

CAMP MERRIE-WOODE: THE INTERACTION OF GENDER ATTITUDES AND  
HISTORIC PRESERVATION AT AN ALL-GIRLS' SUMMER CAMP

by

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(Under the Direction of Eric MacDonald)

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers an evaluation of the historic significance of an early-twentieth-century all-girls' camp from the perspective of gender theory and feminism. To accomplish this evaluation, this work specifically examines the case of Camp Merrie-Woode, an all-girls' camp, in Sapphire, North Carolina. It explores the impact of gender norms and relations on the development and preservation of the spatial organization, built environment, programming, and traditions at Camp Merrie-Woode to illuminate areas of women's history that have often been overlooked. Archival research, landscape documentation, and interviews were conducted to chronicle Camp Merrie-Woode's history, the landscape's physical changes, and its existing conditions. The study reveals that Camp Merrie-Woode is a significant cultural landscape, whose characteristics initially promoted gender equality by subtly subverting gender norms. The camp continues to empower its female campers through the preservation of its historically-significant landscape characteristics.

INDEX WORDS: Historic Preservation, Summer Camps, Gender, Cultural Landscapes, American Camping Movement, Camp Merrie-Woode, Women's History, Women's Movement, Gender Theory, Feminism, Adirondack-Style Architecture, Picturesque

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## DEDICATION

To my parents, who have always allowed me to follow my passions and whims. To my friends, including the basement dwellers of Denmark Hall, who kept me sane during this process. And to Tajar, LOTR, Sir Galahad, and Sissy for inspiring this thesis.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Research Question**

From its inception during the late nineteenth century, the American camping movement has been intricately tied to gender norms and relations. Early camp organizers created spaces of “manufactured wilderness” to remove boys from the perceived over-civilizing and feminizing forces of urban life. When girls’ camps became popular during the early twentieth century, their organizers created similar spaces. Girls during this period, however, were expected to be civilized and feminine. Traditional gender expectations for girls thus diverged from the original purpose of the organized summer camp, and this divergence often caused all-girls’ summer camps to vacillate between the reinforcement and subversion of current gender norms. This thesis draws on literature regarding gender theory to examine the formation and preservation of the unique cultural landscapes of all-girls’ summer camps. For an in-depth analysis of the interrelated natural and cultural components of such a landscape, this thesis employs a case-study approach to answer the thesis question: How have changing attitudes towards gender informed the development and preservation of the spatial organization, buildings, traditions, and activities of Camp Merrie-Woode, an-all girls’ summer camp in North Carolina? In answering this question, this thesis explores whether amendments to the original 1995 Camp-Merrie-Woode nomination to the National Register of Historic Places are necessary.

## Background and Relevance

Summer camps in the United States have shaped and influenced the childhoods of many Americans. This influence, and the role of camps in the back-to-nature movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, necessitate the consideration of summer camps as significant cultural landscapes. Created during the late 1800s in an attempt to mimic the disappearing wilderness of the frontier and to combat a perceived loss of masculinity in American boys, the summer camp movement in the United States possesses a fascinating history. This history can be linked to the nascent conservation movement led by intellectual leaders and landscape architects like Charles Eliot, author of “The Waverly Oaks,” which spawned the Trustees of Reservations, one of the first nonprofit conservation organizations in the United States. Charles Eliot’s father and former Harvard president, Charles W. Eliot, would go on to state in 1922 that “the organized summer camp is the most important step in education that America has given the world.”<sup>1</sup> However, those who began the American camping movement were not only concerned with the conservation of the natural world but also with instilling young boys and eventually girls with a set of values considered appropriate for each gender.

All-girls’ summer camps became popular during the early twentieth century, and offered a combination of traditionally feminine activities, like weaving and dancing, and more gender-neutral or masculine activities, like horseback riding, hiking, and archery. Their directors, typically unmarried, college-educated women, sought sites similar to those of all-boys’ camps. These sites were generally located in relative seclusion on a lakefront, replete with views and vistas that inspired interest in the natural world. On these sites, all-girls’ camp directors often

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<sup>1</sup> Eleanor Eells, *Eleanor Eells' History of Organized Camping : The First 100 Years* (Martinsville: American Camping Association, 1986), 90.

implemented the same layouts and architectural designs as their male counterparts, thus offering an equal educational environment for girls.

By the time these directors were beginning to establish all-girls' camps, the women's movement in the United States was well underway. Women mobilized to fight for equal political and social rights, often forming all-women's organizations to gain leverage in the public sphere. In this way, the women's movement and the establishment of all-girls' camps shared a pattern of creating homosocial institutions through which to attain community and skills. By applying gender theory, this thesis aims to situate the history of one all-girls' camp, Camp Merrie-Woode, in the context of the larger women's movement that occurred simultaneously. To accomplish this contextual placement, this thesis utilizes the U.S. National Park Service cultural landscape report format to examine how attitudes towards gender were manifested in certain landscape characteristics, and how those landscape characteristics might have been preserved or altered over time as a result of changing attitudes and social conditions.

In delving deeper into the role of the women's movement and gender relations at an all-girls' summer camp, this thesis aims to illuminate the often overlooked history of women and girls. The National Park Service (NPS) and several academics have noted the tendency of preservationists to favor the preservation and interpretation of sites that reflect the history of significant white men. This tendency has left holes in the historical narrative of the United States, and sites that tell the stories of women, African-Americans, the lower class, and other ethnicities are relatively scant. To combat the issue of the underrepresentation of women at historic sites, the NPS created an initiative in 1989 to "increase the number of National Historic Landmarks associated with women."<sup>2</sup> In 2005, the agency published a guide, *Exploring A*

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<sup>2</sup> Dwight Pitcaithley, "Forward," *CRM* 20, no. 3 (1997): 3.

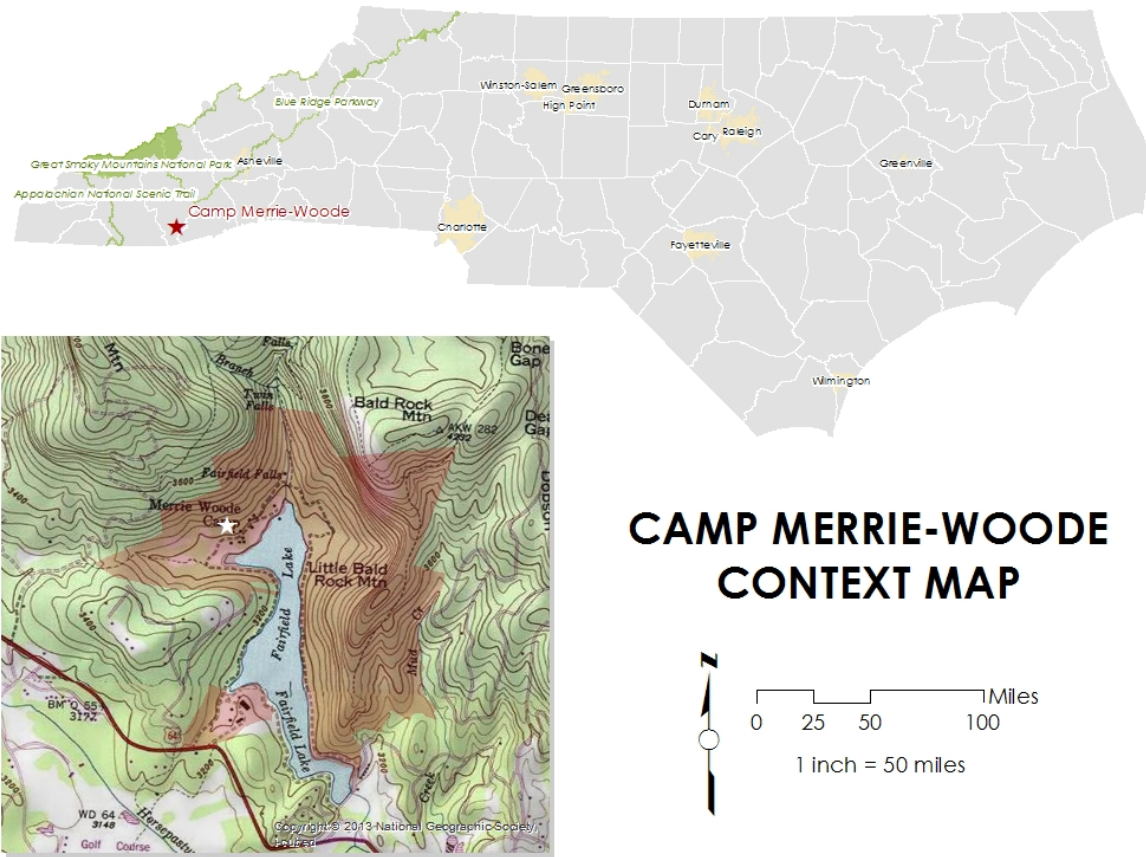
*Common Past: Researching and Interpreting Women's History for Historic Sites*, about uncovering women's history using a number of contexts. This NPS literature also acknowledged that research on women's history has traditionally been limited to the suffrage movement and to important political figures, rather than focusing on ordinary women. This thesis aims to build on and contribute to the growing body of research and literature regarding the preservation and interpretation of women's and girls' history at historic sites.

### **Scope and Limitations**

This thesis uses a case study approach and a gendered perspective to analyze the development and preservation of an all-girls' summer camp in North Carolina: Camp Merrie-Woode. Located in Sapphire, North Carolina, Camp Merrie-Woode was founded on a 13¼-acre parcel in 1919 by Marjorie Harrison and Mary Turk. It has been in continuous operation as an all-girls' summer camp ever since. Although Harrison first owned Camp Merrie-Woode, it was the next owner, Mabel "Dammie" Day, who truly shaped the camp landscape, and its architecture, spatial organization, traditions, and programming. Day purchased Camp Merrie-Woode in 1922 and directed it for over thirty years. The Orr family of Atlanta purchased the camp in 1953 and expanded the camp over the next twenty-five years. Now owned by the non-profit Merrie-Woode Foundation, Inc., formed in 1978 by a group of alumnae, the camp encompasses approximately 390 acres (fig. 1.1).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Jennifer F. Martin "Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Cashiers, 1995.



*Figure 1.1. Context map of Camp Merrie-Woode (Created by author; Data Sources: NCDOT, ArcGIS, NPS, National Geographic Society)*

All of Merrie-Woode’s owners, directors, staff members and campers have imbued the landscape with meaning over time. A cultural landscape analysis of Camp Merrie-Woode is thus performed to extract that meaning and related gender values from the landscape characteristics of the camp. These characteristics are then tracked over time to analyze conscious or unconscious decisions to preserve or change them, as these decisions might reflect changes in attitude towards gender. Because of the in-depth nature of a cultural landscape report, this thesis was limited to one case study.

Camp Merrie-Woode was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1995 under criterion A for its representation of the American camping movement, and under criterion C for its exemplary collection of Adirondack-style camp buildings and structures. One purpose of this thesis is to utilize the cultural landscape report format to reevaluate the areas of significance under criteria A and C. Camp Merrie-Woode represents an important element of the institution-building of the women's movement, the history of girlhood, and the impact of gender norms on girls. While mentioned in the original nomination, feminism and the women's movement is not explicitly stated in the areas of significance or in the summary of significance. Additionally, since the nomination's submission, several of the camp's original buildings have been reconstructed, thus reducing the historic integrity of the Adirondack-style buildings. Rather than eliminating criterion C as a result of these changes, however, this thesis reassesses Camp Merrie-Woode under criterion C as a cultural landscape that is representative of typical picturesque camp landscapes of the 1910s and 1920s. This thesis aims to use this reevaluation to suggest amendments to the original nomination to more explicitly connect the camp to the women's movement and to establish the camp as a picturesque-style cultural landscape. Although national register criteria B and D also could be explored further, this thesis is limited to examining criteria A and C.

This thesis was not only limited geographically, but also theoretically. Issues of gender are inherently interconnected with issues of race, class, and ethnicity. Because of time constraints and an attempt to narrow the focus of the study, however, only broad issues of gender are addressed in this thesis. While women's experiences are highly nuanced and shaped by race, class, and ethnicity, a deeper investigation of those nuances is beyond the scope of this research. Instead, this thesis offers a somewhat generalized overview and application of women's history

and gender theory related to space and the built environment to provide a historical and theoretical context for analyzing the case study.

## **Methodology**

The methods for this thesis consisted of a review of literature; research of Camp Merrie-Woode archival materials; interviews of alumnae, senior staff members, and board members; and cultural landscape documentation and evaluation. In order to establish context and framework, relevant literature in the areas of women's history and gender theory, organized camping history, and cultural landscape preservation was consulted. This secondary literature was bolstered by research of primary documents related to camps during the 1920s and by materials located in the Camp Merrie-Woode archives.

Camp Merrie-Woode houses a large archival collection consisting of historic photographs, correspondence, camp magazines known as *The Lake Fairfield Ripple*, newsletters, historic camp programs, and more. These archival materials were essential resources for understanding what the camp looked like historically as well as the philosophy of its owners and directors. Therefore, archival research provided a view of the physical changes over time, and potentially revealed the motivations behind those changes. The most heavily consulted archival resources were historic photographs, promotional brochures, issues of the *Lake Fairfield Ripple*, and newsletters. Historic photographs served as visual references to the character of the camp during the period of significance, while brochures, *The Lake Fairfield Ripple*, and newsletters provided a chronology and lent insight into the thoughts and motivations of campers and staff.

Semi-structured interviews with Camp Merrie-Woode alumnae, senior staff members, and past board members were conducted in order to understand the motivation behind decisions



to preserve, erase, or alter the camp landscape. These interviews were intended to aid in a better understanding of the camp's recent history, as many changes to the camp's buildings and structures have occurred in the past twenty years. Additionally, the interview questions and answers were used to explore how Camp Merrie-Woode impacted the life of the girls and women who attended and worked at the camp. Some of the insight garnered from the interviews is thus discussed in the analysis and evaluation chapter to bolster the expansion of Camp Merrie-Woode's significance as a space that provided skills to and empowered young women. Interview questions and protocol are included in appendix A.

This thesis takes the form of "part 1" of a cultural landscape report and thus uses related methodologies. It provides theoretical and historical context, documents the narrative history and existing conditions of the site in question, analyzes the site's significance, and evaluates its integrity. In order to document and assess existing conditions, site visits were required. These site visits involved assessing existing conditions through photographs, written documentation, and sketch maps, in order to compare existing and historic conditions and create rough, schematic period and existing conditions plans. The assessment used the landscape characteristics outlined in the National Park Service *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents Process, and Techniques*: natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions, topography, vegetation, circulation, buildings and structures, cluster arrangement, views and vistas, constructed water features, and small-scale features.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Robert A. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1998), 53.

## **Thesis Organization**

This chapter proposes the research question, provides background and relevance, discusses scope and limitations, documents methodology, and outlines the thesis organization.

The second chapter provides a review of literature relevant to the thesis question. The literature is organized into three categories: literature related to gender theory and the women's movement, literature related to the American camping movement, and literature related to cultural landscape preservation. This chapter introduces literature in these fields and traces its development from its beginning until today.

Chapter Three examines pertinent gender theory and establishes a theoretical framework through which to view the case study. The chapter first establishes key premises of gender theory: that gender is a social construct; that gender frequently takes the form of gender roles or norms; that these roles have historically divided genders into the "separate spheres;" that these roles are culturally transmitted, often through the built environment and space; and that gender is mutable over time and space. It further examines theories related to the reinforcement or subversion of gender norms and relations through the built environment and space. Then, the chapter briefly documents the history of the women's movement and feminism in the United States and provides a connection between this gender history and theory and the history of the American camping movement.

Chapter Four provides a general history of the American camping movement. Beginning with the earliest summer camps in the northeastern U.S. during the late nineteenth century, this chapter documents the movement to the present. In order to address the thesis question, this history of the American camping movement focuses on camp layouts, architecture, activities,

and traditions over time. The purpose of this chapter is to establish historical context for the case study, Camp Merrie-Woode.

Chapters five, six, and seven function as the first part of a cultural landscape report on Camp Merrie-Woode. Chapter Five documents the history of the Camp Merrie-Woode site. It briefly covers the pre-camp history of the site, but it focuses on the history of Camp Merrie-Woode from its founding in 1919 through today. Chapter Six documents the existing conditions of Camp Merrie-Woode. Using the landscape characteristics outlined in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*, the existing conditions of Camp Merrie-Woode's landscape characteristics are documented in order of their relative scale: natural systems and features, topography, constructed water features, spatial organization, circulation, cluster arrangement, buildings and structures, small-scale features, views and vistas, vegetation, land use, and cultural traditions.

Chapter Seven builds on the previous chapters to analyze and evaluate the historic significance and integrity of Camp Merrie-Woode using the National Register of Historic Places framework. Beginning with the evaluation of significance, this chapter argues for the expansion and reevaluation of the original national register nomination's summary of significance. It then assesses the ability of the site to convey the expanded and changed areas of significance by evaluating the historic integrity of the landscape characteristics documented in Chapter Six.

Chapter Eight provides conclusions and offers recommendations for future research and preservation efforts at Camp Merrie-Woode. It synthesizes the previous chapters and discusses how the information in those chapters leads to an answer to the thesis question. Additionally, it builds on that answer to provide recommendations for the future preservation of Camp Merrie-Woode.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature relevant to the thesis question. No literature has yet been written that addresses all three components of this thesis: attitudes towards gender, the history of summer camps, and historic preservation of cultural landscapes. Some literature has examined the relationship between two of these areas, most prevalently literature about uncovering, preserving, and interpreting women's history and attitudes towards gender in cultural landscapes. Additionally, literature has been written that defines summer camps as cultural landscapes, and that documents attitudes toward gender at all-girls' summer camps. This review examines literature in the fields of gender theory and women's history, the history of the organized camping movement in the United States, cultural landscape preservation, and various combinations of these topics. The review is followed by a conclusion noting key figures and ideas that are used throughout the thesis. By providing context in these fields, this thesis aims to then build upon the literature currently available to document and analyze the interaction of gender, the American camping movement, and cultural landscape preservation at Camp Merrie-Woode.

#### **Gender Theory and the History of Feminism**

This section reviews the history of feminism and gender theory, beginning with the first usage of the term "féministe" in France and moving into the American women's movement and

subsequent gender theory. The terms feminism and feminist were coined before gender was recognized as a social construct. Charles Fourier, a French utopian socialist, is largely credited with first using the word “féministe” in the 1830s.<sup>5</sup> In Fourier’s utopia, women were freed from the subjugation thrust upon them most often by the institution of marriage. Although some of Fourier’s ideas, such as having women serve as bait for his “industrial armies,” would seem problematic to later feminists, his ideals of female equality and freedom can be seen as roots of the women’s liberation movement of the 1960s and onward.<sup>6</sup> The women’s liberation movement spurred much of the gender theory that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Prior to the arrival of the term “feminism” in the United States, well-known activist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, had declared that men and women are created equal in her *Declaration of Sentiments* at the Seneca Falls Conference, organized by Stanton and Lucretia Mott in 1848 to address women’s rights. Stanton’s *Declaration* identified the main injustices perpetrated by men against women, including the deprivation of the right to vote and subsequent deprivation of representation in the political realm; the taking of all right in property; the denial of the opportunity of employment; and the denial of higher education. The *Declaration*, signed by sixty-eight women and thirty-two men called for the remedy of those injustices.<sup>7</sup> Although the term feminism was not known to Stanton, Mott, and other early suffragettes like Susan B. Anthony, Stanton’s *Declaration* would motivate the early feminist movement, whose members fought most strongly for women’s right to vote.

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<sup>5</sup> Leslie F. Goldstein, “Early Feminist Themes in French Utopian Socialism: The St.-Simonians and Fourier.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 43, no.1 (January – March 1982): 92, accessed March 8, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2709162>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-104.

<sup>7</sup> “Modern History Sourcebook: The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848,” Fordham University, accessed March 8, 2017, <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/senecafalls.asp>.

The terms “feminism” and “feminist,” borne out of Fourier’s “féministe” and the later “féminisme,” coined in the 1880s by Hubertine Auclert, who founded the first women’s suffrage society in France, migrated to the United States around 1910. The terms became common in the American vocabulary by the middle of the decade.<sup>8</sup> Auclert’s “féminisme” was a combination of the French word for woman, *femme*, and *-isme*, “which referred to a social movement or political ideology.”<sup>9</sup> Since its beginnings, the term has been controversial, partly because there was and is much dissent regarding what “feminism” actually means. For example, an early suffragist magazine in a 1909 piece called “Suffragism Not Feminism” framed feminism as pitting women against men. The organization behind the magazine subsequently disavowed that perceived ideology. However, during the mid-1910s, more women began to embrace the ideology as being more inclusive of equal rights for women in areas other than suffrage.<sup>10</sup>

This retroactively-named first wave of feminism and early feminist writings culminated with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which granted women the right to vote. Following the ratification, feminism and the women’s movement quieted somewhat until it was reawakened around the 1950s and 1960s. One impetus for the reawakening of feminism was the introduction by John Money, a New Zealand psychologist and sexologist, of the term “gender role” in his 1955 article, “Hermaphroditism, gender and precocity in hyperadrenocorticism: Psychologic findings.” Money claimed, “The term *gender role* is used to signify all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the

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<sup>8</sup> Nancy F. Cott, “The Birth of Feminism,” in *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 14.

<sup>9</sup> Estelle B. Freedman, “The Historical Case for Feminism,” in *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine, 2002), 3.

<sup>10</sup> Cott, “Birth of Feminism,” 15-16.

status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively.”<sup>11</sup> Money, through his studies of hermaphrodites and their self-identification, understood gender as a social construct and something that is learned or nurtured, not a biological reality.<sup>12</sup> Other early mentions of gender include that of psychoanalyst Robert J. Stoller, who, during the 1960s argued that “those aspects of sexuality that are called gender are primarily culturally determined.”<sup>13</sup> Despite these early, more scientific mentions of gender, the concept did not enter into the mainstream until feminist theorists began to use this new understanding of gender to analyze ways in which gender roles had been constructed over time and space.

Second wave feminism, as this new women’s liberation movement has often been called, saw a variety of new literature regarding the ways in which gender roles and power structures interact with disciplines like geography, architecture, urban planning, and ecology, among many others. Much of this new literature, and the second wave of feminism itself, was inspired in some part by Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963. The “mystique” or what Friedan described as “the problem that has no name” was that, despite having the occupation of housewife, a supposedly fulfilling occupation for women of the time, most of the college-educated women Friedan interviewed were overwhelmingly unhappy.<sup>14</sup> Building upon Friedan’s observations that confinement to the home made women unhappy, academics and historians like Barbara Welter, Aileen S. Kraditor, and Gerda Lerner began to write about the

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<sup>11</sup> James Money, “Hermaphroditism, gender and precocity in hyperadrenocorticism: Psychologic findings,” *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 96 (1955), 253-264, quoted in David Haig, “The Inexorable Rise of Gender and the Decline of Sex: Social Change in Academic Titles, 1945–2001.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 33, no. 2 (April 2004): 91.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-93.

<sup>13</sup> Robert J. Stoller, *Sex and Gender: The Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (London: Hogarth, 1968), xiii.

<sup>14</sup> Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963).

separate spheres of male/female and public/domestic.<sup>15</sup> These women observed the idea of the separate spheres historically, concluding that they largely served to keep women subordinate. In the years that followed, scholars in various fields began to study the ways in which the built environment, space, and geography often reinforced the gender roles prescribed by the separate spheres.

Dolores Hayden, currently a professor of architecture, urbanism, and American studies at Yale University, was instrumental in observing the ways in which the built environment could be used to reinforce or even subvert gender roles. Her 1976 article, “Architecture and Urban Planning” in the feminist journal *Signs*, written with Gwendolyn Wright, is often recognized as being at the forefront of the consideration of architecture and feminism. The first section of the article covers women in the profession of architecture and related design fields, while the second section discusses literature related to how the built environment impacts women’s experiences. Hayden and Wright found a dearth of literature written about females in the design profession along with a scarcity of female architects, although that appeared to be changing. Because of the predominance of males in the profession, men had mostly designed the spaces inhabited by women. However, Hayden and Wright, after surveying work by historians, concluded that while many designs were intended to confine women to the domestic sphere, women often took control of these spaces.<sup>16</sup>

Hayden further explored the phenomenon of women exerting control over the domestic sphere in *The Grand Domestic Revolution* in 1981. Her primary focus was unearthing the

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<sup>15</sup> Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151–174; Aileen S. Kraditor, ed., *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968); Gerda Lerner, “The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson,” *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* 10 (Spring 1969): 5–15.

<sup>16</sup> Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright, “Architecture and Urban Planning,” *Signs* 1: 4 (1976), 923-933, accessed September 13, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173242>.



history of the material feminists, who were active during the period between the Civil War and Great Depression. According to Hayden, material feminists were “the first feminists in the United States to identify the economic exploitation of women’s domestic labor by men as the most basic cause of women’s inequality.”<sup>17</sup> Hayden covered a wide variety of fields in which these material feminists operated, including revolutionizing domestic work, designing feminist spaces like the kitchen-less house, envisioning feminist cities, and creating neighborhood organizations in an attempt to overcome the spatial and social isolation of the women’s or domestic sphere from the men’s or public sphere.

A contemporary of Hayden, Doreen Massey, a British geographer, focused on the relationship between space, place, power, and gender, helping to pioneer the field of feminist geography. In her 1994 book *Space, Place, and Gender*, a compilation of her earlier works from the 1980s and early 1990s, Massey recounted that gender was not really considered in the field of geography until the 1960s and 1970s when geographers in England examined the decentralization of jobs. This examination led geographers to contemplate gender as they realized that one component of decentralization was the entrance of women as a cheap, unorganized, and part-time source of labor into the workforce.

Throughout the book, Massey used case studies like the decentralization of jobs and the conditions of women in different regions of England to argue that gender and the social is spatially constructed, just as space is constructed by gender and the social. In what echoed J. B. Jackson’s perspective, Massey contended that space, like time, is dynamic and filled with varying perspectives and stories. Massey additionally asserted that the very study of feminist geography in different regions and the regional variations in gender construction and

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<sup>17</sup> Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 3.

reinforcement indicate the necessity of a non-essentialist view on men and women. Like her contemporary theorists and historians of women's history, Massey claimed that mobility and working outside of the home is often essential in getting women out of the confines of the domestic space in order to mobilize and fight for equal rights. She believed that viewing the world through dichotomies like male/female, culture/nature, and space/time is problematic – instead, we should aim to overcome those dichotomies in order to effect real change.<sup>18</sup>

Estelle Freedman and Linda Kerber, both historians and professors of women's history and feminist studies, also observed the relationship of space and gender in 1979 and 1988, respectively. Although they used many of the same arguments as Massey, namely that mobility is key, they argued for the benefit of homosocial institutions – institutions completely made up of women – in the early American women's movement. Both Freedman and Kerber documented the formation of all-female institutions, like the Women's Christian Temperance Movement, the Sorosis Club, women's colleges, and the settlement house movement, with Freedman concluding that these kinds of institutions provided the support networks necessary for the achievement of women's suffrage. The disbandment of these institutions following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment and the attempt of women to enter the male-dominated workforce often led to backlash and continued subjugation of women in the workforce as the necessary support networks were no longer in place. Kerber took Freedman's assertions farther, stating that these women benefitted not only from the support network of these institutions, but also from the physical control of space that women often exerted in these institutions.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

<sup>19</sup> Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 3 (Autumn 1979): 512–529; Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 32.

The work of earlier gender theorists like Hayden and Massey inspired the work of Daphne Spain in 1992 with her book, *Gendered Spaces*. Spain examined gendered spaces in nonindustrial and industrial societies, including the home, places of education, and the workplace. She noted that geographic and architectural spatial segregation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in these spaces often prohibited women from gaining access to the same kinds of knowledge as men. This spatial restriction on knowledge reinforced the patriarchal system. However, when space opened and allowed women to access traditionally male knowledge, their status often rose.<sup>20</sup>

The contemplation of gender's relationship with architecture and space continued into the late 1990s. A variety of books were published during this time that compiled a range of essays, some written by Delores Hayden and Sherry Ahrentzen, a professor at the M. E. Rinker, Sr., School of Construction Management, who was inspired by Hayden and Wright's 1976 article. These books included *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices* and *Architecture and Feminism*, both published in 1996, and *Design and Feminism*, published in 1999. These compilations expanded some previous ideas on gender and architecture by also examining how the female body moves throughout spaces and how architecture still tends to represent the separate spheres, although those spheres have somewhat eroded, among other relatively new ideas.<sup>21</sup> Sherry Ahrentzen followed her essay with a 2003 article in *Signs*, entitled "The Space Between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture," which provided a good review of the new literature that had cropped up during the previous twenty-five years, often as a result of

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<sup>20</sup> Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

<sup>21</sup> Thomas A. Dutton and Lian Hurst Mann, eds. *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds. *Architecture and Feminism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996); Joan Rothschild, ed. *Design and Feminism: Re-visioning Spaces, Places, and Everyday Things* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

Hayden and Wright's "Architecture and Urban Planning."<sup>22</sup> While many of these academics continue to write about these issues, it appears that the bulk of the foundational scholarship appeared between the late 1970s and early 2000s.

The period between the 1970s and 2000s also saw an increase in historians interested in women's history, the history of feminism, and the recent history of the terms "gender" and "sex." General histories of feminism and the women's movement include current Harvard History Department faculty member Nancy F. Cott's *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (1987) and Estelle Freedman's *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (2002). Cott's book covered the history of feminism in the United States, although it only dealt with those who claimed the moniker "feminist." Freedman's book situated the history of feminism in the United States in a global context and covered those who identified as feminists and those who did not.<sup>23</sup>

In a slightly different vein, David Haig, of the Harvard University Department of Organismic and Evolutionary Biology, in his 2004 article, "The Inexorable Rise of Gender and the Decline of Sex: Social Change in Academic Titles, 1945–2001," traced the usage of the terms "gender" and "sex" in the titles of three million academic articles written from 1945 to 2001 in order to identify any trends. He concluded that prior to the 1960s the word gender was rarely used in a non-grammatical sense except for articles written by James Money. The term was later widely adopted by feminists during the late 1970s and 1980s, leading to a dramatic increase in its usage in academic titles. Today, the words "gender" and "sex" are often conflated,

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<sup>22</sup> Sherry Ahrentzen, "The Space between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture in Society* 29, no. 1 (2003): 179–206, accessed September 13, 2016. [www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/375675](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/375675).

<sup>23</sup> Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).; Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2002).

causing “gender” to lose some relevance of meaning.<sup>24</sup> Although other histories of feminism and gender theory have been written since Cott, Freedman, and Haig’s work, their histories are some of the most comprehensive.

### **History of the Organized Camping Movement**

The organized camping movement began during the late nineteenth century, and by the early twentieth century, established camp directors were already attempting to spread their knowledge and camping techniques. In 1911, Henry Gibson, director of the YMCA Camp Becket, essentially wrote a how-to guide for organizing and directing camps based on his experiences. Becket espoused certain practical aspects of the organized summer camp, like how to layout the camp, what materials to use, and how to build a campfire without starting a forest fire. He also articulated the values underlying the organized camping movement, discussing how rough living quarters could negate the effects of the crippling civilization of the outside world.<sup>25</sup>

As the organized camping industry boomed in the interwar period, professionals outside of the camping industry itself began to write about organized camps. Henry Wellington Wack was the Associate Director of the Camp Department of *The Red Book Magazine* in the 1920s. During his tenure, he undertook three surveys of private summer camps in America, beginning in 1923 with 243 camps in the six New England States where the camping movement began. The following year he toured 121 camps in the Adirondack, Catskill, and Pocono Mountains in New York and Pennsylvania and in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. In 1926, he returned to the trail, which he claimed “extended over a distance of 16,712 miles,” to survey the

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<sup>24</sup> Haig, David. “The Inexorable Rise of Gender and the Decline of Sex: Social Change in Academic Titles, 1945–2001.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 33, no. 2 (April 2004): 87–96.

<sup>25</sup> Henry Gibson. *Camping for Boys* (Boston: Public Domain, 1911).

camps of the South.<sup>26</sup> These volumes were titled, in chronological order, *Summer Camps - Boys and Girls* (1923), *The Camping Ideal - A New Human Race* (1924), and *More About Summer Camps - Training for Leisure* (1926).

Especially of relevance to this thesis is the third volume, in which Wack explored the camps of the South. Wack was known for his belief in eugenics and his opinion that summer camps were the perfect place for the formation of a better American race. Therefore, aside from his mission to survey only private camps, Wack undoubtedly excluded camps from his survey that did not fit his idea of suitable places for the “progenitors of a better race.”<sup>27</sup> Additionally, he often made sexist observations about summer camps, frequently touting the attractiveness of girls at all girls’ camps across North Carolina. Wack’s observations are thus problematic when viewing them through the lens of today’s social values that qualify eugenics as racist and observations about the attractiveness of young girls as sexist. Nevertheless, his survey provides historical context of southern camps in 1926, seven years after the founding of Camp Merrie-Woode. Wack generally documented the location, director, setting, activities, and built environment of each camp he visited. This survey, therefore, allows for the comparison of these aspects of Merrie-Woode to its contemporary summer camps.

Prior to Wack’s survey of summer camps across the country, the members of the camping industry began to professionalize, resulting in the formation in 1910 of what is today called the American Camp Association (ACA). In 1986, Eleanor Eells, long-time camp director and active member of the ACA wrote what appears to be the first comprehensive history of the camping movement. Her book, *History of Organized Camping: The First 100 Years*, provides a

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<sup>26</sup> Henry Wellington Wack, *More About Summer Camp: Training for Leisure* (New York: The Red Book Magazine, 1926), 11.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Wellington Wack, *The Camping Ideal: The New Human Race* (New York: The Red Book Magazine, 1925), 2.

relatively chronological history of organized camping supplemented by an introduction to some of the most historically influential members of the industry.<sup>28</sup>

Eells was followed by Barksdale W. Maynard, an adjunct professor at Delaware College of Art and Design, who wrote an article in 1999 entitled, ““An Ideal Life in the Woods for Boys’: Architecture and Culture in the Earliest Summer Camps.” Maynard began by noting the lack of literature on the history of summer camps, but as his title connotes, his article only covers the history of all-boys’ camps. Covering three of the most influential early boys’ camps in New England — Chocorua, Asquam, and Pasquaney — Maynard did delve into the built environment by discussing the rustic architectural style of the early camps. Maynard drew parallels between the early summer camps and the adult and family camps which began populating the Adirondacks at the end of the twentieth century: “Like certain Adirondack camps, the early summer camps for boys display the nineteenth-century rustic in its plainest and least pretentious form.”<sup>29</sup> While Maynard’s article provides helpful information on the architecture and social conditions of early boys’ camps, its specificity led to the exclusion of a larger history of summer camps.

This exclusion was somewhat remedied during the 2000s with two books that stand out for their comprehensive documentation of the history of the movement from two different perspectives. Abigail A. Van Slyck, in her 2006 book, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890 - 1960*, used her background as an architectural historian to recount the development of camp architecture and layouts, as well as the evolution of

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<sup>28</sup> Eleanor Eells. *Eleanor Eells' History of Organized Camping: The First 100 Years* (Martinsville: American Camping Association, 1986).

<sup>29</sup> Barksdale W. Maynard, “An Ideal Life in the Woods for Boys’: Architecture and Culture in the Earliest Summer Camps,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 12, accessed July 20, 2016, <http://www.jsor.org/stable/1215318>.

social values that informed the development of the built environment of summer camps.<sup>30</sup> Leslie Paris, an Associate Professor of History at the University of British Columbia, who specializes in “modern American social and cultural history, childhood and youth, gender and sexuality, and popular culture,” explored the social history of the American camping movement in her 2008 book, *Children’s Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp*.<sup>31</sup>

Van Slyck approached her analysis of the history of American summer camps by exploring the individual histories of certain aspects of the summer camp: its landscape and layout, recreation and programming, housing for campers, dining, cleanliness, and the tendency for camps to embrace perceived traditions of American Indian cultures. She documented summer camps as cultural landscapes, due to their embodiment of the natural environment; built environment, including individual buildings and the relationships among them; outdoor program areas; and the ideologies and “institutional priorities” that “are translated into material form.”<sup>32</sup> Through this methodology, Van Slyck produced a comprehensive history of the American Camping Movement and many of the extant camps it produced. She ended her study in 1960, as that year marked the transition from the traditional organized camp to specialized camps, which in turn led to the closure of many traditional camps.

Although there is a good amount of overlap between Van Slyck and Paris’ books, Paris took a more in-depth look at the social history of summer camps, with less regard for the spatial component. She confined her studies to Northeastern camps because the movement began there, and this confinement allowed her to look further into traditions, experiences, and programming

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<sup>30</sup> Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> “Leslie Paris,” Department of History, The University of British Columbia, accessed December 19, 2016, <http://www.history.ubc.ca/people/leslie-paris>.

<sup>32</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, xxxi.



at individual camps.<sup>33</sup> In addition to her book, Paris also wrote an article entitled “The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood,” which explores conceptions of gender at summer camps. She identified girlhood and girls’ camps, in particular, as areas previously overlooked by feminist theorists and historians, who had documented the women’s movement: “The history of interwar girls’ camps, for example, asks that we reflect anew upon a period that many scholars have described in terms of the decline of women-centered activism and women’s institutions and the concurrent rise of ‘compulsory heterosexuality.’”<sup>34</sup> Throughout this article, Paris argued that all-girls’ camps continued to serve as the homosocial institutions identified by Kerber and Freedman allowing for perpetual female self-identification and often female empowerment.

Neither Van Slyck’s nor Leslie Paris’ books discuss the preservation of historic summer camps. Courtney Fint, an architectural historian, however, tackled the issue in her chapter of Richard Longstreth’s *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, published in 2008. In her article, “The American Summer Youth Camp as a Cultural Landscape,” Fint documented the history of a co-ed 4-H camp in West Virginia, leaving out gender theory and focusing on cultural landscape preservation. Like Van Slyck, she made the case for the examination of the summer camp as a cultural landscape, “to which the development and change of numerous components over time significantly contribute to the meaning of the whole.”<sup>35</sup> The cultural landscape of summer camps, Fint believed, contained the layers of history promoted by J. B. Jackson. One must not only view the summer camp as a cultural

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<sup>33</sup> Leslie Paris, *Children’s Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> Leslie Paris, “The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood.” *Journal of Women’s History* 12, no. 2 (2001): 47–76.

<sup>35</sup> Courtney Fint, “The American Summer Youth Camp as Cultural Landscape,” in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. by Richard Longstreth, 73–90 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 73.

landscape when documenting its history, but also when planning for its preservation. Preservation planning for summer camps, thus, should take into account all aspects of the landscape, including the original intent of the camp, when making decisions about the landscape's future, thereby ensuring that the ideals and purpose translated into the built environment are also preserved.

### **Historic Preservation of Cultural Landscapes**

The conception of cultural landscapes in the United States can be traced back to geographer Carl Sauer in 1925. In his seminal work, "The Morphology of Landscape," Sauer referenced geographers in Germany and the United States who had begun to contemplate and research cultural landscapes. However, Sauer's work and his definition of a cultural landscape really instigated the study and consideration of the "largely untilled field."<sup>36</sup> Sauer's oft-cited definition of cultural landscape stated, "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result."<sup>37</sup> As the name of his article suggests, Sauer was primarily concerned with forms of cultural landscapes, not necessarily the ideologies that drove their formation.

Despite Sauer's illumination of cultural landscapes, the field struggled to morph into its own discipline, instead generally being relegated to a subcategory of cultural geography. By the 1950s and 1960s, students had trouble getting work published on the study of cultural landscapes in established journals. Another luminary in the field of cultural landscapes, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, however, founded a magazine in 1951 called *Landscape* that would allow the

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<sup>36</sup> Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," *The University of California Publications in Geography*, 2, no. 2 (1925): 45.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

publication of these studies and articles.<sup>38</sup> Jackson had an eclectic but illustrious career, which can be felt by his continued influence in the realm of cultural landscapes today. He pursued his undergraduate degree at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and then at Harvard University, studied architecture at MIT, became a “cowboy” on a ranch in 1940 and then a major in the US Army during World War II, and taught at Harvard and the University of California, Berkeley, riding his motorcycle between the two campuses. He continued writing and publishing throughout his life.<sup>39</sup> All of these experiences contributed to Jackson’s unique view of the cultural landscape.

Jackson not only created a forum for aspiring cultural landscape academics, but he also promoted the value of vernacular landscapes and provided a new framework through which to view cultural landscapes. In his book *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, first published in 1975, Jackson defined landscape as “a composition of man–made or man–modified spaces to serve as infrastructure or background for our collective existence.”<sup>40</sup> He continued this thought by defining background as “that which underscores not only our identity and presence, but also our history.”<sup>41</sup> To Jackson, cultural landscapes are not merely artifacts of human culture, as Sauer might have believed, but they are reflections of the interrelations of people, of their ideas, ideologies, disagreements, work, and lives. Landscapes additionally encapsulate multiple identities and layers of history.<sup>42</sup> Jackson believed that cultural landscapes could not only reveal much about American history and society, but they could also teach us “about ourselves and how

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<sup>38</sup> Arnold Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, “Introduction: Why Cultural Landscape Preservation?,” in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. By Arnold Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, 1-21 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 15.

<sup>39</sup> Paul Groth, “John Brinckerhoff Jackson” *American National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2010), Research Starters Database.

<sup>40</sup> John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

we relate to the world. It is a matter of learning how to see.”<sup>43</sup> Jackson’s work was a clear shift in the field of cultural landscapes from Sauer’s more scientific approach.

Jackson was joined by a contemporary, D.W. Meinig, in the further exploration of the meaning of cultural landscapes. Meinig is a geographer and current Professor Emeritus and Maxwell Research Professor of Geography at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. In 1979, Meinig edited a compilation of essays called *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, which contained an essay by Jackson and other influential contributors to the field including Peirce Lewis, Yi-Fu-Tuan, and David Lowenthal, and an essay by Meinig himself entitled, “The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene.” In “The Beholding Eye,” Meinig explored the varying lenses through which humans can view the landscape and identified ten: landscape as Nature, landscape as Habitat, landscape as Artifact, landscape as System, landscape as Problem, landscape as Wealth, landscape as Ideology, landscape as Place, and landscape as Aesthetic.<sup>44</sup> While Sauer would have leaned on “landscape as Artifact,” looking at how certain cultures had shaped, formed, and left patterns on the landscapes, Meinig and Jackson would have viewed landscapes as ideology. Meinig’s essay reaffirmed Jackson’s assertion that landscapes can have different identities and meanings to different people.

