoke Range Advisory Committee, went to Boston and showed Gwen's film to the state legislators. Gwen recounted that the people they screened the film to in Boston were surprised. They said "Oh my gosh! They had no idea this was so rich in history. They don't want to tear it down.'I'm not gonna tear it down. We're gonna give you $800,000 dollars to restore it!'" Despite decades of attempts to restore the Summit House, it was Gwen's film, and the grassroots support it garnered, which finally motivated real action. "I love telling that story," said Gwen, "that's why I always tell people that's why I love filmmaking is 'cause it's so powerful."

Right away, the state hired an architectural consultant to study the structural and economic feasibility of restoring the Summit House. In this Historic and Economic Assessment, issued in January 1977, Maximilian Ferro, a consultant with the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, documented the history of Mount Holyoke and assessed preservation options (Carr 2009; Ferro and Foster 1977). Ferro credited Gwen Clancy's film, stating that he drew upon her previous research (Ferro and Foster 1977, 1). He also met with members of the Mount Holyoke Summit House Task Force, including Gwen, Nancy, and others, in addition to members of the public at large. Following this community-engaged process, Ferro outlined many potential reuse opportunities for the Summit House, including making the structure a museum, restaurant, inn, education center, hiker's cabin, and theatre. Most ideas were dismissed, with the exception of restoring the Summit House back to its original function as an observation platform and a small hotel. Ferro recommended that the building be turned

into a small Victorian-style inn. The state was not interested in maintaining an inn but did opt to undertake renovations on the building to preserve it as a historic site and observation platform.

In 1981, the Holyoke Range Advisory Committee became a nonprofit. The organization was later renamed the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, which remains active to this day. "This institutional stability for citizen involvement and advocacy was a by-product of the long preservation struggle" (Carr 2009, 354). The Friends are a cohesive group that continue to organize around conservation and preservation of the Mount Holyoke Range.[24] Owing to their grassroots advocacy work, construction finally began on renovations to the Summit House. Construction lasted for six summers, between 1982 and 1988. The building was restored to what it would have looked like in the year 1890. While renovations were underway in 1983, Gwen Clancy returned to Mount Holyoke to marry her husband on the summit.

Also concurrently with renovations, David Graci was conducting his own historical investigations. He wrote *Mt. Holyoke: An Enduring Prospect*, which he self-published in 1985. On the back cover, Graci writes that "the untold story of New England's first mountain top resort is at last revealed… The story of this historic site is written for the very first time in its entirety." Graci's book is a key secondary source cited in subsequent state reports and documents. The Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range still talk about the book and circulate copies. In his article on preservation and conservation efforts on Mount Holyoke, Ethan Carr cites David Graci and calls him "the most

[24] The group's involvement in environmental conservation efforts are detailed in Chapter 4.

important historian of Mt. Holyoke" (Carr 2009, 343).

This was the first book that David Graci wrote, and he would go on to publish many more on local history. When I interviewed him in a cafe in downtown Amherst, he shared that he was not trained as a historian before taking up this project. David Graci was a printer, and the primary skills he took with him from his career training to publishing his own work was in the physical creation of the book. He said, "and that [my career as a printer] was like a segue into where I wound up 'cause everything else I did after that I used my printing knowledge and I was able to do the whole thing, writing it up, illustrating it, composing it, putting it together so that it could be printed." *Mt. Holyoke: An Enduring Prospect* and David Graci's subsequent books are all self-published and self-distributed. "So I was a one-man band if you wanna call it that," he said. "I figured if I can do it and satisfy myself, I don't have to worry about everybody else." Operating on his own, outside of the realm of academia, publishing houses, reviewers, and editors, David Graci created his book.

David Graci describes himself as a "rogue historian" on his website (2017). "Just ask questions and you write down the answers and you see if they all make sense. Which I hoped it did," he said of his research process during our interview. At the time, no one else had written extensively about Mount Holyoke or the Summit House. Graci found old photographs, stereoview cards, and newspaper articles. He pored over microfiche archives and Mount Holyoke College scrapbooks. Graci was present when they began renovating the Summit House. "Yeah I went into the house before they even started, 'cause I said I got to know all of the park rangers at the time," he said. Graci also

accumulated objects related to the history of the Summit House, which will be discussed further in the next section on collecting practices.

The stories of David Graci and Gwen Clancy are remarkably similar. They both honed their skills and forged new professional identities through their work at the site. Both engaged in historical investigations without any prior formal training, motivated by a personal desire to learn more about Mount Holyoke and the Summit House. Both produced their first creative work—for David a book about local history and for Gwen a documentary film—and would go on to dedicate themselves to these genres. Their works were the first to present the history of Mount Holyoke to a wider audience, had significant impacts on the preservation of the site, and continue to be shared and discussed today.

Preservation concerns at the Summit House still occur. The building was closed to the public for four years between 2010 and 2014. The Summit House and the deck closed during the 2010 season when a state inspector and engineer determined that the deck was structurally unsound and unsafe. Construction on repairs actually did not begin until 2012, after a series of delays (Crowley 2014). The Summit House reopened in 2014 when updates were finally complete. These updates included the addition of a wheelchair ramp and structural improvements to the deck, two handicap parking spaces next to the ramp entrance, handicap accessible bathrooms, and wheelchair accessible picnic table, and increased handicap accessibility to the first floor (Villamaino 2015a). In an article published the weekend the Summit House reopened, a staff writer for a local media outlet reported that "Among those glad to see the project done are members of the volunteer

group, Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, which has been pushing the state to see the project through" (Crowley 2014). The Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range remains dedicated to the preservation of the Summit House.

Collecting Practices

Closely related to the historical investigations carried out by David Graci and Gwen Clancy are the collecting practices of several community members who have accumulated objects and memorabilia related to Mount Holyoke and the Summit House when it was a hotel. My research revealed collecting to be a significant avenue of engagement with the past at Mount Holyoke. There is overlap in terms of who is participating in these practices; those who intensively collect artifacts related to Mount Holyoke, including David Graci, also have been involved in some way in preservation advocacy and are invested in the maintenance of the Summit House. In recent decades, many scholars have written about the nature of collections and collecting. Common themes are the transformation that material culture undergoes when it is made part of a collection as well as the collector's creation of meaning. Items that enter a collection must be recontextualized; often motivated by feelings of nostalgia for earlier times, they are reframed from use objects to aesthetic objects (Danet and Katriel 1989). Belk (1994) calls this a profane to sacred conversion while Shanks et al. (2004) refer to it as an archaeological metamorphosis. "The quotidian becomes the materialization of a historical moment. This is a process of archaeological metamorphosis: mundane things come to carry the baggage of history; they become allegorical" (Shanks, Platt, and Rathje 2004, 63). During this transformative process, individual objects acquire historical meaning,

imbued by the collector. Material culture does not passively receive meaning but can be actively involved. This "meaning develops as an interactive process between thing and viewer" (Pearce 1994, 19). Historic objects acquire value through their narration and circulation (Dawdy 2016). In this section, I will focus on three people or couples who have engaged in collecting practices—David Graci, Rick and Mary Thayer, and Wayne and Sandi Buckhout—to investigate the process of metamorphosis when mundane objects of the past are turned into aesthetic objects with historical meaning connected to place.

While he was undertaking research for his book, David Graci accumulated stereoscopic photographs and various other nineteenth-century objects related to the Summit House. Graci reckons that at one point he had the most complete collection of stereoview cards of Mount Holyoke. He also recounted finding in the 1980s "all of the dumpsites where the proprietors [of the hotel] would throw out their trash." He found medicine bottles from South Hadley and a lot of different styles of dishware.

> Very interesting stuff, I mean, it didn't tell you, didn't give you a complete picture but at least it gave you some sort of background information, you know, what they might've used. Which you don't see anywhere and you don't hear anywhere because nobody's gonna write down, "Gee, we had a nice green pattern dish over here." No, nobody's gonna care about that.

By locating and digging through the Summit House trash heaps, David Graci rematerialized things that were dematerialized (González-Ruibal 2018), incorporating them into his own assemblage. He describes acquiring a unique object owned by the first proprietor of the Summit House hotel, which was buried in a midden.

David: There was one thing that I did run across. One of the rangers calls me up one day, he says, "Listen, I've got something that you might be interested in. I dug it up on the mountain." I don't know where he dug it up, he wouldn't tell me, but it was in a trash heap. And it was a hand stamp. And it was a hand stamp that, it was like, it was an elaborate thing. Like, almost like a stapler.

Danielle: Okay.

David: You know the stapler has the long base and then the arm that would come up?

Danielle: Okay, yeah.

David: And it had on the front of it, it had a wonderful gizmo. It was a round circle. And it contained the dates, all the dates for all the months and all the days. And underneath they had a plate that you could attach that had the name of John French on it.

Danielle: Like a seal or something like that?

David: Yeah.

Danielle: Okay.

David: It was like a template they were using. So you, and they had a plunger on the top so you could arrange the date and then when you got the bill they would stamp it and it would print. So he had the front part, just the round object that controlled everything. Not the framework or any of that stuff. So I found something that was pretty close to it and put it together so I had an idea of exactly what it looked like. It was very intriguing because it still had John French's template on the bottom. So when you turned it over and looked at the base, you could see what it said. I thought that was probably the most interesting thing I ever found.

This act of discovery engrossed him. With the help of a park ranger, David Graci found a customized object that was likely one-of-a-kind and reconstructed it by adding on a piece. The object was forgotten, buried in the ground for decades. He inferred its use and its importance based on the name of John French as well as the names of the months and days engraved on it.

I do not condone an "amateur archaeologist," as David Graci calls himself, digging (looting) at the Summit House or anywhere without proper training, permits, or adherence to an ethical code of conduct for professional archaeologists. Principles of archaeological ethics include responsibilities to ensure they have adequate training before commencing a destructive archaeological investigation, to document and preserve a site, and to not commercialize archaeological artifacts (SAA Ethics in Archaeology Committee 1996). From the standpoint of a trained, academic archaeologist, the digging on Mount Holyoke and the sale of discovered artifacts is problematic. Rather than indict these practices, I seek here to analyze the sense of history fostered through interactions with this material culture.

The hand stamp that David Graci found has what Shannon Dadwy (2016) defines as patina. Dawdy also describes what she calls the antique fetish, an intimacy and personal significance imparted to antiques "and other historically marked artifacts like souvenirs, heirlooms, and retro-style commodities" (Dawdy 2016, 114). The story of the hand stamp used by John French to date receipts of visitors to the hotel is part of its patina. Even the medicine bottles and broken dishware found in the trash heap have a historical narrative related to the Summit House. Collectors sense the temporality of antiques to which they impart value; they feel an intimate connection to the past.

David Graci eventually commodified and sold the hand stamp. "It was fun to find, fun to own for a while," he said. He sold it to an unnamed local collector who told him that he would buy anything related to Mount Holyoke. "So over the years I just kept funneling all the stuff to him and he kept buying it up," David said. "He had it for quite a

while and eventually he sold it." At the time of my interview with David Graci, I had actually already seen this stamp. It was in the home of Rick and Mary Thayer, who possess a large collection of Mount Holyoke artifacts. I asked how they acquired the collection.

> Mary: Some of it was in the house here. A period of time probably about twenty years ago I just really grabbed things on eBay whenever I could see them and got a lot of the pamphlets and pictures and stuff like that.
> Rick: Stereoscope views and postcards.
> Mary: But we certainly had some that folks, you know, from earlier times. And then there was somebody that had a collection of stuff that he had gotten from somebody that had collected a lot of stuff when they were ready to sell it and he was at the point where he was ready to sell it so we, we acquired quite a bit of some of the souvenir-type things they used to give and stuff, so we have that as well and quite a few photos and more pamphlets and stuff, so. It's fun, it's fun. We'll show you, we've got a case, too, with some items.

After we concluded the formal part of our interview in the kitchen, they led me into a different part of the house, part of the original 1747 structure. In their dining room, Mary had laid out all of the documents, letters, photographs, postcards, and pamphlets that she and Rick's family have been collecting over the years (Figure 5.4). In the adjoining living room, they have a cabinet full of Mount Holyoke objects. On the shelves of the cabinet are memorabilia that was sold to tourists and visitors in the Summit House, including teacups and saucers, puzzle boxes, and glass paperweights. They also have objects used in the day-to-day operation of the hotel, like room keychains and John French's hand stamp.

Figure 5.4. Rick and Mary's dining room table, scattered with a variety of documents from their personal Mount Holyoke archive, including menus, advertisements, photographs, pamphlets, and tickets.

Mary: So everything in here has something to do with Mount Holyoke. So it's a lot of dishes they used to use or sell and a lot of the souvenirs. There's some keys to the rooms. So, hotels like Mount Holyoke Hotel—

Danielle: And some of these you got online?

Mary: No, this was, these were the collection we were able to—keys to room number seven. And, you know, a lot of the dishes. And they sold a lot of souvenir-type things. And, you know, paperweights. When they were redoing the deck they had a lot of scrap wood so there's a piece of the old deck. I guess this was part of his collection, just some of the wood they had replaced. This was a stamp that they had used at the front hotel desk that I guess they would stamp things with the Summit House, um, French. So, a stamping machine used by John French at the Prospect House. It's not in great shape, but it's—

Danielle: To stamp bills or something?

Mary: Yeah.

Mary and Rick's collection was accumulated by inheriting a collection passed down from previous generations and purchasing objects online on eBay and through informal connections with other local collectors. These artifacts have been removed from primary circulation and have a patina and historicity through their connection to Mount Holyoke and the Summit House.[25] The Thayers feel an intimacy with patinated objects strengthened by their personal ties to Mount Holyoke. In turn, their curation of these artifacts deepens their connection to the mountain.

Mary showed me a menu from the Summit House dated to 1910, which advertised "French prunes" and "steaks, chops, etc." Mary shared that she finds it so fun to read the prices for everything, including the meals, taking the tram, and staying overnight. Reading the information on the menu, Mary said: "Eggs all sorts of ways. And then breakfast from 7:30 to 9 is 75 cents and dinner from 12 to 2 is a dollar and supper from 6 to 7 is 75 cents. And special Sunday table is a dollar. So the big meal was noontime." Based on the prices of the meals, Mary infers that the most important meal of the day was dinner, served at noon. This is a small act of historical interpretation linked to narration about the daily lives of past visitors of Mount Holyoke. Rick and Mary also showed me photographs and postcards of the Summit House, some images I had not yet seen elsewhere. "Here's, here's the lobby of the new addition. Isn't that fancy?" asked Mary. "I mean, it just looks so elegant. The one that got knocked down. And then here's the tram and then here's, I mean look at that, can you imagine riding down that? They had

[25] I will further discuss the piece of wood from the deck in their collection in Chapter 6, where I delve further into interactions with the wooden structure of the Summit House.

the lights which were I guess gas or something." Visitors on official tours of the Summit House, which will be explored further in the next section, are shown similar images of the tramway and the expansion. But the practice of collecting, curating in an album, and displaying photographs in their home fosters a level of intimacy for the Thayers with these no longer extant structures of the Summit House.

During this part of the interview, Rick kept fiddling with a puzzle box, a Mount Holyoke matchbox souvenir with a trick to opening it. Part of his attention was focused on the box; while we were looking through other objects, Rick would talk to Mary about his progress. "I'm trying to remember," he said. A few minutes later, "I'm going to have to remember." A bit later, he explains his progress.

> Mary: Figure out how to... I think it was something interesting.
> Rick: It was like, it was like two positions. So it was like you put this at a certain position and there's a little ball that locks and it's, this slides, or it slides and it pivots, doesn't it?
> Mary: Okay. Yeah, it does.
> Rick: But I think you put this and then—
> Mary: I think you turn it upside down.
> Rick: And then you turn it upside down.
> Mary: Ooh, you got it. Looks like you're almost—it's moving somewhat.
> Rick: I don't think it's moving any more than it was.

Another few minutes later, they mention how you can't force it open. Then, a bit later, Rick finally succeeds in opening the puzzle box.

> Rick: Got it.
> Danielle: Did you get it?
> Rick: And I think it was an old matchbook, 'cause I think this is the scratcher for it. So you'd have matches in there, old matches, and then you'd have the striker there, so. Yeah, so it just comes down a little bit then it slides out.

Danielle: What's in there now, a little marble?
Rick: Well the marble is in here, it's part of this little mechanism.
Danielle: Oh.
Rick: Somehow I fumbled it open.
Mary: Oh you got it! Yay!
Rick: Now the question is getting it back together.

Figure 5.5. Stereograph images of Mount Holyoke in the Thayers' personal collection.

Solving and opening the puzzle box is an act of discovery and a visceral interaction with an object from the past. Rick also showed me how to use their old wooden stereoscope to look at stereoview cards (Figure 5.5). While I had seen many stereoscopic images, I had never held and used a nineteenth-century stereoscope. While the Mount Holyoke memorabilia in their home is usually on display in a glass cabinet, unlike artifacts in a museum exhibit, the Thayers can interact with and play with their historic objects on their own terms.

Wayne and Sandi Buckhout had also laid out their collection of Mount Holyoke artifacts, photographs, and postcards on a table during our interview outside in their three-season gazebo. Standing around the table, I leaned over to look at the objects on display.

Danielle:	What is this? Is it a flask or a flower vase?
Wayne:	This happens to be, um, [reading the etching on the glass vase] "Mount Holyoke Lithia Springs Water." So, Lithia Springs.
Danielle:	Yeah, yeah, I've hiked around there.
Wayne:	Okay. Um, I don't know when they dammed it up but obviously the water must've been great 'cause they must've gone there to get it. So this was in a room. So, go to your hotel room, this would be there, there'd be a glass over here over the top of this and that was your drinking water. And the glass protected insects from getting in your water. So if you wanted to drink at night, you could have water. And that came from David Graci, I bought that from him. And I bought this from him as well.
Danielle:	Is that a room key?
Wayne:	This is a room key. So, I'm gonna look to see if there's a date here. Let's see, postmark, two cents. So that'd be around 1900 or so.
Danielle:	"Peggy's Room Key." Peggy stole that.
Wayne:	Apparently so!

There is here too a narrative element associated with these objects and how they would have been used. Wayne engages in historical interpretation, inferring the date based on the cost of the stamp on a postcard. There is also a sense of familiarity, with knowing that someone named Peggy used the room key and also personally knowing the place. The water served at the Mount Holyoke hotel came from Lithia Springs, a reservoir at the base of the south side of the mountain where Wayne and I have each hiked to.

Wayne had purchased both the glass vase and the room key from David Graci, participating in the informal exchange of antiques related to Mount Holyoke. He and Sandi have also purchased artifacts from antique shows, which they attend to find objects to sell in their gift shop. They operate a country and farmhouse decor shop connected to their home near the base of Mount Holyoke in South Hadley. While I was flipping through their book of old postcards, Wayne said that "because of our business and everything else, I just happened to be in an antique show and had postcards. And we started lookin' and said, 'Hey, look! They got the Mountain House.'"

Wayne and his wife Sandi, like David Graci and Rick and Mary Thayer, participate in processes of recycling and curation of material culture. These collected artifacts have been transformed from utilitarian to aesthetic. The postcards have messages and postmarks on them but are now in an album and the glass vase no longer holds water. However, items like the stereoscope and puzzle box are still occasionally used for their original intended purpose. Some objects, like the excavated hand stamp, are re-materialized in moments of discovery. But finding a Mount Holyoke souvenir on eBay or at an antique show also entails an element of excitement and discovery for these collectors. They circulate, passing sometimes from buyer to seller, but frequently leave circulation for long periods to become part of a collection. They all have patina, an aura of the past, and serve as physical links to Mount Holyoke and its history. Collecting practices, for those who engage in them, fosters intimate personal or family relationships to the mountain with a temporal depth almost two hundred years into the past.

