

EFFECT, FORM, AFFECT: AN EXPLORATION OF VERNACULAR LANDSCAPE
FORM CHANGE USING THE CONTEXT OF A TRADITIONAL FISHING VILLAGE

By

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To my parents, and the host of individuals in my personal, professional, and academic lives who have inspired me and encouraged my appreciation for human and natural environments. Also, to Sunflower for her unending support through it all.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	4
LIST OF FIGURES.....	10
ABSTRACT	12
CHAPTER	
1 DEFINING THE PROBLEM.....	14
General Background of Study and Overview of Findings.....	14
General Background	14
Summarized Findings.....	19
Problem Statement and Research Questions.....	24
Academic and Professional Significance of the Research.....	27
Loss of Integrity and Significance.....	31
Historic Area Determination in Practice	34
Land Use and Design Issues.....	36
Influence of Three Scholars.....	37
Preferential Point of View by the Author	38
Delimitations of the Study	39
Key Terms and Definitions.....	43
Organization of the Dissertation.....	46
Transition Statement.....	47
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	49
Overview and Organization of the Chapter	49
Theoretical and Applied Foundations of Vernacularism.....	53
Theoretical and Applied Foundations of Cultural Landscape Studies and the Extended Vernacular	60
What is the Cultural Landscape?.....	60
Cultural Landscape as a Unit of Analysis	61
Abbreviated History of Landscape Form Evaluation in the United States	64
Role of urban morphology in understanding vernacular form	71
Role of historical ecology in understanding vernacular form.....	75
Extended Vernacularism in the Cultural Landscape	80
External TFVs Already Studied	85
Theoretical and Applied Foundations of Form-Based Structure and Concepts	86
Workings of Vernacular Form.....	86
A review of generative and environmental forms	88
Determinants of Vernacular Form Change	105
Questioning climate	109
Cataclysmic events	112

Topography.....	116
Materials	119
Other determinants	120
Identifying Landscape Form Change.....	122
Consideration of Intangible Forms in the Historic Cultural Landscape	125
Textual reading	127
Sense of place	129
The intangible manifestations of form	132
Consideration of Visual Analysis Programs for Interpreting Form.....	134
Visual Aspects of Cultural Landscapes and Buildings.....	135
Documentation and Assessment.....	138
Graphics as a Tool for Conveying Form and Form Change	141
Transition Statement.....	142
3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	144
Overview.....	144
Type of Research	146
Rationale for Selection	146
Referential Study Community	147
Phase I (Preparation)--Data Resource Review, Field Studies, and Terms	151
Data Resource Review.....	152
A note about vernacular.....	153
A note about architectural and landscape form.....	154
Benefits of Using the Traditional Fishing Village Context	156
Description of the TFV as an informative land use type and historic resource.....	157
Cortez as a preferred model of study.....	162
Understanding a Regional Area of Influence	167
Initial Field Studies of Cortez and Other TFVs	172
Photographic compilation.....	173
Mapping	174
Phase II (Descriptive Strategy Part 1)--Visual Analysis for Documenting and Clarifying the Physical Landscape Form of Cortez	175
How Will the Physical Landscape and Its Form be Documented?	175
Photographic compendium	176
Create sketch drawings of form over time.....	178
How Will Physical Changes in the Landscape Form be Measured?	179
Describing the Visual Landscape Form Changes.....	182
Phase III (Descriptive Strategy Part 2)--Thick Analysis for Re[vealing]leading the Intangible Landscape Form of Cortez.....	182
Phase IV-Findings: Interpretive Narrative and Discussion of Vernacular Landscape Form Change and Influences	185
Methods of Data Collection and Information Sources	185
Data sources.....	187
Transition Statement.....	192

4	IMPLEMENTATION OF STUDY	196
	Overview.....	196
	Particular Problems with Form	197
	Treatment of Form as an Exploration versus an Epistemological Study	200
	Constructs of Vernacular Landscape Form and Form Change in Cortez	201
	Contextual Form.....	201
	The contextual form framework.....	204
	Explaining the Contextual Form Indicators.....	208
	Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space.....	210
	Village layout form indicator set	216
	Building mosaic form indicator set	218
	Extended vernacular form indicator set.....	234
	The Evolution of Vernacular Landscape Form in Cortez.....	264
	Applying the Contextual Form Framework and Graphic Sketch Program	264
	Forward First: Twenty-first Century Cortez.....	267
	Historic overview.....	268
	Natural/environmental background	270
	Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space.....	271
	Village layout form indicator set	274
	Building mosaic form indicator set	281
	Extended vernacular form indicator set.....	292
	Discussion of the twenty-first century form in Cortez	313
	Presettlement Form Period Occurring 1887 and Prior.....	320
	Synopsis of the period	320
	Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space.....	323
	Village layout form indicator set	324
	Building mosaic form indicator set	336
	Extended vernacular form indicator set.....	344
	Discussion of the presettlement period form	362
	Settlement Form Period Occurring 1887 to 1897	364
	Synopsis of the period	364
	Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space.....	366
	Village layout form indicator set	377
	Building mosaic form indicator set	388
	Extended vernacular form indicator set.....	400
	Discussion of the settlement period form	414
	Contextual Growth Form Period Occurring 1898 to 1921	425
	Synopsis of the period	425
	Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space.....	428
	Village layout form indicator set	433
	Building mosaic form indicator set	444
	Extended vernacular form indicator set.....	456
	Discussion of the contextual growth period form.....	490
	Discussion of the diminution of form event of 1912.....	494
	Contextual Recovery Form Period Occurring 1921 to 1946	504
	Synopsis of the period	504

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space.....	507
Village layout form indicator set	511
Building mosaic indicator set.....	518
Extended vernacular form indicator set.....	536
Discussion of the contextual recovery period form.....	583
Transition Statement.....	587
5 RESULTS OF STUDY	607
Study Summary	607
Statement of Findings	612
Form Change in the Vernacular Landscape of Cortez	615
A continuously changing character	615
Integrity and significance	620
Determinants of Vernacular Landscape Form Change by Study Period	627
Technology	627
Encroachment.....	630
Influence of major historical events on landscape form in Cortez	633
Individual decision-making	637
Conclusion	639
Implications of Study Results.....	646
Future Research.....	646
Perspectives on Later Form Periods	651
Critique of Method Used	653
 APPENDIX	
A DISSERTATION RESEARCH CHART	660
B QUICK STUDY TOOL.....	684
C FINAL DEFENSE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY PRESENTATION	687
LIST OF REFERENCES	719
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	743

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>page</u>
4-1	Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1947 to 2013.	594
4-2	Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1887 to 1897.	601
4-3	Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1898 to 1921.	603
4-4	Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1921 to 1946.	604

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
2-1 Generative form graphic.....	143
3-1 Florida Gulf Coast Triangle areas.....	193
3-2 Set of Cortez waterfront conglomerations revealing early physical forms..	194
3-3 Example of the rolling out of the physical form sets from residential to the extended vernacular..	194
3-4 Unpopulated graphic tile information system.....	195
4-1 Cortez historic study area.....	588
4-2 Cortez aerial view.....	589
4-3 The 2013 waterfront conglomeration of Cortez.....	589
4-4 Comparison of historic Cortez boundaries.....	590
4-5 1995 Cortez historic district boundary..	590
4-6 Historic shoreline of Cortez.....	591
4-7 2013 parcel configuration..	592
4-8 2013 Cortez circulation pattern.....	593
4-9 Historic activity center.....	593
4-10 Presettlement form depiction of the waterfront conglomeration.....	594
4-11 Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the presettlement form period occurring prior to 1887.....	595
4-12 1846 Survey of Hunter’s Point peninsula.....	596
4-13 1890 map with the name “Cortez” first appearing.....	597
4-14 Settlement form period (1887-1897) waterfront conglomeration sketch..	598
4-15 Official subdivision plat of U.S. Government Lot 3, 1887.....	599
4-16 Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the settlement form period occurring 1887 to 1897.....	600

4-17	Waterfront conglomeration illustration of the contextual growth form period occurring 1898 to 1921 reveals a denser waterfront as new fishers increased the commercial fishing activity in Cortez.....	601
4-18	Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the contextual growth form period occurring 1898 to 1921.....	602
4-19	The 1921 waterfront and bay construct..	603
4-20	1946 waterfront conglomeration..	604
4-21	Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the contextual recovery form period occurring 1921 to 1946.....	605
4-22	Comparison of waterfront constructs between two period ends..	606
5-1	Significant affect to form tool..	659

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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My study explores historic significance and form change in the vernacular landscape of the traditional fishing village of Cortez, Florida, using context. It makes primary inquiries into landscape form change, determinants of change, and historic significance.

My methodology is a qualitative exploration of landscape form pursuant to a historic study span from 1887 to 1946 that documents historic activities and interprets findings according to three form periods. It evaluates 14 contextual indicators within three sets that include village layout, building mosaic, and extended vernacular. This includes a subset of intangible forms that are not purely physical in character. By looking at these form sets across the periods, I recognized changes to both the physical and intangible form indicators. I performed a thicker analysis of certain forms to address my question of form change determinants, and to enhance intangible form discussions.

My findings reveal elements of stability and instability among the historic landscape form sets. All but three of the 14 indicators changed or remained stable similarly across the spectrum. Eight changed significantly across all form periods. The form of the landscape was found to be more contextual, and perhaps more significant

as it rolls outward from the dwelling area to the waterfront conglomeration. In spite of prominent form changes and losses of integrity and significance, early kinship cultural build-up in the village linked to commercial fishing allowed enhanced localized stability compared to regional counterparts.

My findings also revealed four major determinants of landscape form change including, technology, encroachment, historic precedents, and individual decision-making, with the latter determinant appearing to be the most influential. This appears to have been due to personal freedom, preference, and economics reflected as part of the inherent fishing culture.

The results of my study, while certainly not complete, do reveal certain determinants of vernacular form change, and also open up discussions about how forms changed over periods of time so that a better understanding of their historicity, and/or significance from a historic preservation viewpoint is better articulated.

CHAPTER 1 DEFINING THE PROBLEM

General Background of Study and Overview of Findings

General Background

Historic vernacular landscapes represent contextual human constructs that can be interpreted as points or periods of significance within a time continuum, or even as constantly changing constructs that evolve at variable rates under seemingly endless influences and adaptations. The inherent problems associated with analyzing any given vernacular landscape then, as something so fluid and consisting of a such a complex array of natural and cultural influences weighing on it at any given moment, moves away from precise formulaic applications for studying it; this is made more apparent when considering each landscape's uniqueness as a subtype of the broader cultural landscape, though the recognition of landscape subtypes can allow more precise renderings of analysis, since their overall construct has become typologized, assuming something in its construct or character has been whittled down. What often results from failing to understand a reasonable gamut of the available forms that are contextual and important to any given landscape, then, is a misinterpretation, or perhaps an overstatement of historical significance that these types of landscapes present in their latent, evolved forms. The truer character of the historic landscape construct somehow becomes lost as a result of continual layering and exoriation.

The effects on the landscape from both natural and cultural perspectives, including determinants of the effects have also been fairly studied, and an applied format through the National Park Service's (NPS) cultural landscape program provides an excellent guide for examining them. However, as of the date of my study, little work

has been afforded to the concept of landscape form and its evolution in the milieu of historic fishing villages occurring along the Florida Gulf Coast dating from the late nineteenth century. This apparent lack of focus on and attention to the broader landscape construct of TFVs leaves gaps in understanding the phenomenon of vernacular landscape form change, including, for example, the factors that have contributed to, or determined such change, and its varying degrees. These gaps then confound the researcher's ability to apply a proven methodology, which was then formulated according to my study as a planned endeavor, and as it revealed itself through an investment in the available discourse and my primary inquiries.

In essence, my methodology explained in Chapter 3 unfolded according to a blend of approaches and the roadblocks that presented themselves along the way. This four-phase research program uses a blend of historical, descriptive, and interpretive methodological programs based on contextual indicators that identify vernacular landscape form and change as definable and measurable entities. It therefore assumes a qualitative methodological exploration of landscape form of the Cortez landscape. Based on this system, I interpreted findings according to noticeable physical changes, the thicker analysis of the determinants my research found as causing change, and ultimately an evaluation of historic significance based on the research to that point.

One of the first problems I confronted at the beginning of my study was in how to handle the vernacular landscape in order to manage it as a unit of analysis. Under the NPS cultural landscape program, it is apparent that the vernacular landscape represents a more precise distinction from the broader cultural landscape in that the latter does not always emphasize the vernacular as the primary construct. It is not

uncommon to consider the multiplicity of forms that make up the cultural landscape as manifested in an array of physical and intangible realms, yet the application of these considerations is quite varied among multiple disciplines. In narrowing the cultural landscape down to size for my study, that is, as a historic vernacular landscape construct that is contextually rich, understanding the wholeness of something that continued to remain so large and multidimensional presented my second dilemma of study.

More recent inquiries examine a plethora of influences that extend to less familiar material objects and non-physical, non-visual forms that appear through human perception and cognition. Indeed, such analyses regarding buildings have been examined to a fair degree, as well as, in nature-oriented scenic areas, rural uplands, and in residentially developed places. Urbanized areas also have benefitted from such in-depth studies, but only much more recently in the United States. Regardless, such available discourses seem to be lacking in the domain of the traditional fishing village (TFV) context.

The focus now turned to a second problem of how I was to employ a thoughtful examination of available forms, or indicators of form, complex in their own right, that were still part of the inherent complexities of the larger landscape whole. The availability, or degree of availability of any given form in the landscape, is determined by its accessibility and ease for being studied, often represented as a human construct that may or may not be easily discernible or clear to the researcher. Nearly every construct in the landscape is available for study depending on the research effort, though a full analysis of it may never be complete. Primary buildings and certain other human-made

structures and material artifacts in landscapes have been extensively studied and make up a large percentage of the scholarly work on vernacular form. It can be said that efforts toward expanding the understanding of these individual constituent parts of landscapes have been robust as evidenced through important contributions that go beyond just looking at the physical nature of the objects themselves.

The study of buildings by themselves, a necessary and important foundation of knowledge that contributes to the erected and crafted physical constituent of landscapes, represents an incomplete facet of the multifaceted construct for understanding the structure and change of the larger landscape form. This limited pursuit leaves out the more contextually pertinent, perceptive, intangible human constructs though they are often constantly weighing heavily on landscape form.

In order to pursue research that was manageable under the constraints and limitations of a doctoral dissertation, I determined that successful study of any landscape requires the additional, thorough analysis of certain constituent parts of it that are more contextually attributable to it; this became easier by using best available methods adapted from several fields of study. Therefore, my study examines the wider vernacular landscape of village geography and primary buildings, and also considers as equally or even more important, an “extension” of these usual constructs of study to include commercial fishing industry-dependent structures such as fisheries camps, docks, watercraft, and certain other forms, including some that I refer to as having intangible qualities, such as the act of fishing and the fishing grounds. As part of this particular extended landscape form construct, I also look at forms of experience and changing traditional know-how, referred to as part of an elapsed experiential form that is

typically of distinction found in historic vernacular landscapes, but developed out of, and appropriately framed as part of my study explorations.

The third dilemma presented a challenge for presenting a timeframe to be studied. Since I am interested in how the overall form, as a single notion, has occurred within the historic commercial fishing vernacular landscape, I also look closely at its change over time, using the selected TFV of Cortez, located along the coast of Manatee County, Florida as a referential study complex. The benefits of using Cortez lay in its known historical beginning, or settlement period, and continued presence. Admittedly, this appears as being somewhat convenient since many other landscapes are much more mysterious and undocumented, and present greater challenges; however, this point does not seem to matter since I am looking at form as a fairly unstudied phenomena in the landscape, and for which little, if any scholarly study preempted mine, especially for Cortez.

The fourth problem was in how to report what I found. Since I do not want to reinvent established or evolving terms and methods, an interpretive discussion lays out my findings based on what can be best described as an initial exploration of the landscape form concept. Explorations such as these look at possibilities, open up the broader discussion of nebulous concepts and weak programming, and sometimes result in future efforts that are more focused. Exploration is rarely a right or wrong method, especially when using other methods that have been successful for past studies, while revealing new ways of looking at or performing a study that is more subjective than scientific. The results of my study then, provide possible explanations for how and why the vernacular landscape form changes over time by using the contextual basis of the

landscape construct and closer examinations of the culture(s) that experienced and perpetuated it.

Finally, it must be noted that because Cortez is popularly referred to under several monikers, such as “the village,” “Hunter’s Point,” or “the community”, such references and a few others in my study as I intend them to be applied to Cortez, should be construed by the reader to mean the actual historic fishing village, as defined by its changing historic study boundary according to the time period under which it is being examined, herein. When appropriate, my study does attempt to distinguish between the original name of Hunter’s Point and the later Cortez name when the historical or chronological usage provides a more appropriate reference for one over the other.

Summarized Findings

In Cortez, I found a contextually rich cultural construct through a physical and textual narrative that has not yet been fully revealed regarding its historical development. In understanding this narrative, the evolving landscape form and its influences in Cortez are better explained from a cross-referencing of the found cultural context indicators with local and wider cultural forces. What is revealed is a vernacular form determined, or effected primarily by culture, but certainly affected by natural circumstances. In Cortez, there is a significantly diminished historic contextual vernacular, though a fairly strong residential vernacular is still extant. Surprisingly, the setting as a historical vernacular place is still extant, in spite of a diminished physical construct. Many influences and changes were part of Cortez up to 1946, yet there was also a semblance of stability as the community recovered from a destructive storm surge that nearly destroyed its entire contextual construct, thereby having the effect of

at least reducing, albeit temporarily, its waterfront construct as its most defining contextual physical form in the landscape.

Certain recognizable forms, such as watercraft changed significantly in their appearance, but mostly through a reduction of forms and the addition of others. While the basic form of the watercraft continues to hold into modern times, this more detailed effect affected other forms. Encroachment by outsiders represented another determinant of form, most often realized in Cortez as a side effect through regulatory implementation.

The major finding from my overall research then resulted in a limited set of landscape form determinants that stood out among an otherwise long list. These include technology, encroachment, and individual decision-making. These tended to be culturally deterministic and included varied factors or influences contributing to form change that were not always driven solely by traditions of the members within the given context. In most cases, the occurrence of form change resulted in individual decision-making opportunities, fostered by the above factors. The effect of change on the landscape often occurred slowly even when technological change was ushered into the larger societal framework. At first, relative isolation and the lack of available technology contributed to slower change in Cortez. The significance of major cultural events such as wars and depressed economies seemed to have stabilizing effects. The occurrence of catastrophic natural events such as storm surge, however, had the most significant immediate impact to the landscape forms though simple erasure of them, though it continues to remain unclear as a determinant of form precisely due to the impacts as derived from nature rather than culture. What results is a circular argument pertaining to

the ultimate effect as derived by nature as the causing the effect, or humans who made decisions to construct the forms affected with the knowledge of this natural potential.

As expected, an extremely diminished historic vernacular landscape form existed in Cortez by the end of my historic study span, and as of 2013 that questions its viability and importance as a well-preserved historic maritime entity since most of what made it contextually significant as part of what existed in its waterfront conglomeration was found to be missing, or otherwise not well documented. The diminished historic vernacular of the waterfront conglomeration is offset to a small degree from a fairly intact vernacular group of dwellings internal to the village setting. However, I also found that Cortez held a fairly stable historic vernacular landscape form in its overall village setting at least up until the end of my study period of 1946 as part of its rural character, general feeling, and associations. Noticeable change was documented for its altered shoreline regarding the village layout, and nearly all of its extended vernacular forms. Another noticeable change involves the evolution of the village waterfront boundary that now strains to capture any of the original elements of the historic landscape since it has been filled in extensively over time, creating a misrepresentation of the water/land interstice as it occurred historically. This presents a difficulty for understanding the placement of historic structures in relation to land and water, a critical component when examining the erected contextual construct of almost any TFV.

I found through my study research that historic maritime vernacular form in Cortez was inconsistently interpreted and assessed by others as having much more integrity than actually existed, or as a historic place that had lost most of what made it significant. This tension is noticeable in the manner in which the village's 1995

nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) strained to capture what had been left of the historic maritime character beyond mostly its basic layout as a village and as a sporadic set of residential buildings and structures.

While the setting and feeling of Cortez as a maritime place continues to survive into the twenty-first century by many observers, the nomination appeared to be lopsided and imbalanced in not more fully detailing and considering context and the extended vernacular as part of the landscape construct, which could have improved it. By adding the extended vernacular landscape discussion, it could have broadened or lessened the historic vernacular construct within the given context, which, in turn could have intrinsically affected the existing historic vernacular landscape's designation of high integrity. It was simply not enough to describe the individual buildings in Cortez, or to describe the remaining vernacular landscape visually, or in comparison to the chosen Ocracoke Island National Register nomination, as a comparable counterpart. It would also have been more beneficial to look at the other physical and non-physical forms such as the humanly altered shoreline, village infrastructure, commercial fishing gear and equipment, artifacts, traditions, cultural awareness, etc., that were constructed along with more notable buildings within the distinct context. The nomination's reliance on extant dwellings failed to account for the dynamics of the landscape and its over 100-year history up to that time. These issues and concerns prompted, at least partly, to the generation of my study.

The noticeable decline of these historic vernacular forms began as early as 1921, when most of the contextual erected vernacular along the waterfront and over the open bay was destroyed by a hurricane storm surge up to approximately eight feet above

normal high tide levels. These dramatic changes to the waterfront represent realistically irreversible alterations, that now hide the true original past of Cortez, though such changes can also be considered as part of its historic TFV dynamic and resulting legacy as a lived-in, cultural environment. It is not possible to determine nearly a century later how the landscape in Cortez would have evolved alternatively if the 34 years of vernacular accumulation up to that time would have been left to continue unimpeded. Yet, this is an important discussion relevant to all historically rich communities vulnerable to destructive disasters that could be addressed as part of separate, ongoing study programs.

Unfortunately, there is scant evidence of the earliest village construct remaining from the settlement period occurring 1887 through 1897; however, what is referred to as the first permanent dwelling unit built during that time is still extant, albeit in a highly altered condition. While the primary cause of Cortez' very limited early extant waterfront construct can be attributed to the 1921 natural disaster impact, other considerations reveal that the impermanent nature of much of this erected form, along with the economic and technological challenges that go hand in hand with commercial fishing are second, third, and fourth causes. While it can be argued that non-cultural influences such as natural disasters can cause built form to physically change almost instantaneously, such events do not necessarily alter the human mindset that processes form outcomes. Therefore, my study includes some scholarly grounding related to how culture ultimately decides vernacular form as part of an ongoing, living process, in spite of the natural forces that constantly apply friction to it.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

There is an apparent dearth of clear understanding regarding landscape form and its evolution over time in coastal, vernacular working waterfronts in the United States; however, it has surfaced as part of sporadic studies from time to time (M. P. Conzen's position, 2001). This is clearly noticeable along Florida's entire Gulf Coast with some limited form studies available for the more prominent historic towns such as Key West (Shiver, 1988) and Apalachicola (Marshall, 1975), and to a lesser degree Cedar Key (Carney, 1963). With the exception of these few descriptive writings, it is my contention that studies related to the kinds of vernacular landscapes and the material culture historic working waterfronts consist of have not sufficiently come together to adequately explain the base of knowledge related to historic vernacular landscape form change, or some of the inherent problems that challenge the real world study of it. In addition, there does not appear to be a clear understanding of how historic vernacular form, as it changes over time, is relevant when dealing with certain historic preservation issues such as significance and integrity.

My primary study question seeks to reveal the determinants of landscape form change in historic vernacular settings in the TFV context. While the basic question of what determines form has been studied early on by scholars such as Amos Rapoport and Victor Olgyay, little has been addressed with regard to the landscape of TFVs. Part of the dilemma is that such a search for answers to the basic question of determinants creates additional, subordinate questions. These questions require answers or meaningful exploration in tandem with other outstanding questions deriving from the available scholarly literature and commonly accepted historic preservation practices, which have rarely delved into the more esoteric issues of form prompted by the earlier

scholars. For example, both study arenas of architecture and landscape architecture are able to define what a vernacular building or vernacular landscape may consist of, but seem sluggish in specificity regarding what the form of each is, and therefore constitutes. It appears that much less study has been devoted to the latter, though some progress has been made to date. I found many references to form, yet, they seemed to always be delivered under an apparent implied or generally accepted meaning or framework, which, I could not quite grasp as a thorough and useful tool.

In attempting to understand the determinants of form, I could not quite get a grip on what form meant or consisted of, especially from the landscape perspective. Even buildings, as physical constructs with their pure geometric shapes are not always afforded easily understood form definitions when being described by scholars and practitioners alike. Instead, form is often explained using varied stylistic definitions that evoke visualizations of distinct form sets to be sure, but seem to stray too far away from the simple form notions such as gabled, square, flat, round, projecting, etc. In many cases, form cannot simply be expressed using the convenience of a representable style, since hybridization and individual input flourish as layers added on to, and confusing distinct style programs.

In considering the wider landscape, attempting to describe and explain the form and form changes based on prescribed styles reveals little since style is simply not specific enough with its inherent variations and overlaps. Needless to say, I found that commonly used descriptors of vernacular and cultural landscape at the same time hold different meanings within disciplines, as well as, without. Therefore, my study not only asks what form is, and how can it be applied to the landscape, but also seeks to

uncover at least minimal clarification of the questions produced by the intent and meaning of the now more diluted and elastic imprint of form as it appears within the concepts of vernacular, vernacular landscape, and cultural landscape.

The lack of clarity from reading the literature brought me to also question if form in the landscape is only physical. This inquiry led me to another possibility that form could indeed be intangible, or not only visual, which demanded clarification by me in order to create a richer understanding of form and the questions swirling around it. While I am interested in clarifying landscape form and the determinants of it in order to better understand the evolution of form, I also peer into the nuances of what constitutes a change in form and how it can be measured without holding too closely to matters of minute degree and subtlety. Instead, my inquiry reveals answers that allow a rather quick and simple measurement of form in the landscape to better understand change. When considering the wider landscape perspective, the seemingly daunting challenge for evaluating and measuring it is therefore simplified through basic analysis under the framework I provide and can be adapted to other landscape contexts. It provides a useful tool for interpreting the landscape form over time based on the context, and which can be modified or adapted to suit other areas of study.

Perhaps my first three primary questions result in the final primary query of the significance of Cortez as a historic vernacular landscape. For example, historically and contextually speaking, is Cortez really a significantly intact vernacular set, or has too much of its vernacular integrity already been lost whereby it is no longer significant?

As the basic framework of my study unfolds by addressing these primary, initial questions, the research then opens up the opportunity for asking additional subordinate

questions revolving around my referential study community of Cortez. These include questioning how the landscape can be read to common purposes, the role context plays in reading, understanding, and interpreting vernacular landscapes, and if significance continues as an evolving concept itself. For the latter, has a new significance replaced some older significance? Asking how the landscape changed over time is obviously important. The role of natural influences that tend to be catastrophic is another query that deserves discussion since cultures do not necessarily cause this type of sudden-death form destruction, but may have a role in it based on decisions made culturally. The effect of post-natural disaster forms then is interesting since the previous form is affected somehow, but not necessarily or absolutely changed. Obviously, the questioning could never end as the minutia of constant query and exploration begin to bog down the primary research focus, so the more manageable impetus of my study is reflected in the questions already proposed, above.

Academic and Professional Significance of the Research

To my knowledge, there is no comprehensive, current scholarly literature dealing with vernacular landscape form change in Florida's Gulf Coast TFVs. This is especially true as part of a close examination that methodizes how such landscapes are considered containing the multiple levels of artifacts as clues across the cultural flux over a timeframe that goes beyond a conveniently prescribed chronology. Glassie (2000) noticed this was still lacking, even 60 years after Kniffen's (1936) groundbreaking work that considered the diffusion of the dwelling as a revealing artifact. Kniffen's early studies contributed the importance of geographic expressions, or distribution of culture through its built dwellings and the determinants of form, while also linking it to specific cultural conditioning (Rapoport, 1969).

From an urban structure perspective, dwellings again were placed as the foundational form from which the study of landscapes was implemented (Conzen & Slater, 1990). Therefore, much of the academic thrust originally focused on buildings used for living rather than working. The study of vernacular landscapes, while having an early thrust under W. G. Hoskins, and as part of the prolific queries and reports of J. B. Jackson, began as rural explorations into ordered places, even though they may have grown organically. Scholars seemed to neglect the dirty, smelly, barely accessible spaces that arguably form the foundations for much cultural enterprise and activity. Indeed, Lippard (1997) wrote that significant studies of the more industrial settings did not really begin until the 1960s, though one can find occasional modern narrative descriptions of them dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by such writers as Benjamin Franklin and Charles Farnham, respectively. It is in these places then, that daily life and context of a culture is equally or maybe even more prevalent, revealing, and important for understanding it. While TFVs have been popularized through expanded oral histories, scenic pictorials, and as subject matter for reams of sketchpads and rolls of art canvases, detailed studies and descriptions with scholarly bents toward the working areas, or the seemingly less appealing areas such as “back regions” (MacCannel, 1973), are simply lacking. In using a distinctly different focus.

Shiver (1988), examined successfully the role that ethnic groups had on the vernacular character of Key West up until the early twentieth century. However, he did not appear to merge the notions of physical form and form change with the cultural factors as they applied to the overall landscape as my study does, since his was concerned with, to drive my earlier point home, primary buildings instead of landscapes.

There are some additional popular and scholarly writings including ethnographic accounts of TFVs; however, more holistic examinations, of the wider vernacular artifact, especially within a Florida Gulf Coast context is apparently lacking (Chiarappa, 2005; Clark, 2007; Eaker, 1994; Green, 1985; Jepson, 2004; Mellin, 2003; and Varney, 1963).

The vernacular landscape form and its change over time, while tangentially discussed by other scholars to date, appear to lack any solid grounding or significant theoretical underlayment. During the 1960s and 1970s Lynch (1960; 1972) understood the importance of the changing physical environment as he strolled through urban places while unfolding the esoteric, yet available elements that defined those unique spaces and places. The same holds true in the twenty-first century for understanding landscape form change; it must now also include the constructs that are intangible as part of the formula (means to an end) for getting to a complete understanding of it, rather than as an end in itself. It is my hope that my study, focused as it is toward the specific context of a vernacular fishing village, will add meaningful grounding to this sparse compendium of literature.

It is therefore important to not only document and analyze how vernacular landscape form change occurred over time, and from where such change originates, but also to analyze how it may have remained stable, if at all, and what role, if any, local, inherent adaptive strategies nurtured by localized tradition played in stability (Lansing, 2003; Matthews, 1928; Noble, 2007; Olgyay & Olgyay, 1963; and Rapoport, 1969). Crouch (1989) suggested that a culture's resistance to change represents a cultural expression; in this case, the individuals use the opportunities and constraints of the context within which they are part to construct and manipulate the artifacts around them.

Matthews (1928) hinted at, and now offers a research clue for considering a stable vernacular form in Gulf Coast TFVs between 1878 and 1928 by writing that there was little change in equipment, vessels, and methods during that 50-year period. His basic observation remains tenable because of the typically slow mainstream conversion process that seems ever-present in culture at large. However, the economic and technological activities taking place during most of that time in Cortez, some of which were applied akin to a slow patina of change over time, do not seem to support that notion in all categories of form, and instead, creates a rather strident opposing view of wholesale cultural change, depending on one's perspective.

Form in the landscape fluctuates in its stability depending on a wide variety of influences and determinants, amidst a cultural flux constantly being applying pressure and friction to it. While one assumption I held prior to embarking upon my study accepted a stable vernacular occurring in Cortez over at least part of its lifetime, it is somewhat skewed between periods of stability and dramatic change, as well as, a fracturing of its most contextual vernacular components. Slow change in certain contexts is sometimes part of a merged traditional or "entrenched" cultural identifier, that when considered along with external influences, becomes understandable as Heath (2009) discussed in detail in his discursive related to vernacular regionalism. With regard to certain Florida Gulf Coast TFVs, a critical regionalism does emerge through the forms of environmental requirements, limited building practices, and extended vernacular constructs that are related, yet are localized and specific to each community.

Conversely, and equally critical is understanding the nuances of non-historic vernacular and non-vernacular landscape forms, and any value or detriment they

produced in cases where at least one may have replaced an earlier, perhaps more vernacular historic vernacular form. For the sake of definition and consistency, my study identifies historic vernacular generally as a construct having an identified significance or age of at least 50 years, though this is not a set rule since associated significance sometimes trumps age. The apparent dearth of available information regarding these issues leaves decision-makers and stakeholders in local communities hard-pressed to integrate or effectively treat landscape forms from a historic or reuse approach, noticeable in protective policies applied haphazardly or after much historic fabric and understanding of the vernacular construct is lost. The results of my study could provide guidance for, and influence future treatment considerations, policy, and decision-making among scholars, practitioners, and communities regarding historic preservation, vernacular architecture, and cultural landscape studies by informed applications of more appropriate values to vernacular significance based on better contextual understanding of setting, or, in other words, the wider landscape form.

Loss of Integrity and Significance

As with many historic constructs, their accurate documentation, intactness, and ultimate survival are pressing matters of concern for researchers in the valuable evidence they provide for a variety of research programs. It is no secret that much of the historic vernacular construct in the United States, especially in places where rapid twentieth-century development booms such as Florida, has been demolished and replaced rendering a sterilized historic landscape where only its trace elements of historicity may be left. This is not surprising to those who study such phenomena as Glassie (1968) pointed out early on when he suggested that folk culture as an artifact is not a sustainable historic resource or product, and has been in decline since the

eighteenth century. While his wider message meant that folk cultures, as defined at that time were disappearing rapidly, it is also reasonably true that historic vernacular landscapes, though somewhat less folk in character, are also diminishing.

Folk and vernacular cultures may still exist today, but many of them have become conflated entities, purged of some things that are comfortably thought of as historic, while at the same time continually developing with new notions of historicity greatly affected by heritage tourism and postmodernism. Nevertheless, and with other muddied concepts such as authenticity aside, the TFV as a historic vernacular resource that reached its pinnacle in the mid twentieth century is in jeopardy and fast becoming a much changed or lost maritime landscape. Such losses imply that some communities currently recognized for their apparent extant historicity, may actually, when examined with carefully applied scrutiny, be severely lacking in both integrity of the remaining fabric and the physical significance they are supposed to exemplify.

Most scholars, as well as, those historians, community leaders, and descendants having intrinsic ties to TFVs have been opining for decades about the sense of urgency needed for documenting and studying them in order to memorialize their contributions to the historical record. This is not to say that TFVs as lived-in places should always be preserved in some perfectly defined historic state; there really is no such thing. Instead, some scholars would agree that conservation of such resources that accepts change, rather than outright protection as a sort of stoppage of time and restriction of inevitable changes provides a better mirror of the cultural nuances that effected their making (Lynch, 1972). Though somewhat tongue-in-cheek to suggest, documentation is perhaps the best available tool for preserving and understanding history, since their

ultimate susceptibility to influences of change remains constant, regardless of preservation and conservation measures that attempt to keep them physically intact.

However, even with documentation, the message is quite clear that TFV settings, as both historic and contemporary cultural resources, have long been regarded as highly diminished and quickly disappearing. Popular literature during the 1920s gave testimony to a disappearing traditional Florida commercial fishing construct (Robie, 1921). Purdy (1980) recognized that many of the resources that made up Florida's maritime heritage were already missing at the time of her writing over 30 years ago. Cato and Sweat (1980) agreed with Purdy and suggested that the fishing industry, and the elements that therefore define it, were simply not preservable due to the pressures constantly being placed upon them. By the turn of the twentieth century, writers such as Lovel and Lovel (2000) continued to opine about the dramatic maritime losses as a form of cultural "genocide" caused by such things as overregulation and a lack of community support for commercial fishers (p. 217). The complaints about loss continue today.

Because of the pressures, and the resultant changes that often take place, some see the revival or preservation of supposed historic fishing village constructs as more of a nostalgic re-creation since most of what was originally part of the active historic fishing village is no longer extant, having been replaced by "ersatz" reproductions and mere memories of what they once were (Dunlop, 1986, p. 8K). Bourne (1989) described the saga of the 300-year old American TFV tradition as "a chapter expunged from our national history" (p. 39). As late as the turning of the twenty-first century, Smith et al., (1997) reiterated the lack of description attributable to Florida's maritime history. Chiarappa (2005), though advancing the study of the extended vernacular, echoed the

same inadequacies of available research regarding certain Great Lakes fishing communities.

The literature is rife with accounts of fishing villages being lost or affected by dramatic changes in almost every region, representing a collective call for increasing the knowledge of this particular past construct, but still lacking in consistent findings in most regards, especially when it comes to vernacular landscape form change. Norton (1989) identified this problem precisely enough as due to a lack of a common framework and the differences that persist among research designs and methodologies.

Historic Area Determination in Practice

In the United States, as referenced earlier, the NPS takes a lead in programming for evaluating and treating historic vernacular landscapes, generally speaking (Page, Gilbert, & Dolan, 1998). Other than academic methodologies that have been around for decades now that utilize various methods of visual analysis for looking at the deeper landscape, and others that read their non-physical attributes, there is no other consistently applied program or formula for evaluating their historic evolution and form that can be followed as a consensus tool. However, through established guidelines developed in the 1990s, combined with the guidelines for considering historic resources originating from the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), a thorough evaluation of the historic vernacular landscape that includes context and the extended construct is possible. This is not very evident though, as my reviews of several of those that have been approved for historic designations rarely discuss these two factors sufficiently, if at all, though both formats leave ample room for such discussions. In fact, these two programs, and most of the others available in the United States are virtually

silent regarding how form is to be dealt with and addressed, which, in itself, demands a stronger insertion of the topic into historic determinations.

Even under the present formats provided, determining the significance of a single building or structure is rarely an easy, self-evident task for academics or historic preservation practitioners. Prescribing a historic designation to the wider landscape such as a district containing multiple individual buildings and sites is that much more difficult; This is due to it having the additional contextual elements that must somehow be connected linked together as part of an overall consideration, based on a particular period of time and context. It also must meet a number of standards for being significant that go beyond the often-cited NPS recommended standard of being 50 years or older. For example, other factors of integrity such as design and construction, materials, feeling, association, etc., play into the significance of historic resources as contributing elements, though these are already widely understood guidelines.

It is often difficult to find intact or extant groupings of historic resources that have retained sufficient integrity, which often results in meandering landscape or historic district-wide boundaries. In some cases, such as in my referential study of Cortez, the most important contextual resource of buildings, structures, and lesser artifacts that at one time occurred over the water and along the waterfront were mostly left out of the existing historic district approved there in 1995 (Fulford-Green & Piland, 1995). This occurred simply because most of the waterfront no longer retained historic fabric and integrity. While a decent collection of vernacular housing did exist in relatively good condition at the time, thusly determining where the historic district's boundary meandered, the significance of the approved historic district as a distinctly and obvious

maritime vernacular construct is lackluster. The lack of specific contextual constructs belies a false integrity in spite of strong feelings and associations of a historic maritime setting that might remain. This is not a critique of the researchers, nor is it necessarily due to a fault of the available historic programming itself; instead, it appears as a conundrum that is inherently part of decisions that move from being objective to highly subjective procedural processes. My study attempts to help clarify and correct this conundrum, by making a strong case for the role of context and form, and the importance of the wider landscape as part of an extended historic construct and setting, in spite of a lack of physical integrity.

Land Use and Design Issues

Lacking a prescribed historic designation or other land use control, management of landscape-wide historic areas remains a difficult challenge for those working in the preservation field and serving as caretakers for historic districts, sites, and individual structures. This is especially poignant where multiple owners with differing views are representative of a designated historic district. One of the most common and recurring challenges to both historic districts and individual buildings is the issue of design and compatibility brought about by new development proposals and undertakings that directly or indirectly may affect their integrity. For example, the proposed construction of a new two-story structure required to meet base flood elevation standards within the historic setting whose significance is realized from its scale of single-story, non-elevated structures poses important questions regarding the integrity of the district moving forward under protective standards. It is no secret that many historic settings have been diluted or negatively affected through non-historic, insensitive development activities. Pursuant to my study and research, the addition of a more thorough context-based

evaluation of the original historic district approval, as well as, the significant findings of its extended construct may help to clean up and clarify compatibility issues in real world scenarios.

Influence of Three Scholars

Emerging scholars undoubtedly can attribute at least shades of their scholarly inquiries to those who have explored and inquired before them. The interests and unanswered questions that derive from those inquiries and the accretion of updated information are necessary components of knowledge seeking. In this sense, a scholar's work is really never completed. Lacking the achievement of an ever-elusive utopia, new knowledge should always support quests for even newer knowledge. In my case, the influences of various scholars that have come before me are relevant and perhaps even obvious in the research contained herein. My interest in the phenomenon of a fishing village's character was slowly caressed by the ability of other thinkers who were already peeling back layer after layer of landscape elements that had not previously been visible or revealed to my eyes and thinking mind.

Prior to my pursuit of scholarly studies, the aesthetics of the fishing village had already revealed its superficial and hidden layers that were more esoteric to my aesthetic perceptions than most others could understand. However, Amos Rapoport's exploration into vernacular form and culture was the earliest prompt for my pursuit of context, and in understanding ordinary historic landscapes, even though the individual dwelling was his main focus early on. The additional questions, which Rapoport readily acknowledged remained unanswered, represented a distinct trajectory of inquiry for him that has allowed me to understand to a limited degree, how scholarly study can build upon itself even as contradictions are part of the course. Even John Ruskin famously

stated his own dissatisfaction of exploring a subject until he had contradicted himself at least three times.

Though perhaps not the first, Michael Chiarappa's clear laying out of the extended contextual construct in maritime settings set the stage for my more purposeful and deeper exploration of it here. Kingston Heath, who also looked at the extended realm of form, provided the essential end frame for my vernacular construct triumvirate with meaningful explanations of it over time using his overlay theory of cultural weathering, in considering how place also evolves, and how it can be looked at from a regional basis, another important part of how the vernacular landscape should be dealt with from almost any discipline.

Of course, many other scholars and practitioners in a variety of disciplines have provided invaluable input, to my inquiry into vernacular landscape form. The robust literature in the discourses of historic preservation, vernacular architecture, landscape architecture, urban morphology, and cultural geography opened up new, alternative avenues for me to travel in seeking explanations to my answers about vernacular form and the historic integrity of what I gazed upon. Nevertheless, the above three authors deserve this special credit for their contributions to the literature, that, in my opinion, are truly significant to the discipline of historic preservation.

Preferential Point of View by the Author

The study of form elements as they reveal themselves in the vernacular landscapes produced out of natural environments by human cultures cannot consist of a purely scientific endeavor, if they are to be truly understood. The academic debates and uncertainty that surround this type of study topic provide proof to the resilience of

landscape as a mysterious human product, but also show the countless ways in which new studies can imbue innovation in how they are considered.

My study reflects my own point of view and preferences for looking at form in the historic vernacular landscape based on my perceptions of it, as guided by how it has been considered in the past, and from the available knowledge dedicated to it to date. I am simply adding another brick to this structure of knowledge. While I hope to contribute significant findings that influence or guide the points of view of esteemed colleagues and collegial forebears, as well as, those just beginning in such a field of inquiry, or who simply have a keen interest in such matters, it is through additional, ongoing, and steadfast future research that my contribution here will likely matter to any meaningful degree.

Delimitations of the Study

My study involves a focus that has not been extensively researched or applied within the proposed context. There is simply not enough available information known by me from which specific applications for vernacular form change within the wider landscape of working waterfronts can be used to support and solidify research that effectively deals with how a landscape's historic form changes. My program of study is an exploration that does not attempt to redefine any fields of discipline or the structures under which they may operate or inform themselves. Neither does it attempt to change the meanings of commonly accepted definitions and major concepts found within the various disciplines referenced.

The cultural landscape, or more specifically, the historic vernacular landscape, as one of its subtypes, is a complicated concept, of which I am most interested in the common, historic forms that render its contextual significance. I am also interested in

how its vernacular forms changed over time so that I can better understand the issues of its historic integrity and significance. Therefore, my study is not intended to serve as an official Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) or landscape treatment plan, as defined by the NPS, though my analysis does borrow some of the depth of a CLR inquiry for doing so. In addition, my study focus looks to the human-built construct without any meaningful discussion of the vegetation aspects that often involves landscape studies. It must be noted that some cultural constructs in the landscape of my referential study community, though extremely significant forms from certain other academic, professional, and intrinsic viewpoints, may be somewhat ignored since they are less relevant to the contextual nature of my objective. This is likely to open up debate about which cultural constructs I use.