Meinig, Jackson, and their contemporaries were not necessarily concerned with cultural landscape preservation. In fact, J.B. Jackson refused the label of preservationist. According to *Preserving Cultural Landscapes In America*, “In a 1976 letter to *Landscape Architecture*, for example, he stated that a ‘sense of the stream of time’ could not be reproduced by ‘sterile reconstructions.’”<sup>45</sup> Jackson clearly perceived historic preservation as a field primarily focused

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<sup>43</sup> Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, ix–x.

<sup>44</sup> D.W. Meinig, “The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D.W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

<sup>45</sup> Alanen and Melnick, “Introduction,” 16.

on restoring sites to one moment in time, which was not compatible with his view of landscapes containing layers of history. To help remedy this, Robert Melnick, professor, former Dean of the School of Architecture and Allied Arts at the University of Oregon, and “expert in cultural landscape evaluation and historic landscape preservation planning,” would work with the National Park Service (NPS) to create a preservation and management framework that was more consistent with Jackson’s conception of landscape.<sup>46</sup>

The National Park Service published a report in 1984 titled *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System*, after recognizing cultural landscapes as a resource type in 1981.<sup>47</sup> Written by Melnick, with the help of Daniel Sponn and Emma Jane Saxe, this report laid out the framework for preserving and managing cultural landscapes, or more specifically, rural landscapes. This report marked the beginning of the National Park Service’s technical guidance and leadership in the field of cultural landscape preservation and the beginning of examining cultural landscapes from a management perspective.

In the report, Melnick noted that landscapes are dynamic systems and that “recognizing that places may represent more than one historical period is vital to understand rural landscapes and to any discussion of the significance and integrity of a rural historic district.”<sup>48</sup> Additionally, Melnick introduced many of the landscape characteristics, then called features, which are now documented during analysis and evaluation in an NPS cultural landscape report, including spatial organization and circulation. A cultural landscape, in this conception as a dynamic system, has not necessarily lost integrity if certain buildings have been added or removed as long as it

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<sup>46</sup> “Robert Z. Melnick,” University of Oregon Department of Landscape Architecture, accessed March 11, 2017, <https://landarch.uoregon.edu/robert-z-melnick>.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Z. Melnick, Daniel Sponn, and Emma Jane Saxe, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* (Washington: The National Park Service, 1984); Alanen and Melnick, *Preserving Cultural Landscapes*, 7.

<sup>48</sup> Melnick, et al., *Cultural Landscapes*, 2.

maintains other character-defining features. Melnick's guide incorporated many of Jackson's ideas and provided the basis from which much of the future cultural landscape guidance and management documents sprung.

The NPS followed Melnick's report with several guides and technical documents that expanded the types of historic cultural landscapes that fell under the NPS purview, and provided further guidance in documentation, analysis, evaluation, and treatment of these landscapes. In 1987, the NPS published *National Register Bulletin 18: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes*. As the National Register of Historic Places did, and does not, include "landscape" or cultural landscape" as a type of resource, this bulletin aimed to aid in the nomination of a designed historic landscape to the national register.<sup>49</sup>

In 1995, the NPS published *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes* written by Charles A. Birnbaum. Birnbaum designed the document to provide "a step-by-step process for preserving historic designed and vernacular landscapes."<sup>50</sup> This process involved a multidisciplinary approach to deal with the multiple facets of a cultural landscape. In terms of treatment, Birnbaum directed readers to the U.S. Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. The four treatments laid out by the Secretary of Interior include preservation: essentially preserving a property as is; rehabilitation: altering a property slightly for a compatible use, but preserving the parts that convey significance; restoration: returning a property to a certain point in time; reconstruction: replicating a property in its original location.<sup>51</sup> Although the NPS

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<sup>49</sup> J. Timothy Keller and Genevieve P. Keller Land and Community Associates, *National Register Bulletin 18: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes* (Washington: National Park Service, 1987).

<sup>50</sup> Charles A. Birnbaum, "Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes," The National Park Service, Technical Preservation Services Preservation Briefs, accessed March 11, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/36-cultural-landscapes.htm#summary>.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

extended the *Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* to historic landscapes in 1992, they made this extension more official and visible in 1996 by publishing *The Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*.<sup>52</sup> All of these guides served to further cement cultural landscape preservation as a priority of the NPS.

In 1998, the NPS published *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process and Techniques*, which defined the purpose of a cultural landscape report (CLR) and outlined its process and components. The purpose of a full CLR is two-fold: “it is the principle treatment document for cultural landscapes and the primary tool for long-term management of those landscapes.”<sup>53</sup> As set out in the guide, a CLR is composed of three parts: CLR Part 1: Site History, Existing Conditions, and Analysis and Evaluation; CLR Part 2: Treatment; and CLR Part 3: Record of Treatment. The NPS created this guide specifically for those who manage cultural landscapes within the national park system, but noted that others can and should use this guide if they are interested in the documentation, preservation, and management of cultural landscapes.

Of significance to the larger field of cultural landscape preservation, the guide included two new types of landscapes in addition to the previously-identified historic designed landscape and historic vernacular landscape: the historic site and the ethnographic landscape. Additionally, the guide laid out “landscape characteristics,” many derived from Melnick’s landscape features, which included natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions,

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<sup>52</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “The Secretary of Interior Standard’s for the Treatment of Historic Properties and Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes,” (Washington D.C.: U.S. DOI, National Park Service), accessed March 11, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/tPS/standards/four-treatments/landscape-guidelines/index.htm>.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

cluster arrangement, circulation, topography, vegetation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, constructed water features, small-scale features, and archaeological sites. This guide further expanded the breadth of cultural landscapes under the NPS, and gave NPS employees and others a toolset from which to document both history and existing conditions, analyze significance and evaluate integrity, and prescribe treatment to historic cultural landscapes.

In 1995, Dolores Hayden entered the realm of cultural landscape preservation and interpretation with her book *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Hayden's book was the product of an eight-year project in Los Angeles by her non-profit organization, The Power of Place. During the project, Hayden worked with Los Angeles communities to preserve and interpret histories in the urban landscape that had often been underrepresented: ethnic, women's, and working class histories. Hayden noted the tendency of architectural preservationists to favor the protection of European architectural forms and monuments rather than the more ordinary built environment and rich urban landscape. Hayden, however, believed that, "The power of place — the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory — remains untapped for most working people's neighborhoods in most American cities, and for most ethnic history and most women's history."<sup>54</sup> Public history, through preservation and interpretation of the urban landscape, has the power to expose more people to histories and memories that have often been undervalued, give the undervalued a voice and identity, and possibly lead to community healing. In order to facilitate a more inclusive preservation framework, Hayden proposed emphasizing building types, creatively interpreting buildings "as

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<sup>54</sup> Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 9.



part of the flow of contemporary city life,” and engaging underrepresented populations in telling their stories.<sup>55</sup>

More recent discussion of the field of cultural landscape preservation can be found in a 2000 book entitled *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, a compilation of essays edited by Robert Melnick and Arnold Alanen, now an emeritus professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, who helped found *Landscape Journal* in the 1990s, and has served as an advisor to the NPS. The book provides an overview of cultural landscapes and the history of the field of cultural landscape preservation along with a compilation of essays written about varying topics related to cultural landscape preservation. The topics broached in these essays range from heritage tourism to ethnographic landscapes, to the underrepresentation of Asian Americans history in cultural landscape preservation, to issues of integrity in dynamic landscapes, and more.<sup>56</sup> The variety of topics in Melnick and Alanen’s book indicate a broadening of the field by the 2000s to encompass more types of landscapes that are more representative of the multitude of histories in the United States.

Hayden, Melnick, and Alanen’s ideas of a broadened field of cultural landscape preservation and interpretation spread throughout the multidisciplinary field in the late 1990s and 2000s and are reflected in a number of articles and reports from that time period. In 1997, archaeologists Deborah L. Rotman and Michael S. Nassaney examined the interrelations of class and gender through the excavation and above-ground archaeology of the Woodhams site in Plainwell, Michigan, in “Class, Gender, and the Built Environment: Deriving Social Relations

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<sup>55</sup> Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Alanen and Melnick, 9-13.

from Cultural Landscapes in Southwest Michigan.”<sup>57</sup> Carroll Van West, professor at the Center for Historic Preservation of Middle Tennessee State University, argued for reassessing significance and integrity to encompass women’s history as interrelated with race and class in her paper “Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process: Questions of Race, Class, and Gender,” presented at a 1998 National Council for Preservation Education Conference.<sup>58</sup>

In 1997, an entire issue of *CRM*, a bulletin published by the National Park Service, was dedicated to “Placing Women in the Past.” As the title suggests, women’s sites, like the homosocial institutions documented by Linda Kerber and Estelle Freedman, and women’s stories in the history of traditionally male sites had been largely overlooked in the field of preservation. This bulletin attempted to alleviate the problem of looking at the past through only one lens, encouraging those in the preservation field to go back and document more inclusive histories of previously documented sites and to be more inclusive in the sites they considered significant. Additionally, the bulletin urged historians and preservationists to be inclusive of all women’s experiences, not just those of upper-class Northeastern women.<sup>59</sup> A 2001 *CRM* article also dealt directly with the relationship between gender and cultural landscapes. NPS landscape architect Jill Cowley wrote “Place and Gender: Applying Gender Theory to the Documentation and Management of Cultural Landscapes,” in which she provided approaches to the application of

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<sup>57</sup> Deborah L. Rotman and Michael S. Nassaney, “Class, Gender, and the Built Environment: Deriving Social Relations From Cultural Landscapes in Southwest Michigan,” *Historical Archaeology* 31: 2 (1997), 42–62, accessed August 29, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25616526>.

<sup>58</sup> Carroll Van West, “Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process: Questions of Race, Class, and Gender,” Paper presented at a National Council for Preservation Education Conference, titled Preservation of What, for Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance, Baltimore, Maryland, March 1997.

<sup>59</sup> Dwight T. Pitcaithley, “Forward,” *CRM* 20: 3 (1997): 3, accessed February 1, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/crmjournal/CRM/v20n3.pdf>.

gender theory, including uncovering women's history, exploring gender roles, and observing the differences between men and women.<sup>60</sup>

NPS publications were aided by the book *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, edited by Gail DuBrow, a professor of architecture, landscape architecture, public affairs and planning, and history at the University of Minnesota, and Jennifer B. Goodman, executive director of the New Hampshire Preservation Alliance. This book compiled papers presented at a series of conferences in 1994, 1997, and 2000 called the National Conference on Women and Historic Preservation. The papers compiled in the book addressed women's role in the field of historic preservation, uncovering and interpreting often underappreciated women's history at historic sites, women's history as public history, and strategies moving forward that included collaboration between women's sites and state surveys of sites representative of women's history.<sup>61</sup>

This effort to expand the lens of preservation to include women's history began with an initiative to increase National Historic Landmarks related to women. It has continued at the federal level with publications like the National Park Service's *Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting Women's History for Historic Sites*, published first in 1996 then updated in 2003 and 2005. Nevertheless, the approximately thirty years that women's history has been considered significant by the National Park Service is not very long for a field that reaches back to the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, there is room for further expansion and reevaluation of sites in relation to women's history. This thesis aims to do just that, to not just look at a summer camp in the context of the American Camping Movement and the rustic

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<sup>60</sup> Jill Cowley, "Place and Gender: Applying Gender Theory to the Documentation and Management of Cultural Landscapes," *CRM* 24, no. 7 (2001): 37-41.

<sup>61</sup> Gail DuBrow and Jennifer B. Goodman, eds., *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

architectural style, but to look at Camp Merrie-Woode as a landscape shaped by gender relations in the United States and efforts to use control of that landscape to change those relations.

## **Conclusion**

The above review by no means covers all literature on the subject of feminism and gender theory, the American camping movement, and the field of cultural landscape preservation. It only attempts to identify some of the key writers, movements, and theories, many of which are relevant to the subject of this thesis. In terms of gender theory and feminism, this thesis will rely most heavily on the works of Hayden, Massey, Kerber, Freedman and Spain. Many of their key ideas will be applied to the study of Camp Merrie-Woode. These key ideas, which are further outlined in Chapter 3 include the identification of gender as a social construct not a biological reality, and the idea that gender roles are often reinforced spatially and through the built environment. These roles and their associated inequality, then, are often subverted through mobilization and movement outside of the confines of the domestic sphere. That mobility has often been supported by homosocial institutions, whose physical control over space creates more freedom and power. The history of feminism will also be key in providing a larger context for the organized camping movement and Camp Merrie-Woode.

The history of the American camping movement, which is outlined in Chapter 4 and relies most heavily on the works of Van Slyck, Paris, and Fint, provides more context for the history of Camp Merrie-Woode. Additionally, the camp's identification as a cultural landscape, aided by Van Slyck and Fint's work, sets up a more appropriate documentation, analysis, and evaluation framework for the camp landscape than perhaps a national register nomination would. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are written as part I of a CLR, so that the Camp Merrie-Woode is

documented, analyzed, and evaluated as a dynamic system that is reflective of the ideologies and interrelated lives of the founder, directors, staff, and campers who have inhabited it. This CLR will be supplemented by gender theory and the numerous reports written by the NPS on uncovering and documenting women's history at historic sites. All three types of literature, therefore, interact to help answer the thesis question.

## CHAPTER 3

### A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE ON SUMMER CAMPS

This chapter establishes a theoretical framework, based in gender theory and the history of the women's movement, through which to view the cultural landscape of Camp Merrie-Woode. Therefore, relevant key principles of gender theory that were introduced in Chapter Two, are further explored. Additionally, the history of the women's movement in the United States is outlined in order to situate the American camping movement in a larger context. Finally, examining camps, and specifically Camp Merrie-Woode, through a gender lens is justified. This chapter explores how gender has sometimes been overlooked in the field of historic preservation, and how a gendered perspective is important in the documentation, analysis, and evaluation of an all-girl's summer camp.

#### **Certain Key Premises of Gender Theory**

This section primarily documents theories that arose following the conceptualization of gender as a social construct in the middle of the twentieth century. The basis of those theories is the premise that gender is, in fact, a social construct, not a biological phenomenon. The Oxford English Dictionary currently defines gender as, "the state of being male or female as expressed by social or cultural distinctions and differences, rather than biological ones; the collective attributes or traits associated with a particular sex, or determined as a result of one's sex."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> "Gender, n." Oxford English Dictionary Third Edition, last modified June 2011, accessed March 12, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/Entry/77468?rskey=nU1kEW&result=1#eid>.

Thus, gender differences are linked to biological differences in the two sexes, but the terms gender and sex are not interchangeable. Since James Money's assertion of this premise, numerous feminist theorists and historians have affirmed it, including Dolores Hayden, Doreen Massey, Daphne Spain, Estelle Freedman, and Linda Kerber.

If gender is accepted as a social construct, then it follows that a facet of gender to consider would be the forms that such a social construction takes. One of the most prevalent forms of gender is the gender role. Gender roles are defined and shaped by the prevailing attitudes of the time regarding the attributes, activities, and behaviors that are considered appropriate for each biological sex. Historically, men's roles had been those of wage earner, property owner, participant in the political realm — roles traditionally associated with independence and power. Women's roles historically on the other hand, had been those of housewife, mother, volunteer — traits Barbara Welter associated with domesticity, piety, purity and submissiveness.<sup>63</sup>

The division of roles and attributes has manifested itself in the creation of what many scholars have dubbed the "separate spheres." As society traditionally associated women with domestic and reproductive activities, their sphere became the private or domestic sphere. On the contrary, men were traditionally associated with productive activities outside of the home, which situated them in the public sphere.<sup>64</sup> The division of the spheres into dualities of male/female and public/domestic has placed genders in almost direct opposition to each other.

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<sup>63</sup> Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 3 (1979): 515, accessed January 29, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177511>; Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 11, accessed January 29, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1889653>.

<sup>64</sup> Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 10.

Doreen Massey has noted that society has often conceptualized these dualities in the form of A/not-A dichotomy, in which one element must be conceived as the absence of the other. This mode of thinking, Massey asserts, is “related to the construction of the radical distinction between genders in our society, to the characteristics assigned to each of them, and to power relations maintained between them.”<sup>65</sup> The power relations formed out of this kind of dichotomy favor the dominant group in society, A, which is the only term with a positive definition. Further, power relations borne out of an A/not-A dichotomy are more resistant to change, as it is difficult for the members of the dichotomy to picture a third option or for the negatively-defined element to overcome the dominant element.<sup>66</sup> Adding to this resistance to change are the various ways in which gender roles and associated power structures are culturally transmitted.

Certain gender roles have persisted throughout numerous generations in the United States and elsewhere through their creation and expression in social relations and through their communication through culture. Because gender is a social construct, it is not transmitted biologically. Instead, it is imparted through culture — through books extolling the virtues of the cult of domesticity, art, stories, religion, and familial values.<sup>67</sup> Gender can be conveyed in subtler ways as well — through architecture, geography, and urban planning. Creators of the built environment, landscapes, and space generally imbue their designs with attitudes towards gender. Further, the designated use of a space adds another element of gender-related meaning. All of these attributes of space and the built environment lend to their classification as “gendered,” which Jill Cowley claims, “means that places or types of work are associated with

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<sup>65</sup> Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994): 256.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 256-257.

<sup>67</sup> Jill Cowley, “Place and Gender: Applying Gender Theory to the Documentation and Management of Cultural Landscapes,” *CRM* 24, no. 7 (2001): 37; Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 144.



men or women, through design, use, or behavior.”<sup>68</sup> The following sections explore certain theories of the ways in which gendered spaces and built environment reinforce or subvert gender roles, relations, and subsequent inequalities.

### Spatial Confinement to the Domestic Sphere

One method of reinforcing or subverting gender norms is through the conceptions, identification, and manipulation of space and place. Doreen Massey, through the various papers that make up her book *Space, Place, and Gender*, argued that space is fundamental in the construction, reinforcement, and reconstruction of gender, and in turn, “gender is of significance to geographical constructions of space and place.”<sup>69</sup> She uses the oft-cited public/private attributions of the masculine/feminine to assert that limitations on the mobility and space inhabited by women has allowed the patriarchal order of many societies to flourish. Mobility, then, is a key to subverting those gender norms and breaking women out of the space of the domestic sphere.

To illustrate this point, Massey documented and analyzed the conditions of women in different regions of the United Kingdom over time, starting with the early twentieth century. The northwestern region, which specialized in textile production, had a large constituency of female factory workers during the early twentieth century. These women not only worked for wages, which was unheard of in other regions, but they also joined trade unions at a higher rate than any region in England. This organization threatened the patriarchal nature of the society and led to negative reactions from many of the region’s male factory workers. Additionally, Massey attributed this ability of the women to organize as being of unequal importance to their subsequent local suffrage campaign. Unfortunately, their unique position as working-class

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<sup>68</sup> Cowley, “Place and Gender,” 38.

<sup>69</sup> Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 180.

suffragettes as opposed to the middle-class women who made up the majority of the movement on the national scale, led to fundamental disagreements and eventual isolation from the suffrage movement at large.<sup>70</sup> This example highlights regional variations in gender relations.

In contrast to the more public lives of the women in the northwest, women of the coal region had little to no options in terms of wage-earning jobs. Therefore, they were largely confined to unpaid domestic labor. The nature of the coal mining town, and the fact that all of the men worked for the same monopoly, lent to the formation of shared social time outside of work between the men, which exacerbated the separation and inequality of spheres as well as increased isolation of women in the domestic sphere.<sup>71</sup> Like the women in the cotton region, women in the London borough of Hackney during the early twentieth century also often earned wages by working in the “rag trade”. Although they earned wages, society did not see these wage-earning women as a threat to the patriarchy, as they continued to work in their homes. Hackney women, like the coal town women, remained isolated in the domestic sphere, preventing them from mobilizing to attempt to remedy gender inequality.<sup>72</sup>

Although Massey acknowledged that there were several other factors at work in the reinforcement of gender relations in these regions, one of the most notable factors was the arrangement of space. She asserted that it was “a change in the social *and the spatial* organization of work which was crucial” in changing circumstances for women.<sup>73</sup> Factory work for women lent them mobility, as they had to leave their homes to go to work. This was different than the work in London where women would perform paid labor in their homes, or in the coal

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<sup>70</sup> Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 195–197.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 193–194.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 197–199.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

towns where women performed unpaid labor in their homes. Work in the factory allowed women to leave the private, domestic sphere of their home and allowed them to organize.

In addition to wages and mobility, Massey argues that the nature of the job is fundamental in changing gender relations. Men often encouraged women to partake in labor commonly associated with the female gender, jobs like home needlework. In the case of the cotton region, however, women began performing more skilled work.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, the economic and social freedom, the spatial organization, and the nature of the job are all important factors in the early twentieth century in slightly shifting or even overhauling gender relations. The ability to perform skilled or more highly valued work involved access to the knowledge and skills necessary for those jobs, which women were typically denied during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

#### Spatial Denial of Access to Knowledge

Cultural institutions historically limited women's access to certain forms of knowledge by denying that access spatially. Daphne Spain began her book, *Gendered Spaces*, by simply stating, "Throughout history and across cultures, architectural and geographic spatial arrangements have reinforced status differences between men and women."<sup>75</sup> To Spain, the construction of space reinforces gender status when it allows men to access certain knowledge or resources, while spatially denying access to women. This phenomenon appeared in the case of higher education during the nineteenth century, as women were traditionally barred from entering all-male institutions of higher education. Although women attempted to establish separate higher education institutions, known as academies, during the early 1800s, they lacked the necessary training to institute the same kinds of curricula as male colleges. Thus, the

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<sup>74</sup> Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 198.

<sup>75</sup> Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, 3.

curricula often revolved around reading, writing, and domestic arts.<sup>76</sup> All of these factors served to limit “women’s access to resources important for the acquisition of status.”<sup>77</sup>

During the mid-to-late nineteenth century, however, women’s colleges that more closely echoed their male counterparts began to form. Colleges like Mt. Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith opened between 1865 and 1890, and these institutions began to deemphasize courses focusing on domestic fields and instead trained women in fields like teaching and physical education. Despite pushback from society, including a widespread theory promoted by Dr. Edward Clarke that “higher education harmed women’s health,” these spaces allowed women to gain a wider variety of skills, sometimes the same skills offered in men’s colleges.<sup>78</sup> Coeducation, though at first still sexually-segregated through separate classrooms or campuses, furthered the access and diversity of knowledge and skills for women. Consequently, Spain noted, “as spatial barriers to equal education fell away, so too did barriers to greater public status for women.”<sup>79</sup>

When higher education institutions excluded women from access to knowledge, women lacked the political currency to become equal in the public sphere. Thus, the gendering of those early educational spaces reinforced traditional gender hierarchies and the separation of spheres. When women gained access to that knowledge, first by creating their own spaces and later by entering historically male spaces, they were able to earn that currency.

### The Social and Spatial Manipulation of the Separate Spheres

As has been demonstrated, the gendering of space and the built environment as male/female and public/domestic has reinforced gender norms and exacerbated the separation of

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<sup>76</sup> Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, 151.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

the dichotomous spheres. This separation has typically led to the subjugation of women through confinement in the isolated domestic sphere. Although separation of spheres thus contributed to gender inequality, Estelle Freedman and Linda Kerber have argued that the manipulation of the separate spheres has historically enabled women to gain power. By forming all-female institutions — or female homosocial institutions — like the female colleges studied by Spain, women gained mobility outside of the domestic sphere, a support network of other women, and often physical control of space.

Freedman and Kerber both analyzed “female institution building” in the United States between the 1870s and 1920s to argue for the advantages of the creation and usage of a public female sphere to achieve greater gender equality. During this time period, many women formed all-female clubs or institutions in reaction to their exclusion from male clubs. These institutions included the Sorosis Club, which formed when female reporters were barred from the New York Press Club; the National Association of Colored Women; the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU); women’s colleges; and the settlement house movement, among others.<sup>80</sup> Some of these institutions sought to remedy perceived moral wrongs, like the WCTU, which fought to “correct the private abuses against women, namely, intemperance and the sexual double standard.”<sup>81</sup> Similarly, women of the settlement house movement worked to house and provide services for the poor and working class populations. Other institutions like women’s colleges did not necessarily have a social reform focus, but their very existence subverted the traditional submissiveness associated with women, and instead encouraged independence.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Freedman, “Separatism as Strategy,” 517–518.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

In Freedman's conception of this female separatist strategy, women began to achieve higher status in society through these institutions by using the methods identified by Massey and Spain for gender norm subversion: mobility and subsequent organization. Freedman asserted that, "the creation of a separate, public sphere helped mobilize women and gained political leverage in the larger society."<sup>83</sup> The extension, not the rejection of this public, female sphere gave women the support networks necessary to achieve suffrage. Following the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, however, many of these institutions dissolved, as women attempted to assimilate into male institutions. Freedman argued that the dissolution of female institutions was directly related to the decline in feminism that also followed the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, stating "Women gave up many of the strengths of the female sphere without gaining equally from the man's world they entered."<sup>84</sup> Thus, women were able to gain more leverage through the creation of a separate public sphere than through the assimilation into the male-dominated sphere without the necessary support network. The continuation of the separate, female public sphere, Freedman posited, could aid feminists today by providing continued support for women in mixed or male-dominated institutions.<sup>85</sup>

Kerber added another layer to Freedman's argument, asserting that these female institutions not only provided a support network for women, but they also gave women physical control over space.<sup>86</sup> A well-known settlement house in Chicago, Hull House, for example, used physical space to protect its inhabitants: "In this aspect of its services, the walls of Hull House were of enormous significance in marking an enclosure within which women could define the

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<sup>83</sup> Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy," 513.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 524.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 525.

<sup>86</sup> Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 32.

terms of their most private relationships and defend themselves against social criticism.”<sup>87</sup> To illustrate this point further, Kerber cited the “spiritual equality that Quaker theology offered women” through separating women’s meetings from men’s. The separation of women and men in these meetings by a sliding partition allowed women to “create their own agendas, to allocate their own funds, and to exercise disciplinary control over their members, especially by validating marriages.”<sup>88</sup> The mobilization of women, supplemented by their ability to exert control over space, allowed women to gain power over their own circumstances, power they could eventually wield in the public sphere along with other members of their institutions.

Rather than eliminating the separate spheres, Massey and Kerber advocated for changing the nature of the relationship of the spheres. The addition of the public element to the women’s sphere allows for more overlap between the spheres, and they are no longer diametrically opposed or even separated, which had historically been a cause of female subjugation. Additionally, overlap still leaves room for separate female institutions that can continue to aid in the acquisition of gender equality. Separate female institutions, like all-girls’ summer camps, led to the mobilization of women and removed them from the isolation of private, domestic spheres. These separate female institutions, while not always revolutionary in a traditional sense, worked to subvert gender relations as they often favored and taught female independence over submissiveness.

### Gender Norms are Culturally Transmitted

Massey, Kerber, Freedman, and Spain documented the ways in which space and the built environment can construct, reinforce, or undermine gender norms. The constructed idea of the separate spheres and its spatial embodiment has often served to confine women in the domestic

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<sup>87</sup> Kerber, “Separate Spheres,” 36.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

sphere, often leaving them dependent on husbands as wage earners and isolated from the public. Women have used methods of mobility out of the domestic sphere and the use of public female institutions to gain leverage and start to redefine gender roles.

Another important facet of gender, evident in the work of Massey, Spain, Freedman, and Kerber, is that gender is mutable over space and time. Massey's analysis of the gender relations in different regions in the United Kingdom provides a good example of how conceptions of gender vary over space. Additionally, although certain attitudes towards gender have historically been persistent, they have changed over time. This change has led many feminist theorists and historians to make historical inquiries about gender roles and relations over time. The following section will provide a brief overview of the history of the women's movement and feminism to provide context.

### **Tracing Gender Attitudes in the Past**

Although snapshots of the history of the women's movement and feminism in the United States have been presented previously, this section presents a broader, more chronological narrative. This chronological telling helps situate the history of the American camping movement, which will be documented in the following chapter, in the larger context of the women's movement. It is followed by the ways in which gender theory can be applied to the documentation, analysis, and evaluation of historic summer camps, and why it should be applied.

Delving into the impact of attitudes towards gender at an all-girls' summer camp calls for an exploration into the history of the women's movement and feminism in the United States. This movement served as a generally quiet revolution against the gender norms and expectations that had been ingrained in society prior to the 1800s. Therefore, its exploration not only involves



identifying significant philosophies and moments in the women's movement but also identifying the unsatisfying gender norms and constructs that brought about the movement. Although gender relations were certainly varied across the country, it is helpful to identify national trends in order to compare them to local relations and subsequent movements.

In her book, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*, Estelle Freedman traced the origin of the word feminism to the French word *feminisme*, first coined in France in the 1880s and arriving in America by 1910. She notes, "The term combined the French word for woman, *femme*, and *-isme*, which referred to a social movement or political ideology."<sup>89</sup> In the United States, feminism, originally identified as the women's or woman movement, came in two phases: first-wave feminism during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, during which women focused on suffrage, the right to own property, and education; and second-wave feminism, also known as women's liberation, during the 1960s and 1970s, when women pursued an expanded agenda and the desire to have society view women as both equal to, and different from, men.<sup>90</sup>

Although the term feminism was not coined until the 1880s, the movement began earlier in Europe and in the United States. The watershed moment that accelerated the movement in the United States occurred during the Seneca Falls Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton read, and had attendees sign, the Declaration of Sentiments presenting grievances of American women.<sup>91</sup> These grievances included the denial of the right to vote, property rights, education and self-esteem, and they were issued in response to a system of patriarchy that came to the United States with the European colonists. Patriarchal attitudes of the

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<sup>89</sup> Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York : Ballantine, 2002.): 3.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

colonists, which continued into the twentieth century and are in many cases still present today, included a clearly-defined separation of men and women and the roles associated with each sex. Women were generally relegated to the private, domestic sphere, while men enjoyed the public, productive sphere.<sup>92</sup>

Capitalism and industrialization during the nineteenth century exacerbated the gap between the genders as factories replaced home-made production, creating a more distinct physical and monetary separation between the public work of men and the domestic work of women. However, Freedman cited this period as one that provided the prerequisites for the women's movement. She states, "Like other social movements, feminism required both a perception of social injustice and the resources for political mobilization."<sup>93</sup> Expanded educational opportunities, new accumulated wealth under capitalism, and mobilizing institutions like the WCTU provided middle- and upper-class women with these resources.<sup>94</sup>

Mobilization contributed to the women's suffrage movement, which ended with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, granting women the right to vote and hold office. During this time, women also achieved equal property rights with men, gained control over their labor, and began to enter coeducational colleges.<sup>95</sup> Following this success, however, the organized women's movement largely disbanded as women attempted to assimilate into male-dominated institutions. As women attempted to integrate into the male sphere, they lost the culture of the homosocial institutions, which had provided them with support and the resources necessary to overturn at least some of the gender inequalities prevalent in the United States.

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<sup>92</sup> Freedman, *No Turning Back*, 46.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, 165.

Although feminism still existed following the Nineteenth Amendment, it was of a more subtle variety. Women continued to seek higher education and employment outside the home. Work for women increased during World War II when women occupied factory jobs in place of the men overseas. Many women lost those jobs when those men returned home, however. This subtle feminism changed during a time of political chaos in the 1960s, when the “women’s liberation movement,” also known as the “second wave” of feminism, was formed. The women’s liberation movement expanded the agenda of the first wave, championing both “women’s *equality* with men in work and politics and women’s *difference* from men within the arenas of reproduction.”<sup>96</sup> Additionally during the second wave, feminist theorists and historians began exploring differing ways that gender norms are constructed and reinforced, which includes the theories discussed in the previous chapter.

The movement had shifted again by the 1990s. By that time “the cumulative contributions of working-class women, lesbians, women of color, and activists from the developing world had transformed an initially white, European, middle class politics into a more diverse and mature feminist movement.”<sup>97</sup> This iteration of the feminist movement acknowledged that women and men are both different and similar; that issues of class, race, and gender are intricately interrelated; that work includes wage-earning *and* caring; and that feminism is interconnected with more comprehensive social justice movements.<sup>98</sup>

Although feminism continues today, a myth exists that the feminist movement has died or that it has only shown itself during certain decades, such as during the suffragette movement at the beginning of the twentieth century and during second wave feminism during the 1960s.

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<sup>96</sup> Freedman, *No Turning Back*, 5.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

However, Freedman insists that the movement has continued throughout history, and this erasure of certain points in its history is due to the linkage of revolutionary movements to times of public protest in the public conscience. Freedman points out that feminism has “quieter but more pervasive forms” that allow the movement to continue between the periods of protest. Tracing the movement’s roots and history, she argues, can help clarify the evolving philosophies of the movement and its continuing existence and mission.<sup>99</sup>

### **Applying a Gendered Lens to the History of Summer Camps**

As Freedman suggested, tracing the women’s movement historically, and placing smaller movements like the American camping movement within that context, can provide a fuller understanding of how feminism has operated and how women have shaped the landscape. The origins of the American Camping Movement were rooted in a fear that the boys of the late nineteenth century were being over civilized and effeminized in an era of increasing urbanization. The aspiring camp leaders at the time believed the answer lay in providing boys with opportunities to “reconquer” the wilderness, which at the time was associated with masculinity of the pioneer ethic.<sup>100</sup> All-girls’ summer camps followed in the early twentieth century, at a time when more women were given access to higher education. All-girls camps were typically led by college-educated women, who were often more progressive in their political and social views. In the beginning, all-girls’ offered many of the same activities and living conditions as their male counterparts in all-boys’ camps.<sup>101</sup> As gender attitudes outside of

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<sup>99</sup> Freedman, *No Turning Back*, 12.

<sup>100</sup> Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006): xxiv.

<sup>101</sup> Leslie Paris, *Children’s Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 46-47.

summer camps shifted, those changes frequently were reflected in the camp landscapes and programming, often in subtle and nuanced ways.

All-girls' summer camps functioned in a fashion similar to the homosocial institutions lauded by Estelle Freedman and Linda Kerber. The separateness of girls' camps allowed their leaders to exert control over the landscape and to instill their own ideals and values into the landscape and the campers who inhabited it. Moreover, the college-educated women who generally founded all-girls' summer camps transmitted new kinds of knowledge and skills to young girls. While these summer camps reaffirmed certain aspects of traditional femininity, they rebuffed others and allowed girls to partake in traditionally male activities. As homosocial institutions, girls' camps were able to subtly subvert gender norms and empower their campers.

In the *Power of Place*, Dolores Hayden contends, "The power of place—the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory—remains untapped for most working people's neighborhoods in most American cities, and for most ethnic history and most women's history."<sup>102</sup> Although summer camps do not typically occupy the urban landscape, their landscapes still contain memories related to women's history that often remain untapped. Even more untapped than women's history, Leslie Paris asserts, is the history of girlhood and the history of the women's institutions that continued after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Paris additionally argues, "The history of interwar girls' camps, for example, asks that we reflect anew upon a period that many scholars have described in terms of the decline of women-centered activism and women's institutions and the concurrent rise of 'compulsory heterosexuality.'"<sup>103</sup> Camp landscapes

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<sup>102</sup> Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), 9.

<sup>103</sup> Leslie Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2004), 51.

embody the gender relations of the outside world and the subversions that took place within. Thus, documenting and analyzing the founding and preservation of an all-girls' summer camp through the lens of women's and girls' history can help fill the gaps and provide a more robust public memory of that history, perhaps illuminating the subtler variation of feminism that followed the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and that has often been overlooked. These untapped histories of girlhood and overlooked homosocial institutions beg further examination, which is applied to Camp Merrie-Woode in the forthcoming chapters.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the varying ways that gender relations and attitudes towards gender can be constructed, reinforced, subverted, overlooked, and applied to the summer camp landscape. The built environment has been utilized as a tool to keep women in the isolation of the private, domestic sphere. However, when women began to travel outside of the home, they began to gain more autonomy through mobilization. The manipulation of the separate sphere into homosocial female institutions added to this autonomy and support, then further compounded by female institutions' exertion of physical control over their own spaces. While space has often been used to subordinate women, it has often been seen as an effective method to subvert traditional gender relations and gain power. The next chapters will further observe how all-girls' camps, frequently run by women, and more specifically Camp Merrie-Woode, used these ideas regarding space and gender to empower young women.

## CHAPTER 4

### HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CAMPING MOVEMENT

The American camping movement arose largely as a response to industrialization and urbanization and in an effort to regain a perceived loss of masculinity in boys during the late nineteenth century in the United States. Men of the era believed these forces, coupled with the fact that many middle- and upper-class boys spent the summers with their mothers in a feminized home, were leading young boys to become too civilized. They perceived that boys were trading bodily strength and virtuous character that they gained from the experience of conquering wilderness and socializing with other men for the “moral and physical degradations of urban” life and the feminizing influence of their mothers.<sup>104</sup> For many parents and enterprising, aspiring camp directors, the answer to this problem was to place children back into settings that evoked an idealized image of wilderness.

This chapter documents a chronology of the American camping movement and describes the changing morphology of the physical environment, programming, and traditions of summer camps. In the planning of summer camp landscapes, administrators arranged “the buildings and its environs to meet the needs of children [...] helped invent a particular version of childhood that suited their time and place. In other words, their actions were deeply involved in the social construction of modern childhood.”<sup>105</sup> Therefore, the planning of camp buildings and landscapes,

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<sup>104</sup> Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxii-xxiii.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, xx-xxi.

and the programming and traditions housed in these settings, aided in that social construction of childhood, which included gender norms and relations. Thus, in terms of their impact on ideas of childhood, camps served to either reinforce or subvert those norms.

The American camping movement produced a variety of camp types, which generally fit into three categories: private camps, organizational camps, and agency camps. In general, the earliest camps were private enterprises, which began populating the landscape of the northeastern United States around the 1880s and later spread to other parts of the country. Organizational camps, which became popular during the 1890s and early 1900s, consisted of camps associated with organizations like Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the Camp Fire Girls. While private camps generally offered long, eight- or ten-week sessions, organizational camps tended to provide shorter, one- or two-week sessions.<sup>106</sup> Agency camps were sponsored by social service agencies like settlement houses and the Fresh Air Movement, whose goal was “‘uplifting’ urban working class and immigrant communities through leisure.”<sup>107</sup> Fundamental differences in the aims and targeted clientele of these three types of camps led to initial variations in their siting and planning. These variations are discussed in later sections of this chapter.

### **The Advent of Summer Camps: Boys' Camps at the Turn of the Twentieth Century**

The American camping movement arose in a social climate of transition and accompanying anxiety about gender during the late nineteenth century. There was an

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<sup>106</sup> Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 40.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.



overwhelming perception that the frontier had closed and the wilderness was rapidly disappearing in a time of urbanization and industrialization. Urbanization led to increased time in the home for middle- and upper-class boys, which their parents feared would lead to emasculation in the feminized domestic sphere.<sup>108</sup>

Seemingly corroborating these anxieties, psychologist G. Stanley Hall promoted his recapitulation theory, which argued “that childhood play occurred in developmental stages, each of which corresponded to a stage in the history of the human race.”<sup>109</sup> Hall gendered these stages of development, attributing a “feudal” stage to young girls, during which they learned maternal and domestic skills. Young boys, on the other hand, went through a “primitive” stage, during which they were encouraged to roam, act out, and pull away from adult society. The difference in developmental stages between the genders led to a belief that more adult supervision was warranted for girls and less was needed for boys.<sup>110</sup> Urbanization, however, caused young boys to spend more time in the house, which not only removed boys from their appropriate developmental state, but also situated them in the same developmental state as young girls. Thus, people who ascribed to Hall’s theory linked this “overcivilization” of young boys in urban areas to effeminization.<sup>111</sup> Additionally, any divergence from these developmental stages, Hall asserted, would lead to a disruption of the maturation process.<sup>112</sup>

A proposed remedy for these societal ills and their associated anxieties came in the form of the summer camp, which would return young boys to normal stages of development. In his 1911 book *Camping for Boys*, camp director Henry Gibson quoted Jacob Riis in defining the

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<sup>108</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, xxii-xxiii.

<sup>109</sup> Paris, *Children’s Nature*, 28.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>111</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 9.

<sup>112</sup> Paris, *Children’s Nature*, 29.

purpose of camps: “‘Too much house,’ says Jacob Riis; ‘Civilization has been making of the world a hothouse. Man’s instinct of self-preservation rebels; hence the appeal for the return to the simple life that is growing loud.’”<sup>113</sup> Organized, residential camps would take boys away from their mothers during the summer and return them to a controlled version of wilderness, which was connected with masculinity.<sup>114</sup> At these camps, boys would learn traits and skills associated with pioneers, who represented a romanticized version of manliness and ruggedness. These skills, including fishing, cooking over an open flame, building fires, and other survival skills, that were taught by male role models to impressionable boys in an all-male environment.<sup>115</sup>

Due to the ephemeral nature of early camps and some confusion regarding the definition of a summer camp, historians — and early camp organizers themselves — have debated which camp came first. However, the region in which the American camping movement began is undisputedly the Northeast.<sup>116</sup> Frederick William Gunn instituted a summer session in 1861 at his Gunnery School in Connecticut during which his students completed a two-week, forty-mile hiking trip and slept in tents.<sup>117</sup> However, some argue that because Gunn’s trip was part of the school session, it was not an organized, residential summer camp. Most historians, then, have identified Camp Chocorua in New Hampshire, organized in 1881 by Ernest Balch, as the first summer camp in the United States.

Balch, a sophomore at Dartmouth College, felt inspired to found his own camp for boys, an idea which had already been brewing in his mind, when he discovered an island on New

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<sup>113</sup> Henry Gibson, *Camping for Boys* (Boston: Public Domain, 1911).

<sup>114</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 10.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiv.