Please Do Not Touch: Tours and Exhibits

The people that I spoke with who collect Mount Holyoke artifacts have all been invested at some level in the preservation of the Summit House. They, and others involved in preservation efforts, express a general interest in continuing to learn about the history of Mount Holyoke. I asked Rick and Mary if they feel like they know the history of the Summit House well. They shared that they do, but they always like to learn more and hear the chronology again. One way to learn more about the history and chronology of the Summit House is to read the signage and exhibits inside when the building is open to visitors on weekends between April and October or attend a guided tour offered by the Department of Conservation and Recreation interpreters. Compared to preservation efforts and collecting practices, inspecting the exhibits and going on a tour are more casual modes of engagement with history that a wider range of visitors participate in.

In anticipation of the Summit House restoration in the 1980s, the Hitchcock Center for the Environment developed a full interpretive plan for the site. During the summer of 1979, the Hitchcock Center stationed a naturalist on the summit of Mount Holyoke. This person took people on short guided hikes around the summit, developed exhibits, and screened Gwen Clancy's *Summit House* film. They conducted comprehensive surveys and collected a formative evaluation of potential interpretive programming at the site, including possible exhibit topics inside the Summit House. The Hitchcock Center's recommendations included enhancing exhibit space and developing more interpretive exhibits including signs indicating the use of former rooms, one showing signatures in the guestbook of famous people who visited, and one with

mounted photos and postcards of the Summit House and tramway at all stages. They reported that all of these were successful; people asked questions and expressed "great enthusiasm for the exhibits" (Hitchcock Center for the Environment 1979, 7). However, the guided tours were not so well attended.

> We do not recommend the continuation of the short (20 minute) tours of the Summit House. Though visitors indicated an interest in such programming on the questionnaire, NO ONE [*sic*] participated in the regularly scheduled short interpretive walks. (1979, 8)

People at this time came to the summit "expressly for the view." They "participated minimally in any organized activities, but seemed to become readily involved in the passive educational exhibits at the Summit House" (1979, 17). During the summer of 1979, before the Summit House was renovated, people came to Mount Holyoke for the view and, while they did not opt to join a formal, interpretive walk, they readily consumed information presented by exhibits. The Hitchcock Center determined that exhibits that people could interact with at their own pace were the most meaningful interpretive programming.

Forty years later, in 2019, I carried out a summer of participant observation at the Summit House. Guided tours are today regularly offered by DCR staff. I joined a tour on October 13, 2019, right before the Summit House was boarded up for the winter season. Although earlier that day I was the only person who showed up for a guided birding walk, the afternoon Summit House tour was well attended. There was an elderly couple and a man joined by his wife and mother-in-law. Those of us present formed a semi-circle around the tour guide who was wearing a green fleece with the DCR logo embroidered

on the breast, and who gathered us to begin the tour. Two college-aged Asian girls joined the group. Last to join the group were two men who looked like they were on a long hike.

During the tour, the guide took us around the first and second floors of the Summit House, pointing out different architectural features and interpretive signage like a diagram of the tramway. The focus of the tour was imagining what life was like for visitors to the Summit House. Tour-goers were often encouraged to imagine what it would be like for them to have been a guest at the hotel in the nineteenth century. At the same time, the luxurious nature of the hotel was highlighted, with clues that it was patronized by only upper-class individuals. The guide drew our attention to a white painted beam that swiveled around with a loud creaking noise. He said that it was a mount for a telescope, which has since been lost. He told an anecdote about a Northampton businessman who visited the Summit House and used the telescope to spy back at his employees in town, only to find them idling around playing cards. The tour group chuckled. He showed us photographs of the bygone croquet court, the fancy dining room, and the addition that was destroyed by the Hurricane of 1938. "When the expansion was built, you would have walked out of these doors right into this," he said, pointing at a black and white photograph depicting a very fancy-looking hotel lobby. Several members of the tour audibly gasped. "Wow!" someone exclaimed. To conclude the tour, the guide said that it was a real "pioneering resort" back in the day. "It's where Americans would go when Americans first started to go on vacation. Imagine if Tom Brady would go on vacation after winning the Superbowl. He would say, 'I'm going to Mount Holyoke!'" He didn't say that only a small subset of Americans had the means to

go on vacations in the nineteenth century. It was only white, upper-class Americans who had the disposable income and leisure time to sojourn at the Summit House. However, this is implied by the reference to Tom Brady. How many people on the tour have vacationed in the same hotels that famous athletes go to after winning the Superbowl?

I asked another park interpreter what kind of programming related to the history of the Summit House is most effective. She talked about strategies she uses to engage children.

> So when the children come in, we have a self-guided tour which we're kind of working to revamp and we have a real tour where we go around and we tell people all the facts and everything, but when there's little kids they're kind of being dragged by the arm like 'ughh,' you know. And so, I say to them, 'Hey, do you know someone owned this place?' You know, 'they owned this entire house on top of the mountain.' And they're like, 'Wow,' and I say, 'Can you imagine if you owned this whole house, what would you do? Would you bring your friends here?' And they'll go, 'Yeah, yeah!' And I say, 'What would you do? What kinds of things would you do?' and they come up with amazing answers, you know. So I try to make them kind of go back in time and be like, what would it be like to own this place or to stay here for a few days, and what would you want to do and, you know, how is that relevant to today?

For both adults and children, the interpretive focus at the Summit House includes the delivery of facts and encourages people to imagine what it would be like to own or stay at a luxury hotel.

On another fall day, I walked into the parlor room located in the northwestern corner of the Summit House. This room has a piano with an unusual shape called a Square Grand Piano. On the keys is a sign that reads, "PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH / Help us preserve this historic item by not playing the piano." Another sign indicated that the

piano is not in fact original to the house, but may have come from a since-burned-down summit house on Mount Sugarloaf and was likely similar to the piano that Mrs. French would have played for guests. A small, multiracial child, perhaps about 6 years old, came bounding into the parlor. He saw the piano and immediately began striking the keys. His mother, a white woman in her early 40s, came in. "I heard a key and knew you were going to get us kicked out of the state park." She did not seem too mad at her son, but wanted him to stop touching the piano. She slowed him down and asked him to read the sign on the keys. He labored through the text, "Please. Do. Not. Touch. Ohhh. I guess I'm not supposed to play this piano." I did not see the child interacting with any other material inside the Summit House, but later I saw him playing outside on some rocks asking some high schoolers to challenge him to a race. Perhaps the ability to physically touch and play the piano may have better allowed this child to get a sense of what it was like when the Summit House was a hotel. However, the preservation of the piano necessitates that it not be played; it is an aesthetic and historic artifact, not quite a musical instrument anymore. The inability to engage with the piano on his terms in a sensory way disengaged this child from the historic site. This is in stark contrast with Rick's solving of the small wooden puzzle box. There are several paradoxes associated with museums displaying "the real thing." While this piano is not the authentic Summit House Hotel piano, it is an old, fragile, nineteenth-century piano. It is not the "real" Summit House piano, but it is a "real" antique piano. Although because it cannot be played, it is perhaps not a "real piano" anymore; it has undergone a metamorphosis from profane to sacred (Shanks, Platt, and Rathje 2004). It is meant to be looked at, not listened to. If a sturdy

replica piano that visitors—especially children—could play, touch, and hear was also in the dining room, it would add the dimensions of kinesthetic and aural engagement with the space, deepening their ability to imagine what the hotel was like. In the conclusion section below, as well as in Chapter 6, I explore in more depth physical engagement with and activation of the senses within the Summit House.

During my interviews and conversations with people who have been involved in preservation or collecting, they have often demonstrated very precise historical knowledge. For example, Hattie Finkel, Board Member of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, shared many details related to the history of Mount Holyoke. Her narration of the life of Joseph Allen Skinner, Mount Holyoke's proprietor in the 1930s, begins before he is born with his father William. "A man named William Skinner immigrated from England," said Hattie. "He was a silk dyer. And he came over penniless, very interesting guy. There's also a wonderful biography about him…" This short quote reveals the depth of Hattie's knowledge of and personal inquiry into the lives of historical figures related to the mountain. On the other hand, I often hear fuzzy and sometimes even inaccurate accounts from people who have only casually engaged with the history of the site. One person mentioned that he knew there was a big fire and the house burned down and had to be rebuilt, and someone else explained that a famous poet used to live there. Neither of these is true. Mostly, when I have asked what they know about the history, responses are often quite vague. Andrea, hiking up with her kids said, "I don't know a lot. I mean we've always walked through it and stuff, but I don't know a ton about the house itself." Bette said that she knows nothing about its history. "Well, I mean I know it was a

hotel," she clarified. "I haven't read a whole lot of the little displays." Marcus said that he only knows what he read on the placards, but did not elaborate on what it was that he had read. Two women who, separately, have visited the mountain over decades and who both expressed a love of hiking there mentioned only a cursory knowledge of the history at the site. One said, "I did the tour and, you know, you can go upstairs and look at the different rooms… And I tend to look in the windows. I really appreciate the porch." The other shared:

> Oh yeah, got a tour of it. Yeah. Where they slept and the—this used to be where they—yeah, entertained and had a hotel, well a hotel I guess. Those little beds, I can't imagine them sleeping in those little cubbies. It is awesome. Yeah, haven't been in since they redid inside at all, so have they done more?... Brought my kids up here... had the tours, you would sit there and they would give you the little history about it and then they would tour you around.

What this long-time visitor seems to recall most vividly from the tours she's been on are the beds. She tried to imagine what it would be like for her to sleep in such a small bed, and that stuck with her more than anything else. Both interpreters I spoke with who each give guided tours mentioned the delivery of facts. "We have a lot of facts, like, oh there was a croquet court, and stuff," said one. The guide who led the tour I went on explained his style, "But I have a big interest in the history and can remember a lot more facts than other guides, so I like to infuse my tours with them." However, specific facts that the tour guides relayed were not part of these visitors' responses when I asked what they knew about the history of Mount Holyoke.

From Contemporary Ruin to Historic House Museum

I argue that the Mount Holyoke Summit House was a contemporary ruin before its renovation and in this state of ruin the structure was an active site of deep historical engagement in the lives of visitors. Contemporary ruins sustain a rupture of space-time in the present; they are places continually re-created through the interactions between both imagination and materiality (Dawdy 2010). Once ruins acquire a patina, they become comfortable, old, and less socially active. Those who interacted with the Summit House as a ruin have reflected a deep investment in the story of the site and in its preservation as well as a strong sense of history. But the process of preserving the Summit House, the transformation from contemporary ruin to historic house museum, decreased its impact in social life. This process also further codifies the dominant narrative of the site. In recent decades, as a restored building interpreted narrowly to its 1890 state, its so-called "aesthetic peak" (Graci 1985), the Summit House is less likely to deeply engage visitors than it did as a ruin. Many of the people I interviewed who have decades-long relationships to Mount Holyoke, who frequently hike on the mountain, and who have gotten engaged or married there, do not have a strong sense of history. Several of these people, like Martha, Jean, and Steve, are quoted in Chapters 3 and 4, as they have deep emotional ties to the natural environment and the view. Their sense of place is not significantly informed by a sense of history, unlike the people discussed in this chapter who did engage in historic preservation advocacy and collecting.

According to J. B. Jackson, the preservation and restoration movement in the United States is an interpretation of history which "sees history not as a continuity but as

a dramatic discontinuity" (Jackson 1980, 101). This discontinuity is necessary for the ensuring process of "restoring" historic landscapes. Jackson writes:

> First there is that golden age, the time of harmonious beginnings. Then ensues a period when the old days are forgotten and the golden age falls into neglect. Finally comes a time when we rediscover and seek to restore the world around us to something like its former beauty. (Jackson 1980, 101–2).

The interval of neglect, the discontinuity, is essential. The "ruins provide the incentive for restoration," there must be "an interim of death or rejection before there can be renewal" (102). This golden age begins when active memory ends, roughly a century earlier, around the time of one's great-grandparents. Jackson wrote in 1980 of the interest in the 1880s and 90s, which is "remote enough to be perceived as part of the old days" (101). It is no surprise that when the Summit House was restored in the 1980s, it was interpreted to 1890.

I spoke with many people who visited the Summit House when it was in ruins. While they lament its state of disrepair, it is this very decay that plays a role in reinforcing their connection to the site. Pat Eagan talked about going on to the Summit House deck during its period of abandonment. "So I'd go on the porch, and it was treacherous. I mean, you really had to pick your way," she said. Pat said that it would be blocked off, but she would go up anyway. "Back then, if they say don't go, it might be one little board of something," she said, as opposed to today when a more substantial barrier would be used to prevent access. "And so, it was in terrible shape," Pat went on, "but it was sort of intriguing that, you know, this huge Summit House was being let go." She was intrigued by its state of ruin. Gwen Clancy reflected upon very similar

experiences. “The building was probably pretty much shut up. It was a hazard,” Gwen said. “But when we could go up there, yeah, nobody was kicking us out of there. You know, there were no fences or anything. Basically, you could just kind of climb up on the porch there…” Gwen added that she does not remember sitting at any of the picnic tables. It was the Summit House deck which she would go to, and it is on the deck where she filmed the actress portraying herself in *The Mountain House* sitting out and looking at the view. Wayne also went up on the Summit House deck during this era, but according to him, it was never dangerous. He said that it needed to be redone, but felt that safety was never an issue. As a boy in the 1950s, Wayne even walked atop the collapsed ruins of the tramway. “We could walk along the top of the roof right to the top,” he said. “It was just rottin’ away. And we could just go up there and never think a thing about it.”

Pat, Gwen, and Wayne physically interacted with the ruins of the Summit House and its tramway. They climbed up onto the structures, disregarding the state’s safety warnings and blockades. All three of these people, and some of their family members, would play significant roles in the preservation of Mount Holyoke. All hold a strong sense of history and personal attachments to place on the mountain. Pat is the Chairperson of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, Gwen created *The Summit House* film and later married her husband on the summit in 1983, and Wayne and his wife Sandi wanted to have their wedding up there but were not able to do so. They said that in 1973 “it was in disrepair” and the “park was closed and it was disgusting.” However, several years later their families hosted two weddings on Mount Holyoke for Wayne’s brother and his sister. It is still possible to form such connections to the mountain today,

and many do, but I argue that once efforts to save and renovate the Summit House were successful, it acquired a more passive social role than as a contemporary ruin. There were no longer opportunities to engage with the structure physically in an unfinished state.[26]

I turn last to Franklin Vagnone and Deborah Ryan in *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* (2015) and situate my discussion of the Summit House alongside their assessment of historic house museums. In the forward to the book, Gretchen Sullivan Sorin writes that the "traditional passive operational model for historic houses—guided tours, rooms in frozen tableaus, wooden or velvet barriers that allow visitors to step into, but not really experience, interior spaces… is not sufficiently engaging" (2015, 13). Vagnone and Ryan critique the traditional model of historic house museums and, based on their extensive applied research, provide recommendations for increasing intimacy and humanity. These coalesce around major themes of community, communication, experience, and collections. I select several of their relevant issues faced by historic house museums to discuss within the context of the Mount Holyoke Summit House, evaluating successes and failures and identifying avenues to enhance the sense of history for casual, new visitors to the site.

One recommendation is to avoid the "narcissism of details" (Vagnone and Ryan 2015, 97). Excessive detail can alienate visitors, and historic superlatives "hurt engagement rather than engender appreciation" (99). I have already discussed the importance of "facts" for the Summit House guided tours. For example, one of the

[26] In Chapter 6, I examine how the work of a laborer repainting the Summit House in 2019 and how her preservation work informs her understanding of the site.

second-floor rooms pointed out on the tour is called the Jenny Lind room. It is named after a Swedish opera singer who visited the mountain once, sang there, spent some time in that room (it is likely that she did not spend the night), and called Mount Holyoke the "Paradise of America." Jenny Lind was one of the most famous singers of the nineteenth century, but I personally have only heard of her in the context of the Summit House and I do not believe her name is common knowledge. One prankster wrote the name of Abraham Lincoln in the guestbook, leading people to believe that the president had stayed at the Summit House. Even though the autograph was known to be a forgery by the 1980s at the latest, the error has been propagated as recently as 2014 (Kotker 1987; Serreze 2014). The desire to relay an abundance of facts and link superlatives to the Summit House may only serve to alienate visitors or prioritize the spreading of false superlatives over the real stories of people who stayed or worked there.

Closely related to the disengagement through excessive detail is the requirement for guests to learn history by watching and listening. Rather, people learn best by doing and physically experiencing the history of a house. Vagnone and Ryan recommend using "kinetic learning techniques as a primary form of experience" (2015, 112). Perhaps children should be able to play the piano, or *a* piano, inside the Summit House. While the care of historic artifacts is indeed important, a balance must be struck between forbidding all touch and preservation. Based on the results of my research, I also advocate for physical interaction with artifacts and furniture. On the second floor, wooden barriers block access to the bedrooms. Visitors can peer into the room, but can not enter or

interact with any of the artifacts. These artifacts, including the piano and all furniture in the rooms, are historic and contemporaneous with, but not original to the Summit House.

When renovations were completed, the Department of Environmental Management and the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range solicited donations of furniture to put on display in the guest rooms. In their 1996 summer newsletter, the Friends put a request out for donations for late nineteenth-century, "simple country-style" furniture. They mention that although DEM is responsible for maintaining the building, they had no funds to purchase furniture or furnishings. Some specific items they expressed a need for included kerosene or oil lamps, objects for a ladies parlor such as armchairs, Victorian craft items and knickknacks, and a writing desk, and items for bedrooms like a trundle bed and suitcases. "A donation of any of these items would make a lasting contribution to the House, and would strengthen the bond between visitors past and present," they wrote to members ("Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range Newsletter" 1996, 4). Barbara, a DCR staff member, described that in the Summit House, "the second floor is... imagination of what you might have seen."

The rooms are set up with a static tableau of furniture, accumulated from a variety of donations. The representation of these guest rooms is "imagination," a creative effort by park staff and community members. Mary and Rick like to look at one room in particular, because "Rick's family donated the furniture for that room." People who donated antique houseware from their personal collections to help create the Summit House exhibits are involved in the interpretation of the site in a way that visitors leaning against the wooden barriers to look inside the rooms are not. Imagining what the Summit

House would have looked like in the nineteenth century is an active process with many possibilities for those donating artifacts to fill empty rooms. Once the rooms are set up as tableaus, it is less of a powerful interpretive experience.

Vagnone and Ryan also recommend that historic house museums let people move around freely, engage all senses through immersive interactions, and allow for access to denied spaces. While visitors to the Summit House can move around freely, they are denied access to the basement, the third floor, and certain parts of the first floor. Decades ago, there was a guided tour of the basement, which has since been deemed unsafe. Pat recalled this tour with excitement, saying "I realized that I *have* to tell you about the basement tour." When Jan reflected on her childhood visiting the Summit House, she said, "I've been upstairs in places that I never would've been allowed." Jan also reflected on her sensory experiences going inside back in the 1950s and '60s, focusing on smell. She remembered that the bathrooms used to be in a different location than where the visitor facilities are now located. "And I could smell the soap and they were in these, these bulbs. And it was like an old-timey smell and I, you know, it was so distinctive to my childhood that you would walk in and smell." Being allowed to go to usually off-limits areas and sensory experiences as simple as the smell of soap or the sound of a piano have the power to connect people to the site. Jan has a strong sense of history on Mount Holyoke. She brought to our interview on the summit an envelope full of family photos from the 1950s, taken during picnics in the very locations we walked to together. Jan scattered the ashes of her parents on Mount Holyoke, and she completes an annual commemorative hike in memory of her sister. Her family history is intertwined with the

history of the mountain, and her prior engagement with the Summit House as a ruin strengthens this connection.