Since I am looking across various fields of study, other individual concepts are also borrowed and blended to formulate the best approach applicable to the complex task of understanding cultural landscapes, which inherently represent mosaics of multiple disciplines because of their human effects. My study does not isolate an exhaustive and all-encompassing set of findings or common patterns that fully explain or confirm my research questions and problem. It also does not purport to represent the best solution for reading or understanding historic landscapes, as it is mainly an exploration into a method that also changes as my study progresses to reveal its own inherent problems and caveats, as applicable. Additional study is required to build upon my findings, not atypical for a qualitative study derived from a preferential point of view, as presented, herein.

The inadequacy of already published literature requires that I seek out less common and exposed accounts of my referential study community (Cortez) and the topic of the extended vernacular construct. Even more challenging was that much of the vernacular landscape is now nonexistent, representing an arduous task of reconstructing the past built environment that has no direct evidential foundation. Therefore, some conjecture is an inherent part of my findings. Since I chose to incorporate the underlayment of context as a major framework for finding determinants of vernacular form change, my research cross-referenced other communities, cultures, and study disciplines that aided in limiting this conjecture. In reading and describing the vernacular construct and its associated landscape, there is some difficulty in achieving total objectiveness, though qualitative research allows for the insertion of some personal values. However, I am able to combine the available historic photographs with prevalent building practices of the historic period, along with initial settlement land purchases to reveal a physical landscape suitable for a fairly accurate scholarly study, though there some gaps and inconsistencies that remain vague. Due to the ongoing debate regarding vernacular definitions and the changing understanding of landscapes in general, I understand that my research will not likely have universal acceptance.

I use a loosely adapted form of thick description to examine possible influences to, or determinants of vernacular form as part of the Chapter 4 contextual form framework and evaluation program, but this should not be construed as a strict standard or absolutely vital measure for how deeply I delve into a form or influence; instead, it should be considered as a generally useful tool that helped me generate a better understanding of it in order to guide the research and expose the potential of additional

findings. Any dependence of thick description is lessened since the constantly changing landscape often defies its use (Lippard, 1997) The depth of inquiry for any given question, clue, or finding is often unlimited, but is almost always guided by the constraints of format, expense, and time.

There are additional limitations of the methodology used that must be acknowledged as part of exemplifying my findings. First, in studying the physical and intangible human artifacts, there is a high probability for an etic/emic conundrum. That is, my understanding of what I visualize and perceive in Cortez, and the results I interpret may not accurately reflect that of any member of the referential study community of Cortez, or the other TFVs studied. It is likely that some of my descriptions will be found to differ from the recollections of those with direct links to Cortez. Some of my conjectured points may, therefore, be incorrect. In addition, I do not assess herein, the quality of the cultures being studied, only what has been revealed through archival documentation and possible interpretations of the documentation. The only way to really know and understand a culture is to live in it, and experience it over time. I readily admit that I cannot suggest that I have a thorough or expert understanding of the intricacies of the social structures that took place in the community of Cortez, since I never lived there, and whose historic study span ended well before I was born. Instead, I explore possibilities that allow an outsider to better understand such places and the rich landscapes they are composed of. Hopefully, this can be adapted to other settings.

Second, I did not rely on any new interviews, surveys, or oral histories to complete my research, since it is my contention that the work has been undertaken sufficiently by others and is easily available to other researchers. In my opinion, new

interviews would not necessarily address my research questions any further (for some clarification of my thought here, see Emmison & Smith, 2000, p. 110).

Third, in attempting to build upon the contextual and extended vernacular method for looking at historic vernacular landscapes beyond just vegetation, natural lands forms, and primary buildings, I do not expect all other thinkers of this topic to readily accept or adopt my methods or findings, since they broach some new territory, and especially since at least some of my visual thinking is based on my own, unique visual acuity, which has been partly formed through fine art studies, an eager eye with a penchant for the abstract, and personal experience.

Fourth, and finally, I am not endeavoring to find meaning or harmony in the cultural landscape through purely symbolic implants in the hidden parts of it, or through some construct that differentiates between low or high styling of built structures. The landscape, though complex as I have already suggested, need not be a drudgery of complex inquiry when using context and when the goal of the exploration is known. In fact, the relative simplicity of my study for exploring form in the landscape, though bolstered by a research design that does not appear to be as simple, is intended to separate the obvious from what is less obvious, but still readily available for those who can understand the explanations of the research as it unfolds.

Key Terms and Definitions

My research in historic vernacular studies of form requires that I elaborate on certain terms (words or phrases) and definitions incorporated into my study, which, heretofore have caused a modicum of schism and dialectical foreplay. In some cases, certain terms throughout time and as a result of a usage overlap have become either over-defined, or are newer terms/concepts that lack historic definition, especially as they

relate to the traditional fishing context. In some cases, they reflect a hybridized approach toward their usefulness to my study. While I operationalize most of the terms as part of the Phase I methodology, it is important that I include a selected list, as follows, to enhance early familiarity and quick future reference, as needed.

- **Affect and Effect:** Affect is used as a verb and is something that causes a change to, or impacts something else. Effect is the result, or for the purposes of my study, the resultant form caused by the affect.
- **Artifactual:** Pertaining to physical and intangible constructs derived and produced by culture.
- **Building Mosaic:** The individual and cumulative components of the erected environment within the historic vernacular landscape that includes habitable buildings such as dwellings and all non-residential buildings that may or may not be context-specific, including their appurtenances such as garages, water tanks, sheds, and other outbuildings, exclusive of fisheries camp buildings.
- **Critical Juncture:** A point in time or temporal dynamic recognized as having, or potentially having a major influence on the vernacular landscape form.
- **Elapsed Experiential:** An intangible form in the historic vernacular landscape that is part of a culture's, or individual who is part of the culture, past memory or condition, such as how things used to be done, or how a tradition is reflected upon as being changed.
- **Extended Vernacular Landscape:** Those physical and less-than physical constructs (forms) that extend beyond the typical landscape constructs of village layout and building mosaic, but remain interrelated with them, and that add distinction to its historical context; in the case of a TFV, these features may include, but not be limited to piers, wharves, fish camps and net camps, fisheries equipment, watercraft, and certain less-than physical constructs such as fishing grounds, the act of fishing, and the elapsed experiential forms.
- **Fisher:** The term fisher replaces fisherman and is gender neutral.
- **Form:** The physical and less-than physical shapes that give structure and character to human activities in the historic vernacular landscape.
- **Historic Study Period:** Referenced as one of the three identified time periods occurring in the Cortez TFV to include 1887 to 1897, 1898 to 1921 (pre-storm), and 1921 (post-storm) to 1946.

- Historic Study Span: The study focus time continuum occurring in the Cortez TFV from 1887 and 1946, inclusive.
- Historic Study Area: The study area means the village of Cortez as generally delineated by its northern boundary of Cortez Road, east boundary of the 1912 School and 119th Street West, and the shorelines of the south and west boundaries.
- Intangible Form: Neither purely physical and visible to the human eye or totally invisible. Instead, it connotes a form that is rarely fixed in place, may continually change its appearance, location, or the way in which it is thought of, and is linked to a human perception or thought process.
- Regional: A generally defined geographical area represented by a similarity of characteristics that considers the natural environment and the cultural constructs expressed within it.
- TFV (traditional fishing village): For the purposes of this paper, a TFV is a smallish community that has evolved and developed physically, culturally, and socially around a central enterprise of commercial fishing. It is a place where the fishers and their families typically live and work, and their enterprise is noticeable in their style and manner of living. That is to say, it predominantly consisted at one time or another of vernacular housing often built by their fisher owners or local builders; yards used for storage of watercraft, traps, netting and other fishing-related tools and equipment; a waterfront that reflects obvious fishing enterprise such as fishing watercraft and equipment, seafood processing facilities, piers and wharf systems; and other ancillary uses, buildings, and structures. Of course, to also be vernacular in this vein, the fisher way of life would have been generally handed down from generation to generation. Usually, much of the characteristic features that identify a TFV, are leftover from earlier periods and have been blended with modern commercial fishing enterprise. This is acceptable and does not disqualify a community from being traditional, as industries and the cultural landscape often change over time in response to market conditions, competition, or to changes in technology or other outside influences. Even the more specific cultural aspects of a traditional fishing village are subject to change and influence over time. The key indicator for assessing the existence of a TFV is the community's continued primary function of commercial fishing, as opposed to sport fishing or recreational boating, and a desire to sustain the historic setting as its number one core community value.
- Vernacular: Places, buildings, structures, objects, and processes constructed, performed or assembled through a localized knowledge by relatively unspecialized builders, groups, or individuals within a setting established as part of a recognized tradition, often referencing long-standing methods of craftsmanship and uses of materials that tend to characterize the traditional setting. While designed or engineered products are usually disqualified from inclusion as vernacular, their widespread use and application may be considered,

depending on how they were applied and by whom (Adapted from Seamon, 1986).

- Vernacular Landscape: Non-literary form of design of a place or setting evolved through use and activities by the people who have occupied it, manifested in physical and less-than physical features, materials and their interrelationships, including shapes and patterns of spatial organization, land form and land use, circulation, vegetation, structures, objects, and processes. (Adapted from The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2012; Hubka, 1986; Page, Gilbert, & Dolan, 1998).
- Vernacular Landscape Form: The aggregation of vernacular elements in a landscape that act upon the mind and the eye resulting in a combining of, or distinction between, the landscape's parts that can be physically or mentally depicted as characteristic shapes, textures, points, lines, or outlines, or thoughts, whether unified as a whole or not. (Adapted from Hamlin, 1947; Santayana, 1896; Yeomans, 1986).
- Waterfront Conglomeration: The land and water interstice that merges the fishing construct with the non-fishing construct of the available landscape setting as a frenetic jumble of context-specific objects and forms such as fishing watercraft and equipment, seafood processing facilities, piers and wharf systems, buildings, structures, equipment, vegetation, space, etc. The waterfront conglomeration is the quintessential form element in the TFV that is contextually fed with an olio of industry-specific informants that are physically manifested. It is a strikingly similar and common form generally found throughout most fishing village constructs in the United States.

Organization of the Dissertation

My study is formatted into five chapters that enhance a logical flow of the research focus and program for achieving my findings. The intent of the chapter flow is to lead the reader through the method of my study and the ways of thinking I imported into it. This is accomplished by providing an overview or summary as part of each chapter, followed by the main thrust that each requires, and concluding with a brief transition statement for each. This recapping and transitioning is intended to clearly lead the reader from the main points of each chapter to the subsequent overview and thrust of the next chapter. Hopefully, this format creates a more seamless dissertation.

Chapter 1 provides a set of preliminaries that set the stage for the overall dissertation such as research overview and justification, how the research was constructed, clarification of language used, and how the chapters are organized within the entire document. Chapters 2 and 3 provide the requisite literature review and a detailed description of the research design used, respectively. The bulk of the research construct is located in Chapter 4 as part of a contextual form framework. In order to preserve the integrity of understanding for the previous chapters, Chapter 4 begins with an overview of the vernacular landscape form change problem that prompted the research. Each of the identified historic periods includes a discussion statement in order to present a preliminary set of findings. Finally, Chapter 5 reviews the research findings and presents conclusions, along with implications for past, present, and future studies and applications in academia and professional practice. A critique of the method used is also included.

Transition Statement

The problems associated with understanding cultural landscapes and the historic resources that can be part of them present numerous inquiries to be explored and clarified. Not surprisingly, these include seemingly simple understandings of the meaning of form, vernacular, and how to measure changes that occur to them. The inherent complexities they present when trying to evaluate their significance from both a historic and cultural perspective reveals forms that are both physical and intangible. This represents a dilemma to researchers that currently requires using techniques from various disciplines organized according to academic and practical problems outlined in this first chapter. Therefore, a thorough search of the available literature is required to create a basis from which a method can be provided. The next chapter provides a good

grounding that covers these complexities, and also offers insight into how cultural landscapes and their subtypes are considered and where some of the gaps exist pertinent to their study.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview and Organization of the Chapter

While vernacular building form in various contexts has been discussed in the literature for quite some time now (Edwards, 1983, 2009; Glassie, 2000; Kniffen, 1936; Noble, 2007; Oliver, 1997; Rapoport, 1969; Upton, 1991; Vlach, 1986), it is rare in the United States to find scholarly literature on the evolution of communities beginning with their original cores (Hoskins, 1955), let alone the determining factors of change in the overall landscape settings of traditional fishing villages (TFVs). Several scholars have written about the importance of using the wider landscape as a unit of analysis favoring context for vernacular form (Jackson, 1984; Lanier & Hermann, 1997; Litton & Tetlow, 1974; Stilgoe, 1982; and Upton, 1991), but significant study under this paradigm that attempts to reveal the landscape form's change over expanded timeframes is only beginning to emerge (Heath, 2009). Smardon, et al. (1986) did suggest early on that context in the landscape was critical to understanding change.

The unfolding of the landscape concept has been used since at least the Middle Ages when it referenced a distinct area inhabited by a particular group of people. Its evolution through the sixteenth century Dutch and Italian worlds of physical aesthetic expression is well-studied and further clarification here would be mere regurgitation and is, therefore, unnecessary. Today, the word landscape is used to describe virtually anything that does not have to be physical and directly in view. For example, it is acceptable for a person to refer to the landscape of professional football, conservative politics, rap music, or mortgage financing, etc.

European scholars including the Italian architects Muratori (1959) and Caniggia (1963), native German geographer M. R. G. Conzen (1960), and English geographers Whitehand (1981; 1992), M. P. Conzen (1990), and Kropf (1993) have made significant strides in this endeavor as it pertains to the geographical interpretation of urban morphology as urban area evolution cases. Fortunately, M. P. Conzen (2001), in relocating to the academic community in the United States has worked diligently to bring an emphasis on urban morphology studies here in the interpretation of cities and places. However, Conzen also brought to light that the study of form in the urban landscapes of the United States was less than strident resulting in part to the notion that urban areas have been viewed by Americans most importantly as economically prioritized systems. This capitalistic priority seems to have taken a front seat approach that initially fostered a less than stable construct on which a free-for-all individualism is intensely applied on it through multiple veneers of expression. The “machine,” as Conzen referred to the typical urban construct in the United States, was not wholly loved and valued by Americans when compared to areas more nature-oriented, and therefore more inviting to scholars for study (p. 1).

Understanding what vernacular landscape form is, as well as, the determinants that influence it within the TFV context are, rather than from generic viewpoints and from individual buildings, may allow a more revealing scenario of how and why such form change takes place generally. Though a clichéd take at this point, landscapes are fraught with complexity and are highly subjective when it comes to our views of them; and my study is cognizant of this fact. Many scholars are familiar with Meinig’s

interpretive essay where he found at least 10 different perceptions that could be affixed to a single landscape scene that was in front of him (1979).

Changes to vernacular landscape form along a manageable continuum in a definable context involves understanding both temporal and spatial aspects of the inhabited human construct, from which form determinants can be revealed (Akcan, 2006). However, reading historic and extant vernacular landscapes to understand such change is a more intensely complicated endeavor, and requires interdisciplinary approaches (Conzen, in general; Moore, 2000; Saile, 1990; Schein, 1997; Whitehand, 1992), which are incorporated into my study. Examining the vernacular cultural landscape goes beyond just reading the architectural landscape discussed by Carter and Cromley (2005). Because vernacular, as a construct is so pervasive on a global scale (Davis, 2006), my research can be drawn from at least nine overlapping areas of study, including historic preservation, cultural landscapes, vernacular architecture, land use planning, cultural geography, urban morphology, archaeology, landscape architecture, and ecology.

The organization of the literature reviewed for guiding and supporting my research unfolds in four distinct categories of discussion that complement each other. Since my research began with an interest in vernacular architecture and its definitional composition, the first category is framed around its use and meaning. The genesis of how form takes shape in vernacular worlds begins to be exposed here, while also delving into the various notions of what determines vernacular form on dwellings. The widespread and syncretic use of vernacular that is highlighted in the following literature review then encourages a robust discursive for my study that incorporates concepts

from various disciplines. As such, some disciplinary work is well established and will be referenced more than others.

Cultural landscape studies and landscape vernacularism are reviewed as part of the second discussion category in order to understand the differences and similarities between individual built human constructs and the wider places and contexts in which they are included. Similarly to the confusion caused by the vernacular term, cultural landscape is also reviewed to better define its history and meaning across academia and professional practice. The two interdisciplinary fields of urban morphology and historical ecology are also discussed under this category since they helped to influence the research design, and offer improved methods for understanding landscapes. The notion of a landscape that is extended beyond its typical conceptualized constructs or usual suspects of constructed artifacts is discussed in spite of the relatively quiet discourse it is part of to date. Here, the TFV is presented as part of both scholarly and laic research agendas in order to understand the breadth of the discourse on this particular type of working waterfront as related to the landscape and the forms inherent in it.

Applications of form and its structural background in both architecture and landscape architecture are given weight as part of the third literature review category. This is helpful to my study since there is little consensus on what the term of form signifies or how it is used, other than what is often implied or assumed. Available discourse on what determines form and form change is included with a special discussion to natural determinants, such as storms and topography. The last part of the category on form and its structure discusses the non-physical forms that are also

important to the context of landscapes. It is my understanding that form has both physical and intangible manifestations in the vernacular landscape that can be read and understood, so the available literature found that considers textual reading, sense of place, and other similar concepts is a critical foundation to a substantial portion of the contextual form framework revealed later.

The fourth literature review category opens up the various viewpoints pertaining to how architecture and landscapes have been evaluated and analyzed both visually and non-visually through the applications of academic and professional jurisdictions. My ability to document and then express the entire landscape form set benefits from this literature analysis and was formulated in reference to some of the available readings dating back to the 1970s.

Theoretical and Applied Foundations of Vernacularism

My primary research question of what determines vernacular landscape form change prompts a clearer understanding of the concepts of vernacular, its architectural basis, and vernacular landscape form in the context of my study. As one reads between the lines of the discourse, it is easy to understand that vernacular architecture, or whatever name it went by during its growing stages, has been a point of discussion for several hundred years - maybe even back to Vitruvius (Rykwert, 1972). There is written evidence that in 1602, Richard Carew, in his written descriptions of the English countryside, waxed semi-architecturally about common buildings there. In 1755, Marc Antoine-Laugier et al., referred to the primitive hut in the reissue of his *Essai sur l'Architecture* (Essay on Architecture), with an interesting dialogue about origins of architecture, and a rather cosmologic view of vernacular form (as described by Rykwert 1972, see pp. 43-45). The nineteenth century saw a plethora of activity and dialogue

regarding ordinary artifacts and buildings as found in the works of John Fanning, Henry Mercer, and Norman Isham, as well as in the phenomenal drawings and descriptions in the 1880s of pre-Columbian Mexican architecture by William Holmes (1968). According to Oliver (1969), George Gilbert Scott and the Reverend J. L. Petit (Associated Architectural Societies, 1858,) were discussing vernacular architecture among elite groups in England prior to 1860.

Serious and collective discourse regarding vernacular architecture is said to have been borne in the United States from about the 1930s beginning with Kniffen's historical geographic approach to studying Louisiana housing (Davis, 1991; Upton, 1990; Wells, 1986); however that research appeared to bypass the origins of vernacular architecture, instead concentrating on culture, geography, and construction materials used (Vlach, 1976). The corpus of subsequent literature expanded fruitfully since then, with notable strides in vernacular research occurring outside of the United States, as advanced during the 1950s by Istanbul Technical University (Meir & Roaf, 2006).

Clear reasoning of vernacular architecture's importance that nurtured the still lethargic debate amidst high style architecture movements continued slowly into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Oliver, 1969). However, even with all of the research to date, there still seems to be no consensus of definition for vernacular, expanding the disconnect further as many latent scholars pursue lines of thought that explore new adaptations for vernacular that understand the thought processes of the makers, but without a reliable and consistent framework (Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Glassie, 2000; Lawrence, 2006; Lewcock, 2006; Vellinga, 2005). Not surprisingly, this leaves scholars and practitioners to adapt their own definitions of vernacular to meet the

needs of their research frameworks, while still asking the central question of what is meant by vernacular.

Scholarly usage of vernacular with regard to built forms reaches back to 1830s England where scholars there used it to describe its rural areas (Alanen & Melnick, 2000). Soon after, its use expanded as a demarcation from more stylistic architecture so that in order to be considered vernacular, a building was to have been constructed more purposely to meet local needs, based on the resources immediately available and the traditions ingrained in the culture (Noble, 2007). It then gained traction and popularity of usage in the United States by 1900, finding a concentration on buildings to be studied as architecture. There is a good measure of the literature suggesting that most of the global population (perhaps up to 98%) dwell in vernacular buildings today (Davis, 2006; McGoodwin & FAOUN, 2001; Oliver, 1969, 2006; Rapoport, 1969, 2006; Upton & Vlach, 1986; Vellinga, 2005). Yet, a consistently applied meaning of vernacular still remains elusive with no clear direction for the various forms it takes (Carter & Cromley, 2005; Lawrence, 2000; Noble, 2007).

For the purposes of my study then, I accept the resulting confusion that revolves around the use of vernacular. This leaves me open to also adapt it into my study for understanding the evolution of built form in the landscape based on a definitional construct by Seamon (1986). It is not my purpose to examine the ultimate meaning of the word vernacular; instead, I will use it based on a hybrid definition that layers the word to include places, buildings, structures, objects, and processes constructed, performed or assembled through a localized knowledge by relatively unspecialized builders, groups, or individuals within a setting established as part of a recognized

tradition, often referencing long-standing methods of craftsmanship and uses of materials that tend to characterize the traditional setting. While designed or engineered products are usually disqualified from inclusion as vernacular, their widespread use and application may be considered, depending on how they were applied and by whom.

Some care and attention to semantics is required when using vernacular and some of the other words that swirl around it. For example, vernacular is often confused with folk, and sometimes referred to as a style of architecture, which is, as most scholars would agree, a debatable issue. I view the two terms as characterizing a difference based on entrenchment or infusion into a culture. To Glassie (1968), a thing that is folk meant that it was then not part of the wider mainstream cultural construct, and was in contrast, deemed to be intrinsic to a “culturally determined know-how” (p. 5), inherent to an isolated group. Though many folk communities are separated from more populous or interconnected areas either by size, distance, or lack of easy access,

Wallace (1978) reminded us that in the modern era, there are always outside influences that can be read from them. In Cortez, the rather broad influence on the built structures there and the intermingling of participants using a wide range of materials and methods lead away from a folk application since there are only limited examples of a unique, localized tradition, other than fishing. Of course, I recognize that there may be some elements of the cultural construct such as music and adapted forms, especially given their relative isolation from more developed areas, that became more folk-like after several decades of their formation in Cortez; however, the intricacies of this type of folk character and condition is beyond the scope of my study, since I am concentrating on a limited set of forms in the landscape.

While something “folk” may be the same thing as vernacular to some, others have also distinguished between the two. Rapoport (1969) and Lewcock (2006) were more supportive of the cognitive view that a vernacular building is part of a system of characteristics, more easily defined as how a construct first appears as an idea that undergoes a form of processing in the mind, and then applied, or constructed outside of the mind, i.e., more akin to a process. Rapoport further distinguished between a vernacular building and a primitive building, in which a primitive building is a construct appearing under the domain of the anthropologist, further opining that it is thereby best left to their study uses. Yet, Rapoport went on to suggest that primitive constructs are “built by people using their intelligence, ability...and resources to their fullest extent” (p. 3).

This tended to dispute Frank Lloyd Wright’s claim in 1910 that folk architecture was the same thing as vernacular, growing out of a “response to actual needs,” by fitting the artifact into the environment (Oliver, 2003, p. 9). Oliver’s interpretation, as supported by Adolf Loos was that “intuition rather than intelligence guided the builders” (p. 9). In referring to Rapoport again, he included folk and popular architecture as being types of vernacular, whereas, Oliver (2006) lumped in primitive (tribal) architecture. In defining these subsets of vernacular, Rapoport then distinguished between the two, citing that vernacular architecture is “built by tradesmen,” whereas, primitive is “built by all.” (p. 8). Noble (2007) also established firm distinctions between primitive, folk, and vernacular.

Vernacular buildings are represented by simple, ordinary constructs that may even have been formally designed and even community sanctioned but lacking individualization (Groth, 1997). Perhaps Hubka (1986) captured the truest sense of what

vernacular means when he suggested that it is a “nonliterary” form of design, handed down through tradition and kept in the mind as local know-how, within the context of one’s own culture (p. 432). Hubka (1986) articulated that it is from this notion, and from which place that the designs, or more appropriately, their “complex traditions” are stored, “not in treatises and drawings” (p. 429). In this regard, Glassie (2000) noted that the memory of handling materials by the craftsman was part of the vernacular tradition of using local materials and copying handed down forms; the use of prefabricated materials or plans to be copied by others represented a “cultural distance” (p. 45).

Rapoport (1990), in a later version of the term, wrote that vernacular architecture is part of “belonging to, developed by, and used by people of a particular locality or region” (p. 274; also see Rudofsky, 1964). Rapoport went on to suggest that such a view also “implies some identity, some recognizable qualities or uniqueness that makes it different from other places” (p. 274). Davis (1991) typified the broadly swiped vernacular definition as “buildings that are built by hand with local materials taken almost directly from nature deeply rooted in cohesive traditional culture” (p. 45). Oliver (1997) also provided his own definition of vernacular that read as “dwellings and all other buildings of the people” that are “owner-or community-built, utilizing traditional technologies” (p. ii; reiterated by Oliver in 2006). Later, Oliver (2006) added that vernacular architecture occurs without influence from architects or design professionals. This is supported by Upton and Vlach (1986), who considered that the builders of vernacular architecture “use whatever materials are available and whatever skills they possess” (p. xvii). Oliver (2006), however, again was sure to point out that his term, and

most likely others, was not well defined at the time and rather generalized, such that he continues to pursue a course toward solidifying and narrowing the meaning even further.

Because of the indecipherable nature of vernacular, it stands to reason that it may represent an isolated occurrence of tradition rather than as a process manifested in the places and structures, and the people who create and use them. Meir and Roaf (2006) looked at folk as having a purely ethnographic premise, while vernacular became a procedural method for construction that evolved within a specific community, being perfected over time due to limitations of locality. However, Heath (2009) wrote that vernacular architecture could also be defined as traditional, regional, or indigenous in that each focuses on the “broad goals of utility, social accommodation, environmental appropriateness” (p. 40). Vernacular then, to certain scholars represents a specific way of considering or doing things, rather than as a building or landscape that results from a group or culture. It is then not surprising that many scholars identify the ability of vernacular studies to incorporate multiple viewpoints from a wide-ranging gamut of academic and professional fields of study (Upton, 1983), and this is important to my own research, herein.

Many current scholars have been steadily pursuing lines of thought about vernacular by making the term fit a wider array of ordinary structures such as mobile homes, tract housing, gas stations, shopping malls, etc. (Jackson, 1984; Lohof, 1982). Some scholars already recognize such maneuvering from the term’s origins as adding to the confusion that already exists to vernacular studies (Asquith & Vellinga, 2006; Hubka, 1986; Lawrence, 2006; Lewcock, 2006), but since I believe vernacular to be

representative of constructs that are considered to be, or have become common over time, there is credence in latent expansions of the term's application as all scholars muddle through the terminology and contribute to the research and literature.

Theoretical and Applied Foundations of Cultural Landscape Studies and the Extended Vernacular

What is the Cultural Landscape?

It is widely understood from the literature that cultural landscapes became a scholarly course of investigation and study when the concept of landscape was linked to its cultural influence(s) as introduced by Sauer (1925) in the 1920s. His now standardized assertion of culture (human activity) being the agent acting upon the natural area (medium) that produces the cultural landscape is timeless, and at its most basic, formulizes the cultural landscape process. Lewis (1979) referred to this result as the materially and culturally relevant "tangible, visible form" (p. 12). The emergence of landscape studies, and thusly, cultural landscapes as important units of analyses represent even now a constantly improving method for discovering the complex nuances that derive them.

All landscapes, as strictly human, synthetic constructs for the purposes of my study, are extremely complicated entities (Jackson, 1984). From early on, any attempt at explaining them has always appeared incomplete since no single explanation could possible cover the immeasurable facets of which they consist (Savage, 1952). The NPS defines the cultural landscape as "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources...associated with a historic event, activity, or person, or that exhibits other cultural or aesthetic values" (as in Page, Gilbert, & Dolan, 1998, p. 12). It is further

broken down into four distinct subtypes to include historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.

Obviously, Cortez in this case would best meet the NPS definition of being a historic vernacular landscape. However, I would not simply defer to the NPS definition for my study since their definition tends to favor a more inclusive landscape that favors the natural vegetation and landforms that surround historic structures. In addition, the NPS also looks at the animal context and activity that affect landscapes. The overarching goal of the NPS format is to provide the important aspect of inventorying and documenting important landscapes, followed by plans designed to preserve and protect them through appropriate treatment plans. As alluded to earlier, the NPS cultural landscape program is extremely comprehensive, and is well suited to the NPS mission, and certainly represents a program *par excellence* for managing cultural landscapes. Therefore, some, but not all, of its definitional construct is used for the purposes of my study.

Cultural Landscape as a Unit of Analysis

According to Groth (1997), J. B. Jackson was perhaps the first American to embrace cultural landscapes from a populist point of view and first began studying landscapes based upon their visual characteristics and elements; that initial focus changed for Jackson as he forayed into deeper cultural and political discussions about them, understanding them to be more interesting, and more revealing as collective social constructs rather than as aesthetic works to be critiqued. This is not to say that I, nor anyone else, insist that cultural landscapes are not aesthetically important or inclusive, only that their aesthetic natures represent one facet of a larger compendium of elements (Meinig, 1979; Robertson & Richards, 2003). Even the decidedly infinite

individual characteristics that make up the landscape have their own innumerable facets, so it is easy to get bogged down in this apparent complexity that the concept of cultural landscape fosters.

However, the literature is quite clear in exposing that well-crafted theory for considering and evaluating cultural landscapes serves well to eliminate most of the problems generated in scholarly studies through lenses that may inadvertently include the likes and dislikes of a landscape by researchers (Rapoport, 1992). Rapoport further explained that a much better evaluation would certainly include why a certain cultural landscape evolved in the way it did or how it is subject to change. Phenomenological study, as a “critical, descriptive science” sometimes attempts to explain the cultural landscape and clarify its intertwined issues, but there is no clear evidence or research to support any complete analysis (Saile & ICBFCR, 1986).

Landscapes are always in the process of forming through “historic sedimentation,” also referred to as a composite of diversity and unfolding events, institutions, power struggles, etc. (Pred, 1990, p. 198). Heath (2009) referred to this similarly as cultural weathering, or as Upton (1991) put it, as “a complex, multisensory, constantly changing tangle of relationships” (p. 197). There are always additional paths and vantage points from which to look at them, especially for outsiders who have not spent any reasonable amounts of time interacting in them yet, who may try to capture their intrinsic essences and meanings for scholarly purposes. Vance (1990) recognized how this constant flux presents academic challenges to creating visual vantage points of study that once resolved, is immediately presented with the additional challenge of analyzing such a flux. To understand how a landscape became a village consisting of

myriad built forms, it becomes necessary to critically examine the human conditions that underlie its process of formation. This too is critical, as many extant landscapes determined, as they were, to be derived from an original human undertaking, may actually have been influenced by prior non-contextual or related human extancy. As Kropf (1993) suggested here, additional aspects must also be studied including the natural environment, spatial and temporal considerations, and the more obscure concept of form process consisting of energetic aspects.

One of the challenges discussed by Litton and Tetlow (1974) was that a best-fit program for determining which elements in the cultural landscape are most important for studying was still elusive by then, and this challenge adheres to the present blend of studies that seem to defy cohesion. One scholar debated this dilemma in trying to understand whether continuity in the landscape, or its actual change was the higher priority (Kropf, 1993). This primary challenge is lessened, in my opinion, by a more thickly read analysis, which can help guide a researcher to the most important elements. For example, the waterfront conglomeration (Chapter 1 for a definition) is one such physical element in the TFV cultural landscape that allows contextually based vantage points from which forms are visually present and are available for reading, and from which meaningful study can take place. This is based on an obvious physical indicator set that can also be used for those clues in the landscape that are intangible (Phillips, 2003 for a discussion on community indicators).

In looking beyond just buildings and structures, which is still a heavily directed research program where most academic inquiries continue to explore according to Thompson (2012), I embrace the notions of plurality and multiplicity as having

substantial effects on most, if not all landscapes. Rapoport (1992) seemed to agree when he suggested earlier that cultural landscapes, or more precisely, the forms they take, result from the constant flux of decisions involving multiple players abiding by their own systems of inclusion and application. He saw cultural landscapes as multiple, contributing processes that must somehow “add up” in a calculable way. Therefore, my study focus of the vernacular landscape form accepts cultural landscapes to be more inclusive of a wider array of physical and intangible elements, and therefore, more adaptable to TFVs, as do Chiarappa (2005) and Mellin (2003).

Upton (1991) also cited the cultural landscape as the best unit of analysis for scholarly study since it encompasses many modes of perception as part of human experience. Because the cultural landscape is contextual, Upton saw this as becoming part of the new, improved method for studying architectural history. In making available all of the available elements in the cultural landscape, my study can capture a more significant essence of the TFV form through a modified version of community indicators (Phillips, 2003). Perhaps Mitchell (2008), in taking a different approach from Lewis’ (1979) original landscape reading axioms, supports this best in his suggestion that landscapes simply do not make as much sense when they are studied only in relation to their nearby surroundings.

Abbreviated History of Landscape Form Evaluation in the United States

Cultural landscapes are contrivances of human interface, to which only a relatively few interested scholars pay close attention. The study of forms that make cultural landscapes an integral whole beyond their natural backdrops, and the confined nature and character of individual buildings, structures, and designed plots has a meaningful history, though not as richly defined in the United States as it does in

Europe. While architectural form abroad also has a rich scholarly discourse dating back centuries, and since at least the eighteenth century here in the United States, landscape form analysis has a lesser depth of study.

Human constructed forms in the landscape, and how they have been both affected and effected in it, the primary focus of my study here, have been studied since the late nineteenth century in Europe as part of an urban morphology discourse, although there are some interesting parallels between European and United States counterparts. In Europe, interest in the landscape form of developed places derived from a German geographical base occurring near the turn of the twentieth century until about the 1940s. During that time, M. R. G. Conzen emigrated to Britain during the 1920s where he was able to develop his geography-based methods for breaking down the form of landscape into a widely accepted paradigm of study, albeit mostly restricted to suit European academic profiles. Similar to how Carl Sauer helped to establish the University of California's Berkeley School of Geography and the influence it would have on numerous scholars, so did Conzen with regard to some European traditions, and roughly at about the same time. By 1960, Conzen's seminal morphological study of the town of Alnwick in northern coastal England provided other scholars with a workable framework through what would surface as an urban morphologic discourse for analyzing how fully developed towns evolved over a period of time.

Here in the United States, landscape study evolved in similar fashion, also through the general geographic discourse, with some nuances of direction credited to more social pursuits. Again, attention seemed to be directed at the wider landscape of the most developed areas of cities and those sections that create the patchworks found

in them. As the hand-in-hand spoils of industrialization reached an urban crescendo in a small patchwork of American cities, Riis (1890) certainly enlightened readers to how the blighted landscape of slums in New York City were exacerbated by tenement housing. Here, Riis seemed to have set a stage for evaluating not only buildings, but also the wider outcroppings of problems their decline produces and represents socially. Urban areas became more noticeable for their inherent problems of slum and blight, generated by overcrowding, lack of infrastructure, and otherwise unhealthy land use practices, which encouraged a strong emphasis on improving and ultimately changing the configurations of those areas.

However, Riis' early work sat in strange juxtaposition to Charles Farnham's rather romantic view and portrayal of the waterfront landscape of New York's dock areas as he strolled those back regions 11 years earlier in 1879 and reported them to the popular reading public. Farnham's view seemed to have taken on a pre-James Brinkerhoff Jackson amazement at a previously un-thought of landscape. Amazingly, Richard Hurd completed one of the earliest applied studies of the larger landscape in the United States in 1903. His *Principles of City Land Values* was a stoic work for the time that resulted from his frustration of not being able to find any significant, helpful information on the forces that affected and perhaps controlled how land in urban areas originated and evolved. Though he focused on land costs and capitalization, Hurd reckoned that the shaping of land was mostly established by its cost.

During the same year, Albert Brigham produced a historical geography of the United States by merging the natural environmental features of the various continental regions with their individual historical development. In it, and as a coincidental

background pursuant to my Cortez landscape form discussion, Brigham parlayed the national thought toward Florida at the time as still lingering with thoughts for being an open, natural sanitarium for people suffering from the physical and mental ills of the time; there is much evidence of this in Cortez with regard to some of its early settlers who also sought relief in the local, briny climate. Yet, while the warmer climate and fresh sea air appealed to many for the extreme coastal areas in Florida, there remained at the time the strong contempt for the inundated lands of swamps and estuaries, still viewed as hostile, evil, and useless.

Restating some of my earlier discussion, Sauer, in *The Morphology of Landscape* (1925) brought to the forefront the concept of the cultural landscape and its culturally changing nature during the 1920s. While progressive in its application, the use of “cultural” as an adjective definer appeared as a generalized view of culture’s influence on the landscape, avoiding any significant findings that allowed for their descriptive exploration. In breaking away from the structuralist paradigm of geography used by many of his contemporaries of the time though, Sauer proved that geography could have a more humanistic, interdisciplinary side to it. Other notable and highly contributory scholars such as Donald Meinig, Peirce Lewis, and Wilbur Zelinsky followed after Sauer well into the 1980s, providing additional grounding for the strong programming he set out from the Berkeley School of Geography he researched from.

According to M. P. Conzen (2001), Mumford (1938) was also another early American evaluator of cities and the cultures that created them. After World War II, architectural interest in urban morphology emerged through a finely detailed form typology that sought a broad, yet usable classifying system of urban form in the

landscape. While Hoskins (1955) provided the first real in-depth analysis of the English landscape using the urban morphology approach and its necessary historical approach as the basis for interpreting it, J. B. Jackson pursued a similar line for evaluating landscapes in the United States by looking at them through a more experiential perspective, as they began to change dramatically from their pre-World War II constraints, even amidst the multiple crises that defined the first half of American twentieth century culture. Also in following Sauer's cultural approach to studying landscapes, Jackson became a founder and explainer for studying the landscapes that insisted on close examination of the agency and the result. While historic preservation efforts were already well established mostly at the local grassroots level, and focusing on individual buildings and properties, and at the national level in regard to natural monuments and park areas, the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century ushered in a gamut of landscape idealization, undoubtedly brought about by the rapid change of pace the country began to experience as it embraced the wider national values of historic preservation and environmentalism.

This postwar attitude was popularized through the writings and musings of Jackson, whose prolific and continuous narrative began by extolling the virtues and appeal of rural landscapes, shifting their presence as distantly viewed scenes, to ones that could be experienced, and rendered extraordinary through narrative. His own perspectives on the ordinary landscapes also evolved as he saw the changing cultural milieu around him. His views were being nurtured by rapid economic growth and prosperity, impacts rendered from new land development designs focused toward the dual American Dream of house and automobile ownership, two inalienable forces that

were to shape the landscape toward what some thinkers today regard as geographies of nowhere (Kunstler, 1993).

Undoubtedly, M. R. G. Conzen was the major force behind looking at wider landscapes, albeit in urban areas, under the European paradigm. However, this had implications for future morphological study in the United States. As contemporaries of this early work by Conzen, there was an interdisciplinary conjunction occurring as two Italian architects, Saverio Muratori and Gianfranco Caniggia were also formulating urban structure typologies (Moudon, 1997). The interdisciplinary nature of looking at landscape form evolution really gained ground during the 1970s with the solid merging of architectural views of form with those of geography under a European blend. A well-written dissertation by Kropf (1993) found that the two disciplines actually formed common ground in the areas of form that came together in unwitting emphasis on how form was broken down and therefore, transferrable between the two. The formal recognition of this synchronicity did not occur until 1994, however, when European scholars and practitioners met to merge their thoughts as part of an international forum for studying urban form (International Study on Urban Form).

As a descendent of the European morphological discussion, M. P. Conzen (2001) suggested that Vance (1977) was the first American geographer to integrate morphology into the American academic dialogue for evaluating urban structure and its evolution over time. Conzen soon followed up with his own application of urban morphology to American cities with two 1980 writings titled, *What Makes the American Landscape*, and *The Morphology of Nineteenth-Century Cities in the United States*. During this time, the physical forms of the landscapes in the United States were

beginning to be read through the meanings they held by the cultures that created them. This is not to say that the artifacts as objects and physical entities found in the actual, reality of a landscape are *meaning-filled* by themselves, but instead as *meaningful* when linked to the ecological reality given to them by their human-producers (Gibson, 1979). The physical forms in the landscape were then found to be laden with cultural meaning and indicators that included signs and symbols that were too elusive for understanding based only on what was observable visually. At this point, landscape form and culture was being synthesized in order to distill such meanings (Whitehand, 1992).

The notion that landscapes could indeed be read as texts bolstered several new foci and discussions about them (Duncan & Duncan, 1987; Groth, 1997; Lewis, 1979; Ley, 1988; Meinig, 1979). In order to clarify this better, Lewis, from the group immediately preceding, explained the importance of getting to the meaning of landscapes through reading because

to decipher meaning in ordinary landscapes is inherently more difficult than interpreting other kinds of historic documents. Written documents, for example, like diaries, essays, or newspaper stories, commonly are signed by their authors. These are of course meant to be read. If scholars are in doubt about what those written documents mean, they can ask the author to explain, or they can read what other commentators have written on the subject. But most ordinary human landscapes carry no signature and certainly cannot be attributed to any single person. Nobody can be tagged for the responsibility of making most commonplace landscapes, and there is seldom any identifiable person we can ask about what those landscapes mean. (Wilson & Groth, 2003, p. 89)

Lewis was obviously suggesting that landscapes, as created by humans, were therefore suitable for reading by humans who should be able to reveal for themselves their own inlaid stories that have become ingrained onto the landscape tablet; the stories became a sort of written diary. Because humans created this landscape tablet, it was open for

them to begin reading it, although it was not necessarily meant for their discerning perusal.

Diagramming is a technique espoused by Francaviglia (1997) for reading cultural landscapes and separating the reading (identification) of a landscape from its interpretation (shaping forces) and perception (overall meaning), each asking different questions. He wrote that, "Omitting certain visual information can help us see basic patterns and relationships" (p. 13). M. P. Conzen (2001) aptly suggested that the reading of any given landscape was due in major part by its being an authored work that could therefore be studied and read for the perceptions, intentions, actions, motives, etc., which were inherent in the minds that created them, and placed into physical existence as valid works to be read. However, this socialized geography of places seemed too narrow to be useful in explaining form, and subsequently form change in the built environment (Kropf, 1993).

Role of urban morphology in understanding vernacular form

The study of urban morphology renders to readers a discussion that forms produced in the human landscape are physical expressions of the humans, as an aspect of the culture that made them. Because of the necessary human influx into form's origin and generation, modification of form, and the nuances it represents can be interpreted with regard to those circumstances. This is akin to the artistic and meaningful authorization of the landscape by humans, which fosters the idea that they can be read as texts, also subject to interpretation. However, urban morphology, as its name suggests, tends to sink into established city constructs that have long histories of change and development. In my opinion, parts of urban morphology, with its relevance

to landscape study and consideration of change over time is quite useful for the purposes of my study.

The built-up character and development of small-scale TFVs, especially akin to those like Cortez, are not typically considered to represent the urban formation, though extensive development at the waterfront is fairly common. They are often isolated from the more dynamic incorporated areas that practitioners of urban morphology are drawn to study. Yet, as highly developed town and village constructs, they have become urbanized over time, just not to the degree that the typical land use planner would think. Regarding Cortez, and its gridded street pattern, dense residential mosaic, and active waterfront with specialized fishing industrial uses, the argument that it has become urbanized is not difficult to maintain. Whether this descriptor may be debated among scholars, Cortez' built-out form is easily analyzed under an urban morphological approach, or a hybrid of it, namely because the field considers the evolution of a place over its lifetime from its formation.