<sup>116</sup> Paris, *Children’s Nature*, 11.

<sup>117</sup> Eleanor Eells, *Eleanor Eells’ History of Organized Camping : The First 100 Years* (Martinsville, Ind. : American Camping Association, c1986., 1986), 6.

Hampshire's Squam Lake that appeared to be an ideal site. On this site, he implemented his ideas of a pioneer lifestyle, guiding his campers in outdoor recreation, character building, and physical activity. Balch believed these activities and outdoor living enabled Camp Chocorua campers to become better citizens. Historian Leslie Paris notes, however, that Balch's camp ethic was "more revealing of pioneer nostalgia than of the actual pioneer past," as early settlers did not necessarily romanticize camping.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, Balch perpetuated pioneer nostalgia, and it was contagious. Many of Balch's peers began to open camps on Squam Lake and in similar environs nearby. They employed similar founding principles, and from this nexus, the American camping movement began to spread.<sup>119</sup>

Camp Chocorua and other early camps were largely private enterprises, generally created, owned, and attended by men and boys from affluent, white families. Shortly after the creation of private camps, organizational camps began to appear in the Northeast. Camp Dudley, a YMCA camp for boys was founded in 1885 by Sumner F. Dudley in East Orange, New Jersey. Camp Dudley moved to Lake Wawayanda, New Jersey, in 1886, and to Lake Champlain near Westport, New York, in 1891. Many of the other organizational camps that were established during the late nineteenth century were similarly peripatetic, renting land on which to camp each summer rather than purchasing a permanent site like private camp directors.<sup>120</sup> Like organizational camps, agency camps did not typically purchase camp sites, generally due to inadequate funding. Instead, they typically borrowed land from other organizations.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 18.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>120</sup> Eells, *History of Organized Camping*, 48-49.

<sup>121</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, xxix.

## Siting, Plans and Architecture

The siting and layout of residential camps typically varied in relation to the nature and ownership of the camp. Private camp directors generally purchased land for camps, and thus they could justify investing in more permanent buildings and structures. Organizational and agency camps, in contrast, rented sites, which called for more impermanent structures that could be erected on a variety of sites. Regardless of this difference in ownership, the sites chosen for camps were almost universally located on or near a lake. Proximity to a lake provided water for cooking and bathing, and accommodated recreational uses like swimming and boating. Additionally, lakeside sites afforded another layer of isolation, as lakes often created space between the campsite and neighboring lands and their visitors.<sup>122</sup>

A feeling of isolation was important in the siting of early camps, as camp directors wanted their boys to be exposed to a wilderness experience. Camp directors often purchased or rented previously productive agricultural lands, which they subsequently transformed “into a version of wilderness and rededicated them to recreational use.”<sup>123</sup> This reuse of agricultural lands is evident in maps like that of Camp Siwanoy (fig. 4.1), a Boy Scout camp in New York, which includes a remodeled barn that was used for craftwork and stone agricultural walls. At these sites and other lakeside sites, camp planners often additionally sought areas of wooded seclusion and areas with vistas and views. Additionally, organized camp sites were generally located near active rail lines and summer resorts. This proximity benefitted both camps and resorts. Camps provided a clientele to resorts when parents dropped off and picked up their children by train, and, in turn, resorts often advertised nearby summer camps to their clients.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 12.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

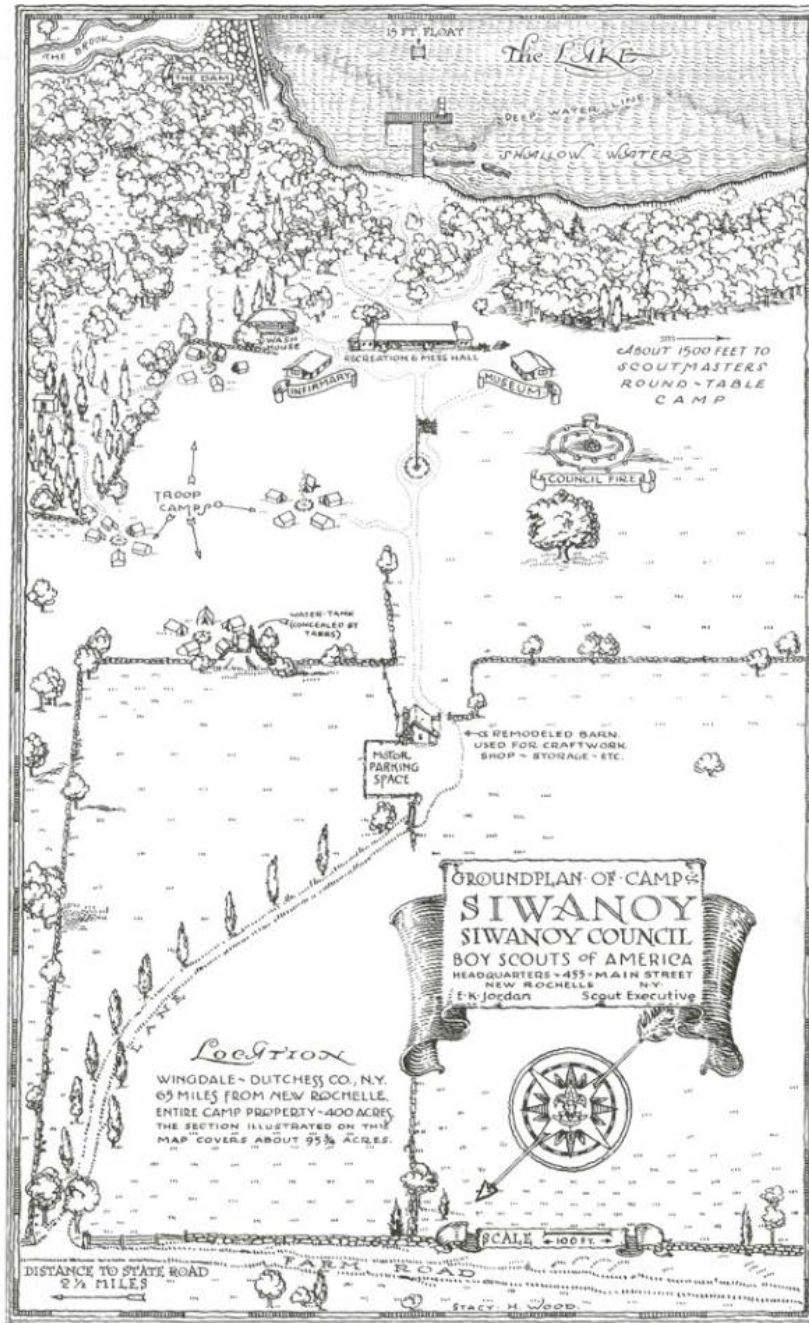


Figure 4.1. Map of Camp Siwanoy ca. 1925, note the reused barn in the center and the stone walls that wrapped around adjacent open space. (Source: Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness*, 6)

Once camp directors had chosen a site, they were charged with laying out the buildings and structures of their camps. The earliest camps often consisted of a relatively informal layout with buildings and tents seemingly placed at random throughout the landscape. This was

especially true of the wandering organizational and agency camps. Their temporary control of sites necessitated the use of impermanent structures in ad-hoc arrangements like tent clusters, which were placed in the most convenient parts of the landscape (fig. 4.2) Tents were ubiquitous in the earliest camps, although some private camps built rustic dormitories as early as the 1880s and 1890s. These tents took many forms, including platform tents (fig. 4.3) and wall tents (fig. 4.4).<sup>125</sup>



*Figure 4.2. Ad hoc arrangement of tents at Camp Dudley ca. 1895, a YMCA Camp on rented land. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 15)*

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<sup>125</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 100.



*Figure 4.3. A platform tent at Camp Becket, Becket, Massachusetts, ca. 1910. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 100)*



*Figure 4.4. A wall tent at an unidentified Camp Fire Girl Camp, ca. 1920. (Source: Van Slyck: A Manufactured Wilderness, 101)*

This informal placement of permanent and impermanent buildings and structures was soon eclipsed by the militaristic style, which became common among all types of camps during the early twentieth century. The military layout was characterized by a square parade ground,

enclosed on three sides by tents or rustic cabins with the fourth side defined by a mess hall (fig. 4.5). A flagpole typically occupied the center of the parade ground.<sup>126</sup> The military style layout served several purposes in the eyes of camp directors: it helped prepare boys to become soldiers, a role “they might carry out as men, and it allowed directors to exert more control over their campers.<sup>127</sup> Additionally, it was an easy layout for organizational and agency camps to replicate at multiple sites.<sup>128</sup> This style was promoted and spread by the veteran camp director H.W. Gibson, of Camp Becket, who published *Camping for Boys* in 1911. Gibson’s book also advocated certain types of programming, which are discussed in the next section.



Figure 4.5. *Camp Becket, ca. 1910, a view of the parade ground in the militaristic layout of the camp. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 2)*

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<sup>126</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 15.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*



## Programming and Traditions

In general, the programming of boys' summer camps — which essentially consisted of the activities offered, the schedule, and traditions — mirrored the style, or lack thereof of the camp layout. When camps were informally planned, children often had more freedom of play and a less regimented schedule. When camp layouts were militarized, however, camp directors made a greater effort to control campers' time and activities. Both the layout and programming of camps were intricately linked to the child psychology and gender expectations of the time.

Albert Good, National Park Service (NPS) architect who wrote about camps during the 1930s, reflected on the earliest camps, addressing their informal arrangement and program: “Naturally in the earliest camps there was much more freedom for the individual. Programs were impromptu; schedules, rather sketchy; regulations, few.”<sup>129</sup> Camp Pasquaney on Squam Lake and early YMCA camps exhibited this sense of freedom. At these camps, directors required campers to perform camp chores in the morning, and attend meals and devotions in the case of YMCA camps, after which they were free to do as they pleased. During their afternoon free time, campers often partook in team sports like basketball, baseball, and tennis. Occasionally, group activities, lectures on nature, and a required period of swimming punctuated the informal schedule of these camps. Nevertheless, freedom and spontaneity of play and craft defined early camps. Camp directors believed these activities would be wholesome due to the natural setting in which they occurred.<sup>130</sup>

Even during these early days of ad-hoc camp programming, organizers placed more importance and structure on Sundays. On Sundays, directors often required campers to wear more formal attire, ensured that there was some kind of worship service in the morning, provided

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<sup>129</sup> Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (New York : Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 3.

<sup>130</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 49-51.

a special meal for lunch, and mandated quiet time for reading and writing letters home in the afternoon. The formal attire was typically white, which discouraged campers from play. Although early YMCA and other impermanent, organizational camps took their campers to worship services outside of camp, once they began purchasing land for permanent camps, they often built open-air chapels (fig. 4.6), often facing the waterfront.<sup>131</sup>



Figure 4.6. *Open-air chapel at a YMCA camp in Galesburg, Illinois, ca. 1925 (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 57)*

In 1911, Henry Gibson's *Camping for Boys* included the schedule he prescribed for the boys of Camp Becket:

A morning prayer requisites of a camper 7.00, 'Reveille' 7.15, the Dip 7.30, breakfast 8.30, camp duties 9.30 to 11. Educational recreation 11, 'blankets in' [or making beds] 11.30, swimming time 12, noon inspection 12.30, dinner 12.45 to 2, 'siesta' 2 to 4.30,

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<sup>131</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 52.

sports 4.30, preparation for the night 5, general inspection 5.45, ‘colors’ 6, supper 6.45, meditation and study 7.15, campus games 8, camp fire and entertainment 8.45, “tattoo” [meaning all in tents] and hymn 9, ‘taps’ and ‘good night.’<sup>132</sup>

Gibson argued for “directed play,” which he claimed could combat the moral degradation boys faced if they were left to the freedoms of home during the summer. This more regimented schedule, along with Gibson’s endorsement of the military layout, represented a larger trend in camp recreation that allotted more control to the directors and staff. As camp schedules became more regimented, directors added new activities to the camp program. In particular, sports became more diversified and important on the camp landscape. More diversified sports included tetherball, baseball, tennis, boating, swimming, shuffleboard, nature-based occupations, woodworking, and handicraft. These new activities revealed a distinct shift from the individual freedom and imagination required to fill time at the earlier nineteenth-century camps.<sup>133</sup>

Many aspects of all-boys’ camps translated to the landscape of all-girls’ camps, including layouts, architecture, and programming. Nevertheless, girls’ camps also were a product of the gender relations of their time, resulting in some variations in those aspects. Regardless of these differences, though, many all-girls’ camps were revolutionary in terms of offering girls equal environments to learn the same skills as male campers.

### **The Beginning of All-Girls’ Summer Camps**

Just as all-boys’ camps did slightly earlier, all-girls’ summer camps arose out of the Victorian Era, which largely restricted the rights of women in the realms of education, dress, and careers. Nevertheless, at the end of the era at the turn of the twentieth century, education and

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<sup>132</sup> Gibson, *Camping for Boys*.

<sup>133</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 61.

jobs in factories, stores, and as teachers gradually became available to women.<sup>134</sup> Some of these educated women, often teachers of elementary or secondary schools, became the pioneers of the all-girls' camping movement. In the face of criticism from intellectuals like psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who saw the girl's developmentally-appropriate place as in the home, many of these early female camp directors framed their girls' camps in maternalistic terms, with maternalistic ideologies. Additionally, Leslie Paris stated, "Although muscular Christians often characterized women and girls as the 'weaker sex,' girls' camp directors could use this line of thought to argue that girls were in particular need of camping excursions."<sup>135</sup> Directors thus advertised the earliest girls' summer camps as places that nurtured lively companions for future husbands and created mothers who were better equipped to raise the types of masculine boys that were also the objects of the early boys' camp movement.

The measures that early female directors took to promote their summer camps, in a society that was unsure about the implications of young girls camping outdoors, sometimes obscured their more progressive nature. The women leading these camps envisioned themselves as "New Women," who aspired to occupy areas that normally were dominated by men like politics, professions, and higher education.<sup>136</sup> They created places that were similar to boys' camps, in terms of their separation from the domestic sphere. In the process, female directors also created spaces that potentially emboldened young girls to gain a sense of confidence and independence generally not enjoyed by earlier generations of women.

As with the earliest boys' camps, historians have struggled to identify a precise chronology of the first all-girls' camps. Two early boys' camps offered girls-only sessions soon

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<sup>134</sup> Eells, *History of Organized Camping*, 39.

<sup>135</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 48.

<sup>136</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 47-48.

after their founding in the 1890s, and a camp known as the French Recreation Class for Girls opened in 1896. One of the boys' camps that had a girls' session, Camp Arey, began to function exclusively as a girls' camp in 1902. However, camps that were designed solely for the use of girls became more prevalent during the early twentieth century. Some of these early camps included Camp Redcroft, founded in 1900 on Newfound Lake, New Hampshire; Camp Pinelands, established in 1902 in New Hampshire; Camp Aloha, founded in 1905 in Vermont; and Camp Quanset, founded in 1904 New York.<sup>137</sup>

One of the most prominent early girls' camp directors, Laura Mattoon, who opened Camp Kehonka in New Hampshire in 1902, helped set the tone for future directors and for all-girls' camps. An unmarried Wellesley College graduate who taught high school science in New York City, Mattoon frequently camped on the weekends. Her campers "slept in tents with earth floors, built their own beds out of tree-trunk frames, filled their mattresses with fir balsam, swam in the lake, and hiked through the area."<sup>138</sup> To aid in hiking, her girls wore bifurcated bloomers rather than dresses.<sup>139</sup> Overall, these girls lived in an environment that was comparable to their counterparts at boys' camps.

Following the success of private girls' camps in the Northeast, the conception spread to other areas in the country and to organizations. Girls' camps began to populate the Southeast during the 1910s. They spread to the Midwest in 1911, with Michigamee in Michigan, and then to the West in 1914, with Rocky Mountain Dancing Camp in Colorado.<sup>140</sup> Additionally, the formation of all-girls youth organizations like the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls in 1911, as well as the introduction of YWCA camps at the turn of the century, added to the total number

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<sup>137</sup>Paris, *Children's Nature*, 47-48.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Eells, *History of Organized Camping*, 39.

of girls camps. By 1915, there were at least 100 girls camps in operation, and in 1916, female directors formed the National Association of Directors of Girls' Camps (NADGC).<sup>141</sup>

Regardless of the spread and professionalization of all-girls' camps, or perhaps in spite of it, some men in the camp industry continued to criticize and mock the growing female institution. For example, upon the formation of the NADGC, Allen Samuel Williams, who helped found the American Camp Association (ACA), said, "As Eve was created from one of Adam's ribs, so, in this case, the girls' camp organization is but a highly developed rib from the masculine parent."<sup>142</sup> True, girls' camps and their representative organizations were similar to their male predecessors, but Williams' quote actually pointed out an important and slightly subversive element of the NADGC: women, just like men, were organizing and professionalizing their camping industry. They used this professionalization to provide young girls access to the same kinds of camp experiences, complete with similar layouts, facilities, and programming, as all-boys' camps.

### Plans and Architecture

Many girls' camps were created when the military layout was in vogue. Girls' camps followed suit in siting and layout. Directors generally sought lakeside sites with picturesque views and vistas (fig. 4.8), and laid out their structures in the same militaristic forms as their male counterparts (fig. 4.7). They used a mixture of permanent structures and tents when they owned private land, and tended to use impermanent structures on rented land. Many early girls' camps offered more comfortable sleeping quarters than those provided by the earliest camps such as Kehonka. For example, Camp Idlewood in Peekskill, New York, gave girls the option of

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<sup>141</sup> Eells, *History of Organized Camping*, 42.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

sleeping in a cottage or in a tent.<sup>143</sup> Additionally, girls' camps often featured libraries — elements that were often absent at early boys' camps. Eleanor Eells noted that even relatively primitive girls' camps had libraries, suggesting the importance of literature and education at these camps.<sup>144</sup> Despite these subtle differences, girls' camps were generally very similar to boys' camps with respect to siting, spatial arrangement, and architectural style. These similarities also existed in programming and traditions, although gender differences were generally more pronounced in these areas.



*Figure 4.7. Unknown Girl Scout Camp with a military layout, ca. 1920. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 17)*



*Figure 4.8. Camp Weholo, sited on a lakefront in wooded seclusion with a view of the lake. Note the permanent building and the platform tents, ca. 1909. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 13)*

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<sup>143</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 49.

<sup>144</sup> Eells, *History of Organized Camping*, 39.

## Programming and Traditions

Differences in the programming and traditions of the earliest boys' and girls' camps are more evident than in their plans and architecture. As in most camps, however, the range of activities offered, and ideals they promoted, varied from camp to camp. Camp Fire Girls, for example, conformed more stringently to traditional gender constructs than did the Girl Scouts. Luther Gulick, whose family founded the Camp Fire Girls, in 1911 said, "We hate manly women and womanly men...The bearing and rearing of children has always been the first duty of most women, and that must always continue to be."<sup>145</sup> He also emphasized service to others and selflessness as the most important feminine virtues. Gulick's programming reflected his emphasis on traditional femininity. Paris notes that the "organization aimed to romanticize women's traditional labor through song, pageantry, and dance, not to supplant the domestic sphere."<sup>146</sup> Additionally, Camp Fire Girls sewed and decorated the Indian-like dresses that accompanied their American-Indian based traditions.<sup>147</sup> Through educating girls in these kinds of skills, director, such as the Gulicks believed they were equipping Camp Fire Girls with knowledge that would carry them into adulthood.

The Girl Scouts and many private camps like Camp Kehonka, at which girls slept in tents on the ground and engaged in outdoor activities like hiking, offered activities and ideals that were similar to those provided by their male counterparts. In fact, many brochures from the early camps show girls partaking in traditionally masculine activities like riflery or building cabins.<sup>148</sup> The Girl Scouts, much to the dismay of Boy Scouts' leader James West, wore uniforms reminiscent of military drab, which were khaki and thus conformed to the standards for

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<sup>145</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 50.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 89.



uniforms promoted in Gibson's *Camping for Boys*. Prior to the formal adoption of uniforms, when Girl Scouts went hiking, they wore long bloomers covered with skirts, which they removed once they were out of sight on the trail.<sup>149</sup> West believed that the Camp Fire Girls, and their more traditionally feminine outfits and activities, were a more fitting counterpart than the Girl Scouts. The influence of military culture was not restricted to the style of uniforms, as the Girl Scouts also performed military drills. However, they also earned badges for tasks like nursing and laundry, badges that were not offered to boys.<sup>150</sup> Regardless of where girls' camps fell on the scale of conformity to traditional gender norms, they were still unique spaces that removed girls from their homes and allowed them to experience independence and activities that were traditionally reserved solely for boys.

### **Camping during the Interwar Years (1918-1939)**

The interwar period saw a growing interest in, and affirmation of, the beneficial nature of summer camps. The American Camping Association, now known as the American Camp Association, was created in 1935, which was part of a larger trend of professionalization.<sup>151</sup> The interwar camping boom and the trend toward professionalization were reflected in, and inspired by, the books of Henry Wellington Wack, Associate Director of the Camp Department for the *Red Book Magazine*. The fact that *Red Book Magazine* had a "Camp Department" indicates the importance of organized camping in America during the 1920s. Wack eventually published three books on camps: *Summer Camp—Boys and Girls* (1923), *The Camping Ideal: A New Human Race* (1924), and *More About Summer Camps: Training for Leisure* (1926). Overall,

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<sup>149</sup> Leslie Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth Century American Girlhood," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 55.

<sup>150</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 51.

<sup>151</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 211.

Wack surveyed over four hundred camps in the Northeast, Midwest, and South.<sup>152</sup> Wack generally articulated his impressions of the camps he visited, and evaluated the quality of the setting, architecture, directors, facilities, and activities. His surveys thus allowed the parents of current or potential campers to compare the conditions of each camp, thereby increasing the competition in an already growing industry.<sup>153</sup>

Especially important for this thesis is Wack's third book, *More About Summer Camp—Training for Leisure*, for which he toured the camps of the Southeast, focusing mostly on North Carolina. He reported on approximately twenty-eight summer camps in the region. Eleven of these were all-boys' camps and seventeen were all-girls camps — including one “so-called camp for boys” that he refused to name, and an unnamed girls' camp that offended Wack so much that he claimed, “If words were bullets, we would deem it a duty to stand this dump up before ourself as an enthusiastic firing squad and take a decimating shot at it.”<sup>154</sup> Wack clearly did not mince words in his descriptions of the boys' and girls' camps he visited in North Carolina, but most of his descriptions of the other camps contained at least a modicum of praise.

In his writings, Wack typically provided the identity of the director(s) or “directress(es),” the general location of the camp, a description of the built environment, some comments about the programming, and a summary of the values associated with the camp. His survey of North Carolina led him to more girls' camps than boy's camps, suggesting that girl's camping was continuing to expand in the Southeast. Additionally, at each camp he assessed the water features, both natural and artificial, indicating the continued importance of a waterfront as a source of recreation and health. Wack noted several camps run by the leaders of military high

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<sup>152</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 19.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Henry Wellington Wack, *More About Summer Camps: Training for Leisure*, ed. (New York City: The Red Book Magazine, 1926), 52, 78.

schools and colleges, but he did not explicitly mention the military layout of camps, with the exception his description of the French Broad Camp near Brevard, North Carolina.<sup>155</sup> The lack of the discussion of military plans, along with his use of the terms “picturesque” and “romantic,” reflected a larger shift in the philosophy underlying camp planning.<sup>156</sup>

### Plans and Architecture

Following World War I, an air of disillusionment surrounded the then-typical military layout. Additionally, an increased number of camps and Wack’s books led to heightened competition among summer camps. As a result, camp layouts during this period began to shift from the rigid military style, which involved placing buildings on the landscape with little to no regard for the natural features, to a more picturesque style. The picturesque style still involved manipulating the landscape, but it also allowed the landscape to dictate the placement of buildings, thereby highlighting natural features and potentially making the camp more marketable. During the interwar period, organizations like the YMCA began buying dedicated camp land rather than renting land, and they often subsequently put these picturesque plans into place.<sup>157</sup>

Due to increased interest in camps, the camp landscape evolved to accommodate larger populations of campers. This resulted in landscapes that provided less wooded seclusion and more open ground. In extant camps, there was still evidence of the military layout in camp landscapes, even as camp directors and hired architects applied picturesque principles during expansion. At Camp Becket, for example, the mess hall was moved in order to open up the parade ground and create a view of the waterfront (fig. 4.9). This kind of open, demilitarized

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<sup>155</sup> Wack. *More About Summer Camps*, 52, 78.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, 84.

<sup>157</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 20.

space on the camp landscape was often called “the campus” as it was at Camp Wigwam in Waterford, Maine (fig. 4.10).<sup>158</sup>

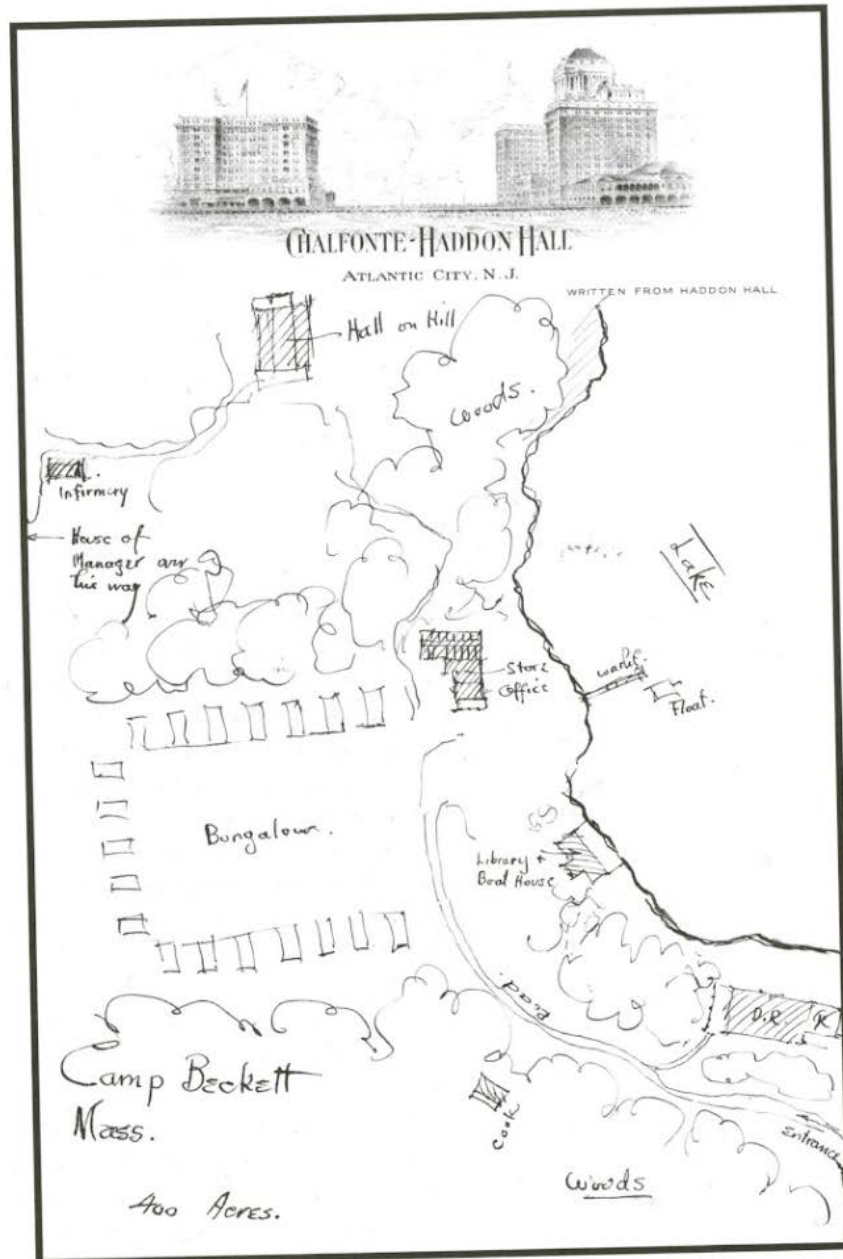


Figure 4.9. Sketch by architect Arthur B. Heaton for Camp Beckett improvements, ca. 1931. (Source: Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness*, 1)

<sup>158</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 20-23.

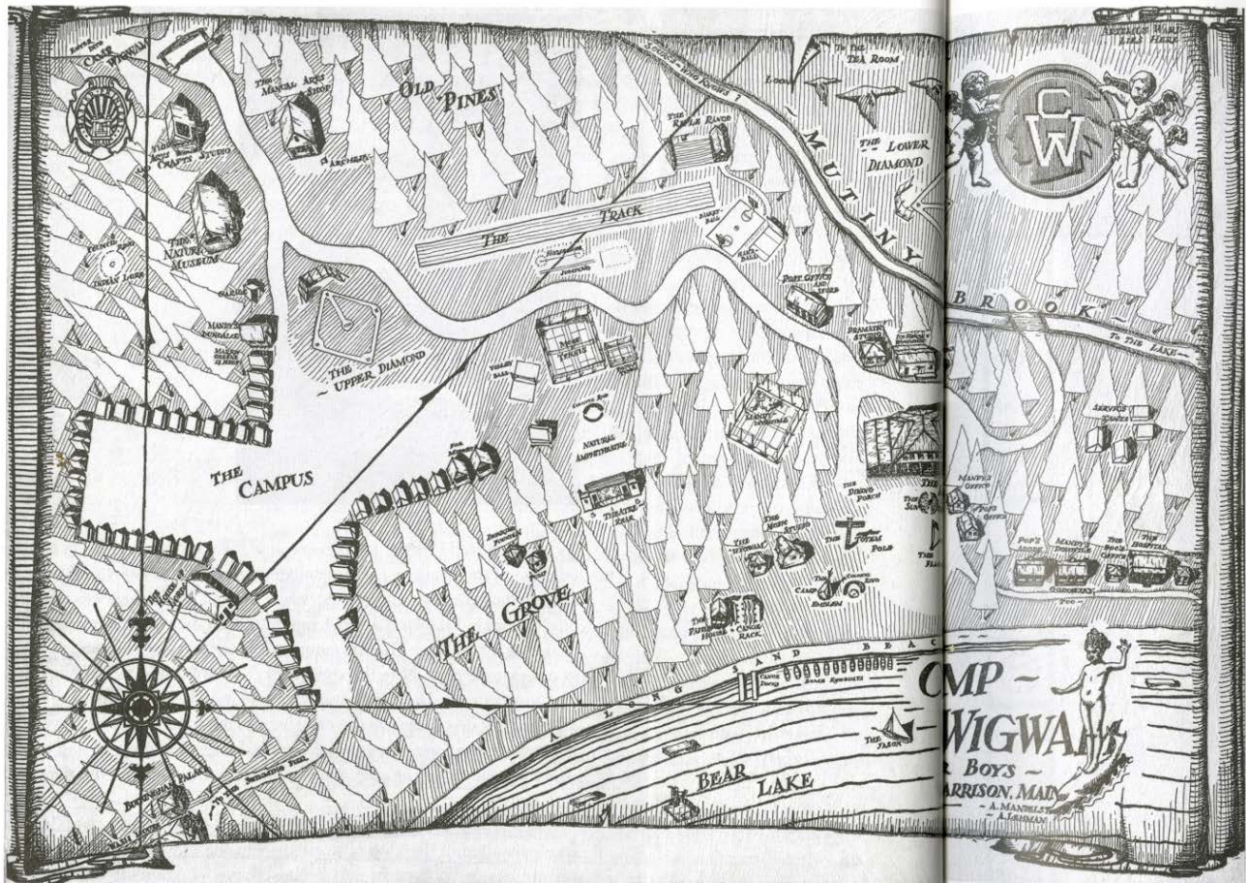


Figure 4.10. A map featuring the campus at Camp Wigwam. (Source: Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness*, 22-23)

The Camp Becket plan, scribbled on a hotel notepad by architect Arthur P. Heaton, also represents the increased professionalization of camp design. This professionalization is evident in the interest the National Park Service began to take in organized camping during the Great Depression. Van Slyck noted that, “during the Depression summer camps were considered so essential to the production of good citizens that the federal government used New Deal programs to sponsor the construction of state-of-the-art campgrounds earmarked for the use of charitable agencies serving poor children.”<sup>159</sup> Although many organizations had begun purchasing land for their camps, the agency camps still utilized and needed rentable camp space. Therefore in 1938,

<sup>159</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, xxv.

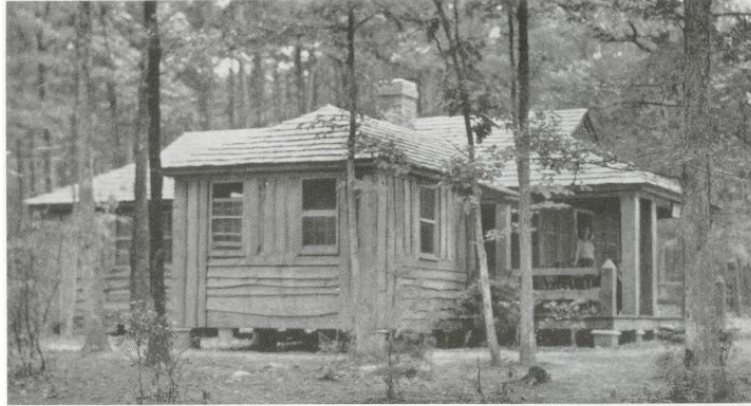
the National Park Service architect Albert H. Good, in his book *Park and Recreation Structures*, included designs for organized camp lay-outs, camp administration and basic service facilities, camp recreational and cultural facilities, camp cooking and dining facilities, and camp sleeping facilities.<sup>160</sup>

The National Park Service (NPS) designs were not merely meant to be implemented on undeveloped rentable landscapes. Instead, the NPS with the help of New Deal programs constructed Recreational Demonstration Areas (RDA) in their parks and elsewhere that agencies could rent. In his book, Good provided floor plans and photographs of existing RDA buildings to guide future RDA construction and to potentially influence camp construction outside of the NPS (figs. 4.11 and 4.12). Due to the diversity of the camp agencies and the increasing diversity embraced by camps themselves, Good and his colleagues aimed to design these buildings and areas in ways that would accommodate a wide variety of people, including children with physical disabilities.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, 109-192.

<sup>161</sup> Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, 3, 109-192.



Infirmiry, Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area, Virginia

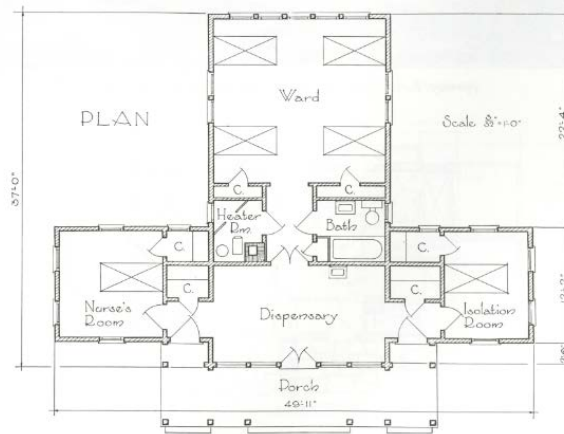
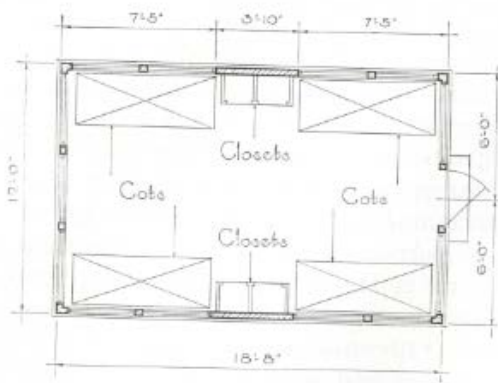


Figure 4.11. A plan and RDA picture of an infirmary. (Source: Good, Park and Recreation Structures, 117)



St. Croix River Area - Minnesota



St. Croix Recreational Demonstration Area, Minnesota

Figure 4.12. A plan and RDA picture of a four-camper unit cabin. (Source: Good, Park and Recreation Structures, 176-177)

With respect to landscape design, Good espoused a decentralized “unit plan” for organized camps, a plan that accommodated the diversity of camp types and campers, and better suited the deregimentation of camp programming (fig. 4.13). The designs included in the book were meant for camps with twenty-five to one hundred campers. Any camp population over thirty-two people, Good argued, should be divided into groups, or units, which were generally organized by age to create age groups. Each camp would include a central area with a general administration facility, dining hall, infirmary, and a recreational facility surrounding by units that consisted of sleeping cabins or tents around a unit lodge.<sup>162</sup> A unit washhouse and latrine would be located close to the unit as well. In the unit plan, the “barracks” of the military encampment plans gave way to smaller cabins that are ideally suited for four campers and not exceeding eight campers. Small cabins, and the organization of the camping population into units, allowed for more attention and leadership from counselors to campers.<sup>163</sup>

Good stressed that the implementation of a unit plan depended on the landscape’s unique natural features and topography. Although not ideal for a camp site, rugged topography required either a sprawling unit plan or an overly concentrated one, and sparse tree cover called for a spread-out plan in order to ensure the isolation of each unit. Because swimming was such an essential camp activity, all plans were to be anchored by the either a natural or artificial body of water. Accordingly, Good created designs for lakefronts, peninsulas, streams, and swimming pools. He also called for the careful planning of vehicular and pedestrian circulation in order to keep cars out of the camp landscape as much as possible.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, 109-110.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 109.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.



The architecture depicted in *Park and Recreation Structures* was consistent with the rustic style of buildings designed and adopted by the NPS. Constructed of natural materials — most often wood with stone features — the log, board-and-batten, and vertical wood-sided camp buildings evoked the pioneer ethic that was becoming more permanent in camp landscapes.<sup>165</sup> Additionally, the rustic style, as Henry Wellington Wack noted during his camp tour of the Southeast in 1926, blended almost seamlessly into the landscape. Therefore, the style allowed natural features and constructed views and vistas to take precedence over architectural features, a characteristic that was a hallmark of the picturesque style.

The NPS derived its version of the rustic architectural style and picturesque landscape style from several sources, including Andrew Jackson Downing's vision of the picturesque landscape, the Arts and Crafts movement, and the architecture of the great camps of the Adirondacks. According to NPS public historian Linda Flint McClelland, the resulting NPS style, "subordinated all built features to the natural, and often cultural, influences of the environment in which they were placed."<sup>166</sup> This subordination was due in large part to the design philosophy and writings of Andrew Jackson Downing, who during the mid-nineteenth century, "translated the idea of 'wilderness,' as evocative of the sublime and picturesque, into design terms."<sup>167</sup> Downing's theory of the picturesque style manifested itself in informal or naturalistic design that was in harmony with the site's natural features; in curvilinear roads that allowed for a sequence of views and vistas; in the use of trees to frame vistas; and in the

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<sup>165</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 23.

<sup>166</sup> Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 1.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

construction of rustic structures, composed of natural materials, to complement the natural landscape.<sup>168</sup>

Downing's philosophy influenced another style of architecture that impacted the architecture of organized camping: the Adirondack style. First employed during the late nineteenth century in the Adirondack region of New York, the Adirondack style was applied to large resort camps, which consisted of a number of buildings and structures separated by use. This style meshed well with Downing's picturesque style, as its proponents sited the camps "to fit the natural contours of the land, to take advantage of the scenic views of the surrounding lakes, mountains, and woodlands, and to offer outdoor activities such as fishing and boating."<sup>169</sup> Additionally, Adirondack designs called for rustic, native materials like twisted, unpeeled branches, bark sheathing, logs, and stone. These natural materials were intended to repeat the "qualities of the surrounding forest, such as natural color, the scale of local timber, and even the natural grain of wood used for decorative effects."<sup>170</sup> Often the Adirondack style imported elements from the Swiss Chalet style, which was characterized by its two story composition, gabled front, overhanging eaves, a balcony spanning the gable adorned with wooden cutouts, and small-paned windows. All of these elements, along with the idea of clustering buildings by function informally on the landscape, influenced Good's unit plan and RDA designs.<sup>171</sup>

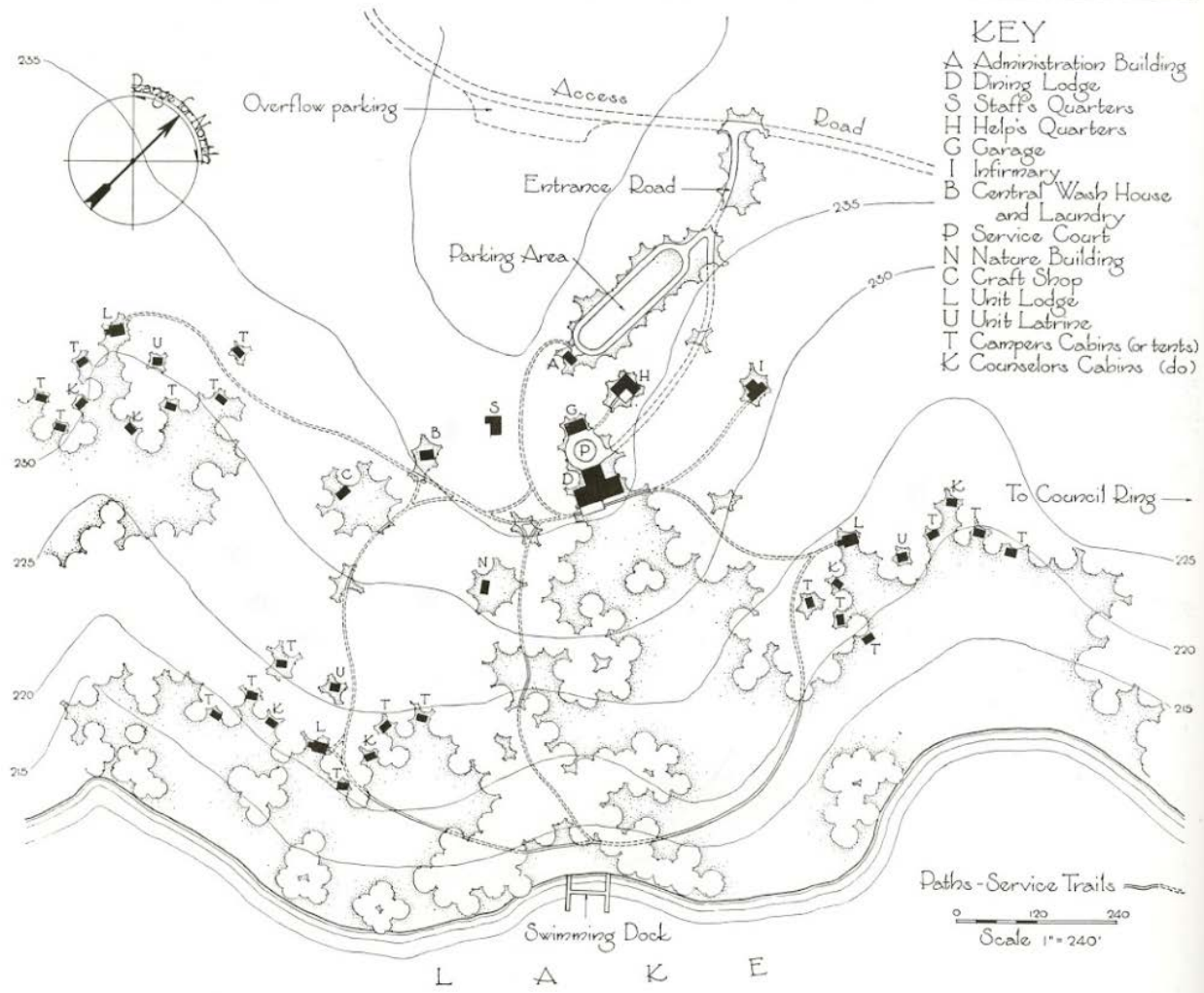
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<sup>168</sup> McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 21.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-99.