The narrative of the Summit House presented via exhibits and tours is quite narrow, focusing primarily on one specific decade—the 1890s—instead of the period of decay and family histories of the contemporary past. There is also a stark disconnect between the historical narrative told at the Summit House and the historical experiences of the immediate community. Vagnone and Ryan urge historic house museums to both question the period of significance and acknowledge this common disconnect (2015, 47). In the Historic and Economic Assessment of the Summit House prepared for the Department of Environmental Management in 1977, the authors hoped that future generations will "travel...only a few miles to that forgotten hostelry where their grandparents enjoyed an incomparable view and peacefulness in the friendly and reassuring family comfort of the Summit House" (Ferro and Foster 1977, 18). Many visitors are immigrants or come from immigrant families, like me, with ancestors who were not in this country in the nineteenth century. But the narrative even excludes the people who did have grandparents living in the area. People living near the base of the mountain in Hadley and South Hadley, who were farmers and other working-class professionals, were not patrons of the hotel.

To earn some extra income, Denise Barstow's grandmother would sometimes work at the Summit House restaurant and her grandfather would help operate the tramway. "It was really cool to go in there with my grandma because she would pick up shifts there waiting tables when she was really little," Denise said. Rick Thayer's father,

who was born in 1922, would frequently walk up the stairs next to the tramway, but he did not ride it up because he could not afford the ticket. “He was alive when the tram was going, he didn’t have the money to pay for the tram,” said Mary, Rick’s wife. Mary explained that Rick’s father...

> ...didn’t ride the tram up, but he could tell you exactly, off the top of his head—and I can’t tell you what it is—but he knew exactly how many stairs went up because he would walk up the stairs. But they often let the kids ride down the tram for free. ‘Cause a lot of people I guess would hike down. So they had extra space going down, so he often could ride down the tram but he didn’t ride up because it, you know, it cost a quarter or whatever it cost wasn’t money he had to spend on it, so.

If the previous generation of Thayers or any of their friends rode the tramway, it was from getting a free ride down or accompanying family members who were at work. One of their neighbors from the Hockanum neighborhood would accompany her dad, who grew vegetables. “And she remembers as a little girl riding up on the wagon with him as he delivered vegetables up to the Mountain House for the hotel. And that was quite a fun thing,” recounted Mary. The father of her best friend “was in charge of the tram so she and her best friend as girls got to ride up because her dad would let them ride up.” Denise, Mary, and Rick, who all live at the base of Mount Holyoke, have internalized their family stories and have a strong sense of history. But the dominant narrative of Mount Holyoke centers around the experiences of the hotel owners and patrons, at the exclusion of these alternative family histories. For other visitors whose families are recent immigrants, non-white, or from modest means, the luxury hotel narrative and tour guides asking to imagine what it would be like to visit or even own the hotel can be quite

alienating because their families would have not been welcomed at the Summit House Hotel.

The summer concert series held at the Summit House stands out as a time when visitors can engage with the site in an authentic and participatory way. By either purchasing a ticket for $10 and going inside or just showing up to hang out on the deck and not-so-covertly drink wine while listening, people are immersed in a multi-sensory, kinetic experience. On these nights, they are not just visitors to a historic house, but concert-goers and patrons themselves. They can listen to music and dance. There is an intermission for everyone to step outside and take in the summer sunset, and it is the only time of the year that people are allowed to be in the Summit House after nightfall. Long-time visitors and newcomers alike speak of the concerts fondly as very special evenings.

Allowing for acts of discovery, a thread that has run through many of the other ways to facilitate engagement with the historic site, is one final recommendation by Vagone and Ryan. Opportunities to freely move around typically off-limits spaces could result in acts of discovery. When Matt Villamaino showed me around the Summit House in October 2018, after it was already boarded up for the season, he opened a small door that usually remains closed. I poked my head into the dumbwaiter and I saw some original wallpaper inside. We went upstairs to the third floor and stepped out onto an elevated balcony. I even saw some historic graffiti where people from a hundred years ago carved their names. Similarly, Mary remembers finding some graffiti carved into a rock in the basement of the Summit House and realizing that it must have been put there

before the structure was even built. History graduate student Brian Whetstone remarked about the tours that "they have the whole thing about the chamber pots. They're very adamant about having people notice that there were no toilets during the nineteenth century." When the lack of toilets is pointed out explicitly, visitors are not able to make this discovery for themselves. I have already explored how people who collected memorabilia and other artifacts related to the Summit House frequently experience acts of historical discovery, and the independent research undertaken by David Graci to write his book and Gwen Clancy to create her film. Gwen explained her deep process of historical discovery:

> So it was like a mystery, it was really fun, you know. To do all the research. I mean, who would ever have thought it was fun to do history, I swear. But it turned out to be, you know, much to my amazement. And now I always tell people, you know, just go and explore and that way you'll become interested in history. You might not become interested in it just reading about stuff.

Gwen surprised herself by finding it "fun to do history." Casually "reading about stuff" or listening to people convey facts is unlikely to facilitate for most people an interest in history and in how one's personal and family narratives may connect, either in the past or the present, to a particular place.

As a contemporary ruin, the Summit House offered people the opportunity to experience many of the activities that foster a connection to history. They went to places not typically allowed, climbed up onto the tramway or deck, and were sometimes inspired to take on their own historical investigations. Some of these interactions were physically or legally risky, involving trespassing and climbing onto structurally unsound

areas. I have described the active modes of engagement with the history of the Summit House including historic preservation efforts and collecting practices, which have been seriously taken up by people who interacted with the Summit House in ruins, and who have a deep, personal, and familial connection to the mountain. Preservation advocates were eventually successful in saving and renovating the structure. But paradoxically, once the Summit House was refurbished as a historic house museum, its ability to foster a connection to the past and a sense of history decreased. It adopted many of the interpretive practices critiqued by experts that at best momentarily capture the attention of some visitors and at worst actively alienate others. In the next chapter, I delve further into human interactions with the physical remains of the past to understand how material and memory are intertwined on the mountain landscape.

CHAPTER 6

MATERIALIZING MEMORY ON THE MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

"We are here, in the present, looking out over a landscape that lies before us, a landscape that holds the past, all moments of the past mixed together." (Olivier 2011, 62)

A Contemporary Archaeological Approach to the Cultural Landscape

A cultural landscape is a geographic area, large or small, including both natural and cultural resources, that is in some way historic. The National Park Service (NPS) defines cultural landscapes as being associated with a historic event, activity, or person (National Park Service 1998b). I apply a very broad definition to the term "historic;" rather than apply a judgment for how significant an event, activity, or person is to be deemed historic, I see all people, activities, and occurrences of the past as historic. Therefore, I define cultural landscapes broadly as regions somehow associated with humans. Here, I consider the engagement between people in the present with aspects of the cultural landscape built or created by people in the past.

I approach the cultural landscape of Mount Holyoke as an archaeologist of the contemporary. This archaeology moves beyond excavation and is deperiodized, considering all eras at the same time (González−Ruibal 2018). Like all archaeological investigations, this project starts with and centers around material culture. However, an archaeology of the contemporary reorients the field to engage with the present and to study the ways in which material remains are "lodged in the heterogenous mass of our present" (Olivier 2011, 62) and "mobilized and help to create the present" (Harrison and

Schofield 2010, 8). Through this lens, I seek to interrogate how historic and archaeological structures, artifacts, and features exist in the present and actively shape the lived experiences of visitors to Mount Holyoke. This is a "critical engagement with the spaces in which the past intervenes in the present" (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 8), specifically focusing on aspects of the cultural landscape on Mount Holyoke that activate memories.

I pursue this archaeology in and of our current time by weaving together strands of evidence from both material culture and ethnographic data, including participant observation and interviews (Graves-Brown, Harrison, and Piccini 2013). I view Mount Holyoke as a contemporary surface that is "an amalgam of all layers of history," a perspective that dissolves the temporal distance between people in the present and the traces from the past with which they interact (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 52). By paying dual attention to both artifacts and ethnographic accounts, I explore the "new possibilities that come from willfully collapsing archaeological and ethnographic time" (Dawdy 2010, 762). Laurent Olivier's conception of the present as "nowness" is also useful here. He writes that "remains from the past function in the present as memory… not only are physical fragments of the past a part of the materiality of the present but… they continue to have an impact in 'nowness'" (Olivier 2011, 97). Olivier builds on Walter Benjamin's notion of a materialist historiography, unconcerned with the historicist practice of delineating moments in history and establishing causal connections between them (Benjamin 1968). Rather, the job of the archaeologist is to investigate "the way in which memory is constituted over time, in which case the present, understood as

‘nowness,’ would become the locus for interpreting the past” (Olivier 2011, 99). Any understanding of a place such as Mount Holyoke must happen in the present and from the present, but looking backward into a non-linear past that continues to inform the present in the form of material and memory.

I examine the nostalgic practices of visitors to Mount Holyoke and how people make meaning through engaging with material of the past. Archaeologist Shannon Lee Dawdy conceptualizes nostalgia as more than an idea or a feeling; nostalgia is a practice. In her conceptualization of a critical nostalgia, she sees “nostalgic *practices* and material *things* as world-making” (Dawdy 2016, 7). On Mount Holyoke, I examine the articulation between nostalgic practices and the materiality of the Summit House, the remains of a plane crash, and the hiking trails to elucidate how people construct these places and their relationships to memory.

Alfredo González−Ruibal (2008) writes about three different sorts of places with varying relations to memory: places of abjection, *mnemotopoi*, and *lieux de mémoire*. A place of abjection is erased from collective memory. Its existence is denied, nobody wants to speak about it, or nobody is allowed to speak about it. Examples of places of abjection could include landfills, abandoned factories and railways, bunkers, and nuclear testing grounds. A place is not defined typologically, however, but rather in terms of how people relate to that place. A place of abjection could become a locale for collective recollection, undergoing an ontological transformation to a *mnemotopos*. *Mnemotopoi* are places of memory. These sites, which include monuments and historic buildings, are “the material foundations of collective memory” (González−Ruibal 2008, 256). *Mnemotopoi*

are materializations of the past which still exist in the present, places with meanings that can be interpreted but that can change over time. If the narrative at a *mnemotopos* becomes too codified and institutionalized, it could become a *lieu de mémoire*. A *lieu de mémoire* is "a cliché that claims to encapsulate memory but has been too internalized, historicized, and trivialized by society and the state to be able to display any true, living memory" (González-Ruibal 2008, 256). *Lieux de mémoire*, such as the Roman Colosseum or the Lincoln Memorial, are "detached from socially significant recollection" and devoid of spontaneous memory (González-Ruibal 2008, 256; Nora 1989). Based on changing materiality, social context, and historical circumstances, "places are in constant ontological change" (González-Ruibal 2008, 256). Sites undergo metamorphoses between these types of places as their relationship to collective memory evolves.

I examine Mount Holyoke within this framework. The mountain is a *mnemotopos*, a place of memory, a complex web of intertwined collective and individual memories. I explore how aspects of the cultural landscape have shifted, or threaten to shift, ontological categories from a place of abjection or to a *lieu de mémoire*. As an archaeologist of the contemporary, I collapse the archaeological and the ethnographic to consider material of the past as decidedly in the present. From the standpoint of "nowness," I explore how people of the present engage with the material of the past and how their nostalgic practices maintain or change their collective memory of a place. A place's social significance and relationship to memory are negotiated by these nostalgic practices. Through considering the role of memory and of material of the past functioning as memory in the present, I describe the ways in which people with long-term

relationships to Mount Holyoke engage with the cultural landscape and how their nostalgic practices work to rediscover a place of abjection, maintain a site as a *mnemotopos*, or threaten to crystallize a narrative into a *lieu de mémoire*.

Historic Sites and Vernacular Landscapes on Mount Holyoke

In this chapter, I focus on three components of the cultural landscape: the Summit House structure; the remains of a World War II-era plane crash; and the hiking trails. In the first section about engagement with the structure of the Summit House, I draw ethnographic data from participant observation from a guided tour of the historic house as well as my conversation with a painter as she worked to restore the exterior. I also use interviews with people introduced in previous chapters, who have active and long-term engagements with the Summit House. Many of these same people are quoted in the next section about the World War II plane crash. In this section, I also rely heavily on archival documents such as online forums, newspaper articles, and obituaries to describe the story of the site's rediscovery and the erection of a commemorative memorial. The final section about the hiking trails foregrounds an autoethnographic analysis of my own experiences hiking on Mount Holyoke.

The National Park Service differentiates between historic buildings and cultural landscapes (Birnbaum 1994). I define the cultural landscape more broadly as being inclusive of the built and natural environment and see Mount Holyoke as a cultural landscape composed of a complex mix of buildings, trails, and natural resources. NPS recognizes four mutually inclusive genres of cultural landscapes: historic sites; historic

designed landscapes; historic vernacular landscapes; and ethnographic landscapes. Historic sites are significant for being associated with a specific event, activity, or person. I consider the Summit House, the site of a 1944 plane crash, and a memorial erected to commemorate the crash as historic sites. Historic designed landscapes are consciously planned out creations following a set of aesthetic values within a tradition of design. A historic vernacular landscape is one that evolved not through deliberate design, but by the use and activities of everyday people. Historic vernacular landscapes reflect the cultural character of individuals, families, or communities, and can be either relict or continuing. Relict landscapes exhibit evidence of vernacular cultural practices that are no longer in use while continuing landscapes that involve practices that keep shaping the landscape in the present day (Mitchell and Buggey 2000). Lastly, an ethnographic landscape contains a mix of both natural and cultural aspects that are conceived of as heritage resources (National Park Service 1998b). I see the hiking trails on Mount Holyoke primarily as continuing vernacular landscapes, although they entail some designed and ethnographic characteristics as well.

The Summit House Structure

The Summit House is built from wood painted white, with blue trim on the windows and maroon doors. It is an Italianate-style building with wooden siding and a wooden observation deck circling all four sides and supported by crisscrossing, white-painted trusses secured onto the rocks right at the top of the mountain. In this section, I will consider human engagement with the physical aspects of the historic structure, including its articulation with the mountain, wooden construction material,

evidence of construction phases, and state of disrepair. I describe how the Summit House is a *mnemotopos* which at different times has shifted in one direction towards becoming a place of abjection and in the other towards becoming a *lieu de mémoire*. It is the physical engagement with material of the past in the present that maintains the Summit House as a socially significant place of collective memory.

On a Sunday in October 2019, I went on a guided tour of the two-storied interior led by a Department of Conservation and Recreation seasonal interpreter.

"What are we on?" the guide asked.

"A mountain?" a couple of people in the group tentatively responded.

"Yes! The rocks of the summit of the mountain are right below us." A baby on the loose crawled quickly by. The guide gestured at the baby.

"That little one would be able to crawl between the floor and the rocks, but I wouldn't be able to," he said, as he patted his belly. "I wouldn't fit, that's how little room there is under this floor."

The tour guide went on to point out the floorboards of the original 1851 cabin, which were sunken down one step from the surface we were standing on. When the Summit House was expanded in 1861, the new flooring had to be laid down at a higher level in order to clear the rock below. In this way, the Summit House adapts to the uneven contours of the mountain. The two levels of horizontal flooring betray the rugged nature of the rocks underneath.

The basement is where the structure articulates with the mountain. The floor of the basement is a mix of dirt and rock formations; to get around you have to duck and

climb around over the rocks. One might possibly get a glimpse of the basement through an access door near the bathrooms on the underside of the deck, as I did once when it was left propped open by painters. While the basement is typically off-limits to visitors these days, it used to be possible to tour it. Pat, Chairperson of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range, had the opportunity several years ago to go on a tour of the basement. She recounted, "but when you go down there, we crawled all around it, you're actually seeing how the Summit House was built on top of the mountain, so it's just basalt." For long-time visitors, going or peering into the basement is a reminder of how the Mount Holyoke Summit House structure is quite literally built on the summit of a mountain. The basement is the interface between the hard rock of the mountain and the once luxurious accommodations above. Pat, like the tour guide, refers to the action of "crawling," or moving low to the ground using hands and knees, to describe navigating in the basement. Even though the structure is obviously on top of a mountain, the bodily experience of being in the basement, crouching between the rocks and the floorboards, is a visceral reminder of the exceptionality and site-specificity of the Summit House.

The Summit House is considered by the visitors I interviewed to be unique in several ways. First, because the multi-level flooring and supporting pillars and cross beams adapt to the uneven and specific contours of Mount Holyoke, it quite literally could not exist anywhere else. It was built for this exact site and so ties people to this specific mountain. It is also an exemplary type as both the first and only remaining nineteenth-century summit structure in the area. Several other similar structures were built atop peaks in the Holyoke Range but they have since burned down. The wooden

Summit House still stands, despite the constant risk of fire and despite being secured to the mountain for much of the past century by one single bolt. For long-time visitors, talking about the basement activates other notions of its exceptionality as the single remaining summit structure in the area.

While David Graci was researching and writing his book *Mt. Holyoke: An Enduring Prospect* (1985), discussed at length in Chapter 5, he visited the Mount Holyoke Summit House frequently. During the 1980s renovations, he befriended a man in charge of the project. "I read in one of the articles that I had come across where the house was supposed to be secured to the mountain. So what does that mean? I had no idea," he recounted. "How secure could it be? It went through hurricanes, never got blown down." But when the construction team was inspecting the structure before beginning renovation work, they discovered that the attachment to the mountain was surprisingly minimal. David continued, "before they got into the renovation work… he was kind enough to inform me about different things that he found. Like the, like the bolt, one bolt that's gonna hold the whole house up." During the renovations, additional bolts were added to secure the structure to the rocky outcrop. But the discovery that for so long just one bolt held the house in place adds to the conception of its exceptionality.

I interviewed long-time friends Hattie and Mary Alice standing on the deck of the Summit House. Hattie is a board member of the Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range and Mary Alice, who is in her 90s, has been visiting Mount Holyoke since she moved to the area in the 1950s. During our conversation, the women discussed how amazing it is that the structure is still standing.

Hattie: It's just amazing it survived. I mean it's really, I can't, can you think of another structure like this anywhere? In this area?
Mary Alice: It's just that wood structures don't last, is the amazing thing.
Hattie: And you know that it's bolted into the rock... And they had, this thing, this thing is bolted into the, they have a whole system that they have somehow sunk anchors into the basalt and the thing is like bolted into the mountain.
Mary Alice: I don't know how I thought it was attached, but I didn't...
Hattie: It's bolt-, it's literally bolted into the, they sunk... and bolted in.
Mary Alice: Oh, my gosh.

Hattie references not only the bolt but also the wooden material of the building, which could have easily gone up in flames, like the other nearby summit structures on Mount Tom and Mount Norwottuck. Somehow, the Summit House on Mount Holyoke has evaded fire for centuries; however, the threat of burning was and still is a constant concern. The wrought iron grills installed near the picnic benches for visitors to use are distressingly close to the house. Concerns over fire also affect programming at the Summit House. When the fire alarm system underwent updates in 2017, a fire detail needed to be present during the summer concerts. In the Cotillion Room on the second floor is a very large red fire extinguisher mounted on two wheels, each about four feet in diameter. Hanging on the extinguisher is a large metal bucket with a rounded bottom to prevent its use for anything other than holding water in an emergency. This historic fire extinguisher is a reminder of the constant risk of fire, and its current obsolescence commemorates the enduring presence of the house.

While David Graci mentioned the Summit House's resilience to hurricanes, a significant portion of the building was indeed destroyed by the Great New England Hurricane of 1938. The hurricane completely demolished the large 1894 Summit House

expansion, somehow leaving the older part of the structure relatively unscathed. The destruction caused by the hurricane is a ruin of catastrophe, caused by a non-human, natural element (González−Ruibal 2018). Some of the rubble foundations of this expansion are still visible on the south lawn and architectural features on the inside hint at the life phases of the structure. While standing in the Cotillion Room, an open space on the second floor, the tour guide prompted our group to look for evidence of these building phases. There is something interesting about this room, he said, look inside and tell me if you see something that looks different. The group crowded around the threshold to the room and we peeked our heads in.