The underlying premise of urban morphology then, offers three requirements for studying form of the urban landscape, which can easily transfer to the study of the vernacular landscape. As cited by Moudon (1997), it first offers a working construct of urban form as consisting of buildings and associated structures, streets and town patterns or layout, and other spaces not included in the former. The construct that appears during particular timeframes is looked at as consisting of tissues that make up each larger area. However, Kropf (1993) identified this third aspect of other spaces as land use, which he later suggested as being too unstable as a characteristic for defining form, rather antithetical to the purpose of his 1993 study. Second, it allows the built

construct to be viewed under varying degrees of focus, or resolution. For example, while form can be looked at from the smallest of artifacts, it can also be measurable and equally or more educative when considering it from building/lot, street/block, citywide, or regional perspectives. Third, consideration of any measurable resolution must apply a historical perspective since only what has been sufficiently accomplished can be studied as opposed to something that is still in the making. Since the landscape is rarely if ever, complete, that term was not used here.

So, urban morphology is applicable to my study because it completes the gap left from simply reading the landscape for its form determinants, by filling it in with the morphology background that has been fairly silent in American landscape studies, generally speaking. Sauer (1925) suggested that reading a landscape requires an eye that can distinguish the significance of form across the landscape. Sauer's claim was likely focused on what can be seen, so it represents half of my study's perspective and analysis. On the other hand, Peirce Lewis (1979) suggested that anyone can be trained to read the landscape as long as they know which questions to ask first. Whether a dynamic city or a small fishing village such as Cortez, both represent landscapes consisting of measurable, definable forms that result from the successive accumulation of the actions and activities of the individuals and groups that interacted with them, and perhaps most importantly, over a defined period of time that can be analyzed (Moudon, 1997). Because it has built-in flexibility, urban morphology can be used to study vernacular landscapes in a descriptive manner that elicits explanations for form evolution and why they changed in the ways they did.

Yet, a strict urban morphological protocol also has shortcomings that do not completely fulfill the requirements of my study, though it is able to allow an application of a partial consideration of form. For one, it appears to retain the assumption that a planned site is considered to have form, although it is considered to be an un-built form, occurring as a committed design only. This is unclear in Kropf's 1993 study. I am hard-pressed to conclude that a plan on paper with no physical implementation is representative of form as part of the evolution of a place, though it has significance once acted upon. Such inert representation is too vulnerable to alteration, with potential for not coming to fruition in the real world. In the same study, Kropf also suggested that the patterns of land utilization attributable to town formation are the least stable of urban morphology aspects. This means that the buildings encompassing land use schema change less frequently than the uses which control their non-structural functions, which is a reasonable point, however not an absolute. Further, the building fabric would generally change faster than the overall town plan, including its street system, which are very resistant to change in the urban context (also see Larkham, 2005). This hierarchy may also lend one to believe that a town plan is subject to quicker change than the regional character that surrounds it, and so on.

In addition, urban morphology seems to limit itself to a physical form construct that is otherwise visible and not suggestive as a form that feeds the contextual character of the town being studied. Admittedly, the programming reaches a wide explanation of how and why urban forms are created over time, which provides insights into the human actions. But, it does seem to fall short of identifying many of the physical and non-physical forms that separate one town from another. Therefore, the program

appears to be incomplete unless additional programming is added as part of a hybrid approach, as proposed by the methodology of my study, albeit toward a different purpose for answering certain research-driven questions.

Role of historical ecology in understanding vernacular form

Adherents to historical ecology espouse a deep multidisciplinary approach to understanding and studying the historic cultural landscape through events occurring over a time continuum (Crumley, 1994). As Crumley further articulated, historical ecology's aim is to "bridge natural and social sciences, the humanities, and the professions" (p. 1). Similar to the geographer's view, the historical ecologist views humans as agents of environmental change, always transforming, creating, and managing landscapes and the structures within them as part of landscapes to suit their own needs and purposes. However, this control of the environment is not considered one of adaptation or limited opportunity, rather, the human agents control and manipulate it to the degree they are able (Erickson, 2008; Nicholson & O'Connor, 2000). This is often in spite of the premise of constraints and opportunities put forward by Rapoport (1986; 1992) regarding vernacular architectural constructs in natural settings.

Historical ecologists, as a group, are careful in their approach to using a dogmatic concept such as adaptation that has become subjective and tautological, vying instead for the more temporal and spatial terms such as mosaic and resilience that speak in terms of history with present and future implications (Winterhalder, 1994). In looking at vernacular architecture as part of the historic cultural landscape from a multiple-scale, multiple-source, cross-referential and historical approach, an enhanced and perhaps more accurate understanding of it may be possible (Andrzejewski, 2007; Cole, 2001; Egan & Howell, 2001, p. 14; Jordan & Kaups, 1987).

The major benefit from considering temporal and spatial contexts is that they can extract “insights into original logic, design, engineering, and intentionality of human actions” (Erickson, 2008, p. 159). Because historical ecology avoids viewing systems as always being stable, the same thought may be of interest when looking at vernacular architecture and landscape form, which should also be considered as an unstable, always changing entity that questions any notion of an optimal condition (Balée, 1998; Lawrence, 2006). In looking at the evolving character of Cortez as my referential study area, the historical ecologic approach becomes useful for looking at points in time where form could have been most or least stable, such as before or after a major disaster, prior to certain technological advances, or between economic booms. While I admittedly accept stability as a measure of degree rather than as a full-blown length of time, the notion of cultural or form entrenchment offered by Heath (2009) works well here as a manageable application.

At present, historical ecology is considered a research program that operates *sans* paradigm under four postulates (Balée, 1998; Egans & Howell, 2001) that include

- nearly all, if not all, of the non-human biosphere has been affected by human activity;
- human activity does not necessarily cause degradation of living and non-living species and systems, nor does it create a more habitable biosphere;
- societies impact landscapes in different ways, perhaps without having to adapt to them; and
- the interactions of multiple communities, cultures, and landscapes may be studied as total phenomena and hold clues to understanding the future.

All told, historical ecology always includes the necessary historical component, whereas, other approaches do not (Crumley, 1994). It must be added here that cultural ecology and environmental history are two other fields where confusion exists in their

differentiation from historical ecology. The former has a tendency toward determinism and attempts to understand societies as they ultimately adapt to their environment, while historical ecology veers away from deterministic assumptions and attitudes (Carey, 2007; Nicholson & O'Connor, 2000). Human interaction with, and alteration of the environment is not typically viewed as a positive interaction under the cultural ecology paradigm (Lansing, 2003). Environmental history, on the other hand, does look at human interaction with the natural world over long periods of time; however, it can focus on history as being the primary agent of change, or in the background as a secondary tool for studying human behavior (Balée, 2006; Claxton, 1985; Hughes, 2001). Historical ecology attempts to identify interrelationships between humans and the biosphere in which they live, and encourages regional answers to global issues (Balée & Erickson, 2006).

An historical ecologist's approach to understanding vernacular form. The historical ecologist has an opportunity to look at vernacular architecture and its derivations of form from an unusual perspective. It "focuses on the interpretation of the culture and the environment, rather than on the adaptation of human beings to the environment" (Balée, 1998, p.14). Because of this, it may be better adapted to studying human built environments that are vernacular, and are often referenced as being more intimate with the environment (Noble, 2007).

The settled history of Cortez spans approximately 125 years. The historical ecologist would likely go further back in time in evaluating previous cultural landscapes as my study does, referring to it as the presettlement period, where the generative mind may reveal clues to the evolved form. Prior contexts are necessary considerations in

order to understand how they may have influenced conditions that in turn, may have influenced subsequent agents using the landscape. Because of the early fishing rancho activity documented along the Gulf of Mexico fringe uplands from the seventeenth century until the settlement period of Cortez during the late nineteenth century, there were likely extant antecedents that contributed to its later forms that would typically go unnoticed under traditional review parameters.

In examining the historic vernacular landscape of Cortez, where its recognized historical period as a vernacular village is established according to a prescribed formula, some scholars may be comfortable in precluding all segments of time outside of this parameter. However, as part of any attempt at understanding the origin and changes to the localized form, this limited view does not seem to work. For example, the publicly significant and recognized historic period for Cortez, as prescribed in the 1995 National Register Nomination, represents a time-period of 1889 through 1944, inclusive. The historical ecologic view, in looking at any surviving vernacular constructs would include the additional timeframe of anthropogenic interaction within, and perhaps surrounding the village landscape up to this historic period, and then evaluate what has happened since the historic period in order to provide reference points for activities before and after. For example, there is evidence that American, Bahamian, and Cuban fishers occupied the lands prior to the historic period now occupied by the Cortez settlement back to the eighteenth century, and of course, Native Americans before that (Fulford-Green & Piland, 1995; Stearns, 1887).

Historical ecology is interested in how their constructs or impacts to the lands there have encouraged or influenced the way in which the peninsula of Cortez was

altered. While my study does not include all human occupation periods, there are several time periods that could add to the knowledge of the present vernacular construct in Cortez. For example, the time-periods included in the list below, offer a sampling of how time could be considered individually, and then synthesized for newer insights beyond just the established historic period:

- 1995 to present (historic district effects such as design guidelines);
- 1970 to 1995 (policy, legislative controls, e.g., fish net bans, environmental);
- 1946 to 1970 (postwar growth);
- 1941 to 1945 (wartime influences);
- 1921 to 1946 (post-disaster event recovery);
- 1887 to 1921 (pre-disaster original settlement);
- 1800 to 1887 (settler origins, Civil War, rancho influence, statehood);
- 1500 to 1800 (Colonial, ranch, and aboriginal activity); and
- Prior to 1500 (midden evaluation and paleo-scientific analysis).

From an intensive historic-ecologic perspective, an examination into a more inclusive timeframe could reveal more information of the existing vernacular constructs, the missing vernacular constructs along and over the waterfront, and the pre-historic period built according to a prior vernacular or transferred knowledge. In spite of references suggesting building traditions being brought from North Carolina, to date, there is scant data regarding the origin of the influences of construction technology and local know-how that was used by the Cortez settlers in constructing the vernacular landscape. The 1995 Cortez National Register Nomination (Fulford-Green & Piland, 1995), Cortez National Register Historic District Design Guidelines (Stevenson Architects, Inc., 2001), and published narratives include stylistic descriptions and basic materials information, but do not sufficiently consider overall vernacular form as it may have been derived from the local climate, topography, materials, or earlier transferred traditions and resources. The value of incorporating at least some of the depth of the

historical ecologist into my study is, therefore, self-evident, even though I have provided only a limited discussion of it here.

Extended Vernacularism in the Cultural Landscape

It is my contention that nearly every physical construct, including those forms not typically obvious in the landscape, and that are then sometimes intangible, are relevant to understanding both form and form change. In some cases, this less noticeable form set may be able to provide the most important explanatory component of the overall vernacular landscape form, and therefore must be considered in order to tell a more complete story. For example, studying the vernacular houses or individual objects in a TFV without consideration of other contextual references that are available cannot possibly tell an adequate and meaningful story of the wider vernacular community, which may be less related to the dwelling than to the objects they used. There is much more to a community, and a culture, than just the dwellings in which they live, a notion that, as I have already alluded, goes beyond what some scholarly explorations limit themselves to. While my study may be very interested in how form changed in a single house, or even a whole grouping of houses, the wider influences of form change are not likely to be forthcoming from that form set without looking at the wider landscape. Yet, many writers of historic districts build context without the benefit of input from the wider landscape perspective.

Jackson's (1984) urging to look at the expanded vernacular to include those various developments of post-World War II booms, such as ordinary rural landscapes of fields and front yard lawns, and even gas stations, dense mobile home parks, and strip shopping malls, opened up the possibilities of what landscapes were offering in terms of aesthetics, history, and meaning. My study also chooses to go beyond the long-

standing limitations of vernacular as a type of building by extending the typical objects of study to now include lesser structures and artifacts, and intangible constructs that define a vernacular tradition's context; this includes docks, watercraft, industry tools, the act of fishing, and the elapsed experiential form of memory and waning traditional knowledge. The extension of the vernacular realm, versus simply expanding the list of things described as vernacular, directs the researcher toward a more meaningful, connected, and encompassing vernacular landscape (Upton & Vlach, 1986).

For example, a vernacular fishing village landscape may imply the inclusion of various tools and artifacts of the trade, but rarely has the broad research boldly discussed such examples as part of the vernacular form that has waxed or waned in importance over time. This may be especially true for fishing grounds that appear to be disconnected, or removed from the commonly accepted consideration of what a landscape is supposed to consist of. However, Chiarappa (2005) did finally bring this into the discussion. It is also true for watercraft, which, have certainly changed dramatically over time as technology moved along, but again, only few researchers such as Chiarappa (2007) and Mellin (2003) have focused on them as integral parts of the contextual vernacular system. By including the additional vernacular artifacts, the landscape and study opportunity now become extended beyond what has been typically tallied and considered as part of the overall set.

I recognize the argument that these types of elements may have already been included in some of the vernacular discursive to date, yet, other than the strides made by Chiarappa and Mellin, I can find little research on the topic unless I make assumptions and attempt to infer from the literature that is already available. In

examining this conundrum, it is important to shed at least some light on what the literature does provide in this regard since it is a critical element of my research. One of the earliest discussions falls back to material culture studies when, in 1968, Henry Glassie discussed the 50-year diffusion of the flat-bottomed skiffs called sharpies from their apparent beginning in Connecticut to Key West. These sharpies, as watercraft were also found by other researchers to exist in early Cortez, and are precise examples of the extended vernacular that reveal an additional and important facet in certain cultural landscapes. In this case, Glassie highlights how communication between fishers must have been extraordinary in that it allowed the watercraft artifact to become so common among fishers, along such a wide geographical range, and within a relatively brief period of time.

In my opinion, Glassie conveniently extended the vernacular landscape, and opened up the opportunity for more thickly describing the element as part of a cultural landscape that is altogether and simultaneously local, regional, and inter-regional. This type of discussion of the sharpie actually feeds the context of the TFV since the context itself was in part shaped by the sharpie. It takes only a small amount of historical knowledge of TFVs to understand the impact of the sharpie design on early fishing villages and how form was shaped by them across the vernacular landscape, whether it be the yards where they may have been consistently stored, the water/land interstice where they were accessed for daily use, or as part of the fishing grounds where their configuration changed as part of a fishing team with other sharpies.

Of course, the sharpie represents only a single example of how the vernacular landscape extends beyond the typical primary building construct. Other scholars

recognized the importance of material artifacts as considered elements, but without necessarily connecting them to the wider form of the landscape. Individual artifacts may have been discussed, but more so, on an individual basis. Oliver (1977) briefly brought to light the influence of the shape of watercraft on dwelling form. Ley (1988), in writing about the consideration of structures and wider landscapes acknowledged barns, fences, and virtually every human-made object as artifacts of material culture, which in turn, become part of a particular cultural landscape that was driven by at least some contextual underpinning. Bourne (1989), perhaps unwittingly, provided excellent photographic documentation of the extended vernacular within the traditional fishing context, as well as, good descriptions of a changing watercraft technology that began prior to 1900 in his essays on historic fishing communities of New England; however, there is an apparent lack of scholarly inclusion beyond simply describing these extended features.

In seeking to explain the strange pleasures of the senses stirring in his mind, Farnham (1879) described the toil that was going on around him from his late nineteenth century walk along the docks and wharves in New York City. Well over 100 years later, scholars such as Rapoport (1992) were relating sensual contributors such as smell, sound, and temperature along with the usual visual elements in the landscape as not necessarily being part of the landscape, but as being able to influence how one experiences it, and in turn, how these influences could alter the descriptive experience of it. For example, the clear sounds of a bustling fishing village dock would likely change how some people would describe the surrounding landscape, versus a description completed while it was inactive and quiet, or at night. Yet, the idea of the intangible

elements as a part of the landscape certainly emerges and supports my extended vernacular discussion.

Getting back to more current scholarly work, Chiarappa (2005) was quite clear in recognizing how the gamut of material culture contributes to the local interstice of land/water cultural landscapes. Regarding Great Lakes fisheries, he wrote that the “shore sites, boats, and harvesting grounds were a widely scattered vernacular building arrangement” that were not necessarily visually connected to the shore (p. 220). While there may not have been a direct visual connection, I am impressed to interject here that direct visual connections do not have to be present since it is impossible for all connections to a fishing village to be visible at once, even those that are in close proximity. They are still essential parts of the vernacular setting, though Chiarappa was somewhat limited in his clarification of the idea, as he went on to suggest that certain artifacts such as the pound net fishery, which was closer to shore, and, therefore, extended the “vernacular setting into the waterborne realm” (p. 220).

In continuing his earlier discussion, Chiarappa (2007) alluded to an extension of the vernacular by looking back in time to the bushel baskets, barrels, shell piles, horse-drawn wagons, etc., that made up a 1908 oystering dock at the land/water interstice. This is also a representation of the extended form that while less apparent, is not necessarily less important as artifacts that contribute to the context of the wider vernacular landscape. In some fishing villages, this type of form was long-standing and steadfast, and did not change quickly, representing a more stable type of form while other forms were changing. Chiarappa also extended the form to echo what Rapoport was getting at 15 years earlier by carrying on the discussion of how the “everyday

working aesthetic” of the dock included its sounds, smells, and less significant sights and artifacts (p. 99). Walter (1988) suggested that these characteristic sensory elements often contribute to the meaning of place. Heath (2009) recognized the importance of extending the household vernacular of a New England regional expression to include rear dwelling entry areas and yards for exploring the differences between the expected design of a building and that of the more vernacular social, or cultural reality that occurred through use and adaptation. Muir (2007) also recognized how artifacts in TFVs served as definable “seaward extensions” of the landscape, and how the habitable village construct itself is contextually represented in the form of buildings, docks, and infrastructure as extensions over the water and into the foreshore and beyond (p. 188).

While the above scholars, and presumably others appear to have already ventured into partial or incomplete explanations of the extended vernacular forms of contextual landscapes, some of which certainly relate to maritime landscape settings, they stopped just short of completing their examinations, though they certainly established a good foundation for examining it further. Therefore, at least some connection to previously published work and literature is applicable here.

External TFVs Already Studied

There are several outstanding histories and ethnographic accounts of TFVs from areas outside of Florida that I researched as important referential data sets that contributed to a better understanding of the overall maritime vernacular form discussion. Lancaster (1972) wrote a remarkable study of the architecture of Nantucket that captured its historic importance as one of the primary fisheries of the Northeast. Later, Bourne’s (1989) essay on the architecture and landscapes of historic fishing

communities of New England captured some of the best descriptions of the buildings, structures, and extended form I was able to find during my entire research process. Michael Chiarappa and Robert Mellin, both professors at Canadian universities have dedicated much of their research careers to TFVs and have provided outstanding descriptions of the vernacular architecture in the traditional fishing settings of the Great Lakes and Nova Scotia. I also examined very good descriptions (versus deeper analysis) of TFVs in European contexts such as Scotland (Nadel-Klein, 2003), Ireland (Peace, 2001), and England (Savage, 1952; Muir, 2007).

Theoretical and Applied Foundations of Form-Based Structure and Concepts Workings of Vernacular Form

The handling of form is not an easy task as I state throughout my study. In spite of a wide number of academic and practical discussions of form as both a concept and a design feature, its use as a concept applied to the historic vernacular landscape is not easily understood or used consistently. In architecture, form could be understood as a particular style that conjures up images of buildings that look a certain way or reveal a trend of construction. The style becomes a form that consists of multiple forms of rooflines, projections, adornments, massing, etc. In landscape architecture, form may consist of how the physical land is shaped by natural and human influences, and the backdrop it produces. In art, form appears as an interaction between the artist, the medium, and the viewer. In cognitive science, form may reveal itself as part of a concept that the mind comprehends, but has difficulty expressing visually. Therefore, form is highly subjective and can be finite with a purely distinguishable shape and outline, or it can be boundless, subject to interpretation. Extreme variations of form appear in all disciplines, and therefore, in all cultures, and in all settings.

The most basic applications of form consist of the appearance of an outward shape or definition. For example, the form of a circle is usually implied to mean having a round form. Likewise, a cardboard box may often be thought of as square or rectangular, whereas, a cloud in the sky may be expressed as having an amoebic or irregular form, but still outwardly bound. One definition of form found in *The American Heritage Dictionary* (Morris, 1991) reads that it is “the shape and structure of something as distinguished from its substance” (p. 525). Unfortunately, there are 18 additional definitions that follow it, which the learner must choose as the most applicable. To make matters of form even more confusing, some scholars, such as Miller (1939), open up open up the possibility that form may only be contained in the mind and not in the artifacts of culture. This is understandable since it is culture that requires and applies definitions within its own rubric of cognitive and perceptual understandings. I prefer not to venture much further into the origins and variations of form regarding an extensive literature review since it unnecessarily prolongs the focus of my research for exploring form in the landscape. While I minimally discuss this perceptual problem of form later in my study, some review of the literature regarding vernacular form is warranted at this point.

There is a modicum of scholarly debate regarding vernacular architecture as a term, and there is also similar debate related to how vernacular architecture is evaluated in light of the various forms it takes, within, among, and between regions, and according to a variety of influences. This section is guided by the framework of Rapoport (1969), who advocated for using multiple approaches in architectural studies, as a basis for discussing an open theoretical approach to the form basis of dwellings.

However, Rapoport did not attempt to align strictly with this particular point of view on all aspects of form, but he did acknowledge its exploratory thrust. In his early categorization of form influences, Rapoport identified seven broad contributors to vernacular form including climate, materials, site, defense, economics, religion, and culture. In looking at Rapoport's methodology, Nabokov and Easton (1989) also provided a similar framework but included additional form contributors of technology, society, and history. While vernacular form can be a rather elusive matter, Nabokov's bias regarding the impossibility of coming up with an ultimate form determinant is evident in his work on Native American vernacular dwellings. Though he considered the entire list of possible form determinants, Nabokov did suggest that the "Indians were responding to the climate around them and making the most of the materials at hand" (p. 16). Fathy (1973), in looking at establishing a vernacular village, considered the whole human/built environment of a place as "a delicately balanced social organism intimately integrated with the topography, with the very bricks and timber of the village" (p. 17).

A review of generative and environmental forms

Generative form. Before fully investigating the indicators of form in the TFV setting, a brief discussion is warranted to establish a familiarization with the origination and development of form in the human mind as a precursor to it in shaping the vernacular landscape, and cultural landscapes in general. Overall context of the cultural landscape may be more rounded and have more meaning if connections can be made to the instinctual and original form drivers. Since vernacular architecture is suggestive of forms that develop out of traditional knowledge, experience, and localized conditions, then it is conceivable that vernacular landscapes develop at least in part from already

established precedents. Therefore, in theory, the genesis of form in the historic vernacular landscape may actually begin prior to the arrival to a site of the culture that began to create it.

Lewcock (2006) discussed how the human mind references its memories and emotions as part of its expression into built form. This expression is a result that can either be individualistic and aesthetic, or it can be based on a collective whole, or cultural. It can be argued that a future form of a place preexisted in a small collective of the fishers' minds as they chose a place or a setting for establishing their worldview of trade and living. This preconception of form, that is, what has been already generated or preconceived in the fisher's mind most likely is what will be carried forward and then altered as the multitude of form determinants such as environmental, social, and political factors, as well as, individual events weigh in on the form building process.

Generative form amounts to experiential circumstances that are virtually unlimited in number and too complex and personalized for detailed analysis here. However, the importance of origins to studying the varieties of form within any cultural landscape is worthy of some discussion since Cortez is a highly contextual entity. In Cortez, and its earlier Hunter's Point reference, there are clues that can be explored for revealing how and why form took the shapes it did there. While, difficult to verify, the close scrutiny of possibilities includes the forms brought with the original settlers from previous lived-in and worked places. Rapoport (1986) discussed built form as part of an already existing concept in the mind of the builder based on prior cultural experience. This does not necessarily mean a person's inherent culture, but also other cultures experienced.

While this generative forming is an unwieldy subject to illustrate graphically, it can be expressed through drawings in order to provide a brief analysis of possible form influences that had already begun to work the fisher's mind prior to settling Hunter's Point. Figure 2-1 borrows from the three indicator sets by illustrating the influences that the original Hunter's Point settlers may have been exposed to and experienced. In this case, location as part of the village layout, erected structures as part of the building mosaic, and watercraft as part of extended vernacular are included as part of a form influence and conjecture task related to origins of form. The sketches provide examples of the dominant vernacular forms that could have been established as part of the generative form building by the Hunter's Point settlers. Though the graphics, sketched as individual, yet orderly tiles are generalized without deep descriptive discussion, they provide possible references into how the landscape was informed that eventually resulted in the TFV of Hunter's Point. Like many of the form graphics in my study, Figure 2-1 is a working quick sketch that assumes three types of dominant contributing forms. Highly sophisticated or perfected illustrations are not required since the drawn form is not the primary object of study; instead, it is a means to revealing forms for easy visual comparison.

For the location tiles, future village layout is ultimately dependent upon topographical considerations so the basic coastal geographical formations are illustrated and compared between the origin Carteret County coastal system, to Cedar Keys, where some of the settlers worked for a time, followed by what appeared through the historical evidence at Hunter's Point within a few years after its settlement. The top row illustrates the three indicators as prominent and historically accurate to be found in

their North Carolina origins of birth. In this case, the geographic forms of the Bogue and Core Sound ecosystems near the Outer Banks where they supposedly continued the handed-down fishing tradition formulated a precise presettlement form for the act of fishing. The basic fish industry structures prominent in the area are also illustrated, followed by the type of watercraft used in that area; in this case, a spritsail skiff as part of the extended vernacular, known to be common around the North Carolina coast.

The same treatment is applied to an aspect of building mosaic and the extended vernacular forms. In the case of the building mosaic, the typical building to have occurred in the village is outlined, while the watercraft form based on archival photographs is presented to illustrate the dominant form in that category. All of the forms found in the first two rows of illustrations in Figure 2-1 could have ultimately been reflected in the subsequent Cortez form elements sketched as part of the bottom row. The second row illustrates their exposure to the same indicators afterward, while in the Cedar Keys. This is then followed by the third row, which illustrates post-generative documented forms, again of the same indicators during the Hunter's Point settlement period. While no detailed analysis of the generative form is proposed as part of my study, it is certainly interesting, as basic as it is in the illustrations, to understand the concept of the generative mind with regard to future form and its possible origins and influences.

Now, to be clear, this discussion of generative forms is all really just conjecture as part of my study. There are many conditions and circumstances that could have contributed to the generative minds of the original Hunter's Point fishers and settlers. Researchers may never really know exactly how form originated before and during the

settlement of Hunter's Point; they may have simply wanted a better life and had long talked of settling a village somewhere that eventually came to fruition through the simplicities of timing, synchronicity, and good luck. This desire alone could have generated a form already preconceived in each of their minds, or collectively while the majority of the settlers were still in Carteret County.

Up to 1880, the rapidly growing Menhaden industry was forming as a postwar economy with its new fishing and harvesting methods. The structure of the industry, changing as it did from prewar mentalities, labor hierarchies, and traditional methods, may have caused many locals to become wary of an unwelcome shift in fishing on the local waters. In spite of available work and a rising economic infrastructure, the change of tradition alone may have caused many to seek new lives of prosperity elsewhere, in frontier areas, where tradition could be sustained and rebirthed. Surely there was tremendous opportunity for jobs along the coast of North Carolina, as the maritime industries ramped up and got even bigger with the depletion of Menhaden in Maine by 1879. This economic restructuring may have caused many locals to think of the emergence of the expanding industry as a savior to the local economy.

However, the future Hunter's Point settlers may have changed their minds somewhere along the way based on how they experienced Florida when they got there. According to historical records, three of the original settlers who were related as brothers were raised on a large tract of land fronting the Bogue Sound in North Carolina. Yet, the land was apparently used primarily for agricultural purposes; commercial fishing was not referenced as a primary pursuit, though it is highly likely that at least some forms of it were employed by family members, due to location and

subsistence needs. This could have kindled the passion for fishing as a vocation to be pursued by the brothers. Several historians (Green, n.d.; and Hepburn & Bleyer, 1980) cited the Civil War's effects on the difficulties of reestablishing available markets from the prewar fishing booms. Yet, this notion does not seem to jive with the historic record of the emerging Menhaden industry. While not part of my study, an even thicker analysis may reveal a reduced market system for fishers generally speaking, subject to a more controlling corporate influence. This new structure could certainly have been a major threat to traditional fishers of the area, prompting many to reconsider relocation.

We already know that the first properties owned at Hunter's Point were part of a subdivision of land sponsored by a non-fisher landowner prior to the settlement fishers' purchases. Not a lot of information is known about any influence the fishers had on its layout, if any. This could have happened as part of a simple discussion from another local while at a public square in North Carolina or in the Cedar Keys where they had access to well over 250 other fishers, spawning the idea in one of the settlers who then shared it with his kin and friends. Regardless, the important thing to consider here is that the ultimate settlement form at Hunter's Point was already being generated in the minds of the settlers somehow, based on what they had experienced to that time. While it is known that most of the original settlers were from North Carolina, and that five of the original 15 were brothers from North Carolina, the record is unclear as to their presettlement relationships with the others who were also from North Carolina. This renders an incomplete narrative without further analysis, showing the amount of thick description necessary for many deep explorations into form and its influences.

Since there is documentation that the original settlers hailed from coastal North Carolina as part of long-standing traditional fishing families, then each of them has a lifelong association with coastal and maritime forms prevalent within that context. It is no surprise then that they gravitated to other coastal areas on their journey to settling Cortez. A researcher could overanalyze, or more thickly describe the roots of the journey by thoroughly studying the origin forms from North Carolina, as well as, those forms that could have influenced them in the Cedar Keys. However, detailed study and graphic presentations of this is unnecessary since I am concerned with form change as it occurred in Cortez. However, it is important to note here that some of these experiences, as part of the generative formation could have influenced subsequent form in Cortez, and this is good to know, and serves well as a referential consideration.

Establishing a village often begins with understanding its geography and topography as part of a physical location and area. Understanding it from an outsider's viewpoint then must also include studying these aspects, as well (Roberts, 1996). Typically, fishers look for small, safe, sheltered harbors, alee from extremely dynamic coastal influences that prior experience fondles with and suggests in the generative mind. In 1879, the Hunter's Point settlers experienced the destructive hurricane that ravaged North Carolina's coastal fringe, causing at least 40 deaths. With this event, and similar storms that occurred annually through 1883 still fresh in their minds, it is easy to conjecture that the Cedar Keys primary point of activity was perhaps too vulnerable to such events for the North Carolina settlers to feel comfortable in establishing permanence. As a group of islands connected by a large estuary system, there could have been sheltered areas away from the main docks that the settlers would have found

suitable, but other factors appeared to have steered them from the Cedar Keys. Out-migration from North Carolina due to a series of major events including natural disaster and a reduced economy were likely powerful contributors to the generative mind.

Certainly, the Cedar Keys experience did not translate into its own fully effected form at Hunter's Point. Nor was the experience of severe natural events a necessary prerequisite to its subsequent form. It is easy to find documentation of fishers experiencing the destructive effects of tropical storm winds on the forms they built, only to follow up with a similar replacement. Regarding the pre-settler itinerary, all of the stopping points were isolated terminal points, all occurring on islands and part of coastal maritime fishing landscapes versus riverine type resources. While the Cedar Keys are directly located on the Gulf of Mexico with little shelter from the effects of strong wind and tidal events, Carteret County coastal areas and Hunter's Point reflected a similarity in coastal topography in that they were each enclosed by a barrier island system. The barrier island band found along the Hunter's Point ecosystem is strikingly similar to the Bogue Sound barrier island formation, albeit at a much smaller scale. While at first blush this basic understanding does not prove anything without the proper evidence, a thicker analysis could reveal an inherent desire by the Hunter's Point settlers to mimic the familiarity of the environment in which they were traditionally raised and had at least a modicum of comfort for.

In his book, *Finest Kind*, Ben Green (1985) reported that the natural formation and structure of the sheltered cove at Hunter's Point were appealing natural elements for the settlers. Though there was no easy overland transportation yet available to Hunter's Point, it may have been noticed by some of them as part of earlier fishing

expeditions to the peninsula and its surrounding bays, or as part of a word-of-mouth scenario. Further anecdotal evidence is provided by Green who suggested that the settlers found the sheltered natural conditions of Hunter's Point to be more conducive for establishing a residence versus the unprotected, more volatile wind and tidal prone shoreline on Perico Island. The reference to Perico Island appears to be somewhat misleading. Based on historical plat maps, only one of the original settlers, W. J. Foreman, appeared to own property or had family ties to Perico Island, per se. James E. Guthrie, J. T. Flowers, and Augustine Willis owned property east of Perico Island near Palma Sola prior to the land purchases at Hunter's Point, and the property there appeared to be well protected. However, it is possible though, in spite of prior investments, that this upper extent of Palma Sola Bay was construed by them as being not as productive, and certainly less accessible to the fishing grounds as the lands of Hunter's Point.

The existence of large open bays was also familiar to the Hunter's Point settlers, whereas, in the Cedar Keys the bays were smaller, more enclosed, with a much lower energy coastal system. Now, early Carteret County fishers were noted for their prowess as whalers. However, this does not mean that all of them were only whalers. It is likely that mullet were equally plentiful in the bays and sounds that inundated Carteret County, and that mullet fishing already was a locally entrenched activity for subsistence and commercial incorporations of the culture. In fact, the North Carolina Maritime Museum in Beaufort provides an interpretive display that cites mullet as the most valuable finfish in the area until at least the 1950s. Its importance was, coincidentally, only second to that of the West Coast of Florida, supporting the mullet industry's

entrenched character in the coastal North Carolina culture, as referenced later in Chapter 4, which highlights the mullet's popularized branding as being etched into the local culture.

Some scholars would argue, such as Stilgoe (1982) did, that the waterfront accounted for the first view, the first experience by the settlers who would create the human-built forms on it. Since my study is not intended to be an overly deep discussion of cognitive theory, I will not venture further about it here, but it is important to understand that cultural form on the landscape had to begin somewhere in the human mind, and that form itself becomes so complicated that not all of it can be considered as part of a study that attempts to understand how it changes over time. My study recognizes this limitation of landscape form interpretation under a single project, though a method that looks at context is a reasonable start to a better paradigm of examination in this regard.

In 1986, Rapoport suggested that form derives from culture and the conceptual framework it already carries with it, though the culture itself is not necessarily what is translated into the form built. He saw form as created individually through both orderly and random cumulative strategies guided by choice decisions and personal preferences. This is important in establishing a framework of form in the historic vernacular landscape of Cortez over time, since the physical evidence of form that remains, whether extant artifact or documented evidence, can rarely be attributed to a cultural steadfastness. The locale and the inherent materials, accessibility, weather, etc., all added to the original and evolving form. The form was modified along the way

incrementally as the scope of circumstances changed too. This included internal culture, as well as, external cultural influences.

Occupational motivations also produce conceptual images in the generative mind that lead to conceptualized form, perhaps most notably in the natural landforms where the study community will settle; in this case, the desire to operate and live freely to pursue a long-standing family trade prompted the original settlers to envision a property that made that trade possible. Access to the waterfront and the larger harvest areas such as the bays, inlets, rivers, and coast was probably a strong element in the generative mind of those settlers. In the case of the Hunter's Point settlers, notions of landform were likely modified by the natural landforms found in the coastal area of Carteret County, North Carolina, their place of origin. However, it may have been modified by their experiences on the way to Hunter's Point.

As discussed somewhat earlier, economics also plays an important role in continuing and fostering form in the generative mind. The ability to earn a living must have weighed heavily of the Hunter's Point settlers' mind. History itself reveals the economic hardships encountered by many southerners after the Civil War ended. Many southern towns during the Civil War found their buildings and infrastructures destroyed requiring significant rebuilding, though reports suggest that the mullet fishing industry in Carteret County was still going strong, second only to the harvests from Florida waters. The drying up of market connections and linkages required long term recoveries. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the original settlers had a strong desire to move to Florida to provide the growing lumber industry at Cedar Keys with fresh fish (Green, n.d.). The ready market of a growing industrial hub along with available land

opportunities as part of the Florida legislature's desire to recruit new settlers must have been strong indeed.

Rapid land development is another contributor. Since the railroad provided direct linkages to Cedar Keys from coastal North Carolina, there was an easier relocation incentive for them to end up there, as well as, a supportive foundation in the form of a growing economy. However, the Cedar Keys was not a purely fishing economy, overshadowed by lumber, warehousing, transportation, and other industries. Mullet fishing, which the Hunter's Point settlers were most likely culturally entrenched with, mingled with other types of fishing including sponging and oystering there. All of these overlapping industries could have created a commerce system that was too energetic and non-conducive to the fishing-oriented atmosphere desired by the future settlers; perhaps the Cedar Keys were simply just too crowded. Nevertheless, the Cedar Keys may have been an intentional stopping point as the original settlers formulated bigger ideas and concepts of self-sufficiency in their generative minds that eventually brought them to Hunter's Point.

Environmental form. If geography and topography are considered part of environmental form, then I have already touched upon the impacts on the human-constructed form in the preceding discussions found in the literature. Of course, there are more quintessential elements of environmental form that can be applied here. Glassie (2000) hinted at the natural environment's role in form as the anchor or base from which built form comes into being (p. 29). M. P. Conzen (2001) reiterated the natural environment's major role in subsequent human articulated form by suggesting natural form as providing the "pre-existing ground plan feature" from which future

development is shaped (p. 9). In both senses, a natural area was indicative of the contextual form it would become, which deferred in a sense to the natural boundaries of the water's edge, flat, low-lying topography, and placement within a bay system versus a riverine or open ocean system.

The effects of natural occurrences play an important, overarching role in a variety of the human cultural forms created. This is especially true of the vernacular village layout, which can be defined, limited or advanced, depending on the lay of the land. The natural features create an implied, almost de facto form, though this is not always the case after the human generative mind begins working it. Because the debate on the environment's control over human-built form continues to linger, it is looked at as an implied characteristic of the human form that follows. The ontological confusion that follows an exploration of form when attempting to determine an influence priority, i.e., the human-less or human-involved breadth, establishes two separate foci: first, one that follows a line of reasoning toward nature without humans; and the second as one that includes them. The former separates humans as distinct from nature (refer to the historical ecology discussion earlier in this chapter).

Several vernacular scholars after Glassie, from Rapoport (1986) to Muir (2007), referenced a sort of interdependence between the lay of the land and understanding the human built environment added to its "natural-ness." It is no surprise then that both the visual and non-visual forms that become part of it may be highly influenced by it. A highly elevated upland area that leads to a bay and the working waterfront will likely include forms that become important contributors to the vernacular landscape such as in the way of access features required by its topography, similar to how a flat

shore/upland area could reveal its own unique form. Both dwellings and non-residential buildings may be constructed similarly between topographies and along a wide geographic line; however, the minor components such as how dock systems are constructed and appear from the water or from the internal village may represent distinctions of form that require evaluation for determining over form change within a landscape. These extended types of form may be able to communicate both broad and community specific changes in form due to a variety of forces-internal and external.

While Jackson (1984) described landscapes as being synthetic forms as opposed to ones that are natural, there is an integration that occurs between various forms found in nature and the human constructs built on, around, in, or near them. In historic vernacular landscapes, it is safe but not always accurate to assume that the natural forms of topography, water frontage, soil types, water depths, etc., can be read as starting points from which to separate human forms prior to any integration between them (Stilgoe, 1982). Peace (2001) discussed how certain extended vernacular forms in some Irish fishing villages were shaped in part according to how the natural waterway floors accumulated silt. This limitation of navigable water depths defined watercraft size, which speaks to its form. If a new settler on an undeveloped natural shore carries forward from a prior place a certain watercraft shape, size, and function, already developed as a conceptual form, it is obviously limited in this new place and may have to be modified accordingly, so either a new form develops, or an old, traditional form is modified or adapted to the new circumstances.

Whereas, at the time of settlement of Hunter's Point, the form of the land began as an already human-effected land, or presettlement state, it can nevertheless be

described as a southern facing, flat, low-lying peninsula consisting mostly of pine woodlands over a palmetto scrub, which serves as a background to a human constructed artifact below a sweeping sky, surrounded (or approached) on three sides by a shallow bay of sand flats and estuaries, with an abundance of apparent fishing grounds (and therefore sea bounty) visible to the naked eye.

While some kind of natural form was present at Hunter's Point, any notion of it being purely natural (pristine) is a subject of much debate, but most likely it was in a state of natural-ness with at least some evidence of human disturbance available for scrutiny. Now, it is arguable which form comes first, environmental or generative. It is valid to argue that the environmental form must exist before the human mind can conjure up forms to place in it and to avoid a tautological argument, it is left as that. Embedded factors in the human mind such as shelter, the proper topography, and the apparent availability of building materials may represent the same forces that determine the form (Steen, Steen, & Komatsu, 2003). Such a purely "environmental-istic" determinism for Hunter's Point is not likely since there are so many entrenched traditions that have played out within the weathering of their particular culture. It can then be argued that for latent environments, such as in Cortez, at least some essence of preconceived form is already laden in the human mind as a generative concept.

Regardless, for the purposes of this paper, I am not too concerned with order here since I can choose one as occurring before the other and still sufficiently explore how vernacular form changes over time. I am also not concerned with the oft-debated argument of whether human agency, as part of nature, represents a natural endeavor.

These are topics for another research project. For the purposes of my study, I am separating the two as distinct from each other.

While I already mentioned several reasons for why Hunter's Point was chosen as a settlement location because of its sheltering character, its southern exposure to the light and heat radiation could also be contributing factors. While most of the upland areas are similar in elevation within the greater coastal Gulf of Mexico region, with much of it occurring at the three to four-foot elevation above sea level, uplands can generally be ruled out for a thorough examination herein. In this case, I am not restricted to land-based assumptions, but also must look at the available water resources. This also begets an intermediary system of lowlands that often serve as a transition between uplands and the water.

Remember, there were no reconnaissance flights available at the time to help identify the full range of a land's topography and natural features. There are no high bluffs, rock formations, or other natural topographic features that seem to differentiate the upland areas except the amount of them. Instead, the intermediate lowland areas and the water become the most important. Intermediate areas consist of low-lying wetland areas and those areas occurring closer to the water's edge. Wetland areas occurring on a large part of uplands would not likely have been preferred since they were not historically favored, and more likely looked at as darker, unhealthy places that fostered disease. The larger scheme to drain Florida's swamplands was occurring concurrently with the settlement of Hunter's Point that would likely have played a role in how they were considered by the settlers. In fact, Hunter's Point was originally owned by perhaps the most devout industrialist bent on draining swamps, Hamilton Disston.

However, that is yet another story outside of the scope of my research, but worthy of mention.

Natural non-upland features should also be considered as influencing factors. However, the intermediate area of the foreshore, that transitional area between the uplands and the low tidal inundation was important. This is how access would be gained and shared so there needed to be a lot of it if an actual village community was to be established. A long stretch of tapering, sandy beach would have allowed reasonable access for multiple settlers to Sarasota Bay, which Hunter's Point did seem to provide. The obvious waterfront conglomeration, to be discussed later in more detail, was perhaps the most important consideration for requiring a suitable foreshore area. After all, the waterfront conglomeration is the quintessential mix of context-feeding constructed forms around which most of the traditional fisher's daily lives would have revolved.

The inquiry into how buildings were elevated above the water speaks to overall form of the building mosaic and the piers and net camp systems that were obviously elevated based on a particular form for extending the waterfront vernacular. Upland elevations of buildings are also relevant here since it is the influence, or confluence I should say, of the lowland and water resources that could allow for an effect of that particular form. Form here is differentiated as a distinct form since the degree of treatment toward elevating a structure may lead to an inherent and distinct form identifier. These are all inherent forms within the generative mind based on a culture's prior knowledge and experience, individually or collectively.

Of course, the water, or fishing grounds as the primary resource for their fishing activity was paramount. This is the obvious contextual parameter that is a value-added benefit for researching form in a village, i.e., the water-dependent nature of their activity and the forms that are identified from it. While it could suffice to say that any type of water would have been suitable as long as the bounty from it was available, the Sarasota Bay ecosystem provided a nearly unmatched bounty teeming with available harvesting outputs that lacked the intense competition probably found in the Cedar Keys and even Carteret County with their longer established histories. The sandy, shallow flats came close to matching the types of fishing enterprise the settlers were accustomed to in Carteret County, and where they could transfer both methods of fishing and fishing gear more readily, based on their own adaptations, if necessary. So, the form of the harvest area or fishing grounds appears as a physical form that may actually be better termed as intangible, since they are temporal and changing, unpredictable, and where the actual element that defines them, the sea life, is rarely visible except in how one reads the water, or follows shadows, or knows the tides. This is where the intangible form begins to meet the physical form.