A LARGE ORGANIZED CAMP ON A LAKE-FRONT SITE

Figure 4.13. One example of the Unit Plan: Large Organized Camp on a Lakefront Site to accommodate 72 to 96 campers. (Source: Good, Park and Recreation Structures, 113)

The unit plan also reflected a change in child psychology and an increased concern about health. Instead of continued devotion to recapitulation theory, camp directors began to follow more contemporary child studies that identified phases of human development, through which well-adjusted children should pass.<sup>172</sup> The unit plan divided campers into discrete age groups, which mirrored these phases of development and were believed to create healthy, reasonable

<sup>172</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 31.

children. In addition to psychological health and growth, camp directors became increasingly concerned with the physical health of campers due to outbreaks of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and polio during the interwar period.<sup>173</sup> This concern first manifested itself in the increased tendency of camp directors to favor permanent cabins over tents to house campers. Because they typically occupied more square footage, cabins allowed for more space between campers.<sup>174</sup> Additionally, Good called for screens on all buildings to keep out insects that might carry diseases. The “unit plan” played a role in this new health consciousness, as the smaller units could act as a type of quarantine if any “communicable disease” broke out at camp.<sup>175</sup> Although the unit plan and accompanying Recreational Development Areas were designed for agencies to rent, many private and organizational camps adapted the unit plan to their private landscapes due to the plan’s relation to child psychology and health.<sup>176</sup> The demilitarization of the camp landscape, the unit plan, and the forces that inspired it also affected the programming and traditions at camps.

### Programming and Traditions

The demilitarization of the camp landscape led to a revitalization of ideals, traditions, and activities associated with American Indians and pioneers. Campers had been exposed to “playing Indian” almost since the beginning of the camping movement, as G. Stanley Hall’s recapitulation theory included a developmental phase of savagery and primitiveness, which European-Americans often associated with American Indians. However, “playing Indian” did not become popular until the interwar period when the council ring, typically a circle of wooden

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<sup>173</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 99.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>175</sup> Good, *Park and Recreation Structures*, 109-113.

<sup>176</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 32.

benches around a campfire advocated by Albert Good, was imbued with new meaning.<sup>177</sup> At camps, this “playing Indian” trend often coincided with activities, such as weaving, and buildings, including log cabins, that were associated with a romanticized pioneer life. Many camps, for example, had both a council ring, which symbolized “playing Indian,” and cabins, which evoked a pioneer past. The trauma caused by World War I led many Americans to yearn for a simpler time, and “playing Indian” or playing pioneer, regardless of the inaccuracy and insensitivity of those practices, fulfilled that goal for directors, staff, and campers.<sup>178</sup>

In terms of recreation during the interwar period, boys and girls increasingly played the same games at home and at camp, including baseball, tag, and bicycling. Nevertheless, Van Slyck notes, “Likewise, girls’ camps offered many of the same activities common at boys’ camps, but began to differentiate their programs in subtle ways.”<sup>179</sup> Crafts were offered at both types of camps, but girls’ camps began to offer a wider variety than the standard wood, metal, and leather. This craft expansion included ceramics, weaving, basketry, and rug making, among others (fig. 4.14). The Girl Scouts’ and Camp Fire Girls’ manuals, in implementing these new craft activities, emphasized the increased aesthetic taste and eye for interior design that such crafting could produce.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 174.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*



*Figure 4.14. Weaving at Rockbrook Camp for girls in North Carolina. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, Photograph from A Manufactured Wilderness, 75)*

The expansion of crafts at girls' camps coincided with an emphasis on aesthetic and rhythmic dance, as mentioned by Wack at Camp Greystone in North Carolina, along with a general de-emphasis on baseball.<sup>181</sup> This increasing emphasis on more feminine recreation at girls' camps is evident in Wack's description of the camps he visited in North Carolina, although his view might be biased. Wack frequently cited sports fields, tutoring departments, and swimming pools or swimming features at both boys' and girls' camps. However, he generally wrote more exhaustively about the different types of activities and facilities offered at boys' camps, including riflery ranges, boxing rings, tennis courts, baseball diamonds, and golf courses. In contrast, his descriptions of the activities offered at girls' camps were much more restrained or vague, and generally included indoor art and crafts, unspecified appropriate outdoor activities, horseback riding, and dramatics.<sup>182</sup> During the interwar period, all-girls' camps retained certain sports and outdoor activities, but expanded their crafts programming, perhaps as a reflection of persistent gender norms in American society.

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<sup>181</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 90.

<sup>182</sup> Wack, *More About Summer Camps*, 50-102.

In contrast to the feminization of some activities, certain traditions and rituals that were prevalent at many all-girls' camps helped shape an idea of gender relations for young girls that did not necessarily conform to the gender norms they observed at home. As Leslie Paris notes, for many children, "camp life represented a first experience of community and self-reliance beyond the physical boundaries of families and home neighborhoods."<sup>183</sup> In removing young girls from the physical boundaries of the domestic sphere, all-girls' camps allowed girls to form new senses of identity. All-girls' camps, then, served as "transformative ritual spaces."<sup>184</sup> Girls often performed cross-gendered pageants, during which they dressed up and acted as traditionally male figures, including pirates and knights. Not content with only playing legendary male figures, girls also performed the roles of traditionally male occupations, such as surgeons and meteorologists. They gave each other traditionally masculine or gender-neutral nicknames like Scotty, Bo, Turtle, and Peanut.<sup>185</sup> Removal of young girls from their homes, even temporarily, enabled them to partake in activities and rituals that might have been discouraged by society at large. Supplemented by the support of camp friendships and outdoor living and activities, these seemingly inconsequential shifts in gender norms at all-girls' camps potentially empowered young girls to reconsider their identities outside of the domestic sphere.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Leslie Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth Century American Girlhood," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 48.

<sup>184</sup> Paris, "The Adventures," 61.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

## Postwar Camping

During World War II and the decades that followed, the American Camping Movement changed significantly. Not only did a shift in child psychology lead to corresponding changes in the camp landscape, as had happened in previous periods, but the type of camping that had been established during the first half of the twentieth century also began to wane. This decline was in response to a rise in more specialized camps like sports camps. Directly following the war, however, there was another boom in the popularity of camping similar to that of the interwar years. The YMCA, Camp Fire Girls, and the Girl Scouts began to publish new camp-planning guides with designs generally inspired by the unit plan. These guides acknowledged issues of erosion and deforestation and noted the fragility of nature, signaling a new environmental consciousness that would come to the forefront in the following decades.<sup>187</sup>

### Plans and Architecture

During the postwar period, the camping industry grew increasingly concerned about the safety and comfort of campers, which was reflected in the continuity of picturesque camp layouts. This style of camp landscape, which highlighted natural features, gave campers the perception of freedom and roughness. Nevertheless, it was precisely designed in a way that buffered the seemingly dangerous outside world, and allowed maximum control of campers, ensuring their safety. Although this picturesque plan seemed similar to the informal layouts of the earliest camps, it was actually starkly different. The earliest campers enjoyed a degree of freedom that the camping industry did not endorse during the postwar boom, when the average age of campers dropped, which heightened safety concerns. Additionally, parents began to seek camps that perpetuated the comforts of home, rather than negated them. The picturesque

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<sup>187</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 32-35.



landscape and the increasing comfort of the built environment in the postwar years allowed campers to feel free and primitive under the watchful eye of adults, with a chance to return to the security of enclosed cabins.<sup>188</sup> Tents had lingered throughout the first fifty years of organized camping. However, as comfort became a focus of camps during the late 1940s and early 1950s, tents swiftly declined in favor of permanent cabins. This shift to comfort also led to more widespread electrification and plumbing, which, in turn, allowed camps to operate in the off-season, sometimes as conference centers.<sup>189</sup>

During the 1950s, modern architecture began to appear in camp landscapes. Camp Bliss (figs. 4.16 and 4.17), a consolidated Fresh Air Camp in Fishkill, New York, was largely designed by rising Harvard-educated architect Edward Larrabee Barnes with the layout designed by camp veteran Julian Harris Solomon. Prior to the 1950s, summer camps usually served as an escape from modern society with its rustic buildings. Nevertheless, Van Slyck noted modern architecture was not that out of place at summer camps because the camp landscape was constantly shaped and changed by modern conceptions of childhood.<sup>190</sup>



*Figures 4.15 and 4.16. Village Hall and camper tent at Camp Bliss, 1953-1954, markedly more modern than the rustic buildings that dominated the first half of the twentieth century. (Source: Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, 216)*

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<sup>188</sup> Van Slyck *Manufactured Wilderness*, 34-35.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

## Programming and Traditions

While the makeup of the camp landscape remained largely static with some shifts in architecture during the postwar era, there was “a radically new approach to camp program.”<sup>191</sup> This new approach involved Abbie Graham, who was associated with the YWCA and published a book called *Working at Play in Summer Camps* in 1941. Graham’s book de-stigmatized the word “fun.” During the earlier eras of camping, fun had been associated with frivolity, but Graham defined it in a different way, “connoting a joyful, but otherwise somewhat indefinable, quality that only children were allowed to judge.”<sup>192</sup> Instead of directors and counselors implementing recreation and programming based on their opinions of children’s needs, Graham argued that, directors should identify what the campers enjoy and base programming on that. Camp recreation subsequently became child-centered.

## **The End of an Era**

In the decades following the postwar era, many changes occurred in the American Camping Movement, including a decline in the types of camps produced during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. There were attempts to racially integrate camps during the 1960s and 70s, and although some attempts were successful, there was still a lot of pushback. This resistance started to soften in later decades as traditional racial hierarchies were increasingly challenged. Integrating the sexes in the earlier postwar decades proved more successful, and, in the 1950s, nearly one in every five camps became coed. Although society was still relatively conservative during the 1950s in regards to attitudes towards gender, parents and camp directors began to promote coeducational camps because of concerns about how

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<sup>191</sup> Van Slyck, *Manufactured Wilderness*, 91.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

single-sex camps affected heterosexual development.<sup>193</sup> Therefore, coeducation was not a result of new, more progressive gender expectations in American society. Instead, it was another attempt to preserve more traditional gender relations and norms.

Unfortunately for camp owners, the 1960s and 1970s saw rising land values, a decrease in the number of children available to attend camp, and the economic recession of the early 1970s. This resulted in nearly twenty-five hundred camps closing their gates between the 1970s and 1990s. Additionally, there was an increasing market for specialty camps that specialized in activities like sports, weight-loss, or computer programming. In general, only the most well-established camps and those catering to the new market for specialized camps survived.<sup>194</sup> Many of those well-established camps continue to thrive today and reflect the various changes over time in the American camping movement.

## **Conclusion**

The American camping movement persisted through several societal shifts in attitudes towards gender, in changing childhood expectations and psychology, and in changing attitudes toward race and class. These larger social changes seeped into camp landscapes and informed their layout, architecture, programming, and traditions. During the beginning of all-boys' camps, boys were expected to roam and play freely, which was reflected in the informal layout of the landscape. As World War I approached and camp directors implemented regimented schedules and military layouts, these ideas were also adopted by the new girls' camps. This adoption was somewhat revolutionary for the time, as it offered girls similar experiences in the same kinds of environments as boys. Following the disillusionment of World War I, camp directors at both

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<sup>193</sup> Paris, *Children's Nature*, 271.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

boys' and girls' camps favored the picturesque "unit plan," which divided campers into developmental age groups and aligned with child psychology at the time. Throughout these changes, all-girls' summer camps continued to reflect, and often subtly subvert, gender relations of the time, as girls received mobility, access to new kinds of knowledge, a space to act freely, and a support network.

## CHAPTER 5

### CAMP MERRIE-WOODE SITE HISTORY

Camp Merrie-Woode is an all-girls' summer camp located in Sapphire, Jackson County, North Carolina. Founded in 1919, the camp has grown from its original 13¼ acres to its current size of approximately 400 acres. Despite its expansion, the landscape has served continuously as a girls' camp since 1919. Many of the camp's buildings have been rebuilt over time, but the landscape's overall spatial organization and historic character have been retained. The next three chapters will serve as a part 1 of a cultural landscape report on Camp Merrie-Woode. This chapter documents the history of the site, and Chapter 6 records the existing conditions of the camp landscape. Chapter 7 will then provide an analysis and evaluation of the landscape, analyzing the camp's historic significance, especially in the context of the American Camping Movement and women's movement, and evaluating the site's historic integrity.

#### **The Site Before Camp Merrie-Woode**

Camp Merrie-Woode occupies an area of the Sapphire Valley in the Blue Ridge Province of the Appalachian Mountains. The Appalachian Mountains were formed in eastern North America during three separate mountain-building periods from about five hundred to two hundred and fifty million years ago, making them one of the oldest mountain ranges in the world. Because of their age, wind erosion and glaciers have shaped and whittled the Appalachians down so that they are now smaller than younger mountain ranges like the Rockies. Additionally,

weathering over hundreds of millions of years has led to the “rounded peaks that characterize the southern Appalachians today.”<sup>195</sup> The geological forces that created the Blue Ridge Province provided for a cool and wet climate in the higher elevations. The “abundant but highly variable” rainfall has led to the designation of the area as a temperate rainforest.<sup>196</sup> Additionally, the variations in elevation in and surrounding the Camp Merrie-Woode property have produced a wide range of plant communities over time, including: Spray Cliff, Southern Appalachian Bog Southern Subtype, High Elevation Rocky Summit, Montane Oak-Hickory Forest, Chestnut Oak Forest, Pine-Oak Heath, White Pine Forest, and Canada Hemlock Forest.<sup>197</sup> Plant communities are explored further in the next chapter.

As the Qualla Boundary of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians occupies the northern portion of Jackson County, it is probable that the Cherokee and other Native American tribes inhabited the area before and after colonial contact. While European settlers certainly settled and visited the Sapphire Valley before the mid-nineteenth century, the Georgetown gold mining community is the first known settlement on the property where Camp Merrie-Woode stands today. J.B. Leroy and a man named George established the community circa 1844 and mined two to three hundred thousand dollars worth of gold before closing at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>198</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, logging and tourism were the two major industries in the Sapphire Valley. The Southern Railway Company built a link from Asheville to the

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<sup>195</sup> Timothy Spira, *Wildflowers & Plant Communities of the Southern Appalachian Mountains & Piedmont* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 9.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

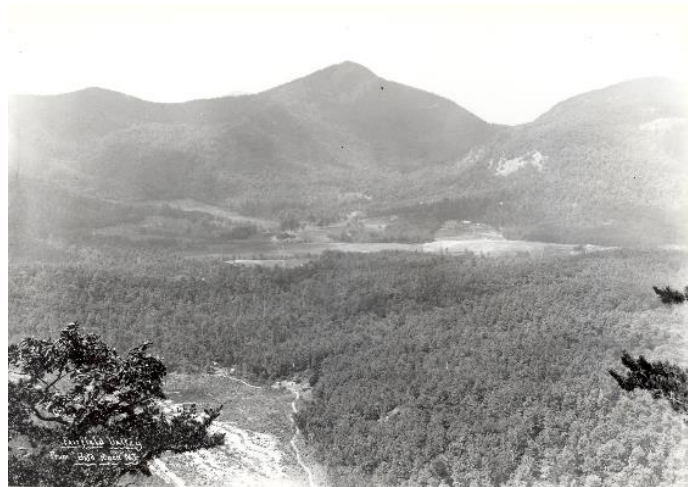
<sup>197</sup> J. Dan Ptillo, *Natural Areas Inventory for Jackson County, North Carolina*, A Report to the Conservation Trust for North Carolina, Jackson County Department of Planning and Development, State of North Carolina Natural Heritage Program (Raleigh: Conservation Trust for North Carolina, 1994), 13-16.

<sup>198</sup> Jennifer F. Martin, “Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Cashiers, 1995, 18.

nearby Toxaway area during the late nineteenth century to carry timber out of Jackson County. However, the rail line soon began to carry tourists because of the booming resort trade.

Capitalizing on the resort market and the new rail line, the Toxaway Company began purchasing land in 1896 in Jackson, Transylvania, and Macon counties, on which it intended to build new resorts and develop mineral and timber resources.<sup>199</sup> This included the land now occupied by Camp Merrie-Woode and Lake Fairfield.

In 1896, the Toxaway Company dammed the south end of the Long Branch of the Horsepasture River in order to flood the valley and create Lake Fairfield (figs. 5.1 and 5.2).<sup>200</sup> On the southwestern shore of Lake Fairfield, the company then began constructing their Queen Anne-style Fairfield Inn (fig. 5.3), which was completed in 1898. In 1911, a Pennsylvania Bank foreclosed on a mortgage of the Toxaway Company, allowing Edward H. Jennings, a stockholder of the company, to purchase the company's holdings, including the Fairfield Inn property. Jennings and his family owned and operated the inn until 1947.<sup>201</sup>



*Figure 5.1. Fairfield Valley from Bald Rock (known as Old Bald at Camp Merrie-Woode), before Lake Fairfield was created, pre-1896 (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

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<sup>199</sup> Martin, "Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District," 17.

<sup>200</sup> Cashiers Area Chamber of Commerce, *The Cashiers Area: Yesterday, Today, and Forever* (Cashiers: Taylor Publishing Company, 1994), 22.

<sup>201</sup> Janet Hutchinson and Walter Best, "Fairfield Inn," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Cashiers, 1981, 1.



*Figure 5.2. Undated early photograph of Lake Fairfield from Bald Rock (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*



*Figure 5.3. Undated early photograph of the Fairfield Inn (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*



## **The Beginning of Camp Merrie-Woode**

Camp Merrie-Woode, originally known as Camp Fairfield Lake, was founded in 1919 when E. H. Jennings, owner of the neighboring Fairfield Inn, allowed Marjorie Harrison of Florida, and Mary Turk, of Virginia, to establish a small girls' camp to accommodate the daughters of the inn's visitors.<sup>202</sup> In February of 1920, Jennings officially sold a 13¼ acre parcel of land neighboring the inn to Marjorie Harrison for the express purpose of opening a summer camp for girls. This purpose was outlined in the deed and confirms that the camp originally served as a place for daughters of the guests of the inn, although advertisements at the time suggest that the camp also catered to those outside of the inn's residence.<sup>203</sup>

The camp originally consisted of five cabins, or kiosks as they were called then, which Jennifer Martin, author of the Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District national register nomination, has identified as the first five cabins on the front line, now known as "Du Kum Inn," "Mushroom," "Sunny Shack," "Linger Longer," and "Pooh Corner." Although a majority of the cabins at Camp Merrie-Woode have been reconstructed, the reconstructions, for the most part, retain the original footprint and orientation of the earliest cabins. Additionally, the "Cabin," which has since served as the camp's dining hall, was constructed ca. 1920.

In 1922, Marjorie Harrison sold the 13¼-acre parcel comprising Camp Fairfield Lake to Mabel Day of New York City, New York, and Mary Turk of Tazewell, Virginia (fig. 5.4).<sup>204</sup> Mabel Day became known as "Dammie" by her campers and staff during her 31-year tenure as the camp's director. Dammie was responsible for changing the name from Camp Fairfield Lake to Camp Merrie-Woode. Looking back on the beginnings of Camp Merrie-Woode, Dammie

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<sup>202</sup> Martin, "Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District," 20.

<sup>203</sup> Jackson County Deed Book 85, 1920, p. 13-16, in Camp Merrie-Woode Archives; Senior Staff Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>204</sup> Jackson County Deed Book 85, 1920, p. 594-596, in Camp Merrie-Woode Archives.

reminisced in correspondence from 1960: “I knew I wanted an imaginative meaningful name. I thought why not English tradition and legend – instead of Indian, which so many camps used. And one night the name came so clearly to me – ‘Merrie-Woode’ for it is a merry wood and campers will always make it so.”<sup>205</sup>



*Figure 5.4. Dammie Day (left) and Mary Turk (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode website, <http://www.merriewoode.com/about-us/mission-history/>)*

## **Camp Merrie-Woode Under the Direction of Dammie Day**

### Mabel “Dammie” Day: Before Camp Merrie-Woode

Because of Dammie Day’s immense impact on Camp Merrie-Woode and her legacy, it is important to briefly document her life before Camp Merrie-Woode and what led her there.

Mabel Blanche Pye was born in 1883 to English missionaries in Iowa. Her parents’ heritage and role as missionaries certainly influenced her later decision to base Camp Merrie-Woode in English Arthurian tradition and quite possibly influenced her eventual work with the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). Before her work with the YWCA, Day attended Cornell College in Iowa, graduating in 1903.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> “Founder Profile: Dammie Day,” Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter (Spring 1993): 6, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>206</sup> “Founder Profile,” 6.

Consequently, Day's role as the state secretary of the YWCA for Tennessee and Kentucky led her to meet her future husband, Jonathan C. Day, who was at the time working as the state secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of Tennessee. Following their wedding on December 28, 1905, the couple moved to Chicago "where the groom" began to "represent one of the educational institutions of the south."<sup>207</sup> Following this move to Chicago, the couple had their first child, Ruth Day, in Chicago on January 30, 1907. Ruth's birth was followed by the Day's son, Richard Day, born on August 8, 1908, in Indiana.<sup>208</sup>

In 1908, the Days were members of the reception committee to welcome guests to a lecture in Indianapolis regarding the women's suffrage movement in England. During this lecture, the speaker, identified as Mrs. Philip Snowden, wife of a member of the House of Commons, warned against a direct and aggressive approach to fighting for suffrage, as that method had failed in Parliament. Instead, she advocated a more subtle approach, asking to see members of Parliament for "tea and conversation," rather than asking upfront to speak about "women's suffrage."<sup>209</sup> The Days' involvement in this lecture reveals their interest in the suffrage movement. Following their time in Indiana, the Days moved to New York City, where Mabel became the Secretary of the New York City YWCA, Chairman of the YWCA Girls' Work and Junior Camp Committees, and director of a camp at Bear Mountain in upstate New

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<sup>207</sup> "State Workers Are Married: Y.M.C.A. Secretary and Y.W.C.A., Secretary of Tennessee United in Marriage at Charles City," *The Des Moines Register*, December 29, 1905. Newspapers.com, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.newspapers.com/image/129041161>.

<sup>208</sup> Birth Certificate for Ruth Elizabeth Day, 30 January 1907, FHL Film Number 1288130, *Cook County, Illinois, Birth Certificates Index, 1871-1922*. Ancestry.com, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=FSCookILBirth&h=664347>; Birth Certificate for Richard Day, 8 August 1908, Certificate Number 32253, Indiana, Birth Certificates, 1907-1940. Ancestry.com, accessed March 17, 2017, <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=IndianaVitalsBirths&h=6074735>.

<sup>209</sup> "Finds Imbecility in the House of Lords," *The Indianapolis Star*, November 11, 1908. Newspapers.com, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.newspapers.com/image/11861844>.

York. Her role as secretary for the YWCA in New York City would give Mabel her first taste of camp directing.<sup>210</sup>

### Camp Merrie-Woode Under the Direction of Dammie Day: The Interwar Years

The appearance, traditions, and activities of Camp Merrie-Woode today were largely designed and implemented by Mabel “Dammie” Day. Upon purchasing the camp, Dammie had a clear vision in terms of architecture that built on the rusticity of the extant cabins and the dining hall, known as the Cabin, as well as other extant buildings like an infirmary, office, and bathing facilities.<sup>211</sup> This clear vision extended to the mythos in which Dammie grounded the camp’s traditions. The English tradition evoked by the name Merrie-Woode chiefly took the form of Arthurian legend with campers dressing up as the Knights of the Round Table and acting out the quest for the Holy Grail towards the end of each summer. Additionally, age groups were originally divided into three units: pages (ages nine to twelve), yeomen (ages thirteen and fourteen), and knights (ages fifteen through eighteen). The Arthurian Legend and its associated traditions spoke to the ideals Dammie strove to instill in her campers: selflessness, service to others, friendship, confidence, honor, cooperation, skill, judgement, initiative, physical fitness, and sound character.<sup>212</sup>

Dammie’s desired architecture also reflected her aims at Camp Merrie-Woode. She favored the Adirondack style, potentially because she was familiar with it due to her experience in New York, but also because of its ability to blend into the natural setting, allowing campers a more authentic outdoor living experience (figs. 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8).<sup>213</sup> In her promotional

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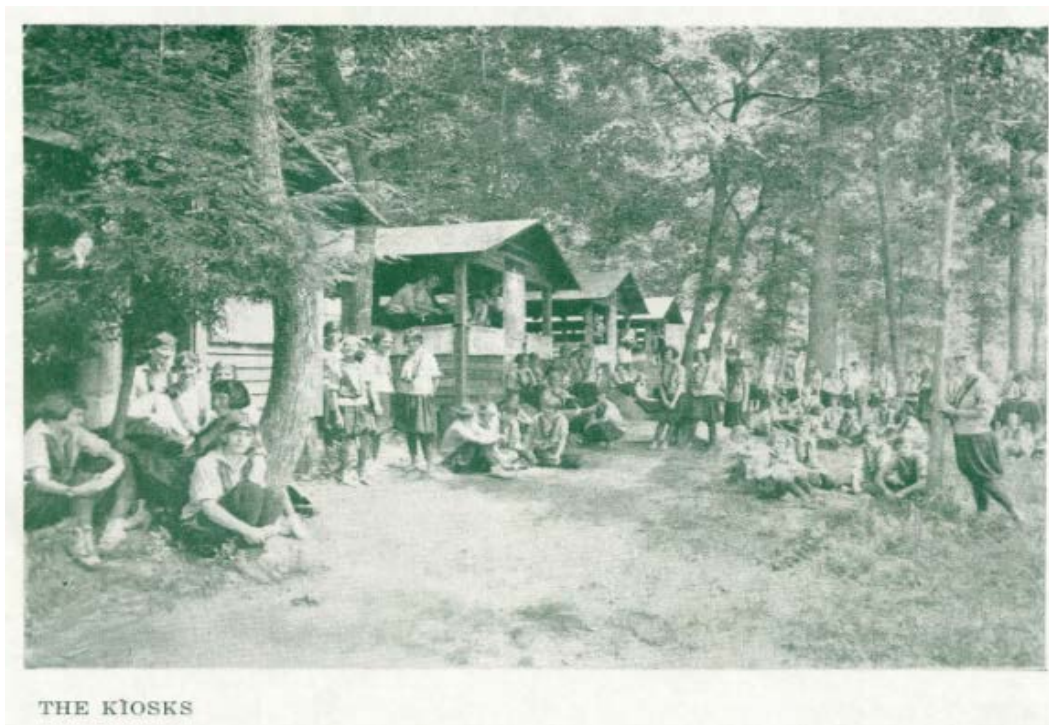
<sup>210</sup> Martin, “Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District,” 20; Camp Merrie-Woode promotional brochure, ca. 1920s, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina, 1.

<sup>211</sup> Senior Staff Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, April 2017.

<sup>212</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode Promotional Brochure, ca. 1920s, in Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, 7-9.

<sup>213</sup> Martin, “Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District,” 23.

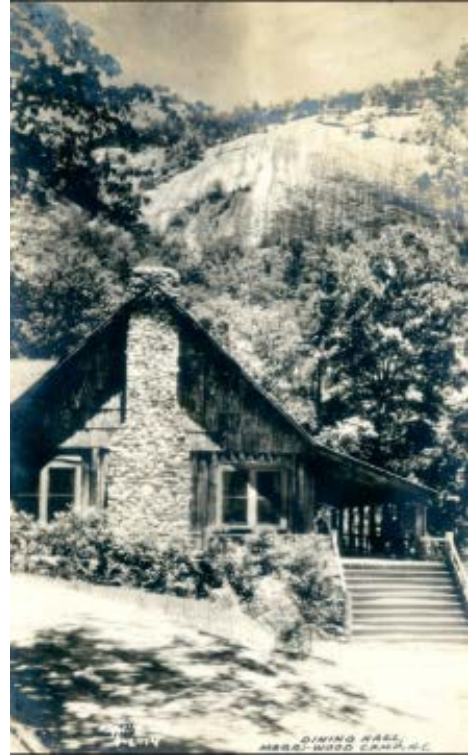
materials, Dammie made sure to note that the cabins, also known interchangeably as kiosks or shacks, were open halfway up to ensure campers could see the stars through the trees and could hear the rain on the roof. The kiosks were originally clapboard-clad frame structures (fig. 5.5), but they were eventually sided with bark slabs. Additionally, in her promotional material, Dammie noted that the Cabin “was literally built from the living forest with a huge stone fireplace in one end.”<sup>214</sup> To Dammie, these rustic buildings and their construction materials promoted a connection with nature that had disappeared from city life, as well as a democratic and cooperative camp culture that was reflected in how all girls lived together in the same conditions.



*Figure 5.5. The kiosks, originally sided with clapboard, ca. 1920s. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

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<sup>214</sup> Promotional Brochure, ca. 1920s, 11-12.



Figures 5.6 and 5.7. (Above, left) A glimpse of the Cabin ca. 1920s; (Above, right) The vertical log siding would eventually be covered with bark slab under the gable, as seen in the 1930s postcard. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)



Figure 5.8. A View of the Craft Shop also featured in 1920s brochure. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)

Merrie-Woode originally had one eight-week session per summer, accepting approximately seventy-five girls with one counselor per four girls. Activities offered during the 1920s included swimming, canoeing and boating, horseback riding, hiking, arts and crafts, sports, archery, dancing, music and dramatics, and “nature lore.”<sup>215</sup> While Dammie and Mary Turk instituted a relatively regimented daily schedule (fig. 5.9), the wide array of activities meant that campers’ days would be varied. Variation ensured that campers received a well-rounded “joyous education” in skills that supplemented knowledge they had acquired during the school year.<sup>216</sup>

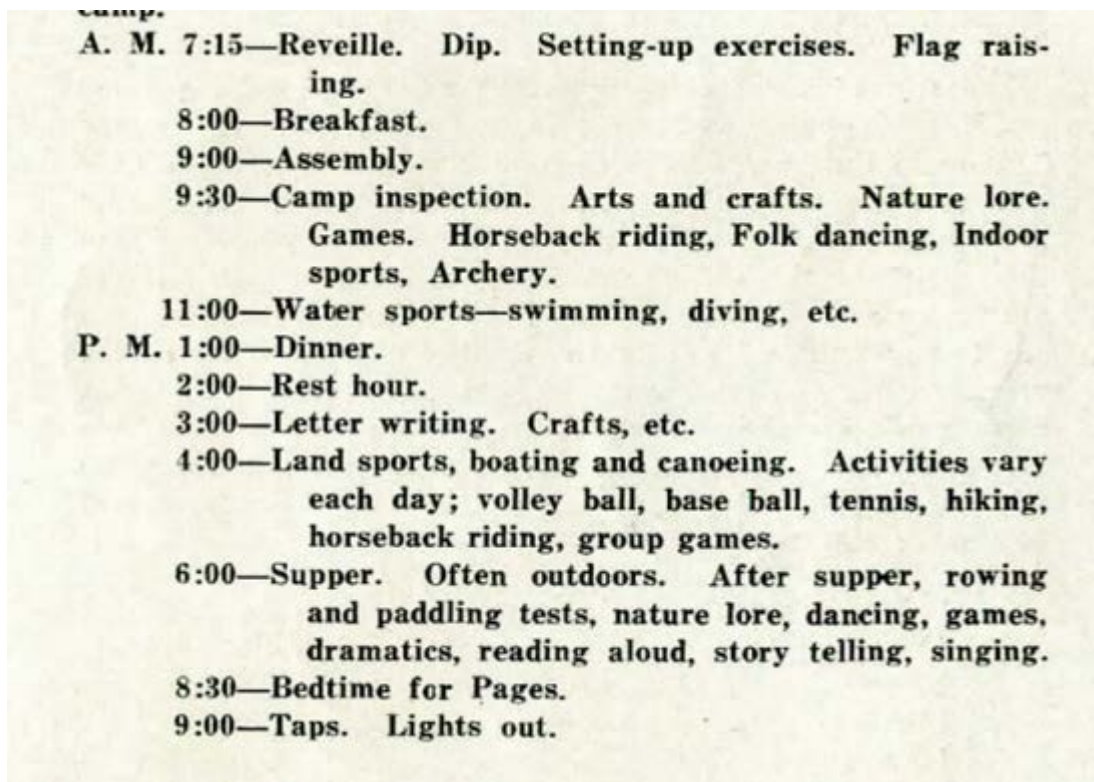


Figure 5.9. Camp Schedule, ca. 1920s (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)

In the *Lake Fairfield Ripple*—a yearly compilation of camper and staff stories, poems, artwork, and memories—many campers during the 1920s contributed fond recollections of

<sup>215</sup> Promotional Brochure, ca. 1920s, 31-43.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

hiking and riding trips in their *Ripple* entries. These trips generally interrupted regular activities as they sometimes lasted a full day or more. Campers described their long hikes out of camp, often with pack horses, and the cooperation required to get wood for the fire, make the fire, and cook over the fire (fig. 5.10).<sup>217</sup> As evidenced from the *Ripple* entries, hiking and horseback riding trips out of camp taught campers outdoor skills—skills they might not have had access to learn outside of a girls’ camp environment.

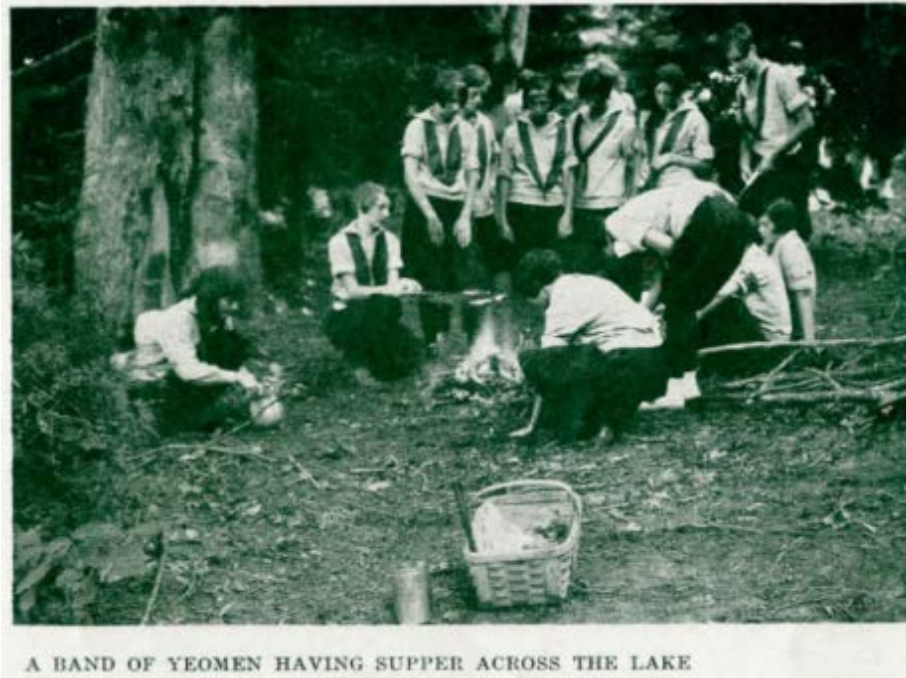
Dammie required campers to wear uniforms, a practice that was not forfeited to the difficulty or roughness of any activity. The Camp Merrie-Woode uniforms consisted of a light grey flannel sport shirt, today called a middie; dark green bloomers; green corduroy riding breeches; a dark green handkerchief tie; and green stockings (fig. 5.10). To Dammie, these colors blended into the landscape, and the uniform itself “means that from the directors on through to the shyest girl in camp there is a feeling of solidarity and social relationship that goes a long way in accomplishing the aims that we have tried to make clear in the foregoing pages.”<sup>218</sup> Dammie clearly thought about the best methods to convey and instill her ideals, even down to the clothes her campers wore.

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<sup>217</sup> Nathalie Whitehall, “Band Suppers Across The Lake,” *The Lake Fairfield Ripple* 6 (1925): 71, from Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>218</sup> Promotional Brochure, ca. 1920s, 45.





*Figure 5.10. Merrie-Woode campers in uniform on a camp-out across Lake Fairfield (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

In the 1925 *Lake Fairfield Ripple*, a building named Castle, known then as Castle-on-the-Hill (fig. 5.11), began to receive mentions in various reflections, poems, and stories written by campers.<sup>219</sup> Previously, the Cabin, or the dining hall, had served as a multi-purpose building for many camp activities, including meals, morning assembly, and evening activities. However, once the Castle-on-the-Hill was built—its name at once evoking its location, Arthurian legend, and its importance—many of these activities moved from the Cabin to Castle. In fact, the construction of the Castle allowed for more variety in the programming and worked in accordance with the child psychology behind the unit plan, as it divided campers into age groups during activities. The pages, Merrie-Woode’s youngest age group consisting of girls who were nine to twelve years old, continued to spend mornings and evenings in the Cabin, listening to

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<sup>219</sup> *The Lake Fairfield Ripple* 6 (1925), Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

stories by the fire, while the older two groups, the yeomans and the knights, had an evening program at the Castle.<sup>220</sup>



*Figure 5.11: Castle-on-the-Hill, or Castle, ca. 1920s, (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

Castle was built in the same Adirondack style as the rest of the camp buildings, donned in chestnut slabs and completed with a large stone chimney. By the time Castle was constructed, several other building names besides the Cabin were also mentioned in promotional materials and in the *Ripple*. These included kiosks called Laurel Lodge, Nutshell, Sign of the Hemlock, Bide-A-Wee, Paint Box, Fern Lodge, So-Ko-Ze, Moonlight Bay, Periwinkle, Chatterbox, Chug-A-Wump, Blanket Bay, and Laughter Lodge.<sup>221</sup> Sleeping four girls and a counselor each, the approximately twenty-seven kiosks would have accommodated the enrollment maximum of seventy-five girls, with some room to spare.<sup>222</sup> During the 1920s, several activity buildings and areas were constructed, including tennis courts, basketball courts, docks, a boathouse, crafts shops, and a stable.<sup>223</sup> Dammie added the Guest Lodge to the camp landscape in 1924, which she sited southeast of Castle. Constructed for guests during the 1920s, this building would

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<sup>220</sup> Promotional Brochure, ca. 1920s, 11.

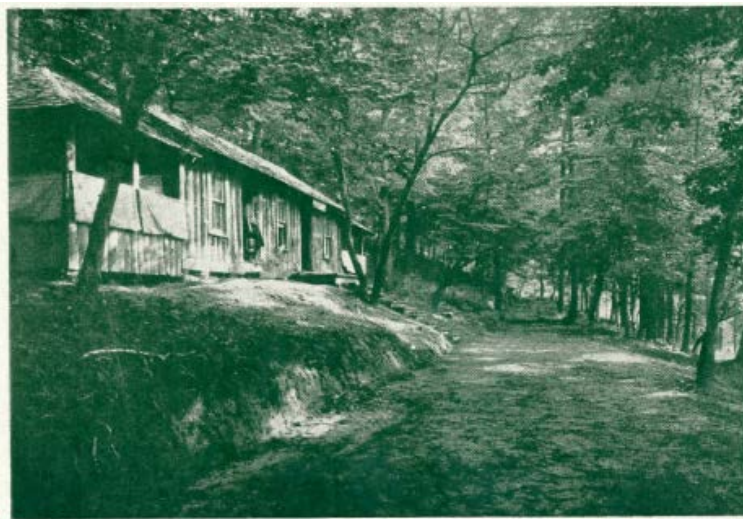
<sup>221</sup> *The Lake Fairfield Ripple* 5 (1924), Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>222</sup> Promotional Brochure, ca. 1920s, 11.

<sup>223</sup> *The Lake Fairfield Ripple* 4-6 (1923-1925), from the Camp Merrie-Woode Archives.

eventually house the head counselor, during which time it received the name “Wit’s End.”<sup>224</sup> Additional buildings featured in the promotional material of the 1920s are Hilltop, the camp office (fig. 5.12), and the Infirmary (fig. 5.13), all in keeping with the rustic style of the camp buildings.

In order to connect all of these buildings and activity areas, an unpaved road was constructed throughout camp. The Merrie-Woode Road (fig. 5.12), whose width allowed one-way automobile traffic, was mostly trafficked by pedestrians on its path in between the stable and fields and up to the center of camp between Castle and the Craft Shop. At this point the road branched, with one branch leading up to Hilltop and the other branch leading down to the Cabin, kiosks, and the waterfront.



HILLTOP AND AN ALLURING GLIMPSE OF THE ROAD

*Figure 5.12. The camp office, Hilltop, and a view of the Camp Road, ca. 1920s (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

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<sup>224</sup> The Lake Fairfield Ripple 5 (1924), Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina; Martin, 10.