"The sprinkler?" one man, with a facetious grin.

"The floor?" another man asked.

The tour guide probed, "What about the floor?" The man further pointed out that the floorboards go in two directions.

"Yep, this used to be two rooms." The guide continued, It used to be two small bedrooms, but when the Summit House was expanded and many more rooms were added the wall was taken down and this was turned into one large sitting room.

"It's also lower," a woman added, noting the step down to get into the room. The guide explained that the levels are related to what he said earlier about the 1861 house being built a little bit higher than the original structure to account for the rocks underneath. By taking the pedagogical approach of asking us to "read" the building for architectural clues and make inferences about its stages of construction, our tour guide helps the Summit House speak for itself about its life.

We also noticed the outline of a boarded-up passageway that would have led to a larger room in the expansion on the south wall of the structure. Some people in the group asked about the use of the Cotillion Room, pointing out a square opening in the floor lined with railings that looked down on the lobby on the first floor. They reasoned that with such an opening it would have been a room inappropriate for dancing.

"My theory is that this opening was made later, at the time of the 1894 expansion," the guide conjectured. He guessed that when the main dance floor moved into the new building, the opening was cut out of the floor to provide additional light to the lobby.

The architectural features in the still-standing structure are archaeological clues about phases of expansion and destruction of the building. The floor sunken down one step, both on the first and second stories, is a clue about the 1861 expansion of the original 1851 cabin. The boarded-up passageway on the south wall, the opening in the floor of the second story down to the lobby, and the floorboards oriented in two directions in one of the guest rooms are physical reminders of the changes the structure underwent when the large 1894 expansion was added. All of these traces are revealed specifically by the orientation and placement of pieces of wood; the life history of the Summit House is encoded in its lumber construction material. The structure is thus a composite of accumulated modifications, renovations, and decay (Angelo 2017). Although we can learn of the expansions and hurricane destruction through historical records and photographs, the Summit House is able to speak about its life for itself. Narratively

reinforced by the tour guide who helps the Summit House speak, its construction materials function as memory in the present.

For some, engagement with the wooden structure of the Summit House goes far beyond noting the architectural clues from inside. “My cousin’s house is built out of the wood from the Summit House, from the backside hotel after the hurricane came down,” Denise recounted. “The state was just like, ‘Get the wood out of here!’” Members of Denise’s family, who have been farming land at the base of Mount Holyoke for generations, built one of their homes out of the remains of the expansion destroyed in 1938. Wayne and Sandi have a table that they had made from a shutter discarded during renovations. During our interview at their South Hadley home, Sandi said, “We salvaged one of the shutters and made a nice little table out of it. But they just, when they redid it, I mean, there’s all kinds of interesting pieces that [you can] stock up and do something with.” These families, who both live near the foot of Mount Holyoke, reclaimed the wood, transforming it from debris back into useful construction material. They value the wood for both its material properties and its association to the Summit House, its historicity.

The wooden deck of the Summit House was altered significantly twice. The deck was completely rebuilt during the renovations of the late 1980s and a handicap-accessible ramp was installed in 2014. On two occasions, I saw pieces of wood related to the Summit House deck in the homes of local residents. In a cabinet full of other Mount Holyoke memorabilia, Rick and Mary keep a short piece of wood from the old deck, covered in carved graffiti. “When they were redoing the deck they had a lot of scrap

wood so there's a piece of the old deck," Mary said during our interview in their home in the Hockanum neighborhood of Hadley. "I guess this was part of his [Rick's father's] collection, just some of the wood they had replaced." Wayne and Sandi had in their home wooden samples to demonstrate the type of wood used in the renovations. Wayne became quite animated about the choice of lumber used to recreate the deck. A high school science teacher, he gave me a lesson on wood decking and the sourcing of lumber.

Wayne: When they went to do the building in this last renovation, I said why are you putting any money into this decking material? Why don't you just cut down some locust trees, which they've got on the mountain. Mill 'em. Dry 'em. And use 'em. They'll last thirty, forty, fifty years themselves. And the architect goes, that is such a great idea. It's just, we don't have time to do all that. It takes time to cut 'em and then mill 'em and then a long time to dry 'em. They should dry for a year in the air and then you put 'em in the kiln.

Sandi: And again, they finished it so quickly [sarcastically, Wayne laughs] it woulda been quicker to mill the wood and dry the wood and they would actually--

Danielle: Right, they were doing nothing for almost four years.

Sandi: I know, it's just like. Sorry that would have taken too much time to do that, but! Oh, the irony. We look back on it.

Wayne: But here's an architect that gets it, it's like, this thing was built by the materials from this mountain. And here you have a chance, you could do exactly the same thing. Again, they don't have the help to cut those trees and haul 'em out and do that stuff. But the idea is romantic.

At this point in the conversation, Wayne left the three-season outbuilding where we were sitting and returned several minutes later with some planks of wood in his arms.

Wayne: The decking material used on the Summit House, the Prospect House, is ipe. It's the most expensive lumber you can buy.

Danielle: Okay.

Wayne: By far. Comes from Malaysia.

Danielle: Malaysia?
Wayne: Yep.
Danielle: Okay.
Wayne: But it withstands the weather. And it holds up quite well. So, this happens to be a tree that can be found around here, at least at the moment.

Wayne holds out a sample ipe and another of ash. He explains that ash is a very strong wood used to make baseball bats and, knocking on the piece of wood, goes on to describe the discovery of the lumber treatment used to harden wood without using any chemicals. "It's so cool," he says. "It's called toasting. So this is toasted ash, and you can do most any material with it." Still holding the wood, Wayne recounts the dispute about which material to use for the new Summit House decking.

Wayne: So, the people that do [toasting], Lashway Lumber, have a machine to do this and they have the materials to do this. Went to the state, said, "How 'bout you buy American lumber for this project on the mountain? How 'bout you buy local American lumber? How 'bout you buy this toasted material and use it up there? And it's half the cost. Half. The cost of ipe." And whoever was in charge goes, "Well, we don't know enough about this one, and saving money isn't really a big deal, so we're going to buy the ipe."
Danielle: Hmm, that's too bad.
Wayne: So, here we could have locust that could've been used. No, we're not doing that. Here we could've gotten material found right here in the Valley for half the price and held up almost as long and they wouldn't do it.
Danielle: It's a missed opportunity not to use local materials for this historic house.
Wayne: Well thank you!
Danielle: It's bizarre to have wood from Malaysia.
Sandi: Yeah.
Wayne: So, these are things, when I get up on top of the mountain, all that goes through me, my veins. And I question all of this.

To Wayne and Sandi, the source of the wood for the new deck of the Summit House matters. They considered it an affront that lumber from Malaysia was purchased when local materials could have been used for less cost. The wood used to build the original components of the Summit House came from Mount Holyoke, where lumber was harvested commercially. Wayne even describes experiencing a visceral reaction when reminded of this on the summit.

Wayne and Sandi also recall with criticism the state of the Summit House in the years before the major renovation.

> Sandi: And it was different back then, 'cause it wasn't a public place, it was just--
>
> Wayne: It wasn't in good repair. It was closed. I mean the paint, everything... Do you have anything on that historic period? About just how terrible the place was? I mean, the grass grew, there was no care, limbs would be down.

One of the biggest threats to the structure has been neglect. González−Ruibal describes this as systemic operation, or when things and buildings are discarded, broken, or ruined during their normal operation. Systemic operation is a process that produces ruins in the contemporary era (González−Ruibal 2018). Unless it is actively maintained and cared for, the site can easily turn into a ruin. This happens both by natural occurrences like the grass growing long and tree limbs falling down as well as the decay of the paint and wood of the building itself. During the decades of neglect from the 1940s when the hotel ceased operating to the renovations of the 1980s, the building really deteriorated. People blame the state for this lack of attention. Hattie said that during that time the Summit House was "unappreciated" and Mary Alice said that they really let it fall apart inside.

During this period, the Summit House teetered on the ontological edge of receding from memory and becoming a place of abjection. However, nostalgic practices of long-term visitors and advocates who worked to restore the structure, described in Chapter 5, maintained the Summit House as a *mnemotopos*. J. B. Jackson has written about the necessity of ruins and that a period of neglect is "artistically essential" and provides an "incentive for restoration" (1980, 102). Here I revisit the Summit House as a ruin, explored in depth in Chapter 5, to hone in specifically on agentive human engagement with the materiality of the Summit House. It is the threat of receding from memory, of becoming a place of abjection that motivated people to save the site.

Rick and Mary also remembered the sad state of the Summit House during these years of neglect.

> Rick: I mean back when, you know, I was younger, I mean, it was in pretty sad repair. [Laughs.] The paint was peeling and it was falling apart here and there and you're always afraid that somehow it would, you know, a spark or something would, and it would just burn like Sugarloaf Summit House did. And Mount Tom once burned too. We were just always afraid that that would happen. And we were so glad when they, you know, finally went and restored it and did such a nice job, they really did. Took a long time, had to be patient.
>
> Mary: It was in the '80s. 1980s.

Rick shares anxiety around the structure lighting on fire, highlighting the fragility and flammability of the structure, intensified by its neglect. He also refers to the peeling paint. In addition to the wood itself, the paint on the surface of the Summit House is often used as a marker of its condition and a point of engagement with the building. Mary

fondly remembered participating in the choice of color for the window trim when the Summit House was renovated in the 1980s. She said,

> But I do remember when they were painting it up, finally. I mean it just, it went night and day from what it looked like to being painted up. And they weren't sure if they wanted blue around the window frames or red around the window frames. So they had one painted blue and one painted red and whoever got to decide chose the blue, so it's still blue today. But that was fun.

Like Wayne getting involved in the selection of wooden decking material, Mary participated in the selection of paint color. To today, the window frames are still blue. But the maintenance of the paint is a continual process.

In June 2019, Hattie and Mary Alice sadly noted the peeling paint on the exterior of the Summit House.

Hattie:	I live in a 240-year-old house and it's a battle, it's a constant battle to, to maintain a, a house like this.
Mary Alice:	Yeah, issues like the painting...
Hattie:	And so this, this to me, this is heartbreaking. It really is.
Mary Alice:	But look up on the house, you see there, that's where it's really bad.
Danielle:	Yeah, and the other side is way worse.
Hattie:	And there's always a bad side.

They acknowledge the unending nature of maintenance of a historic structure, especially one exposed on the ledge of a mountain. Later that year, early in the fall of 2019, I noticed that the north-facing side of the structure looked freshly painted, but the paint on the south side was peeling considerably. I recalled someone mentioning at a Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range meeting that the house had been repainted recently, but the work was not satisfactory. During subsequent visits, the state of the paint seemed to

deteriorate considerably, until I realized that it was the result of work that had begun to repaint the house. The exterior of the Summit House was repainted by a crew of painters from Boston who specialize in historic structures. One day I overlapped with the crew and spoke with one of the painters, Mariela.[27] She didn't mind chatting with me while she worked. She had on black knee pads over her paint-splattered jeans and brown hiking boots. "How much work do you have left?" I asked.

"Well, right now I'm putting on a primer." Mariela continued to apply a thick coat of white paint using a small roller as she talked to me. "We already scraped the whole thing, now it's the primer. Then, a second coat of primer. Then, the actual paint. It's going to take a while."

Two middle-aged brothers out for a hike came over and joined the conversation, recalling that the Summit House was repainted just three years ago. "Maybe they used the wrong paint," I suggested.

"Well, I don't know," Mariela said and giggled, "but we are redoing a lot of mistakes from the last time this was painted." She continued to paint as the brothers and I stood around and chatted on the deck.

The Summit House is upkept by a series of acts of maintenance, which a variety of people participate in. Local residents and frequent hikers, like these two brothers, Hattie, and Mary Alice, although not physically involved in repainting the Summit House, notice and remember when it is repainted and when mistakes are made. "They used the wrong paint," Hattie said, "and they had painted over like, you know a beehive

[27] This is a pseudonym.

or like, whatever." It is the laborers from Boston, though, who do the work of repainting the house. They have to fix the mistakes made by the previous painters as well as deal with delays caused by the weather.

"Well earlier this week, on Tuesday, we came and painted all of this," Mariela gestured with her hands to show that she had painted the entire face of the Summit House. "But then it rained."

"Oh yeah, on Tuesday there was so much rain," I recalled.

"Yeah, it rained a lot and made all of the paint run. It completely messed it up. So now I have to go back and scrape the paint that ran, and redo it." Driving about two hours with her coworkers for many days over a span of weeks, her engagement with the maintenance of the Summit House is corporeal and strenuous.

"Do you like the work?" I asked her.

"Yeah, actually. It's okay. It's hard. It's harder than it looks," Mariela replied.

"I don't think it looks that easy!" I admitted, "I would like to paint for like five minutes then I feel like I wouldn't be able to go on."

Mariela acknowledged that this is the case for many of their clients. "Yeah, a lot of our jobs are on people's houses. They start trying to paint it themselves then they just give up. They don't realize how hard it's going to be. You have to be strong."

"And I bet you have to have a lot of stamina," I added.

Mariela forcefully applied her roller to the wall, emphasizing the thick texture of the paint. "Yeah, and especially with paint like this. It's oil-based paint."

"Is it harder to put on?" I asked.

“Yeah, and this is the original wood.” She described the additional steps she and her team need to take to do a high-quality job on this historic structure. They have to fill all of the cracks, to be sure they are properly coating it to protect it from snow and from bugs getting inside. As she explained this to me, she continued to roll the paint out, working the entire time. The wood where she was painting was ribbed, so she also had to rotate her roller and use the end of it to make sure the deep grooves are also covered in thick, white, oily paint. She dabbed the end in and dragged it along, alternating between this and rolling it out normally. Mariela finished the area that she was working on, and slid the sheet she was kneeling on and using to protect the floor over towards me.

“Do you ever go paint on the roof?” I asked.

“Yes,” she smiled and nodded. “I go up there. I go everywhere.”

Mariela’s relationship to the Summit House is primarily constructed through her engagement with the physicality of the structure and the material properties of the wood and the paint. She performs maintenance on the building by painting it and maintains its historic quality by reapplying paint of certain colors in specific ways. Fresh paint applied by people in the present actively reinscribes the historic nature of the Summit House.

Mariela’s introduction to Mount Holyoke was through this job. She said that she had never been to Mount Holyoke before coming to work with the team to paint the building. The Summit House is closed to visitors for the season, but the crew needed to get in to access the roof, and she was able to look around a bit. It’s cool, she said. “I feel like it’s kind of haunted though. I don’t know why.” Mariela is the only person who has expressed the notion that the Summit House may be haunted. She is also the only person

I've spoken to who is not from the area and who has exclusively come to the Summit House to work. With little to no exposure to the history of the site and little interaction with recreational visitors, only operating on her own experiences of looking out at the view and painting, from the deck, on ladders, and atop the roof, Mariela has formed her own, spontaneous ideas about the Summit House.

Like Mariela, people who have crawled around in the basement, the tour guide who draws attention to architectural clues inside the building, and the families who have pieces of wood from the Summit House in their homes near the base of Mount Holyoke all engage with the site through its materiality. This is in contrast to engaging with the site as a museum, like I have described in Chapter 5, which threatens to codify the building's narrative into a *lieu de mémoire*. The people described in this section interact with the physical properties of the building material, primarily wood. Through a "nowness" orientation, the pieces of wood are material remains of the past that exist in the present as memory but also as actual pieces of wood that can be repurposed. In this way, people agentively maintain the Summit House as a *mnemotopos* through their engagement with its materiality.

The World War II Plane Crash

> Ten Army fliers were killed soon after midnight last night when their heavy bomber crashed into the wooded slopes of Mount Holyoke. The crash occurred a few minutes after the plane took off from Westover Field, near here, on a night combat training mission. Rescue operations by the Army, State police and the fire and police departments of South Hadley were hindered by rough terrain and [inaccessibility] of the scene of the crash. The cause of the accident is being investigated. (*The New York Times,* May 29, 1944)

Mount Holyoke, an unlikely location for a war scene, is the site of ten World War II casualties. Late at night around when May 27 turned into May 28, 1944, a B-24 Liberator bomber, originating from what is now called the Westover Air Reserve Base in nearby Chicopee, crashed into the side of the mountain and exploded, killing the entire crew of ten young men in their early twenties. The crash was an accident, a disaster caused by human failure, which has resulted in the incursion of war memories onto this rural Western Massachusetts landscape. There are three locations on Mount Holyoke which rouse the presence of this disaster: the crash site itself; a stone commemorative memorial; and a small exhibit inside the Summit House.

Through the lens of an archaeology of the contemporary, I interrogate how the physical remains of the plane crash exist in the present and actively shape the lived experiences of visitors to Mount Holyoke. Recollections and understandings of the plane crash are embedded in the web of intertwined collective memories that make Mount Holyoke a *mnemotopos*, or place of memory (González–Ruibal 2008). In this section, I sketch non-linear narratives of the plane crash and local memories that circle around it. These alternative, tangled, and sometimes conflicting stories reveal how people in the present relate to a non-absent past on Mount Holyoke. I will also discuss ways in which the crash memorial threatens to become a *lieu de mémoire* with an institutionalized, collective memory, and how individuals and families resist this process through their engagement with material remains of the plane. I also consider how some visitors to Mount Holyoke have engaged with the fragments and ruins of war as an entry point for

writing a local narrative of war and collectively and personally remembering World War II and their engagement with it (Moshenka 2009).

On my first visit to the summit of Mount Holyoke, I noticed the stone memorial to the plane crash. As I searched online for more information about the nature of the crash and where exactly it happened, I came across the website *GenDisasters: Events That Touched Our Ancestors' Lives*. This site serves as a database of disasters and catastrophes in the past as well as resulting deaths and injuries. On the forums, users contribute snippets of information gleaned from newspapers or family lore, attempting to learn about their ancestors. Through these nostalgic practices, they try to make meaning of their lives by understanding events that touched their family in the past. On *GenDisasters*, there is a user-submitted page for the disaster on Mount Holyoke (Beitler n.d.). One person was trying to determine if one of the men who died in the crash was their friend's biological father. Another commenter on the page recalled finding the site of the accident:

> In 1958, while hiking on Mt. Holyoke, I came across the crash site of the 1944 crash. While digging through the site, I found a half dollar, many spent shells, a dog tag, and a purple heart. This tells me that one of those men was wounded in combat. Through the years I lost the purple heart and the dog tag. I cannot remember the name on the dog tag. (Zabik 2011)

This poster, Frank Zabik, inadvertently found the site of the crash and conducted his own search for material remains and clues. Although he lost these objects, he recalls finding the Purple Heart and dog tags 67 years later while writing this comment. At the time that Zabik came upon the remains of the plane crash, it had receded from collective memory

and was a place of abjection. After only about two decades, the story of the crash was not solidified in the public consciousness. As Harrison and Schofield note, the contemporary past moves away from us at an ever-accelerating speed. We feel both remote from and disoriented by the passage of recent history (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 8).

During my search to discover more information about the plane crash and its monument, I found an article by Stan Freeman that was published in the Springfield-based *Sunday Republican*. The article ran on May 28, 1989, the day after the commemoration ceremony for the then-newly erected monument on Mount Holyoke. It had been digitized and reposted in 2011 by Masslive.com to complement the coverage of the anniversary of another World War II-era bomber crash in the region. In the article, Freeman recounts the story of how the monument to the 1944 B-24 bomber crash came to be erected exactly 45 years later, on May 28, 1989, in the spot where it still stands today.