The intangible vernacular extension is, in part, an extension of the “new cultural geography” bolstered by studies during the 1980s that involved analysis of landscapes through the ways in which space is ordered, economics impact them, and how the cognitive relationships unfold about them (Domosh, 1989). These obviously require thicker analysis programs that allow the subtext of landscapes to be read.

Determinants of Vernacular Form Change

Perhaps the most compelling foray of my study hovers around the rigorously debated inquiries to date into what the literature has uncovered regarding the

determinants of vernacular form change. TFVs represent distinct cultural enclaves with strong senses of local identity and unique sets of traditional knowledge (McGoodwin & FAOUN, 2001; Smith, 1977). Some contemporary scholars theorize that certain architectural forms are not found to be determined by the convenience of any single natural or cultural factor and are instead, rather capricious (Edwards, 1980), while others have discussed that basic form is derived from socio-cultural determinants that may have primacy over all other influences (Lawrence, 2000; Nabokov & Easton, 1989; also, see Rapoport, 1969, p.47). Rapoport (1986) later tempered his earlier view by suggesting that culture is not necessarily “translated into built form,” but rather, it is “translated through human actions, through a series of intermediate steps, into built form” (p. 162). Brand (1994) suggested that forms in buildings ebb and flow according to at least six factors including site, structure, skin, services, space plan, and miscellaneous stuff.

Glassie (2000) accepted culture as having a role in a landscape’s form, but saw cultural processes as being less influential than the natural environment in setting the basis for its ultimate realization. The notion of any landscape, as a form coming to an ultimate fruition may be a fiction since the more comprehensive a form is, the less static it becomes. That is, the form of any landscape, serving as a repository for infinite influences and goings on could rarely if ever, be considered complete and finished. This is in contrast to the smaller, material object, for example, a fishing watercraft, though part of the wider landscape, that may be designed and serve its useful purpose, but could conceivably reach its end, never to be physically touched again. The question of whether the memory of it that does remain as some type of intangible form is another

matter for exploration. Religion (Memarian & Brown, 2003), economics (Rapoport, 1969), function (Carter & Cromley, 2005; Noble, 2007), and aesthetics (Lewcock, 2006; Rapoport, 1982) all contend with other modifying determinants of change suggesting the unlikely design attributed to that of a single determinant.

It is rare to find detailed discourse on form change within the TFV context over a broad scope of time. However, discourse of origins and diffusion, as well as, evolution of vernacular form of buildings can be found in detail (Edwards, 1980; Jordan & Kaups, 1987; Kniffen, 1936, 1965). Glassie (1968) discussed origins, but not necessarily vernacular form change, though he did address the notion of vernacular form from the wider landscape perspective through his identification of regional patterns (and some non-regional examples), not only limited to buildings, but also including trade craft and vessels. This extension of vernacular description is highly suggestive of the extended vernacular form that underlies the focus of my research.

Savage (1952), in discussing eighteenth century English towns referred to three primary determinants of form change in the seaports there to include the advances of industrial machinery and processes, methods of transport, and competition with other ports. Savage saw what appeared to be a rather healthy, yet disciplined relationship between towns that spurred form change since they acted as living entities that had to keep up with the latest economic strategies that in turn, fostered physical, as well as social changes. Of course, he was sure to mention that environmental form changes were also evident in waterfront areas as human-sponsored environmental alterations such as shoreline reconfiguration, canal digging, and road and rail rights of way resulted from the local and regional economic engine.

However, in understanding vernacular landscape form change and its linkages to cultural factors, process and objectification must be closely examined (Robertson & Richards, 2003). A disparity still exists between scholars about whether vernacular (and perhaps its overall form) is an object to look at or a process to be explained, though the trend has steered toward the latter (Davis, 2006; Heath, 2009; Ingold, 1993; Mitchell, 1994; Ozkan, 2006; Rapoport, 2000; Robertson & Richards, 2003; Wells, 1986). Larkham (2005) reminded scholars that examinations of form as part of a wide variety of processes have largely been going on since at least the 1980s. Carter and Cromley (2005) also recognized the confusion between looking at vernacular form as a “type of architecture” versus “an approach” to studying it (p. 7). Longstreth (1999) admonished scholars and practitioners when he suggested that vernacular, being a process and not a style or object, improves how the wider landscape perspective can be viewed through the inclusion of meaning, whereby approaching vernacular from a stylistic point of view reduces the availability of meaningful exploration. He went on to suggest that while it is appropriate to look at buildings and describe them, other factors are necessary for advancing beyond mere description such as building methods, industrial practices, economic concerns, and what he refers to as cultural patterns. All of this dialogue highlights the ongoing disparities that muddy the notion of what is actually changing in vernacular settings—the process or the object.

In 2005, Carter and Cromley discussed a dramatic vernacular building form change due to new technology occurring 200 years ago when the central fireplace of the main living area shifted to a stove unit for which a small addition was constructed; however, they recognize such a major shift as a rare occurrence (p. 15). Rice (2003)

began to see dramatic vernacular building change in contemporary contexts through insensitive redevelopment activities. Mellin (2003), one of the few scholars to address TFV contexts with regard to form, noticed how manufactured products began reshaping building form in Canadian fishing villages. While the above examples infer slower cultural changes over time, Chiarappa and Szylyan (2009), in addressing the already mentioned technology influence, suggested that maritime vernacular landscapes can and do change dramatically, citing, for example, the ability of the shipbuilding industry's rapid effect on them during World War II; but they offered little explanation of the specifics. Price (2004) cited changes in the traditional fishing industry in general due to regulatory impositions implemented during the 1970s and 1980s, which alluded to vernacular form change also occurring, albeit well outside of my intended study period. However, the influences of earlier political decisions and processes are relevant and revealed themselves through the thicker analyses of my research program.

Questioning climate

Vernacular form, as possibly derived from climate has a long historical discussion. My discussion of here is only a brief foray of its potential for effects on the landscape form, but it has become a major topic on a global scale from a variety of points. It makes sense that human protection from climatic elements of rain, wind, and temperature is provided through means of interference between them, whether human built or occurring naturally. Evidence for purposeful construction of shelter from earth soils that may have evolved in response to climate may go back as far as the seventh millennium B.C. (Meir & Roaf, 2006), but can certainly be traced back at least to Iranian courtyard dwellings occurring approximately 5,000 years ago during the fourth millennium B.C. (Memarian & Brown, 2003; also see Lampl, 1968). Renping and

Zhenyu (2006) also cited evidence in China of vernacular structures dating back several millennia that were apparently constructed in response to the climate there, sharing with Iranian vernacular builders a common folk ability in regulating temperature (Dunham, 1960).

Akcan's (2006) discussion of architect Bruno Taut's search for universality is also worthy of mention here. In studying Taut's research from Japan, where he suggested they were particularly adapted to the climatic conditions there, Akcan (2006) reported that he found that "universalities exist in non-related places as rational aspects of commonality" (p. 11). In addition, Akcan referenced a finding that "The more architectural forms are appropriate to the climate, the more they are universal" (p. 31). Oliver (2003), in describing earthen structures may have agreed with this notion. However, most researchers would question the assumption from these histories that climate related vernacular forms were similarly developed on a global scale.

Regardless of universal undertones, Rapoport (1969) did not appear to be convinced that climate served as an ultimate determinant according to his research over four decades ago. Since then, many others who may have long favored its determinism in guiding vernacular constructs may have shifted their views in line with subsequent research that more, or less supports his views, including Noble (2007), who felt that the surrounding environmental influence represented only a partial import on vernacular forms. Notwithstanding the expected nuances of form differences between vernacular structures that are affected by similar climates, but are in completely different parts of the world, such a seemingly straightforward conclusion is tempered by the fact that completely different adaptations of vernacular architecture form can also appear within

the same regional contexts. This appears to represent alternative solutions to the same problems, as mentioned above.

While microclimates and nuances in topographical features and resources imply subtle differences, Renping and Zhenyu (2006) identified four relatively different forms within the Lancang River valley of China. It seems this kind of variation represented positive approaches to a similar problem, but composed of stylistic differences as Aladar and Victor Olgyay (1963) suggested even before Rapoport (1969). In these four different cases, it appeared that humans were adapting to a climatic condition, when in fact, they may actually have been controlling it, but not in the external, atmospheric way that would contradict Meir and Roaf's (2006) admonishment that climate is not controlled by buildings. After all, the air that is breathed within their built constructs have certainly been regulated or modified through the purposeful design of the construct, creating the new microclimate, and therefore cause changes to the environment, whether indoors or out.

In controlling the internal, modified nature, Dunham (1960) provided an excellent early study of the more intuitive applications used by builders of courtyard dwellings regarding the principles of storing and distributing heat and cool air. While not providing evidence contributing directly to the shape of the courtyard form, it did refer to the size of the courtyard as being a key factor in its regulation. Because courtyard size reaches a maximum threshold for positive response to human comfort, form at the settlement or block scale of vernacular housing in this sense, is restricted or enhanced, depending on how one views it, through the approaches utilized such as replicating a second or even third courtyard construct for expansion of space, or abutting the structural elements to

adjacent property constructs. This same principle may also be apparent in the native pueblo in the American Southwest where the Olgyays (1963) suggested that the uses of common wall construction also represented a response to reducing heat buildup, therefore dictating form, but only as scale increases, limiting the notion that climate contributes to the ultimate form. However, this is questionable and highly presumptuous, with no reliable evidence in later research. It is possible that economy of materials and time, or common defense, or other factors influenced the small-scale form rather than climate.

Cataclysmic events

There is a dearth of information regarding how vernacular form may be determined by protection from severe natural events such as earthquakes, floods, wind storms, volcanic activity, etc. The literature is not as robust regarding close examination of form diminution resulting from human-made events that are cataclysmic. Of course, the literature is beginning to expand regarding climate change, sea level rise, and residual impacts that are being questioned as human influenced impacts. Noble (2007) provided one of the most comprehensive overviews to date of vernacular form being influenced by cataclysmic events. He cited vernacular form alteration attributable to post-event strategies addressing materials depletion, changing roof pitch, extensions, and materials, seismic flexibility, and separation of structures. Recent form pattern books that detail vernacular influences are being incorporated into entire neighborhoods as part of post-Hurricane Katrina recovery efforts. Oliver (2003) also suggested that anti-seismic design of using a combination of materials for vernacular structures in the Hindu Kush region of Afghanistan and Pakistan provided evidence of successful structural responses to seismic activity. He also referenced vernacular joint flexibility

design in Kashmir as another positive response. In each case, vernacular specifications for resilience may contribute to form, but they do not appear to dictate ultimate form; however, these issues remain open for debate.

In areas subject to storm surge and flooding, ultimate form appears to be partially determined by the aesthetic created from elevating structures several feet above the ground. In this case, ultimate form is partially determined by the floor component, one of the three major identifying features of a vernacular construct. If agreement can be ascertained that one or all of these three major identifying features represents an essential element of ultimate form, then perhaps construction according to certain cataclysmic events is a noteworthy contributor to vernacular form. Of concern to traditional buildings in the United States is the requirement of building codes that could contribute to ultimate vernacular form, especially concerning dramatic first-floor height increases and window/door minimum pressure dynamic standards. However, these issues are related more closely to cultural influences on form.

In some areas, natural disasters affect materials and resources, which in all likelihood could affect form. This is either because of past events that have helped to establish the current resource base, or future events, which could limit or eliminate materials and resources, thereby effecting a change in form. It is difficult to find other examples of vernacular form being determined by the range of cataclysmic events. In many cases, with the exception of water inundation, it appears that most communities simply accept the challenges presented by all other cataclysmic events when it come to the form chosen for their vernacular structures, leading to the thought that form may be derived from adherence to other determinants.

There is some information related to local climate and vernacular reference points. In the Cortez historical archive set, only meager references to climate exist, suggesting that they were both planned and reactionary, allowing me to understand at least some form decisions due to potential climatic affects. A contextual study consisting of a combined ecological-cultural approach, similar to that done by Jordan and Kaups (1987) may have provided some insight toward resolving unanswered form and design issues in Cortez, and perhaps on a larger regional scale. Such a study could open up opportunities for evaluating historic narratives, tracing building form origins, earmarking diffusion patterns, and discovering vernacular structure similarities. Of the few written narratives that have been published about Cortez, either a historic timeline or ethnographic approach was used to present its fixture on the landscape. It is known that many of the buildings, even going back to the beginning of the historic period, were probably elevated on brick and concrete piers or wood pilings. Because elevated first floors were part of the wider vernacular tradition during that time in order to provide clearance from soil dampness, it was already a learned tradition.

Cortez is located within a special flood hazard area and is vulnerable to strong winds and storm surge throughout the year, being more pronounced between the months of June and November. Current literature suggests that the fishers and lay builders of Cortez copied the basic form and designs for their vernacular structures from their point of origin in North Carolina (Fulford-Green & Piland, 1995). From a historical ecologic view, there is an immediate interest pointed at how the residential buildings and structures were placed as part of the first wave of construction, in contrast to the experience of the settlers from the cataclysmic storm event that occurred in 1879 while

they were still in North Carolina. It is known from the archival record that most non-residential structures in Cortez were built at the water's edge, over the water, or close to it, and these were destroyed. However, there is little evidence suggesting that many primary residences were built in those locations, suggesting either a reasoning behind limiting dwelling exposure to a set of known vulnerabilities, or a traditional reservation of the area for purposeful fishery activities and constructions.

In addition, based on historic photographs, the residences appeared to be better constructed, many of them appearing to have double-wall construction with horizontal lap siding for exterior skins, while the contextual fishing buildings and structures appeared mostly as single-wall constructs, sheered together loosely with vertical exterior siding elements. Again, the simple deduction from this observation suggests a learned knowledge of building more permanent, and perhaps, more important structures away from the water, and limiting the quality, and therefore permanence of those structures erected closer to it.

Humans, by nature are resilient to adverse circumstances and can choose between relocating or modifying vernacular constructs (Lawrence, 2006). Only after the 1921 storm surge is it suggested that the Cortez settlers modified their buildings by not rebuilding directly over or adjacent to the water, and by attaching them to wooden pilings driven several feet into the ground (Fulford-Green & Piland, 1995). This certainly represented a change in design influenced by a response to climatic conditions, but it is unclear if this modest change results in a change in form pursuant to the effect it may have had on one of the three major identifying features of a building as discussed earlier. It seems silly to suggest that the buildings needed to be elevated higher, for

example to six feet or so to constitute an actual change to vernacular form, for the notion of being arbitrary comes quickly to mind. A change to an existing architectural feature such as a piling with different materials or nominal lengths may not necessarily change character or form, as supported by Noble (2007, see p.182); however, even this is debatable.

The detailed information regarding the original vernacular buildings and structures that were destroyed by the 1921 storm would also help to understand how the later vernacular forms evolved. However, there is scant information on these structures. While some of the extant buildings do exist from that prior, initial period, it is still an incomplete record. The historical ecologist would piece together the architectural descriptions for each of these remnant buildings and compare them with lot configurations just prior to the storm using map datasets, oral histories, and land diagramming through modified archaeological and land use planning methods. This would also serve to better understand the orientation of dwellings and structures in light of south and west sun exposures in order to compare them with the traditional fishing culture issue of water access. Because it is known that many vernacular buildings and structures in Cortez were commonly relocated, a truer picture of all buildings and structures with regard to their vernacular layout over the complete historic period could provide useful information about how climate may be a factor in either individual structural form or Cortez, as a whole, as related to climatic conditions.

Topography

As suggested above, internal climates can be modified from the larger, external phenomenon of natural atmospheric climate. Perhaps the same holds true for topography and how it can be altered or mimicked by humans to accommodate their

built constructs. Massive topographical alterations of the earth, perhaps older than vernacular dwellings, are still extant. Vernacular form, whether from climate or topographical points of view appears inconsistent when studying its origin. As Rapoport (1969) suggested, "Similar site conditions can also result in very different house forms, and similar forms can be built on very different sites," suggesting human group peculiarities as contributing factors of form (p. 29). For example, it is clear that swaths of raised buildings are found over both land and water, including along hillsides. An interesting query arises that asks if a site, as influenced by topography then becomes more of a cultural issue, rather than a determinant of vernacular form.

In arctic regions blanketed by year-round snow, where the topography is only snow, water, and hard ground, and where igloos are ingeniously crafted as dwellings, it is the snow from the climatic condition that appears to shape the ultimate vernacular form, rather than the topography that consists of snow. These domed constructs certainly mimic the surrounding landscape made up of the seemingly endless horizon of mounded snow. However, in this case, the dome is the architectural construct that works with the materials that are available, not necessarily the topography. Could a flat roof be constructed out of snow blocks? It is possible, to be sure, with the proper buildup of the roofing system in combination with the dome system; however, this would not be a traditional answer since the climate (wind and snow accumulation) is a deterrent to having a flat-roofed structure, since it is critical that they be deflected to avoid structural hazards, knowledge that would have been learned through tradition. Many vernacular communities, in their entirety, closely resemble their surrounding topography, such as earthen and stone walled structures in arid, plateau surroundings

such as the Draa Valley in Morocco where both flat and vertical shapes echo each other (Oliver, 2003). It could be said that small, primitive huts made by bending long, flexible branches into a rounded shapes that mimic nearby bushes, or more significant buildings that are constructed of vertical tree limbs resembling the surrounding forest also mimic their surroundings, and therefore, are ultimately determined by their topography.

Cave and cliff dwellings, subterranean constructs, and other types of excavations that have been shaped and altered or as Oliver (2003) referred to as resulting from “carving a home,” such as those found among certain cultures in Spain, Turkey, and the American Southwest could be considered ultimate vernacular form (p. 86). However, there seems to be an uneasiness about the use of topography under this context in that these types of dwellings have a preconceived ultimate form that is primeval and perhaps, resulting from forces prior to human interaction (Rudofsky, 1964). Of course, the human builder adds to them in ways that could be considered vernacular. Initially, it seems difficult to consider such originally fixed, readily available natural constructs as part of vernacular structures that have been built from scratch. However, this may be a subject for future debate, considered along with nomadic vernacular constructs, which are not even considered in this paper. Topography appears to provide the place related to the vernacular structure by providing a handy form that is already extant in nature, and has less to do with man’s ingenuity. In this way, it seems to be disqualified from vernacular altogether, though some of the instances provided above provide enough fodder for future discussion.

The question of whether vernacular form is purely derived from climate, as well as, from topography, however, is unclear. Some TFVs such as Tilting in Newfoundland,

Canada, reject the notion of topographical influence to vernacular form there (Mellin, 2003). Through a historical ecologic approach, an exploration of the land mosaic occurring in other similar topographies could identify linkages with vernacular form. Building orientation and connections to the water through other built constructs immediately come to mind as part of such an examination. Since there is little evidence suggesting that the original Hunter's Point settlers laid out the form of the village circulation system, there is merit in analyzing why the streets were not laid out according to an east-west orientation, or with the inclusion of a parallel right-of-way along the waterfront, rather than the resulting north/south terminus alignment.

While topography may be a readily accepted form determinant for many waterfront communities and the physical margins created from the land/water interstice, especially with regard to vernacular dock systems, it cannot by itself explain the olio of structural designs that were constructed during the historic study span in Cortez.

Materials

Materials are another popular determinant factor, since they are largely the result of local climatic conditions, and are often placed in context because of their local availability (Forsyth, 1997; Prussin, 1995; Rapoport, 1969). However, this assumption appears to have only limited applicability in post-settlement construction, though regional considerations could still be applicable. The idea that presettlement tenants of Hunter's Point, using only locally found materials is certainly plausible given the remoteness of it from developed areas and the documentation available that describes the use of such raw materials. It becomes more diluted as the new settlers institute a permanence to the village, and as nearby towns grow and develop, thusly reducing, if not eliminating, a predominance of local materials usage.

Materials and resources, as part of the topographical constituency of a region or area, and as a necessary ingredient in the construction of all buildings (as opposed to climate or cataclysmic events) suggest strongly, that they are important contributors to vernacular form. One restricting factor lies in the extent to which the three major defining features of a building (floor, walls, and roof) are designed according to types of materials and resources. Another restricting factor depends on what is available, and what is reasonable in getting it to where the location of the building is to be constructed.

A building constructed of earthen materials certainly is going to be formed according to its physical properties such as tensile strength and reactions to things like rain and sun. It seems that such constraints are de facto causes of ultimate vernacular form. When dealing with natural materials (as raw materials), vernacular form also results from the technologies and the limitations associated with the economy of time. The same should hold true for a vernacular buildings constructed out of precut timber and corrugated metal sheets that are also readily available, even though those materials deliver a completely different vernacular form. However, regarding the latter, it is less likely that ultimate form is a determined by the materials since the saving of time may result in creating vernacular form meant to satisfy another determinant such as climate or topography. For example, the vernacular builder has come to know that a slanted roof with extended eaves will probably protect him better than a flat roof with depressions in it.

Other determinants

In addition, it is necessary to examine local decision-making, as part of the socio-cultural-political processes that influence, and perhaps explain and separate vernacular landscape form's various layers of change over a continuum (Jordan & Kaups, 1987;

Chiarappa & Szylvian, 2009). There is no doubt, based on a review of political legislation and determinations that landscape form is heavily influenced by subsequent actions or inactions of those acts. This is especially noticeable in how transportation and navigation infrastructure comes to bear upon a locale or region.

Explanations of process certainly advance what can be understood about form and perhaps how and why it changes in the landscape, but it falls short of defining form sufficiently for all purposes of academic inquiry (Kropf, 1993). Some scholars have pondered the notion that vernacular form change (architecturally) was a response to individualistic tendencies that eventually effect cumulative change in the overall vernacular landscape (Lewcock, 2006; Whitehand, 1992). Again, the concept of cultural weathering holds specific interest here. For example, does the imposition of a single environmental regulation sponsor more communal changes in the landscape form wholesale or as a snowball effect beginning with a single individual in spite of a forced rule? Are there specific points in time when the tradition of vernacular, i.e., where some type of form that remained unchanged for decades, suddenly experienced wholesale change? If so, the questions deriving from the literature include identifying those determinants, and how were they fostered, and how they proceeded. It is productive and scholarly to bring as many of these relevant ideas together to properly analyze vernacular landscape form under the rubric of TFVs, and in light of the apparent gaps in the literature regarding the overall landscape perspective (Norton, 1989).

Indeed, at present and without the benefit of further research at this point, hard lines appear to be minimal or even non-apparent for understanding determinants of vernacular landscape form change in general, let alone in regard to myriad specific

contexts such as TFVs. The long list of determinants that effect most types of form change remain complex to understand, yet vernacular form often falls victim to its own simple nature, i.e., its change is often noticeable in its surficial features of building materials, personal architectural ornamentation, and new structures, all of which, of course add up to changes in the landscape form itself, with or without considering Heath's (2009) culturally weathered concept. Yet, these surficial changes erroneously appear to have produced only subtle, hardly noticeable layers of vernacular landscape form change as part of typical community progression, in spite of dramatic events, technologies, natural system degradation, and a host of cultural influences (Edwards, 1980, 1991; Lanier & Herman, 1997; Lowenthal, 1997).

Identifying Landscape Form Change

Identifying change in the historic vernacular landscape form within a TFV context is not a straightforward process. Some scholars have suggested that beginning around the mid-twentieth century, rapid diminution of long-standing, historic form character began, not only in the United States, but also on a global scale due to technology, economics such as tourism and development, and public policy (Chiarappa & Szylyan, 2009; Green, 1985; Kottak, 1992; Nadel-Klein, 2003). Literature has proven elusive regarding how this change specifically reveals itself, and how it may have occurred prior to that time. This may now suggest that a marked difference in the rate of vernacular landscape form change was present prior to the mid-twentieth century; however, to date, there is scant data supporting this assumption. Certainly, vernacular landscape form change was steadily influenced by the earlier transportation achievements of the railroad, steam power, and navigational aids, as well as, by the advances of building methods, methods of distribution, and commercial fishing economies (Matthews, 1928).

In order to understand vernacular landscape form change fully, there exists a compulsion to examine and consider any presence of a stable vernacular form affecting a study area. If vernacular architecture and its various forms do indeed make up over 90% of the global population's inhabited structures, then there must be distinct histories of adaptive successes in a variety of contexts not necessarily related to each other that may reveal determinants of stability, as well as, change. As already referenced above, Heath (2001; 2009) cited a stable vernacular as being an entrenched building practice that is still always changing, albeit at a slow rate, and perhaps still subject to what he calls cultural weathering. This concept of cultural weathering is visible as a layering of different elements on traditional ones over time. Kropf (1993) appeared to suggest that many of the built forms in any given cultural landscape reflected an inertness, or inherent stability, whereas, it is the human mental processes of desire and intention for an object that represent what is actually changing in the landscape.

Perhaps a stable form is simply one that is more resistant to change, though it is still changing, for example, as in being part of an identifiable contextual vernacular such as a TFV versus existing in a less contextual area such as a large city, or in a suburb. Still, the sudden instability and effects that caused the mid-twentieth century form changes in the United States, as evidenced by what may no longer be visible, is not adequately explained. Now, most scholars would agree to some extent that while landscapes and the artifacts within them are in a constant state of change, there is also a certain measure of constancy and static character in either the type of change or the speed of it (Kropf, 2001, somewhat agreed).

Ethnographies and generalized historical accounts that touch upon community character change can be found in both popular and scholarly literature (Green, n.d., Green & Molto, 1997; Jepson, 2004; Mellin, 2003; Shiver, 1988); however, scholarly depth of discourse in this regard has been extremely limited. In fact, scholars have long argued for additional discourse in this area (Lansing, 2003; Noble, 2007; Olgyay & Olgyay, 1963). However, determining what stable form is and defining may be an extensive endeavor, though some literature suggests it has relative importance to form (Chiarappa & Szylvian, 2009; Hughes, 2001; Lansing, 2003; Noble, 2007; Olgyay & Olgyay, 1963; Rapoport, 1969).

Many scholars and non-academic writers have commented on the apparent loss of historic vernacular akin to a wholesale destruction. This brings to light the additional question of whether vernacular, as a highly historic form within the TFV context, is also a bygone production. The loss of tangible, contextual historic assets in TFVs is inadequately addressed in much of the scholarly literature, though many scholars claim significant loss of vernacular fabric in general (Chiarappa & Szylvian, 2009; Glassie, 1968; Rice, 2003; Rudofsky, 1977). Glassie (1968) reasoned early on that the uses for the wide variety of vernacular artifacts that made up the overall landscape construct have been reduced to such a degree that their continued existence was indeed going to dwindle, becoming extinct in some cases. The scholarly claims go mostly without detailed explanations, and without detailing the totality of loss beyond just buildings, such as village layout, access, commercial fishing storage areas, waterfront infrastructure, minor buildings and structures such as reel yards, vessels, methods,

fishing grounds and the awareness or perceptions of them, etc. (Breen & Rigby, 1996; Chiarappa, 2005).

In spite of the apparent losses of vernacular, there are newer claims that vernacular artifacts can shed light on current problems, such as climate controls, energy savings, and cost reductions. For example, the use of historic sail power has been mentioned as an alternative to the modern fuel power for reducing costs. Another example involves the use of renewable wood products for buildings and structures such as bamboo, and how the power of wind energy could be harnessed by structural design. All of these issues were part of the historic vernacular landscape construct. Seamon (1986) suggested that referrals back to vernacular standards are an indication that modern societies and the technologies they use create an insulated, indirect relationship with the natural environment resulting in a forgetfulness to simple solutions to common problems (vernacular methods and applications) that are also lost.

The idea that historic vernacular is disappearing is barely debatable, especially with regard to the visible structures that remain extant from older generations. The less-than physical vernacular artifact, however, is likely to remain indefinitely as present and future generations continue to look at their earlier antecedents for answering many of the issues and problems culture and societies face today, and perhaps explore in more detail with usable applications in the near future.

Consideration of Intangible Forms in the Historic Cultural Landscape

Attempting to understand the physical cultural landscape by looking at what can be seen visually and then describing is only a partial effort toward the understanding of it. The limitation here is what Jakle (1987) called speculative and arbitrary. The personalized nature of it calls for, but constrains a thicker understanding of what is

being described. A fisheries camp may be described as being square, isolated, and flimsy, but why does it appear in those ways? What makes it different from other camps or buildings there, and in other places? Why is it used in a particular way? For some, knowing that it is square or flimsy is enough; there is no requirement for going further unless a thicker analysis is desired.

As a historian, my first view of a landscape begins with finding cues or clues in its physicality. The deeper, thicker understanding then unfolds per my willingness or desire to lay it out as part of my study. The less than visual construct then opens up as more appropriately one of being intangible. The historic landscape often includes an assortment of these types of constructs that have become hidden, have disappeared, or are now part of a human-endeavored construct formulated through memory, cognition, and perception. However, in some cases, they blend with the physical aspects of landscape so they are not necessarily found to be purely physical and surviving as viewable evidence. They sometimes lie somewhere in between physicality and the conceptual. For lack of a better term at this writing, they become intangible. Therefore, my historical analysis of Cortez form reveals itself through the depth of inquiry that addresses the combination of physical and intangible manifestations that I am willing to commit to it and then interpret.

Now, this intangible construct is itself fraught with distraction and peril when linking it to the landscape form. It can be read as being less than physical, or even more than physical, depending on the construct. For example, the memory of one generation's work ethic may be completely diminished and reflected upon by a subsequent generation that may still view it as part of the cultural flux, even though it is

no longer fully present by all in the group, such as, e.g., long working hours, ethical behavior, or not steering watercraft between areas that are being fished. These are constructs of form on the landscape that are held within the fishers' mind mostly, but with a loose, undefinable physical aspect. They appear to be less than physical or intangible. In contrast, the fishing grounds could be physically defined by an area measurement, e.g., as an entire bay, or a section of river between two points. However, the meaning of the fishing grounds might extend beyond these physical aspects, and become special or even sacred to certain fishers, whereby their physicality now becomes more than just physical. So, the dilemma here is my attempt to characterize these additional components of the vernacular landscape that do not seem to fit a precise typology. Admittedly, additional study of them in this regard may be required. Therefore, for the purposes of my study, the term intangible becomes an appropriate fit for the time being.

Textual reading

Reading the landscape form does not clearly subscribe or belong to any one particular method. If they can be read, then TFVs are quite legible to nearly everyone since they include certain requisite elements that are expected to be found such as watercraft, fishing nets, traps, piers, etc. These forms in the contextual landscape allow the casual observer to understand them as distinct places (Emmison & Smith, 2000). This is not dissimilar to Lynch's (1960) notion that ordinary people are able to decode landscapes and places precisely due to their being legible. Lewis (1993) suggested that reading the landscape should begin by looking at it from afar (refer to how the waterfront conglomeration is used in Chapter 4). Once this is done, Lewis suggested closing in on it by perusing its printed forms, followed by a search of the physical clues

and forms that drive its culture. Lewis also warned that large parts of the historic vernacular landscape are probably already missing by the time we get to study them. Though we can more easily read what is extant, the visual half of the form that fieldwork finds is deceptive and incomplete by itself (Holdsworth, 1997).

However, there is more to what a landscape reveals in reading beyond what is dominant and visible such as building shapes, styles, and descriptions of them. Upton (1991) suggested that vernacular form, and I construe this to also include vernacular landscape form, through a formulaic, typology-based program is rarely successful, or fruitful. While it can be agreed that culture creates a landscape form that is readable because they created it, any reading is possible, and every reading is not necessarily incorrect. Glassie (2000) pointed out that the British were early to study their landscapes as the primary text. His point is that culture can somehow force their plans into the land and making it work for their purposes, rather than fully adapting to it. However, Schein (1997) warned researchers early on of the instability of the landscape as text, since it requires constant reinterpretation as it evolves (p. 676). Perhaps this is why Mitchell (2008) wrote that reading the landscape as a stand-alone analysis would never account to a complete read of it; instead, serving only to direct a researcher to what needs thicker understanding.

The reader of the landscape is often confronted with the problem of the senses attempting to decipher multiple facets through multiple sensory perceptions. In essence, there is often too much information to read and process (Zube, Sell, & Taylor, 1982). A normative perception through reading the landscape form is not likely to be forthcoming since any normative expressions that reveal themselves in the broad cultural landscape,

are the result of combining physical constructs with generative and imagination-driven conceptual images (Upton, 1991). The eventual text that the landscape becomes is often the result of the confusing array of individualistic landscapes that compete with the collective landscape, a notion prompted by reading Schein's (1997) method for interpreting landscapes.

It is interesting then, that upon reading a landscape, one should be able to differentiate between these individual and collective landscapes. In many cases, this may be accomplished through a rounded understanding of the symbols established by a culture in the constructs they create. This includes those that are inlaid with specific cultural meanings, uses, and understandings such as the lost fishers memorials so commonly found in TFVs. However, any researcher should proceed with caution regarding the benefit of using highly visible cultural constructs that appear to be rich in local meaning, as a memorial would appear to convey. Even the most ordinary of artifacts or constructs such as a parking lot, isolated pier, or abandoned building can reveal fuller readings of a community's ideas, ideals, values, as Hester (1990) found when uncovering the importance of a parking lot to the members of one community. Chiarappa (2007) also found much importance from the mundane construct of oyster barges in New York City that, after reading the landscapes they were part of, told multiple narratives of "social conflict, government oversight, scientific curiosity, and artistic commentary" (p. 99).

Sense of place

The sense of a place, or the ability of a place to conjure personal emotions and images more esoteric in nature than not, is an intangible form that is directly linked to a physical setting. In the case of place, the physical form could be real or imagined, or

have elements of both. Similar to the cultural landscape, Cannavo (2007) defined place as something that is a human construct of various human and natural interactions that is not static and is always changing. Place can also be a process in how it comes to the mind as a derivation of experience and consideration. However, Cannavo also noted that like the vernacular construct that becomes entrenched (Heath), or the village layout that has more permanence than a building (M. P. Conzen, 2001), place could exhibit degrees of stability.

According to Cannavo (2007), the difference between place and space is that the former is specific and concrete, while space is more obscure. Yet, every space has the potential to become a place. In some cases, place may be lost easier than space, such as in a changed vernacular construct like a historic fishing village. The loss of some sense of place once felt keenly by those who experienced it comes to light in almost every extant fishing village I have researched, including Cortez.

During an interview, a third generation Cortez fisher was revealing a sense of place long lost, similar to what I refer to in subsequent chapters as an elapsed experiential, when he opined about modern Cortez where the watercraft and docks loaded with fish, the fishers with their lunch buckets on the way to the docks, and even nets hanging a yard had mostly disappeared (Jepson & Florida Humanities Council citing Blue Fulford, 2006). In this case, a place became less of a place to some, losing its sheen of personalized identity and character. Because of the connection to the water, the relative quaintness of the village setting set apart from the adjacent highway, and the activities reminiscent of maritime culture, it is not difficult that Cortez extols a

sense of place to any number of individuals and groups. The keen definition of the images and feelings it evokes among them, however, is less clear.

With regard to the less-than physical landscape that extols place, perhaps one of the most complete writings on it is Walter's *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment*, published in 1988. In this text, Walter assured the reader that there was still more to what is built than what physical appearance alone might convey, which, in and of itself, often skews individual perceptions of it. In making his case, Walter, according to Ryden (1993) referred to place as being "concretely formed and particularly placed, yet also consisting of sensual elements of smell, taste, and sound. While Muir (1986), in his readings of villages, appeared to disfavor the combining of more experiential factors with what is physically built, other authors, such as Walter emphasize the value of it.

Pursuant to my research, Walter (1988) discussed new ways for looking at how places derive and change, as well as, how their meanings and significance could be explained. Walter saw human experience, intuition, imagination, and awareness as ways of "thinking about the landscape" (pp. 131-141); in such ways, humans map their way to expressive spaces, whether they are newly found or in a state of dilapidation. Place, as an understanding that can still be understood today, according to Walter, does not suddenly depart as physical changes unfold, since it is more spiritual and of the mind, than physical and of the body. He was reluctant to treat visible assets as anything more than superficial components of any given place, rarely achieving the "expressive intelligibility" he regarded as humanly vital to place and consisting of personal feelings and the ability of people to grasp these feelings as part of inherent meanings (p. 2).

However, the challenge of visually documenting a sense of place is daunting and not addressed by Walter.

There is evidence that the activities of isolated enclaves themselves evolve into externalized expressions of the culture that inhabits them. Cortez began as a fishing village, and has been consistently regarded as such by the communities at large that have surrounded and interacted with it. This is not an uncommon attribute for cultural enclaves as evidenced along the North Carolina coast where symbols of the fishing culture became part of the wider cultural landscape. For example, the mullet fishery there, second only to Florida's Gulf Coast mullet enterprise, is elevated in its meaning and importance to the Carolina Tidewater region through the attachment of names to local establishments and conditions such as calling the first strong wind of the year the "Mullet Blow", or the local newspaper the "Mullet Wrapper". The same kind of transference of what drives a culture can be found in early Cortez where the local newspaper, the Manatee River Journal, included an ongoing community column that was signed off as "Mullet Town."

The intangible manifestations of form

As referenced above, the sense of a place that one feels within a particular setting is akin to a special attachment made up of experience, emotion, sentiment, physicality, etc. It is physical, non-physical, and intangible at the same time. While it exemplifies a particular setting that is typically constant or fixed, it becomes more physical than other settings that may change, be in a state of constant flux, or move constantly. Of course, this is not dependent on any absolute theory or formula, and certainly, the constantly fluxing landscape renders myriad cognitive nets that capture sense of place too. The notion of the intangible is used herein as a convenience in

exploring the possibilities of looking at contextual vernacular landscapes and certain forms within these landscapes that have the essence of physicality, yet are not necessarily fixed. The landscape is never a simple, solid, universal scene. Its inherent mixture of physical and intangible elements leans more toward a place set up by the mind, but with a reference to a place, or an act, or a physical structure.

For example, the act of fishing is an intangible form in the contextual vernacular landscape of Cortez. It is a physical activity that includes manual dexterity and stamina, to be sure. Yet, it is incomplete without its direct link to components operated by the human mind, such as learned knowledge and experience. Since the act of fishing is really more of a process, no single image frame really captures its complete form. The same could be said for nearly everything that has form, of course. The human eye does not look at all four sides of a building at once; it can usually only see one side at a time. The addition of the intangible is part of the manifestation that form takes in the contextual landscape. Since many scholars agree that context is a critical inclusion or attribute for understanding cultural landscapes, in general, the intangible is part of the continual “coexistence” and “tension” at play, as discussed by Rapoport (1992, p. 41).

The intangible manifestation is really my narrowing down of Eckbo’s (1967) four forms of the landscape, which he described as physical, social, economic, and cultural. While an argument could be made for Eckbo’s breakdown into explainable forms, I find the separation of the latter three to be a difficult and overworked process, even though I acknowledge this pluralistic quality as an inherent part of their overall makeup (Gottschalk, 1950). To make it more manageable, my breakdown condenses them to avoid the confusion prompted by separating cultural into its own category, since they

are all really cultural. Even the physical, depending on how it is constructed, is cultural according to the historical ecologist, who would suggest that humans give form to everything once they consider it.

There really is not much literature on what I have construed to be an intangible undertaking of form in the landscape. The intangible character can be a highly subjective process that unfolds according to each individual mind that perceives it, struggles with it, entertains it, or tries to make sense of it. For the researcher, it does not appear at first blush to be a ubiquitous part of the vernacular landscape that Andelson (1986) described should be included in the study of landscapes, yet it becomes so when context is closed in on, and a thicker analysis is applied. Therefore, the intangible is represented as an exploration in my study that helps to identify essential forms in the vernacular landscape that use context and go beyond what is purely visual and physical.

Admittedly, and as indicated earlier in my study, this concept of being somehow intangible lacks preciseness, and may cause confusion, since its elements can be considered as physical acts or structures that are then created or then applied within the human cognitive sense or cultural mindset somehow. Sense of place might be construed as being either less than physical or more than physical since it involves association of the physical landscape with non-physical senses of perception, experience, emotion, etc. However, the quality of it, for the purposes herein, appears to be more appropriate as an intangible construct.

Consideration of Visual Analysis Programs for Interpreting Form

In any final analysis of a landscape-wide form and its influences, the end result bears some iota of subjectivity and deference to experience, lack of experience, and

personal views of the researcher, resulting in an interpretation of them individually and together. The primary subject matter here emphasizes visual analysis pertaining to cultural landscape and architectural form, since the literature is concentrated within those domains. The widely available literature is broken down into three loosely categorized subject areas to include visual aspects of cultural landscapes and buildings, documentation and assessment methods, and graphics. The visual aspects subsection contains 10 readings because I feel they most succinctly frame the content of what the documentation and graphics will describe and interpret in my research. The other two subsections include the remaining nine readings, which outline how various authors approached documentation, assessment, and graphic representation. There is obviously, some overlap of authors between sections, so the entire reading list is included in the List of References.

Visual Aspects of Cultural Landscapes and Buildings

A major challenge for my study was in how I could visually display and present the vernacular landscape construct as I made my way through the physical and intangible components of describing and interpreting the available form. Built form in TFVs continues to prove elusive as an in-depth, scholarly discussion topic. This is exacerbated by the fact that form, whether from an architectural or landscape point of view, is a term with little consensus of its meaning. As referenced earlier, few authors to date specifically define the term “form” though they may reference it broadly. Kropf (1993), under the urban morphology approach, provided an explanation of built form in order to establish consistent mechanisms under which it could be used across fields of study. This included the provision of a consistent definition of form broken down into

types – a fairly successful strategy when looking at, and evaluating purely built form in urban areas.

By comparing and analyzing two separate theories of form using the architectural approach of Caniggia (1963), and the geographical approach of M. R. G. Conzen (1960), Kropf successfully described and categorized form in the wider landscape in order for it to be approached as a convenient typology of forms under a user-friendly formula. His descriptions of form in the wider landscape is an important and a significant work in that it clarifies to a degree, how it can be broken down into levels of acuity, or as his analysis highlighted, levels of complexity, resolution, and specificity.

Part of the focus for my readings was to increase my aptitude for how scholars have considered form in both buildings and landscapes. Does form in these contexts simply mean the outward appearance of a thing? Perhaps form includes the visible lines and surfaces, or even patterns as translated into reality from the mind. Form, from my viewpoint of the built vernacular construct begins with the outermost silhouette and works its way inward. Form is conceived in the mind, though a complex process, certainly, and I am careful not to restrict my future discussions of form without knowing what takes place in a community's mind, as Miller (1939) warned. But, it is the physical and intangible characters of form in waterfront areas, and how they can be expressed within my study parameters that interest me in these readings.

In referring to place as the “invisible landscape,” Ryden (1993) theorized that the material forms of a cultural enclave (or place) are actually the physical forms interpreted from its collective experiential knowledge. In 2000, Emmison and Smith appeared to concur somewhat with Ryden. Their research was at first guided by the visual through

an initial description of the obvious objects and players, followed by the less tangible forms in the landscape. It is only in doing this prerequisite task of establishing data that an analytical framework for subsequent evaluation and analysis (interpretation) can be explored further under a coordinated, more easily understandable structure.

Arguably, Zube (1976) may have set the stage for Emmison's and Smith's work by suggesting much earlier that the landscape must be viewed from a variety of perspectives. Laurie (1976), from the same volume, contended that the best evaluations were possible only by looking at the whole through the most intimate details, natural and human-made. Laurie also warned that the researcher must be aware of his or her own innate vision, imagination, tastes, experiences, moods, etc., in order to avoid succumbing to a lopsided personal narrative. Laurie's strategy for assessing visual quality is to first determine the unit of landscape, describe it beginning with the whole down to the finest detail, and then finalize it through interpretation that includes graphic detailing whether through photographs, sketches, and probably even, had he written this material later, computer animation.