THE INFIRMARY

*Figure 5.13. Camp Infirmary ca. 1931, (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

In 1926, Henry Wellington Wack, of *Red Book Magazine*, toured Camp Merrie-Woode during his survey of southern camps. He noted the site's beauty and isolation, and the ability of the buildings to blend into the camp landscape. Wack attributed this quality of the built environment to R. H. Morrow, an engineer who also designed three camps in the Brevard, North Carolina, area: Camp Carolina for boys (1924), Camp Transylvania for boys (ca. 1920), and Rockbrook Camp for girls (1921). Of these camps, Camp Merrie-Woode, Camp Rockbrook, and Camp Carolina are still extant, although Camp Carolina moved all of its buildings to a new site.<sup>225</sup>

In January of 1930, Dammie Day purchased an additional 44.7 acres from Richard G. Jennings, Evan D. Jennings, and Edward H. Jennings, executors and trustees of the will of E. G. Jennings. This expansion coincided with Mary Turk's departure, as she sold her  $\frac{2}{5}$  interest in Merrie-Woode to Dammie, thus conveying to her full ownership.<sup>226</sup> Jonathan Day passed away

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<sup>225</sup> Henry Wellington Wack, *More About Summer Camps: Training for Leisure*, (New York City: The Red Book Magazine, 1926).

<sup>226</sup> Jackson County Deed Book 109, 1930, p. 571-573, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina; Jackson County Deed Book 198, 1930, p. 515-518, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

April 4, 1931, in Virginia.<sup>227</sup> Following Jonathan's death and Mary Turk's departure from Merrie-Woode, Dammie Day, who had at this point joined the National Association of Camp Directors, continued running the camp on her own with the support of senior staff. By 1931, Merrie-Woode had expanded to one hundred campers, which necessitated the addition of one new age unit, the squires, so that each group would have an even twenty-five campers.

This land acquisition and population expansion required the addition of camp buildings. Prior to the 1931 season, the Wonder House, today known as the Ark, was constructed on the waterfront to house nature studies (figs. 5.14 and 5.15), and the Bang Shop was built near the extant Arts and Crafts building for jewelry-making. Activities from previous seasons were maintained, as was the same schedule, although sailing was added in the 1931 season.

Additionally, although baseball lost favor at other girls' camps due to its traditional association with masculinity, it remained a popular activity at Camp Merrie-Woode into the 1930s (fig. 5.16).<sup>228</sup>



THE WONDER HOUSE

*Figure 5.14. Exterior of the Wonder House, the new building for nature activities, ca. 1931 (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

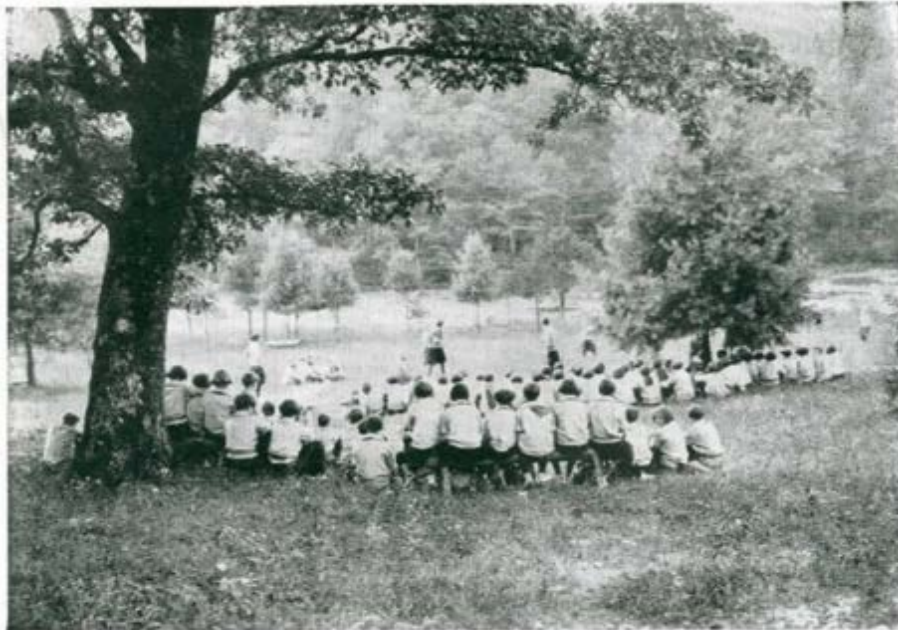
<sup>227</sup> Death Certificate for Jonathan Creech Day, 3 April 1931, *Virginia, Death Records, 1912-2014*. Ancestry.com, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=try&db=General-9278&h=721600>.

<sup>228</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode Promotional Brochure, ca. 1931. Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina 9-11.



INTERIOR OF WONDER HOUSE

*Figure 5.15. Interior of the Wonder House, ca. 1931 (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*



BASE BALL

*Figure 5.16. Campers continue to enjoy baseball in 1931 (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

*The Lake Fairfield Ripple*, a publication in existence since the beginning of camp, continued through the early 1930s and onward through today. Gala Week, the last week of camp during which normal activities were suspended for exhibitions, sports meets, and final

productions, also continued through the 1930s. Through Gala Week, Dammie provided a platform for the girls of Merrie-Woode to exhibit the skills they had acquired throughout the season. In a largely pictorial brochure from the 1930s, Dammie stated, “There is real nourishment for the spirit to be found in the pioneer life of camp, as well as a chance to develop skills which not only increase life’s margin of safety, but are the best insurance against boredom and satiety all through life.”<sup>229</sup> She went on to tout the advantages of group living in nurturing thoughtfulness and self-control.<sup>230</sup> Dammie continued to preserve the values she saw inherent in skill-building, group living, and the pioneer life at Camp Merrie-Woode throughout her tenure.

During the years directly leading up to the United States’ entry into World War II, new buildings and activities continued to populate the camp landscape. One of these buildings, Tajar (figs. 5.17. and 5.18), constructed east of Hilltop, represented Dammie’s philosophy of inclusivity. Tajar is a Swiss Chalet-style board-and-batten building, whose most striking feature is the rows of colorful wooden figures decorating the balustrade of the balcony and the area above the first-story windows. These figures were meant to symbolize people of many cultures, teaching campers to embrace those who were different than them.<sup>231</sup> The second floor of Tajar housed a library, a popular feature of all-girls’ camps during the interwar period. The name Tajar came from the popular Tajar Tales, which had made their way into Merrie-Woode several years earlier, and which had begun supplementing the Arthurian legend that drove much of camp lore and tradition. Tajar Tales, first published in 1924, told the story of a mischievous hybrid of a badger and tiger named the Tajar, who roams the forest and “becomes full of folly and dances

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<sup>229</sup> “Camp—A Heritage of Health and Happiness,” Camp Merrie-Woode Pictorial Brochure, ca. 1930s, 2, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Martin, “Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District,” 21; Senior Staff Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

in the moonlight.” The Tajar (fig. 5.19) frequently gets into trouble, often at the hand of Madam Witch, and then must answer to the Range Ranger.<sup>232</sup> At Camp Merrie-Woode, the Tajar Tales were told at campfires and other evening programs, leaving the younger campers to believe that the Tajar, Madam Witch, and Range Ranger inhabited the forest around the camp.



*Figure 5.17: The building on the hill above Merrie-Woode Road is Tajar, note the wooden figures on the balustrades, (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

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<sup>232</sup> “About: Tajar Tales,” Google Books, accessed March 17, 2017, [https://books.google.com/books/about/Tajar\\_Tales.html?id=xoYkAAAACAAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/Tajar_Tales.html?id=xoYkAAAACAAJ).





*Figure 5.18. Tajar in the background of glee club practice (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*



*Figure 5.19. A depiction of Tajar, a tiger/badger hybrid, full of folly, who supposedly roams the forest around Merrie-Woode (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

The year 1939 saw the creation of the Captain's Program at Camp Merrie-Woode, which added a system of skill levels to the activities of canoeing, swimming, rowing, and sailing. Campers worked to pass all requirements within each level in order to eventually become a captain. The Captain's Program was created by Anne Otter Downs, a counselor at Merrie-Woode, who based the program on her experiences in the Vermont Aloha Foundation Camp's "Admirals of Aloha" program.<sup>233</sup> As the new head of the camp boating program in 1939, Downs instituted this experiment in an effort to remedy a disorganized waterfront and to mold campers into skilled, knowledgeable, proficient, honest, self-reliant, imaginative, persistent, and cooperative leaders.<sup>234</sup> Once campers had achieved the rank of captain, they partook in a ritual that symbolically bestowed them with the rank in the form of a captain's hat. This goal-oriented trend in programming eventually spread to other activity areas, including the "Horsemaster" program in horseback riding and the "King's Player Program" in theater, all of which are thriving today.

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<sup>233</sup> "Remembering Anne Otter Downs – Founder of the Merrie-Woode's Captain's Program," *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Spring 2011): 9, accessed January 20, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Newsletter-Spring2011.pdf>.

<sup>234</sup> Anne Otter Downs, "The Captain's Manual," 1940, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

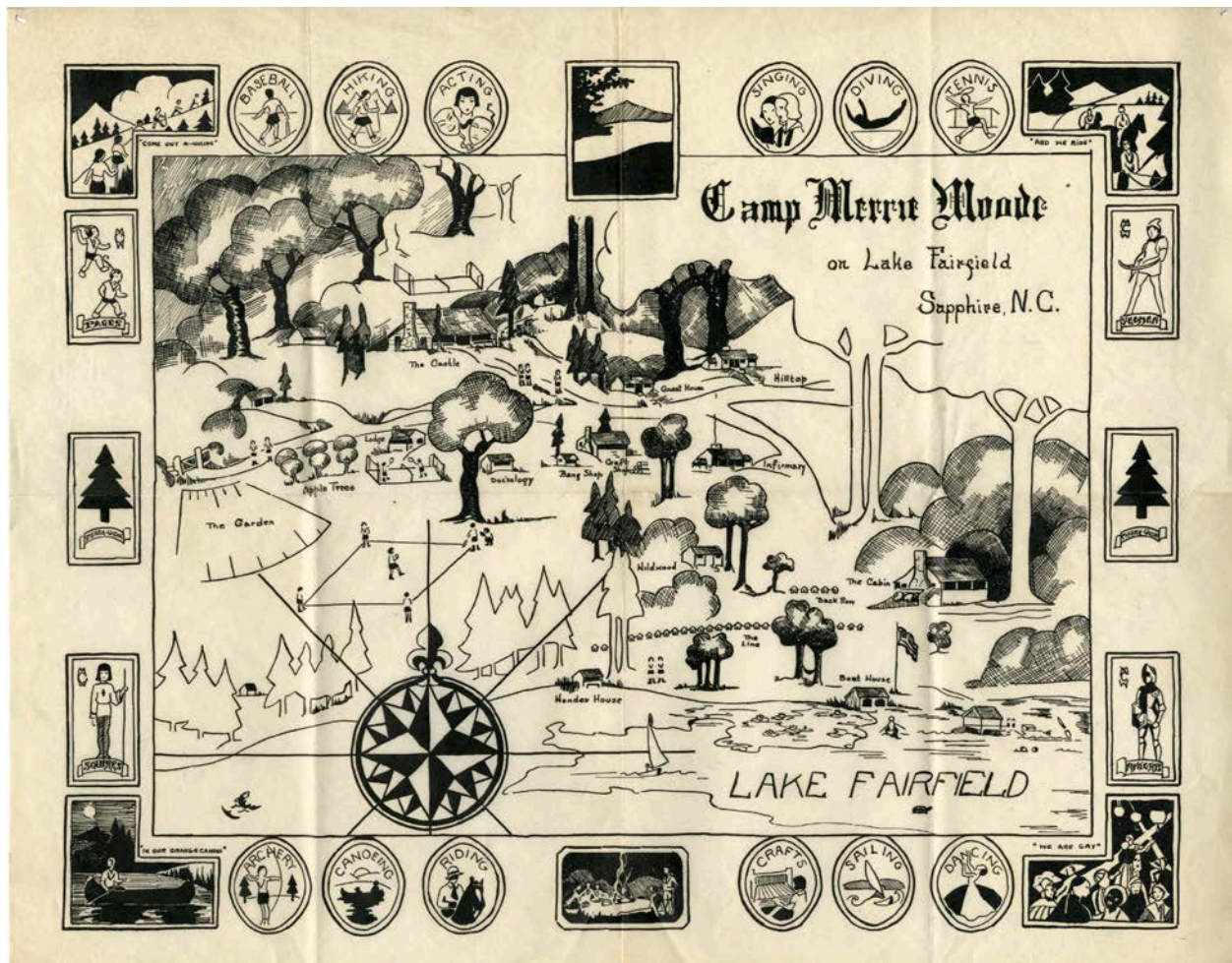


Figure 5.20. This undated map displays Camp Merrie-Woode during Dammie’s tenure. Because it includes the Wonder House, the Guest Lodge, and Castle, this map was created after 1925. The map does not show Tajar, which should be to the right of Hilltop. This does not mean, though, that Tajar did not yet exist. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)

Merrie-Woode Under the Direction of Dammie Day: World War II

The onset of World War II in the United States resulted in necessary changes and sometimes caused shortages at Camp Merrie-Woode. In order to provide adequate food for the camp population, campers were required to bring their ration stamps to be pooled with those of other campers to supplement the rations of the camp and allow campers proper nourishment.<sup>235</sup> Despite these changes, camp largely continued to offer girls the same activities and traditions as

<sup>235</sup> Senior Staff Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

the pre-war summers in the same Merrie-Woode setting that had served as a safe space for girls for twenty-two years.

Dammie Day and her campers' charitable actions became a defining feature of Camp Merrie-Woode during the war years. A 1942 camper documented one such action in her letters home, telling her family that the proceeds from the annual "Bazaar" at camp, during which campers sold their crafts along with other goods, went to the Chinese War Relief.<sup>236</sup> This instance of charity was not isolated, as the campers, at the suggestion of Dammie Day, canceled their normal "Christmas in July" activities, generally an important and anticipated event at camp when campers celebrated July 25th with a banquet of delicious food, a Christmas tree, and visit from Santa Claus. Instead, the campers agreed to send the money that would typically be spent on Christmas in July to Chinese relief efforts for war orphans (fig. 5.21). Dammie received thank-you letters from both Eleanor Roosevelt and First Lady of China, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Additional charitable gifts by Dammie and her campers included financial donations to a Hiroshima Girls' School and social services in Hiroshima following the city's annihilation by a U.S. atom bomb, financial donations to refugee children in Europe during the war, and contributions to a London Union camp after the war.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> "Letters from a Happy Camper," 1942, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>237</sup> Letters, receipts, and other documentation of these charitable activities are located in Camp Merrie-Woode Archives.

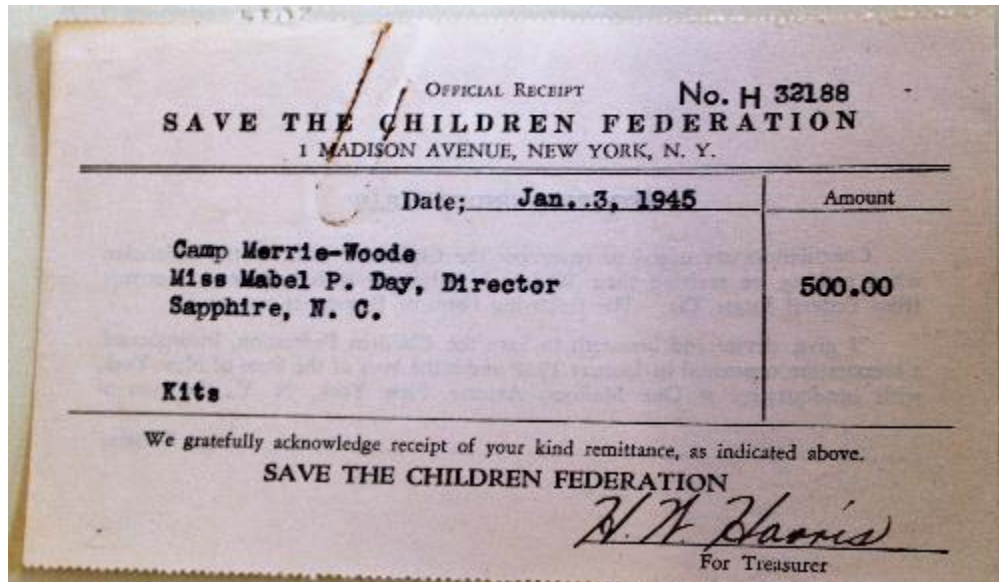


Figure 5.21. Photograph of Receipt for donation to the Save the Children Federation in 1945  
(Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)

In one letter, the camper who wrote about the Bazaar proceeds also wrote, “I haven’t listened to a radio or read a newspaper since I’ve been here. If we win the war or anything write and tell me.”<sup>238</sup> This passage implies that during wartime Merrie-Woode continued to act as a safe haven from the outside world. Although it is possible that the camp had implemented some sort of ban on technology and news during the war, it is also possible that campers actively shut out the news, opting instead to focus on the activities and traditions inside the sanctuary of their wilderness enclave.

Camp Merrie-Woode still felt the impacts of the war during the 1946 season. In a letter to parents regarding the upcoming summer, Dammie reported that there was a shortage in the pantry again. Nevertheless, Dammie wrote, “[...] but if we can’t have butter we are going to find ways of filling both stomachs and hearts with other good things, some of which are far more

<sup>238</sup> “Letters from a Happy Camper,” 1942.

lasting than ‘butter and bread.’”<sup>239</sup> In this letter, Dammie also reminded parents not to panic when children write that they are homesick, as new experiences require an adjustment period. She affirmed this sentiment saying, “She can only be free and self-reliant when she has learned to meet new people and new situations courageously and happily.”<sup>240</sup> Self-reliance, courage, and happiness were not only virtues that Dammie strove to instill in her campers around war time. They became mainstays of camp and still are recognized by campers today as values and skills they owe to Camp Merrie-Woode. In 1953, at age 70, and after 31 years of directing Camp Merrie-Woode, Dammie Day sold the camp property to Fritz Orr of Atlanta in order to retire.

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<sup>239</sup> Mabel “Dammie” Day, Correspondence to Camp Merrie-Woode parents with information for the upcoming 1946 season, May 10, 1946, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

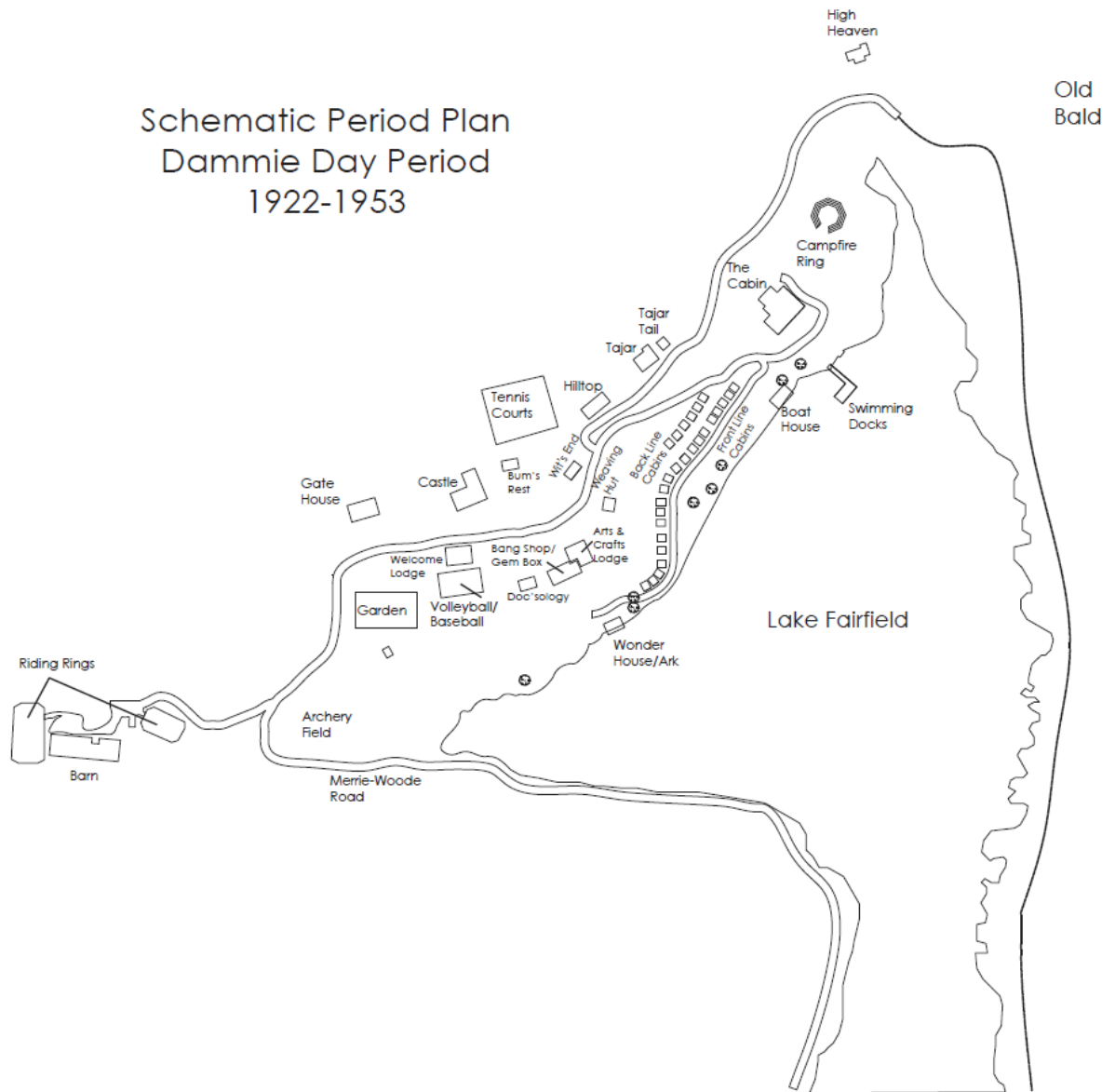


Figure 5.22. Period Plan of Dammie Day's Ownership (1922-1953) (Source: Created by Author based on Reed Hilderbrand Plan and Google Earth Aerial)

Mabel "Dammie" Day: After Camp Merrie-Woode

Although Dammie no longer directed Camp Merrie-Woode, her presence was still felt, not only through her legacy, but also through annual Christmas letters to the camp. One such

letter, dated 1967, reconfirmed Dammie’s inclinations of inclusivity and her desire to serve others:

I remember when Hickey, our wonderful head counsellor, fresh from graduation at Wellesley, brought to camp a question which her philosophy professor had posed: ‘Which would you rather be, a carefree spineless oyster on the sands of the ocean of time—or a thinking troubled person?’ We wrestled with the question all summer long in the areas of war--race--poverty--the responsibilities of an affluent society such as ours--and some of us will keep wrestling as long as we live, trying to learn God’s way for man.<sup>241</sup>

Quoting Thornton Wilder’s *The Eighth Day*, Dammie added that education “‘is the bridge man crosses from the self-centered—the self-favoring life into a consciousness of the whole community of mankind,’”<sup>242</sup> and characterized education as a “lifetime job.” Dammie may have struggled with the philosophy professor’s question, but the following passages imply that she and her staff very much strove to be “thinking troubled people,” not just settling for the status quo, but instead aiming to serve and better the lives of others. Dammie passed away in Claremont, California, on March 2nd, 1974, but her legacy continues to thrive at the camp she developed.<sup>243</sup>

## **Camp Merrie-Woode Under the Direction of the Orr Family**

### Fritz Orr Before Merrie-Woode

Just as Dammie’s experiences prior to her purchase of Camp Merrie-Woode influenced her camping philosophy and style of directing, Fritz Orr’s childhood and adult experiences contributed to his camping style. Born in Athens, Georgia, to locally-prominent architect Frederick Josephus Orr, Frederick “Fritz” William Orr graduated from the University of Georgia

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<sup>241</sup> Mabel “Dammie” Day, Correspondence to Camp Merrie-Woode, Christmas 1967-New Year 1968, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> Richard W. Day, Correspondence to “Friends of Dammie Day,” March 4, 1974, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.



and moved on to a lucrative career in camps and education in Atlanta. According to an article in *Atlanta History*, “‘Playing by the Rules of the Game:’ The Fritz Orr Clubs, Camps, and Schools, 1928-1964,” Orr’s parents subscribed to a new philosophy of child-centered, progressive education. The philosophy argued that children go through periods in their development of “individual interest, abilities, and ‘readiness,’” and that these periods are best nurtured when children are not confined to a classroom.<sup>244</sup> Additionally, this philosophy espoused of allowing children “to follow their own interests unhindered by adults,” in spiritual fulfillment and in the building of knowledge and skills.<sup>245</sup> Orr took this philosophy and the influence of his early involvement in the YMCA and its camps to his own educational enterprises.

After moving to Atlanta to teach math at the University School for Boys, Orr started leading a group of boys known as the “Our Gang Club” in after-school recreation. During this time, Orr met his wife Augusta, who was then attending Sweet Briar College. Orr met her when she picked up her younger brother from the club, and they married in 1931.<sup>246</sup> Two years later, although facing the difficult economic conditions of the Great Depression, Orr purchased land to develop the “Our Gang Club” into a more official institution: The Fritz Orr Club for Boys, which originally contained a large gymnasium and offered activities including football, baseball, wrestling, boxing, track, hiking, woodcraft, nature study, and rifle and archery practice. The Fritz Orr Club for Boys operated during the school year, allowing Orr and his wife to continue working at the Athens Y camp and Camp Mondamin in North Carolina during the summers. He leased Camp Tate for two summers from 1935 to 1937, during which he led campers on a fifty-mile trek along the Appalachian Trail, and a canoe trip down the Chattahoochee River.

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<sup>244</sup> Florence Corley, “‘Playing by the Rules of the Game:’ Fritz Orr Clubs, Camps, and Schools, 1928-1964,” *Atlanta History* XLIV, n. 1 (Spring 2000), 30-31.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

Following the birth of his daughter, Tinsley, in 1935, Fritz constructed a girl's gymnasium on the campsite. He added a nursery school and kindergarten to the campus following the birth of his second daughter, Polly, in 1937.<sup>247</sup> During the summer of 1939, the day camp became a full-blown residential camp for boys in addition to the coed day camp activities. Girls and boys enjoyed the activities of horseback riding, swimming, tumbling, handicrafts, rifle marksmanship, basketball, track, and canoeing, although the boys were exposed to the additional activities of hiking, football, boxing, and wrestling, while the girls had the added activities of dancing, and contests like marbles and top spinning.<sup>248</sup>

In 1951, Orr sold 100 acres of his property at a heavily discounted price in order to facilitate the creation of the Westminster Schools, of which he became a founding member of its Board of Trustees. He used the money from the sale of this acreage to purchase Camp Merrie-Woode. While the Orrs lived at Merrie-Woode during the summer, the Atlanta Fritz Orr Camp and Clubs continued to operate under delegated leadership until 1963 when a fire destroyed three buildings on its campus. Orr sold the remaining acreage to the Westminster Schools in 1964.<sup>249</sup>

#### Camp Merrie-Woode Under Fritz and Augusta Orr

Fritz Orr (fig. 5.23) purchased Camp Merrie-Woode in 1953, along with two parcels of land adding up to approximately 200 acres adjacent to the camp property. Although Orr's prior experience centered on directing boys' and coed camps and wilderness adventures, the original deed for Camp Merrie-Woode restricted the purpose of the camp property as an all-girls' camp or boarding school in perpetuity. Additionally, Dammie refused to sell to Orr unless he

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<sup>247</sup> Corley, "Playing by the Rules," 36.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 42-43.

promised to run the camp as a girls' camp.<sup>250</sup> Therefore, Orr found himself directing an all-girls' camp and brought his love for adventure programming, previously employed at his boys' camps, to Camp Merrie-Woode.



*Figure 5.23. Fritz and Augusta Orr (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

In 1954, one of the first seasons under the direction of the Orrs, Fritz wrote, “From its beginning thirty-five years ago, two main objectives have been forged into the life of Merrie-Woode: the growth of personality through happiness, satisfaction and responsibility and the creation of a community which works toward that end.”<sup>251</sup> Clearly Orr worked to preserve the goal of personal growth and sense of community, cooperation, and service that had been established under Dammie Day. He aimed to facilitate these objectives through activities and traditions that were similar to those enacted by Dammie. These included swimming, archery,

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<sup>250</sup> “90 Years of Merrie-Woode,” *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Spring 2008): 15, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Newsletter-Spring2008.pdf>.

<sup>251</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode Application, 1954, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

boating, sailing, riding, weaving, carving, craftsman modeling, fire-building, camp-making, cooking, camping out in the open, music, and acting. Additionally, Orr added riflery (fig. 5.24) to the camp program.<sup>252</sup> Under Orr, Hugh Caldwell, a professor of philosophy at Sewanee became head of tripcraft, overseeing an increased emphasis on adventure activities. During this period, Caldwell became intricately connected to Camp Merrie-Woode.



*Figure 5.24. Orr added riflery to Merrie-Woode (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

During the Orr period, several buildings and structures were added, including the big back line cabins Wynkyn, Blynkyn, Nod, Laurel, and Dogwood. Chapel, Gem Box, Camelot, and a boat house were constructed ca. 1960.<sup>253</sup> Additionally, some of the uses and names of buildings were changed. For example, the Wonder House, which had been used for nature instruction, became the Ark, which began to serve as a counselors-only lounge prior to the 1970s.<sup>254</sup> The activity schedule under the Orrs changed slightly as well (fig. 5.25). Fritz added

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<sup>252</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode Promotional Brochure, 1954, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>253</sup> Senior Staff Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017; Martin, "Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District," 7-14.

<sup>254</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode Promotional Brochure, ca. 1970s, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

more structure to the schedule, as he required campers to sign up for two activities in the morning and two in the afternoon.

**A TYPICAL DAY'S SCHEDULE:**

8:00	7:00	Reveille
9:30	8:00	Breakfast
10:30	9:00	Cabin inspection
11:45	9:15	Morning assembly at castle
<del>11:30-11:45</del>	<del>9:45-10:45</del>	First activity
<del>11:30-12:30</del>	<del>10:45-11:45</del>	Second activity
<del>12:30-1:30</del>	<del>11:45-12:45</del>	Free time
1:30	1:00	Lunch
<del>2:30-2:45</del>	<del>1:45</del>	Rest hour
<del>3:30-4:15</del>	<del>3:00-4:00</del>	Third activity
<del>4:15-5:15</del>	<del>4:00-5:00</del>	Fourth activity
<del>5:15-6:15</del>	<del>5:00-6:00</del>	Free time
6:30	6:00	Evening meal
<del>7:30-8:30</del>	<del>7:00-8:00</del>	Free time for boating, tennis, Badminton, etc.
<del>8:30-9:00</del>	<del>8:00-9:00</del>	Evening program
9:30	9:00	Prepare for bed
11:00	9:30	Taps

Figure 5.25. Schedule from the 1960s (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)

In 1968, Fritz Orr unexpectedly passed away due to a stroke. His son and daughter-in-law, Fritz Orr, Jr. and Dottie Orr, took over as owners and directors of Camp Merrie-Woode.<sup>255</sup> Fritz Orr, Jr. ran the camp in a manner similar to his parents. In a 2013 interview with Lindsay Garner Hostetler, Fritz and Dottie emphasized the importance of having goals built into activities. Dottie said, “Well, you didn’t realize you were growing by striving to accomplish something, and that’s why it’s so necessary, I think for the activities to have goals.”<sup>256</sup> Fritz responded by saying that campers often must stretch themselves mentally and physically in order

<sup>255</sup> Corley, “Playing by the Rules,” 44.

<sup>256</sup> Lindsay Garner Hostetler, “A Conversation with Fritz and Dottie Orr,” Audiovisual File on Vimeo, February 2013, accessed January 21, 2017, <https://vimeo.com/142913633>.

to accomplish certain goals in the Captain's program, riding program, and hiking, for example, but that they have a community to support them even if they fail.<sup>257</sup>

Also in this interview, Fritz addressed how Merrie-Woode provided young girls and women with opportunities to cultivate a love for, and skills with which to live in, the outdoors without the pressures from society to stay in the domestic sphere. Fritz then broke out into a rendition of a song from his day as director when the campers would proudly proclaim to be "great big hairy-chested girls." The significance placed on the ideals of physical and mental growth through skill-based education, especially for women, and the community to support that growth was on par with the objectives of Merrie-Woode under Dammie Day.



*Figure 5.26. Fritz Orr, Jr. and Dottie Orr at Camp Merrie-Woode (Source: <http://www.merriewoode.com/2015/10/merrie-woode-remembers-mr-fritz-orr-jr/>)*

In 1978 Fritz Orr, Jr., and his wife Dottie (fig. 5.26), faced with the economic downturn of the 1970s and a subsequent decline in enrollment, decided to retire and sell the Merrie-Woode

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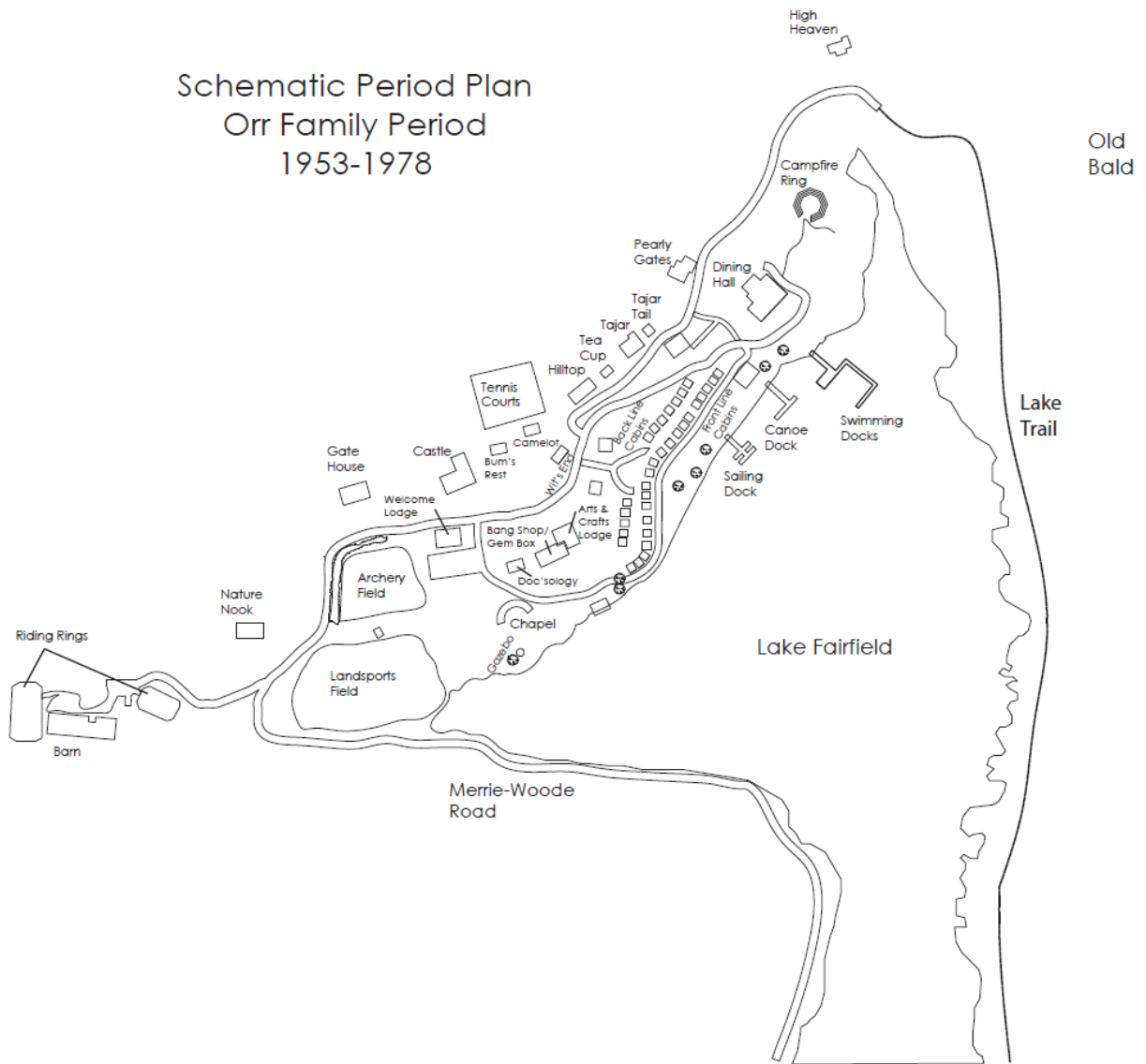
<sup>257</sup> Hostetler, "A Conversation with Fritz and Dottie Orr."

property.<sup>258</sup> Merrie-Woode alumnae, however, were not content with the uncertain future of the camp and therefore joined together under the direction of Hugh Caldwell to eventually form the non-profit Merrie-Woode Foundation Inc. This organization would be operated by a board of trustees, and camp operations would be overseen by an executive director. With funds from other camp alumnae and a discounted price from the Orrs, who were more interested in preserving the camp than selling to developers, the Merrie-Woode Foundation was able to lease-to-own the Merrie-Woode property. With this lease-to-own option, the Merrie-Woode Foundation was able to keep the camp open for a six week session in 1979. Eight years later, the foundation was able to fully purchase the property, consisting of the 58.04-acre parcel that Fritz Orr, Sr. purchased from Dammie Day and the 145.26-acre parcel he purchased from Tatem Properties in 1953, for \$600,000. The Merrie-Woode Foundation has owned the camp ever since.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> “Revisiting Merrie-Woode With the Orrs,” *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Spring 2013): 10, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/CMW-Spring-2013-Newsletter-TO-PRINT-CMYK.pdf>

<sup>259</sup> “In the Beginning: The Merrie-Woode Foundation,” *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Fall 2015): 1-2, accessed December 10, 2016, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/CMW-2015-Fall-Newsletter-Final.pdf>.



*Figure 5.27. Period Plan of The Orr Family's Ownership (1953-1978) (Source: Created by Author based on Reed Hilderbrand Plan and Google Earth Aerial)*

### **Camp Merrie-Woode Under the Merrie-Woode Foundation Inc.**

During the summer of 1979, Hugh Caldwell became the Executive Director of Camp Merrie-Woode. This provided some continuity in the camp's transition to non-profit ownership. Caldwell, who had served as head of tripcraft and assistant director under the Orrs, was born in Atlanta in 1933, received a master's degree in physics from Emory University, a Ph.D. in



philosophy from the University of Virginia, and served as the chair of the Philosophy Department at Sewanee from 1968 to 1978. He was also an avid canoeist and brought his love for boating to Camp Merrie-Woode, bolstering the boating program so much that at least one of his campers was asked to train for the Junior Olympics.<sup>260</sup> During Caldwell's first summer as director at Merrie-Woode in 1979, there was a shortened six-week session as the camp tried to adjust from the change in ownership. In 1980, a three-week session was added.<sup>261</sup>

Caldwell's experience as head of tripcraft and his life as an avid boater was reflected in many of the activities offered during his tenure, including rock climbing and boat building.<sup>262</sup> One alumna who attended camp during the 1970s fondly recalled helping her friends construct fiberglass kayaks once they had reached the level of captain (figs. 5.29 and 5.30).<sup>263</sup> Under Caldwell, tumbling, musical instruction, badminton, photography, and ballet were included in program offerings. This wide variety of activities suggests that Caldwell was interested in supporting a well-rounded curriculum, providing a comprehensive education and skill-building experience for the Merrie-Woode community. In terms of the built environment, figure 5.28 shows the camp landscape as it existed around 1979. Pearly Gates and the Caretaker's House, now known as the Gate House, had been constructed by this point. The dock footprints in this iteration of the landscape are the same footprints as the current maps. Additionally, a Nature Nook had been built by this time, and an area had been dedicated for land sports and archery. Wit's End served as the home of the Head Counselor, and Hilltop, Teacup, and Tajar's Tail served as counselor residences (fig. 5.28).

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<sup>260</sup> Martin, "Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District," 22; Alumna 1, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>261</sup> Martin, "Camp Merrie-Woode Historic District," 23.

<sup>262</sup> Promotional Brochure, ca. 1970s, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

<sup>263</sup> Alumna 1, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

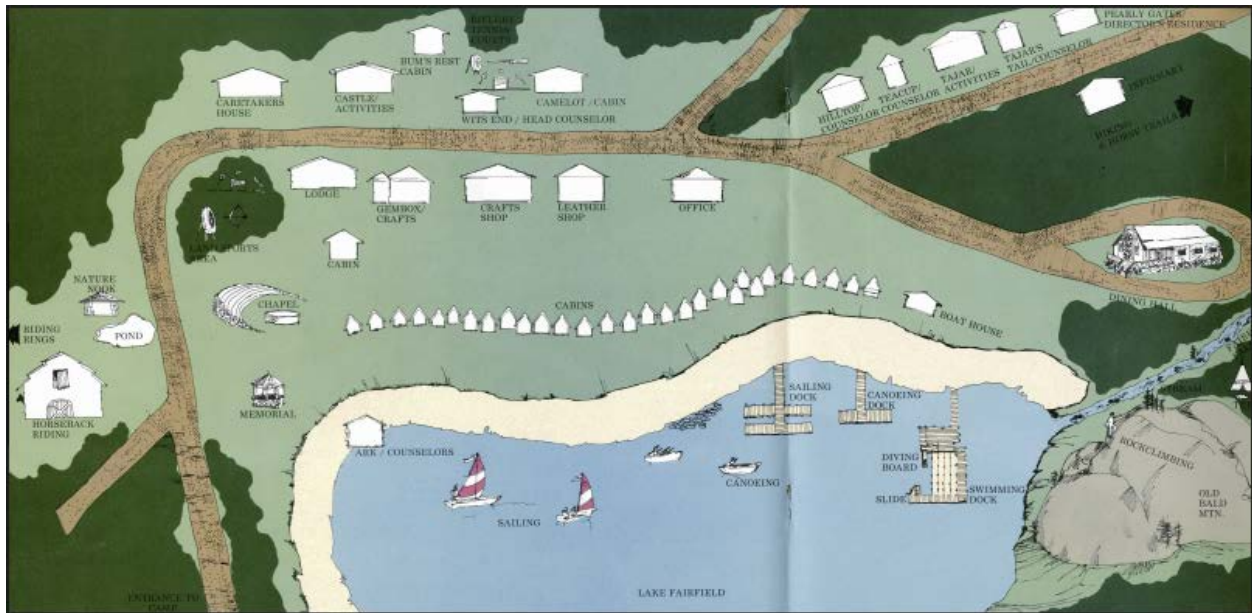


Figure 5.28. Map of Camp Merrie-Woode ca. 1979 (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)



Figure 5.29 and 5.30: Images of campers boat building and whitewater canoeing, c. 1979 promotional brochure, CMW archives.