Like Frank Zabik, another boy named Frank stumbled upon the site in 1958. Moved by the remains of the disaster, Frank Tencza would be compelled to undertake a decades-long project to formally memorialize the crash. Tencza's nostalgic practices reveal his own relationship to the crash and to war, mediated by the physical remains of the plane, but by creating a memorial he took part in a process to institutionalize the memory of the crash. Freeman (2011) interviewed Tencza in his 1989 article. He wrote:

> The monument came to be largely because of a hike a young boy took on Mount Holyoke in 1958. Frank Tencza, who was born the year before the B-24 crashed, found twisted scraps of metal in a clearing while climbing a slope on the upper reaches of the mountain, something he quickly realized were the remains of an airplane. "Beyond the excitement of coming across something so far out of my experience, I remember a feeling of wonderment and sadness that such an awful

> thing had happened in this gentle, quiet place," said the South Hadley native. (*Sunday Republican*, May 28, 1989)

Tencza experienced conflicting emotions upon finding the airplane remains and sensed an incongruity between the calmness on the mountain and the ruins of a fatal disaster. According to González-Ruibal, accidents such as plane crashes reveal the nature of our contemporary era, and their ruins may be the only way to see modern technology. "The overabundance of things spread out on the ground that constitutes the characteristic image of a crash, tragically discloses the way in which human lives—their affects and intimacies materialised in personal properties—are intermingled with the most advanced technologies" (González-Ruibal 2018:38). In a landscape strongly associated with Arcadian harmony, the site of the crash is a reminder of the inescapability of modernity, technology, and war. The way in which Zabik and Tencza interacted with the site in an inquisitive manner reactivated it as a significant site of memory, a *mnemotopos*.

In the 1989 newspaper article, Freeman recounts that for Tencza, "the scraps of weathered metal on that quiet scorched slope became something of a symbol, as they easily could for anyone trying to imagine war in times of peace" (Freeman 2011). The crude remains of the ill-fated bomber, scattered on Mount Holyoke still decades after the crash, spontaneously conjured images of war. "Perhaps one of the reasons we feel so disturbed by this image [of a plane crash] is because of the way ruins of the airplane materially manifest our fragility, as individual human beings and as an industrial civilisation, our vital dependency on things, on which we put all our faith" (González-Ruibal 2018:38). Zabik's compulsion to take with him the Purple Heart and

dog tags he found shows the attention that he paid to individual human lives. For him, the plane crash could not be separated from the men whose identifying effects he found in the ground. Tencza, too, was motivated to link the disaster to the names of those who lost their lives. He later joined the Army and served in Vietnam; his own war experiences likely colored his relationship to Mount Holyoke. Throughout the next few decades, Tencza would visit the site frequently, "sifting through what remained of the wreckage and scouring the mountainside for undiscovered fragments of the plane that might give him a clue about its identity" (Freeman 2011). Both men use the remains of the crash as ways to remember; the material is memory.

Tencza inquired about the crash, but he's quoted in the 1989 article saying that all South Hadley residents "could remember was that it was a big plane and it crashed at night, and it was during the war or maybe right after" (Freeman 2011). Despite its seeming absence from collective memory, people still living in the area were present when the accident happened and did have memories of the event. Pat recalled having conversations with an elderly man about twenty years ago who remembered when the crash happened:

> An old guy, who would say, oh yeah I was fifteen, and I saw the plane and I left the house and came up and looked at it. You know, like you're gonna do that at that age, people live nearby they actually saw it happen, and came and checked it out. You know, first hand.

Rick and Mary have also been to the crash site. Rick's father, Dick, was a boy in 1944 and remembers going to the scene of the accident with his father, Rick's grandfather. During our interview, Mary read from a family scrapbook:

> It says, um, "The crash lit the sky orange and woke up the neighbors. Dick"—his dad—"recalls that it was about 2am and he and his father hiked up to the crash. As they got close they could smell the fuel burning. There were lots of small explosions as the ammunition burned. Dick remembers seeing one of the wings to the side with the wheel and the tire attached. He didn't see any signs of the crew. The Air Force came quickly and posted guards and roped off the area. Shortly after, the Air Force bulldozed a road up to the crash site following the logging trails. They removed the large pieces and anything of value. And they blasted a part of the ledge to bury the remaining debris. Scattered bits of rusted metal and small piles of melted and chewed metal." Um, and then there's the memorial near the Mountain House. But it is, it's just all these pieces, just stuff kind of melted together or, you know, you wonder what it was. But I mean they had guns and everything, you know, big guns and that, those sort of fighters. Um, it was a bomber that went down, so they definitely wanted to secure that, so.

Mary both read a family member's vivid account of Rick's father's experience of the crash and adds her own perception of the crash site, collapsing a generational gap. Although the disaster was in living memory held by this family, these rich details of the crash were not held in a wider, community memory during the decades that Tencza was searching for information.

Four decades after the crash, Tencza was not able to tap into the memories of individuals in the previous generation who were present for the accident. It is possible that anxiety and fear about impending nuclear war in the 1950s and 60s resulted in a lack of public discussion about Westover's military activities. Nuclear weapons were stored and maintained at Westover Air Force Base—its name between 1948 and 1974 when it was turned over to the Air Force Reserve—and bombers flying overhead in the area at the time would have carried nuclear cargo. Westover Base had a top secret role between 1955 and 1974 as the Eastern headquarters of the Strategic Air Command, a U.S.

Department of Defense and Air Force body in charge of reconnaissance aircraft and nuclear strike forces during the Cold War.[28] The largest military air facility in the Northeast in the decades after World War II, it was thought to be one of the Soviet Union's primary targets ("Westover History & Present Mission" 2012). Perhaps this led to an over-abundance of caution among local residents concerning any stories related to the base and the recession of the site of the plane crash from memory to become a place of abjection.

Only in 1988 did Tencza find a fragment of the plane that he could use to identify it. He "found a piece of twisted, fire-blackened aluminum covered by dirt near the wreckage. Taking it home and washing it down, he saw faint lettering. Looking through an old gunner's manual, he came across a picture of the object. It was part of a fuse box for a tail turret of a type found only on a World War II B- 24 Liberator bomber" (Freeman 2011). After identifying the plane, Tencza acquired an accident report from the Air Force and put together fragments of the story. He worked to establish the memorial to the crash, a life accomplishment mentioned in his obituary upon his death in 2018 (The Republican 2018). The 1989 *Sunday Republican* piece, "Lost Airmen of Westover B-24 Liberator Crash on Mount Holyoke Get Final Tribute," recounts the intertwined stories of Tencza's investigations and the night of the crash (Freeman 2011). These ten airmen were lost not only in the sense that they lost their lives on that night in 1944, but that their story was also lost. While memories of these men and of the crash were held by individual family

[28] A Strategic Air Command secret underground bunker was also built deep within Bare Mountain, a peak of the Mount Holyoke Range. Called "The Notch," this three-story facility was constructed as a base from which to coordinate Westover's activities in the event of a nuclear war ("Westover History & Present Mission" 2012).

members and South Hadley residents, the implication of the article is that their final tribute could only occur upon the excavation of information linking their names to the crash and the erection of a commemorative monument. The monument itself crystallizes the way in which the crash is remembered, and this journalistic narrative further contributes to the institutionalization of the memory of the crash.

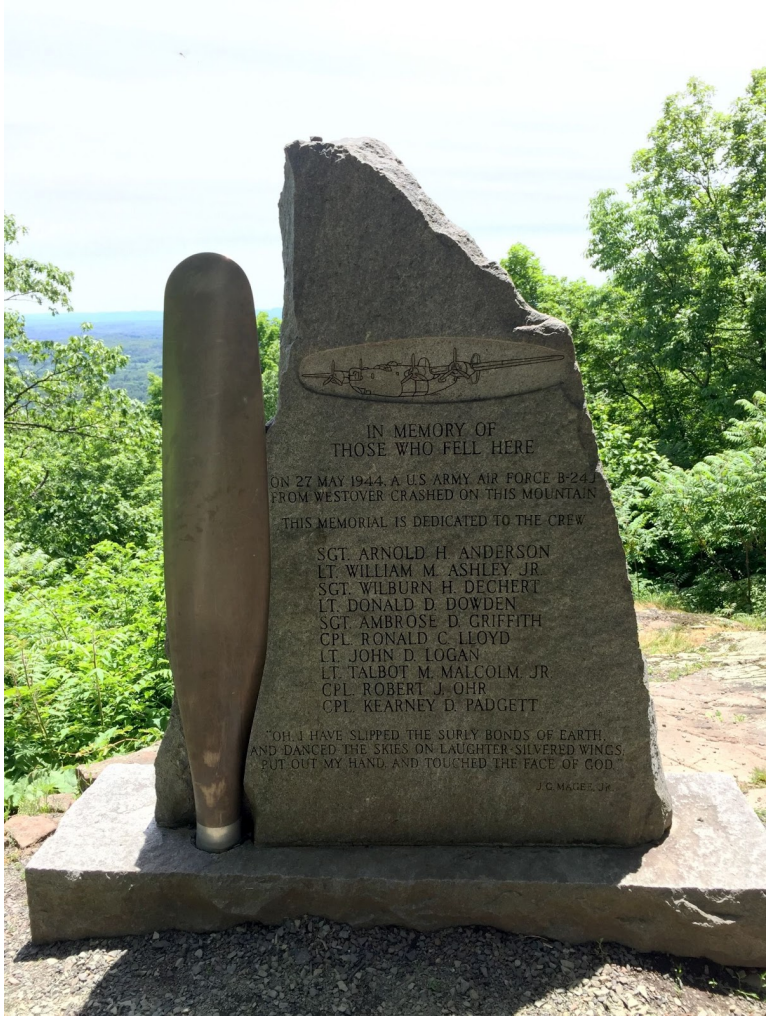

Figure 6.1. The memorial to the B-24 bomber crash on Mount Holyoke.

I have visited the memorial at the summit of Mount Holyoke on many occasions (Figure 6.1). It is a large block of granite. A metal propeller retrieved from the ruins of the bomber is mounted upright against the stone. Next to the memorial is a flag pole waving an American flag. The following text, in all capital letters, is carved into the granite block: "In memory of those who fell here / On 27 May 1944, a U.S. Army Air Force B-24 J from Westover crashed on this Mountain / This memorial is dedicated to the crew." After a list of the 10 sergeants, lieutenants, and corporals who died in the crash are three lines of poetry:

> Oh, I have slipped the surly bonds of earth
> And danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings
> Put out my hand and touched the face of God.

These are three lines of a poem titled "High Flight" written by a young Pilot Officer, John Gillespie Magee, Jr., who was an American who enlisted in the Royal Canadian Airforce and was sent to England to fight in 1941. Magee sent this poem home to his parents months before he himself died in a plane crash at the age of 19 (U.S. Air Force 2015). The presence of these poetic lines further intertwines the Mount Holyoke disaster with the larger scope of World War II and other plane crashes that killed other young men.

Inside the Summit House, a small corner by a vintage piano is devoted to the crash. Hanging by fishing line from the ceiling is a grey model of a B-24 bomber and in a black-framed shadow box leaning on a ledge along the wall is a burnt metal shard of the actual plane. A white piece of paper pinned to the inside of the box reads: "B-24 Wreckage / May 28, 1944." Attached to the wall with two vertically oriented pieces of Scotch tape behind the little exhibit is a laminated piece of paper describing the crash and

providing information about the memorial outside. This satellite memorial brings a fragment of the plane and the story of the crash into the Summit House, folding it into the narrative of Mount Holyoke. The Summit House would have been a defunct and abandoned structure at the time of the crash and only revitalized at the same time the stone memorial was erected. The presence of this small archaeological and commemorative exhibit links the efforts to memorialize the war site with those to preserve the historic structure and reveals an experience of heterogenous time (Dawdy 2016).

Commemorative memorials are themselves archaeological sites (Olivier 2011) as well as archives of public affect (Doss 2010). Erika Lee Doss argues that "contemporary American memorials embody the feelings of particular publics at particular historical moments, and frame cultural narratives about self-identity and national purpose" (Doss 2010, 59). The plane crash memorial on Mount Holyoke is therefore an embodiment of what those who erected it in the 1980s thought and felt about World War II, rather than public affect from the 1940s or the present day. Spearheaded by the nostalgic practices of one man, the memorial is the result of an impulse to commemorate the deaths of the ten men who never engaged in battle but nevertheless tragically participated in the war. Tencza himself was a military man who spent time in retirement volunteering at the Westover base (The Republican 2018). As someone who served in the Army, his outlook towards the armed forces no doubt influences his perception of the plane crash.

The memorial presents a few sentences carved in stone but threatens to figuratively carve in stone an institutionalized collective memory. By presenting to

visitors a constricted range of possible interpretations of the crash it poses to turn the site into a *lieu de mémoire*. For example, it is actually unknown on what exact date the plane went down. The sign at the small exhibit inside the Summit House reads May 28, but the date of May 27 is carved into the memorial. The crash happened around midnight and it is impossible to know the exact date. However, May 27 was engraved into the granite, giving no room for ambiguity.

I only ventured around to the back of the memorial on my second visit there. Carved into the backside is the sentence: "This monument is in memory of all who lost their lives flying from Westover Field during WWII." While the front specifically commemorates, by name, the ten men who died on this mountain, the back proposes a much broader task. It places the 1944 Mount Holyoke crash in the context of a wider history of aviation disasters. Throughout the 1940s and 50s, many planes originating from or heading to Westover crashed, often fatally, in various locations around the Connecticut River Valley. In 1946, a B-17 bomber crashed on the side of Mount Tom, right on the other side of the Connecticut River from Mount Holyoke. The plane was heading from Greenland back home to New York and planning to stopover at Westover, carrying men who had completed their tour of service in WWII (Mt. Tom B-17 Memorial Inc. n.d.; Fieldman 2021). All 25 men on board died. While the men in the Mount Tom crash were returning from war, those of the Mount Holyoke crash never made it out of training. This detail of the story is omitted; they are implied to be war heroes.

The presence of the memorial has also resulted in the crash site itself to recede from memory. A woman I met attending a summer concert at the Summit House, who

moved to the area later in life, talked about "touchstone" places on Mount Holyoke, the various spots around the summit that she always walks over to when she's up there. The memorial is one of these touchstones for her:

> The plane crash site is always, I mean, just so crazy to think about. Um, so that's kind of something that I feel like it's important to just kind of go.

She conflates the memorial with the site of the actual crash, collapsing space and time. The memorial, though erected a distance away from the crash and decades later, not only represents the event but confuses visitors into thinking that it marks the location of the crash. Many visitors only learn about the disaster upon reading the text engraved in the stone; the memorial keeps it in collective memory and dictates the ways in which it is remembered.

But for some locals, the narrative of honoring war heroes is not the dominant association with the plane crash. I asked Rick and Mary if they've visited the site of the crash themselves:

Mary:	Yeah. All the, just there's still a lot of pieces of everything up there.
Rick:	Have you been to the actual crash site?
Danielle:	No, I haven't yet. I'm not sure exactly where it is.

Rick turned the question back on me and asked if I've been to the actual crash site, perhaps using the word "actual" to differentiate from the memorial. For them, the location of the crash itself is the site of memory and the important place to go to. They also possess an embodied, practiced understanding of how to find the site.

Danielle:	So how do you get to that site?
Mary:	It's near that rock that he talks about. You can do it from both the

ridge trail, but you have to know where to drop down, or you can get to it from the back side. It's not something we can just like, say go right and go left.

Danielle: You have to go off the trail quite a bit to find it?

Mary: You do.

Rick and Mary's connection to the crash site is less about honoring the heroism of the crew who died and more about connecting to their family history and the experiences of Rick's father and grandfather who were present on the night of the disaster. By returning to the site themselves and reading from their family scrapbook, Rick and Mary maintain their own memories and understandings of the plane crash, resisting the formation of a *lieu de mémoire*.

One early fall day in 2019, I sat down on a rock to read the memorial and soak in the rays of sunlight coming from the east, the direction the memorial faces. A fuzzy caterpillar dropped down from the stone and proceeded to inch its way along the rectangular plinth. A fighter jet flew overhead, preceded by a loud streaking noise, likely coming from Westover—the very same Army base from which the doomed plane originated. On this day and others, fighter jets have passed overhead while I have been on Mount Holyoke. They serve as a frequent auditory and visual reminder of proximity to not only the air reserve base, but proximity to the crash, the deaths, and war.

The memorial as well as the continued presence of planes overhead trigger memories and recollections for people who visit Mount Holyoke. In my interview with Wayne, who grew up in the area, I asked how the mountain has changed over time. He recalled a time where he perceived much more activity from the Army base:

> Westover's probably the change there, you have B-52s flyin' in and out of there. There was a lot more activity out of Westover. A lot more than now. Uh, the beacon was always goin', the planes, I mean, it was just nonstop. So that Westover kind of influence has changed.

Wayne has noticed a decrease in military activity around the mountain. Hattie, who grew up in the area and returned later in life, also remarked upon the constant presence of planes from Westover:

> If you notice the air traffic around here, there's a tremendous amount of military air traffic. And at one point during the Vietnam War or whatever, Westover Air Force Base was extremely active and people were flying out over to Vietnam. Now you see most of the traffic that comes out of Westover are those huge transport planes. And it's always interesting 'cause we live around here, and they are big. And they look, they look like they're going to fall right out of the sky. And when we see a lot of that kind of activity, we always wonder what's going to be happening over in Iraq or, you know, wherever. But, um, there were a lot of military planes and I believe that was a B-52 that, that crashed in there.

Hattie relates the passage of planes overhead to war and uses their frequency as a barometer of American military activity overseas. For her, the B-52 bomber is just one of many planes from Westover, these excessive manifestations of modernity that "look like they're going to fall right out of the sky." For locals, the landscape of war is more than commemorating the casualties of the 1944 crash. While on Mount Holyoke, they are aware of the presence of the military base. Both the crashed plane as well as those flying overhead are reminders of the various wars that have taken place throughout their lives.

The plane crash is not one singular event that took place on May 27 or 28 in 1944, but rather a disaster embedded in a wider context of World War II, other wars, family histories and subsequent ripples through time to the present. For those who come across

them, the twisted ruins of the crash incite images to flare up (Benjamin 1968). These may be images of war or family memories, but they are spontaneous. The crash site itself is a *mnemotopos*, a location where individuals can engage with spontaneous memories and resist the institutionalization of a collective memory. These narratives are entangled: many generations of one family seeking out the crash site; two young boys stumbling upon the wreckage, one of them growing up and establishing a monument; lifelong residents recalling planes overhead; newcomers learning about the crash through reading the monument; my own search for the remains of the bomber.

One uncharacteristically sunny and warm day in April 2020, I left the confines of my COVID-19 quarantine and drove to Mount Holyoke. Determined to find the site of the crash, I identified the location on the south slope of the mountain, just west of the summit, where I thought it would be. Based on stray comments from people who had been there, I knew which trail to follow and that I would need to drop down from the trail off to the south and tramp into the brush. I tried to search online for more precise coordinates but turned up nothing; all directions to the site of the crash were actually to the memorial. My goal was to systematically search for the site, veering in perpendicular routes off the trail, looking around for signs of rusted metal, then tracing my steps back to the trail, going down a ways and forging off the path again. My search quickly deviated from the scientific. I found myself pulled forward by the topography, asking rocky ledges if they had the agency to take down a plane (no doubt predisposed to talking out loud after weeks of social isolation). I was incapable of following a linear path and meandered my way through the woods. I thought if I just looked for another five minutes, another

five minutes, I would come across the ruins. A plane flew overhead and I felt sure it was a sign. Eventually, I gave up. I trudged up a steep incline, ducked down for a moment as a pair of women passed by as to both adhere to social distancing guidelines and to not frighten them by my sudden eruption up from the gulley, threw my leg over a wooden railing, and stepped onto the paved roadway. I paid a visit to the memorial, surrounded by small purple flowers and a bare flagpole, before hiking back down. I tried looking for the plane crash site again in August 2020, this time with a fellow archaeology graduate student. We had to give up after another unsuccessful afternoon of searching for the remains. I was never able to find the crash site.