In continually referring to the literature by Chiarappa (2007), though much less to Breisch and Hoagland (2005), and Peace (2001), I find these research sets paralleling mine in a familiar way. Vernacular form to them also seemed to go well beyond buildings and across the wider landscape. They too wrote about traditional waterfronts and the associated entities that make up the character of places such as shell piles, barrels, barges, docks, fishing grounds, and even intuition. These tangible and intangible artifacts could all be considered extensions of vernacular form that easily fit into the framework of my own research questions. Chiarappa (2007) extended this

vernacular to the daily sounds and smells of the docks, where, in paraphrasing his own words, he aestheticized the vernacular (p. 93); thus allowing the reader to better conceive the larger vernacular landscape as a particular shape or pattern that is fixed at that moment.

In 1989, Bourne, in his interesting account of historic New England fishing villages, also captured some of the most relevant detailed descriptions of what could constitute the extended form pursuant to my research. In just one historic fishing village, and he was quick to point out the focus on fishing villages as “a chapter expunged from our national history,” he described form in a myriad of detail such as “slatted ramps...piled-up lobster pots...nets draped over barrels...the shorefront complex as no more than fifty yards in extent”, etc. (p. 39). Bourne seemed to understand that the ordinary stuff just lying around makes a place “more curious” (p. 25). His understanding also lends support to the importance I place on the extended vernacular construct of a context.

Documentation and Assessment

Several authors have documented methods for evaluating buildings and landscapes. Feilden and Marks (1996) edited a compendium of articles that remind the reader that there is simply no universal approach that meets the needs of every context. In most every case; however, it appears that a predetermined formula for description and interpretation is required. In one example, Cox (1996) wrote that the formula should consist of three main stances beginning with an avoidance of interference with the community studied. This should be coupled with the researcher being independent of previous judgments, and moving forward with an open-mindedness that is receptive to new insights and considerations.

Perhaps the most appropriate chapter for my research from Feilden's and Marks' contributing authors is in Goodchild's (1996, pp. 253-271) considerations for assessing historic landscapes and gardens. Goodchild understood that landscapes continually adjust and change and therefore, for a complete visual analysis, the landscape assessment must reflect its character over the context of time. Lanier and Herman (1997) wrote during the same period regarding concepts advancing the interpretative approach, but from an archaeological perspective where they excavate, or "peel back the layers" that tend to accumulate on buildings and landscapes, and then place them "into a logical sequence" (pp. 2-5). Only after having done this necessary step could they then proceed with uncovering what had been hidden in interpreting a building and its contextual landscape by assembling its "traces of change," followed by interpreting, or "reading the evidence" that remains (p. 2). Buildings, according to them, "cannot be studied in isolation" and must be looked at within their broader landscapes (p. 7).

In looking at the historic fishing village and the notion of extending its form as part of the contextual landscape construct, and in going back to Feilden and Marks, Goodchild provided a good reminder that the physical landscape extends well beyond the visual acuity and field of humans. However, it prompts the question of what happens as the observer moves around. The landscape view must change as the observer moves from one vantage point to another, which implies that any descriptive evaluation must also change. Goodchild suggested that the landscape view, or at least its outer boundary could be fixed, but only as long as the unit of analysis is not changed. In this case, the unit of analysis would be a prescribed route, a particular tract, and defined space, etc., that translates into what he calls a "core area" (p. 257). The core area,

when one is established in it, somehow delivers through a unification of it with adjacent lands the entirety, or wholeness of the overall landscape to that person as the observer. This appears to be restricted to include the visible, physical elements, but not the invisible discussed by authors mentioned elsewhere in this paper.

The proposed cultural landscape study model suggested by Korr (1997) presents what he called a “fusion of physical and social constructions” (p. 2). The model has five main elements, including description, boundaries, dynamic relationships, perceptions, and cultural analysis. This model is not dissimilar to how I approached the referential study of Cortez, where I first determined boundaries as an initial form element, followed by an intertwining of the descriptive essay with the perceptions and dynamic relationships within those boundaries. The cultural analysis finished the analysis to further include form, as a findings interpretation that, as Robertson and Richards (2003) suggested, investigates underneath the typical surficial features.

Some discussion is necessary regarding the two readings on public documentation and analysis programs. In response to the Vlach (1993, see Graphics section, below) reading, which was reliant on research using the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), I read a historical analysis of it by Lavoie (2006/2007). The importance of HABS as a tool for academics is its primary focus on informing rather than merely illustrating. The content provided through field research in the past can now provide foundations for expanding further analyses of both buildings and landscapes with regard to culture. In other words, HABS products are suited well to not only describing built forms, but also for interpreting them, and in wider contexts of the landscape, as proved by Vlach. Cortez, my case study, has at least one HABS drawing

limited to a single structure, which is beneficial to my research for understanding how some vernacular buildings in Cortez were constructed, but does not offer up a tremendous amount of data regarding a contextual and mimicked form from any wider perspective.

Graphics as a Tool for Conveying Form and Form Change

In an in-depth study of rapidly disappearing plantation slave houses, Vlach (1993) articulated a narrative produced mainly from the evidence provided by HABS drawings. In a way, Vlach looked at an extended vernacular by using images in addition to mere verbal description. This speaks loudly toward my desire for a thorough visual analysis – a tradition of explanation that has been lessened of late in light of the less tangible studies of place and meaning. Of course, Vlach did not link up the images and the stories connected to the non-physical applications they reveal with elements of sense of place created by the apparent manipulation of the plantation landscapes and the purposely constructed hierarchical landscape ensembles created within. As part of these physical ensembles, Vlach includes meaningful discussions of the yards, outbuildings, and machinery used by the slaves and planters of the time. In the end, Vlach was able to deliver a well-defined story that was fairly thick in description by depending on a limited set of graphics that could be built upon and explored further. This shows the power of graphics in analyzing building and landscape form from which the ideological and iconological processes of culture can be ascertained (Robertson and Richards, 2003).

While Vlach was able to articulate the less tangible landscape successfully, my first challenge was more straightforward to a degree, especially for the physical aspects of landscape form. Again, Gibson (1979) warned that while an outline drawing may

reveal the form of something, the amount of information it delivers is “weakened” (p. 288), since it lacks any real depth beyond just being a two-dimensional representation. His argument still makes sense when attempting to understand the depth and texture of a distinct object such as a building or piece of equipment. However, for the purpose of my study, the articulated form that does lie within the historic landscape is best understood for its integrity, and its degree of change more precisely through its built and existing footprint. Therefore, the outline drawing becomes an important tool for my study in providing the history of change in vernacular forms as they physically evolved.

Transition Statement

Based on the preceding literature review, it becomes clear that available information and programming for understanding the evolution of vernacular landscapes and how the forms it takes change over time is insufficient. I presented several models from which a good understanding in the vein of my study can be pursued; yet they are individually incomplete without some mechanism by which the practitioner can apply them to real-world landscapes. Through an interdisciplinary approach, methods can be borrowed that form a collective program to achieve goals formulated around understanding how a landscape has changed over time-something not convincingly accomplished in TFVs. The literature sets the stage for this methodology, as a hybrid that follows in Chapter 3, and subsequently as part of an exploratory application using an actual TFV, as part of Chapter 4.

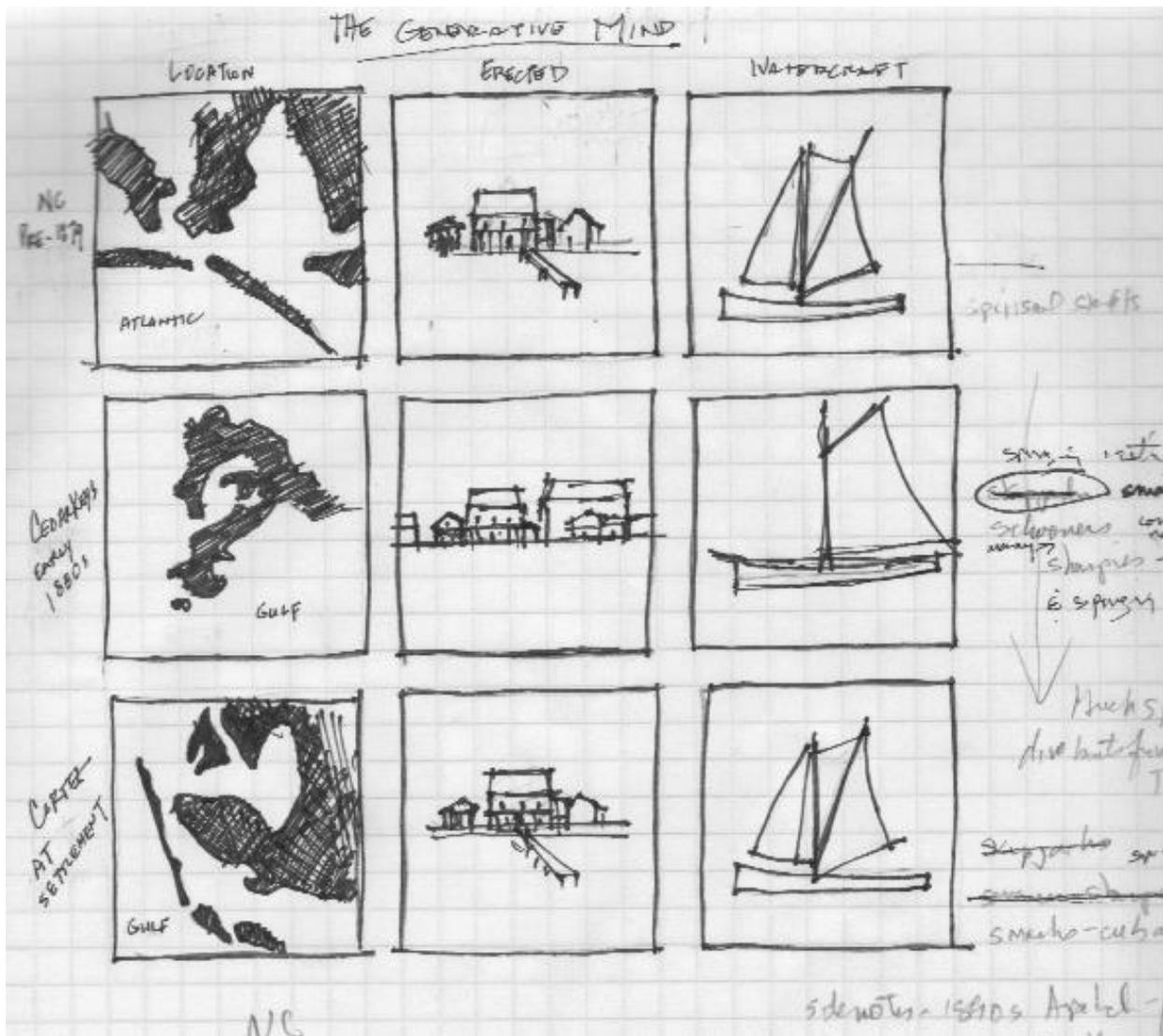


Figure 2-1. Generative form graphic. Sketches of location (left column), erected (middle column), and watercraft (right column) forms as part of the generative mind using the precedents of coastal North Carolina, Cedar Keys, and Hunter's Point (Cortez). Source: Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Overview

As part of a four-phase research program using a blend of historical, descriptive, and interpretive methodological approaches, my study focuses on finding indicators that identify vernacular landscape form and change as definable and measurable entities. It therefore assumes a qualitative methodological exploration of landscape form based on discoveries generated from comprehensive literature and archival data reviews. The descriptive process included accepted historical documentation using a variety of archival data to layout the Cortez landscape over its 120-year time continuum.

Due to the vastness of the landscape as a study subject, I incorporated a system of graphic sketches, tables, and charts for organizing and comparing the information, while more thickly describing noticeable changes through 14 contextual indicators within three main sets as my main reference system. The indicators, as more appropriately feeding the context of the historic vernacular commercial fishing landscape I was studying, were arranged using a basic, hand-drawn graphic in order to determine if I could evaluate physical changes to their forms in a comparative manner, as well as, get clues about any determinants through the thicker analysis of them when physical changes were indeed apparent.

By looking at the same information sets for the different periods, I determined that I could recognize changes whether through variations in shape, size, addition, or subtraction to the overall and individual vernacular forms. Based on any changes, I could then perform additional research of them through a secondary thicker analysis so that I could improve my understanding of what determined the change, and why and

how a change might have occurred. Based on this system, I interpreted findings according to noticeable physical changes, the thicker analysis of the determinants my research found as causing change, and ultimately an evaluation of historic significance based on the research to that point.

My research methodology was formulated to provide a pertinent direction for looking at how form in the historic vernacular landscape changes over time by using a contextually rich environment of a traditional fishing village (TFV). It blends archival documentation with visual analysis programs from architecture, landscape architecture, urban planning, urban morphology, geography, and material culture studies. The methods put in place examine certain intangible cultural constructs as manifested in the notions of fishing grounds and acts of fishing, as well as, memory, or what I refer to as being parts of an elapsed experiential. All of these are further examined through a thicker analysis involving the nuances and effects from politics, economics, and social layering in hopes of generating findings that are contextually significant from a historical basis. It accomplishes this from the view of form in the wider landscape perspective, which many scholars believe to be more comprehensive and holistic in providing the rich contextual grounding just mentioned.

The overall design incorporates a descriptive strategy (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). These four phases include

- literature and archival data review, initial fieldwork, operationalization of terms and tools, and a contextual, referential buildup of Cortez and other TFVs, as explained earlier;
- visual analysis and documentation of the Cortez vernacular landscape;
- thick analyses of Cortez by looking more closely at cultural, social, economic, and political underpinnings, as needed; and

- an interpretative narrative and graphic representation of findings.

The following subsection details each phase as a mixed method for collecting and analyzing data pursuant to my research questions and problem.

Type of Research

The design of my research includes a four-phase qualitative program that explores the evolution of human-made form as it occurred in a traditional, highly contextual landscape setting between 1887 and 1946. The first three research phases include blended, overlapping methods that follow historical (textual and preliminary visual analysis), descriptive (deeper textual and primary visual analysis), and referential study approaches. The study of forms and form change is enhanced through a series of sketch drawings undertaken as part of the thicker analysis of Phases III and IV. This supplements the final phase, an interpretive narrative so to speak in order to give my research a robust discursive that provides insight from both textual and visual perspectives.

Rationale for Selection

Because my research is grounded in events that took place over an irregular but prescriptive time continuum, the historical approach, especially critical during Phase I, provides the basis for examining archival records and data, and the human-constructed artifact that still remains. The aggregation of historical data and events during each phase then allows context to be built-up around the vernacular landscape form studied. In addition, several of my research terms are operationalized during this initial phase.

Both Phases II and III are part of my descriptive strategy that uses a hybrid visual analysis of Cortez, followed by an exploration of cultural influences on its landscape form. Describing the built construct in Cortez requires an objective description of it over

time using established visual analysis methods that were modified to suit my study. However, as the literature continues to find, mere visual description also requires a deeper understanding of the intangible factors that have contributed to form changes over time such as economics, politics, tradition, etc. This extra delving into the hidden aspect of built form may be referred to as applying thicker analyses to the visual artifacts in that it goes beyond simply describing what is visible, and looks into cultural processes that are usually hidden, but available in the landscape. Of course, the depth of inquiry is subject to the commitment of the researcher's focus, and the methods employed. The findings revealed from the descriptive strategy then allows me to interpret how vernacular form from the wider landscape perspective evolved from the Cortez settlement year of 1887 up to about 1946, when the last comprehensive aerial photograph was taken of Cortez' rich extended, fisheries-dependent artifacts along its waterfront.

Referential Study Community

The recognized fishing village of Cortez serves as my referential study community. It is located directly on Sarasota Bay in western Manatee County, Florida, along a stretch of the intracoastal waterway of the Gulf of Mexico. Cortez is commonly recognized as a small coastal village with distinct boundaries. Currently and historically, Cortez, as a physical place, included a much larger area than what the historic study boundary of my study covers. In fact, the references to both Cortez and Hunter's Point, often meaning the same area, would have historically included the entire peninsula formation of which they are part. The fact that Cortez was originally named Hunter's Point is fairly known; however, the derivation of both names remains unclear. Therefore, for the purposes of defining and understanding my study area, Cortez herein

it may be referred to by other references including Hunter's Point, the village, the community, or the historic study area. Using its twenty-first century boundary, the historical study area of Cortez generally consists of the approximately 70 acres of land developed south of Cortez Road, west of 119th Street but including the grounds of the 1912 school, and the extent of its shoreline to the west and south.

There are approximately 100 historic buildings and structures designated as contributing to the smaller historic district of approximately 25 acres listed on the National Register of Historic Places (National Register). Most of the contributing buildings are considered vernacular in character and construction. Multiple intrusions that do not reflect vernacular input, or that are out of scale with the historic character of the Cortez are now scattered throughout the village. Cortez was settled as a commercial fishing community in the late 1880s and retains only a fraction of its historic integrity with regard to the commercial fishing constructs, though a still-active commercial fishing industry is still in operation. As of the date of my study, there was evidence of fishing enterprise in both forms of real use and ersatz adornments scattered throughout the village in residential yards and on vacant lots. Several former residences are now being offered as vacation rentals.

Since the approved 1995 National Register Nomination survey of properties was approximately 18 years old at the time of my study, additional properties may have become eligible for listing suggesting that the delineated boundary could now be expanded. Therefore, a reevaluation of the National Register Historic District boundary and non-contributing structures is warranted. There are also signs of gentrification including major intrusions that have seriously affected the overall character of the

village; however, a response to these intrusions has prompted the formulation of a community vision and amendments to the local regulatory structure including creation of the Cortez Fishing Village Design Guidelines. This is not surprising, since some studies suggest that even isolated enclaves that are characteristic of the small, waterfront communities may have a high probability for gentrification (Datel & Dingemans, 1994).

Cortez is an example of a historic vernacular landscape, which is a type of cultural landscape recognized by the National Park Service (NPS) as worthy of interest, preservation, and protection. While no detailed study of its overall cultural landscape has been undertaken or adopted based on the findings of this paper, it appears to meet the NPS definition of historic vernacular landscape, which is

a landscape whose use, construction, or physical layout reflects endemic traditions, customs, beliefs, or values; expresses cultural values, social behavior, and individual actions over time; is manifested in physical features and materials and their interrelationships, including patterns of spatial organization, land use, circulation, vegetation, structures, and objects. It is a landscape whose physical, biological, and cultural features reflect customs and everyday lives of people. (Page, Gilbert, & Dolan, 1998, p. 12)

The broader cultural landscape in Cortez, as one that has historic vernacular character, appears to be one that is still in transition. Any scholarly or practical reading of its cultural landscape is not a normative undertaking; it is not intended to portray what the landscape should be. The cultural landscape reflects what the landscape currently reveals, which could be both past and present fixtures. There are noticeable changes in both culture and time in Cortez, as well as, feelings that evolving generations do not share the same values of the older ones (Green, 1985). Latent land use regulations and controls in Cortez appear to be attempts at preventing more pronounced cultural and historic building and structure changes and diminutions, but such mechanisms may only

delay change in the end by focusing on physical characteristics. Tinkering with culture and historic fabric in this way often creates a partially frozen cultural landscape that straddles the time continuum while other the other parts of it are permitted to move forward under modernized notions and applications. The success and result from these types of programs continue to be debated as to their efficacy.

To some, preservation of culture and its physical environment is akin to creating museum pieces for display that result from the efforts made to preserve them. Heath (2001) commented that preservation sometimes denies history as an ongoing process. He looked at ordinary tinkering of the vernacular construct through common living as accommodating social change, an “evolving nature of place” (p. 168). It is unfortunate, but there is plausibility in thinking that some attempts at preserving a cultural landscape tend to weaken its integrity because somewhere along the way, some essential links in the chain of history and tradition have been skipped or become lost. This is usually the beginning of the end of one cultural landscape as it evolves into an updated, gentrified, or modified version of itself, which in either case may not be easily recognizable (Frey, 2009).

At first blush, Cortez exemplifies a historic vernacular landscape with a fair amount of physical integrity. However, much of the physical integrity that once defined its context through easily recognizable forms at the waterfront interstice has been lost. Irrespective of this apparent diminution of historic character, several books have been written about Cortez, and data resources including both written and graphical text are also available. Its location near the mid-Florida coast of the Gulf of Mexico places it within an important regional context where other traditionally fishing-oriented

communities are present from Key West to Apalachicola, allowing for comparative referential considerations that appear in my study.

My study of Cortez, then, is not intended to be a case study per se; instead, it is a referential standard or model of study. The difference is that much of the documentation of its vernacular history is already available through archival resources that allowed me to simply refer to those sources, and to observe and document it. If I was required to immerse myself into the community's cultural establishment through more social processes of direct interviews, oral histories, or ethnographic studies, then I could frame it according to the prescriptive process for doing a case study analysis. Since lived-in cultures are not always open to outsiders, the added benefit of my hybridized research method finds ways for critically analyzing historic communities through observation and the already available archival resources that in one way serves as a control valve for limiting additional conjecture and guessing, without requiring new discussions within the community itself.

Phase I (Preparation)--Data Resource Review, Field Studies, and Terms

The Phase I process was part of the preparatory phase of my study and will be referred to in the past tense. Through a fairly exhaustive exploration of available research and fieldwork, I was able to coordinate much of the hidden data into a working set of notes, lists, and field tables. I also clarified some of the ambiguous terminology such as form and vernacular in the existing literature that present problems of ambiguity when looking at the vernacular construct. The operationalization of my research was also completed during this first, and in some cases, preliminary phase.

Data Resource Review

I reviewed all of the available literature and historical archives up to the present time for Cortez, and the immediate surrounding areas of Palma Sola and Bradenton. To a slightly lesser extent, I reviewed the historical record for places that had known connections to Cortez including Sarasota, Punta Gorda, Gulfport, Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Cedar Key. In addition, I extensively researched much of the available literature and historical archives for fishing villages as far south as Key West, and north to Apalachicola. I also made field visits to all of these communities in order to research their local museums of history, especially maritime museums, if available, and to compile a photographic collection of the existing landscape construct.

To increase my local knowledge of Cortez, I volunteered my time to the Florida Maritime Museum in Cortez where I provided two research papers to its former Executive Director, Roger Allen. Because many of the first settlers of Cortez relocated from coastal North Carolina, I researched traditional fishing histories from that area and visited the North Carolina Maritime Museum located in the coastal city of Beaufort, an incorporated city of Carteret County.

I also familiarized myself with the seminal and newly issued literature on the topics of form as it related to a multidisciplinary field covering at least nine areas of study including historic preservation, cultural landscapes, vernacular architecture, land use planning, cultural geography, urban morphology, archaeology, landscape architecture, and ecology. The resulting review of the available literature was formulated into a working Dissertation Research Chart, a partial sample of which is included herein as Appendix A. This helpful organizational tool, while presented in its original, unpolished working form, whittled down the overall literature review according to my

research questions, and also served as a repository and listing for other textual sources such as the graphics that may be included for referencing during the later phases. My research data included both primary and secondary source materials such as written literature, a plethora of public and private government documents, published academic and newspaper articles, maps, architectural drawings, brochures, websites, and non-participatory observation and field documentation of existing settings and vantage points. For the initial step of Phase I, much of the data was processed as a comprehensive literature review around the four conceptual structures that support my dissertation research including: a) general vernacular studies; b) general cultural landscape studies; c) architectural and landscape form; and d) visual and intangible analysis.

A note about vernacular

I found it necessary to narrow down vernacular into a working definition since there is a revolving debate among disciplines for how the word and its meaning are applied. For the general vernacular studies, I traced the origins of the term vernacular, and examined numerous scholars and authors from the twentieth century such as Fred Kniffen, Henry Glassie, Amos Rapoport, Michael Vlach, Jay Edwards, Dell Upton, and David Lowenthal. More current scholarly literature during the first decade of the twenty-first century has been put forth by some of the aforementioned, as well as, newer forays into vernacular studies by Marcel Vellinga, Roderick Lawrence, Thomas Hubka, Ronald Lewcock, Allen Noble, and Kingston Heath. The general vernacular studies mostly concentrated on individual structures leading me to expand from the more restricted localized vernacular form to its perspective in the wider landscape. My graduate studies along this line of thought led me to the core scholars of landscape and urban form study

such as Carl Sauer, J. B. Jackson, Donald Meinig, Peirce Lewis, Karl Kropf, J. W. R. Whitehand, and W. G. Hoskins to name a few.

The importance and ultimate relevance of my study, and of course its findings depend on a clear understanding of what vernacular is. Yet, an odd array of vernacular types and usage exists in such a way that it was difficult to frame only one paradigm for applying it to the context of my study. The resulting hybrid approach for adapting terminology proved worthwhile for the subsequent research phases.

A note about architectural and landscape form

The readings focusing on vernacularism created a solid theoretical base from which to examine the various orders of its associated artifacts and constructs. This included exploring vernacular as a form regarding its additional associations with non-typical structures and objects, versus only primary buildings and structures. This interest was further bolstered from my own examinations of actual historic district nominations that all seemed to rely heavily on dwelling and commercial building form for capturing contextual statements. I found few authors broaching perspective of context beyond widely known factual information, however. It appeared to me that context was being treated merely as a required task for setting the stage of a building or place, which, to be fair, is precisely what the contextual background for National Register nominations is supposed to do. I did find a model of excellence in exposing context through a reading of the multiple property study and National Register nomination by Linda Flint McLelland (1995), whose research certainly included an exhaustive incorporation of how context plays such an important role across boundaries.

The general vernacular studies I reviewed mostly concentrated on individual structures leading me to expand from the more restricted localized vernacular form to its

perspective from the wider landscape. My studies along this line of thought led me to the core founders of landscape study referenced above, but perhaps more importantly to those few scholars who were already exploring vernacular as an additional or extended form through its associations with non-typical structures and objects, versus only primary buildings. Those latent studies provided a good basis for establishing a more comprehensive, contextually rich vernacular form that better characterizes historic, contextually rich communities such as TFVs. Nevertheless, the available data remains thin, but eventually appeared in my search as I continued to read about the broader landscapes and the various methods in which they were being examined across disciplines.

While many scholars have written extensively on the subject of vernacular landscapes, Michael Chiarappa's writings of TFVs in the Great Lakes and eastern Canadian coastal regions are the first I found that reflected the local contextual artifacts as part of maritime landscape form, that are not based on simple descriptions of material culture; Robert Mellin also produced scholarly work on this type of vernacular form. However, the further I researched the concepts of vernacular and form, the more I realized they lacked a consensus definition. In fact, form was even a vague term when applied within the strict confines of individual disciplines. This is not uncommon, as scholars often stay within the confines of their discipline's paradigm when applying terminology.

Part of the problem of definition and usage of terms derived from architects typically looking at a building's form as exterior outline or interior space, while landscape architects may look at the same building as a shape against the natural land features

either from which, or around which, it was erected. Most discussions seemed to look at and describe vernacular architecture and landscapes, and relate to them as having form, yet, the form itself, as an easily understood and defined parameter was rarely pursued, leaving me without a meaningful way to study it in a purposeful manner without getting bogged down by overgeneralization and ambiguity. In other words, as part of my initial research, I could not clearly evaluate form change, whether it related to an individual building or an entire landscape, until I examined these terms and clarified their meanings pursuant to the research at hand. Therefore, this lack of a workable definitional framework led me to several authors who did provide a good grounding to enhance the efficacy of my own research. In operationalizing these terms that deal with form, I found helpful assistance not necessarily from near recent authors, but from older sources such as Santayana (1896) and M. R. G. Conzen (1960). More recent assistance was found in the works of K. Heath, B. K. Roberts, K. Kropf, M. P. Conzen, E. Akcan, W. C. Yeomans, and S. Brand.

Benefits of Using the Traditional Fishing Village Context

There are a number of studies that looked at the forms of structures, buildings, natural environments, and even entire cities. One of the most informative, and thoroughly comprehensive descriptive literature sets was completed in 1887 by George Brown Goode, who edited an extensive compendium of fisheries descriptions in the United States. As Brown's field assistant for Florida, Silas Stearns, who completed his contribution by 1879, provided precise descriptions of the natural environment, erected constructs, gear and equipment, and other contextual information that included Hunter's Point. However, I have been hard-pressed to find meaningful discussions of the wider landscape form and its evolution over time. Now, there many studies that analyze how

landscapes themselves change over time such as available under the guidelines of the Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) administered by the NPS. In the CLR studies, changes to the landscape are described, and may also include explanations for what caused the changes. However, form, as a prioritized human construct where change and the determinants of change are questioned, is not the primary target. Instead, the focus is on the human construct as it interacts, or interacted with the natural setting. This is especially true of the landscape form in working waterfronts such as commercial fishing villages. The commercial fishing village benefits my study, since its rich context serves as a prime model for the task of highlight and connecting the historic forms that are available or at one time established it.

Description of the TFV as an informative land use type and historic resource

The cultural landscape is a complicated, multifaceted, ever-changing realm in which multiple physical, non-physical, and intangible forces converge in an endless panoply of discourse and production. In the United States, the recent cultural milieu makes study of it even more difficult with its extremes of diversity, making a shared communication of landscape equally difficult (Roberts, 1996). How large this endeavor would be, if not impossible considering the seemingly open-ended ranges of nationalities represented with evident shifts in demographics, the broad mix of built development types, postmodern responses to redevelopment, etc. Diversity is a bonus, however, in that American and global traditions and values since the mid twentieth century have shifted along with the changing landscape, which, in essence, makes the study of landscapes that much more interesting, if not more complex. If landscapes in the United States are considered by some to be too inherently complex to be suitable for applying a common method to understanding them, then it is my hope that the

examination of context fosters a change to this view through the use of village layout, the building mosaic, and the extended vernacular artifact as measurable indicators of form.

While many cultural enclaves in the United States have eroded and diminished significantly enough to a point of becoming absent from their own recognizable and visible histories, the TFV, in spite of high economic, environment, and political pressures has exhibited a modicum of resilience that has insulated it from total erasure across a wider geographic spectrum. Certainly, many if not most TFVs in this country have indeed gone missing, or have changed to postmodern versions of their former character. However, several distinct cultural enclaves that can be regarded within this context do still exist, such as the fishing communities along the coast of Maine, along Lake Michigan, in the U.S. Northwest, and of course in Cortez, Florida. On a global scale, vernacular and artisanal fishing villages are still quite active and relatively historic, such as in Newfoundland, Canada, particular coastal areas of Central America, the Mediterranean, Great Britain, and eastern Asia, though threats to their existence due to pollution, high technology, overdevelopment, encroachment, etc., are increasing.

Generally, the sprinkle of remaining TFVs that were developed in large numbers in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have held a steadiness in their basic developed form and commercial enterprise, though none have retained a pure set of traditional methods and built environments that could be considered historically preserved without the benefit of reconstructions and touristic development venues. One example of this impurity is that for a nineteenth century TFV to be historically pure, its fishers would have to continue to use sail power, not a likely

scenario if one can be found. Indeed, many former TFVs no longer function solely as commercial fishing waterfronts, instead incorporating other water-dependent uses that dilute and obscure the associations and settings historically tied to its rich fishing operations. Of course, certain dynamics of economics that were an inherent part of the TFV could support non-fishery uses and activities if they were part of the historic dynamic.

However, much of the steadfastness of those few that do remain is a result of their topographical limitations, such as water body borders. In addition, they are often isolated from more progressively developed areas, further limiting regional development outward from or to them, especially when their water body borders are vast beyond those of riverine places. The coastal environments in which fisheries operate are often located in areas of such isolation that typical pressures of development and development either are not feasible or take longer for their encroachment to take place. The inherent problems of changing markets and economic stagnation have also helped to retain integrity of many historic fishing villages. However, time continues to creep up on them as they quickly disappear.

The commercial fishing industry's village form, in this case, commercial fishing waterfronts and adjacent areas where fishers live and work in relative proximity to each other, reveals itself as changes to that form attributable to the forces that are applied to it directly. This is easily complicated by the misconception that commercial fishing form survives in a vacuum and isolates itself from the broader influences that occur at its doorstep. The influence of outside cultural forces is well documented on even the smallest place. For example, the sail watercraft found in early Cortez, as isolated as it

was for decades, rapidly disappeared just after the turn of the century when motorization began to emerge.

Placing TFVs within a specific, or even general typological land use is cumbersome, though easier than many other village/work settings. The main thread of being culturally specific with regard to already built form was identified by Rapoport (1986) who suggested that human similarities across a wide array of regions are less telling of form than the differences that are found between them as distinctive groups. While it is often considered a type of agricultural use, it is also industrial in nature. As fishing villages per se, there is an implication that those who work in them also live in them, which means there is an essential residential area that has been integrated into it, whether amidst the actual fishing works, or at its fringe areas.

Zoning historically attempted to separate residential and commercial areas, regardless of integration, so mapping of such places accordingly would clearly show several land use categories applied to a single village. Later, nonconformities appearing within the categories were frequent since some of these types of fishing villages grew organically, and were rarely planned resulting in a variety of individualized uses being developed as the community needed them. Therefore, as part of any zoning era categorization goes, TFVs do not fit into a concise column. Instead, many traditional fishing communities, because they have been recognized as both water-dependent and industrial, have been placed into localized categories, referring to their combined residential and commercial areas as a village, a mixed use district, or simply as a specialized historic district.

Regardless, the favorable benefit of using TFVs for my study includes the particular contextual identifiers that result in easily identifiable patterns in them that are not typically found in other historic contexts, whether one considers working waterfronts or land-based developments or operations. One example is the unique array of artifacts found at the waterfront. In reviewing TFVs across a broad geographic spectrum, this array of buildings such as fish houses, structures such as dock systems, objects such as watercraft and fishing gear, and configuration such as at the waterfront interstice and its connection to the fisher's homes are context specific, peculiar to the TFV setting. The context in this case is richer than perhaps that of a company town where there is a less visible connection between home and work area, and where positive personal, nurturing connections between them are unwarranted and rarely evident. Obviously, this may not always be the case since context may be highly evident, but the context of a TFV is arguably richer than many other contexts.

Another benefit of using the TFV as a model for form study considers the labeling of some of them as having achieved, or having preserved a high degree of historic stability over a lengthy period of time. This questioning of historic stability is exemplified by rapid changes in them that only become latently noticeable as the TFV begins to react to the changes. This internal or cultural recognition of change can be transposed into some identifiable form change. For example, a village may be considered highly historic even though many of its original lots have been subdivided but not yet built upon. As soon as development of these newer lots begins, the impacts to the formerly stable village are then noticeable. In this case, one can argue that the original village layout, as a historic form, has changed, or at least enlarged, which may or may not

represent form change. The subsequent buildings on the newly subdivided lots also represent a form addition, and this would have to be examined. Certainly the historicity is affected, which will also have to be examined. The TFV cultural landscape offers these kinds of scenarios from which a close examination can benefit.

Cortez as a preferred model of study

As stated earlier, my initial research includes an exhaustive review of the available literature concerning Cortez and its history. This includes the three primary published local histories from actual former residents Doris Green, Mary Fulford-Green, and Ben Green (partial resident). While the echo of last names suggests a single familial viewpoint, my focus on gleaning off information related to building and landscape form somewhat negated any occurrence of local bias in the historical development of Cortez. Most of the relevant information was crosschecked as much as possible with other histories, historic pictures and descriptions of the landscape and architecture over time, oral histories, and recorded data sets.

Several graduate students have researched Cortez as part of their masters and doctoral studies, though mostly from social perspectives. A video documentary by Mark Jepson and the Florida Humanities Council (2006) provided a close cultural perspective of Cortez and other fishing villages within the region even though it was taped more than 50 years after the end of my historic study period. Regarding some points made by other authors, or as found in some of the available literature, I was able to clarify their presentation of what had been conjecture or misleading information, or provide a more detailed contribution.

Other documents such as historic register nomination inventories, vision statements, maps, building permit files, subdivision records, tax records, voting

directories, land deeds and patents, brochures, line drawings, and resident surveys are publicly available and were also reviewed. As already mentioned, there are numerous historic photographs of the Cortez historic vernacular cultural landscape over time available from the histories mentioned above, and from a variety of other sources including the Florida Maritime Museum located in Cortez, the Manatee County Historic Records Library, the Eaton Florida History Room located in the Manatee County Public Library system, the U.S. National Archives, and the University of South Florida Online Digital Collections for Research and Learning.

Perhaps the most compelling benefit offered by Cortez is its easily identifiable historical development with a known point of beginning occurring at or near 1887. Here is an echo of Hoskins' (1955) notion of towns, especially those that have been planned from the beginning, as having identifiable root owners or founders. Unlike many towns in Europe, which are figuratively set in stone due to their own organic growth around entrenched street systems and patterns, below-ground infrastructure, and a strong sense of public building practice, developed areas in the United States, unlike Cortez, have been much more open and accessible to change. In fact, wholesale change of many communities is evidenced in the complete razing of historic communities for highways, retail developments, and major public events, often in the name of progress or economic development. The TFV landscape of Cortez, while certainly encroached upon during its history, and certainly a victim of insensitive development within its boundaries, still retains a modicum of its expression as a historical development, with many of its physical forms still discernible or interpretable.

While not completely undeveloped or impacted by human agency prior to this 1887 point of beginning, Cortez' character from to the end of the historic study period mostly represents that of a commercial fishing context without the influences of other overarching industries or economies that could have shaped it differently. Its character as a commercial fishing village did not grow or develop from other industries. Cortez began as a fishing village, and it remained a fishing village, at least to a significant enough degree to examine it under that context through the study period to 1946. This trueness to a common interest and pursuit by its founders, and continued somewhat by the subsequent generations, allows a clearer understanding of form that should cater toward the industry. Even as of the date of this writing, it is still considered to be a fishing village, albeit with a noticeable loss of the historic contextual artifact, and the addition of non-contextual intrusions and encroachments, which actually began early on. The continuation of commercial fishing as the primary cultural pursuit is also important to understanding both physical and intangible forms as it evolves within the community insider base, since major influences on form from non-contextual forces such as non-fishing dependent or fishing community associations would skew the form.

The strong contextual basis ascribed to commercial fishing in Cortez is unlike those of the historic Cedar Keys and Key West, for example, both of which had strong commercial fishing industries but were representative of several disparate industries. Many of these were temporary even when considering their long histories *in situ* (Shiver, 1988). Even though the cigar industry in Key West was temporary, lasting for approximately 50 years, it contributed to an architectural form on the skyline as manufacturers erected factories and housing. However, the context that fed into that

particular form was relatively short-lived given the long history and skews both the form indicator and the form result. If fishers took over the built construct after the cigar manufacturers departed, then there is an adapted context pursuant to traditional fishing village evolution. It would be perhaps, less organic than Cortez.

In contrast, another TFV, Apalachicola in Florida's Panhandle region is one of the strongest modern representations of the commercial fishing cultural landscape; however, it also consisted of other equally important industries that skew considerations away from the context argument for neatly exploring and interpreting form. As early as 1840, Irish immigrants in Apalachicola had already erected approximately 40 cotton warehouses reaching heights up to three stories. By the 1920s, most of these structures were replaced with brick warehouses. The obvious form along the waterfront was contextual with regard to a working waterfront, but not as a fishing village, even though I can easily assume that many scholars and historic preservation practitioners consider Apalachicola to be historically rich with regard to the forms created over time in this context.

Even Cedar Key, considered by many to have a rich history embedded in commercial fishing as its most intense enterprise, was a dynamic port of multiple industries. Though it contained at least seven fish houses by 1910 (McCarthy, 2007), several more than Cortez ever had at its peak, its prominence as a lumber and shipping town far outweighed its fishing village character. Form in these overlapping and more dynamic economic environments was less stable due to rapid growth and constantly changing and expanding uses, as well as, new influxes of stakeholders. The public-oriented waterfront seems to have had a marked influence on its subsequent changes

and the rate at which these changes occurred. It is not unreasonable to think that a length of privatized waterfront consisting of multiple owners would be more resistant to change since it also represents a more complex dynamic of ownership wrangling. However, the difference between private commercial and residential may be a key factor that separates Cortez from other working waterfronts.

It is expected that accessory, but non-fishing uses found in all contexts are also found in Cortez, but these result from needs attributable to the fishing community as it grows and develops symbiotic relationships. For example, grocery stores can be found anywhere, in any context that does not have to be commercial fishing, but they evolve within the background of their surrounding context so they are more aligned with the forms of the community they serve. Nevertheless, this does not mean that form is not affected; instead, forms are continually affected by the cultural denominators and the individual activities that take place around them.

In essence, the TFV of Cortez is a simpler human construct that evolved pursuant to its own struggles within a kinship-oriented cultural flux. During boom times, the form in Cortez evolved and appeared in a more rapid pace and became evident in a distinct pattern that is considered maritime in character. During these times form was both solidified and expanded. When the economy was in a downturn, fishers there adapted to other pursuits akin to biding time. Form appeared more stable and stagnant, with no apparent wide threat of wholesale change due to a “selling-out” by the main cultural thread that is sometimes evident in other communities. This is not to say that certain fishers in Cortez did not just give it all up and sell to the highest bidder, or introduce non-fishing constructs and activities, for the evidence does reveal this. In

some cases, the arduous lifestyle of commercial fishing proved too onerous for some and they did not return to it, but form overall, did not appear to be affected to the significant degree exhibited by other communities.

Understanding a Regional Area of Influence

When considered within its regional influence, Cortez reflects both similarities and differences among its peer TFVs from Charlotte Harbor to Tampa Bay. The expression exemplified by Cortez and surrounding TFVs slowly transitioned from an elevated wood construct partially built over the water, to a completely over land concrete block construct built to the water. Heath (2001) identified such changes to regionally characteristic elements in landscapes as significant to perceptions of places, where loss of one type of construct, and therefore a loss of a particular expression, can actually make room for new expressions. Place is then reestablished, or reconstructed upon the old layers. In essence, there is a continual flux of addition and subtraction of cultural expression always taking place.

Cortez embraces an “organicism” of sorts, and cultural steadfastness that nearly all of the other communities do not have or did not seem to be able to sustain intact. Cortez remained small and family-oriented at least until 1950, while the other communities evaporated completely or expanded their economic strength enough to foster increased growth and development, often into non-fishery enterprises. Cortez has arguably experienced a slower impact from various economic influences than many other similar fishing villages along Florida’s Gulf Coast (Eaker, 1994). In some cases, such as in Apalachicola and Cedar Key, and even Sarasota for this matter, the small village turned into a thriving, all-purpose economic engine handling multiple industries at once. Commercial fishing as the dominant industry waxed and waned over time. While

commercial fishing may still be a prevalent activity, it is often not the dominant activity, sharing this hierarchy with other, adapted industries. Ironically, it is the commercial fishing activity that is mostly remembered and cast in stone as the most significant character-defining context, whether fully extant or not.

Cortez, on the other hand, has yet to fully change from its commercial fishing beginning, though other industries and uses such as government operations, recreational fishing and watersports, tourism, and minor retail did manifest themselves, but without dominating the landscape. Most serve as incidental or support entities, roles typically common to all villages regardless of their contextual form and industrial make-up. In some cases, the supportive entity may also feed the context if, for example, by having a place as a water-dependent structure and use, it is beneficial to the community and adapted to the stronger context. The primary question from the regional consideration here asks why Cortez remained true to its contextual form, while the others did not.

Many scholars have claimed that cultural enclaves, no matter how isolated, are influenced at least to some degree by external cultural forces, especially as part of a regional fold where overlaps of tradition, materials, artifacts, and environment take place. Because regional perspectives under the rubric of multiple disciplines are found in much of the literature to date, understanding the regional area of influence for Cortez pursuant to my study was informative, and warrants a limited background discussion of it here. Regional boundaries are rarely well defined, and often lack precise geographical and topographical elements that fit neatly into common patterns.

As adapted from Wallace (1978), the modern cultural landscape is rarely, if ever so completely isolated that reading its language of form change over time does not require referential consideration of outside influences. Identifying the regional context of TFVs informs my study with regard to the potential for outside influences of forms on the vernacular landscape of Cortez. In reverse, information is available that could suggest the influence of Cortez form on regional landscapes. Form is culturally produced and becomes expressed as physical, spatial, extended, social, political, and economic, and can be considered based on the context in which it takes or took place. This includes its regional context.

On a regional basis, there is often a high degree of commonality found among TFVs. In fact, contextually speaking, there is always a modicum of consistency in form. Searches for commonality of form among all fishing communities appears far-fetched, yet there are overlapping forms such as the act itself, the nets, the hook and line, etc. One does not have to think too much to connect these dots of commonness. One can easily suggest that they all share proximity to a water body, use similar equipment for fishing, or process harvests in the same manner. Such commonly shared attributes are a given, just as residential or factory settings around the globe also share common aspects.