Caldwell worked as executive director of Merrie-Woode until 1986, when Art and Carolyn Kramer took over. The Kramers remained at Merrie-Woode until 1990 when Laurie Strayhorn, a Merrie-Woode alumna, and her husband Gordon Strayhorn, became the directors.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>264</sup> "Mission and History," Camp Merrie-Woode. Accessed January 15, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/about-us/mission-history/>.

Throughout this period, new buildings were built the landscape. Two new hill cabins, Briar Patch (ca. 1989) and Buckingham Palace (ca. 1990), added room for more campers. Two more modern bathhouses, Long John and Big Dipper (both ca. 1992), were constructed behind the east and west front and back line cabins. A new indoor activities center with a basketball court, climbing wall, and space for tumbling, called King Arthur's Court, was constructed for the 1992 season, and a reconstructed Program Office was completed ca. 2000 (fig. 5.31).<sup>265</sup> During the Strayhorn's tenure in 1995, Camp Merrie-Woode was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a district under criteria A and C for the camp's association with the American Camping Movement and its Adirondack style architecture. This initiative on the part of the Strayhorns to pursue national register status displays their interest in historic preservation.



*Figure 5.31. Map of Merrie-Woode in the 2000s shows a more populated camp landscape, but with generally uniform architecture (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

The formation of the Merrie-Woode Foundation, Inc. and its subsequent purchase of the camp ensured that the approximately 200-acre property would remain the home of Camp Merrie-

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<sup>265</sup> Senior Staff 1, 2, 3, 4, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

Woode, as it had been for most of its history. During the 1990s, however, the foundation began a more aggressive, proactive campaign to acquire the lands surrounding the camp in order to preserve not only the camp itself but also the secluded setting that many campers and alumnae considered a defining feature. This campaign, called “A Place of Rarest Beauty – The Final Piece” began during the 1990s by alumnae and board member Liz Irwin when development threatened to encroach on the relative isolation of Camp Merrie-Woode.<sup>266</sup>

The campaign began with the purchase of approximately 33 acres of adjacent land south of the original Merrie-Woode property from 1997 to 1999. In 2000, the foundation purchased the old Fairfield Inn site, which was intricately tied to the history of the camp and which encompassed about 17 acres. After the purchase of a small parcel on Merrie-Woode Road in 2001, the foundation learned that the land across the lake from Merrie-Woode was slotted for condominium development. Because this development would certainly impact the integrity of the camp’s setting, the campaign used previously-raised funds for a down payment on the approximately 100-acres of land and raised the other half of the funds through another alumnae campaign. The most recent acquisition was a 35-acre parcel of land adjacent to the northern boundary of the camp property that had a conservation easement on it at the time of purchase.<sup>267</sup>

Denice and Jim Dunn became executive directors in 2002. Denice, who had previously been an engineer, served as Merrie-Woode’s Development Director under the Strayhorns from 1999 until 2002, after Jim had moved the family to Cashiers, North Carolina to become the

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<sup>266</sup> “A Place of Rarest Beauty – The Final Piece Campaign,” *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Fall 2013): 19-20, accessed December 10, 2016, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/CMW-2013-Fall-Newsletter.pdf>.

<sup>267</sup> Jackson County Property Map Viewer, Jackson County Tax Collector, <http://maps.jacksonnc.org/gomapsags/#>; “Continuing a History of Conservation,” *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Fall 2014): 1, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/8148CMW-2014-Fall-Newsletter-Downsized.pdf>.

Director of the Summit Charter School.<sup>268</sup> Under Jim and Denice, Merrie-Woode has continued to preserve its historic character, while improving programming, facilities, and traditions for a growing population. In an effort to gauge campers' needs and desires as well as those of staff, Jim and Denice have begun to send out surveys to find out what programming works well and what does not.<sup>269</sup> This camper-centric approach to recreation at Merrie-Woode is similar to that espoused by the Orrs.

The traditions of Merrie-Woode have largely been retained over the years. Campers are still grouped by age into Pages, Yeomen, Squires, and Knights, and still perform "Follow the Gleam," the reenactment of the quest for the Holy Grail by the Knights of the Round Table, although a first act has been added to accommodate campers who may not have learned about the sword in the stone. Additionally, Tajar tales are still told to campers, and the Tajar himself remains a mainstay in the mythology of the camp landscape. After interviewing several alumnae, former board members, and Merrie-Woode staff, the only noticeable tradition that has changed is "Indian Campfire." Begun during Hugh's time at Merrie-Woode during the 1970s and 1980s, "Indian Campfire" consisted of the oldest campers donning headdresses, face paint, and burlap sacks while rushing into one of the last campfires of the session to sing a Native American-sounding chant. Following campfire, these campers would run after the rest of the campers. After it was pointed out several times that this practice can be perceived as culturally insensitive and inconsistent with camp traditions, Indian Campfire was discontinued. Additionally, unofficial hazing had become a part of the boating program, and it too was identified as inconsistent with the camp mission and ended in 2000. Campers continue to

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<sup>268</sup> "Meet the Directors," Camp Merrie-Woode, accessed January 21, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/about-us/meet-the-directors/>.

<sup>269</sup> Senior Staff 3, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017; Senior Staff 4, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

observe several of the rituals remain in the boating program, however. Jim and Denice, with the help of senior staff, including Betsy Reese Helms, Associate Director, and Lindsay Garner Hostetler, Media Coordinator and Performing Arts Director who created the King's Player program in performing arts, have worked to create a well-rounded camp program. This well-rounded program consists of many program areas that are goal-oriented and well-represented, making campers feel accomplished in several areas.<sup>270</sup>

Another change implemented under the Dunns was the institution of an “unplugged” policy at camp. This policy restricts campers and counselors from having any form of electronic technology during their time at camp, although counselors are allowed to pick up phones from the Program Office for use during their days off. Each cabin has an iPod that is loaded before each session so that campers can have music in cabins and in program areas. The unplugged policy has allowed campers to focus on the world around them while at camp, instead of staring at their phones all day, thus accomplishing Dammie Day's goal of immersing campers in the natural world and fostering an appreciation of nature.<sup>271</sup>

Camp Merrie-Woode currently serves 280 campers and staff during three-week, five-week, and two-week sessions, a large increase from the original number of campers, which typically numbered 100 or fewer.<sup>272</sup> The increasing population of the camp has necessitated alterations, additions, and reconstructions of several of the camp's buildings. Castle, one of camp's original buildings built for 75 girls, is one such building (fig. 5.33). This need was exacerbated by the deterioration of the original building. Additionally, updated building codes and safety regulations have required reconstructions and renovations. The entire front and back

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<sup>270</sup> Senior Staff Members 1, 2, 3, 4, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.; Former Board Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>272</sup> “Centennial Campaign – Renew for Our Future,” *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Fall 2016): 11, accessed February 10, 2017, <http://www.merriwoode.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CMW-2016-Fall-Newsletter.pdf>.

cabin lines were reconstructed during the 2000s, along with Doc'sology, Camelot, and Bum's Rest. The cabin of Avalon, once located behind Castle and King Arthur's Court, was reconstructed in an area just below Doc'sology, and the building that once housed the cabin has turned into a non-cabin staff residence in 2010.<sup>273</sup> Most camp buildings have had siding replaced, or have been completely reconstructed. Tajar is additionally slated for rehabilitation.<sup>274</sup>

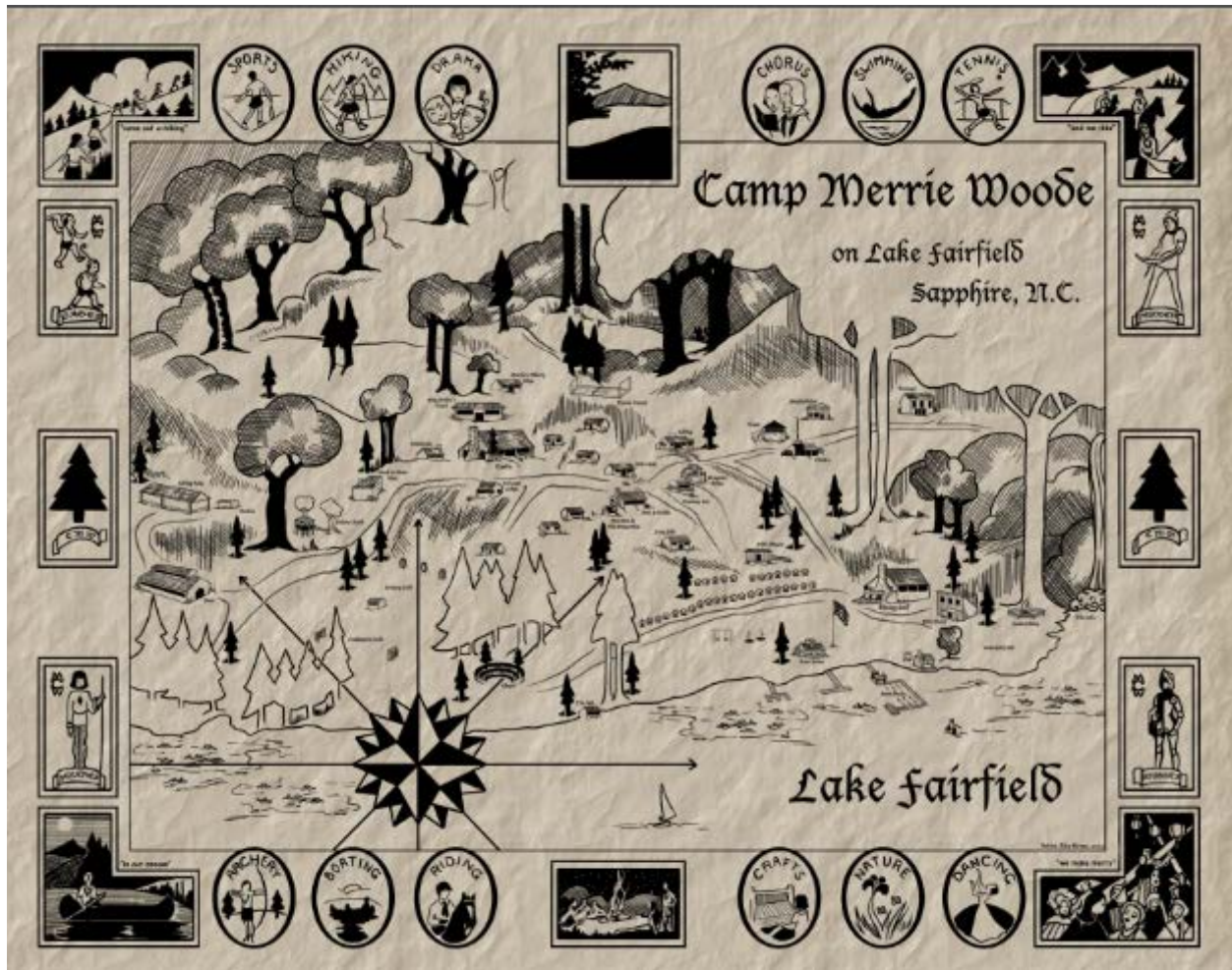


Figure 5.32: Current Map of Camp Merrie-Woode based on earlier map, by Alex Green, (Source CMW Website, <http://www.merriewoode.com/about-us/camp-map/>)

<sup>273</sup> "If you build it...campers will come!" *Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter* (Spring 2010): 8, accessed February 10, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Newsletter-Spring2010.pdf>

<sup>274</sup> "Centennial Campaign," 11.



*Figure 5.33: A rendering of the new Castle with attached woodshop on the rear (Source: Fall 2016 CMW Newsletter)*

### **Conclusion**

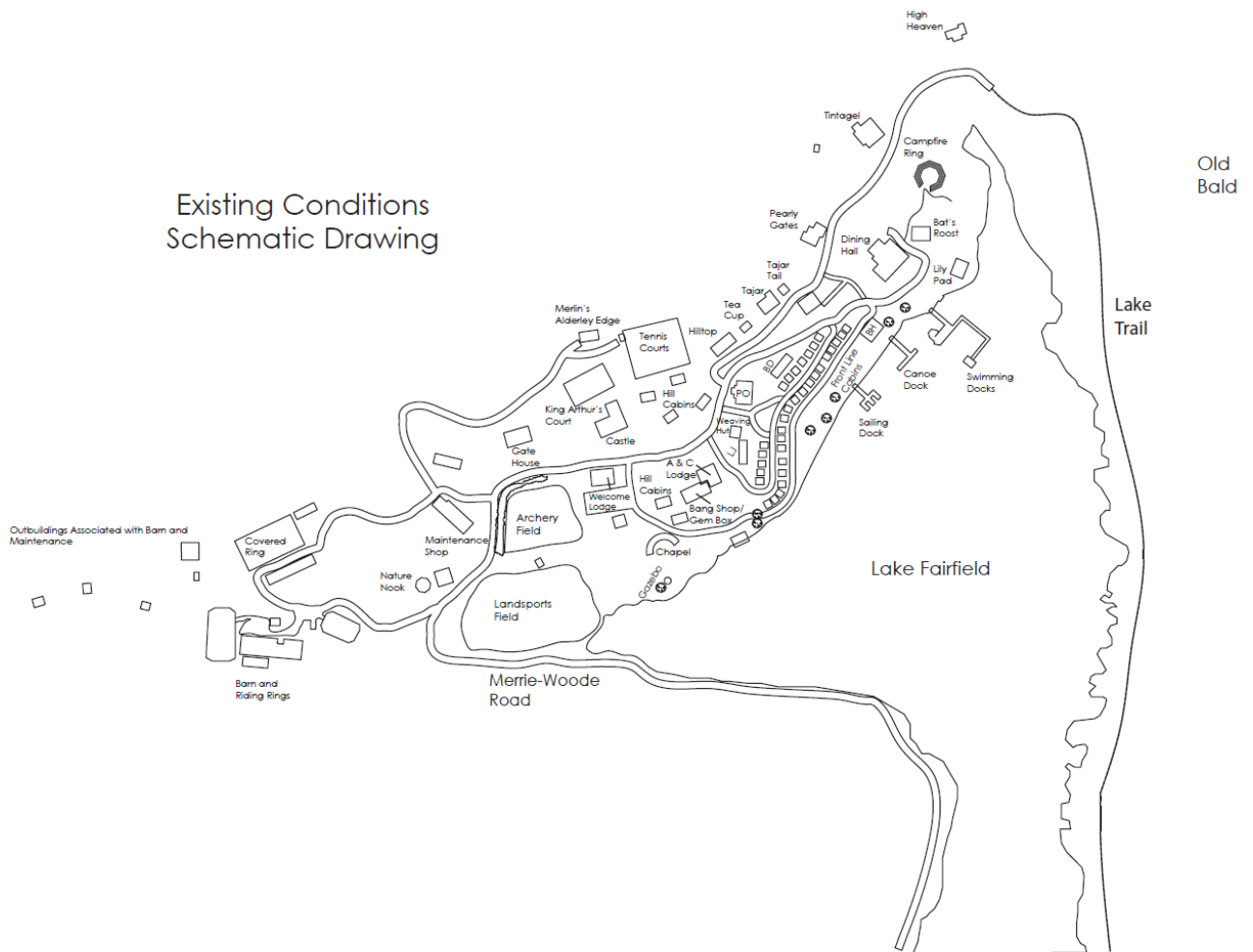
Camp Merrie-Woode has weathered many societal shifts and changes in the organized camping industry throughout its nearly one-hundred year history. While many of the buildings have been reconstructed, which will be documented further in the following existing conditions section, the character of the camp as a whole has largely remained intact. Merrie-Woode's directors and staff have continually ensured that Merrie-Woode's architectural style, layout, activities, and traditions have been preserved in correspondence with the camp's history and its mission.



## CHAPTER 6

### EXISTING CONDITIONS

This chapter builds on the previous chapter by documenting the existing conditions (fig. 6.1) of Camp Merrie-Woode. Following the National Park Service's *Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports*, this section provides an overview of several landscape characteristics including natural systems and features, topography, constructed water features, spatial organization, circulation, cluster arrangement, buildings and structures, small-scale features, views and vistas, vegetation, land use, and cultural traditions.



*Figure 6.1: Schematic Drawing of Existing Conditions, created by author (Source: based on Reed-Hilderbrand drawings and Google Earth Aerial)*

## Natural Systems and Features

Camp Merrie-Woode occupies a site that is 3,250 feet above sea level and is located in the Blue Ridge Province of the Appalachian Mountains. The geological processes that formed the Blue Ridge province and subsequent erosion have created the steep wooded slopes, bare granite faces, and round peaks that characterize the mountains, and which frame the camp landscape. Three mountains, Bald Rock Mountain, Cowrock Mountain, and Little Bald Rock Mountain (fig. 4.3), border the main 44 acres of the Camp Merrie-Woode campus. Most prominently featured, Bald Rock Mountain, known to campers as “Old Bald,” rises

approximately 1,000 feet above Lake Fairfield, and can be seen from most points inside the camp. Old Bald is situated on the northeastern side of Lake Fairfield, while Cowrock Mountain forms the western slope on which most of the camp landscape is located, and Little Bald Rock Mountain is located to the southeast across Lake Fairfield. Portions of each mountain are currently within the boundaries of the property owned by the Merrie-Woode Foundation (figs. 1.1 and 6.2).

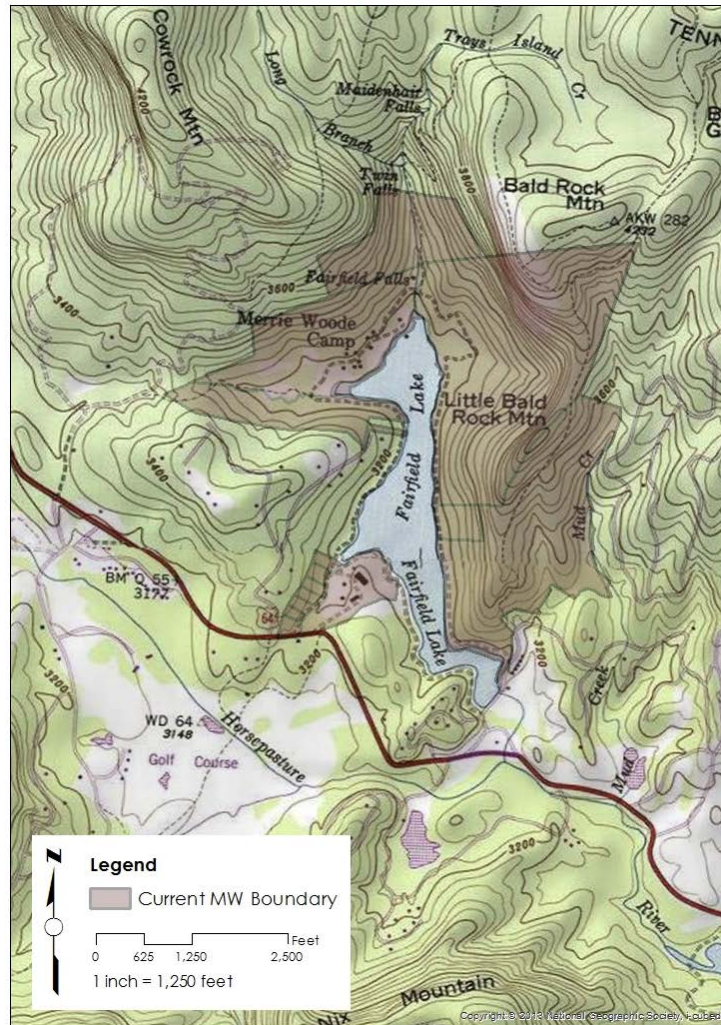


Figure 6.2. 2013 Topographical Map of Camp Merrie-Woode in the Sapphire Valley (Source: USGS, ArcGIS, and the National Geographic Society)

The stark changes in topography have resulted in a diversity of plant communities throughout the camp landscape. Additionally, the temperate climate coupled with the abundant,

yet variable rainfall has led to the designation of the area as a temperate rainforest.<sup>275</sup> The plant communities present on the Merrie-Woode landscape include chestnut oak forest, pine-oak-heath, and montane oak hickory forest.<sup>276</sup> Aside from areas inside the main camp landscape that have been cleared of vegetation for roads, buildings, and activity areas, the majority of the land owned by the Merrie-Woode Foundation consists of heavily-forested slopes. The most prevalent vegetation throughout the camp landscape includes white pines, hemlocks, hickory, rhododendrons, mountain laurel, and chestnut oaks. Vegetation is described in more detail under the vegetation subheading.

Camp Merrie-Woode is located in the watershed of the Horsepasture River, whose tributaries, Long Branch and Tray's Island Creek, flow into the artificial Lake Fairfield via Fairfield Falls (fig. 4.4). One of the original purposes of Camp Merrie-Woode was the immersion of children into the natural world. Therefore, the natural features embodied in the larger camp landscape, including the topography, vegetation, and hydrology are essential to the camp's philosophy.

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<sup>275</sup> Timothy Spira, *Wildflowers & Plant Communities of the Southern Appalachian Mountains & Piedmont* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 9.

<sup>276</sup> J. Dan Pitillo, *Natural Areas Inventory for Jackson County, North Carolina, A Report to the Conservation Trust for North Carolina, Jackson County Department of Planning and Development, State of North Carolina Natural Heritage Program* (Raleigh: Conservation Trust for North Carolina, 1994), 13-16.



*Figure 6.3. View of Camp Merrie-Woode from the camp road. Note Lake Fairfield, the convergence of Old Bald and Cow Rock Mountains in the middle, and the deciduous and evergreen trees (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.4. Fairfield Falls (Source: Author)*

## **Topography**

As mentioned in the previous section, three mountains surround and define the Camp Merrie-Woode landscape. Merrie-Woode is located in the valley created by the convergence of Bald Rock Mountain (“Old Bald”) and Cowrock Mountain, which lends to the sloping topography of the landscape. The shoreline of Lake Fairfield is the flattest part of the landscape. From the shoreline, the landscape slopes up towards the three surrounding mountains.

As the camp was created and expanded at the base of Cowrock Mountain, most of the buildings are located on a slope that flattens out as it nears Lake Fairfield. This slope has necessitated the terracing of the landscape to facilitate the construction of buildings like Castle and Hilltop. Camp Merrie-Woode’s topography is a character-defining feature that has made its way into the names of clusters of buildings, like the “hill cabins,” and individual buildings, like Hilltop.

## **Constructed Water Features**

Another character-defining feature of Camp Merrie-Woode is Lake Fairfield, an artificial lake constructed circa 1896. Fed by Long Branch and Trays Island Creek, the lake is dammed at its southern end, and encompasses approximately four miles of shoreline. During the summer, water lilies proliferate along the lake’s shoreline. Lake Fairfield is the center for all of the waterfront activities, including swimming, sailing, canoeing, and kayaking, and in front of the cabin lines, it serves as the setting for several activities, such as tetherball.

## **Spatial Organization**

The spatial organization of the buildings on Merrie-Woode's campus largely responds to the landscape's topography and natural features. All campers live in cabins during the summer, and the cabins are organized into four groups: the front line cabins, little back line cabins, big back line cabins, and hill cabins. Most of the cabins are located in the front and back lines. They are, as their names suggest, arranged in two lines that mostly parallel the shoreline of Lake Fairfield. The front and little back lines house the youngest two age groups, pages and yeoman, while the big back line houses the squires. Although not arranged in an exact replica of the military layout with a parade ground that was common at many early twentieth-century camps, the organization of the front and back line cabins is more reminiscent of that style than of the more picturesque unit plan. All of the cabins are oriented towards the shoreline, giving them a view of Bald Rock Mountain, which is affectionately known to campers as "Old Bald." Both the front line and back line cabins are situated on relatively flat terrain, although the back line cabins are on higher ground than the front.

The other buildings are placed more informally in the camp landscape. As their name suggests, the hill cabins, which are larger than the front and back line cabins, and which house the oldest age group, the knights, populate the sloping hillside that is cut through by the camp road. This hillside also provides the siting for several other camp buildings, including the crafts buildings, the program office, the main office, and Castle, which acts as the symbolic heart of the camp.

Moving southward down the camp road from the central location anchored by Castle, the crafts buildings, and the offices, the landscape becomes more sparsely populated, due in part to the large archery and land sports fields that occupy the area south of the road. The nature of the

other activities located on this portion of the camp landscape also necessitate more surrounding space than other camp buildings. The barn, for example, which is located west of the stone gate that serves as an entrance to the main campus, needs space for riding rings and paddocks for the horses.



*Figure 6.5: This oblique aerial image taken from Old Bald during the winter with less tree cover gives a rough idea of the spatial organization of Camp Merrie-Woode (Source: Author)*

## **Circulation**

The most prominent circulation feature on the camp landscape is Merrie-Woode Road (figs. 6.6 and 6.7), which has run through camp since its beginning, but has expanded as new buildings have been added. It begins at Highway 64, cuts through the sloping terrain of camp below Castle, and forks with the higher portion ending at the top of waterfall. Overall, the road has a branching structure, with the main portion running from north-south from Highway 64 up



to the waterfall. The various branches connect activity areas, cabins, service buildings, and the residences of senior staff and non-cabin staff. In general, the Merrie-Woode Road is curvilinear, and approximately fifteen feet wide with a gravel roadbed and surface. Its narrow width and natural materials make the road relatively unobtrusive, and it is generally more highly-trafficked by pedestrians than cars. Over time, erosion has necessitated the construction of stone retaining walls and drainage ditches alongside many portions of the Merrie-Woode Road that intersect slopes.

After servicing several dwellings at the top of the hill, the Camp Merrie-Woode Road ends at the waterfall. A trail known as the Lake Trail continues over the waterfall and around Lake Fairfield. The Lake Trail serves both campers on foot and campers on horseback. Once the Lake Trail travels over the waterfall and meets back up with Lake Fairfield, it follows the shoreline of the lake closely until it traverses over the old Fairfield Inn site, now owned by Merrie-Woode, and meets back up with the Merrie-Woode Road. Besides the main road and Lake Trail, there are various trails between buildings and activity areas, some planned and some created as desire lines (fig. 6.9). Many of these trails—like those leading to Castle, the Dining Hall, and the Infirmary—are constructed of stone, while others are edged with timber frames and filled with mulch (figs. 6.8 and 6.10). The trail to Castle and the Dining Hall has been constructed of stone since around the 1940s and 1950s.



*Figures 6.6 and 6.7: Views of the Merrie-Woode Road, (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.8: Stone-paved trail to the Infirmary (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.9. Informal trail to the Campfire Ring (Source: Author)*



*Figures 6.10: View of mulch-filled and stone stairs down to cabin lines (Source: Author)*

### **Cluster Arrangement**

The cluster arrangement on the Camp Merrie-Woode landscape is mostly dictated by land use and the contours of the land. The most recognizable cluster of buildings on the camp landscape is that of the front and back line cabins that house the youngest three age groups. This cluster arrangement allows for more control and security, as the cabins are close together and thus under the watch of more counselors. The hill cabins are less clustered together, but they still share the same sloping landscape, providing a common theme among the buildings and linking them together. There are two clusters of hill cabins: those below the Merrie-Woode Road, including Doc'solgy, Avalon, and Briar Patch, which house the younger Knight campers; and those above the road, including Buckingham Palace, Camelot, and Bum's Rest, which house the oldest campers. Activity areas are generally clustered together. Most of the activity buildings involve crafts—the Weaving Hut, Bang Shop, and Arts and Crafts Lodge—located in

the same area, on the southern side of the road. Additionally, land sports, archery, and the volleyball field are close to each other. In general, the cluster arrangement follows the land use patterns mentioned above, and is typically defined by the kind of topography and landscape features that are most suitable for each activity or utility.

## **Buildings and Structures**

The Merrie-Woode landscape encompasses over seventy buildings and structures. Most of Merrie-Woode's buildings have been reconstructed since their original construction. Nevertheless, those that have been reconstructed have occupied the same footprint and orientation as the originals. Additionally, all reconstructions have been sensitive to the camp's Adirondack-style character and have replicated the style and form of the original buildings. Character-defining features of the buildings and structures of Merrie-Woode include bark or board-and-batten siding, exposed rafters, stone chimneys and other features, green trim, and gable roofs. Below is a physical description of Merrie-Woode's buildings and structures, accompanied by photographs.

### Castle (Original Construction ca. 1925; Reconstruction underway in 2017)

Castle, also referred to as Castle on the Hill, was one of Camp Merrie-Woode's earliest buildings. Home to morning announcements and devotionals, the drama program, other activities, and several evening programs, Castle has become a symbolic center of the camp. Castle is currently being reconstructed to accommodate an expansion of the population of Camp Merrie-Woode over the years and an expanded drama program, which will be aided by an adjacent woodshop. The bones of the structure have been erected and from the road, Castle appears to be similar to its predecessor in its profile, although it is larger because of the purpose

of its reconstruction. The roofline of the original Castle, with two different pitches, has been replicated as well as the porch and stone chimney. King Arthur's Court, which served as the camp's gym with a basketball court, climbing wall, and gymnastics mats, originally built in the 1990s, is being reconstructed along with Castle.



*Figure 6.11: Castle reconstruction in progress (Source: Author)*

Dining Hall (also known as the Cabin; originally constructed ca. 1920 with additions ca. 1970, 1993, and 2015)

The Dining Hall is one of Camp Merrie-Woode's original buildings (ca. 1920). Around 1970, the porch was enclosed to provide more space for inside dining. In 1993, a kitchen and non-cabin staff housing were added to the rear of the building, and an extension was added to the front façade in 2015 to once again accommodate an expanding population. Despite these additions, the Dining Hall still maintains its historic character. Located near the waterfront, the Dining Hall is a long rectangular building constructed in the Adirondack style. It is a one-story, side gable building sided with split logs on the first story and bark siding beneath each gable. The two-pitched roof of the building is clad in replacement asphalt shingles. The 2015 extension is located on the western façade and encloses a large, stone chimney. The southern facade is composed of the main entry, along with the circa 1970 enclosed porch. The porch enclosure is

supported by log posts and contains large picture windows. The eastern facade is mostly composed of the 1993 addition on the north side, which is a two-story board-and-batten structure that houses kitchen and non-cabin staff. The interior is largely composed of one large room with the attached enclosed porches. There are several rustic elements including a round pole truss system, and milled vertical boards sheathing the walls.



*Figure 6.12. Southern facade of Dining Hall facing the waterfront (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.13. Western facade of Dining Hall, note the split log addition with shed roof that wraps around the chimney, (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.14 and 6.15. Interior of Dining Hall and rear with attached two-story housing and kitchen (Source: Author)*

### Tajar (ca. Late 1930s)

Tajar is one of the oldest extant buildings at Camp Merrie-Woode. Constructed during the 1930s, the two-story building functioned as an indoor activity space on the first floor and a library on the second floor. Tajar is a two-story, board-and-batten building with a front-gabled roof and two shed dormers extending from either side. The building is evocative of a Swiss chalet, with its exposed rafter tails, wide eaves, and brackets. Its most defining feature is a group of brightly-painted wooden figures that adorn the second story balcony railing and space above the first-story windows on the front, southern facade. These figures are meant to represent people from a variety of cultures. The second floor serves as the camp library, which can be entered on a second-floor walkway near a large stone chimney on the rear of the building. The library is a single, large, wood plank-sheathed room, which receives a good amount of light due to the windows in the shed dormers and under the front gable.



*Figure 6.16. View of southwestern corner of Tajar (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.17. View of southeastern corner of Tajar (Source: Author)*





*Figure 6.18 and 6.19. Entrance to library and stone chimney on left, close-up of wooden figures right (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.20. Interior of Tajar library (Source: Author)*

### Welcome Lodge (ca. 1925)

The Welcome Lodge is another of the camp's earliest buildings (ca. 1925), although it has been renovated over the years. It currently serves as non-cabin staff housing. Like Castle and the Dining Hall, the Welcome Lodge has a side-gabled, double-pitched roof, with replacement asphalt shingles. It is a one-story building, constructed in the same rustic Adirondack style as most of the camp buildings, with bark shingle siding, a stone chimney on the western facade, casement windows, and a porch spanning the front, northern facade with log

piers and railings. The bark shingles and log posts are most likely not original, but the profile of the building remains the same.



*Figure 6.21. View of Welcome Lodge from Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.22. Rear/Southern side of Welcome Lodge (Source: Author)*

Arts and Crafts Lodge (Original Construction, ca. 1928; Renovation in 2014)

The Arts and Crafts Lodge, originally constructed c. 1928, was renovated in 2014 making it plumb and square, and replacing the old siding with new poplar bark siding, paint, new gutters,

and a new roof. The Arts and Crafts Lodge is a nearly symmetrical, side-gabled building with a gabled-porch over the central entrance, which is flanked on either side by two adjacent six-over-six double-hung sash windows. There is a stone chimney on the western facade, and rustic features adorn the building in the familiar forms of bark shingles, log posts, and a stone chimney. Because the building is located on a slope, the partial basement of the building serves as the ceramics studio, with an open porch above where campers can work outside.



*Figure 6.23 and 6.24. The front of the Arts & Crafts Lodge from the Merrie-Woode Road and the rear of the Arts & Crafts Lodge, the area under the porch houses ceramics, (Source: Author)*

Bang Shop/Gem Box (Original Construction ca. 1935 and ca. 1960; both reconstructed 2013)

Bang Shop and Gem Box, which are connected buildings, were reconstructed in 2013. Currently the Bang Shop occupies the eastern side of the building, and Gem Box occupies the western side. Originally the Bang Shop was located on the western side closer to the hill cabins, but because it houses jewelry-making, which causes a lot of noise, the directors decided to place it on the eastern side. Gem Box serves as non-cabin staff housing. The connected building is very similar to the Arts and Crafts Lodge, as its roof profile is also side-gabled with two small gabled porches covering the two entrances. There are four, small, six-over-six double-hung sash windows along the front facade. Like most of the buildings at Camp Merrie-Woode, the building is covered in bark shingles, has log posts supporting the gabled porches, and a new roof

clad in asphalt shingles. An open porch spans the back of the building, with stairs leading to an entrance on the eastern Bang Shop side.



*Figure 6.25. View of Bang Shop (on left) and Gem Box (on right) from Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.26. Side view of Bang Shop (Source: Author)*

Weaving Hut (Originally Camp Post Office ca. 1943; reconstructed 2007)

The Weaving Hut was rebuilt in 2007 after rotting wood necessitated the demolition of the original structure. As its name suggests, this building houses weaving activities. The building is composed mostly of a porch that spans the eastern and southern facades and is held up by log posts. The entrance is on the western side, and is entered through a small bridge with intricate stickwork between the railings, which is also present in the porch railings. The rustic features of the Weaving Hut include bark shingle siding, stone piers, and the aforementioned post and stickwork.



*Figure 6.27: View of the Weaving Hut from Merrie-Woode Road, (Source: Author)*

The Ark (Original Construction ca. 1930, Ca. 1960 addition)

The Ark, once known as the Wonder House, is also one of Merrie-Woode's earlier buildings, although it has been enlarged and renovated since its construction c. 1930. Currently serving as a staff lounge, the Ark is a side-gabled building situated at the edge of Lake Fairfield. An shed roof-covered porch extends over Lake Fairfield. The building is covered with bark shingles and has green-colored features, including window trim and door and roof color, like the majority of the buildings at Merrie-Woode.



*Figure 6.28. View of Ark looking towards Lake Fairfield (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.29: Side view of the Ark facing Old Bald (Source: Author)*

Chapel (ca. 1960, renovated in 2012)

Chapel, originally built c. 1960, was renovated in 2012, but much of the original flagstone was incorporated into the new and similar design. It is an outdoor amphitheater with semicircular tiers of stone benches. Grass covers the top of each tier and serves as seating. Shade trees have been planted between the seating rows. The Chapel is oriented towards the lake, and is thus reminiscent of the open-air chapels that were a common feature of early-twentieth-century camps.



*Figure 6.30. View of Chapel from lake side (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.31: View of Lake Fairfield from behind Chapel (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.32. Close-up of Chapel showing grass covered seating rows and trees in between seating rows (Source: Author)*

#### Gazebo (ca. 1970)

The Gazebo, built ca. 1970, is located between Chapel and Lake Fairfield. It is an octagonal structure constructed of stone with a conical roof. Each pier holding up the roof contains a plaque inscribed with one of the Merrie-Woode virtues instilled at the camp during the Orr period: integrity, enthusiasm, perseverance, laughter, godliness, cleanliness, generosity, and vision.



*Figure 6.33: Gazebo, (Source: Author)*



### Gate House (ca. 1920s)

The Gate House was originally constructed ca. 1920s, and currently houses non-cabin staff members. It is a side-gabled building with board-and-batten siding, green trim, and stone features similar to many of the buildings at Merrie-Woode.



*Figure 6.34: View of Gate House from Merrie-Woode Road over Castle construction site, (Source: Author)*

### Pearly Gates (ca. 1960s)

Pearly Gates once housed the camp directors until Laurie and Gordon Strayhorn constructed the current directors' house, Tintagel, up the road. It now houses the associate director and her family. This building, like Gate House, has board-and-batten siding, green trim, and stone features.



*Figure 6.35. View of Pearly Gates from Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*

Infirmary: Cloud Nine (ca. 1970, with renovations in 2012)

Originally built circa 1970, Cloud Nine, the camp's infirmary, underwent a significant renovation in 2012. Cloud Nine is a side-gabled building with a recessed entryway that is sided in bark shingles. Board-and-batten siding covers the rest of the building. Other rustic features include the stone chimney located in the center of the building and a two-story porch on the southern, rear facade, which overlooks the Dining Hall and the waterfront.



*Figure 6.36. View of Cloud Nine from the Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.37. Side view of Cloud Nine from the trail leading from the Dining Hall (Source: Author)*

High Heaven (original construction ca. 1920s, rebuilt ca. 1960s)

The original High Heaven was built during Dammie Day's tenure as her place of residence during her summers at Merrie-Woode. That building unfortunately burned down during the 1960s. The current building is a modified version of the original building. High Heaven has an irregular profile with several roof treatments and projections. It is more modern than most of the camp buildings (fig. 6.39), but it still uses rustic materials, such as clapboard and shingle siding and stone, in an effort to be compatible with the camp landscape.



*Figure 6.38. View of High Heaven from bridge, (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.39. View of eastern side of High Heaven (Source: Author)*

Hilltop (original construction ca. 1920s, rebuilt in 1993 and renovated in 2016)

Hilltop was one of the camp's original buildings, although it was rebuilt in 1993 and renovated in 2016 with a second story and porch addition. Functioning as the camp's office, it is a side-gabled building with a pediment over the porch entry and another pediment over a window on the second story. Its rustic features include bark shingle siding, log posts and railings, green trim, and stone features.



*Figure 6.40 and 6.41. Views of Hilltop from both sides of the Merrie-Woode Road fork (Source: Author)*

Program Office (Original Construction ca. 1920s, Reconstructed 2000)

Located where the camp's original infirmary once stood, the program office building was reconstructed ca. 2000. The first floor contains spaces that serve multiple purposes, including a board room in which to hold meetings, a computer lab for staff members, and the camp stock shop on the back porch. The basement functions as a dance studio. The building is side-gabled, with a gabled porch over the entryway. The roof is clad in wood shingles covered in moss. Like a majority of the buildings at camp, the Program Office is covered in bark shingles, has log posts supporting the porches, and a stone chimney.



*Figure 6.42. View of the Program Office from Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.43. View of the Program Office from Back Line Road (Source: Author)*

Front Line Cabins (Original construction ca. 1920s, Reconstructions ca. 2000s)

Each front line cabin still accommodates four campers and one counselor, along with the occasional addition of a counselor's assistant. All of these cabins were reconstructed during the 2000s. They were generally rebuilt in the same footprint as their predecessors, in the same southward orientation towards the lake, and in the same architectural style. Each front line cabin is a frame, front-gabled, rectangular, one-room, one-story building, covered in bark siding with exposed rafter beams supporting the overhanging eaves. All cabins are supported by stone pier foundations. Large screen openings that start halfway up the front and side facades act as windows. On the front façade, these screens flank the central front door. In order from west to east, which is how the age groups move through the cabins, the cabin names are Du Kum Inn, Mushroom, Sunny Shack, Linger Longer, Pooh Corner, Nutshell, So Ko Ze, Sign of the Hemlock, Halfway Up, Happy Hollow, Big Apple, Chatter Box, Moonlight Bay, Chug-A-Wump, Cob Web, Zoo, Oz, Robin's Nest, Jack O'Lantern, and Bob White.



*Figure 6.44. The first five front line cabins - Du Kum Inn, Mushroom, Sunny Shack, Linger Longer, and Pooh Corner (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.45. Another view of the front line cabins (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.46. A close-up of two cabins, Moonlight Bay and Chatter Box (Source: Author)*

Back Line Cabins (Little Back Line ca. 1920s, Big Back Line ca. 1950s; All reconstructed ca. 2000s)

The back line cabins also have been completely reconstructed. These cabins, like their counterparts, remain in the same footprint, oriented towards the lake, and in the same architectural style as their predecessors. The back line cabins have the same form as the front line cabins, with the exception of the five cabins on the “Big Back Line,” which are slightly

larger, as they often hold more campers. In order from east to west, the cabin names are Beehive, Jam Pot, Sugar Bowl, Merrie Breeze, Paint Box, Pow Wow, Peter Pan, Wynnyn, Blynkyn, Nod, Laurel, and Dogwood. The last five comprise the “Big Back Line.” They are separated from the Little Back Line by branching stairs that come down from the main road.