The Hiking Trails

The hiking trails are a network of footpaths around and up Mount Holyoke. The paths are narrow openings through the brush and trees, sometimes covered by a layer of leaves and identifiable through subtle clues like exposed rock, polished roots, and patches of dirt. The hiking trails are also overtly marked by sparse signage and painted blazes on trees. They are part of a vernacular landscape, shaped by the use of people over centuries. Some, but not all, of the trails purportedly follow Native American footpaths made just before and in the early years after European contact (Brooks 2018). The hiking trails on Mount Holyoke are actively maintained by park staff who repaint the blazes and remove downed trees, and passively maintained by hikers moving through.

The trails are ephemeral archaeological sites that are periodically re-discovered and re-inscribed by the movement of hikers. I apply here Laurent Olivier's conception of an archaeology of the present which is simultaneously an archaeology of memory. Olivier

defines landscapes as archaeological structures that are continuously being added to. The work of people in the present serves to activate and shape the memory of the site, "the process of adding on to archaeological constructs fashions the memory they hold and extends their identity over time" (Olivier 2011, 66). When hikers find their way along a trail in the woods, retracing the steps of countless people before them, they are exhuming moments of the past and adding their own. They are shaping the archaeological construct of the vernacular landscape.

Olivier emphasizes the role of repetition in the maintenance of archaeological systems. As archaeological structures evolve, "something is constantly being repeated, something that regenerates previous forms and works to maintain the particular way that places and objects are organized" (Olivier 2011, 67). For the identity of archaeological constructs to be preserved over time, reproduction must occur. The hiking trail can only continue to exist if it is used, otherwise, it would recede into abjection. The action of hikers traversing the trails maintains the site. The use of the trails in the present keeps the memory of the past alive, for "repetition is a fundamental part of the memory process, of the sequential recording of the past: For there to be memory, there has to be reiteration, which is to say stratification" (Olivier 2011, 69). This is a stratigraphy not of physical layers of dirt, but superimpositions of memories, reactivations of structuring of space. The hiking trails are ephemeral archaeological palimpsests, at risk of being lost. "Faced with perpetual deterioration, the function and identity of an archaeological construct have to be constantly reaffirmed and readapted" (Olivier 2011, 69) and "it is through repetition that the conditions for the generation of the internal memory of archaeological constructs

are created" (Olivier 2011, 70). Paul Connerton has written similarly that habitual memory results in the past sedimented in the body. "Many forms of habitual skilled remembering illustrate a keeping of the past in mind that, without ever adverting to its historical origin, nevertheless reenacts the past in our present conduct" (Connerton 1989, 72). The amassing of cultural memory in the body and the reinscribing of the hiking trails does not require conscious reference to the trails' historic and archaeological nature. Therefore, I argue that hiking is a nostalgic practice even if the hiker is not immediately aware of the people in the past who have created, maintained, and traversed the trail before them.

While there are many options up to the summit of Mount Holyoke, many visitors choose to take the same trail every time they hike there and express comfort or joy in gaining an intimate awareness of a particular path. Martha has been hiking on Mount Holyoke for decades, since she was a teenager. I interviewed her on the deck of the Summit House, after she had hiked up with her dog. Martha said, "I really like knowing the trail, like, seeing, sort of knowing where I might've put my foot last time I was here. You know, just kind of cool. Noticing changes." She has an awareness of the repetitious act of placing her feet in the same locations. I met Bette at a summer concert and interviewed her during her lunch break on the campus of Amherst College. Bette also appreciates getting to know a trail, down to remembering specific rocks.

Bette: I don't know if you do a lot of hiking, but if there's certain places that you've hiked and you hiked over and over again… there's like a certain rock that you're like, 'Oh yeah, I know that'… It's just kind of, to have that familiarity with a particular path, um, it's

really fun to have this place where you kind of know it well enough to know I'm halfway up or I'm, you know.

Danielle: Do you tend to go up the same trails every time, or do you know a few of them?

Bette: I tend to go to the same ones.

Through an intimate awareness of the trail, Bette is able to know how far up the mountain she is. Brian, a History graduate student, also tends to repeat his route on Mount Holyoke. I asked Brian why he keeps coming back to the same path.

> I don't know, I've become very attached to it for some reason. I think part of it is like the familiarity and I kinda know what I'm getting into when I'm walking on it and like how long it's gonna take and I can kind of like position myself where I'm at whereas like the other trails I won't really necessarily know where I'm at on the mountain. But this I know a bit better, so… I've become very attached to it.

Martha, Bette, Brian, myself, and many others I've spoken to maintain the archaeological site. By repetitively retracing our own steps, we activate our individual memories of past experiences on the trail and contribute to the materialization of memory on the mountain through the action of walking on the trail over and over.

When hikers follow the existing trail, they are copying past constructs and contributing to the maintenance of the path. But not everyone follows the trail in the exact manner as those before. Sometimes, changes or innovations to the route of the trail are proposed by hikers who deviate.

> But to be incorporated, innovations have to find their place somewhere between novelty and tradition, within the environment that is to receive them. If what is new is overly incongruous, it risks being rejected, which means that subsequently it will prove incapable of being reproduced or generating an archaeological lineage. (Olivier 2011, 66–67)

The extent of the deviation from the traditional path determines if a new archaeological construct is accepted. For example, the route I took well off the trail in search of the remains of the plane crash was too incongruous. No one will follow in my footsteps and my path will not generate an archaeological lineage. There is a narrow range "between novelty and tradition" within which a change will be accepted and incorporated by others.

Occasionally, trails are successfully re-routed. One fall, I came upon an enormous downed tree that was entirely blocking the trail. I noticed the signs of the beginnings of a new path around the branches of the fallen tree: trampled low-lying plants and dirt showing through the leaves below. I followed this detour and rejoined the trail on the other side of the tree. The next week, I was back on this trail. The tree was still covering the path and the detour was more obvious than before. People had been using it; the new archaeological construct was accepted.

> … incorporating new elements is vital to an archaeological system, for absent evolution and transformation, it will inevitably break down under the imperious pressure of the present… an existing system of archaeological constructs has to absorb innovations. And what is new is actually absorbed very well… because it can be absorbed only in so far as it corresponds to the norms of the system already in place. (Olivier 2011, 67)

A meandering path a hundred feet perpendicular to the existing trail, like the one I charted looking for the plane crash, does not conform to the trail vernacular. However, a detour going around a fallen tree is an innovation that follows the norms of the hiking trails, easily accepted by subsequent hikers. Martha had also noted this tendency for a new path to form around a tree. "You know, a tree falls and the path changes almost instantly when it's worn around it," she said. Without such innovations, the trail would

break down by the natural taphonomic processes of the woods: downed trees; falling leaves; plant growth. The trail has to absorb innovations to keep existing.

When park staff perform the periodic work of clearing the trails by sawing fallen trees or repainting the colored blazes on trees and rocks, they are maintaining the archaeological site of the trails as well as doing the work to uphold and shape the memory of the site. Occasionally, park staff deliberately reroute trails to avoid negative human impacts on plants and animals. For example, a section of trail was modified to steer clear of a rock under which lived copperhead snakes. The rock was a popular location to lay out and soak in the sun, for both humans and snakes. Park staff altered blazes and cut a new path, erasing the evidence of the previous trail so the snakes could be left in peace.

Figure 6.2. Red blazes painted on living, growing trees to identify the Dry Brook Trail on Mount Holyoke.

Blazes are used to help hikers find their way and locate the trail (Figure 6.2). They are rectangular swaths of paint, typically on trees spaced out regularly. Blazes are color-coded for each of the trails on Mount Holyoke: white; yellow; blue; red; green. People often refer to the trails by their blaze color rather than their official names. The blazes are approximately two inches wide by four inches tall and five feet off the ground. Two stacked blazes indicate a sharp turn; the top blaze will be offset to the left or right to indicate the direction of the turn. The shape, size, and location of the blazes change as the trees onto which they are painted grow and occasionally fall down. For long stretches on a hike, the blazes are sometimes the only direct evidence that the trail is a human creation.

Blazed trees are ecofacts with both biological and social lives. The trees that receive a painted blaze are set apart from the other trees in the forest. They become a part of the archaeological site, a part of the vernacular landscape, and objects that do the work of demarcating the trail for hikers. At the same time, they are still living trees. They are not stable entities with durable physical forms, but ambiguous and dynamic things entangled in both cultural and natural processes (DeSilvey 2006). This is also true of trees with carvings on them. I often walked by one tree with many carvings in its trunk, covered with initials and a row of dates stacked on top of each other: 1980 / 82 / 83 / 84 / 85 / 86. The numbers are alike in form and seemed to have been carved by the same person. This person, in at least six times over seven years, retraced their steps and quite literally reinscribed their presence on the landscape.

Hiking on a trail is a process of archaeological discovery as at the same time the action contributes to a reinscription of the ephemeral site. “Ephemerality reveals the momentarily discernible vibrations of time” (Olivier 2011, 73). Hiking is a nostalgic practice that maintains the trails as sites of memory and keeps them from falling into abjection. This process of discovering the trail, or discerning these temporal vibrations, can be at times challenging or emotional. At one point while hiking in October 2019, I thought I had lost the trail. So many freshly fallen leaves were on the ground, crunching underfoot, that it was difficult to differentiate the path from the rest of the forest. I became a bit nervous, thinking I had veered off course. I kept going forward and eventually saw ahead of me a bright blue, freshly painted blaze. Seeing the painted rectangle, I sighed in relief and kept going.

Memory Materialized on the Mountain

Mount Holyoke is a *mnemotopos*, or place of memory where materializations of the past endure in the present (González−Ruibal 2008). Memory is materialized in the wood of the Summit House, the ruins of the WWII plane crash and its memorial, on the hiking trails, and in the painted blazes. In this chapter, I’ve described the ways in which people engage physically with the cultural landscape, both in terms of their own bodily experiences and through the material properties of substances such as paint and wood. In *mnemotopoi*, people can spontaneously experience memories, materiality, and material as memory. They can participate in the narrative of the cultural landscape. In contrast, places of abjection are devoid of collective memory and the narratives of *lieux de*

mémoire are codified and institutionalized without the ability to generate memory. On Mount Holyoke, people and families do experience spontaneous memories. This memory is encoded in the historic sites and vernacular landscape on the mountain, on both collective and individual levels.

The process of discovery is one way in which people interact with and uncover the memory of the site. This includes exploring the basement of the Summit House by crawling between the rocks and the wooden floor, finding out that the structure is attached by only one bolt, and deducing the construction phases of the building through architectural clues. The Summit House can speak of its own life history; the structure contains the memory of its life phases. For some, the materiality of the Summit House incites personal memories. Wayne becomes angered about the controversy about choosing the decking material and Mary recalls her role in choosing the paint color. Some memories are intergenerational, like Denise's family members taking the wood from the destroyed Summit House expansion in 1938 to build a house or Rick's father passing down his experience seeing the plane crash in 1944. Coming across the remains of the plane crash and wayfinding on the trails using the blazes are also acts of discovery. Spontaneous personal, family, and collective memories flare up during these moments of discovery. The nature of such interactions with the cultural landscape also work to oppose the formation of a *lieu de mémoire* and the institutionalization of memory at the site.

As the action of discovery resists the site turning into a historical cliché, the action of repetitive maintenance prevents it from receding into a place of abjection. The Summit House is actively maintained through regular painting and phases of renovation

and its state is frequently commented upon by both new and long-term visitors. The trails are also maintained passively by hikers moving through and actively by park staff repainting the blazes and moving obstructions. These nostalgic practices, or acts of repetition and maintenance, through physical engagement with aspects of the cultural landscape, work to keep memory at the site alive, maintaining an ontological balance towards a place of socially significant recollection and away from abjection.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

> "[T]he mountain… deserves to be studied as a notion in itself, as the product of social and political construction." (Debarbieux and Rudaz 2015, 2)

The Orogenesis of Mount Holyoke

In this dissertation, I have thoroughly explored the place of Mount Holyoke. This ethnography is orogenic as I have centered the mountain rather than any one activity or group of people. This theoretical orientation is inspired by the work of Bernard Debarbieux and Gilles Rudaz, who argue that mountains are modalities for constructing worlds (2015, 3). I have attempted to understand the multiform ways in which people engage with Mount Holyoke and the meaning of the mountain to their lives. I posed my research questions in Chapter 1, the first of which was: Why and how has this particular mountain summit become so important in people's lives? This project is inextricably tied to the site, as all archaeological studies are, yet it is also a case study of orogenesis, and a contemporary archaeological ethnography. Through my research, I arrived at insights about the ways in which landscape, perceptions of the environment, sense of history, and material engagements entangle to create place.

When designing this project, I also asked: To what extent does sense of space facilitate place attachment? In thinking through how people experience space on Mount Holyoke, two themes of geographic orientation and the natural and physical environment emerged. I focused first on perceptions of the view from Mount Holyoke, the most

prominent feature of the mountain that everyone who visits talks about. While on the summit of Mount Holyoke, a clear vista of the Connecticut River Valley below opens up. In Chapter 3, I discussed how a sense of space achieved by looking out from the summit creates a sense of place in the form of the landscape. I argued that this landscape is held in common by visitors to Mount Holyoke, constructed and reinforced by generations of people who have accessed the summit since the late eighteenth century. In this chapter, my data consisted of comments of the view expressed by visitors over two centuries; I wove quotes from my qualitative interviews and participant observation with passages from memoirs, poems, guidebooks, and other historic documents. I also included an analysis of paintings of the view from Mount Holyoke, foregrounding Thomas Cole's *The Oxbow* (1836) and responses to it. In this way, I identified diachronic shifts and consistencies and found an answer to another of my research questions: In what ways have the conception of the landscape and use of the summit changed or stayed the same over time? I showed that the features of the view that are consistently noticed—the Connecticut River, farmland, town centers with their spires, and the mountains in their distance—have not changed through time. I argued that this is due to a collective vision of the landscape as one of Arcadia. It is perceived to be permanent and unchanging; signs of modernity and development go unnoticed or are downplayed. By placing this discussion in the context of the cultural movements of Romanticism and New England Transcendentalism, I contended that this vision of Arcadia was constructed by nineteenth-century social elites and is perpetuated today as the dominant understanding of the landscape. We collectively see and propagate a pastoral ideal from Mount Holyoke.

This is one way in which a uniquely New England identity is proliferated through collective memory at the site.

I next moved to examine human engagement with the environment on Mount Holyoke, as another avenue to explore how a sense of space informs place. I charted the efforts to conserve the land on Mount Holyoke and placed the story of the mountain in the wider context of the modern Environmental movement both nationally and in New England. Management of the land on the mountain has been negotiated between groups with different values and priorities, including aesthetics of the scenery, economics of the natural resources, health benefits of recreation, and ecological concerns about protecting wildlife habitats. I also analyzed my ethnographic data to understand how visitors perceive the natural environment and identified two major themes: physical and physiological therapeutic effects and environmental exceptionality. People form attachments to nature on the mountain through personal memories and associations, which tend to fall into these two categories of feelings of peace, calm, and rejuvenation, or having a unique and memorable experience, like sighting a rare bird. I argued that conservation efforts, as well as perceptions of the natural and physical environment as therapeutic and exceptional, are all bolstered by a collective belief in a dichotomy between humans and nature.

Another core research question I posed was: To what extent do history and historic sites facilitate place attachment? I began by focusing on the Mount Holyoke Summit House as the primary location where people engage with history. I discovered other sites of historic and archaeological engagement, including those related to the

World War II bomber crash, hiking trails, and even private residences where some people keep personal collections of Mount Holyoke artifacts and memorabilia. In Chapter 5, I examined how a sense of history is developed on Mount Holyoke, or people's orientation towards and understanding of history at the site. I started by foregrounding Native American presence in the area at the time when white settlers first began accessing Mount Holyoke and showed how the history of Mount Holyoke is exclusionary of Native presence. I then outlined the subsequent dominant historical narrative of Mount Holyoke through 1940—the year Joseph Allen Skinner donated the mountain to the state—before moving into an analysis of how visitors engage with this narrative. I identified three modes of engagement with the history of the site and described participating in historic preservation advocacy, collecting, and the consumption of interpretive material at the Summit House. During its period of abandonment and decay in the mid-twentieth century, the Summit House was a ruin. I argued that it was an active site of deep historical engagement in its state of ruin. When the Summit House transitioned from contemporary ruin to historic house museum due to the success of historic preservation activists, its impact on social life and its ability to foster a connection to history decreased.

I focused on the historical narration of Mount Holyoke in Chapter 5. When I explored collecting practices—when people find or purchase objects, photographs, and other artifacts related to Mount Holyoke and bring them into their homes—I began to realize that both the narratives and physicality of these artifacts were important. In Chapter 6, I analyzed more fully the materiality of the cultural landscape of Mount

Holyoke as an archaeologist of the contemporary. I interrogated how historic and archaeological structures, artifacts, and features from the past actively shape lived experience in the present and how people make meaning from physical engagement with this material. I examined Mount Holyoke as a *mnemotopos*, or active site of memory, and focused on three components of the cultural landscape. The first was the Summit House. I considered its physicality, architecture, and wood, looking at it through a different lens than I did in the previous chapter. I also investigated the multi-sited World War II plane crash on the mountain. This included the crash site (which I was not able to find myself), a commemorative memorial to the crash on the summit, and a small exhibit inside the Summit House. Lastly, I theorized the hiking trails as archaeological sites, foregrounding autoethnography to demonstrate how trails are periodically re-discovered and re-inscribed through the movement of hikers. I showed that memory is materialized in the wood of the Summit House, the ruins of the WWII plane crash and its memorial, on the hiking trails, and in the painted blazes which mark the paths. Through acts of discovery and bodily experiences with the material properties of structures, artifacts, and features, people interact with, uncover, and add to the memory of the site. I argued that the nostalgic practices of site maintenance through actions like painting and hiking, which involve physical engagement with materiality, work to keep the memory of Mount Holyoke alive and spontaneous, and maintain the mountain as a socially significant place of recollection, away from abjection and becoming a historical cliché.

Mount Holyoke is polysemous. The mountain is a geological feature, a state park, a historic site, a complex ecosystem of flora and fauna, and a site of long-term

community activism. In this dissertation, I explored some of the many meanings of place and attempted to provide a rich, multivocal story of Mount Holyoke. While I was writing the core chapters, I felt as if each could be expanded and developed into a dissertation in its own right. But here I have chosen to devote attention to as many ways of interacting with and perceiving the mountain as I could in order to explore fully how Mount Holyoke has become part of the local culture and offer a case study with insights about why and how a mountain is socially constructed.

Contributions

This dissertation provides both theoretical and methodological contributions to the field of anthropology, as well as to the related fields of history and geography. Theoretically, I present a transdisciplinary and original approach to studying place. I foreground orogenesis within the space of archaeology of the contemporary and archaeological ethnography. Unlike existing ethnographies of place, which have primarily focused on how one group of people understands place at one point in time, I take a diachronic approach and look at how the orogenesis of Mount Holyoke developed and evolved over two centuries. I explore the intersections of senses of history and space in informing a sense of place, examining how environmental and historical consciousness are interrelated. This work is a multi-stranded story of a place that considers community activism (the work of environmental conservationists and historic preservationists), the creation and propagation of historical narratives and visions of the landscape, and

engagements with physical materials and the more-than-human environment, all embedded in the context of cultural movements over two centuries.

I expand the definition of what an archaeological site is, theorizing the hiking trails as ephemeral, archaeological constructs. I also consider two archaeological sites with which I have personally not been able to see for myself: the Summit House during its period of abandonment, before it was renovated, and the WWII bomber crash site, which I could not find. However, I use ethnographic data and historical documents to understand how others have interacted with these archaeological sites.