However, form between settings, though similar in context, can be physically and cognitively different, though their basic landscape complexions may be similar. For example, the fishing watercraft, or *jukung*s as they are called, lined up along the shoreline settings of Bali in Indonesia certainly represent a difference of form from the intracoastal fishing villages of Florida's Gulf Coast, but with similar physical traits

overlapping in hull design and sail formation. The differences between mullet fishing off the coast of North Carolina is different than that of Cortez, even though its original settlers came from there. In any event, regions have the fuzzy borders discussed by Glassie (1968), which do not render convenient boundaries that allow easy analysis. While the spritsail used in early Cortez represented an earlier use along the North Carolina coast, the basic form of the craft was adapted to a slightly different styling later on in Cortez. Even its use in North Carolina was adapted locally from a widespread use in the Northeastern coastal states. Hence, form within a single, highly contextual community is a valid study.

In referring to the regional perspective of distinct groups exhibiting a mix of “pre-existing and imported elements assembled into distinctive local expressions” as discussed by Heath (2009), and based solely on historic commercial fishing activities and methods, Cortez is debatably part of a regional influence of TFVs located between Charlotte Harbor and Tampa Bay. In one example, an applicable regional discussion that includes Cortez could cover most of Florida’s Gulf Coast, stretching from Key West north to Apalachicola. A recent, unpublished study by Frey (2010), suggested yet another region to include a larger area he referred to as the “Florida Gulf Coast Historic Triangle” (p. 3). This delineated region focused on the historic navigation patterns and development activities between Pensacola, Tampa, and Key West. It is remarkable in that it includes the entire Florida Gulf Coast as an interrelated related region. In the same study, Frey discussed the possibility of including Havana, Cuba as the southern tip of the triangle due to the early connections Gulf of Mexico fishers and other commerce traders developed. Figure 3-1 has been redrawn from Frey’s original 2010

Florida Gulf Coast delineation using a basic Google Earth tool (Google earth & Terra Metrics, 2013). The updated version illustrates the geographical relationships between Cortez and some of the Florida Gulf Coast TFVs through a yellow triangle outline area. A modified triangular relationship that displaces Key West with Havana, Cuba is also included, but with a green triangle outlined area. The location of Carteret County, North Carolina at the northern terminus of the red line is also included to illustrate the geographical relationship of this area as the origination point for many of the original Cortez settlers.

In following one example, Heath's (2009) research was able to provide a good working basis from which I could begin to approach the regional issue in Cortez through his measure of the forces that helped to shape vernacular form. In order to determine a regional setting, as a common collection of input mechanisms attributable to Cortez, I developed a working, quick study tool for analyzing regional considerations of TFVs (Appendix B). I used Cortez as the referential or model community from which the others would be assessed. The location of Cortez was not given any hierarchical preference to avoid bias. The tool also helped me to build upon a context during the Phase I data resource review and field studies. An important aspect of the regional setting analysis is that the determinants of form and its stability in the landscape were more comprehensively assessed through comparisons with other landscapes.

Several facets of Cortez contained within a regional dialogue were organized to include Canizaro's (2007) prescriptions of geography, climate, and materials, along with Heath's (2009) addition of topography and traditional input as a slight inclusion of memory, which I revised to traditional practice, and my additions of trade and commerce

characteristics, village growth patterns, and duration, as found in the quick study tool, and abbreviated into a list here as

- geography;
- topography;
- climate;
- materials;
- trade and commerce;
- traditional practice;
- village growth patterns; and
- duration.

Based on the above prescriptions, and the quick analysis of historic commercial fishing areas from Key West to Apalachicola, a regional setting for Cortez that includes the coastal area from Tampa Bay south to Charlotte Harbor is an acceptable consideration pursuant to my study of historic vernacular fishing villages. This determination results from commonalities that bring locations together, and the differences separating them. The commonalities of geography, topography, climate, trade and commerce, traditional practice, and village growth patterns seemed more prevalent between the historic communities occurring from Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor. Some overlaps occurred between all of the communities. The most significant disparities of geography and trade and commerce prevented the inclusion of the distant communities.

Initial Field Studies of Cortez and Other TFVs

I made field visits to Cortez and other TFVs for data collection, observance, photographic compilation, and general understanding of their existing physical features and settings. The field visits also included research time at historic repositories such as historical societies and libraries where historic photographs, maps, government documents, written articles, and other archival data were reviewed. The field study

included multiple trips to the Manatee County Property Appraiser's Office, Manatee County Historical Records Library, and the Manatee County Clerk of the Court for perusing public records such as archived building permit information, tax deeds, and property sales records. I was not able to retrieve any building permit records from the historic study span of 1887 to 1946 since a representative from Manatee County suggested that they were not available. Most of the information regarding building permitting was obtained from the 1995 National Register Nomination and published histories of Cortez.

Photographic compilation

In order to familiarize myself with the physicality of Cortez, the initial field visits included a barrage of my own amateur photographs that captured current images for every street, structure, and village periphery in the present. Special emphasis was placed on the waterfront conglomeration where the developed form of buildings, structures, and the shoreline construct were of a special interest for comparing the present with the past. Capturing the sufficient perspective required vantage points from the water that included the use of watercraft excursions. It was from this photographic study, considered in tandem with the other data resources that the descriptions and analyses in Phases II and III were processed, and some sketch drawings were completed. It is important to note here that while the use of my own photographs was of exceptional benefit to familiarization and comparison needs, they were not meant to be incorporated into my study as particular reference figures, and therefore, are not found in the final document.

The incorporation of historic photographs, while referenced as part of my study, also does not include insertions of them into the analysis sections of my study in order

to avoid a bias in evaluating form from certain angular viewsheds. Many of these photographs do not reference specific dates and are not credited to a photographer, though they are easily considered as having occurred within certain historic periods of my study based on the historic record. Also, the vantage points from which many are taken, are difficult to put into proper perspective, and may cause confusion to the reader without proper in-depth consideration. Instead, a sample set of archival photographs of the historic waterfront conglomeration is provided in Figure 3-2 to enhance understanding of the overall forms available in the highly contextual area of the landscape as they occurred during the first decade or so of the twentieth century. The waterfront conglomeration is discussed elsewhere, herein. A prime photograph is the 1947 aerial of Cortez that presents one of the last visual documentations of the later historic vernacular construct of the entire village. However, full permission to incorporate this graphic into my study by the completion date could not be obtained since there are pending copyright discussions taking place. However, the graphic is available for public view at the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez, and for limited scholarly use under fair use provisions.

Mapping

Present-day and historic map and plat configurations were located and compared to determine how the village evolved and became a recorded entity. The earliest map found depicting the Cortez area using scientific delineation is from 1846, though it was referenced according to its section, township, and range at the time. The earliest map found giving a name to the area was from 1851 when it was referenced as Hunter's Point. Locating the earliest known map of Cortez was important for understanding how its boundary or actual physical shape evolved as a particular type of form. The earliest

subdivision found is dated 1887, which is the beginning of the settlement period for Hunter' Point, later named as Cortez. One important consideration for comparing and analyzing maps in a chronological order was to determine how the shoreline changed from settlement through the study period, which proved to be quite significant. While over 100 maps were reviewed, approximately 30 formed the archive documentation for explaining the village layout form indicator set (to be explained later).

Phase II (Descriptive Strategy Part 1)--Visual Analysis for Documenting and Clarifying the Physical Landscape Form of Cortez

How Will the Physical Landscape and Its Form be Documented?

As noted in Phase I above, my primary challenge during the early phases was in understanding how to look at form as it occurred in a diminished vernacular landscape. An obvious assumption at the time was that form of any type often changed as vantage points changed in tandem, as perspectives and perceptions increase or decrease as one experiences the landscape from inside or outside, or from any seemingly unlimited number of perspectives that are not necessarily restricted to those that are physical. To operationalize a procedure for this, I analyzed the existing physical landscape form during 2012 and 2013 from the data resources collected during Phase I, and followed up with a second, more detailed study of Cortez as part of its mapped history and the photographic compendium. This was then followed by a sketch program of what I call graphic tiles that display form indicator sets juxtaposed for their easy assessment of the form sets on a single formatted page that allows easy comparisons. This was done for each historic period, including the presettlement form period.

The second major challenge was in understanding how the images could overcome the presentation of a landscape as too static in that it would have somehow

unfairly captured an arbitrary moment. In response to Upton (1991), and pursuant to Gibson (1979), I determined that a graphic sketch program as part of my study was a key factor in evaluating form, especially its physical aspects, over time at certain intervals, rather than as a slow moving, rolling film of change. Gibson recognized and warned that drawings and photographs of the landscape serve as a sort of documentary “arrest of the normally changing array” (p. 294) that really defines them, and as such, can only be considered as events that are captured at the moment in which it was produced.

Since the landscape has virtually an infinite number of views available to anyone who is looking at it, form was a construct that I saw as a snapshot of multiple views that includes individual objects along with larger areas, and of the forms that contribute to the definition of a contextual setting. In this case, I saw form as rolling out from the interior (residential) outward to the waterfront, out over the water, and then into the intangible forms beyond that. This depiction is not a photo-realistic image; instead, it is an image-laden depiction of available form. Figure 3-3 illustrates how this rolling out of form can be expressed visually. While this rather simple drawing technique does not appear to reveal much regarding form change and determinants, its combination with the resulting graphic tile and waterfront conglomeration sets according to historic study periods are important as the primary graphic tools for assessing changes in the landscape form over time. Obviously, it is important to use the same vantage points for each depiction.

Photographic compendium

The entire collection of photographs compiled during the first phase and subsequent phases that were part of the archival record was used as a photographic

compendium of images. I used them as referential data from which my own sketch drawings and descriptions of form were visually analyzed and compared with historic photographs. The potential for historic photographs, as records of historical data, required a basic knowledge of photography and “visual literacy” discussed by Schlereth (1982, p. 31). This involves not only looking at a photograph for what it shows, but also how it informs. According to Schlereth who was referring to sociologist Howard Becker, each minute part of the historic photograph holds some special relevance to the wider landscape and culture around which it was captured. In addition, social historians’ use of photography prompted me to inquire as to who may have taken the photographs, how, and why. The fact that my study does not incorporate a comprehensive array of historic photographs as figures within the text results from the earlier discussion of avoiding confusion for the reader, and due to their impreciseness. An added benefit is the focus toward the practicality of the sketch drawings included as part of the study, as a more intimate relationship between the interpreter and the actual form.

The first step involved collecting images of the boundaries of Cortez by boat from the water, as well as, from various inland vantage points. Then, I walked through each accessible area, street, sidewalk frontage, etc., to better understand and identify the internal sections, and to mimic some of the visual perspectives from the historic photographs. In doing this, I realized that the internal areas did not hold as much contextual character as the waterfront areas—at least not in 2013. It was at this time that I decided to concentrate less on the residential as a seemingly generic historic fabric, and more on the waterfront as richer in contextual character, which meant looking more closely at the fish processing facilities, the historic shoreline and waterfront, and the

extended construct. The decision to focus less attention on the residential construct was based primarily on the lack of its primacy as part of the historic context. While the residential construct, especially in its earliest forms, represented a distinct and common form early on, its later version by itself did not reveal much to my study, though an analysis of dwellings in maritime settings is a worthy discussion for another study.

Create sketch drawings of form over time

The sketch drawings are finalized according to the three time periods occurring as part of the historic study span from 1887 to 1946. As a referential comparison, I also prepared modified sketch programs for the presettlement period occurring prior to 1887, and the current construct as it appeared in 2013. The goal was to create distinguishable, yet basic forms that could be compared similarly and in equal sets from period to period. Finely detailed drawings were not the intent, since the problems associated with scrutiny of additional, and often superfluous information sets, become labored beyond the primary focus of my study that attempts to lay-out a program for practical application. A wide variety of sketches were included as part of my overall study, yet only those deemed appropriate are used or explained, herein. The form parameters, or form shapes prescribed to accomplish this, as far as most of the visual construct was considered, are explained below.

I understood the impossibility of being able to document what amounts to an infinite set of form instances, so the tool of sketching serves as an arbiter of visual form delivery that arguably transcends the effect of photographs. The sketch program includes two formats including the single drawing of the waterfront conglomeration, and a single-page graphic tile system. The waterfront conglomeration for each historic form period provides a quick analysis of the jumble of forms present from what is perhaps the

ultimate view opportunity for ascertaining a visible landscape form in the contextual setting of TFVs. The unpopulated graphic tile template format is shown as Figure 3-4.

The time periods are based on three distinct historic study periods in Cortez, along with two additional periods, including a presettlement period, and a 2013 set; these provide an added-value discussion of form change outside of the historic study span confine.

Form parameters technique. My considerations for documenting the form through sketches are adapted from the waterscape unit of analysis established by Litton and Tetlow (1974), who suggested using the first five of the six elements, shown below, for sketching forms in landscapes having water features. I modified each of them to suit my study and added the interstice, as my own creation because of its importance to the contextual character of the traditional fishing landscape. These basic forms, which may or not be reminiscent of ordinary landscapes, allow a simple format for looking at, and visually describing form, and include

- linear elements: straight, diagonal, crooked, perspective, jutting, protruding, puncturing (e.g., docks and rigging);
- area elements: large surfaces, planes, even textures (e.g., facades);
- enclosing elements: walls, rooflines, background, fences, walls (e.g., gables);
- mass elements: silhouettes, density, positive-negative space, bulk (e.g., groups of watercraft);
- point elements: isolated, separate (e.g., traps, gear, individual watercraft); and
- interstice: water-land-sky (e.g., foreshore accumulation).

How Will Physical Changes in the Landscape Form be Measured?

Measuring how form changed was another challenge, since I could find no pertinent formula that addressed it, especially when considering the irregularity of the cultural landscape perspective. This is remedied, however, by first establishing the

textual parameters for form as I do above. It is my contention that once the form is physically defined and then delineated, changes to it over time can then be measured through noticeable physical changes that are compared through side-by-side analysis. This represents a fairly straightforward resolution that avoided any complexity of undertaking, since as I see it, form is a simple concept that only becomes less perceptive when attempting to view it, or understand it, from a larger landscape perspective.

My initial thought was to create a more complex, computer-generated system of form delineation. However, I discovered that there is more of a commitment to understanding form in the drawing of it by hand. This course is something I felt could not be attained by using computer graphics and robotic programming (Lavoie, 2005). The resulting physical changes reveal the clues to the intangible form changes, as well, from which the influences regarding determinants of form change are examined. Historically, there were additions and subtractions to the landscape in the forms of newer vessels and buildings, projections, land surfacing, etc. The basic elements I adapted from Litton and Tetlow (1974), i.e., linear, area, enclosing, mass, point, and interstice are simply reassessed using this simple addition and subtraction format.

While I understood early on that form was constantly changing in all environments, my addition/subtraction formula represents a matter of degree, subject to my interpretation of what matters in the contextual landscape. A small degree of change may be assessed as a form change. The research result clarifies the confusion, and reduces the subjective input that degree brings to the table through the use of drawings that visually document change in a certain way.

Therefore, my initial concerns as part of this graphic undertaking revolved around the measurement of form based on these graphic comparisons. While I figured out the specific timeframes for comparison, I remained unsettled regarding the degree of change. For example, I wondered if the addition of a single flat roof into the array of existing gabled ends constituted a form change worthy of remark. I did expect that form would change rapidly during the settlement period as a highly vernacular period of form that quickly multiplied through mimicry. As the community evolved and prospered and added new settlers, the addition of new buildings, structures, and development certainly established a feverish flux of form change if only through sheer density of it. This concern allowed me to accept the fact that intermediate form change through addition was certainly taking place and that is precisely why I decided to analyze Cortez for its significant periods of time, whereby the form being graphically delineated reflected an equal and comparative end result of that distinct period. The question of whether and how form changed is left to the analysis of it in Chapters 4 and 5.

Another problem I encountered was in how to examine the wholesale form change as it occurred after the hurricane surge of 1921. Since most buildings were destroyed, I decided that it should be considered as a single event rather than as a time period. The subsequent building activity that followed determined whether a new form emerged. Since the waterfront form was mostly destroyed, I did not feel that it was necessary to visualize through sketch drawings what appeared to be an absence, or missing set of forms; instead, I decided that it deserved more of a detailed discussion, which is included as part of Chapters 4 and 5.

Describing the Visual Landscape Form Changes

The process for evaluating form change lies within the narratives of Chapters 4 and 5. In describing the form and its changes, I tend to rely on objective findings rather than conjecture, in spite of the degree of change discussion presented earlier. However, some conjecture is still evident. In some cases, I base my findings on historic photographs and archival documentation, which required a sketched reconstruction of the forms. This suggests that some conjecture is part of the analysis since the lack of real and physical three-dimensional buildings or detailed photographic documentation often requires filling in the blanks. Since the findings are included elsewhere, no further elaboration on this is needed here.

Phase III (Descriptive Strategy Part 2)--Thick Analysis for Re[vealing]leading the Intangible Landscape Form of Cortez

Many scholars and practitioners have defined their roles of examining the landscape as reading it like text, i.e., as if looking at the visual akin to reading the pages of a book. However, I incorporate a method into my study that I consider to be more of a revealing, or freeing of what I saw and visualized in the studied landscape. Hence, the play with the word “Re[veal]leading,” which is really just saying that in reading the landscape through what it offers through a thicker analysis of it, deeper insight of it will likely be revealed. While such word playing may seem overly cute for scholarly study, the important message it delivers survives this criticism. Since my aim is to get a better understanding of what forms in the landscape were hidden from plain sight, and how there is an additional dimension of form to consider, or in isolation of other factors, a more thickly applied analysis is therefore, applicable.

For the purpose of evaluating determinants of the form changes that are visually studied under Phase II, my research uses a limited version of the technique referred to as thick description, based on the adaptation of it by Geertz (1973). However, I do not see this part of my research as a continuation of merely describing the visual landscape as is done under Phase II. Instead, I prefer to use it as more of an analysis versus description, since it delved somewhat deeper into the intangible elements of culture and society. The intangible is used instead of non-physical or non-visual since I feel the latter terms to be too absolute for the forms represented. The use of the intangible descriptor renders an allowance for a degree of physicality. This then translates into the intangible aspect of form as a set of indicators revealed in Chapter 4. With an intangible characteristic, one can sometimes see the form, or feel it, or know that it exists through another mechanism, but it does exist at least through a form that has some aspect of physicality.

In addition, there is a varied level of analysis that results from what was being considered. As Domosh (1989) related during her study of the New York World Building, closer readings of artifacts, or buildings, allow for increased understanding of the wider process. For example, in looking at the landscape and its economic market characteristics, which reveals certain spatial results, the researcher tends to view it from a macro scale. In contrast, a micro level of understanding is achieved when artifacts are studied for their symbolic value and importance.

As Black (2002) suggested, thicker analysis allows for the interplay of “dialogue between text and context” when looking at broader cultural influences such as: a) social and economic context; b) nuances of the capital structure; c) signs and symbols; d)

aesthetics study; and e) linking a thorough visual description of vernacular construct to the above factors (p. 28). To accomplish this, I use Black's method of inquiry, with slight variations adapted from Heath (2009) that consider Cortez during my research time period. The referrals results in an interpretive narrative that

- examines the social construct based on local ethnographies and histories, including accounts from published books, articles, and newspapers;
- examines the economic contexts based on local, regional, state, and national accounts, as found in historic narratives, governments documents, and published articles and newspapers;
- examines the context of how space was transformed and used by looking at aerial maps and subdivision records, as well as, technological advances, and regulatory structures;
- examines the signs and symbols embedded in the landscape based on my exposure to, and studies of historical ecology, geography, historic preservation, building and construction, and cultural analysis for each period, by understanding local, regional, and national trends and events that took place;
- examines the aesthetics of perception and place from the vernacular point of view of Cortez, as found in the local published histories;
- examines an array of possible environmental factors that may have contributed to form but not considered during Phase II, based on my interdisciplinary understanding of land use planning, historical ecology, and floodplain management; I also take cues from other areas of interest that hold special appeal and relative usefulness such as archaeology, photography, and geography; and
- examines the decision-making processes and political frameworks of the users and leaders of the Cortez community based on historical accounts.

As part of considering these thicker analyses, I then merge and cross-referenced them with the actual form elements and physical descriptions derived from Phase II. The information that emerges is critical to my study, without relying on rich data for each matrix match, as included in Chapters 4 and 5.

Phase IV-Findings: Interpretive Narrative and Discussion of Vernacular Landscape Form Change and Influences

The results of my study are formulated as part of this final phase where I analyze and present the findings related to my research questions through an interpretive narrative that considers the integrity and significance of the vernacular landscape in Cortez and in other TFV contexts. From here, I provide a review of the findings as part of Chapter 5 in order to present conclusions, and the implications presented by them. In addition, I add some perspectives on later forms since my research reveals some of the most dramatic changes to the Cortez landscape occurring after my historic study period. However, I limit that discussion to avoid overanalyzing certain points that require additional study beyond the scope presented herein.

Methods of Data Collection and Information Sources

I collected most of the background and visual data as part of the first two phases of my research program, which spanned a period of nearly three years. The logistics of my original program are molded along the way as some initial assumptions and research methods failed to produce the proper results. I found fairly early on that certain sets of the historical record led me to related sets of records or sets of information that, in turn, led to me even more records. One example of this was in determining the settlement period (1887-1897) chronology of land purchases. The biggest challenge was not in performing reverse title searching, but in deciphering the many legal descriptions that were either incorrect, or based on coordinates that were extremely vague. Luckily, my background in mapping and land use planning provided the necessary understanding for this rather complicated and time-consuming task. After considerable investment of time in trying to uncover an appropriate use of historic

timeframes for analyzing vernacular form change, I found that they eventually presented themselves, as the historical record was uncovered. The peeling away of the layers of historical patina on the historical form was then revealed through close examination of this historical data, as well as, the visual analysis that became part of it.

The Phase II secondary fieldwork resulted in detailed graphic note taking and documentation of the historical and existing vernacular landscape form through a series of map overlays using the chain/link measurements found in the older surveys; a chain is measured as a length of 66 feet and a link is 7.92 inches. The information from the map overlays was then carefully transferred to a single working aerial taken from a compilation of overlapping Google Maps dated 2012, which served as the primary base map with a definable boundary of Cortez at a scale of eight millimeters equaling one chain. I then transferred the applicable data from other maps and written documents to this single map as a composite to show the historical development of Cortez. While the end result was a complicated, non-computerized working rendition reflecting multiple information sets that became difficult to read because of the amount of information it contained, its importance to understanding form, even as a two-dimensional aerial is invaluable and beneficial as a working basis.

These first two phases allowed me to develop a manageable working framework for the phase three descriptive analyses where I am able to identify some of the determinants that caused vernacular landscape form change throughout the historic study span. I chose the research end date of 1946 since much of what was referred to as vernacular by the available literature was constructed up to that time, and is well-documented through an available, high-resolution 1947 aerial photograph, which clearly

documents the visible landscape of the entire village. This represents a post-World War II timeframe, after which much anecdotal evidence suggests the strongest diminution of form began to occur, notwithstanding the 1921 storm effects of wind and tidal surge. In essence, the 1947 aerial photograph represents documented evidence of a visualized form across the physical landscape from which earlier (and later) forms can be compared. While the 1995 National Register Nomination enlisted a historic period up to 1944, the date of 1946 also provides a solid reference time for understanding what occurred in Cortez according to a significance standard presented by the nomination, and is fairly consistent with that date by not being that far removed from it.

Data sources

The information sources I use for collecting data ranges among the nine areas of study mentioned under the above theoretical framework, plus the available archival information from a variety of sources. This includes both primary and secondary source materials including historical and archival review of written literature, documents, graphics, government documents, and non-participatory observation and field documentation of existing base images from personal sketch drawings. I process this data according to a hybrid investigation method of preliminary research beginning with secondary sources to familiarize myself with each TFV. Therefore, secondary sources are first listed below reflecting the chronological approach of my research program.

Secondary sources. Graphics are a significant part of piecing together the historical vernacular form puzzle. My research includes photographs, historic artworks, and mapping, including some technical works on the built and natural environments. I found these documents through antique stores, newspapers and local archives, retail stores, historic libraries and museum collections, private collections, and Internet

resources. Graphics produced from geographic information systems (GIS) as part of land use studies are also referenced and are available through local, state, and federal organizations, such as the Manatee County Property Appraiser Office, The Manatee County Clerk of Court, The Manatee County Historical Records Library, and the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez. In addition, a wealth of secondary source links are available through the on-line database of the University of South Florida Digital Collections for Research and Learning, the Hathi Trust, the on-line archives of the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, the National Archives, the Historical Map and Chart Collection of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

A significant base of scholarly literature is available as secondary information resource material. This includes numerous published books and peer-reviewed articles related to TFVs in Florida, the United States, and around the globe that increase depth and dimension of the topic. I also familiarized myself with the various methods for reading historic vernacular landscapes, as well as, establishing frameworks for visual and textual descriptions, as reflected partly in my literature review of Chapter 2, and in the List of References.

In addition, a plethora of readings about vernacular architecture and form is available to narrow the above framework to include vernacular form as part of the cultural landscape of TFVs. Urban form studies provide strong suggestions for describing and reading built environments. I also found significant explorations concerning the contextual basis of the vernacular landscape, and the environmental and ecological studies that specifically dealt with TFVs and their associated vernacular

landscapes and environments. A wide array of literature is available that explains the foundations of material culture, especially as it appears in vernacular communities. Since no new oral histories are performed for my study, I defer to several that already exist and were created as early as 1963. Some earlier newspaper interviews from the 1950s add to this assortment of personal recollections and opinions by local fishers. Various government documents related to visual and spatial form, community visioning, design standards, national register nominations, and comprehensive planning are also reviewed. These documents are available through the University of Florida and other public library systems, including its E-journal tool, retail bookstores, and additional on-line formats through a variety of Internet sources. Finally, scholarly work of several theses and dissertations, some of which pertain directly to Cortez, provide important contributions to my research, as made available found through the University of Florida inter-library research system and on-line databases

Regarding the available popular literature, there is some rich data from published family oral and cultural histories, which contain useful after-the-fact details that may not be documented in the scholarly and primary literature (Green, n.d.; Green, 1985). Early travel books, tourist-related documents and brochures, and monographs reveal important tidbits of information regarding socio-cultural environments and major events that provide a good understanding of vernacular form at given time periods or junctures in the historical continuum. These documents are mostly available through the University of Florida and other public library systems, retail bookstores, museums and historical archives of local communities, and the Internet at various fishing village and fishing industry on-line archives.

Primary sources. Graphics are an important part of the primary sources I available for my study research. My research documentation begins with study fieldwork that includes drawings and photographs delineating existing base conditions and remnants of the vernacular construct for Cortez. Original graphics such as photographs, historical drawings, tax records, voting directories, county plat maps, site plans, building sketches, aerial photography, Sanborn Maps (used for other areas though not available for Cortez), U.S. Geological Survey Quadrangle maps, building permits, land and navigational surveys, special studies and artwork allowed me to reconstruct the various layers of built and spatial form change over time for Cortez and other referential areas. In some cases, certain of these data sets were not available for Cortez, but were reviewed for other TFVs, as well, in order to obtain historical information about building practices. These documents are found in the University of Florida Map and Imagery Library, the Historical Map and Chart Collection of the National Oceanic and Aeronautics Administration, the Manatee County Public Library, the Manatee County Historic Records Library, the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez, the National Archives, on-line through a variety of public agencies, local historical societies and museums, redevelopment agencies, and private collections. In addition, relevant graphics are widely available through the Florida State Historic Preservation Office, as well as, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS).

There is not much scholarly literature available to assist my efforts at reconstructing the missing vernacular forms and associating form changes with them. The available archival photos remain mostly unclear in determining exact vantage points and precise dates of the images. I supplement these apparent gaps of

understanding with a textual review of published ethnographies and immersion cultural studies of traditional fishing communities. Insight about vernacular form and change is gained from these studies of TFV cultures as they align with my research regarding the built environment and material artifacts. Environmental studies of Florida and the Florida Gulf Coast in general help to clarify similarities and differences between the natural environments that affect Cortez and other study areas. These documents are widely available through the University of Florida physical and on-line library systems, retail bookstores, and the Internet.

Some of the popular literature can be found at random and offers help in obtaining first-hand travel accounts along Florida's Gulf Coast; these generally consist of trip diaries, logs, and recorded accounts of travel, usually by sport fishermen and coastal cruisers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These provide early physical descriptions of vernacular form in the study area at specific points in time. Newspaper articles, general directories, sales documents and advertisements, and personal scrapbooks, prove an important component for finding clues and filling in gaps. These are found in the University of Florida Special Collections Library, the Manatee County Historical Records Library, the Eaton Room of the Manatee County Public Library, and various fishing village and fishing industry on-line archives.

There is no plan to use prescribed interview processes as part of my research, since the vernacular landscape form I am studying is based on current observations, archival data, and existing literature. There are instances where I have made, or will make inquiries to clarify missing, ambiguous, or vague information and data; however,

this type of inquiry does not represent a formal interview process, negating the need for Institutional Review Board approval.

Transition Statement

The methodology for examining form in the historic vernacular landscape as part of my study includes a four-phase program that is built up from an extensive review of data resources, analyses that considered both visual and intangible forms, and findings that articulate form changes and their determinants. In identifying my study community of Cortez as a referential study, and in limiting my resources to the existing historical record, I am able to document a historic form over a 59-year period without resorting to added conjecture from new interviews. Since making sense of an evolving form within a cultural landscape is a dualistic problem due to ongoing debates about usage and application, and landscape complexities, a special sketch program is used as part of the research methodology to convey form over a historic time continuum. Chapter 4, that follows, implements this methodology and reveals affects and effects to form, and discusses these through narrative and graphic formats that consider an array of form indicator sets as part of a comprehensive contextual form framework.



Figure 3-1. Florida Gulf Coast Triangle areas. Geographic relationships of TFVs relevant to Cortez. Yellow triangle with Key West as base adapted from Frey, (2010). Green triangle with Havana, Cuba as base reveals presettlement relationships. Red line indicates relationship of Cortez with Carteret County, NC as place of origin for many of the Cortez settlers. Graphic allowed under fair use for scholarly purposes. Source: Google earth & Terra Metrics; 2013. Data by U.S. Dept. of State, SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, & GEBCO, 2013; map manipulation by L. Frey, 2013.

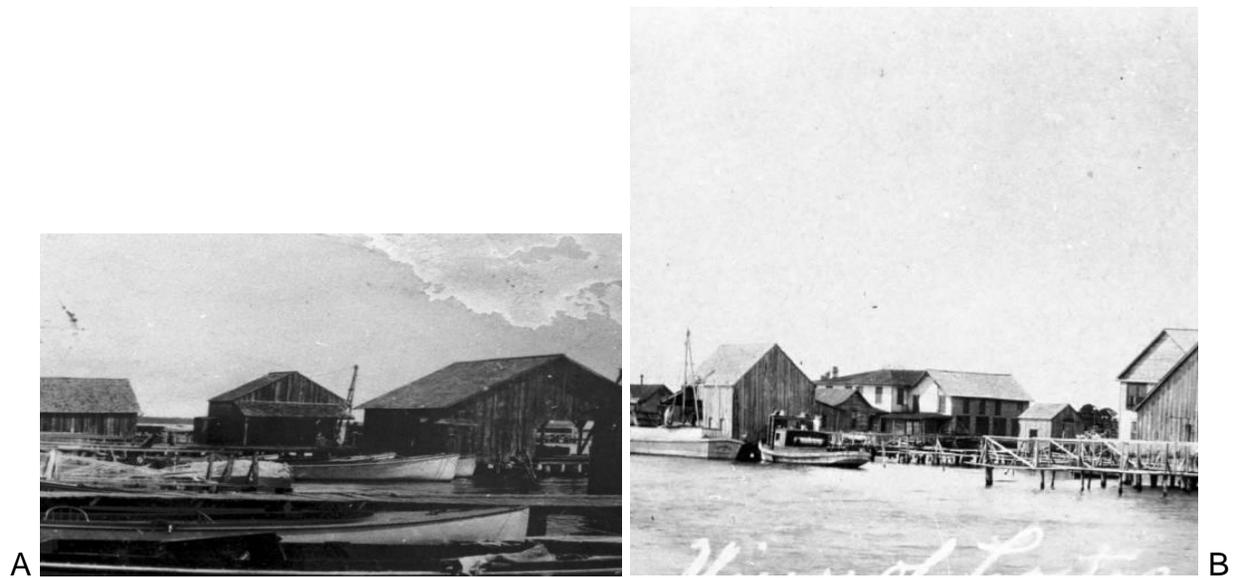


Figure 3-2. Set of Cortez waterfront conglomerations revealing early physical forms. A) View possibly looking southeast, reveals common gable forms and materials, unknown date and photographer. Photographs allowed under fair use with citation. Source: Manatee County Public Library Historical Image Digital Collection-a. (Unknown date), B) View looking slightly northwest, reveals gable and hipped roof forms, and extended vernacular constructs, unknown date and photographer. Source: Manatee County Public Library Historical Image Digital Collection-b. (Unknown date).

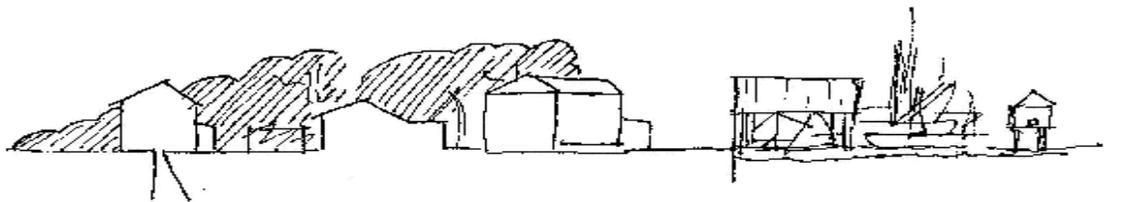


Figure 3-3. Example of the rolling out of the physical form sets from residential to the extended vernacular. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

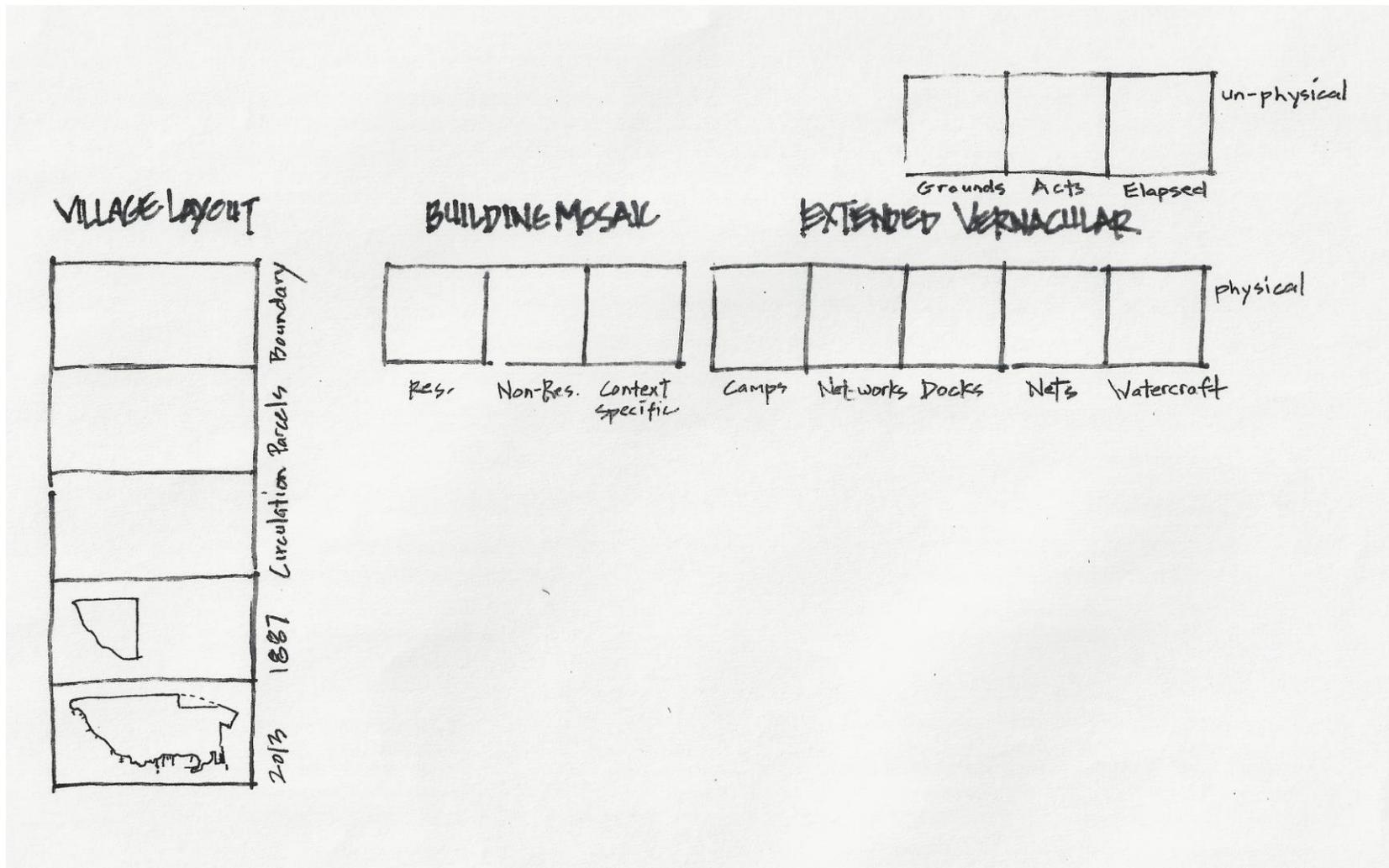


Figure 3-4. Unpopulated graphic tile information system. Graphic by L. Frey, 2013.

CHAPTER 4 IMPLEMENTATION OF STUDY

Overview

I suggested in Chapters 1 and 2 that the literature encompassing the broad foci of vernacular landscapes and material culture have not sufficiently come together to adequately explain or broaden the base of knowledge related to historic landscape form change. This includes the various factors that influence or determine change. Not uncommon in emerging fields of study, additional issues arise with regard to definitions, adaptability of usage, and missing components that do not appear clearly explained, understood, or debated in a robust manner. This includes addressing how historic vernacular form with its changes over time is relevant when dealing with certain historic preservation issues such as significance and integrity. In answering these questions and researching the historic vernacular landscape, as well as, adding to current trains of thought about vernacular form change, my study references the historic vernacular setting found in the traditional fishing village (TFV) landscape of Cortez, Florida.

My primary inquiry into vernacular landscape form reveals answers to additional questions as they are discussed under the theoretical framework, such as

- what are cultural and vernacular landscapes in the proposed context?;
- what constitutes change in vernacular landscape form within a traditional fishing village context and how can it be measured?; and
- is highly historic vernacular form within the TFV context still significant?

All of these questions reveal a lack of consensus among academics and practitioners regarding how historic landscapes are considered contextually and historically. The following sections serve as a blueprint for analyzing landscape form to meet the challenges of these questions. After explaining through some of the dialectical issues, a

contextual form framework is presented that lays out the constructs of the vernacular landscape. The framework consists of three indicator sets and is applied to the village of Cortez based on established time periods recognized by critical junctures along a time continuum. The landscape form as it occurred at the end of each period is conveyed into sketch drawings and a discussion is provided for each. Additional graphics and discussions are provided that recognize other periods and events and flow in chronological order. Each form period includes an end discussion in order to manage the overall exploration revealed in the statement of findings and conclusion included in Chapter 5.

Particular Problems with Form

Form is a troublesome concept. It means different things to different groups and can be constructed in a variety of fashions that suit any number of contextual frameworks. As already opined by scholars and practitioners over time, the construct of form creates an epistemological conundrum in that there is no consistently applied theoretical basis from which it can be applied across disciplines. Methodologies for analyzing form do appear across the fields of architecture, urban morphology, land use planning, archaeology to name a few, but there is little or no generalized understanding or approach to how one proceeds with getting to a detailed study of form as a basis from which to build a particular research. In the wider landscape, which includes buildings, natural features, and spatial constructs, there is an adaptation, or hybrid of prior form analysis that can be modified to it. The discussions of form in architecture could certainly be applied to the landscape, but it would have to be modified to fit the extensions of form that go beyond the shapes, patterns, and layout of individual constructs.

Material cultural analysis tends to focus on form in isolation, and then in relation to the culture that made it, but often leaves out the wider landscape perspective that is more inclusive of other human constructs in its overall content. Urban morphology, as a purposeful study of form, hence the meaning of it as a term, has historically been concerned with mostly physical incarnations of human developed places from a strong geographical basis. The bent toward urban and other highly developed areas and the human construct as a movement across land is certainly beneficial to my study, but the focus is somewhat limited to town layout, building patterns, and the use of land, leaving an empty coloration on the palette of the lesser constructs that extend out from these primary constructs.

The inherent problems associated with analyzing something that is so fluid then, and that consists of multiple influences weighing on it at any given moment in time, moves away from precise formulaic applications, especially when one considers the virtual uniqueness of landscapes as part of complex natural and cultural processes. One of the first problems the scholar confronts is attempting to process the landscape as the unit of analysis. Once this is somehow determined, understanding the wholeness of it, or its comprehensive nature as a human construct presents another dilemma. In order to be manageable then, successful study of a landscape requires a thorough analysis of its constituent parts that can be attributable to the wider format, using a logical method. The method to be used for processing form evaluations presents yet another problem of form, and can easily become overcomplicated and bogged down with superfluous information that is too far removed from the wider landscape perspective.

Perhaps another problem that may appear as a preliminary concern to understanding the unit of analysis in which form exists is defining the parameters of form as a term. This is a problem to researchers due to the lack of common standards regarding landscape form. This is not an atypical problem, and is almost an inherent part of scholarly examination across disciplines.

The vantage point of form consideration is multifaceted and presents another problem to be worked through. Where does one begin to illustrate the form of a landscape that can be visualized from any given perspective, or angle, or vantage point? What makes an aerial view of a landscape more or less suitable than a frontal or oblique view to understanding its change? Next, does one capture everything in the landscape with regard to its overwhelming shapes, textures, directions, interiors, hidden spaces, etc.? Or, can the landscape be explored comprehensively without an exhaustive survey of human constructs, of which it exists?

While physical, purely visible form is certainly the most obvious entity to analyze in the physical landscape, the problem of considering other intangible forms that contribute to the cultural landscape must also be managed. Since the vernacular landscape, for the purposes of my study, reflects a human construct, then purely physical form is but one side to the overall inquiry; the other side, as part of the uniquely human perceptive world that interfaces with the physical constitutes the other. Yet, how can the other than purely visual or intangible world be illustrated and compared in order to understand vernacular form change?

In most cases, the lists of both the physical and intangible forms that present themselves can become unruly and even infinite in scope. The above issues represent

only a few of the problems when attempting to explore form as it exists in the landscape as a whole. The application of context, as a narrowing of the form construct in the landscape, appeals somewhat to these problems with form.

Treatment of Form as an Exploration versus an Epistemological Study

Form, as a distinctive physical configuration that exists in the real world, and as something entertained in the human mind has been long debated back to the early Greek philosophers; therefore, my study does not make any significant inroads into this persistent debate. In order to address the importance of form in the historic vernacular landscape, my study explores alternative ways in which it is considered. The treatment of form, herein, then is considered to be circular in concept, beginning and ending as, a thought in one's mind. In between, form requires the act, or process, or establishment of it in the physical world somehow, whether it is visual, less than visual, or nonvisual. If form is always changing, and never absolutely static, then its existence in this physical world is never complete or completed. So, it is not difficult to see how a circularity of form is present in the human thought process.

My study does not attempt to flay open or reorganize the meaning of form and how and why it came into being as a term. Instead, my exploration of form derives from the thought that significant historic form as a physical human construct with many facets also has linkages to intangible forms. The intangible form stands apart from the non-physical, which is a more absolute condition. Something that is intangible is merely lacking rather than being completely without, whereas, something that is non-physical is completely without. In many historic evaluations, form that can be perceived by humans is often falsely labeled as somehow appearing significant simply because it exists. When considering significance, the available literature and professional applications of

form as something to consider do not appear to be enough when examining the lived-in, cultural landscape that is supposed to represent a significant idea or model of historicity. Form deemed to be significant is often lacking in contextuality regarding the wider landscape significance, creating a gap between what the historic context, at one point in time provided as a whole, and a diminished context still thought to be significant. Form interpreted in this diminished way, often stands by itself, lacking the necessary contextual tie to the historic landscape setting, as a desperate relic wanting to be noticed. Since form is subject to so much interpretation, and can have multiple meanings and applications, my study addresses the research questions according to how form is contextually rendered and instilled within the landscape.