*Figure 6.47. View of big back line cabin, Wynnyn (Source: Author)*



*Figures 6.48 and 6.49. Views of the back line, (Source: Author)*

#### Hill Cabins (Construction dates below)

The hill cabins are located, as their name suggests, on the hill that rises from the back line to the camp road and beyond. Doc’sology was the earliest hill cabin and was followed by Bum’s Rest, both constructed during the late 1920s. In the 1960s, Camelot was constructed, followed by Briar Patch and Buckingham Palace in 1989 and 1990, respectively. The building which housed the cabin of Avalon was converted into a guest cabin, and Avalon was rebuilt below Doc’sology in the 2009. Doc’sology, Bum’s Rest, and Camelot have all been reconstructed,



once again in their general footprint and in keeping with the Adirondack style of Camp Merrie-Woode. The hill cabins vary in plan from the front and back line cabins, as they house more campers. They also generally house two counselors and have bathrooms inside. Each hill cabin's plan varies slightly from the others, as well. Nevertheless, they are all one-story frame buildings with gable roofs, bark siding, exposed rafter tails, and screened openings.



*Figure 6.50: Two of the lower hill cabins, Avalon to the right, and Doc'sology to the left, (Source: Author)*



*Figures 6.51 and 6.52. A view of one of the hill cabins, Camelot, tucked away on the upper hill; and a view of Bum's Rest, center, and the porch of Buckingham Palace (Source: Author)*

Wit's End (Originally constructed ca. 1924; Reconstructed ca. 2000s)

Wit's End, once called the Guest Lodge, currently houses the Junior Counselors on its western side, and non-cabin staff on its eastern side. Like most of the cabins, Wit's End was reconstructed during the 2000s. The building is similar to the hill cabins in form. It is one-story with screened openings, a small porch with a gable roof positioned a little left of center on the southern elevation, a stone chimney, bark siding, and a side-gabled roof.



*Figure 6.53. A view of Wit's End from the road (Source: Author)*

Boat House (Originally constructed ca. 1960; reconstructed 1995)

The Boat House, originally constructed ca. 1960, was reconstructed in 1995 with additional updates made since then. It is currently a front-gabled building with a shed roof protruding over the open porch on the southern facade, which wraps around the eastern and western facades. There is a pointed window underneath the front gable, and the building features rustic elements including bark shingle siding, stone features, and stickwork in the porch railings.



*Figure 6.54. View of Boat House from swimming docks (Source: Author)*

### Docks

Merrie-Woode has three docks on its waterfront: the swimming dock, the canoe dock, and the sailing dock, each supporting the activities in their names. These docks are not original, but they do occupy the general footprint of their predecessors. In plan, the swimming dock is a modified C-shaped structure with a covered portion and a sundeck on its northwestern side, and a diving board and water slide on its southwestern side. The covered portion of the swim dock and the sun deck date to 1987. The canoe dock is a modified L-shaped structure, and the plan of the sailing dock resembles a trident.



*Figure 6.55. Swimming dock (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.56 and 6.57. Canoe dock (left) and sailing dock (right), (Source: Author)*

### Bat's Roost (1994)

Bat's Roost was constructed in 1994 and serves as housing for Merrie-Woode's mountaineering staff and some of the mountaineering equipment. It is a two-story, front-gabled, board-and-batten building. A porch on its western, front facade is one-story tall and spans half of the facade with a metal shed roof. A similar porch also spans the entire eastern facade.



*Figure 6.58. Bat's Roost (Source: Author)*

### Campfire Ring (ca. 1970s)

The Campfire Ring is located on the eastern side of camp near the Fairfield Falls. Relatively secluded in a wooded setting, the ring is an open circle of wooden benches surrounding the stone-accented fire ring. This site is used for Sunday Campfires and various other activities and evening programs.



*Figure 6.59. Campfire Ring (Source: Author)*

### Lily Pad (Original construction 1994; Reconstruction ca. 2000s)

Lily Pad was originally constructed for filming a made-for-television movie called “Follow the River” in 1994. It became a permanent part of the camp landscape, however, and was reconstructed during the 2000s to continue to serve as the location for cookouts, programs,

and activities. The rectangular structure currently has a rustic style with log posts, a two-pitched, wood-shingled roof, and stone chimney.



*Figure 6.60. Lily Pad (Source: Author)*

Barn (Original construction ca. 1920s, Reconstructed ca. 1960s with recent renovations)

The barn is located in the southwestern portion of Camp Merrie-Woode. It is a board-and-batten-clad building with one large opening running from east to west to accommodate the horse stalls that line the a central hallway. There is also a large entry in the middle of the northern facade. There is a green, metal gambrel roof on the eastern side and a green, metal roof with varying pitches on the western side.



*Figure 6.61. Barn (Source: Author)*

Nature Nook (Original construction pre-1979, reconstruction 2009)

The Nature Nook appears in a 1979 map, suggesting that the original was constructed before then. It was then reconstructed in 2009. It is a roofed but open octagonal building on log posts that is reached via a swinging bridge that links to a platform.



*Figure 6.62. Nature Nook (Source: Author)*

Maintenance Shop

The Maintenance Shop is a board-and-batten structure with a shed roof and green-painted garage doors. The main building along with its outbuildings serve as workspace for the maintenance staff.



*Figure 6.63. View of the shop from the Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*

### Tintagel (ca. 1990s)

Tintagel was constructed during the 1990s by the Strayhorns to serve as the new home of Merrie-Woode's directors. The three-story building is side-gabled with dormers on the south facade along with two open porches with a rustic balustrade treatment. In keeping with most architecture in camp, it has a large stone chimney.



*Figure 6.64. View of Tintagel from the Merrie-Woode Road (Source: Author)*

### Merlin's Alderley Edge/Tennis Courts and Tennis Court Shed (ca. 2000s)

Renovated in 2010 to serve as a winterized duplex for older non-cabin staff in the summer and visitors in the off-season, Merlin's Alderley Edge is a side-gabled, one-story building. It has a gabled porch in the center of the front facade over the entrance. Board-and-batten siding covers most of the building, although bark shingles clad the area under the gable. Merlin's Alderley Edge is located directly west of the tennis courts and the small tennis shed that sits on the court, which is clad in bark shingles and has rustic detailing in its balustrade.





*Figure 6.65. View of Merlin's Alderley Edge (farthest building) from tennis courts, (Source: Author)*

### Secondary/Utility Buildings and Structures

There are a variety of buildings and structures around camp whose main use is not related to, or only tangentially related to, programming, traditions, or housing. These buildings include Tea Cup, which is adjacent to Hilltop, and Tajar Tail, which is adjacent to Tajar, both of which have served varying purposes including housing for non-cabin staff and storage. Both are relatively small board-and-batten-clad buildings. Also included in this category are the bathhouses for the front and back cabin lines, Big Dipper and Long John, which were built ca. 1991 and 1992, respectively, replacing bathhouses constructed during the 1950s. Both bathhouses are long, board-and-batten-clad structures with screened clerestory openings. They consist of showers, bathrooms, and sinks for the younger campers to use.



*Figure 6.66. Long John, Bathhouse for the western front and back line cabins (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.67. Big Dipper, Bathhouse for the eastern front and back line cabins (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.68 and 6.69. Tajar Tail (on left) and Tea Cup (on right) (Source: Author)*

### **Small-Scale Features**

Several small-scale features occupy the camp landscape, reinforcing the rustic character of camp. Stone walls, gates, and wooden fences echo the rustic features of the camp buildings. Additionally, signage like that indicating the entrance to the Merrie-Woode Road is compatible with the general style of the camp.



*Figures 6.70. Wooden fence is in keeping with the rustic features of the camp (Source: Author)*



*Figures 6.71 and 6.72. Signage and stone gates add to the character of the camp (Source: Author)*

### **Views and Vistas**

Camp Merrie-Woode's location in the Blue Ridge Province and on Lake Fairfield has provided several natural views and has allowed for the manipulation of landscape characteristics like vegetation to create constructed views and vistas. Old Bald, partially owned by Camp Merrie-Woode, affords the most character-defining views, both from the camp and of the camp. To enhance the view of Old Bald from the camp, directors keep the waterfront relatively clear of trees so that girls in their cabins, which are oriented towards the lake, have a direct view of Lake Fairfield and the mountain. The view from Old Bald overlooking the camp and Sapphire Valley is more natural, as the bald granite face of Old Bald affords unfettered panoramic views of the surrounding area.

While views from and of Old Bald are the most striking examples of the natural and constructed views at Merrie-Woode, there are several constructed views and vistas throughout the landscape. Chapel, situated in an upward sloping hillside, is positioned so that campers face Lake Fairfield during Sunday services and other programs, creating a feeling of serenity. Thinned out trees along the waterfront aid this vista. Additionally, several buildings are oriented southward at high points throughout camp in order to create views of the camp landscape. Tajar,

Pearly Gates, the Infirmary, Tintagel, and High Heaven are examples of this pattern, and their views are emphasized by large porches on the southern façade of the buildings.



*Figures 6.73 and 6.74. View of Old Bald from the Front Line Cabins and View from Old Bald of Camp Merrie-Woode and the surrounding valley and mountains (Source: Author)*



*Figure 6.75. Thinned out trees and the orientation of Chapel produce a vista looking out to Lake Fairfield (Source: Author)*

## **Vegetation**

Camp Merrie-Woode's landscape is surrounded and comprised of a large amount of indigenous vegetation. There are three plant communities on the Merrie-Woode property: Montane Oak-Hickory Forest, Chestnut Oak Forest, and the Pine Oak-Heath Forest. These plant communities consist of a mix of evergreen and deciduous trees, shrubs, and plants, including chestnut oaks (*Quercus montana*), white pines (*Pinus strobus*), mountain laurel (*Kalmia*

*latifolia*), rhododendron (*Rhododendron* spp.), hemlocks (*Tsuga canadensis*), and hickories (*Carya* spp.), that populate the surrounding forest, while those same species, though less dense, along with smaller shrubs cover the main camp landscape. The parcels surrounding the main Merrie-Woode campus are heavily wooded, while the main Merrie-Woode campus has been cleared of many trees to accommodate for buildings, circulation, activity areas, and views and vistas. Lake Fairfield is often inundated by water lilies in the summer.

While much of the vegetation around Camp Merrie-Woode is natural, some has been intentionally planted or manicured. There are several hemlock hedges around camp, most prominently on the border of the archery field and the Merrie-Woode Road. These hedges, therefore, act as a boundary between the road and an activity area. Additionally, the activity areas and areas in front of the cabins, in front of the Castle, and the seats of the chapel consist of mowed turf. Shade trees have also been planted in the Chapel to increase comfort and prevent sunburn. Natural and intentional vegetation can be found all over the camp landscape.

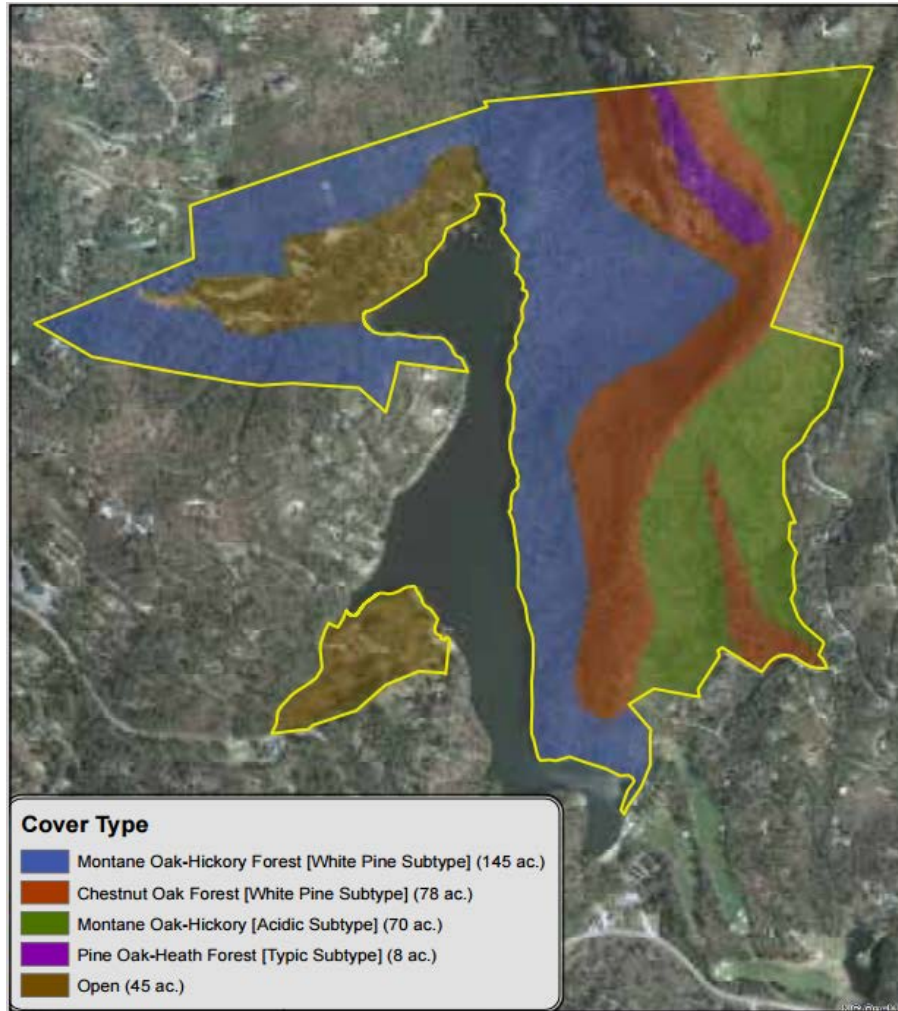


Figure 6.76. Forest Cover Map (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Spring 2014 Newsletter)



Figure 6.77. A hemlock hedge acts as a boundary between the Archery Field and the road (Source: Author)

## Land Use

The land use at Camp Merrie-Woode is largely dictated by the programming of the camp and the site's topography. There are, of course, residential uses in the form of cabins and houses on the Merrie-Woode landscape, along with buildings that serve essential functions, like dining in the Dining Hall and medical care in the Infirmary. Beyond those, however, several buildings and defined portions of the landscape are dedicated to general and specialized activities.

The flatter areas of camp have been manipulated to accommodate the activities that need an abundance of space. The southwestern portion of the camp landscape has been cleared to create space for the barn and associated riding rings and paddocks on the western side of the Merrie-Woode Road. North of the barn, the Nature Nook provides campers with nature education, and adjacent landscape spaces are used for nature exploration and gardening. On the eastern side of the road, the land has been cleared and sodded to create the land sports and archery fields. The chapel stands directly to the east of these fields, nestled into the hill that slopes down to the water front. This area has also been largely cleared to create a view from the chapel to the lake. Further east, structures devoted to boating and swimming activities occupy a majority of the waterfront near the front line cabins. These activities require a good amount of space for equipment, team sports, large animals, and exploration. Flatter, cleared land along the lakeshore suits this area of programming.

Activities that require less space are generally located on sloping topography. The Weaving Hut, Bang Shop, and Arts and Crafts Lodge are all located on the hill south of the camp road. The Arts and Crafts Lodge takes advantage of its hillside location, utilizing the space created by the slope to create the ceramics shop. Similarly, the basement of the program office, also located on the slope serves as the dance studio. On the hill above the camp road, Castle is



the location for the morning devotional, evening programs, and the headquarters of the drama program. These activities, and those in King Arthur's Court, the neighboring Tennis Courts, and the main office, call for a little less space than activities like horseback riding and soccer, and therefore use land that is less mutable.

Much of the land surrounding the main camp landscape remains relatively untouched in an effort to preserve the natural setting. Most of the lakeshore and the area surrounding the Lake Trail is undeveloped, displaying the indigenous vegetation that populates the area. The use that occurs in this area is predominantly mountaineering related, with hiking trails, climbing opportunities on Old Bald, and a low and high ropes course. It also is used as a buffer to preserve the relative seclusion of Camp Merrie-Woode.

### **Cultural Traditions**

The cultural traditions currently practiced at Camp Merrie-Woode are very similar to those implemented by Dammie Day at the beginning of her tenure. Merrie-Woode is based in English and Arthurian lore, which is evident in the names of many buildings, including Castle, Camelot, King Arthur's Court, and Avalon. Additionally, the naming and organization of age groups, which are page, yeoman, squire, and knight, evoke Arthurian legend. The Arthurian and English influence is also reflected in the picturesque nature of a majority of the buildings and their organization. Arthurian legend at Merrie-Woode reaches its apex during the end of each session, when campers perform the search for the Holy Grail by the Knights of the Round Table. This performance takes place in Chapel and involves campers acting as King Arthur and his knights, including Sir Galahad. Because Sir Galahad eventually finds the grail and is portrayed as a pure-of-heart, self-sacrificing knight, this play reinforces the values espoused at Merrie-

Woode, including the importance of community, service to others, and self-sacrifice. Once the pageant ends, campers carry lit candles across the landscape to the docks to set them afloat on Lake Fairfield.

Although Merrie-Woode's most prevalent traditions and philosophy lie in Arthurian legend, various other traditions also have operated simultaneously with the Arthurian lore since the early years of the camp. A central character in camp mythology, whose name has been lent to one of the earliest buildings, is the Tajar. The Tajar appeared in stories told orally, often around the campfire, at many camps in the early twentieth century. He appeared at Camp Merrie-Woode at least by the late 1930s. Tajar tales revolve around a mischievous creature, part badger and part tiger, who roams the forest and tangles with a witch and the Range Ranger. At Merrie-Woode, the tales are tailored to the Merrie-Woode landscape and are often told to the younger campers at the campfire or in the Tajar building. Other traditions and legends at Merrie-Woode include campers singing "Shiney-Miney" at the end of campfire, the singing of taps at the end of evening programs, and the playing of taps to notify campers to go to sleep. All of these traditions have been in existence since the beginning of Camp Merrie-Woode. There are also various goal-oriented programs within activity areas that have their own associated traditions. These include the Captain's Program for canoeing, kayaking, and sailing; the Horsemaster Program for horseback riding; and the King's Player program for the theater and drama activities. These specialized programs have levels and generally have some kind of ritual to induce campers into the next or the final level.

## **Conclusion**

Camp Merrie-Woode is a cultural landscape comprised of several landscape characteristics that work together to create a sense of place that has been enjoyed by campers for multiple generations. All of these characteristics are significant in the maintenance of the original goals and ideals of Dammie Day. Therefore, the entire landscape must be taken into account when thinking about the camp's historical significance and integrity, which is discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 7

### ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

This chapter aims to identify the significance of Camp Merrie-Woode and to determine its historic integrity. Significance and integrity, or the ability of a site to convey significance, are essential in determining the eligibility of a property for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Although Camp Merrie-Woode was listed in 1995, this chapter addresses changes or expansion of its significance or integrity using the national register criteria of significance and aspects of integrity. The chapter further analyzes the integrity of interconnected landscape characteristics to determine whether Camp Merrie-Woode has retained integrity in the areas most important in conveying its significance.

#### **Analysis of Significance**

The National Register of Historic Places has identified four criteria for evaluation of the significance of historic sites, buildings, structures, objects, and districts. The criteria apply to places:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington: U.S. DOI, National Park Service, 1995), 2, <https://www.nps.gov/Nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf>.

Camp Merrie-Woode was listed in the national register as a district in 1995 under criterion A in the area of entertainment and recreation for its association with the camping movement, and under criterion C for its Adirondack-style architecture. This section analyzes the significance stated in the Camp Merrie-Woode national register nomination, and evaluates whether expansion of the property's significance is warranted, based on additional historical research, existing conditions documentation, and interviews with alumnae, former board members, and members of the senior staff. The 1995 summary of significance is located in appendix B.

#### Reaffirmed Significance Under Criterion A: Entertainment/Recreation

Camp Merrie-Woode's development, landscape, and history certainly reflect philosophies, trends, and shifts in the larger organized camping movement, especially in North Carolina. The camp was founded and continued initially by college-educated women, a trend present in most all-girls' camps. Additionally, as identified by Jennifer Martin, author of the national register nomination, Merrie-Woode's siting on a man-made lake surrounded by lush, wooded mountains followed a tendency of camp organizers to locate their camps close to a lake or river, enveloped by natural beauty, to attract and educate campers. This location, and the subsequent construction of rustic camp buildings on the landscape in an unobtrusive manner, allowed for the achievement of one of the primary goals of the early camping movement: immersion of children in nature to combat the perceived effects of urbanization.

#### Expansion of Criterion A: Social History and Education

Camp Merrie-Woode has embodied the organized camping movement not only in its physical environment but also in its programming and traditions. The programming has always been a mix of activities that were traditionally associated with the feminine sphere, like weaving and arts and crafts, as well as activities that were more gender-neutral or traditionally associated

with the masculine sphere, like hiking, canoeing, and horseback riding. This mix was prevalent in many all-girls' camps, as they towed the line between conforming to traditional gender norms, while also providing a new kind of education that transcended those norms and taught campers the same kinds of skills as their male counterparts.

Merrie-Woode offered the same kinds of activities as boys' camps in a setting where girls did not have to worry about conforming to societal pressures to be feminine. Girls had the opportunity to go on strenuous overnight trips, learn how to cook over a campfire, and sleep in tents on campouts or in cabins without windows. Of course, historically feminine attributes and activities, like civilized table manners, dance, weaving, and jewelry-making, were still promoted by Dammie, but they did not preclude campers from seeing themselves as equal to their male counterparts by partaking in historically masculine activities. As Daphne Spain suggested, allowing girls access to space, where they received equal access to knowledge that was traditionally reserved for boys, helped elevate girls' status and promote equality. Through creating this communal, democratic, service-oriented atmosphere, Dammie Day taught campers that they were of equal worth to each other and to the members of the world outside of camp.

Through its emphasis on education, personal growth, and community, Camp Merrie-Woode has continuously equipped its campers with what one senior staff member has identified as "hard skills" and soft skills."<sup>278</sup> Hard skills include being able to paddle a boat, climb a mountain, and weave the seat of a chair. Soft skills, on the other hand, are gained from communal living, as well as from activities that cultivate friendship, confidence, responsibility, and the ability to set goals. A camper gains soft skills like resilience, for instance, in moments like "the day when it's been raining for three days, and she is soaking wet, and everything she

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<sup>278</sup> Senior Staff Member 1, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

owns is soaking wet, and her bed is soaking wet,” when “the natural environment really tells her what she’s capable of. That’s the resiliency.”<sup>279</sup> In these ways, the programming and the environment truly contribute to personal growth and skill-building. Girls currently and historically have taken those skills and applied them to the outside world by going to college, entering the workforce, and becoming entrepreneurs and starting their own businesses.<sup>280</sup>

Camp Merrie-Woode’s unique set of traditions, mostly based in Arthurian legend, supplemented the camp’s programming in transcending traditional gender norms. When she reflected on her decision to name the camp “Merrie-Woode,” Dammie acknowledged the prevalence of Native American-themed camps. Instead of following this trend, however, Dammie chose a theme based on English tradition and legend, which manifested itself in the legend of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.<sup>281</sup> These traditions of Merrie-Woode have potential bearing on the expansion of the camp’s significance to include the influence of the women’s movement on the camp landscape.

Campers at Merrie-Woode, at the end of every summer, dressed up as the Knights of the Round Table, literally acting as men to convey the ideals of the summer camp, a tradition that continues today. This tradition, in and of itself, indicates that Dammie believed girls should strive to be, and could be, equivalent to these male knights. Female campers dressing as males was not restricted to Merrie-Woode. Leslie Paris noted this trend at another girls’ camp, Camp Andree, where cross-gender performances happened frequently, observing, “When members of boys’ camps dressed up as women, the sight was usually understood to be inherently humorous. Girls, however, sometimes openly identified with men or boys in order to play more

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<sup>279</sup> Senior Staff Member 1, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>280</sup> Alumnae 1,2, 3, 4, Senior Staff Members 1, 2, 3, 4, and Board Members 1, 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>281</sup> “Founder Profile: Dammie Day,” Camp Merrie-Woode Newsletter (Spring 1993): 6.

adventurously.”<sup>282</sup> This inversion of gender roles, coupled with athletic and outdoor activities, “offered new and occasionally transgressive possibilities for self-identification.”<sup>283</sup> Girls in the homosocial environment of all-girls’ camps felt secure and free to take on these cross-gender roles. At Merrie-Woode, a cross-gender performance was an integral and annual part of camp tradition, and expressing the ideals of the camp.

Merrie-Woode’s mission may not have explicitly addressed women’s rights or feminism, but the camp landscape provided a certain amount of mobility to a new generation of girls, when the previous generation had often been confined to the domestic sphere. Merrie-Woode and similar all-girls’ camps provided a homosocial environment and a public women’s sphere where girls could learn hard and soft skills in an environment free from external societal pressures to be more feminine. It gave girls role models like Dammie Day, who purchased Merrie-Woode on her own, directed the camp mostly on her own for thirty years, became actively involved in the professionalization of the camping industry, and served as the president of the Southern Chapter of the American Camping Association, which included both boys’ and girls’ camps, in 1937 and 1938.<sup>284</sup> In a recent vesper recalled by a member of the senior staff, a camper simply stated, “Strong women create strong women.”<sup>285</sup> It is clear that this sentiment has been in place at Merrie-Woode since the beginning, with strong women like Dammie Day and Mary Turk showing young girls what they could accomplish. Though many homosocial institutions dissolved during the 1920s after women received the right to vote, Merrie-Woode endured and continued to provide a support system for generations of girls to come. Merrie-Woode’s

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<sup>282</sup> Leslie Paris, “The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood,” *Journal of Women’s History* 12:2 (2001): 61.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>284</sup> “Mrs. Day Again Chosen to Head Camp Directors.” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, March 13, 1938, accessed February 23, 2017. <http://www.newspapers.com/image/198186168>.

<sup>285</sup> Senior Staff Member 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.



significance is thus tied to ideals related to female empowerment, especially for girls, and the belief in the equal worth of males and females.

### Reevaluation of Criterion C

The national register nomination applied criterion C for architecture because the camp was identified as one of the largest collections of Adirondack architecture in North Carolina. However, many of the buildings have been reconstructed or heavily renovated, diminishing the historic integrity of that collection. Thus, the significance of Camp Merrie-Woode under criterion C, specifically for its collection of extant Adirondack style architecture, is called into question.

Instead of specifying the style of architecture under criterion C, however, an amended nomination could focus on the layout of the buildings, which has largely been preserved. Merrie-Woode's spatial organization typifies the shift between popular camp layouts in the interwar years. Merrie-Woode began with five cabins and a dining hall, and gradually grew to include a number of different types of buildings, including the large recreation lodge and symbolic center of camp, Castle; buildings suited for certain types of activities like arts and crafts and weaving; and activity areas for outdoor sports like baseball and archery. Merrie-Woode's main development period during the 1920s and 1930s sat on the cusp of the military style and the demilitarized, picturesque style popularized after World War I, which is evident in Camp Merrie-Woode's formal front and back line cabins which are juxtaposed with the more picturesque placement of other camp buildings throughout the landscape.

The landscape of Camp Merrie-Woode itself is also evocative of the picturesque style that dominated camp planning during the interwar period. Situated on sloping topography and surrounded by mountains, Merrie-Woode's landscape provides opportunities for constructed and

natural views and vistas. Rustic buildings and structures, constructed of native wood and stone, conform to the topography and take advantage of the various viewsheds. The materials used for these buildings are typically natural colors like green and brown, which allow the buildings to blend into the landscape. Curvilinear roads and paths, constructed with natural materials, wind through camp, producing the changing sequence of views that was praised by A. J. Downing. Surrounding indigenous vegetation, along with conscious planting and trimming of vegetation within the landscape, resulted in trees that frame views and hedges that act as boundaries. All of these features, combined with the spatial organization of buildings, are hallmarks of the picturesque style of landscape design at summer camps.

Additionally, the original camp landscape was designed by R.H. Morrow, a civil engineer by trade, who had a hand in designing at least four summer camps in western North Carolina.<sup>286</sup> As Merrie-Woode is one of only two of those camps that is still intact and extant in its original location, it has become a significant representation of Morrow's work in the state of North Carolina. For all the reasons given above, Merrie-Woode should retain significance under criterion C. However, it should be recognized primarily for reflecting the common camp landscape and layout typology of its period of development, and for representing the work of well-known camp builder, R.H. Morrow.

#### Summary of Revised Significance

The original national register nomination was prepared over twenty years ago, and changes have occurred on the camp landscape since then, including the reconstruction and renovation of a number of the camp's historic buildings. This time lapse also increases Camp Merrie-Woode's period of significance to extend from 1919 through 1967. Camp Merrie-Woode

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<sup>286</sup> Laura A.W. Phillips, "Royal and Louise Morrow House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Winston-Salem, 2006, 13-14.

remains significant under criterion A for its association with, and its ability to illustrate, the American camping movement. However, this area of significance should be expanded to incorporate Merrie-Woode's role in empowering young girls through education and traditions in a homosocial environment. Camp Merrie-Woode is also still significant under criterion C. Instead of being significant for its collection of Adirondack style buildings, however, the camp is significant for representing two typical camp layouts, the formal, military style and the informal, picturesque style as partially designed by western North Carolina camp builder, R. H. Morrow. The following section evaluates the site's continued ability to convey these aspects of significance.

### **Evaluation of Integrity**

The National Park Service defines integrity simply as “the ability of a property to convey its significance.”<sup>287</sup> In the *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, the park service, recognizing that evaluation of integrity is often a subjective judgment, identifies seven aspects of integrity to provide a framework to standardize integrity assessments. In order to retain integrity, a property should retain most aspects of integrity, although retaining all of them is not always necessary. The relative importance of certain aspects of integrity typically depends on the type of property. For example, materials are often of less consequence than design in a landscape, as vegetation tends to die and needs to be replaced. The seven aspects of integrity are:

1. Location: “Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.”
2. Design: “Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.”
3. Setting: “Setting is the physical environment of a historic property.”

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<sup>287</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register*, 44.

4. Materials: “Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.”
5. Workmanship: “Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.”
6. Feeling: “Feeling is a property’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.”
7. Association: “Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.”<sup>288</sup>

These aspects of integrity are applicable to districts, buildings, structures, objects, and sites. With cultural landscapes, one must additionally take into account the landscape characteristics identified in Chapter 6. Not all landscape characteristics are of equal value in terms of illustrating the significance of Camp Merrie-Woode. While the integrity of landscape characteristics is evaluated below in the same order as they were in Chapter 6, their importance in conveying Camp Merrie-Woode’s significance is discussed under each characteristic. As the cultural landscape functions as a system, these elements are interconnected, leading to some overlap. Following the documentation of the integrity of each landscape feature, the cultural landscape as a whole will be evaluated using the seven aspects of integrity listed above.

#### Natural Systems and Features

Natural systems and features, topography, and vegetation are inherently important elements of a camp landscape because they relate to the American Camping Movement’s aim to return children to nature. Camp organizers sought campsites that were located on or near bodies of water and that were blanketed with wooded vegetation. Sometimes, as in the case of Camp Merrie-Woode, these bodies of water were not natural, but artificial. Lake Fairfield predated the camp, but it has served as an anchoring feature of the camp since its founding. Natural water

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<sup>288</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *National Register*, 44-45.

features like Fairfield Falls, which empties Trays Island Creek into Lake Fairfield, have been preserved, adding to the integrity of the camp landscape (fig. 7.1).

The natural systems and features of Camp Merrie-Woode, including the three surrounding mountains, the resulting sloping topography, and the varying plant communities work together to reinforce the secluded nature of Merrie-Woode's setting. The mountains create a physical barrier on the northern and eastern sides of the camp landscape, while the blanketing vegetation surrounds the camp landscape. The lake, and the fact that the Merrie-Woode Foundation owns a significant amount of property around it, makes it difficult for any development to encroach onto or even near the camp landscape. These landscape characteristics, therefore, provide the sheltered feeling sought at early campsites, which consequently created a homosocial sanctuary for young girls free from pressures to conform to societal norms. The retention of integrity of natural systems and features has ensured the continuity of the feeling of seclusion.

*Integrity Summary for Natural Systems and Features*

1. Design: Not applicable.
2. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
3. Materials: The same kinds of plant communities and natural systems that existed during the period of significance are still prevalent today.
4. Workmanship: The natural features and systems continue to perform the same functions that they performed historically.
5. Feeling: The integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship lends to integrity of feeling, as the natural setting continues to express the feeling of the historic character and purpose of the camp.
6. Association: The integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship also lends to integrity of feeling, as the natural setting provides an association with the areas of significance.



*Figure 7.1. View of Fairfield Falls during the 1930s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: CMW Archives and Author)*

### Topography

Topographical changes, especially those as stark as the changes at Merrie-Woode, where the valley meets the three surrounding mountains, added to the beauty of the surroundings and the diversity of programming that could be explored (fig. 7.2). The bare granite face of Old Bald provides an incredible view from several vantage points in the camp, and the hilly topography of the camp landscape allows for other views and vistas. While the topography of the camp landscape has changed over time due to erosion, Camp Merrie-Woode has enacted measures, mostly in the form of stone walls, to combat the problem. The directors and board are additionally seeking the help of a landscape architecture firm to help with erosion problems and subsequently continue the preservation of Merrie-Woode's topography.

#### *Integrity Summary for Topography: High Level of Integrity Overall*

1. Location: Topographical features generally remain in their historic location.
2. Design: The design of certain features that combat erosion has added new elements of design to the landscape. They are, however, compatible with the historic character of the camp.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: Topographical materials remain intact.

5. Workmanship: Topography still shows signs of the geological forces that created it.
6. Feeling: The integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship lends to integrity of feeling, as the topography continues to express the feeling of the historic character and purpose of the camp.
7. Association: The integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship also lends to integrity of feeling, as the topography provides an association with the areas of significance.



*Figure 7.2. View of Merrie-Woode from Camp Road during 1920s (left) and 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*

### Constructed Water Features

Lake Fairfield was constructed ca. 1896 to provide a lakeside site for the burgeoning resort industry in and around the Sapphire Valley. Since then, the dam at the southern end of the lake has kept the artificial lake's approximately five-mile shoreline intact. Lake Fairfield is essential in conveying Camp Merrie-Woode's significance because of the role lakes and other bodies of water played in the siting of many summer camps.

#### *Integrity Summary for Constructed Water Features*

1. Location: Lake Fairfield retains its historic location.
2. Design: Like location, design has been retained.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: The same source of water flows into the lake, leading to integrity of materials.
5. Workmanship: The workmanship that created the lake is still visible.
6. Feeling: Because Lake Fairfield retains all other aspects of integrity, it still possesses integrity of feeling.
7. Association: Because Lake Fairfield retains all other aspects of integrity, it still possesses integrity of association.

## Spatial Organization

Spatial organization is essential in conveying the significance of Camp Merrie-Woode as a typical camp landscape during and following the interwar era. Merrie-Woode's current landscape, which reflects years of evolution, still expresses two styles of camp plans popular during the early twentieth century. Remnants of the military style plan exist with the formal lines of cabins capped off by a dining hall, marking the beginning stages of Camp Merrie-Woode in 1919 and the early 1920s. This military style is subordinate to the picturesque layout that defines most of the camp landscape, however. The psychology of the NPS unit plan also is infused in the landscape as campers move up the cabin lines by age, with the oldest girls living in the hill cabins, which are isolated from the cabin lines.

While the military-esque layout of the cabin lines on the flatter terrain near the lake indicates an attempt to exert control over the landscape, the picturesque layout of the rest of the camp landscape reveals the desire to place buildings and activity areas in response to topography and other natural features. The picturesque treatment did not result in the random placement of buildings in the landscape. Instead, buildings were placed to take advantage of natural features to create views and vistas, bestow importance on certain buildings by placing them in high or central places in the landscape, and utilize areas of flatter topography for compatible uses. Castle, the symbolic center of Camp Merrie-Woode, was placed in an elevated position over the Merrie-Woode Road, while the camp's chapel was placed on a slope below the Merrie-Woode Road to create a vista over Lake Fairfield. All of the front and back line cabins are oriented toward Lake Fairfield, while the hill cabins and activity/office buildings are oriented toward Merrie-Woode Road. The spatial organization, curvilinear circulation, vegetation, views and



vistas, and rustic buildings and structures all add to the picturesque style of landscape design that was common in camp planning and is conveyed through Camp Merrie-Woode.

Buildings and other features have been added and reconstructed over time to accommodate a growing camp population, which has minimally impacted the spatial organization and cluster arrangement. Nevertheless, the relationship between the buildings and their natural surroundings and the relationships between the buildings have remained intact. Therefore, Camp Merrie-Woode's landscape still ably illustrates not only this particular camp's history, but also that of larger American Camping Movement and the typical camp construction it produced.

*Integrity Summary for Spatial Organization: High Level of Integrity Overall*

1. Location: Although new buildings have been added over the years, the historic location of buildings and overall spatial organization has been retained.
2. Design: Like location, the design of spatial organization has been retained.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: Although many of the construction materials of buildings and structures have changed, other materials like vegetation and circulation are intact.
5. Workmanship: The workmanship of spatial organization is intact.
6. Feeling: The spatial organization continues to express the feeling of an all-girl's summer camp from 1919-1967.
7. Association: The retained spatial organization continues to convey association with all areas of significance.

Circulation

The main circulation network at Camp Merrie-Woode consists of the Merrie-Woode Road, its various offshoots, and stone- and wood-constructed paths. The Merrie-Woode Road accommodates cars, but it also mainly serves pedestrians during the camp season and functions to connect buildings throughout the camp landscape. The road was more informal and less defined in the early years, as it was not bordered by the gutters, retaining walls, and vegetation that are present today (fig. 7.4). Many of these features, most specifically the vegetation, were

added during the period of significance, and thus do not heavily impact integrity (fig. 7.3). The road has since been extended over the years to accommodate new buildings and to formalize certain desire lines, which occurred in front of the back line cabins. Although gravel has been added to the sandy material originally covering the road, none of the road has ever been paved. The continued use of a natural material on the road has lessened the visual impact of automobiles on the camp landscape, maintaining the feeling of Camp Merrie-Woode as a secluded space.

The various networks of pedestrian circulation have similarly become more formalized over time. Paths to buildings like Castle and the Dining Hall were paved in stone beginning during the 1940s and 1950s. More recently, paths to the infirmary and residences above the Merrie-Woode Road, and stairs down to and between the cabins, have been paved with stone. Both the Lake Trail and the trail that branches from it up to Old Bald have remained covered in natural materials. Regardless of the formalization, the overall layout of these pedestrian networks has remained largely intact. Additionally, the use of stone to pave the walkways complements the Adirondack- and picturesque-aesthetic of Camp Merrie-Woode.

#### *Integrity Summary for Circulation*

1. Location: The Merrie-Woode Road, its branches, and the varying trails running through camp are largely in the same location.
2. Design: The design also largely remains the same for the circulation networks.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: Gravel has been added to the Merrie-Woode Road, and some paths have been paved, but these changes were compatible with Camp Merrie-Woode's character.
5. Workmanship: Like materials, workmanship has been added in the form of stone paving along with gutters along the road. These changes were also compatible with Merrie-Woode's character.
6. Feeling: Overall the roads continue to feel unobtrusive, contributing to the illustration of the areas of significance.
7. Association: The association is, also intact as the natural appearance of the circulation network lead to an association of the areas of significance.



*Figure 7.3. Camp Merrie-Woode Road by front and back line cabins during 1950s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



*Figure 7.4. Merrie-Woode Road by front and back line cabins during the 1920s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*

### Cluster Arrangement

Like spatial organization, cluster arrangement is essential to conveying Camp Merrie-Woode's significance as a typical camp landscape. Because spatial organization at Merrie-Woode is generally dictated by natural features and intended use of the land, the buildings and activities have almost naturally formed in a cluster arrangement. Most of the cabins are located in the front and back line, which house the younger campers chronologically by age, while the hill cabins house the oldest age group. Although not truly adherent to the unit plan, the clustering of age groups throughout the landscape, with the oldest group in a separate area represents the psychology behind the plan. Activity areas have additionally clustered together,

with the Bang Shop, Arts & Crafts Lodge, and Weaving Hut, all arts-related activities, located in proximity to each other on the hillside. Activities that require more equipment or space, like land sports, archery, horseback riding, and waterfront sports, are typically located on the flatter areas of the landscape.

As with spatial organization, the buildings, structures, and other features that have been added to and reconstructed on the camp landscape have minimally impacted the integrity of cluster arrangement. New buildings, like hill cabins, have been clustered with other buildings of their type (fig. 7.5). Therefore, the relationship between buildings and their clustering on the landscape has remained intact. Camp Merrie-Woode's landscape still expresses typical camp construction in terms of cluster arrangement.

*Integrity Summary for Cluster Arrangement: High Level of Integrity*

1. Location: Locations of clustered buildings and activity areas remains intact.
2. Design: The picturesque design that has led to clusters of buildings and activity areas remains intact.
3. Setting: The historical setting remains intact.
4. Materials: As with spatial organization, some materials have changed, but vegetation and activity areas remain intact.
5. Workmanship: As in with materials, the workmanship of the buildings has been diminished, but workmanship of activity areas has remained intact.
6. Feeling: The cluster arrangement on the landscape still evokes the feeling of a historic all-girls' summer camp.
7. Association: The cluster arrangement on the landscape still expresses association with the organized camping movement.