Methodologically, this dissertation represents a successful way to merge ethnography, archaeology, and history to study the past, the present, and present responses to the past. It is an example of a study that is archaeological in nature, operating in the space of archaeology of the contemporary, but which does not involve traditional excavation or survey. I challenge archaeologists to reconsider destructive site excavations completely and instead turn their archaeological gaze to the material above the surface of the Earth. This research is a model of an orogenic ethnography, an interdisciplinary fusion of methods weaving together ethnographic fieldwork, historic investigations, and archaeology to understand place-making. I merge history—public history, art history, and environmental history—with a qualitative social science approach. I also present the hiking interview, an innovative research methodology especially fitting for conducting an ethnography of and on a mountain. The hiking interview in particular, and the transdisciplinary fusion of methods that make up my

orogenic ethnography more broadly, are uniquely well-suited to studying mountains or other locales wherein exists an intersection of spatial and historical awareness.

The next steps in the development of the hiking interview methodology should involve a combination of textual and spatial analyses of the transcript maps. This would entail a quantitative analysis of sets of spatial transcripts for a more rigorous way to identify links between transcript content, elevation, and viewshed. In other words, this method could be used to more systematically explore connections between what people talk about and where they are on the mountain, or what they are looking at in the view. Incorporating photographic documentation of the viewshed at particular locations at the site into the interactive map would also be a productive next step. This could provide additional data to identify the relationships between sense of space and sense of place and how geographic location and orientation influence memory recall. I encourage others to conduct hiking interviews at their field sites to further develop it as a phenomenological methodology.

Trails Forward

One Sunday in October 2019, I was walking around a bustling Summit House porch. I noticed a trio of friends: a Black woman, a Black man, and a white woman. They had just hiked up and were joking about almost giving up, not wanting to hike back down, and whether to walk "toe-first" or "heel-first." The Black woman was sitting on a white rocking chair, the Black man was sitting on a bench next to her, and the white woman was standing up facing them. "I need to find hiking friends," the white woman

lamented. “What do you mean!?” replied the man. He reminded her that he literally just hiked up the mountain with her. The white woman mumbled a bit, backtracking on her statement, which was clearly insulting to her friends.

Why hadn’t this woman considered the two people who just hiked up with her as valid “hiking friends”? In her book *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors*, Carolyn Finney (2014) writes that prevailing accounts of the American environment have rarely considered Black experiences. She describes how conventional histories whitewashed the environmental movement. Laura Schiavo similarly argues that environmental histories and narratives about American parks are “underestimating engagement with the natural world by people of color” (2016, 222). While the National Park Service is attempting to increase diversity in the country’s national parks, Schiavo asserts that a “fundamentally (if unconscious) racist logic [underlies] the call for everyone to enjoy these democratic spaces ‘equally’” (Schiavo 2016, 234). Finney analyzes the disconnect between the environmental movement’s understanding of nature during the mid-20th century and the collective outdoor experiences of Black people. She draws attention to the temporal overlap of the environmental and civil rights movements; the Wilderness Act and the Civil Rights Act were both passed in 1964. The creation of public lands and parks was central to defining the national identity of America, but non-white people were either excluded from this project or their participation was mediated “by the dominant culture through legislation, rhetoric, science, and popular perception” (Finney 2014, 50). African Americans have been historically excluded, both explicitly and implicitly, from America’s parks. But

today many African Americans *do* recreate outdoors. However, their presence is often erased, even, like the conversation I overheard, by the very friends they hike with. The next stage of this ethnography on Mount Holyoke, or a new project in another location, should seek out and amplify the outdoor experiences of African Americans and other people of color.

More broadly, a future direction for this research would include an investigation into how people of diverse identity groups relate to Mount Holyoke. Contemporary visitors to Mount Holyoke are racially and ethnically diverse. While on the summit, I have interviewed and interacted with people who are white, Black, Arab, East Asian, South Asian, and Latinx. On another Sunday in October 2019, I took a look at the guest book in the Summit House and noted the locations that recent visitors were coming from. The list included visitors from Hadley and Springfield, MA, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Texas, Illinois, Germany, Romania, and China. However, I did not systematically study the ways in which people of different races, ethnicities, genders, or religions create place on the mountain. Those I interviewed who have been involved in environmental conservation and historic preservation advocacy have been predominantly white. Three populations in particular warrant further attention. The first two groups include people of color visiting from urban centers south of the mountain, specifically African American communities in Springfield and Puerto Rican communities in Holyoke, MA. The third group includes recent immigrants, primarily from East and South Asia, who have moved to pursue education or careers at one of the several institutions of higher education in the area. Therefore, an extension of this project could involve studying the

ways in which Latinx, Black, and Asian people engage with both nature and the historic site.

Other impacts of this dissertation would involve mobilizing the understandings of place attachment revealed through this research. This could include site interpretation and programming at the Mount Holyoke Summit House and other historic and archaeological sites in New England. I have shown the exclusionary effects of dominant narratives, such as a persistent vision of the Arcadian landscape and class-based discriminations in interpretation. Through seeking to understand how immigrants and people from diverse backgrounds form attachments to place, future implications of this research could include developing strategies to use history and nature to help newcomers to a region feel at home. Black, Native American, working-class, and immigrant dimensions are largely missing from the story of Mount Holyoke and the New England mountains. Schiavo (2016) advocates for an approach pursuing interpretation of underserved histories, rather than focusing on visitorship, in order to increase the relevance and diversity at the parks. This dissertation is a starting point for an expanded, inclusive narrative that equally treats diverse stories and perspectives of past and contemporary visitors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Jennifer D., David A. Greenwood, Mitchell Thomashow, and Alex Russ. 2017. "Sense of Place." In *Urban Environmental Education Review*, edited by Alex Russ and Marianne E. Krasny, 68–75. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Anderson, Gail. 2012. "A Framework: Reinventing the Museum." In *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift, 2nd Ed.*, edited by Gail Anderson, 1–9. New York: Altamira Press.

Angelo, Dante. 2017. "Histories of a Burnt House: An Archaeology of Negative Spaces and Dispossession." *American Anthropologist* 119 (2): 253–68.

Appleton, D., ed. 1893. *Appletons' Illustrated Hand-Book of American Summer Resorts*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Armiero, Marco. 2011. *A Rugged Nation: Mountains and the Making of Modern Italy*. Cambridge, UK: White Horse Press.

Atalay, Sonya. 2012. *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Baker, Alan R. H. 1992. "Introduction: On Ideology and Landscape." In *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past*, edited by Alan R. H. Baker and Gideon Biger, 1–14. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Basso, Keith H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Baxter, B., T. Beasley, J. Crystal, R. Dominie, A. Goto, G. Katz, G. McGinty, et al. 1970. "Skinner Park Interpretive Prospectus."

Beckey, Fred W. 2003. *Range of Glaciers: The Exploration and Survey of the Northern Cascade Range*. Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press.

Beitler, Stu. n.d. "Mount Holyoke, MA Bomber Crashes, May 1944." GenDisasters.Com: Events That Touched Our Ancestors' Lives. Accessed April 18, 2020. http://www.gendisasters.com/massachusetts/12585/mount-holyoke-ma-bomber-crashes-may-1944.

Belk, Russell W. 1994. "Collectors and Collecting." In *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, edited by Susan M. Pearce, 317–26. Routledge.

Bell, Allison W., and Maida Goodwin. 2018. *Glorious Mountain Days: The 1902 Hike That Helped Save the White Mountains*. Littleton, NH: Bondcliff Books in partnership with Bogtrotters Press.

Benfey, Christopher E. G. 2002. "Foreword: 'A Route of Evanescence.'" In *Changing Prospects: The View from Mount Holyoke*, edited by Marianne Doezema, 9–11. South Hadley, MA; Ithaca, NY: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum; Cornell University Press.

Benjamin, Walter. 1968. "Theses on the Philosophy of History." In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn, 255–69. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

Bergeron, Julie, Sylvain Paquette, and Philippe Poullaouec-Gonidec. 2014. "Uncovering Landscape Values and Micro-Geographies of Meanings with the Go-along Method." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 122: 108–21.

Birnbaum, Charles A. 1994. "Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes." *Preservation Briefs* 36: 1–20.

Bollwerk, Elizabeth, Robert Connolly, and Carol McDavid. 2015. "Co-Creation and Public Archaeology." *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 3 (3): 178–87.

Brooks, Lisa. 2008. *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2018. *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Brown, Dona. 1995. *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Bruchac, Margaret. 2004. "Native Presence in Nonotuck and Northampton." In *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654-2004*, edited by Kerry Buckley, 18–38. Northampton, MA: Historic Northampton.

———. 2006. "Abenaki Connections to 1704: The Sadoques Family and Deerfield, 2004." In *Captive Histories: Captivity Narratives, French Relations and Native Stories of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*, edited by Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, 262–98. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Bryant, William Cullen, ed. 1872. *Picturesque America, Vol. II*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Buchli, Victor, and Gavin Lucas. 2001. “The Absent Present: Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past.” In *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, 3–18. London & New York: Routledge.

Burt, Henry M. 1867. *Burt’s Illustrated Guide to the Connecticut Valley*. Northampton, MA: New England Publishing Company.

———. 1874. *Burt’s Guide through the Connecticut Valley to the White Mountains and the River Saguenay*. Springfield, MA: New England Publishing Company.

Carmaz, Kathy. 2001. “Grounded Theory.” In *Contemporary Field Research : Perspectives and Formulations*, edited by Robert M. Emerson, 2nd edition, 335–52. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Carr, Ethan. 2009. “Preserving Mt. Holyoke.” In *Cultivating a Past: Essays on the History of Hadley, Massachusetts*, edited by Marla R. Miller. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Casey, Edward S. 2002. *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Cauvin, Thomas. 2016. *Public History: A Textbook of Practice*. New York: Routledge.

Chapman, Ann E. 2020. “Nineteenth Century Trends in American Conservation.” National Park Service. July 7, 2020. https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/nineteenth-century-trends-in-american-conservation.htm.

Christenson, Allen J. 2008. “Places of Emergence: Sacred Mountains and Cofradía Ceremonies.” In *Pre-Columbian Landscapes of Creation and Origin*, edited by John Edward Staller, 95–121. New York, NY: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76910-3_4.

Clancy, Gwen. 1975. *Summit House*. Documentary Film. South Hadley Bicentennial Committee.

Clark, Christopher. 1990. *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Coffin, Paul. 1855. *The Memoir and Journals of Rev Paul Coffin*. Edited by Cyrus Woodman. Portland, ME: B. Thurston, Steam Printer.

Cole, Thomas. 1836a. *View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm—The Oxbow*. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

———. 1836b. "Essay on American Scenery." *American Monthly Magazine* 1 (January): 1–12.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Cronon, William. 1992. "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative." *The Journal of American History* 78 (4): 1347–76.

———. 1996. "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." *Environmental History* 1 (1): 7–28.

Crowley, Dan. 2014. "A Newly Refurbished Mount Holyoke Summit House in J.A. Skinner State Park Will Reopen to Visitors This Weekend." Daily Hampshire Gazette. June 14, 2014. https://www.gazettenet.com/Archives/2014/06/SummitH-HG-061414.

Curtis, Gregory G. 1975. "The Connecticut Historic Riverway." *Institute of Public Service, The University of Connecticut* 28 (4).

Daily Hampshire Gazette. 1958. "Historical Nature Preserved In Famous Architect's Plans for Top Tourist Attraction," August 20, 1958.

Danet, Brenda, and Tamar Katriel. 1989. "No Two Alike: Play and Aesthetics in Collecting." *Play & Culture* 2: 253–77.

Darvill, Timothy. 2005. "The Historic Environment, Historic Landscapes, and Space-Time-Action Models in Landscape Archaeology." In *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape*, edited by Peter J. Ucko and Robert Layton, 106–20. London: Taylor & Francis.

Davis, Wade. 2011. *Into the Silence: The Great War, Mallory, and the Conquest of Everest*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Dawdy, Shannon Lee. 2010. "Clockpunk Anthropology and the Ruins of Modernity." *Current Anthropology* 51 (6): 761–93.

———. 2016. *Patina: A Profane Archaeology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dean, Bradley P. 2007. “Natural History, Romanticism, and Thoreau.” In *American Wilderness: A New History*, edited by Michael Lewis, 73–89. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dean, Ernest J. 1936. *Special Report of the Department of Conservation Relative to the Acquisition by the Commonwealth of Land on Mount Holyoke in Hadley and South Hadley*. House Document, No. 296.

———. 1937. *Special Report of the Department of Conservation Relative to the Acquisition by the Commonwealth of Land on Mount Holyoke in Hadley and South Hadley*. House Document, No. 190.

Debarbieux, Bernard, and Gilles Rudaz. 2015. *The Mountain: A Political History from the Enlightenment to the Present*. Translated by Jean Marie Todd. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DeBoer, Kristin. 2021. “A Message From the Executive Director on the Next 50 Years.” *Kestrel Land Trust* (blog). January 7, 2021. https://www.kestreltrust.org/the-next-50-years-start-now/.

DeSilvey, Caitlin. 2006. “Observed Decay: Telling Stories with Mutable Things.” *Journal of Material Culture* 11 (3): 318–38.

Dickinson, Emily. 1999. *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*. Edited by R. W. Franklin. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Dods, Roberta Robin. 2013. “A Place in Time: Temporal Dimensions of the Human Experience in a Material World.” In *Place as Material Culture: Objects, Geographies and the Construction of Time*, edited by Dragoş Gheorghiu and George Nash, 34–54. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Doezema, Marianne, ed. 2002. *Changing Prospects: The View from Mount Holyoke*. South Hadley, MA; Ithaca, NY: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum; Cornell University Press.

Doss, Erika Lee. 2010. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Duane, Timothy P. 2000. *Shaping the Sierra*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Dwight, Theodore. 1826. *The Northern Traveler*. 2nd ed. New York: A. T. Goodrich.

———. 1829. *Sketches of Scenery and Manners in the United States*. New York: A. T. Goodrich.

Dwight, Timothy. 1823. *Travels in New-England and New-York, Vol. 1*. London: William Baynes and Son.

Eden, John. 1851. *The Mt. Holyoke Handbook and Tourist Guide*. Northampton, MA: Hopkins, Bridgman & Co.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. 1995. "Walk to the Connecticut." In *The Pioneer Valley Reader: Prose and Poetry from New England's Heartland*, edited by James C. O'Connell, 90–93. Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House Publishers.

———. 2003. "Nature 1836." In *Nature and Selected Essays*, edited by Larzer Ziff. New York: Penguin Classics.

Emerson, Robert M., ed. 2001. *Contemporary Field Research: Perspectives and Formulations*. 2nd edition. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 2011. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Evans, James, and Phil Jones. 2011. "The Walking Interview: Methodology, Mobility and Place." *Applied Geography* 31 (2): 849–58.

Feld, Steven, and Keith H. Basso, eds. 1996. *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe, N.M. : Seattle: School for Advanced Research Press.

Ferro, Maximilian L., and Roger W. Foster. 1977. "Historic and Economic Assessment: Summit House, Mount Holyoke, Skinner State Park."

Fieldman, Luis. 2021. "Remembering the B-17 Crash on Mount Tom 75 Years On." *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, July 4, 2021. https://www.gazettenet.com/Mount-Tom-B-17-Memorial-ceremony-set-for-Saturday-July-10-41253438.

Finney, Carolyn. 2014. *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Fiske, Edward R. 1877. "Mount Holyoke." In *Pleasure Resorts in Worcester County and How to Reach Them*, 48–52. Worcester, MA: Published and Printed by E.R. Fiske.

Focusing on the Range. 2005. Documentary Film. WGBY.

Foley, Patricia C. 1997. "Views from the Summit: An Ethnographic Study of the Ritual Communication on Mt. Holyoke." M.A. Thesis, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Fox, Stephen R. 1985. *The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Freeman, Stan. 2011. "From the Archives: Lost Airmen of Westover B-24 Liberator Crash on Mount Holyoke Get Final Tribute." Masslive. 2011. https://www.masslive.com/talk/2011/07/from_the_archives_lost_airmen.html.

Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range. 2017. "Home." Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range. 2017. http://www.friendsofmhr.org/home.html.

"Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range Newsletter." 1996. Friends of the Mount Holyoke Range.

Geertz, Clifford. 2001. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *Contemporary Field Research : Perspectives and Formulations*, edited by Robert M. Emerson, 2nd edition, 55–75. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Georgia O'Keeffe Museum. 2008. *Georgia O'Keeffe and Ansel Adams: Natural Affinities*. New York: Little, Brown, and Co.

Gheorghiu, Dragoş, and George Nash, eds. 2013. *Place as Material Culture: Objects, Geographies and the Construction of Time*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Glassberg, David. 1996. "Public History and the Study of Memory." *The Public Historian* 18 (2): 7–23.

———. 2001. *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

González‐Ruibal, Alfredo. 2008. "Time to Destroy: An Archaeology of Supermodernity." *Current Anthropology* 49 (2): 247–79.

———. 2018. *An Archaeology of the Contemporary Era*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Gottlieb, Robert. 2005. *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*. Island Press.

Graci, David. 1985. *Mt. Holyoke, an Enduring Prospect: History of New England's Most Historic Mountain*. Holyoke, MA: Calem Publishing.

———. 2017. "About." David Graci: Author. 2017. https://stonebotle.wixsite.com/davegraci.

Graves-Brown, Paul, Rodney Harrison, and Angela Piccini. 2013. *The Archaeology of the Contemporary World*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Haefeli, Evan, and Kevin Sweeney, eds. 2006. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Halttunen, Karen. 2002. "Mountain Christenings: Landscape and Memory in Edward Hitchcock's New England." In *New England Celebrates: Spectacle, Commemoration, and Festivity*, edited by Peter Benes, 166–77. Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife 2000. Boston, MA: Boston University.

Hamilakis, Yannis. 2011. "Archaeological Ethnography: A Multitemporal Meeting Ground for Archaeology and Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (1): 399–414.

Hamilakis, Yannis, and Aris Anagnostopoulos. 2009. "What Is Archaeological Ethnography?" *Public Archaeology: Archaeological Ethnographies* 8 (2–3): 65–87.

Hansen, Margaret M., Reo Jones, and Kirsten Tocchini. 2017. "Shinrin-Yoku (Forest Bathing) and Nature Therapy: A State-of-the-Art Review." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 14 (8): 851.

Harrison, Rodney, and Esther Breithoff. 2017. "Archaeologies of the Contemporary World." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 46 (1): 203–21.

Harrison, Rodney, and Arthur John Schofield. 2010. *After Modernity: Archaeological Approaches to the Contemporary Past*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Hayden, Dolores. 1997. "Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space." In *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, 111–33. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hays, Samuel P. 1989. *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985*. Cambridge University Press.

Hitchcock Center for the Environment. 1979. "Interpretive Plan for the Holyoke Range."

Hitchcock, Edward. 1842. *Sketch of the Scenery of Massachusetts*. Northampton, MA: J. H. Butler.

———. 1863. "Mount Holyoke." In *Reminiscences of Amherst College*, 220–26. Northampton, MA: Bridgman and Childs.

Holleran, Michael. 2019. “Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks.” In *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, edited by Randall F. Mason and Max Page, 2nd ed., 17–42. Milton, UK: Taylor & Francis Group.

Hoppin, Martha J. 2002. “Depicting Mount Holyoke: A Dialogue with the Past.” In *Changing Prospects: The View from Mount Holyoke*, edited by Marianne Doezema, 31–61. South Hadley, MA; Ithaca, NY: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum; Cornell University Press.

Howe, Nicholas S. 2010. *Not Without Peril: 150 Years of Misadventure on the Presidential Range of New Hampshire*. Boston, MA: Appalachian Mountain Club.