Constructs of Vernacular Landscape Form and Form Change in Cortez

Contextual Form

The research of form in the TFV landscape, combined with the problems that contextual form, or the lack of it presents as a descriptive part of the changing cultural landscape, led me to examine how some historic districts are misrepresented when it comes to describing an extant significance. When looking for significant form in this case, the researcher is obliged to distinguish between extant and missing form that “feed the context.” When this is ascertained, it makes the form of a particular landscape more understandable and manageable. This section explains how the contextual form of the Cortez vernacular landscape is explored and presented for analysis. The visual analysis of the graphic presentation leads to a deeper, thicker analysis.

Form in the historic vernacular landscape then, is what is perceived by the viewer as an aggregation of various elements that combine to feed a certain context, creating a certain whole or complete scene, as well as, those that create a distinction from the

context (Santayana, 1896). A commercial fishing pier or dock may become a culturally distinctive form in the vernacular landscape (Peace, 2001), yet the researcher must be careful to not affix any human construct, where it is given an exclusive prescription. Context is important and serves as the most distinctive form ingredient because it provides the necessary basis from which theoretical grounding can be built (Geertz, 1973). For example, does a farm tractor, though it may be found in the TFV, feed the context of it, or does it separate itself from the context? Only a thicker analysis of the circumstances surrounding the artifact in this case will determine that. The first-glance assumption is that it does not feed the fishing context since it is heavily laden with, and more akin to other contexts. In this case, it becomes a material artifact that may be part of the overall fishing context, but does not sufficiently feed it, though the thicker description may reveal otherwise. In fact, the tractor in a fishing village could have been a critical component in the way it was used, so developing the context is important.

When considering form that feeds context, one has to be careful not to include or exclude any given form that might appear to be out of place until its place, function, and history have been sufficiently examined. Using the term landscape has become a very common application of usage that further distorts and broadens its original meaning. While landscape as a concept, traditionally emphasizes form, such as the overall appearance or outline of something, as opposed to, let's say function (Ingold, 1993), one cannot be sure of how the term is being applied today when there appears to be so many lines of thought that are not consistently communicating with each other.

Popular references now refer to almost any focus area as having its own landscape, i.e., the landscape of the auto industry, the landscape of professional

football, or the political landscape to name a few. In 1993, Ingold suggested that landscape form was identified as “a pattern of activities ‘collapsed’ into an array of features” (p. 162). This seems appropriate terminology applicable to the cross-societal usage of today. Because of this wider usage in a modified manner, my study required a closer assessment for the term to ensure a suitable, easily understood framework for the research, herein.

In suggesting that the multiple facets of landscape perception provide too much information to the observer, Zube, Sell, and Taylor (1982) were also correct when they noticed it as being processed by multiple senses at once, adding even further to the confounding nature of landscape upon the human generative mind. It is appropriate then that landscape, as an overall capture of study provides the structure from which the framework unfolds. Since my study is interested in the vernacular landscape form, and how it has changed over time, then the landscape to be observed becomes either vernacular or non-vernacular according to the definition of the term explained in the methodology discussion of Chapter 3. In this case, vernacular is an artifact, whether it is physical, non-physical, or intangible that becomes an entrenched or commonly accepted form as part of the localized culture. To paraphrase Kropf (1993), humanly constructed form is part of some arrangement that resulted from the human choosing to make it. The historicity of the forms in the landscape then, is important to my study, since significance from a historic preservation standpoint is a considered finding. However, a form that meets a certain age criteria is not critical to determining form, since the form’s change can also occur with regard to recently constructed artifacts.

The contextual form framework

Feeding the context. The vernacular landscape is separated from the non-vernacular landscape based on the definition found in Chapter 1. Since, as the literature mostly agrees, and as conforming to my findings here, certain landscapes are fed by, or more precisely defined by the contextual and non-contextual artifacts that are part of it. It is here that the framework begins to separate itself from the generalized landscape according to how artifacts (the form of) in it feed into the context being studied – in this case, a TFV. That is, the forms determined to be contextually dependent to a TFV, such as docks, watercraft, net spreads, fishing grounds, etc., are therefore, contextual, and serve a study of the landscape as some of the strongest indicators of its contextual character. Determining which indicators are to be included depends on the purpose of the study and the type of landscape being analyzed. Therefore, the plethora of indicators present must be sorted out accordingly, which is left to the researcher to determine. For my study, the most obvious focus was the waterfront.

In looking at the TFV's context, the waterfront is the most informative and the most contextual since that is where the contextual-cultural action is at its most obvious, historically and presently. This was also supported by physical and narrative histories of Cortez. What my study revealed was a conglomeration of contextual artifacts that appeared at the waterfront-the waterfront conglomeration. What made it even more pronounced was the fact that it also appeared at nearly every other fishing village I examined, even those that were no longer extant. The rich context always seemed represent a familiar form of wooden, gabled structures surrounded by dock systems and watercraft. This finding turned out to be a quick study of form available only from the water or from vantage points that were distant such as a bridge or an opposing

shoreline. The waterfront conglomeration is sketched for each study period to establish this quick study of available forms. Not surprisingly, the key for evaluating form change of a particular construct in the landscape over time is that the vantage point frame must be fixed. These individual constructs, or sets, can then be assembled as part of the overall landscape in order to make the same determinations of collective and wider changes and affects.

When an artifact feeds the context, it also shapes and reshapes the physical landscape. Lacking a thick analysis to contest otherwise, everything else is considered non-contextual for the purposes of clarifying form change. It becomes unnecessary to study the form change of an individual dwelling away from the waterfront for example, since it could be found in different kinds of contexts; i.e., vernacular houses and structures are commonly found in many established neighborhoods and not only in fishing villages, whereas, the artifact of a dock is often a necessary construct and not commonly found outside of fishing or waterfront communities (notwithstanding wetland traverses, etc.), and therefore feed that context.

This argument is lessened, of course, where a dwelling's existence is critical to the vernacular landscape, and a determination has been made accordingly. Now, it must be mentioned that several prominent landscape scholars, such as Jackson (in M. P. Conzen, 1990, pp. 362-369) suggested that the study of the vernacular landscape should begin with the places in which people dwell, i.e., the house. I think most would agree that this is a generalized direction in how the overall study of landscapes should have proceeded early on, and to which much attention has since been given. So, with all due respect to Mr. Jackson, my study travels through an alternative approach by

looking at mostly non-dwellings since that is where the context of fishing villages directs the research.

So, to narrow this examination down, any given landscape can be considered to be vernacular or non-vernacular with documented or posited “artifact-ual” form that has evolved over time as either feeding a succinctly defined context such as a fishing village, or one that is more generic in character and form, and therefore less contextual. The types of form or the artifact-ual form that was expressed is then identified under three main classes, or indicator sets occurring in a more-or-less ordered manner, including village layout, building mosaic and the extended vernacular with its physical and intangible manifestations. Two additional form indicators, generative and environmental are also identified and explained for informational purposes since they speak to origins of form, but represent a presettlement contribution that will not be measured or evaluated for form change. Therefore, the three form indicator sets are broken down beginning with the village layout form indicator set that includes

- boundary;
- parcel configuration; and
- circulation pattern.

The building mosaic indicator set includes

- residential buildings and appurtenances;
- non-residential/non-fisheries buildings and appurtenances; and
- fisheries contextual buildings and appurtenances.

The extended vernacular form set includes two subsets manifested as either physical or intangible. The physical indicator set includes

- fisheries camps;
- net works;
- dock system;
- nets; and

- watercraft.

The intangible indicator set includes

- fishing grounds;
- act of fishing; and
- elapsed experiential.

Indicators versus determinants. For the purposes of my study then, form has two active surfaces that are explained as either indicators or determinants. The evaluation of TFVs along Florida's Gulf Coast revealed the existence of three distinct indicator sets of form that are contextually fed, each set forming a sort of hierarchy, whereby the extended final set is more fed than the preceding two. Indicators of form are the individual form types, as included within the broader form sets village layout, the building mosaic, and the extended vernacular.

Determinants of form are the causes of form change; i.e., determinants affect the indicators. Ironically, determinants of form have probably been more thoroughly detailed and discussed in the literature than the whole of form itself. Determinants are specific and discernible, allowing for a broad academic discursive, while the concept of form, as an artifact to be studied, seems less so. Amos Rapoport provided an early foray into the topic, as well as, a seminal read on the subject of form determinants, as evidenced from the literature review found in Chapter 2, herein. To be clear, the form change determinants are treated differently from the indicators of form, and a more detailed analysis of the determinants of form, or form change in the TFV, is found later at the end of this chapter.

Recap of generative and environmental forms. As a clarification, the issuance of the generative and environmental form indicators discussions in Chapter 2 was

presented to provide additional context for the setting and settling of Cortez, while also showing how the origins of what appears as the initial form of a place can be influenced by previous activities. When studying a place with a high degree of context, it is not enough to establish historical lines to only well-documented or convenient dates. Also, any such study is incomplete without examining prior cultural precedents that derived from completely different geographies. Admittedly, this may not be an easy task when new settlements are created from a variety of traditions rather than from a unique source such as how the North Carolina precedent will be shown to have incorporated itself into the cultural flux of Cortez.

Studying the environmental background is also important for delivering sufficient context with regard to local vernacular landscapes as long as it is prescribed under a specific paradigm or program such as landscape architecture, ecology, archaeology, etc. My study, for the most part, shies away from thick discussions of the natural landscape in order to concentrate on the cultural physical and intangible forms. The inclusion of natural forms is inserted where applicable to the context of these particular forms. If my study were presenting a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR), then a more detailed analysis of the natural vegetation and forms would likely be included.

Explaining the Contextual Form Indicators

To restate, form is an unwieldy, problematic word. As the current literature reveals, it is referenced quite extensively but with an extremely thin veneer of detailed structure and analysis in in the United States for examining how it is articulated in the broad array of landscapes. In giving shape to form as part of visible, cultural constructs, human cultures allow it to become quite obvious in its appearance as separate from the natural features in and around which it takes place. The settlements of human culture,

as part of an ever-changing cultural landscape, are rife with endless forms as distinct entities; however, these forms require clarification in order to be understood, compared, and evaluated. My study identifies a conglomeration of form as a single study unit that serves as a cumulative indicator and three primary indicator sets of form in the built, historic vernacular landscape to include its layout, the different building categories erected upon this layout, and the extended vernacular artifact representing both physical and intangible form manifestations; all of the extended vernacular forms are context based.

The use of contextual form indicators is a somewhat borrowed concept taken from urban planning that sometimes uses it to measure community trends that reflect a sort of “interplay between social, environmental, and economic factors” (Phillips, 2003, p. 1). The more indicators that are available for use, the better the measuring capability for determining trends. While my study does not focus on trends that are system or performance based, which makes them effective for urban planning scenarios, they are effective for identifying the most prevalent forms available within a contextual landscape.

Urban morphology, a distinct discipline within geography, has made one of the most extensive forays into landscape-wide form studies, akin to the village layout form indicator, by narrowing the visual and spatial problems of urban form into a usable system for breaking it down. Though such a system is bent toward an urban form construct, the underlying basis of its structural format has use for analyzing form in the historic vernacular landscape. In architecture and historic preservation, form is also quite obvious in how the elements of what I refer to as the building mosaic as the

second form indicator, are configured. The constructs of walls, roofs, openings, internal and external spaces between them, and the footprints that erected buildings encompass are perhaps the most visible, understandable constructs of form in the landscape that have been well analyzed by academic disciplines; however, work in this area has most often been limited by a focus on them without the benefit of additional context, or in association with the wider landscape. The extended vernacular form, as the third form indicator set described in my study, though much handled and experienced in many studied cases, is ironically less obvious, and therefore, less noticeable, and ultimately less studied for its contribution to form, or as a highly informative construct to the integrity of a historical context, in this case, the TFV.

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space

For a fishing village, the most contextual physical manifestations can be considered as part of a combined entity referred to as the waterfront conglomeration. Chiarappa (2003) described the most common landscape found throughout many Great Lakes fisheries as an assortment of “net drying reels, frame sheds and outbuildings, and docks” (p. 102). He also noted how the erected and extended vernacular constructs merged to become an integrated, cohesive unit. Chiarappa saw this integration as being part of a distinct process, that if carefully examined could provide deeper insights into the local culture. Based in part on this analysis, the waterfront conglomeration of the TFV is the quintessential form construct that is contextually fed with an olio of industry-specific informants that are physically manifested.

The waterfront conglomeration is contextually fed in that it is found as a common form generally throughout most fishing villages in the United States. It can be read as a symbol for where a concentration of commercial investment is made, and where the

primary activity takes place in the TFV, as truly oriented to the open water that is so contextually critical to the local cultural construct. The formation of Cortez' skyline, or its waterfront conglomeration could present an intangible form based on its appearance as a symbol with meaning to the community, as well as, outsiders. This is similar to the collective symbolic presence found in the skylines of tall buildings in large cities discussed as part of studies by Attoe (1981) and Ford (1994).

The waterfront conglomeration creates a much more distinct form that identifies easily with the contextual character of a TFV, which may or may not include the less contextual constructs. While skylines in major cities appear to be more graphically conveyable because their enormity requires an increased distant vantage point, it is less so in a small village such as Cortez, except through the contextual feature of the waterfront conglomeration which requires its own water-to-land vantage point, albeit from a relatively minimal distance. The waterfront conglomeration can be seen as a collection of individualized constructs similar to how Schein (1997) characterized the American landscape. In Cortez, the individual constructs along the waterfront are personalized to a degree, yet fit into a connected web that forms the landscape as an understandable whole; a built artifact assembled through a collective vision of commercial fishing as a trade, and the economics and production that are inherent parts of it. Yet, it appears to have retained individualized manifestations. The individual forms that resulted were likely mimicked in full or modified through personal needs and use requirements (Mellin, 2003).

The conglomeration, signifying a frenetic jumble of objects, or forms in this case, should not to be confused with the agglomerated plans discussed by Roberts (1996)

regarding organic settlement configuration. The conglomeration is more legible because of its contextual/artifact-ual makeup, as compared to an agglomeration, which by definition would be less legible. The waterfront conglomeration is therefore, identified by evaluating the interstice of land and water. Here, in the case of interpreting the landscape form of a TFV, the predominant activity is found that helps to define it. The activity or activities there tend to serve as the best indicator(s) that define the context even though they may create a waxing and waning of particular forms over time. Jacobs (1961) referred to this area as “that troublesome border between land and water” (p. 351). Peace (2001) said the dock area is where it all happens as a place with “cultural distinctiveness” (p. 28). The presence of a constructed ensemble at the waterfront represents an “economic viability” of the place (Hoskins, 1955, p. 125).

Later, Berman (1999) wrote that the “contrast of land and water heightens people’s awareness of the environment,” suggesting the marked differences between the vertical character of the built environment versus the “horizontal-ness” of the water body (p. 24). So, there is a clear distinction between forms from the human standpoint, which allow us to make clearer interpretations of them; this is somewhat supported by Lynch’s (1960) suggestion that when different “contrasting areas are juxtaposed,” their configuration makes us more visually acute to them (p. 100). The docks give a waterfront community its cultural distinctiveness. The waterfront conglomeration establishes a clearly legible place in the wider landscape since it contains virtually all of the requisite elements respective of the TFV, such as watercraft, docks, and commercial fishing activities (Emmison & Smith, 2000). According to Goodchild (1996)

in *Concerning Buildings* by Marks, this is similar to the “core area...from which the landscape as a whole can be seen” or, as in my case, represented (p. 257).

In a sense, this form compilation represents a nearly complete study unit that describes a landscape form for a TFV, as it often consists of a near complete cross-section of contextual form, along with multiple elements of the extended vernacular form. In this case, the waterfront conglomeration may include elements of the village layout and the building mosaic indicator sets. Individualistic forms, though still present, are assumed to be less pronounced here, perhaps, than in the indicator units of residential buildings. Form in the TFV waterfront conglomeration is also easily evaluated over time for form change since the same scene is assessed as a fixed, but evolving study. With part of the building mosaic included, this contextual form construct, as a primary form set, often consists of a backdrop of buildings oriented to serve the waterfront and is thusly located in such a manner.

The backdrop of the TFV waterfront then, in recalling the form parameters discussed in Chapter 3, can be expressed graphically (i.e., visually) using the previously described parameters such as “enclosing,” that clearly defined, undulating, yet interrupted roofline appearing at the interstice. It must be noted that sometimes, a clear background of vegetation encloses the scene in a primary fashion. The “area” represents the large flat surfaces of the gable ends and elevations of the buildings appearing just below the roofline and moving horizontally and vertically between sky and water. The “linear” graphic expression includes the land/water edge and is often accommodated with a lineal dock expressing a horizontal character that can also enclose the bottom view of the form conglomeration. The dock system is often

connected to other docks, made of wooden materials versus newer concrete materials. The linear character and the forms expressed are enhanced by the highly contextual networks that also flow horizontally, while providing additional instances of verticality. In addition, linear elements are also found in masts, spars, and rigging. In the case of these latter elements, they can often overtake the viewer's perception in how they dominate the scene and "puncture" the sky and other areas. The verticality of the docks, as represented in their spaced pilings appears to puncture the shoreline, establishing another form scene, amenable to visual evaluation. In "massing," the assortment of water vessels often appears as a non-uniform grouping of shapes that can also enclose or create an anchor of the visual scene. The buildings in the backdrop can also create this form. Finally, "point" serves as the most prominent in the extended vernacular. Point elements are typically found in the waterfront conglomeration with tools of the trade such as fish traps, fishing gear clumped, piled, or hung, and individual watercraft occurring apart from the massed form, yet still integral to the form scene.

The use of space is very revealing in many TFVs since the cultures that shaped the TFV, used it in their particular ways. The use of space in distinct ways is not uncommon to cultural constructs that are highly contextual; however, in TFVs, the culture seems to have been more connected with the various spatial forms as being symbolic of their traditions. The expanse of the fishing grounds is just one obvious spatial consideration. Therefore, an analysis of the waterfront conglomeration must also include a discussion of the spatial construct that is identifiable in Cortez. Hayden (1995) suggested that space is shaped first for economic production (piers, factory, etc.), then social production (housing, store, church, etc.). Chiarappa and Szylvian (2003) wrote

that “the integrated use of buildings, boats, and netting fostered each family’s intimate understanding of its local fish habitat” known anthropologically as “traditional ecological knowledge” (p. 102). This was actually part of a spatial relationship understood by each family. Andelson (1986), in studying the vernacular layout of Amana, noticed that a group of Amish colonies in Iowa remained “unchanged for 90 years” (p.47). The settlers of Amana used “spatial symbolism” by placing churches in the center of each village (p.47).

While not part of my study, it is suggested by some anecdotal evidence that one of the most important spatial forms in Cortez centered around how the yards traditionally were used as extensions of the fisher work environment. For those who had them, and as evidenced from the ample spaces around the residential building construct, the yard did appear to be a repository for repairing and hanging nets, storing watercraft and other gear, all contextual indicators in TFVS across a wide spectrum across the United States. In visiting other TFVs in Florida such as in Old Homosassa, Carrabelle, and Cedar Key, the common motif of yard spaces is a strong representation of the fisher’s craft in the shapes, colors, and associations found in yard space.

As in Andelson’s Amana study referenced above, building placement in Cortez may suggest spatial symbolism as part of a maritime construct; however, its relationship to form, rather than its symbolic importance is the focus for exploring it as part of my study. Hence, it is easy to understand how the waterfront conglomeration in a TFV serves as a repository of multiple contextual elements that provide an informative visual reference for observing, documenting, and comparing physical and intangible

vernacular form changes over time. This is in spite of its built form and the spaces left appearing as undisciplined or lacking permanence (Muir, 2007, p. 201).

Village layout form indicator set

The village layout as a purposeful vernacular overlay on raw land is drawn not only from the topography encountered, but also from the topography sought, and then the application of experience upon the land once found. The village, as a human settlement over time either expands, contracts, or appears unchanged for a limited amount of time as part of a the cultural processes that combine and interact to create it and then manage it (Roberts, 1996). For the purposes of my study, it includes three subsets of form beginning with the external boundary that gives it shape, followed by its parcel configuration, and then its circulation pattern. The village layout form can be the least contextual of the three form indicator sets; however, this is not always the case, since in the TFV, the consideration of access to the water is often a primary influence.

Boundary. The depth of resolution required for evaluating the form of the village layout is not complicated and begins with its physical, outer boundary. For Cortez, there is an archival record of land subdivisions and purchases which gives form to the original boundary that is identified as the initial settlement by the first group of fishers, as well as, how the presettlement boundaries took shape. The boundary indicator is affected by future additions and alterations that can be assessed as effects to the original form as its size shrinks and grows through the addition of new lands and parcels. In some cases, lands are subtracted from the village in that they permanently become part of distinctly separate entities, such as designed planned communities. The appearance of the village boundary may be quite different between periods due to these changes. In many human settlements occurring along water bodies, the original land boundaries are

often expanded and reduced by human and natural forces. The form effects to be queried are whether such obvious changes to the outer configuration represent changes to its form. Obviously, the addition of lands seems to represent a change in form, whereas, mere subdivision of it, especially without further development, does not.

Parcel configuration. To examine the village layout form even more closely, it is important to look at the internal divisions of it over time. Land subdivisions have the ability to also affect the village layout form, which are easily compared and available for scrutiny as publicly recorded transactions, though form change is not always the case. For example, a mere subdivision on paper without further development has no real visible impact on the land, or at least not until it is developed. The form may be affected at some point in the future, perhaps according to the human generative mind, but the physical form effect is withheld, or so it seems. The subdividing of land into parcels provides insight into how the original settlers adapted to what had already been given them, or how they themselves laid out the village plan for the highest and best function according to their commercial fishing vision. The success of a village's economic function may also be represented through subdivisions as they are created to accept increases in the number of new settlers and expanding families. While subdivisions reveal a different configuration on paper that might represent form change, density, or the allowance for additional forms into the landscape as part of future development, is another consideration.

Circulation. The circulation pattern completes the village layout form indicator set. For the purposes of my study, this includes streets, but excludes pedestrian paths, since sidewalks were not extant during the historic study span, and local histories

suggest that villagers used the streets, which were pedestrian-oriented from their beginning. It is represented graphically without the interference of other lines and boundaries to allow easy comparison between historic study periods. As a village boundary expands, its circulation pattern often changes to accommodate it. The circulation pattern reveals either a common grid or a more organic access pattern that often changes over time, possibly affecting the original form. The direction of streets in fishing villages is often dictated by the distinct shoreline present, representing perhaps the most important indicator of where the context-specific activities of the village will occur. The circulation patterns of watercraft are not thoroughly evaluated here as part of my study since this represents a robust discussion that would be better served under a separate study of navigation development and historic settlement. The available literature does suggest that original access to the early settlement was restricted to watercraft, so the importance of water circulation is self-evident. In a way, watercraft access is the most contextual form of access in the TFV during the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.

Building mosaic form indicator set

The building mosaic is the erected, habitable form set in the historic vernacular landscape. While lesser structures such as open sheds, docks, and net spreads, for example, are also erected, the term here is limited to buildings as indoor environments where humans tend to dwell and congregate for extended periods of time, as part of living or working situations. As a primary erected form set, it is considered by many to be the most important and most revealing form evaluated in the landscape for its myriad shapes and import on the land, and for how all other forms tend to lead to them as places in which human activity is both public and private. The building mosaic has a

tendency to dominate the cultural landscape as part of a vernacular setting, as evidenced through land clearing, natural materials depletion, floor area ratio to land, orientation, privatized space, and scale. While more contextual than the village layout form, it is often less contextual than the extended vernacular form, again depending on the culture being studied.

The building mosaic set includes residential buildings and their appurtenances, non-residential/non-fisheries contextual buildings and their appurtenances, and fisheries contextual buildings and their appurtenances. The appurtenances include the constructs of garages, sheds, and associated infrastructure such as water tanks, when they are part of the highly evident form construct. Often, the building mosaic creates a distinct skyline or backdrop to the village, such as the early two-story residential buildings that could be articulated beyond the waterfront conglomeration as looking from the open water vantage point. It can also contribute to the waterfront conglomeration.

The building mosaic is viewed separately from natural or environmental form in that it takes on human-inherent shapes that are often more sustaining and predictable, whether they mimic natural forms or natural surroundings or not. Therefore, if the form of the natural environment leads to initial conceptual images within the human function, then subsequent built form dramatically changes the form of land either by adding to it or manipulating the natural form.

Building forms are perhaps the most commonly studied artifact regarding form in the landscape, and often reflect the contextual nature of commercial fishing in the way they are constructed, laid out, and shaped. While individual buildings studied in isolation offer only limited data to most researchers, groups of buildings, or building patterns

expand the understanding of the local cultural context and the forms affected by change. The role that its orientation on a parcel of land plays reveals integrity of form in both qualitative and quantitative ways. Some researchers may prefer to relate this to land use or land utilization, which I consider differently for the purposes of my study.

In remembering and contrasting with M. R. G. Conzen, the use of land appears more ephemeral and less stable as a term of study for understanding form change. On the other hand, the role of a building appears more permanent regardless of its use. For example, a building may be used as a pool hall, yet its underlying role, and hence its form, is constructed to be water-dependent and intended for a commercial fishing purpose. The erected form or building does not necessarily change, whereas its function or role may change several times over the course of its existence. Of course, one has to consider that a building or structure is more easily influenced by the whims of its individual owner versus the larger scale and procedural requirements of the village layout. In this sense, the building is less stable than the land configuration upon which it sits.

Notes about relocating buildings and structures, and the reuse of materials. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the erected constructs in Cortez, and in TFVs generally, is the ordinary process of moving structures. Whether elevating buildings vertically, or moving them horizontally only a few feet or further, there is a strong history of adapting a variety of buildings and structures to new locates and sites common among maritime communities (Chiarappa, 2007; Mellin, 2003). The temporary nature of traditional fishing buildings and structures is built-in to many traditional fishing cultural constructs as a necessary and accepted practice. Their movability was built-in

to the structure, as part of a process that could happen multiple times during the life of a fisher (Mellin, 2003). Stephens (1989) identified such practices as part of nineteenth century North Carolina maritime cultures where houses were disassembled into small sections and transported by skiff to their new locations. The lack of adornment on such habitable buildings supports the notion of a prescribed cultural impermanence placed on them. A third generation descendant of a traditional fishing family in Cortez recalled as far back as her memory allowed, at how most of the primary buildings there also lacked any remarkable detailing (Fulford-Green & Molto, 1997).

As part of a long-term study, Mellin (2003) also noted impermanence in the buildings of Tilting, a vernacular fishing village in northeastern Canada. In Tilting, buildings were often moved, or “launched” from site to site as a common occurrence. Souza (1998) suggested that fishers’ incorporation of impermanent buildings in the maritime landscape was due to a fatalistic outlook they shared as a group. Because fishing occurred in vulnerable areas, they built at the shore knowing that the benefit of being close to the water was higher than the risk of losing the structure. Because of this, and to manage the risk, impermanent buildings and structures served them best. This shared temporal condition and outlook among separate and distant communities suggests a common, inherent practice or cultural trait that seems to speak to an environmental awareness of sustainability, further supported by economics.

The notion of impermanence also transcends to a seasonal form of sorts in that many buildings in TFVs were left vacant during non-seasonal periods, which could be six months or more. The earliest newspaper readings of Hunter’s Point during the first few years after settlement refer to it as a fish camp rather than as a more lived in, or

community-oriented place. There are also several reports pertaining to the return of the fishers from their native North Carolina with their crews after long absences during the summer months. It is not too surprising to think that the first phase of settlement at Hunter's Point then, was indicative of a mix of temporary habitation, along with some permanent settlement, or at least the intent of permanent settlement.

Without getting into certain social dynamics, many of the early recognized settlers were in their early twenties and just beginning to start families. The need for establishing permanent, full time homesteads was not yet critical, though that may have been part of their early plans. The ability to settle affairs elsewhere, and return to the root locations to tend to other family matters was simply part of the course. In addition, it appears from the record that at least some of the early land purchasers did not intend to fully settle at Hunter's Point, turning their land over rather quickly. The census data from that time suggested that they were all fishers. The probability that several of these individuals had constructed what would have been crude fish camps where they may have resided at times, versus permanent homesteads is likely.

Another important characteristic of the early village at Hunter's Point, and what was probably an impermanent, first-phase construct, is the fact that some of the early settlers were not land purchasers at all. Instead, there are strong suggestions that some may have been land squatters, or as the case may be, and for lack of a better term, tidal squatters. The record does indicate that two individuals named "Sweetzer and Thomson" owned structures at Hunter's Point, though there are no deeds records of land sales or tax documentation attributable to them (Stearns, 1887, p. 542). Sweetzer was an early settler, grower, fisher, and sailor in nearby Palma Sola. It is also very likely

that others had been tidal squatting, as well, perhaps reoccupying abandoned camps left over from the earlier fishing rancho period, or simply constructing their own crude shacks over the tidal flats or even connected to the shore along what would have been an extremely remote, barely accessible shoreline. Such temporary constructions were quite common as evidenced along many of the riverine systems along the west coast of Florida as recorded from Charlotte Harbor southward. More recently, these impermanent buildings and structures could be found along the Chassahowitzka, Homosassa, and Crystal Rivers where unrecorded shacks dotted the riverbank landscape up until the late twentieth century (based on my own personal experience).

The reuse of materials was also a common occurrence with strong historical precedents, especially in TFVs. Since there is a record of presettlement occupancy at Hunter's Point, there is a strong likelihood that most, or all of the remnant materials were recycled, especially any pilings that may have been present. According to Greene (1917), some of these early constructs that used treated palmetto log construction could last up to 30 years, so these types of materials were durable in spite of the harsh conditions. Scuttled watercraft were almost always recycled for their wood. Entire houses were sometimes constructed from previously used materials. In some TFVs, the materials from previously constructed forms were retained and adapted to building details when individualistic allowed; however, there is not much evidence of this in Cortez until well after the last historic study period. The approach to buildings as movable and recyclable represented an adaptive thrift and reusable quality in the fishers' outlook toward his occupation and the environment in which he lived. Andelson

(1986) suggested this to be a form of cultural values expressed through the built environment.

While building materials such as rough-cut nominal lumber during early Hunter's Point and Cortez periods seemed reasonable compared with today's prices, the ability of many of the fishers to buy it in bulk at between five and \$16 per 1,000 feet was not evident. Yet, most were able to construct multiple large dwellings during the settlement period. Early records indicated that the claimed taxable value among the early settlers varied from \$150 to \$250.

Residential buildings and appurtenances. The form of the residential units or dwellings is inclusive of their appurtenances to include garages, sheds, and miscellaneous storage structures such as water tanks, as appropriate. This overall indicator subset is the most intact of the historic vernacular setting of Cortez; however, it is the not the most contextual. Therefore, a study that focuses primarily on this artifact group, simply because it is an intact collection, is not sufficient to render determinations of landscape-wide form change. For example, the residential area of a fishing village is an important contributor to the historic setting, yet, the relative stability of dwellings as a referential unit says less of the village form than the erected buildings and structures where the fishing activity mainly occurred. Unless it can be proven somehow, that the importance of the residential construct should be elevated in its priority, for example, through the use of its attached yard space, then its significance as part of the historic vernacular landscape is reduced, though still recognized. This then defers to an increased importance to the extended vernacular form set.

Certainly studies of erected form can be oriented toward residential areas, with meaningful, scholarly analysis coming from it. Historic form, as proposed in my study, leads to the most contextual types of form; these forms are less stable than residential forms, and in my opinion, offer a better construct for analyzing form change and the significance of that change. To restate from an earlier opine, the residential construct becomes an object of study only as it affects the context form being studied, and as it is found mingling in that context. Its study as an isolated form construct away from the context is not being done here.

The appurtenances of the residential construct are highly evident forms within the vernacular landscape, but not necessarily from distant vantage points and as part of the waterfront conglomeration. On-site water tanks serviced many of the residential buildings since public water and sewer were not available until 1964, well after the end of the study period. The early structures were usually constructed of vertical cypress wood slats with both flat and conical metal or shingled roofs, and are incorporated into the form construct, as applicable. Some metal tanks were also used, at least one of which was included on the architectural inventory of the 1995 National Register of Historic Places (National Register) Nomination. Apparently, some residential units were serviced by a common, pressurized system from an artesian well using a single water tank constructed by the residents as part of a vernacular construct for which a small fee could be paid each month (Eaker, 1994). As in all early settlements, the access to, and storing of fresh water a critical, first task to accomplish after shelter. Therefore, it should also be a highly visible component of the erected vernacular construct, usually indicated

by a distinct form outline attached to, or located in near proximity to the structure it served.

Garages and sheds are included as they appeared. Early settlers built sheds to house the drays, wagons, and horses they used for hauling and transportation. Later, during the contextual recovery form period, more refined garages were erected as automobiles were afforded. Open and semi-enclosed sheds were also used for storage of miscellaneous items, including fishing gear, though there is little evidence for detailing how this was done. More recently, written historical narratives suggested that the attached residential yards and areas around dwelling units were used as extended workspaces by the fishers. Evidence of this is certainly found as part of the later construct; however, there is scant evidence of this occurring during the pre-1921 periods.

Based on an accounting of the contributing properties listed on the National Register, more than half of the extant buildings were constructed after 1921, with approximately five remaining from the settlement period up to 1897. As far as typifying the residential construct as it occurred in Cortez, some deference is given to the *Design Guidelines for the Cortez National Historic District* (Stevenson Architects, Inc., 2007, hereafter referred to as “the Design Guidelines”) as consisting of mostly “folk architecture” not defined by a peculiar style, but based on local materials, labor, and procured affordably, but without drawn plans. The Design Guidelines also identify frame vernacular and bungalow as the most dominant residential constructs. However, the Design Guidelines’ reference to the character of the residential architecture as being folk is also regarded in the document as a type of vernacular influenced by regional

building traditions. While there is no benefit in repeating the dialectical foreplay between the two terms referred to in Chapter 2, an argument does exist that fosters a debate regarding the terms as perhaps meaning the same thing. It appears from some of the literature that to be folk something would have to be significantly reflective of a local culture. That is, a mode of production and product should be evident that has become a distinct trait of the culture derived from their origin and adapted to a present location. However, Virginia and Lee McAlester (2006) typified a whole set of vernacular dwellings that would relate to Cortez' architecture as either a Pre-Railroad or National Folk.

Vernacular is similar, yet does not necessarily reflect a specific culture's identity in the case of Cortez through its built construct. While both folk and vernacular can be considered as part of distinct processes, vernacular is more indicative of a popularized construct that can also be borrowed from other communities, other cultures and inserted into the local folk setting. The application of a folk descriptive to the extent of the Cortez dwelling construct, most of which was built after the settlement period, seems misapplied since there is no real pattern that was followed. If the architecture there was indeed constructed after a North Carolina precedent, then the evidence has not yet been produced to support that. In fact, there is no real pattern that emerges in the village in this regard, since a variety of building types exist, with no distinct regional identifiers other than the materials from which many of them were made. Now, had there been a more robust building representation from the settlement period, then perhaps a folk argument could be supported that allows a close examination of building methods. While such an inquiry makes for a good future comparative analysis, especially with regard to a focus on diffusion from an East Coast Tidewater South

perspective, it is not within the scope of my study here. However, some comparative analysis of architectural identification between North Carolina Tidewater and Florida Gulf Coast construction is warranted in the following discussion.

The Design Guidelines indicate the dominant presence of frame vernacular construction that lumps in the one-story gabled roof form along with the two-story I-house, four-square, and pyramidal cottage. It distinguishes these from what is referred to as a bungalow form, which presents a more stylized design. As a comparison with similar period constructs of Ocracoke Island residents near Carteret County where most of the original settlers came from, the frame vernacular is also dominant. In the Ocracoke Historic District nomination, local construction was supposedly based on local adaptations to the climate and topography. This partly meant that the lack of adequately available timber in the immediate vicinity encouraged buildings that responded in the form of basic, smaller overall structures. The dominant identified forms are listed as the gabled, one-story coastal cottage, the one-story pyramidal cottage, the story and jump house, which was a basic hall and parlor design with a loft, the two-story I-house, the two-story four-square, and the Craftsman bungalow.

There are obvious similarities that include the I-house, which appeared to be a standard type of construction during the settlement period in Cortez, along with the gable front and wing modified form. Both of these were prevalent in the South, especially during the pre-railroad era. The pyramidal cottage, also prevalent in the South more than in Northern regions, is also a form found between the two that appeared during the first decades of the twentieth century. Another shared form is the bungalow, often described under the Craftsman Style descriptive, as part of an overall

Eclectic Period, took hold just after the turn of the twentieth century, lasting until the brink of the Depression, during and after which it faded out of popularity. Similar to Cortez, early Ocracoke residents salvaged materials from shipwrecks and damaged properties for the construction of dwellings, and by the end of the nineteenth century started to construct their dwellings with floors that had openings designed into them to allow flood waters as part of an adapted response to tidal surges. They were also known to recycle materials as evidenced by the salvage operations taking place there in response to shipwrecks off the coast.

Non-residential/non-fisheries buildings and appurtenances. As the study of vernacular form progresses, it is important to separate the contextual forms from those that are non-contextual, or that do not directly feed the context. There is such a group of the overall erected construct that occurs to include retail, office, and institutional uses in the buildings and the lesser buildings and structures that are part of them such as garages, storage sheds, and water tanks. This erected construct included mostly buildings that did not have direct roles in the fishery, but may have had community-related, or fishery industry symbiotic relationships that were not contextual, per se. In Cortez, there is little remaining of this type of indicator. Some of these buildings were converted into residences that are extant, but altered. A few other examples exist that include the school buildings, one of which is from the settlement period, and a place of worship from the 1920s. While two of these reflect a front gables vernacular construction, the later school is publicly designed according to plans procured as part of government specifications adopted at the time. Needless to say, this building, from a

vernacular architectural standpoint, does not reflect the vernacular or cultural character of Cortez.

The ability of a retail operation to stay solvent in a remote location must have been sustained by available users, who were at least able to pay their debts, again suggesting that fishing was at least a sustainable method of generating income, and that water traffic was at least increasing during the settlement period. Since the record indicates that only 13 fishers had actually purchased parcels at Hunter's Point by that time, the likelihood that additional fishers squatting over the tidal areas is also strong, since they likely patronized the earliest local retail operations. Unfortunately, the 1890 Census data that could have helped to clarify this somewhat is not available due to much of it having been destroyed by fire. However, the 1895 census indicates a strong showing of at least 25 fishers at Hunter's Point, which would have demanded a measure of increased retail viability.

Most of the non-residential and non-fisheries buildings had porches or covered entries. On-site water tanks serviced many of them and can be seen in many of the historic photographs. Recorded evidence suggests that the non-residential construct began early on in the village, perhaps from 1890, which is the oft-cited date for the store that was recently restored and moved to the museum site. The occurrence of a non-residential building so quickly after the first land purchases were made, and well before the original 1887 plat was purchased out (1897), suggests that fishing activity was also strong. In addition, there is a high possibility that the local retail supplier served a wider area market that included other fish camps and the fishers and watercraft that plied the surround waters.

Fisheries contextual buildings and appurtenances. The essential character of a fishing village is largely dominated by the fish processing buildings, or fish houses where much activity was centered, and where context comes to life regarding the erected construct in the fishing village. As with the previously discussed buildings, they also include the appurtenant outbuildings of garages, storage facilities, and water tanks built for servicing them. The fishers would often meet at the fish houses at various times, deliver their daily catches to them, and the flurry of activities for processing the catches continued from there in how the catch was sorted, prepared, preserved, stored, and then delivered.

Based on historic photographs of various waterfront conglomerations, typical fish houses within the regional influence of Cortez had rectangular dimensions commonly to about 450 square feet with the front gable end elevations representing the shorter dimension and entry focus. The gable roof was the most prominent, outspoken form across a wide spectrum of these buildings in Cortez and regionally. Evidence of the extended roof form from the symmetrical gable design was also quite prominent, followed by some with integrated porch roofs as a more elaborate of the three form types. Some of the historic fish houses in Cortez were similar to this configuration and were architecturally identified by their frontal gable roofs with wide open doors for easy fish loading and unloading, usually on both gable end sides. The earliest buildings were mostly made completely of single-wall wood frames with vertically hung clapboard siding and extending either partly from an upland area to over the water, or completely over the water and attached to the upland by an extended dock. The vernacular

character and purposeful functions of these buildings limited adornment and architectural detailing. A limited window set was provided for light and ventilation.

The methods for preserving and storing fish until they could be delivered is not included as an indicator, but deserves some mention here because of the influence they had on the vernacular landscape. The physical construct for storage, and the process for applying preservation methods, also a physical type of form, represent distinguishable forms in the buildings required for them, and the physical act that was guided by science more than a special, intangible act. The three primary preservation methods using live wells, salting, and icing were likely employed in Cortez throughout its history, with salting and icing occurring as the main methods during the historic study span. The use of live wells, or selling fish that were still alive was used only sparingly since the type of fish Cortez fishers harvested really revolved around the mullet, which was not a fish harvested for live sales.

It is likely that the earliest form of preservation using salt was at least used throughout the year during the first few years after settlement. Historic records suggest its use was already occurring in the region through simple purchases of salt bushels by the fishers themselves. Unless salt production was part of the local enterprise, the effect on form seems negligible. However, no evidence of significant salt production can be found during in Cortez throughout the historic study span.

The change from salt to ice also did not appear to indicate a significant effect on localized vernacular landscape form. Once local run-boats and the retail operation established market connections with regular commercial run-boats toward the end of the settlement period, the availability of ice became more prevalent and this method

adhered in an evolving format until the end of the study span. It was likely that during hot weather periods, or when ice was scarce or unavailable, salt processing was used as the default method. The fact that fishers could not always depend on ice being available when they brought their harvests home, was a primary concern requiring a strategy that was fostered by traditional knowledge and strategic planning on the part of the fishers as part of the local cultural interconnectedness.

It is known that in the Charlotte Harbor fishery system, icehouses were actually constructed in remote locations throughout the bay there by the fish dealers to allow quick processing of fish harvests and delivery to shipping stations (Antonini et al., 2002). This strategy worked to eliminate the need of the fishers to travel back to their own ports, find a dealer, unload the fish, prepare them, and then ship them out, perhaps saving a full day. There is no evidence that this system of fish and ice exchange occurred in Cortez during its history.

Ice was available only sporadically in Hunter's Point by 1890, even though the technology for making artificial ice had been discovered in Apalachicola, Florida more than 40 years prior to that time. While the use of ice commercially was not new by the time of Cortez' settlement, the ability to manufacture and store it was not a technology that favored the remoteness of Hunter's Point and its limited infrastructure. The question is whether the transition from salting fish to icing them established a distinct form indicator. It is understandable that the first incarnations of the Cortez building mosaic at settlement may not have carried the ice construct, i.e., large warehouses or peculiar buildings that served to store ice. However, the anecdotal evidence suggests that ice was available early on via shipments by schooner from Northern states during the

colder months. In addition, some of the more established towns had ice-warehousing operations that were able to serve areas like Hunter's Point, again via schooner during weekly and then semi-weekly deliveries.

Eventually in Cortez, an ice storage facility was constructed, which certainly changed the availability of ice, but there is little evidence to suggest that it affected the landscape form in any significant manner. The method of fish preservation from salting to icing, while different technically speaking, was not so different from each other in that the forms around them changed according to the evaluative resolution of my study. If icehouses were built to store ice, the construct would not have been much different, from a building form perspective, than one built to store salt barrels or bushels. Granted, the methods were different since icehouses required a sturdier construction and sawdust as an insulator had to be kept on-hand. Also, the process of collecting ice, distributing it, and then chipping it down for use could be presented as a distinct form; however, that is left for another study.