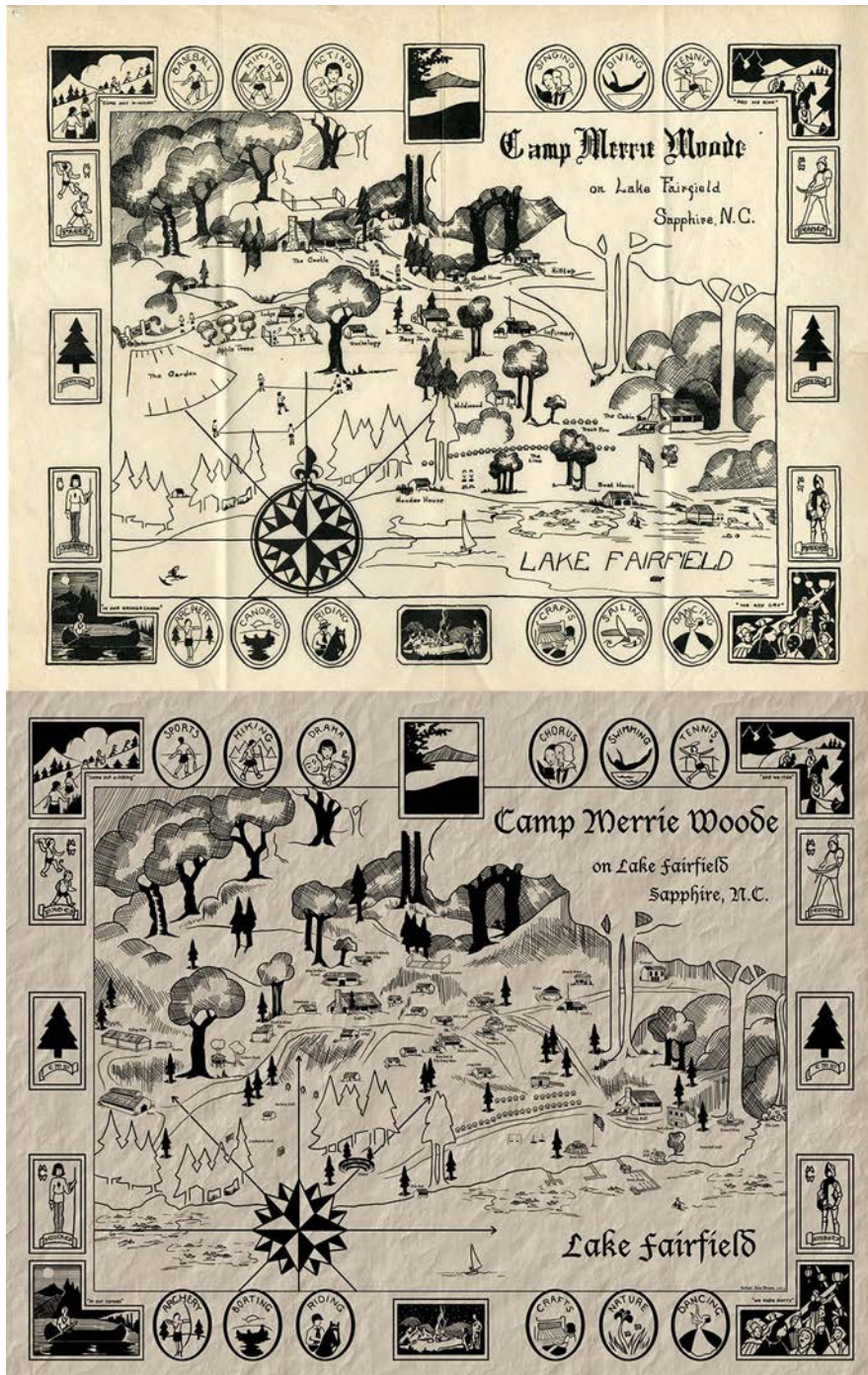


Figure 7.5. Map of Camp Merrie-Woode ca. 1930s/1940s (top) and Map of Camp Merrie-Woode 2013 by Alex Green (bottom), note: while there are more buildings and varied activity areas the cluster arrangement has remained the same. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and website)

## Buildings and Structures

Dammie Day imbued her ideals and objectives into the style, type, and use of buildings, structures, and small-scale features at Camp Merrie-Woode. With the help of R. H. Morrow, Dammie chose the rustic Adirondack style for the built environment at Merrie-Woode because its use of local, natural materials helped it to blend into the landscape. This style of architecture was prevalent in many summer camps during the interwar period because camp directors thought it evoked the pioneer ethic. Additionally, inconspicuous buildings constructed with natural materials allowed campers' attention to be drawn to their natural surroundings, ensuring the accomplishment of Merrie-Woode's aim to educate campers in simplified living conditions.

Buildings and structures have undergone the most significant alteration at Camp Merrie-Woode, as a majority of buildings and structures have been reconstructed or renovated throughout the camp's existence (figs. 7.8, 7.11, 7.12). Camp Merrie-Woode has been in continuous operation since its founding. This continuity, coupled with the fact that many of its buildings are without window enclosures and thus open to the elements, has led to a significant amount of wear and tear. Additionally, building codes and safety expectations have changed, and as the camp population expanded, buildings like Castle were typically over-capacity during the summer.<sup>289</sup> All of these factors have necessitated reconstruction, renovation, and even the addition of new buildings, including hill cabins for older campers such as Buckingham Palace and Briar Patch. However, some of camp's most iconic buildings, the Dining Hall and Tajar, among others, have remained intact (figs. 7.6, 7.7, 7.9, 7.10, 7.13, 7.14).

This pattern of reconstruction and renovation has, of course, diminished integrity in terms of historic fabric. Nevertheless, all of the reconstructions are compatible with the architectural

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<sup>289</sup> Senior Staff Members 2, 3, and 4, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

style of Merrie-Woode and are generally constructed using the same kinds of local materials for siding and stone chimneys. Most of the reconstructions have occurred in the footprint and orientation of the original buildings, and most of these buildings function in the same ways as they have historically. These reconstructions and renovations have not necessarily been motivated by changing ideals in the landscape, but by the growing population of Merrie-Woode and increasing safety and building code concerns. Therefore, although much of the materials is gone, the intent behind the style, type, and use of the building remains. Integrity of the built environment is lessened by the absence of much of the buildings' historic fabric. The reconstructed and renovated buildings and structures, however, have been designed in the same style with similar materials, thus leading to continued integrity of feeling and association.

*Integrity Summary for Buildings and Structures: Low Level of Integrity*

1. Location: The locations of buildings and structures are relatively intact, as they have been generally been reconstructed in the original footprint.
2. Design: The buildings and structures have generally been reconstructed with similar massing and features, but because many are not original, integrity is diminished.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: Although the same kinds of materials have used in the reconstructions and renovations, they are not generally the historic materials.
5. Workmanship: Although the workmanship is similar to the original buildings, the majority of the workmanship is not original.
6. Feeling: Because the reconstructions are constructed in the Adirondack style and generally by the same design, the buildings and structures still evoke feeling associated with areas of significance.
7. Association: Because the reconstructions are constructed in the Adirondack style and generally by the same design, the buildings and structures still express association with areas of significance.



*Figure 7.6. The Dining Hall during the 1920s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



*Figure 7.7. Interior of the Dining Hall during the 1950s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



*Figure 7.8. Castle during the 1920s (left) and Castle in January 2017 (right), Note: by 1949, there was a stone walkway up to Castle. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*

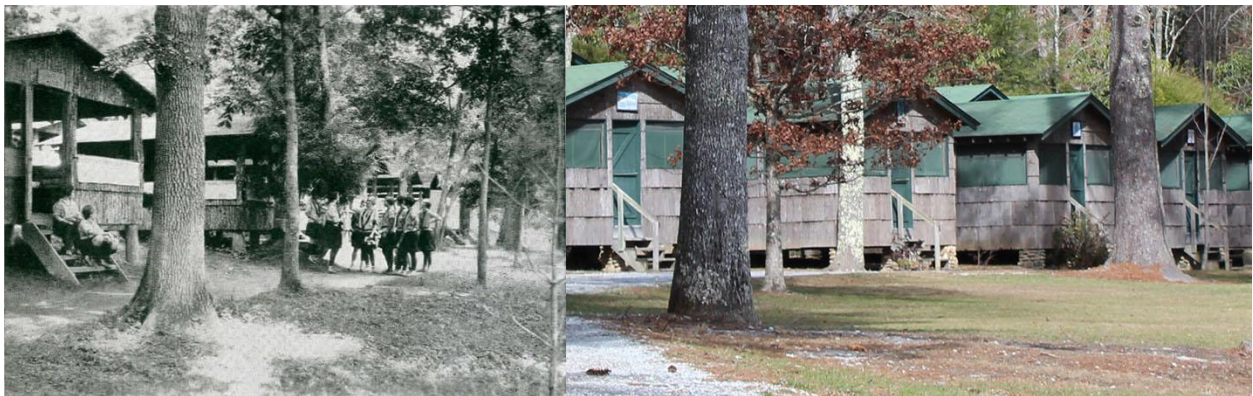




*Figure 7.9. Tajar during the 1930s (left) and Tajar in 2017 (right); the building is the same, but vegetation has grown up shielding its front facade. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



*Figure 7.10. Library on second story of Tajar during the 1940s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



*Figure 7.11. Front line cabins during the 1930s (left) and in 2017 (right); note the 2017 photograph is from a slightly different angle. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



Figure 7.12. Front line cabin, Sunny Shack during the 1940s (left) and 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)



Figure 7.13. Barn during the 1960s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)



Figure 7.14. Welcome Lodge during the 1930s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)

## Small Scale Features

Like buildings and structures, many small-scale features have been added or altered over the course of Merrie-Woode's history. The original entrance gate, constructed out of small logs, has been reconstructed (fig. 7.15). However, the reconstruction took place during the 1950s by longtime Merrie-Woode caretaker James Pressley. The current gate was thus constructed during the period of significance, making it historic. Stone walls and curbs have been constructed to combat erosion in various places, like between the front and back line cabins. Additionally, stone steps have replaced wooden steps in several instances. These walls and steps complement the stone walkways to Castle that were constructed by the 1940s, as well as those that were built around the dining hall during the 1950s. Additionally, the recent stone small-scale features are compatible with the rustic aesthetic of the camp as a whole. Other small-scale features have been altered, like the Camp Merrie-Woode sign (fig. 7.16). However, all changes and additions have taken into account the historic character of the camp through their composition of unobtrusive, natural materials.

### *Integrity Summary for Small Scale Features*

1. Location: Small-scale features are generally in their historical location.
2. Design: While some small-scale feature design has changed, like the Merrie-Woode sign on Highway 64, some of the new designs are now historic, like the Merrie-Woode gate, leading to moderate retention of integrity.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: Some historic materials remain, while others have been necessarily replaced due to wear and tear. Nevertheless, all replacements or additions are compatible with the camp's historic character.
5. Workmanship: Many of the stone small-scale features exhibit the workmanship of the camp's longtime caretaker and thus retain integrity of workmanship.
6. Feeling: The small-scale features of Merrie-Woode still evoke feeling associated with the areas of significance.
7. Association: The small-scale features additionally continue to express association with the areas of significance.



Figure 7.15: Camp Merrie-Woode Gate during the 1930s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)



Figure 7.16. Merrie-Woode sign during the 1950s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)

### Views and Vistas

Abigail Van Slyck noted that in addition to lakefront sites, early camp founders sought property with natural views and the ability to manipulate additional views and vistas. Views and vistas most likely were pursued by these early camp organizers in an effort to inspire campers to connect with nature, and as a marketing technique. The view of Old Bald remains one of the most character-defining features at Camp Merrie-Woode. Many early campers wrote in the *Lake Fairfield Ripple* about their feelings about living under the giant granite rock face evoked, one camper in 1924 writing, “As these mountains stand majestic around us stand for protection, for

strength and for pow’r, so Merrie-Woode, our chosen camp will strengthen us every hour.”<sup>290</sup>

This tradition continues today. Camp Merrie-Woode almost certainly would not be the same in a different location without the views provided by Old Bald, both from the camp and from the mountain’s summit (figs. 7.17 and 7.18). The retention of views and vistas at Camp Merrie-Woode is thus paramount, and has been aided by the Merrie-Woode Foundation’s acquisition of surrounding property.

#### *Integrity Summary for Views and Vistas*

1. Location: The views and vistas generally retain their historic location.
2. Design: Constructed views and vistas continue to employ the same designs.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: Vegetation is still used to frame many of the constructed views and vistas.
5. Workmanship: Like design, constructed views and vistas continue to exhibit integrity of workmanship.
6. Feeling: Views and vistas continue to evoke feeling related to the areas of significance.
7. Association: Views and vistas similarly continue to express association with the areas of significance.



*Figure 7.17. View of Camp Merrie-Woode from Old Bald during the 1960s (left) and in 2017 (right).  
(Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*

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<sup>290</sup> Anna Law, “To Merrie-Woode,” *The Lake Fairfield Ripple V* (1924): 17, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.



Figure 7.18. View of Old Bald from front line cabins during the 1920s (left) and in 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)

### Vegetation

Overall, the Camp Merrie-Woode landscape has maintained the same kinds of plant communities and native vegetation that were present during the period of significance. Plant communities include Montane Oak Hickory Forest, Pine Oak Heath, and Chestnut Oak Forests. Within the camp landscape white pines, chestnut oaks, rhododendron, and mountain laurel continue to be abundant. Additionally, water lilies, which were mentioned by campers and which appear in pictures as early as the 1920s, still abound in Lake Fairfield.<sup>291</sup>

Many of the repeat photographs show change in vegetation management. Although many of the same species of trees and ground cover are still present, there is a clear change in the aesthetic in terms of mowing, clearing certain trees and what looks to be a garden (see figs. 7.19

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<sup>291</sup> Mary Taylor Withers, Untitled Entry, *The Lake Fairfield Ripple IV* (1923): 14, Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, Sapphire, North Carolina.

and 7.20), while letting others mature, adding hedges for decorative purposes and as a boundary for roads and activity areas. These changes happened gradually over time. For example, the hemlock hedges lining the camp road by the front and back line cabins can be seen in a younger form in photographs dating from the 1950s (fig. 7.3). The turf present on the archery and land sports field, as well as the area in front of the cabins, has been manicured in a similar way since at least the 1950s. The changes in Merrie-Woode's vegetation over time reflect deliberate decisions made by camp directors to mow the archery and land sports field and to remove or trim certain trees to create views, for example, along with natural shifts in the camp landscape. As a cultural landscape in continuous operation as an all-girls' camp, Merrie-Woode is constantly evolving. However, the changes in vegetation are relatively minimal and do not impact one of the original goals of the camp to connect girls to and educate them in a natural environment. Additionally, the vegetation blanketing the slopes around Lake Fairfield adds an element of seclusion from the outside world.

#### *Integrity Summary for Vegetation*

1. Location: The majority of forest cover surrounding Camp Merrie-Woode's main campus remains the same. However, some vegetation within the main campus has changed, as trees have been cut or planted to create views.
2. Design: Like location, the design has changed slightly as trees have been cut or planted.
3. Setting: The historical setting is intact.
4. Materials: The same kinds of plant communities and vegetative species still populate the landscape.
5. Workmanship: The hemlock hedges continue to be pruned as they were during the 1950s.
6. Feeling: The vegetation at Merrie-Woode continues to contribute to an environment that evokes feeling related to the areas of significance.
7. Association: The vegetation at Merrie-Woode continues to contribute to an environment that expresses association to the areas of significance.



*Figure 7.19. View of archery field during the 1950s (left) and 2017 (right). (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives and Author)*



*Figure 7.20. Another view of archery field during 1950s. Note what looks like a garden in the current archery field. (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)*

## Land Use

At Camp Merrie-Woode, land use has been inextricably tied to programming and housing. Land use represents the broad history of organized camping history and the effects of the women's movement on the camp landscape. Land use characteristics are also deeply linked to spatial organization and cluster arrangement as programming, housing, and other land uses often dictated the placement of buildings and activity areas in the landscape.



The programming at Camp Merrie-Woode followed a typical pattern of the larger organized camping movement, which is reflected in the areas of the landscape which house activities and events. Consequently, programming has fluctuated through the years, reflecting changes in trends in the camping industry. Additionally, certain program areas have been moved or transitioned to a new use. During the 1920s and 1930s, a baseball field occupied the area where the Chapel now sits. The volleyball court, once situated below the Welcome Lodge, now occupies the space below the Arts & Crafts Lodge. The garden that was located in the archery field area was downsized and moved to the area around the Nature Nook. Nevertheless most of the land uses, including residential and service-oriented uses, have remained the same.

Land use at Camp Merrie-Woode offered campers the opportunity to partake in activities that were often restricted to their male counterparts prior to the early twentieth century. Girls at home might have had the opportunity to learn crafting skills, such as weaving and jewelry making. They most likely, however, would not have been given a chance to hike or shoot a bow and arrow. Additional activities, like rock climbing, were added when the Orrs purchased camp in the 1950s, as well as a more intense boating program, reinforcing the idea that Merrie-Woode's campers could participate in the same kinds of activities that were common at all-boys' camps. Land use, therefore, contributed and continues to contribute to Merrie-Woode's significance as a space of female empowerment.

*Integrity Summary for Land Use: High Level of Integrity*

1. Location: Although some land uses have changed, the main activity areas and cabin areas have remained the same.
2. Design: The design of programming has changed over time with new trends in activities. However, the nature of land use has remained intact.
3. Setting: The historical setting of land use retains integrity.
4. Materials: In general, the materials used in activities at Merrie-Woode have been updated over the years.
5. Workmanship: The workmanship associated with programming retains integrity.

6. Feeling: The current land uses are largely the same as the historic uses, leading to integrity of feeling associated with the organized camping movement and female education and empowerment.
7. Association: The current land uses are largely the same as the historic uses, leading to the continued association with the organized camping movement and female education and empowerment.

### Cultural Traditions

Among American children's camps, Camp Merrie-Woode is somewhat unique in its Arthurian-based traditions, as no other extant camps have been identified that practice these traditions. English traditions and legends have impacted the camp landscape in the form of building names like Castle and Camelot, and in the use of certain landscape elements for important events or rites. For example, since its construction circa 1960, the chapel has been the site of Merrie-Woode's annual performance of the search for the Holy Grail. "Follow the Gleam," itself, has been performed since around the time of Merrie-Woode's founding. Merrie-Woode's land use, programming, and traditions, all of which have heavily impacted the landscape, have largely been preserved since the camp's founding, resulting in a high level of historic integrity.

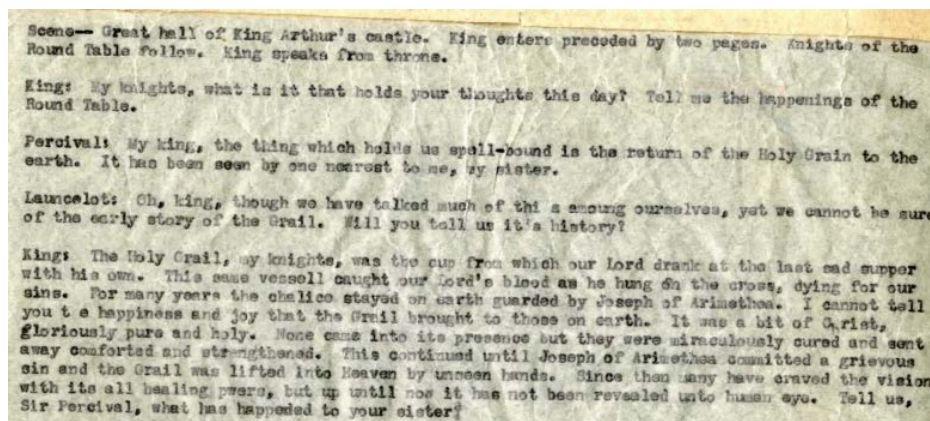


Figure 7.21. Excerpt from a 1940s script of "Follow the Gleam." (Source: Camp Merrie-Woode Archives)

The significance of a camp landscape, and that of Camp Merrie-Woode, is not only linked to physical characteristics. It is also linked to intangible heritage and to characteristics tied to other senses, like hearing and smell. Several alumnae recalled sounds that were essential to their camp experience: the sound of cabin door springs squeaking followed by the sound of that door slamming; the yells of girls' cheering for each other at the docks; the songs and dialogues of musical rehearsals; and the distinct crunching of gravel when a car entered the landscape, which can be jarring in the seclusion of the camp.<sup>292</sup> These sounds pervaded throughout the landscape precisely because of the isolation of Camp Merrie-Woode and they were aided by the openness of camp buildings and structures, which often had screens instead of windows. The perpetuation of these sensory experiences is just as important as the perpetuation of visual experiences in conveying the significance of Camp Merrie-Woode, especially in terms of feeling and association. During the summer, one can still hear the bustle of camp activities and the sound of girls supporting each other that is prevalent in the landscape, connecting the camp to its historical roots.

*Integrity Summary for Cultural Traditions: High Level of Integrity*

1. Location: The location of certain traditions, like Follow the Gleam, has changed, but most of those changes occurred within the period of significance, resulting in integrity of location.
2. Design: The design of cultural traditions remains intact.
3. Setting: Like location, some of the specific settings have changed, but the overall setting of Camp Merrie-Woode remains intact.
4. Materials: The elements of the cultural traditions at Merrie-Woode remain largely the same.
5. Workmanship: The workmanship behind the cultural traditions has continued throughout the camp's history.
6. Feeling: The cultural traditions continue to express the feeling associated with the areas of significance.
7. Association: The cultural traditions continue to express association with the areas of significance.

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<sup>292</sup> Alumnae 1 and 2, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

## Summary of Integrity Evaluation

Camp Merrie-Woode retains integrity in a majority of the landscape characteristics. Likewise, the camp overall landscape retains a high level of integrity in the areas of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. Reconstruction and renovation has diminished the integrity of materials and workmanship, although the presence of some original buildings like Tajar and the Dining Hall, along with buildings constructed during the 1960s that also are contributing historic resources, lends to some integrity of materials and workmanship. This is bolstered by the reuse of materials in certain buildings and structures, like the utilization of old flagstones in the new Chapel. Table 7.1 summarizes the integrity of each landscape characteristic. A high level of integrity indicates that the landscape characteristic remains largely unchanged; a moderate level of integrity indicates some alterations that are compatible with the historic character of the camp; a low level of integrity indicates complete reconstruction or heavy alterations that are compatible with the historic character of the camp; and no integrity indicates a reconstruction or heavy alteration that is not compatible with the historic character of the camp.

*Table 7.1: Summary of Landscape Characteristic Historic Integrity*

<b>Landscape Characteristics</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Design</b>	<b>Setting</b>	<b>Materials</b>	<b>Workmanship</b>	<b>Feeling</b>	<b>Association</b>
<b>Natural Systems and Features</b>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Topography</b>	High	Moderate	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Constructed Water Features</b>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Spatial Organization</b>	Moderate	High	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Circulation</b>	High	High	High	Moderate	Moderate	High	High
<b>Cluster Arrangement</b>	High	High	High	High	Moderate	High	High

<b>Buildings and Structures</b>	Moderate	Moderate	High	Low	Low	Moderate	High
<b>Small-Scale Features</b>	High	Moderate	High	Moderate	High	High	High
<b>Views and Vistas</b>	High	High	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Vegetation</b>	Moderate	Moderate	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Land Use</b>	Moderate	Moderate	High	High	High	High	High
<b>Cultural Traditions</b>	Moderate	High	High	High	High	High	High

**Conclusion**

The significance and integrity of Camp Merrie-Woode as an expression of the American camping movement and of the impact of the women’s movement is not just tied to individual buildings. Instead, its significance is conveyed through the setting, through the spatial arrangement and relationship of the buildings, through the interaction of nature and culture, and through the values and traditions that inspire programming and imbue the landscape with meaning. This is not to say that there is any justification in tearing down buildings and reconstructing them in a fashion incompatible with the camp’s character. Dammie Day chose the Adirondack style for its ability to blend into its natural setting. When reconstructions are sensitive to the character and the intent of the camp’s early leader and do not upset the spatial organization and other design characteristics of the picturesque style, they harm the integrity of the camp’s buildings and structures, but they also allow for the continued conveyance of the camp’s significance through their compatibility with other landscape characteristics. Overall, with the high retention of integrity in location, setting, design, feeling and association, Camp Merrie-Woode continues to convey the ideals implemented at the beginning of its history.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the importance of all-girls' summer camps in the context of often-underrepresented women's and girls' history. All-girls' summer camps are complex cultural landscapes, whose characteristics often illustrate conformity or resistance to the gender norms and relations of the world around them. Founded and built by college-educated women, Camp Merrie-Woode, through the preservation of most of its key landscape characteristics, continues to reflect the work of these women to create progressive and equal educational spaces, thereby subtly subverting gender norms. In order to elaborate on the answer to the original research question, this chapter will recapitulate the narratives and arguments presented in the previous chapters, and will offer recommendations for future research and for preservation efforts at Camp Merrie-Woode.

The literature review revealed the status of relevant fields to the research question—the fields of feminism and gender theory, the history of the American camping movement, and cultural landscape preservation. Literature from the second wave of feminism led to theories regarding the relationship between space, the built environment, and gender relations. More recently, comprehensive literature regarding the history of the American camping movement has shown the ways in which social norms and ideals of the outside world were incorporated or resisted in camp landscapes over time. At the same time, the field of cultural landscape preservation has coalesced during the past few decades and has been expanded by recognizing

the need to acknowledge and interpret women's history at historic sites. This expansion is not complete, however, and women's history should still be sought out to form a more comprehensive history. While some of these areas of literature overlapped, no single work tied all three threads together. Therefore, this thesis used these sources to build a context and framework through which to examine the preservation of the cultural landscape of an all-girls' summer camp in relation to the women's movement.

Chapters Three and Four provided theoretical and historical context. The gender theories documented in Chapter Three examined not only how gender roles can be reinforced, but also how they can be subverted. Methods of subversion included mobility out of the domestic sphere, subsequent organization of women, gaining access to knowledge not previously afforded to women, and the sense of community and physical control over space often inherent in homosocial environments. Issues of reinforcement and subversion of traditional gender norms can be seen in the broad trends of the American camping movement. The movement began as an effort to restore traditional notions of masculinity to boys. When girls' camps became popular during the early twentieth century, they offered environments that were similar to all-boys' camps. Girls' camps likewise provided access to traditionally masculine skills such as hiking and baseball, while also offering more traditionally feminine activities like arts and crafts and folk dancing. Therefore, all-girls' camps, which were often owned and directed by college-educated women, typically worked to subtly shift certain gender norms.

These broader trends of reinforcing and subverting gender norms, as well as general patterns in the evolution of the American camping movement, are represented in the history of Camp Merrie-Woode. Documentation of the history of Camp Merrie-Woode revealed that while Camp Merrie-Woode was not an overtly political or explicitly feminist space, from the 1920s

onward, it provided young girls with the tools necessary for the subtle subversion of gender relations and subsequent empowerment. The camp's location beyond of the domestic sphere afforded young girls a new sense of mobility. The secluded setting, under the physical control of two college-educated women, produced a sense of community and access to skills unhindered by external social expectations. Although summer camp is an inherently temporary space, Merrie-Woode served as a separate public sphere for girls and women, as it imparted both "hard" and "soft" skills and created a network of support necessary to succeed in the public sphere outside of the camp.

Camp Merrie-Woode's landscape has certainly evolved over the years. However, documentation of existing conditions and the analysis and evaluation of significance and integrity has revealed that these alterations have not significantly impacted the camp's ability to convey its role in the women's movement, the American camping movement, and as a good example of a picturesque-style camp landscape. Camp Merrie-Woode's progressive nature in its first years during the 1910s and 1920s, which is reflected in the secluded setting, the continued rusticity of camp buildings and structures, and other landscape characteristics, has remained intact. While attitudes towards gender shifted in the outside world, the gender ideals encapsulated in the Merrie-Woode landscape that promoted female skill-building, democracy, and empowerment endured. Preserving and interpreting the history of Camp Merrie-Woode as a cultural landscape that reflects aspects of the history of feminism is an important step in illuminating underrepresented history and creating a more comprehensive national historical narrative.

Camp Merrie-Woode's history is an important contribution to the larger narratives of the American camping movement and the women's movement. Even more so, however, Merrie-



Woode's history is integral to the camp itself. Alumnae have spoken about the connection they feel to the past while at camp.<sup>293</sup> That connection is essential in the creation of Camp Merrie-Woode's sense of place. Without it, Merrie-Woode most likely would not have survived the downturn of the 1970s. A 1970s brochure stated, "Merrie-Woode's spirit is a composite thing, made up of all those who through the years have loved it and given their best."<sup>294</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode is a cultural landscape comprised of the relationships of its campers, cultural traditions, the natural environment, a distinct style of architecture, novel activities, and the values initially embraced and instilled by Dammie Day. Continuing to preserve the landscape's history is crucial in maintaining Camp Merrie-Woode's sense of place, honoring those who "have loved it and given their best," and sustaining the camp for generations to come.

## **Recommendations**

### Amendment to the 1995 National Register Nomination Criteria A and C

One purpose of this thesis is to provide context and justification for an amendment to the 1995 national register nomination. This amendment would expand Camp Merrie-Woode's significance under criterion A for its association with the women's movement, and reevaluate the camp's significance under criterion C as a typical picturesque camp landscape rather than as a collection of Adirondack-style buildings. The reevaluation of the camp's significance and the time gap also calls for a reassessment of contributing and noncontributing resources. While the original nomination primarily evaluated buildings and structures as contributing and

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<sup>293</sup> Alumnae 1, 3, and 4, Interview with Olivia Head, January 2017.

<sup>294</sup> Camp Merrie-Woode Promotional Brochure, ca. 1979, in Camp Merrie-Woode Archives, 26.

noncontributing resources, an amended nomination should also consider landscape characteristics.

### Consideration of Criterion B

This thesis focused on the expansion and reevaluation of criteria A and C. However, research revealed that criterion B should also be considered due to the significance of several of the camp's owners and directors, but exploring criterion B further was outside of the scope of this thesis. Dammie Day, along with Fritz Orr Sr., Fritz Orr, Jr., and Hugh Caldwell, played an important role in the western North Carolina camping industry and perhaps in the camping industry as a whole. Day aided in the professionalization of the camping movement, leading the southern chapter of the American Camping Association for at least two years, a position made even more impressive by the fact that both male and female directors were a part of the organization.<sup>295</sup> Fritz Orr Sr., Fritz Orr, Jr., and Hugh Caldwell were intensely involved in the sport of whitewater canoeing and kayaking in western North Carolina. They were potentially among the first to descend rivers like the Nantahala and the Chattooga. They brought this association with whitewater sports to Camp Merrie-Woode and led Merrie-Woode counselors and campers down the first descent of certain sections of rivers, like Section IV of the Chattooga.<sup>296</sup> Dammie's connection with the professionalization of the camping industry and the Orr's and Hugh Caldwell's connection with the whitewater industry most likely further empowered Camp Merrie-Woode's campers and impacted the camping and whitewater industries. To define that impact, and potentially amend the nomination to include criterion B, their lives and work should be explored further.

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<sup>295</sup> "Mrs. Day Again Chosen to Head Camp Directors." *Asheville Citizen-Times*, March 13, 1938, accessed February 23, 2017. <http://www.newspapers.com/image/198186168>.

<sup>296</sup> John Lane, *Chattooga: Descending into the Myth of Deliverance River* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 136.

Likewise, future research into R. H. Morrow's involvement into the planning and design of Camp Merrie-Woode's landscape potentially would bolster the camp's significance under criterion C. R. H. Morrow was an important figure in the realm of camp planning in western North Carolina, but many of the camps he helped design have been closed or moved. Although it is clear that Morrow aided in the Camp Merrie-Woode's design in some way due to Henry Wellington Wack's attribution of the design to Morrow, the extent of his involvement remains unknown. Further research into Morrow's life and work should be performed in order to provide more context and to attempt to ascertain the aspects of Camp Merrie Woode's spatial organization or design for which Morrow is responsible. This research would help determine whether Camp Merrie-Woode is eligible under criterion C as the work of a master camp builder.

#### Historic Context of Childrens' Camps in North Carolina

Additional research should be performed on other camps in western North Carolina, particularly all-boys' and all-girls' camps. Most literature written about summer camps has focused on summer camps in the Northeast, where the movement started, or in the Midwest, where the movement similarly flourished. Further research into the camps of western North Carolina would supply more context for Camp Merrie-Woode. It would allow for the comparison of the landscape, activities, and traditions of Camp Merrie-Woode to other all-girls' camps in the region and all-boys camps, which would reveal whether Merrie-Woode campers did have access to the same kinds of spaces and skills as their regional male counterparts. This research would also help further refine our understanding of Camp Merrie-Woode's level of significance, as it would help determine which historic summer camps are still extant and retain integrity.

## Guidelines

The research conducted about Camp Merrie-Woode, along with its archival collections, should inform a set of preservation guidelines regarding the camps' Adirondack-style architecture and picturesque landscape characteristics. One of the objectives stated in the Merrie-Woode Foundation's 2013-2017 strategic plan is to "Establish a set of architectural, aesthetic, and landscape guidelines to serve as a blueprint for the enhancement of the buildings and grounds."<sup>297</sup> These guidelines should establish the camp's character-defining features, including the board-and-batten or bark slab siding of its buildings and structures, the use of vegetation to frame views of Old Bald and Lake Fairfield, the utilization of natural and local materials for buildings and structures and for other landscape characteristics like circulation, and the general rustic, Adirondack feel of the camp. Additionally, these guidelines should promote attempts to preserve as much fabric of the remaining original buildings as possible, rather than reconstruct these buildings. One building that warrants such careful consideration is Tajar. Tajar is emblematic of Dammie Day's philosophy and ideals of inclusivity and equality. Thus, the building is integral in conveying and interpreting Camp Merrie-Woode's ties to Dammie Day and to her efforts to create an equal camp environment for girls. Tajar is also architecturally significant as a representation of the adoption of the Swiss Chalet style in Adirondack-style architecture. Tajar's significance under both criteria A and C makes its preservation essential.

## Interpretation and Education

Because of Tajar's historical importance within the camp landscape, the building also could be used for the interpretation of the all-girls' camp's, and specifically Camp Merrie-

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<sup>297</sup> Merrie-Woode Foundation, Inc., Camp Merrie-Woode Strategic Plan 2013-2017 (Sapphire: Camp Merrie-Woode, 2012), 7, accessed April 14, 2017, <http://www.merriewoode.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/FINAL-Web-Version.pdf>.

Woode's, relationship to the women's movement. The second floor of Tajar serves as its library, but it is often underutilized. Libraries, however, were almost ubiquitous at early all-girls' camps, as they promoted supplemental education.<sup>298</sup> The Camp Merrie-Woode library, in honor of the importance of libraries in all-girls' summer camps and their educational purpose, could serve as interpretive space, exhibiting panels that display the history of Camp Merrie-Woode, the history of all-girls' camps, important figures in Merrie-Woode's history, and the camp's connection to the early feminist movement. Eventually, this exhibit space could also serve as the culmination of a tour of Camp Merrie-Woode that highlights those aspects of history. This interpretation of Camp Merrie-Woode's relationship to the women's movement would help highlight and preserve that history for generations to come.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

Women today continue to fight for gender equality—whether for equal pay or the variety of issues protested at the Women's March on January 21, 2017. This continued fight lends relevance and power to places like Camp Merrie-Woode that reveal the often overlooked histories of the efforts that seemingly ordinary women made to empower future generations of women. Camp Merrie-Woode should thus be preserved, interpreted, and celebrated as a landscape that embodies the women's movement. Its history has the power to show young girls not to fear recognizing their equal worth and asking for equal rights. The expansion of the historical significance of Camp Merrie-Woode, and its interpretation, has larger implications than on the camp itself and its national register nomination. Preserving Camp Merrie-Woode and similar all-girls' camps as bastions of the women's movement has the potential to produce

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<sup>298</sup> Eleanor Eells, *Eleanor Eells' History of Organized Camping : The First 100 Years* (Martinsville, Ind. : American Camping Association, c1986., 1986), 6.

future generations to fight for gender equality and advance the original intentions of Dammie Day in society at large.

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## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND PROTOCOL

#### **Interview Questions for Camp Merrie-Woode: The Intersection of Gender Attitudes and Historic Preservation at an All-Girls' Summer Camp**

What is your association with Camp Merrie-Woode?

How long have you been associated with Merrie-Woode?

What does camp mean to you?

What kinds of values do you think the camp aims to instill in campers? How do you think the setting or the environment of Camp Merrie-Woode affects and relates to these values?

Do you see historic preservation as a goal at Camp Merrie-Woode?

Did any changes occur in the built environment (layout, circulation and buildings?) during the time you were associated with the camp? If so, why do you think these changes occurred? How do you think these changes affected the camp experience?

Did any changes occur in the programming during during the time you were associated with the camp? If so, why do you think these changes occurred? How do you think these changes affected the camp experience?

Did any changes occur in camp traditions during the time you were associated with the camp? If so, why do you think these changes occurred? How do you think these changes affected the camp experience?

What camp experiences were most meaningful to you as a girl?

How do you think Camp Merrie-Woode might have been different if it was a coed or an all-boys' camp?

Now that you are an adult, how do you think Camp Merrie-Woode shaped your attitudes and feelings about being a woman? And how do you think the setting of Camp Merrie-Woode might have impacted these attitudes and feelings?



**UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA  
CONSENT FORM**

Camp Merrie-Woode: The Interaction of Gender Attitudes and Historic Preservation at an All-Girls' Summer Camp

**Researcher's Statement**

We are asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." A copy of this form will be given to you.

**Principal Investigator:** Eric MacDonald  
College of Environment and Design  
(706) 542-0118

**Co-Investigator:** Olivia Head  
College of Environment and Design  
(205) 482-1086

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to explore how attitudes towards gender informed the development and subsequent preservation of all-girls' summer camps in North Carolina. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to answer questions that the researcher has prepared pertaining to Camp Merrie-Woode and preservation practices to the best of my knowledge.

**Study Procedures**

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to ...

- This study will be limited to the present occasion.
- There will be an informal interview with 11 open-ended questions.
- The interview should take between 60 to 90 minutes.
- The interview will be audio recorded with your permission.
- There is a possibility that there will be a follow up interview if we do not have time to address all questions or if further questions arise from the initial interview.

**Risks and discomforts**

- We do not anticipate any risks from participating in this research.

**Benefits**

- You will not benefit directly from this research.
- Anticipated benefits to society include enhanced understanding of how the built environment and camp programming has been altered or preserved in accordance with changing gender values.





**Audio/Video Recording**

Audio recordings will be used with your permission in order to accurately represent what we talked about in our interview. The interviews will be typed into a transcript for my use in the research. The audio recording will be deleted and the transcript kept on file.

Please provide initials below if you agree to have this interview audio recorded or not. You may still participate in this study even if you are not willing to have the interview recorded.

\_\_\_\_\_ I do not want to have this interview recorded.  
\_\_\_\_\_ I am willing to have this interview recorded.

**Privacy/Confidentiality**

The data we collect will include information that will directly identify you as a participant, including your name and e-mail address. This information will be included in the transcript of our interview, which will be stored on a secure computer server at the University of Georgia, College of Environment and Design. Access to the data will be limited only to the principal investigator and co-investigator. Although the results of the research study may be published, your name or any identifying information will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only. Researchers will not release identifiable results of the study to anyone other than individuals working on the project without your written consent unless required by law.

**Taking part is voluntary**

Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

**If you have questions**

The main researcher conducting this study is Olivia Head from the University of Georgia (UGA), Master of Historic Preservation program, (205) 482-1086 under the direction of Dr. Eric MacDonald from the UGA College of Environment and Design, (706) 542-1682. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Olivia Head at olivia.head@uga.edu or at (205) 482-1086. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

**Research Subject’s Consent to Participate in Research:**

To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, and have had all of your questions answered.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

## APPENDIX B

### 1995 NATIONAL REGISTER SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE

NPS Form 10-900-a  
(4-86)

OMIS Approval No. 107-0018

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

#### National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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Jackson County, NC

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##### Summary

Located in the Sapphire Valley on Fairfield Lake near the town of Cashiers in southern Jackson County, Camp Merrie-Woode illustrates the history of early-twentieth-century recreational activity in western North Carolina. The camp's setting on the north shore of Fairfield Lake at the bases of Cowrock and Bald Rock Mountains includes nearly flat terrain near the lake's bank and more precipitous terrain along the district's northern boundary. Historically, the camp has consisted of a mix of woodland brimming with indigenous vegetation, the building complex, and a system of dirt roads and paths which adapt to the site's hilly contours and connect resources within the district. Camp Merrie-Woode contains buildings and structures associated with twentieth-century summer resident camping and recreation, including a dining hall, an assembly building, an arts and crafts building, a music lodge, a dance studio, and cabins for housing campers and staff. The camp also retains significant landscape features including an intact viewshed containing Fairfield Falls, Fairfield Lake and its wooded and undeveloped shoreline, the towering granite-faced Bald Rock Mountain, and the more lush Little Bald Rock Mountain. These natural intact features, combined with the native rhododendron, white pines, and hemlock which blanket the surrounding area and which are found throughout the district, help to retain the district's rural setting. Established in 1919 as a boarding camp for girls, Camp Merrie-Woode flourished under the leadership of Mabel "Dammie" Day whose thirty-year tenure extended from 1922 until 1952. It was under Day's direction that the camp achieved its significance as a recreational facility for girls and that the property came to be the embodiment of a local interpretation of the Adirondack style. Subsequent owners, the Orr family and the Camp Merrie-Woode Foundation, operated the camp following Dammie Day's principles and ideals. They also retained the architectural integrity of the buildings and constructed new camp buildings and structures in a fashion compatible with the Adirondack style. The district, with its buildings and harmonious rustic structures, together with the surrounding mountains and Fairfield Lake, affords a rural recreational landscape that is becoming a rarity in the rapidly developing mountainous areas of western North Carolina. Camp Merrie-Woode, like other girls' summer resident camps, played an important role in the interwar period by exposing young women to nature and the environment. Camp directors saw this experience and its emphasis on self-reliance and the fostering of an appreciation for nature as a positive contrast to the rapid changing and industrializing world. As an early-twentieth-century summer recreational facility, Camp Merrie-Woode signifies the theme of entertainment and recreation which makes it eligible for the

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

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Jackson County, NC

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National Register under criterion A. The camp is also eligible under criterion C for architecture as an outstanding collection of Adirondack-style buildings best exemplified by the property's bark shingles, split log and board-and-batten siding, and stone chimneys. Also contributing to the integrity of the district is the intact rural wooded and mountainous landscape which provides an appropriate setting for the rustic buildings.