Ingold, Tim. 2002. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London & New York: Taylor & Francis.

———. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London: Taylor & Francis Group.

Ingold, Tim, and Jo Lee Vergunst. 2008. *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Jackson, J.B. 1980. “The Necessity for Ruins.” In *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics*, 89–102. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Jacobs, Jeremy, and Rob Hotakainen. 2020. “Racist Roots, Lack of Diversity Haunt National Parks.” *E&E News*, June 25, 2020. https://www.eenews.net/stories/1063447583.

Jacoby, Karl. 2014. *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

James, Henry. 2016. *Roderick Hudson*. 2nd ed. Urbana, IL: Project Gutenberg. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/176/176-h/176-h.htm.

Jo, Hyunju, Chorong Song, and Yoshifumi Miyazaki. 2019. “Physiological Benefits of Viewing Nature: A Systematic Review of Indoor Experiments.” *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health*, 23.

Johnson, Clifford C. 1887. *Mount Holyoke and Vicinity*. Northampton, MA: Gazette Printing Company.

Johnson, Matthew H. 2012. “Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (1): 269–84.

Johnson, Richard L., and Charles W. Foster. 1962. “The Case of the Holyoke Range... and a Proposal.” South Hadley Conservation Society, Inc., Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources.

Jones, Phil, Griff Bunce, James Evans, Hannah Gibbs, and Jane Ricketts Hein. 2008. “Exploring Space and Place With Walking Interviews.” *Journal of Research Practice* 4 (2): 2.

Judd, Richard W. 1997. *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2003. “Writing Environmental History from East to West.” In *Reconstructing Conservation: Finding Common Ground*, edited by Ben A. Minteer and Robert E. Manning, 19–32. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Kotker, Norman. 1987. “On a Clear Day You Could See New Haven.” *The New York Times*, August 9, 1987, sec. Travel. https://www.nytimes.com/1987/08/09/travel/on-a-clear-day-you-could-see-new-haven.html.

Krakauer, Jon. 1997. *Into Thin Air: A Personal Account of the Mount Everest Disaster*. New York: Villard.

Kudryavtsev, Alex, Richard C. Stedman, and Marianne E. Krasny. 2012. “Sense of Place in Environmental Education.” *Environmental Education Research* 18 (2): 229–50.

Kuo, Ming, Michael Barnes, and Catherine Jordan. 2019. “Do Experiences With Nature Promote Learning? Converging Evidence of a Cause-and-Effect Relationship.” *Frontiers in Psychology* 10.

Kusenbach, Margarethe. 2003. “Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool.” *Ethnography* 4 (3): 455–85.

Lassiter, Luke E. 2005. “Collaborative Ethnography and Public Anthropology.” *Current Anthropology* 46 (1): 83–106.

Layton, Robert, and Peter Ucko, eds. 2005. *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape*. One World Archaeology. London: Taylor & Francis.

Lederman, Diane. 2000. “Mount Holyoke Fight Ends in State Takeover.” *Union News*, December 2000.

Lewicka, Maria. 2014. “In Search of Roots: Memory as Enabler of Place Attachment.” In *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*, edited by Lynne Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright, 49–60. London & New York: Routledge.

Lockwood, Allison. 1989. “The Coolidge Bridge: Spanning the Connecticut for 50 Years.” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, 1989, Hampshire Life, April 28-May 4 edition.

Lokocz, Elizabeth, Robert L. Ryan, and Anna Jarita Sadler. 2011. “Motivations for Land Protection and Stewardship: Exploring Place Attachment and Rural Landscape Character in Massachusetts.” *Landscape and Urban Planning* 99 (2): 65–76.

Low, Setha M. 2000. *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Low, Setha M., and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds. 2003. *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. 1st edition. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Maddrell, Avril. 2010. “Memory, Mourning and Landscape in the Scottish Mountains: Discourses of Wilderness, Gender and Entitlement in Online Debates on Mountainside Memorials.” In *Memory, Mourning, Landscape*, edited by Elizabeth Anderson, Avril Maddrell, Kate McLoughlin, and Alana M. Vincent, 123–45. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Brill.

Marcus, Max. 2020. “River Stories: How Colonist John Pynchon Acquired Deerfield and Environs.” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, December 6, 2020, sec. News/Local. https://www.gazettenet.com/Nolumbeka-Project-panel-discusses-incorporation-of-Franklin-County-towns-37566620.

Marshall, Catherine, and Gretchen B. Rossman. 2014. *Designing Qualitative Research*. 6th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Martineau, Harriet. 1838. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. London: Saunders and Otley.

Mason, Randall F., and Max Page, eds. 2019. *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*. Milton, UK: Taylor & Francis Group.

Mass Audubon. 2021a. “Our Conservation Work.” Mass Audubon Wildlife Research & Conservation. 2021. https://www.massaudubon.org/our-conservation-work.

———. 2021b. “Site Summary: Mount Holyoke/Mount Tom/East Mountain Range.” Mass Audubon Wildlife Research & Conservation. 2021. https://www.massaudubon.org/our-conservation-work/wildlife-research-conservation/statewide-bird-monitoring/massachusetts-important-bird-areas-iba/iba-sites/mount-holyoke-mount-tom-east-mountain-range.

Massachusetts Association of Conservation Commissions. n.d. “MACC Through the Years - Massachusetts Association of Conservation Commissions.” MACC. Accessed February 8, 2021. https://www.maccweb.org/page/AboutThroughYears.

Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation. 2013. “Resource Management Plan: Mount Holyoke Range Planning Unit.” https://www.mass.gov/doc/mt-holyoke-range-rmp/download.

Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management. 1988. “Guidelines for Operations and Land Stewardship: Executive Summary.”

———. 1989. “Guidelines for Operations and Land Stewardship: Holyoke Range State Park, 2nd Ed.”

Massachusetts Historical Commission. 1993. “Skinner State Park Historic Resources Survey.” Boston: Office of the Secretary.

Meinig, D.W. 1979. “The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene.” In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, edited by D.W. Meinig, 33–48. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, Carolyn. 1996. *Earthcare: Women and the Environment*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Merriman, Nick, ed. 2004. *Public Archaeology*. London: Routledge.

Merzbach, Scott. 2020. “Landscape Partnership Helps Protect Nearly 600 Acres along Mount Holyoke Range.” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, October 1, 2020, sec. News/Local. https://www.gazettenet.com/More-land-permanently-protected-on-Mount-Holyoke-Range-in-Hadley-South-Hadley-and-Amherst-36535248.

Meskell, Lynn. 2005. “Archaeological Ethnography: Conversations around Kruger National Park.” *Archaeologies* 1 (1): 81–100.

Miller, Angela. 2007. “The Fate of Wilderness in American Landscape Art: The Dilemmas of ‘Nature’s Nation.’” In *American Wilderness: A New History*, edited by Michael Lewis, 91–112. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Miller, Angela L. 1993. *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mills, James Edward. 2014. *The Adventure Gap: Changing the Face of the Outdoors*. Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books.

Mitchell, Neil S. J., and Susan Buggey. 2000. “Protected Landscapes and Cultural Landscapes: Taking Advantage of Diverse Approaches.” *The George Wright Forum* 17 (1): 35–46.

Mittlefehldt, Sarah. 2013. *Tangled Roots: The Appalachian Trail and American Environmental Politics*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Mohamed, Ibrahim. 2003. “Evaluation of the Oppressed: A Social Justice Approach to Program Evaluation.” Doctoral Dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst. Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014. 2348. https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/2348.

Moshenka, Gabriel. 2009. “Resonant Materiality and Violent Remembering: Archaeology, Memory and Bombing.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15 (1): 44–56.

Mt. Tom B-17 Memorial Inc. n.d. “The Mt Tom B-17 Memorial Story.” Mt. Tom B-17 Memorial. Accessed June 10, 2021. https://www.mttommemorial.org/story.

Muir, John. 1901. *Our National Parks*. Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin.

National Archives. 2017. “Hetch Hetchy Environmental Debates.” National Archives. 2017. https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/hetch-hetchy.

National Park Service. 1998a. “Connecticut River Valley Special Resource Reconnaissance Study.”

———. 1998b. “NPS-28, Cultural Resource Management Guideline.”

———. 2020. “Conservation and Landscape Planning in Massachusetts.” National Park Service. July 7, 2020. https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/conservation-and-landscape-planning-in-massachusetts.htm.

"National Wilderness Preservation System (16 U.S. Code § 1131)." 1964. Legal Information Institute, Cornell Law School. 1964. https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/16/1131.

Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, Memory and Counter-Memory, Spring (26): 7–24.

O'Brien, Jean M. 2010. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

O'Connell, James C. 2013. *The Hub's Metropolis: Greater Boston's Development from Railroad Suburbs to Smart Growth*. Greater Boston's Development from Railroad Suburbs to Smart Growth. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Olivier, Laurent. 2011. *The Dark Abyss of Time: Archaeology and Memory*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

O'Toole, Randall. 2017. "Understanding Thoreau." *The American Spectator* (blog). 2017. https://spectator.org/understanding-thoreau/.

"Our Mission." 2013. *Nolumbeka Project* (blog). July 17, 2013. https://nolumbekaproject.org/our-mission/.

Oxbow Marina. 2020. "About Us." Oxbow Marina. 2020. https://oxbowmarina.net/about-us/.

Parry, Ellwood C. 2003. "Overlooking the Oxbow: Thomas Cole's 'View from Mount Holyoke' Revisited." *American Art Journal* 34: 6–61.

Pearce, Susan M. 1994. "Thinking About Things." In *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. Routledge.

Phillips, Sandra S. 2008. "What Adams Saw: Ansel Adams and Modern Art in America." In *Georgia O'Keeffe and Ansel Adams: Natural Affinities*, edited by Georgia O'Keeffe Museum, 143–57. New York: Little, Brown, and Co.

Plath, Sylvia. 1985. *Above the Oxbow: Selected Writings*. Northampton, MA: Catawba Press.

———. 1995. "Above the Oxbow." In *The Pioneer Valley Reader: Prose and Poetry from New England's Heartland*, edited by James C. O'Connell, 135–37. Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House Publishers.

"Public Law 89-616." 1966. In *Statute 80*, 80:867. S. 3510. U.S. Government Printing Office.

Raad, Danielle R. 2021. “The Power of Collective Vision: Landscape, Visual Media, and the Production of American Mountains.” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 38 (1): 102–22.

Rane, Frank W. 1916. “Report of the State Forester on the Resolve Providing for an Investigation Relative to the Taking of Mount Holyoke as a State Reservation.” In *The Twelfth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Forester, 1915*, 113–22. Public Document, No. 73. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., State Printers.

Rein, Irving J. 1968. “The New England Transcendentalists: Philosophy and Rhetoric.” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1 (2): 103–17.

Report of an Inventory and Plan for Development of the Natural Resources of Massachusetts. 1958. Senate Document, No. 610. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., Legislative Printers.

Report on the Joint Standing Committee on Conservation Sitting in Recess. 1955. Senate Document, No. 640. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., Legislative Printers.

Richards, Thomas Addison. 1854. *American Scenery Illustrated*. New York: George A. Leavitt.

Rome, Adam. 2001. *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*. Cambridge University Press.

———. 2003. “Conservation, Preservation and Environmental Activism: A Survey of the Historical Literature.” National Park Service. 2003. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/hisnps/NPSThinking/nps-oah.htm.

———. 2008. “Nature Wars, Culture Wars: Immigration and Environmental Reform in the Progressive Era.” *Environmental History* 13 (3): 432–53.

Rubin, Herbert J., and Irene S. Rubin. 2012. *Qualitative Interviewing The Art of Hearing Data*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

SAA Ethics in Archaeology Committee. 1996. “Principles of Archaeological Ethics.” Society for American Archaeology. 1996. https://www.saa.org/career-practice/ethics-in-professional-archaeology.

Sanford, Charles L. 1957. “The Concept of the Sublime in the Works of Thomas Cole and William Cullen Bryant.” *American Literature* 28 (4): 434–48.

Scenic America. 2001. “Scenic America Seeks Nomination for ‘Last Chance Landscapes.’” *Scenic America Viewpoints*, Spring 2001.

———. 2021. “About Us.” Scenic America. 2021. https://www.scenic.org/about-us/.

Schama, Simon. 1995. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: A.A. Knopf.

Schiavo, Laura Burd. 2016. “‘White People Like Hiking’: Some Implications of NPS Narratives of Relevance and Diversity.” *The Public Historian* 38 (4): 206–35.

Sears, John F. 1998. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Sellers, Christopher C. 2012. *Crabgrass Crucible: Suburban Nature and the Rise of Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America*. University of North Carolina Press.

Senate Bill 0190. 1957. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Senate. https://archives.lib.state.ma.us/bitstream/handle/2452/255169/ocm39986874-1957-SB-0190.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Serreze, Mary C. 2014. “Mount Holyoke Summit House Reopening Celebrated with Mountaintop Event in Hadley.” Masslive. September 8, 2014. www.masslive.com/news/2014/09/mt_holyoke_summit_house_ribbon.html.

Shanks, Michael, David Platt, and William L. Rathje. 2004. “The Perfume of Garbage: Modernity and the Archaeological.” *Modernism/Modernity* 11 (1): 61–83. https://doi.org/10.1353/mod.2004.0027.

Silliman, Augustus E. 1881. “Mount Holyoke.” In *A Gallop Among American Scenery*, 143–46. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

Simon, Janice. 2006. “Reenvisioning ‘This Well-Wooded Land.’” In *Seeing High and Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*, edited by Patricia Johnston, 142–59. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Simon, Nina. 2010. *The Participatory Museum*. Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0.

Sinton, John. 2018. *Devil’s Den to Lickingwater: The Mill River Through Landscape and History*. Amherst, MA: Levellers Press.

Song, Chorong, Harumi Ikei, and Yoshifumi Miyazaki. 2016. “Physiological Effects of Nature Therapy: A Review of the Research in Japan.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 13 (8): 781.

Southall, Thomas. 1977. “The Kilburn Brothers Stereoscopic View Company.” M.A. Thesis, Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/arth_etds/40.

———. 1979. “White Mountain Stereographs and the Development of a Collective Vision.” In *Points of View, the Stereograph in America: A Cultural History*, edited by Edward W. Earle, 97–108. Rochester, NY: Visual Studies Workshop Press.

Spence, Mark. 1996. “Dispossesing the Wilderness: Yosemite Indians and the National Park Ideal, 1864-1930.” *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (1): 27–59.

Sprinkle, John H., Jr. 2019a. “Historic Preservation Was Never Static.” In *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, edited by Randall F. Mason and Max Page, 2nd ed., 369–88. Milton, UK: Taylor & Francis Group.

———. 2019b. “The Recreation Movement.” In *Saving Spaces: Historic Land Conservation in the United States*, 105–31. New York: Routledge.

Stedman, Edmund Clarence. 1876. “Holyoke Valley.” In *Poems of Places: An Anthology in 31 Volumes, Vols. 25-29*, edited by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Northampton, MA.

STM. 2000. “Save the Mountain Fact Sheet.” Save the Mountain, Accessed through the Wayback Machine. 2000. https://web.archive.org/web/20050307065002/http://www.savemtholyokerange.com/.

———. 2001. “Save the Mountain.” Save the Mountain, Accessed through the Wayback Machine. 2001. https://web.archive.org/web/20050307065002/http://www.savemtholyokerange.com/.

Straub, Gale. 2019. *She Explores: Stories of Life-Changing Adventures on the Road and in the Wild*. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books.

Stuart, James. 1833. *Three Years in North America, Vol. I*. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell.

Sumner, Charles. 1873. *The Works of Charles Sumner, Vol. VII*. Boston, MA: Lee and Shepard. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/48266/48266-h/48266-h.htm.

———. 2015. *Charles Sumner; His Complete Works, Volume 9*. Edited by George Frisbie Hoar. Project Gutenberg. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/48266/48266-h/48266-h.htm.

Sutch, Christopher. 2014. “American on Everest: Individualism, the American Intellectual Tradition, and the Dream of Woodrow Wilson Sayre.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 27 (4): 541–78.

Sweetser, Charles H. 1868. *Book of Summer Resorts*. New York: "Evening Mail" Office.

The Associated Press. 2000. "Residents Protest Planned Development Atop Scenic Mountain." *The Recorder*, February 17, 2000.

The New York Times. 1944. "Ten Die in Crash on Mount Holyoke: Bomber Goes Down Soon After Leaving Westover Field," May 29, 1944.

The Republican. 2018. "Frank W. Tencza Jr. (1943 - 2018)." Masslive Obituaries. October 30, 2018. https://obits.masslive.com/obituaries/masslive/obituary.aspx?n=frank-w-tencza&pid=190601269&fhid=15524.

Thoreau, Henry David. 1857. "Concord, November 16, 1857." In *Letters to Harrison Blake (1848-1861)*. Monadnock Valley Press. https://monadnock.net/thoreau/blake.html.

Tilley, Christopher, and Kate Cameron-Daum. 2017. *Anthropology of Landscape: The Extraordinary in the Ordinary*. London: UCL Press.

Town of Amherst. 2003. "Town Warrant: Special Town Meeting January 29, 2003."

Tree, Christina. 1976. *How New England Happened: A Guide to New England through Its History*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2015. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. 2nd ed. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Truettner, William H. 1999. "Small-Town America." In *Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory*, edited by William H. Truettner and Roger B. Stein, 111–41. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1979a. "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective." In *Philosophy in Geography*, edited by Stephen Gale and Gunnar Olsson, 387–427. Theory and Decision Library. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

———. 1979b. "Thought and Landscape: The Eye and the Mind's Eye." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by D.W. Meinig, 89–102. New York: Oxford University Press.

United States Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. 1968. *New England Heritage: The Connecticut River National Recreation Area Study*. U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Air Force. 2015. "Pilot Officer John Gillespie Magee: 'High Flight.'" National Museum of the United States Air Force. May 12, 2015. http://www.nationalmuseum.af.mil/Visit/Museum-Exhibits/Fact-Sheets/Display/Article/196844/pilot-officer-john-gillespie-magee-high-flight/.

U.S. Department of Justice. 2015. "The Wilderness Act Of 1964." U.S. Department of Justice. 2015. https://www.justice.gov/enrd/wilderness-act-1964.

Vagnone, Franklin D., and Deborah E. Ryan. 2015. *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums*. Left Coast Press.

Villamaino, Matthew. 2015a. "Joseph Allen Skinner State Park Interpretive Park Profile." Department of Conservation and Recreation.

———, ed. 2015b. "Mount Holyoke Tourist Guide Listings and Personal Accounts."

———, ed. 2016. "Mount Holyoke Plans, Proposals, and Reports."

Walker, James Perkins. 1860. "Summit of Mount Holyoke, July 17, 1860." In *The Religious Educator*, 198–201. Boston, MA: Sunday-School Teachers' Institute.

Walsh, Jacqueline. 2000. "Students Fighting Home on Range." *Union News*, February 28, 2000.

"Westover History & Present Mission." 2012. Westover Air Reserve Base. 2012. https://www.westover.afrc.af.mil/About-Us/Resources/Fact-Sheets/Display/Article/164939/westover-history-present-mission/.

"Why We Conserve the Valley We Love." 2019. In *Your Valley*. Kestrel Land Trust.

Woods, George Bryant. 1873. *Essays, Sketches, and Stories*. Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Company.

Young, James Edward. 2000. *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Zabik, Frank. 2011. "Re: Mount Holyoke, MA Bomber Crashes, May 1944." *GenDisasters.Com: Events That Touched Our Ancestors' Lives* (blog). January 5, 2011. http://www.gendisasters.com/massachusetts/12585/mount-holyoke-ma-bomber-crashes-may-1944#comment-4426.