Extended vernacular form indicator set

The extended vernacular form, as the less noticeable buildings, structures, and objects, offers a rich assortment of vernacular forms in the TFV setting that manifest themselves as both physical and intangible construct forms. Though they are a less noticeable construct form, this does not mean they are less important. They provide direction to researchers of landscape form by indicating where strong context is available and informative, as supported by Emmison and Smith (2000) who suggested "objects can operate as indicators of wider sociocultural processes" (p. 109). They also referenced objects that could offer a truer sense of the culture in that they avoid the more elitist view typically organized around high style and more socially appealing

constructs. In this case, objects refer to the minor elements that compose the landscape, apart from major built structures such as buildings. In looking at them in this way, they add to, or extend the more common artifact for study.

Extended vernacular forms are often evident throughout a vernacular landscape; however, some units are established in clusters, while others are randomly located or scattered. The fisheries camps, net works, and dock system are perhaps the most prominent in-place forms, and certainly necessary constructs of the Cortez vernacular. Yet, within this extended vernacular landscape, form is not held hostage to only visible, tangible artifacts. There are other artifacts such as the fishing grounds and the act of fishing that extend even further beyond them. These forms are less easily illustrated in a graphical sense, and therefore, less easy to analyze.

Physical manifestations. There is a virtual endless supply of crafted and designed artifacts in the extended vernacular landscape available for study. Any number of them can be analyzed for form change. The key is to identify those that represent the essence of the context being studied. The available and missing artifact would vary from vernacular setting and there is no formula for determining which artifacts are to be used. However, selective choosing is a reasonable practice in this case and is not an uncommon management tool. Contextually, the physical manifestations in the extended vernacular of a TFV defer to its over-the-water construct of wooden fisheries camps, net works, dock systems, nets, and watercraft. Additional equipment and gear are also available, including traps, machinery, and byproducts and waste components, but those are not included for discussion within the constraints of my study, though they may reveal themselves as important for other studies. There is

rarely enough time and space within the confines of a dissertation to provide an exhaustive examination of all of them.

Physical manifestations-fisheries camps. The smallish fisheries camps were more akin to buildings versus structures since storing nets and gear and living in them by fishers was a common practice. While most were occupied for lengths of time by unmarried fishers, referred to as “batches,” who did not have families to support, and were fairly itinerant personnel on the landscape, anecdotal evidence suggests that some were also occupied by married fishers. Several of the camps were owned by the original settlers, who built them out over the bay as in between connections between their residences, the fish houses, and the open bay systems. The itinerant fisher in Cortez seemed to produce a distinct form in the historic vernacular landscape, as part of the extended vernacular form. There appeared to have been occurring, an early vernacular industrial mechanism similar to how large corporate entities constructed housing for their workers, such as in nineteenth century cigar, lumber mill, and mining towns. What seemed to develop in Cortez was more organic, yet purposeful. Though not generated under any specific design, and certainly as part of an overlapping situational construct, the fisheries camps in one way represented an egalitarian social construct, whereby the community leaders and primary fishers seemed to welcome other fishers who may not have held any investment in the social environment. Certainly, there may have been a symbiotic relationship that also developed where the itinerants worked for the primary fishers. The presence of fishers who may have built their own camps and represented a version of tidal squatters seemed to be accepted

since there is no evidence found to date that suggests a disharmony as occurring between the groups prior to 1921.

The physical construct of the fisheries camps were mostly square in dimension, and often had shed roof porch extensions over the single frontal entry. Most had gabled roof ends with roofs clad in wood shingles or metal panels. Some were crudely constructed as lean-to sheds with metal roofs. The lesser quality units seemed to be made of simple box frames sheered with vertical wood boards extending into the gable area. Some were further protected with battens, however, this required additional wood, which probably limited the application. The gabled roof systems were approached from one side, which was open to allow airing of the nets and easier access to them. Many of them had covered porches and attached docks, where an itinerant fisher could pull up in his boat, similar to a parking space or hitching post. Because they served as living quarters for some fishers, and were used for storing valuable netting, several were adorned with openings for ventilation and light. A number of them also were elevated on pilings above the high water level allowing the storage of the fisher's watercraft and nets below. Some were constructed above the surrounding tidal flats where only partial access was available by watercraft.

Physical manifestations-net works. The nets, traps, and machinery of the commercial fishing trade are quintessential units of the historic extended vernacular form that also reveal much about form. These units of form are found throughout the vernacular landscape and range in size from an individual artifact to groups of individual artifacts representing a distinct point form parameter. The most common contextual artifacts in TFVs are nets, traps, and fishing devices that are typically defined by the

type of fishing being done. History reveals the types of gear and equipment used over time, and the physical requirements each demanded. For example, early cotton nets demanded a rigorous maintenance schedule that also demanded a particular built construct that effected a distinct form in the historic vernacular landscape. The eventual change of material from cotton to a synthetic beginning around 1940 (Adkins & Bourgeois, 1982) also served to change the construct built around it, hence, eventually changing the form.

The objects and artifacts can change often, and fluctuate as the type of fishing changes. The shapes manifested in net types, and how they are devised or laid in the water take on a distinct form, such as the gill net versus the cast net as part of the act of fishing. However, there is a careful distinction between the fishing gear used, and the act of fishing as forms that are distinct from one another. The reel yards were a dominant form with high visibility in the landscape due to their height and octagonal form. This distinct geometric form was quite different from that of the more amoebic form of the net spreads that took up much more space, though there was an element of area parameter form consistency in how the waves of cotton nets undulated between hidden wood supports, in a way, complimenting the early cloth sail forms.

According to historic photographs, the typical net spread was a simple structure constructed of a horizontal piece of long pine pole of approximately five inches in diameter or roughly cut lumber sections of nominal two-by-four dimensions. These horizontal members were attached to rows of two vertical extensions from the dock pilings that, when covered with nets, formed an undulating wave spaced a few feet apart, rising up to five feet.

Physical manifestations-dock system. While pier is probably a more accurate term instead of dock, the use of it here means the same thing. Historically, a dock was an area reserved for servicing watercraft, rather than a lineal extension out over the water, as most refer to it today. The docks and wharfs often found in early United States fishing villages were also strong indicators of a contextually significant construct that made up the historic waterfront conglomeration. Historically, they included the elevated lineal platforms, walkways and structures that connected work and processing areas, and provided a means of elevated access from the upland area into the open water. They also served as corrals for watercraft. In essence, the dock system was the critical life support system that served as a conduit for most of the fishing activities that took place in TFVs.

They were often quite extensive in the amount of area they took up, not uncommonly extending for thousands of feet in multiple directions as they linked the various functions together. They were predominantly built over the water while also extending upland and into buildings that could also be built over the water, partly over the water, or completely upland from the water. The distinct form of the dock offered a combination of horizontal and vertical flow and extensions embracing the linear form parameter complemented by the extended watercraft mast extension, especially during the early periods.

Unfortunately, the historic dock systems generally have experienced a severe diminution of the extant construct in the 2013 landscape due to a variety of causes including, but not limited to neglect/degradation, reconstruction of new dock systems with different materials and configurations, watercraft changes, regulatory

circumstances that now limit or prohibit docks, floods, etc. Dock systems shrink and grow over the lifetime of a TFV and provide excellent examples for evaluating form change over time, as well as, the determinants of change to an essential contextual form.

Physical manifestations-nets. The Cortez fisher's net was perhaps the most important contextual artifact, and therefore, the most contextual element in the vernacular landscape that both indicated form, as well as, determined a significant part of it on the vernacular landscape. During the full study period of 1887 to 1946, albeit less toward the end of the study period, the net materials, mainly cotton, held immense implications for the forms closer to land where the nets were taken after the act of fishing ended. These referred forms were already discussed as part of the net-works indicator, above.

The fisher's net has been around for thousands of years, mostly unchanged in its basic form, even with the advent of synthetic materials. The nets themselves were distinct tools of the trade, important to the fisher, as the hammer would be to a carpenter. Nets were often determined by the fish being sought and was constructed, or built by the fishers according to the individual specifications of the fisher based on the type of fishing to be performed (Eidse, 2006). Different fish and different seasons determined a net's mesh size (the individual opening area between the net strands forming their distinct triangular shapes), overall dimensions, and even the number of fishers able to handle a net or process of using multiple nets.

The gill net defined the early Cortez fishers more than any other net. In historic vernacular Cortez, gill nets were the common early types for catching fish, much more

of a physical form onto the fishing grounds, etched into the more cognitive form produced by the act of fishing with it than hook and line. Seine nets were also used, but not as extensively as the gill net. The cast net was a personal tool of the fisher, often round in form and measuring up to 15 feet or so in diameter. The form is different than that of the gill net, which was basically long and rectangular in form, offering a varied depth chosen by the fisher. In fact, fisher's nets were sometimes highly personalized, often made by them, or altered to meet their own whims. The painstaking care in maintaining these more personalized tools through daily rituals of cleaning, rinsing, mending, and storing is not easily found among other trades.

While gill nets could be linked together to form long curtains, the seine net was extremely large and often extended hundreds of yards requiring teams to operate it. In 1879, Stearns (1887) recorded the use of seine nets by Bahamian and itinerant fishers at Hunter's Point using 600-foot long seine nets up to 16 feet in depth. Stop nets were also used extensively after 1920. These nets were the disdain of many fishers causing a severe breakdown in relations between gillnetters and stopnetters. The gillnetters were concerned, according to their view, that stop netting was not ecologically sound and not discriminatory in what its mesh caught – thereby, catching nearly everything that ventured into it. This is unlike the gill net that was tailored by each fisher to catch fish of a certain size, depending on the size of the mesh used. In several historic accounts, the size of the mesh used was an important descriptor when discussing the type of equipment a fisher was using.

The form of the nets used was extended even further by the number of fishers it took to handle the nets as part of the act of fishing ritual and the watercraft used. Each

net type represented a distinct method for catching fish that in turn, became an intangible form due to the complexity of it as part of the act of fishing. This intangible form of the net practice extended beyond the geometry of the nets as round or rectangular shapes on the landscape.

Physical manifestations-watercraft. The vessels used by the fishers were highly contextual forms that may have represented the least stable vernacular form as they learned to incorporate their ideas into its evolution in response to environmental conditions, technological advances, the type of fishing being done, and even personal taste. The types of watercraft used certainly affected the visual form of the TFV as its most critical component, even though the basic shape of the hull remained steady, but with continually refined nuances. Watercraft are integral, extended vernacular forms that are not exactly fixed forms, since they are mobile and can be found as larger constructs throughout the TFV, both on land and on the water. Because they are less stable forms, the expressions of form they produced are dramatic when compared to that of dwellings or buildings over time.

For the purposes of my study, the form of watercraft was represented by three distinct features including size, basic hull shape, and the form of its movement (how it was powered). It was not inconceivable that a watercraft form could change several times over the same period as a building, which may not have changed at all. Also, local adaptations and used terminology confused the naming and references to watercraft types. A smack or specialized skiff could have referred to a skipjack. The form depicted by the sails and rigging reflect a much different form than a skiff steered by hand with a pole, or one that was motorized. The evolution of watercraft form as part of commercial

fishing enterprise in Cortez goes from manually powered via poles and oars and sail powered occurring concurrently, to motorized power. The adaptations and evolution of forms are considered to represent what the North Carolina Maritime Museum refers to as “indigenous watercraft.” Gordon (1954) referred to them as “highly adapted to the fishing techniques and marine conditions” represented within a given region (p. 4). This typifies a development of the watercraft in isolated cultural enclaves that reflect local needs and uses. While steam represented a distinct form that evolved after sail, its use was for transport purposes versus fishing. Of course, there are various iterations affecting the form of each along the way.

Common in the United States from the nineteenth century until about World War II, and as part of a generalized history of watercraft development along Florida’s Gulf Coast was the single-masted fishing smack, which is described as a sail-powered rig embedded with a live well to keep fish alive. While smacks had different sail and hull configurations, it was the live well that mainly differentiated the smack from other similar watercraft such as the sharpies, and the sailing skiffs of the early periods. There is little evidence that supports widespread use of the smack by the Cortez fishers during any historic study period, though its use was in place during the presettlement period. The presettlement smacks were typical sloops having common lengths of around 26 feet, and were refined to improve the transport fresh fish to the Cuban markets around Havana. These newer smacks typically were up to 50-foot length and designed as gaff cutters. From 1875 until 1920 or so, they were improved to 80-foot lengths as ketch rigs.

However, early on through the end of the nineteenth century, schooners began to replace the smacks. Steamers then replaced the schooners for transport though the two

overlapped quite extensively. Diesel power gradually replaced the steamer (Frye, 1978). There are obvious changes in form, as well as, changes in form influences that occur here between the use of sail and virtually all other subsequent watercraft. While steam power held different mechanical forms than its fuel powered kin, the influence of steam-powered watercraft to the Cortez vernacular landscape is on a much different form plane than that of the fishing watercraft, since steamers were not typically used for fishing, but for transporting supplies and hauls. The built construct at the waterfront conglomeration accommodated the steamers through wider docks elevated according to an individual steamer's loading and unloading capabilities, or working design.

The commercial fishing watercraft are precise indicators of local vernacular form in Cortez. The same transitions from sail and manual power to motorized watercraft reflect the localized scene as a diffused artifact that was locally modified. It is conjectured anecdotally by some that the first settlers at Hunter's Point brought watercraft from North Carolina to Florida. Now, it is clear that watercraft terminology varied amongst the fishers, the craftsmen, and those who simply observed them. For example, references to skipjacks and sharpies are quite prevalent in the literature; yet, precise definitions as they are sometimes used do not seem to sit what was being described. Therefore, to keep watercraft form from becoming too complex, my study adheres to the three forms referenced as hull type, size and power. These are more manageable as part of the landscape-wide study. Now, if a presentation was being done solely on the watercraft, then the specific details of naming conventions, component shaping, sail configuration, etc., would be used.

The earliest incarnations of watercraft at Hunter's Point by the first settlers included the spritsail skiff as a diffused watercraft form from the mid-Atlantic Coast. These were often referred to as skipjacks by local builders and fishers, causing a sense of confusion for how skipjacks and other watercraft were technically defined. In fact, as suggested earlier, localized terms for several of the form indicators were rarely used in a manner that produced consistent and dependable descriptions. For example, the use of the spritsail skiff could also be used manually as a poling skiff because of its manageable size, usually up to 30 feet or so in length. Therefore, it fluctuated between being referred to as a spritsail and a poling vessel. This single mast and sail open watercraft was distinctive in its diagonal sprit that extended from the base of the mast to beyond the top of the sail. In not having a fixed mast, it was designed to allow quick furling of the sail and removal of the mast while fishing. Its basic shape was long and low to the water line with a raking bow. Its bottom was typically flatter than most other watercraft to accommodate the local environmental conditions of tidal flats and shoal areas. It is referenced as an inshore construct that represented the type of fishing pursued by many of the regional fishers.

The overall spritsail skiff construct reflected a distinct similarity to its North Carolina precedent not only in its designed form, but also in the topography in which it was plied; in the case of Cortez, the bay and estuary ecosystems were remarkably similar. Since there was an influx of new settlers and businessmen to the Florida Gulf Coast deriving from coastal North Carolina before, during, and after the settlement period, the diffusion of the distinct spritsail fishing sloop form was quickly processed beginning in the late nineteenth century.

The basic form of the watercraft as part of the fisher's purposeful use of it did not appear to represent a significant change of form throughout the use of sail power, especially when considering it as significant upon the historic vernacular landscape. In fact, many of the earliest sail watercraft were modified to accept power motors. The noticeable change in form would have been the lack of sails as prevalent on the landscape, though many fishers used them as secondary power sources, and as an economical alternative, when needed. The main addition was that of the transport schooner, which eventually made its way to Hunter's Point during the settlement period, and was of course, already plying the local waters as part of earlier recreational and business operations. These too, were converted to power-driven watercraft (Edic, 1996). The steam transport also showed up during the latter part of the settlement period. The first motorized watercraft began to take hold in Cortez during the 1920s. This indicates a basic familiarity and stability of watercraft form during the first 30 years in Cortez.

The earliest watercraft were formed mostly out of wood materials, though some of the minor components could have been made of metal. Eventually, local materials of cedar, cypress, and mangrove formed the basis for watercraft construction due to their abundance and natural pest and rot resistance qualities. The sails were made of cotton or burlap. In some cases, and as part of the recycling ethic, old salt bags and other similar storage containers made of fibrous materials were assembled and used for patching sails and constructing new ones, though this is a highly conjectured assumption for Cortez.

Intangible manifestations. There are certain “quiet” forms evident in the vernacular landscape that may also contribute to physical forms in various ways. Their subliminal and physical characters combine to create an overlapping between each other, making individual discussions of them redundant and susceptible to off-tangency. Fishing has a legendary status that has been told and retold in stories and parables from the earliest of human times. Much of this has developed into a specialized folklore of fishing that can be isolated into localized traditions that may also be found to exist regionally and across wider spectrums of TFVs. This gives a certain form to the TFV that is marked by a presence not totally visible and not totally invisible. It is intangible rather than non-physical. In being intangible, form has vestiges that ramble through the mind with scarcity of real time and placement. Similar to how Kevin Lynch revealed place-mapping through the cognitive mind, the intangible manifestation of form in the traditional fishing context is ever-changing, ever expanding and shrinking, which makes it different than the monuments and mind linkages offered by Lynch.

In regarding the intangible manifestations of form, the discussion of indicators that follow, of the neither purely visible nor invisible form constructs, does not represent an exhaustive list. There are an unknown number of such elements that feed the context of a place and inform the landscape construct. However, the three primary intangible indicator sets of fishing grounds, the act of fishing, and the elapsed experiential are forms that take on special, contextual-sensitive places in the TFV. These intangible forms benefit descriptions of the landscape-wide historic physical form in that they add to what is typically studied.

Intangible manifestations-fishing grounds. Westerdahl (1992) provided insight into the notion of a “maritime cultural landscape” or “mariculture” in 1978 with an archaeological perspective focused on Scandinavian fishing village activities (p. 5). The maritime landscape under this context consisted of “the whole network of sailing routes, old, as well as new, with ports and [harbours] along the coast, and its related constructions and remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial” (p. 6). Interestingly enough, Westerdahl saw the maritime cultural landscape as an extension of the terrestrial landscape, in that it was a construct that consists of forms that are material, cognitive, and indicative. He also constructed the maritime cultural landscape as being denser, with more activities, in a more confined geographical area, similar to the waterfront conglomeration I have included as part of my study.

Westerdahl developed five components of the maritime cultural landscape to include: a) shipwrecks; b) land remains; c) traditions of usage, or the mental map formed by coastal people as part of their local, collective knowledge; d) natural topography to include protected shelters and havens; and e) names known by the culture used to identify the contextual TFV-related places of ports, towns, shipyards, resource areas, routes, islands, passes/cuts, points, ship types, etc. While Westerdahl’s lengthy list includes a broad panorama of the TFV, each of which could be included as part of the fishing grounds discussion, it is easy to read how vast and interconnected the fishing grounds are.

For the purposes of my study, the direct meaning of fishing grounds can be used to understand the breadth and specificity for where the acts of fishing are done, or performed by the fishers. This includes the water and tidally influenced environments,

but also certain upland areas such as shorelines and islands. While the fishing grounds appear to extend far beyond physical boundaries that may be arbitrarily drawn up, their physical limits were determined by the physical and technical limitations of the fishers themselves. As the historic landscape vernacular evolved, so did the fishing grounds, however, during the study period, there was a distinct limitation more definable than what happened during the technological advances that would come after the 1946, and where fishing grounds expanded exponentially.

The type of fishing pursued, and the availability of the stock is a major contributor to the fishing grounds form. The fishing grounds connected to TFVs offer an excellent resource form that is physical and intangible, yet it is distinguishable through a cognitive layering of open space that includes distance from land, water surface, water depth, and the interactions between them. It includes a physically familiar geographic area, often including areas that may never be fished, but also those areas never ventured to, yet held in reserve by the fisher when known resources fail to produce. In some cases, as Anderson (1984) identified, a system is present that is utilized by fishers that allowed them to communicate amongst themselves a network of fishing grounds locations where fishing was good. They associated multiple visual landmarks akin to triangulation that capitalized on their skills, knowledge, and learned experience of the fishing grounds system. Yet, in reality, the fishing grounds were always subject to change with tides, weather, occupation, fish presence, etc. As new commercial and recreation fishers plied the waters, the fishing grounds fluctuated in synchronization with the fisher's intent.

In Cortez, fish were traditionally caught as the high tide moved to low. The fishing grounds become a constantly moving form and are then less fixed but overlapping and

repetitive, or sporadic. It is difficult then to assume the fishing grounds to be a specific place because of the flux that occurs as part of them between the open space layers. The primary inquiry is whether fishing grounds contribute somehow to the other forms, or if it can be assessed as a form on its own that establishes significance in the historic vernacular landscape. The fact that fishing grounds can change does not mean the historic character of the TFV changed with it, unless it can be found that it somehow became part of the folklore, and therefore, the elapsed memory. This is an important assessment undertaken as part of my study.

In the cases of the Cortez fishers, the fishing grounds were basically determined by the fish they sought. Since mullet was the primary catch, this created a fairly definable area that consisted of the Sarasota and Palma Sola Bay systems. This represented an approximate 60-mile long area of shallow tidal bays, lagoons, estuaries, and island formations. From 1890, the fishing grounds were being altered and impacted by navigation activities of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. It is possible that some of the fishers ventured outside of these areas, expanding the fishing grounds in order to follow the migrating schools of fish, or when local conditions required mitigating the absence of sufficient catches.

Intangible manifestations-act of fishing. The act of fishing is another intangible form that is not neatly bound in a fixed visual form, though snapshots of it can relate to form. Bourne (1989) wrote about the influence on certain built forms, especially the extended vernacular forms that the various types of fishing had in New England fisheries. The same holds true in virtually all commercial fishing communities. If fishing is construed to be the targeting and catching of marine life, whether it is a fish, a

shellfish, a turtle, or a sponge, then it is also represented by different constructs at the water/land interstice, as well as, how fishing methods as form extended seaward of the upland construct. Mullet fishing was even more specific to a particular act than other types of fishing in that mullet could not really be caught by hook and line since they were vegetarians and had to be caught by net. The importance of the net then, becomes a strong determinant of the other forms, in the landscape construct required to support it both physically and intangibly. The fact that an enlivened discussion perpetuated by the complexity of the net and the act of fishing forms was withheld from the 1995 Cortez National Register Nomination suggests the incompleteness of the contextual narrative provided as part of it. The act of fishing then, is an intangible construct that includes numerous forms that work together such as the type of fishing, the desire to fish or making it one's primary pursuit, and the fisher's connection to the natural environment including his ecological views.

Tebeau (1976) neatly described one act of fishing as two men in a skiff with hand lines. While this simple description does not reveal much about Cortez and its mullet fishery, it does convey something that can be depicted by researching the act itself. The same goes for other types of fishing such as one man in a powerboat with nets, using oars, or sailing. Like the fishing grounds, the act of fishing is often related to the fish targeted for harvest. Changes to the form occur with effects to either of them. Fishing can be completely different between TFVs within near locales and within regions due to a variety of reasons. The various forms represented by the fishing being done, and the acts of fishing, may also be different.

However, the act of fishing includes much more than simply throwing a line or net overboard to catch fish. A fisher's "masculine identity and self-esteem were closely tied to seamanship and ability to handle a boat, and whose lives revolved around various fishing-related activities and spaces" (Smith et al., 2003, p.42). Therefore, form that can be evaluated does not seem to be bound by the visual components that make up those consisting of purely visual elements. The act of fishing includes an extension to the sea whereby the fisher extends the vernacular form to include his/her trade domain. Learned knowledge of this extended area, sometimes passed through tradition, or adapted through personal experience, becomes a vernacular form that exists, but is not easily articulated visually.

As traditional practices, Price (2004) discussed cast-netting and pole fishing as part of what defined folk groups, including a) stories they told, b) the material artifacts they used, and c) the customs or beliefs they held regarding such mundane things as bait, fishing grounds, when to fish, prepare the fish, etc. (p. 3). The fishers' interaction with this extended area adds to the vernacular form that may be more of a process that establishes the form, rather than a type of form to be categorized since such interactions are formed by complex circumstances. Nevertheless, the form created by the act of fishing appears to be important for understanding the vernacular setting when trying to evaluate changes to it and determinants of it. Another aspect of the act of fishing is the form it takes when considered by the fishers themselves, whether in retrospect, when comparing to others, or through some general perception or understanding. This intangible form is vulnerable to withering between generations,

something I refer to, and is explained in more detail in the next subsection, as being part of the elapsed experiential discussed in Chapter 3.

The act of fishing also includes the oft-cited notion that many fishers live to fish rather than fish to live (Acheson, 1981; Garrity-Blake, 1994). This appears as part of a passionate avocational tendency in that many Cortez fishers, including the original settlers worked at other things as part of what McGoodwin & FAOUN (2001) described as “occupational pluralism” (p. 28). This allowed sufficient income during the lean times and seasonal fluctuations associated with fishing. Some of these “other” things helped to influence certain forms in the village such as Sanders Fulford’s hotelier side, which more or less accommodated outsiders to the scenic aspects of the natural surroundings, rather than having added to the contextual character of a fishing village. When compared to how other highly contextualized fishing villages developed, such as Tilting, a highly vernacular TFV along the coast of Newfoundland, Canada, it becomes difficult to assess how early fishers in Cortez embraced the desire to put fishing ahead of all other pursuits.

Finally, true small-scale fishers are often looked at as having special relationships with nature. According to Green (1985) early fishers in Cortez tended to have a “deep communion” with their natural surroundings (p. 79). The 1995 Cortez National Register Nomination discussed this briefly, but without any real foray into its dynamics. The consideration also informs as to the fishers having some innate sense of connectivity with nature that can only be learned through experience and as part of generational conditioning. It can be suggested that there is a form that develops in the mind of the fisher that is a complex set that includes intimate knowledge of the weather,

water depth, tides, surface movement, currents, bearing without landmarks for guidance, etc., that combine to create an intuitive sense that is uncommon.

Environmental responsibility of fishers was often looked at differently between fishers as a group, and mostly everyone else. There is a common perception within the ranks of fishers that they reserve some element of ecological responsibility and stewardship of the natural resources that supply them with their livelihoods; however, the historical record suggests an opposing view of abuse and over-exploitation of resources by outsiders.

The first question that arises is in how ecological beliefs and understandings held by the fishers affect the vernacular landscape, if at all. Cannavo (2007) suggested that the knowledge of certain fishing grounds handed down from previous generations creates a more personalized caring for the place. Chiarappa and Szylvian (2003) discussed a self-management of resources exhibited by fishers in the Great Lakes whereby they would harvest different areas at a time and change the targeted species to allow regeneration; they would also change the gear being used as part of this informal governance that held wide-ranging implications. This all amounted to what he termed as a “traditional ecological knowledge,” or TEK, that became part of the valuable, learned insight to how fish behave, the fishing ground topography, currents, weather patterns, responsible resources use, and mechanical skills (p. 102).

To restate, it is my argument that form does not have to be visual and can be inherent in practice and custom. Yet, a non-visual vernacular form such as ethics may be parlayed into a physical form or as an effect to it. This can still change over time, which means that it can be evaluated for determinants that cause it to change. TFVs

exhibit strong ethics traditions that are written about for ease of access by the outsider. However, there seems to be a fine line between ethics and the act of fishing. It does appear, based on the historical analysis of local fishing cultures, that ethics and tradition are often affected by other circumstances of economics, politics, natural effects, etc.

There are ethics regarding overuse or exploitation of resources, damage to resources such as by using nets that catch all fish to their death regardless of being the targeted species or not, or referring to an area within a fishing grounds as one's own. Nash (1989) regarded this as an inherent morality given to a human who deeply interacts with the natural environment. This is part of a general agreement among fishers that the natural environments from which they make a living establish a more or less orderly system of productivity and replenishment. Santayana (1920) saw this as a consensus that is built among groups such as fishers whereby broad agreement is achieved for certain things that work in tandem with those are deemed more individualistic, and where disagreements are often common and inevitable.

Total agreement that covers the gamut of the ethics surround fishers would be impossible, and the individualistic imports between fishers would make any attempt at such an endeavor unrealistic or according to Santayana, untenable. One example is the controversy between the gillnetters and the stopnetters that began during the 1920s. Nash (1989) seems to have hit the proverbial nail on the head when he talked about the rights of nature, which has huge implications for commercial fishers. The apparent waste of unwanted marine life inadvertently caught in stop nets rose to the epitome of the "wanton waste" of nature that humans should not accept.

Knowing where the above individualized grounds begin and end is rarely a precise, definable area, and is more indicative of a reciprocal action generally understood by fishers, that allows the fishing grounds form to shrink and expand accordingly. However, the question of an eroding ethic in this behavior is evident. Anderson (1984), in studying Bermudian fishing practices, found that fishers often viewed the fish resource as one for the taking at present without regard for future implications. Many captains of local fishing sloops there saw a sense of dishonesty take over beginning from the 1970s. While this suggests that fishers may have been more honest during early times, this is an ethic and form in the mind of the fisher that some intangible manifestations of form, as indicators, have indeed changed. The determinant could be a declining resource or general watering down of the supposed traditional knowledge whereby such dishonest practices were perceived to not happen during historical periods. This view, compounded by additional introspective critiques, prompts many fishers subsequent to 1950 to suggest that latent fishers do things differently than the generations before them, and that they have somehow changed into a less-than stoic fisher. The form of the fisher in the mind of fishers when they consider each other, then, is one that asks the question of whether a fisher is an “equally capable and moral peer among fellow fishermen” (Anderson, 1984, p. 791).

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential. The elapsed experiential form is a type of traditional practice inherent, and solidly fixed in many TFVs. While always having been part of the TFV generative construct, the recognizable elapsed experiential in Cortez derives mostly with the accretion of time and is embraced and articulated as part of generational experiences. It is elapsed since it refers to the things of the past,

the former ways, and even some things that may never have been real, or that ever took place. Therefore, the elapsed experiential can be measured in Cortez according to localized feelings of a lost cultural flux described as a loss of internal and external support for fishers, what constitutes a real fisher, and lost traditions.

One of the most evident examples of the elapsed experiential is in how many of the older fishers refer to how they used to fish versus how fishing might be done by a current generation or method. In looking back at what was once long-standing tradition, Eidse (2006) found fishers of the Apalachicola region referring to the days when “[everthin] was done by hand” (p. 126). Doris Green (n.d.), a descendant of an early Cortez fisher, quoted an old timer as saying “You have to make a study of fishing...you got to learn the bottom” (p. 66), a trait that he felt was becoming a lost art among newer generations of fishers. Some second and third generation fishers in Cortez were even suggesting that there just were no “real fishermen left” in the village (Green, 1985, p. 81). Rudloe, (1992) cited how fishers often refer to the former glory of fishing’s “good [ol]’ days” (no page no.). Outsiders often mimicked these same perceptions as they saw buildings, watercraft, and fishing gear fast disappearing not only in Cortez, but in other commercial fishing strongholds as an “elimination of a culture” and a selling out of traditional fishing as a once colorful way of life (Lovel & Lovel, 2000).

Older fishers often think of the generations that follow them as having it too easy, and that if they found themselves performing the fisher’s act during some historic time, that they could not adapt easily to the whims of nature and fishing circumstances as they found themselves doing (Green, n.d., p. 234). Per Chiarappa and Szylvian (2003), a respected fisher is one who learned the required knowledge of the trade at the docks,

fish houses, dinner table, etc., before even going out to fish for the first time. Perhaps the advent of technology makes this seem more true than not. Garrity-Blake (1994) identified the more astute fisher as being able to identify schools of unseen fish, and could even tell what kind they were. They were more intuitive than later generations. A good captain fisher could somehow “read the minds” of the fish he was pursuing (p. 66). Technology required less intuition, and therefore this naturally learned fisher trait it began to diminish. The fisher did have to master several overlapping environmental occurrences that dictated the fishing act. They had to learn the aging process of the fish species. They also had to learn how the fish themselves ran. This reveals a form that is far more complex than simply hauling a net out to open water and hoping it fills up with fish. They had to know that mullet must grow to about two years to become harvestable—the typical life span of a mullet is approximately eight years.

In addition, Garrity-Blake (1994) cited the loss of fish-finding skills that once pervaded the domain of the vernacular fishing village act of fishing. She suggested that most captains worth their salt could locate fish even when they were several feet below the surface, and then be able to discern the type of fish it was due to their experiential, traditional knowledge. Of course, they had learned to study the environment to include the presence of seabirds, small splashes, coloration or texture of the water’s surface, the scent of the air, etc. Later, Garrity-Blake and West (2003) described fishers as “jacks-of-all-trades, surviving with skills in carpentry, mechanics, navigation, and meteorology” (p. 84).

The ways in which things were done or experienced were reflected in the banes of the old timers that included complaints about catfish and sting rays, long hours, sun-

baking, toil, storms, mending, and liming; it all required a passion to continue. This led to further discussions about the problems caused by the large, modern watercraft and newer methods, much different than their favorite memories of still dark, early mornings at the docks, being barefoot with a jar of cold coffee, the dinner bucket containing the previous night's dinner leftovers, and liming nets at night. The fisher's usual take-along meal was a "dinner bucket" which was a tin pail from an old syrup/lard can along with a mason jar of coffee. (Green, n.d.). However, as part of the elapsed experiential, even this had changed according to the later Cortez fishers who opined often about missing the fishers walking from their houses to their boats and docks with their lunch buckets in hand (Jepson & Florida Humanities Council, 2006). Green (n.d.) suggested that fishers came out of the womb with salty veins.

Such perceptions become entrenched in the perceptions of the fishers themselves, from the earliest settlers all along the Gulf Coast who seemed to have prime acknowledgement of the physical and mental challenges that was an inherent part of their acts of fishing. They recognized the temporal idiosyncrasies of their trade due to a seemingly endless onslaught of conditions ranging from economics, politics, the environment, and natural events as Duprey (1959) and Varney (1963) both found relevant. Tebeau (1976) also commented on fishing as a "precarious source of livelihood" due to the same reasons (p. 41). In fact, it is this unreliable nature of fishing that informs a regional perspective along the coast since many fishers occupied themselves with alternative trades during production lulls, often returning to their places of origin such as several of the Cortez fishers who repeatedly returned to North Carolina during the off-seasons. The regional perspective becomes informed here as Mellin

(2003) suggested, in how the fishers would return with new influences whether it related to the techniques of fishing or watercraft form, or in how buildings and structures were erected.

Even though such perceptions are intangible, they represent forms in the vernacular landscape that may have been real during another time, and now carried on until they fade away, or are presented in newly perceived ways lacking the deeper contextual benefit. In either sense, there is a distinct form that is traceable, albeit highly generative and highly personal. Images that are based on such recollections of at least some of the elapsed experiential construct can be sketched, allowing the form to be analyzed physically. The drawn “re-creation” of fishers walking to the docks with their lunch buckets, an elapsed non-static form, does not represent a difficult challenge for even the occasional sketch artist.

These types of intangible forms develop as part of the changing cultural construct and the esoteric sense of place that formed in the minds of some of the original fishers, as well as, those of the descendants. In his study of a neighborhood in the New England whaling and textile community of New Bedford, Massachusetts, Heath (2001) looked at his own memory of the neighborhood’s spaces and its distinction as a place, according to his own more engaged interaction with it as a child. His notions of change, or as I reference it, his elapsed experiential, provided an enhanced understanding of it according to his particular circumstances, and according to perhaps a deeper involvement in it.

The continued sense of loss spreads to the wider physical landscape built construct. However, the elapsed experiential, though intangible in its character, often

forms around the real sense of loss, or in how things used to look or exist, but are no longer part of their steeped traditions. While it is difficult to assess the elapsed experiential of the original settlers since the record of it is sparse, and since the change in the physical construct serves as a type transition between two landscapes, some clues that remain can be evaluated here as part of the overall elapsed experiential of the study period. Elapsed form in certain places is the memory becoming diminished and recognized as some former preferred quality usurped by a changing tradition.

For example, certain fishing villages that once were bustling are now ghost communities such as many of the older ones along the North Carolina coast, and in Florida such as Sarasota, St. Marks, Punta Gorda, Carrabelle, etc. So, the physical form has also diminished or been reduced, affecting memory as also reduced or elapsed. Descriptions of the place and the act, physical and intangible, current and historical become so elapsed and varied as almost being indistinguishable. In Apalachicola, the loss of oyster houses to waterfront residential developments has fostered much writing about the pressures on local fishers as they lose more and more of their ability to fish the local waters (Eidse, 2006).

The community support system that once embraced commercial fishing has also lost its luster. The earlier generations seemed to represent the reverse role in the elapsed experiential in how they also referred to the future rather than just the past. The literature is full of nostalgic reminiscences of traditional fishing practice though second and third-hand accounts. Cortez residents opined recently about the lack of support that local fishers once received from their surrounding communities (Smith, Jacob, & Jepson, 2003). Whereas the act of fishing was once a near sacred task, to be

respected, admired, and even feared by all, changes in community attitudes also changed the breadth for which the act of fishing could be performed. This was perhaps a very common association among all Florida fishing communities due to the land booms and development pressures that occurred along Florida's coasts. It seems that the attitudes that were shifting were not from the newer generations of fishers as much as from the demographic makeup of the communities that were encroaching upon them.

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential and a discussion of place and form in the TFV landscape. The sense of place or genius loci of a landscape merits a discussion here, though the conceptual character of it prevents an in-depth analysis of it as part of my study. Instead, sense of place winds its way through all of the form constructs presented thus far, as part of the inherently human interface that is part of the contextual landscape. As a construct of human perception, it parallels form as a similar perceived human construct. The form of a place within a certain setting often begets an emotional tie to it. The main problem with converting notions of place into a form is that they are too personalized and immaterial. It is easier, and perhaps more relevant to consider it as part of something missed and describable, rather than occurring in the present and indescribable. Place is often a notion that not so easily described since it is felt. However, most people can describe it after that feeling is deemed to be lost. While a physical form and its setting delivers a meaningful sense of place to one person, it is often limited to that one person, and only understood by that one person, incognito.

However, it can be considered as an indicator analytic linking the physical form with the intangible form in how people have expressed their feelings about the sense of

place they experience in the setting. These expressions reveal certain patterns over time could be compared to see if similarities occur. Expressions of sense of place that lean to a loss of historic buildings for example, or woodlands, or increased pollution affecting the harvest, or a restriction on a type of fishing to name a few, easily lead to the realization that real losses of form probably occurred. There is evidence of fishers abandoning fishing grounds due to pollution such as in the Thames River, London, England in 1859.

Endnote regarding the elapsed experiential. There are countless other elapsed experiential forms such as legends, myths, superstitions, stories, and conventions that also reveal an intangible facet to the TFV construct. For example, in Beaufort, North Carolina, the legacy of pirates remains in the form of local legends, stories, or orientation to the sea. While the construct of piracy and pirates is no longer extant physically, the stories continue and change as history marches on. In this way, elapsed form modifies what had been the real physical form, or reality of physical form, and renders a challenge for historians in detailing accuracy. Maybe out of this also comes visitor imagination, almost mythic in quality, of the fisher going out to sea and fishing, which many cannot see but only imagine through contextually fed receptors. This leads in to the notion driven by Adams, Hoelscher, and Till (2001) that “the landscape is as important for what is absent, what is experienced imaginatively by visitors” (p. 30). Unfortunately, the constraints of my study do not allow for an exhaustive examination of the myriad available elapsed forms that could add to the intangible aspects of the historic vernacular landscape.

The Evolution of Vernacular Landscape Form in Cortez

Applying the Contextual Form Framework and Graphic Sketch Program

The contextual form framework presents a narrative of vernacular form following a timeline that is chronologically oriented, yet based on the critical junctures referenced earlier in my study, of either time periods or distinct events, using a graphical interface to explain both visual and intangible form elements. This is a layered approach that results in sketched visual constructs resulting from the contextual information set or sets that feed it. The dynamics taking place as part of each period are discussed in order to support the graphic representation and narratives of form discussions that occur at the end of each period. Snapshots of the form indicators over time for each form period represent the graphical interpretations that become part of the overall analysis. Some overlapping of form periods seem to occur where dates are duplicated from one period to the next; however, this duplication merely recognizes transitions that occur between periods, whereas, the end of one period may have already begun to employ the next period. In any case, these transitions are negligible and not critical to the findings of my study.

Because the form affectations of creation, diminution, and stability are not guided according to planned scheduling, and are more random in occurrence in many vernacular settings, form periods, for the purposes of my study, are recognized according to critical junctures such as human-made and natural events, development spurts, internal and external social influences, and localized decision-making to name a few. This represents a version of applying a thicker analysis to the vernacular landscape form, as opposed to arbitrarily defined timelines. A critical juncture does not necessarily

only consider a single point or action in time, but can also be a period of time recognized by single or multiple concurrent influences on overall landscape form.

Critical junctures may be so plentiful that isolating a small enough group to convey form is barely manageable, so not all critical junctures may be considered under the umbrella of a single study. A catastrophic hurricane that destroys the human-built form of a setting is a critical juncture just as the decadal-long growth and build-up of a successfully developing waterfront dock area with its accreting massing of buildings and structures is one. Because distinct form, its derivation and continuance can be recognized from such examples, the event or period becomes critical to understanding its form. Also, a critical juncture does not necessarily reveal the determinants of form or form change, only that there is a strong enough cultural or natural condition or series that merit(s) close examination that may lead to it being a determinant.

The evolution of form in Cortez is captured in uneven and varied time periods that avoid prescriptions of convenience. In Cortez, vernacular historic form in the cultural landscape begins with a discussion of the presettlement period, or time prior to the first historic study period being studied, since there is known activity that took place prior to its initial land development action of being subdivided (a critical juncture). Any given study area could be identified as having no discernible human-built form as part of its presettlement period, since evidence of vernacular human activity, depending on the extent, is often consumed or hidden under rapid natural recovery. However, many areas can be considered undisturbed for the purposes of evaluating the human-built forms upon them, even though they most likely have already experienced some form of human occupation or disturbance in the past. It is important to note that aboriginal

impacts or forms of settlement to Cortez are considered only briefly where applicable but are not detailed as a focused point of study here since Western form is the primary concern of my study.

In some cases, critical juncture points occur in an overall timeline as a result of a historic event that caused significant or wholesale change to the form established up to that point. Such anomalies are not necessarily uncommon in the real world, but may be less common when affecting large-scale form change or diminution. The less than simple discussion of form change versus form erasure is part of this type of scenario, and will be discussed later.

The vernacular landscape form is presented narratively and graphically as part of the following subsections in this chapter. It is applied to the periods identified as part of the historic study span from 1887 to 1946. The basic format follows the explanations of contextual form and contextual form indicators provided earlier in this chapter, along with a discussion and graphic sketch of the waterfront conglomeration and the graphic tile sets shown for the historic study periods. To provide thicker depth of understanding context, additional discussions are provided to examine a present-day (2013) overview of Cortez, a presettlement period (prior to 1887), and a hurricane event (1921) that was particularly influential as affecting the contextual form.

The graphic tiles, a series of rough sketch plates, comprise the form indicators in a specially presented format that juxtaposes them from left to right in a manner that tends to flow from the inland forms to the waterfront conglomeration and then the intangible forms. This format allows for an easier identification and comparison of the predominant forms as they appear side by side. Then, form change is interpreted by

comparing the graphic tile sets from each period. The addition or subtraction of forms, or changes to previous dominant forms in the identified constructs represents a finding of a degree of vernacular form change worthy of discussion, and additional analysis of the determinant causing the change(s). As a recap, the abbreviated order of the contextual form indicators then, as already referenced earlier is inclusive of the

- waterfront conglomeration;
- village layout (boundary, parcel configuration, and circulation);
- building mosaic (residential, non-residential, and fisheries contextual);
- extended vernacular physical (fisheries camps, net-works, dock system, nets, and watercraft); and
- extended vernacular intangible (fishing grounds, act of fishing, and elapsed experiential).

It is important to note here that for the twenty-first century Cortez discussion, only the waterfront conglomeration sketch is included, while the graphic tile sets are not, since the evaluation of vernacular landscape form is prescribed for the historic study span ending in 1946, and an in-depth graphic analysis of the later form construct is unnecessary. Instead, the narrative discussion of 2013 Cortez with an historic overview suffices to allow current context to meet strategically with the detailed form periods, but without adding to an-already complex information set. The use of the waterfront conglomeration sketch does provide a lead-in to the overall graphic format through a comparison with the settlement form waterfront conglomeration.

Forward First: Twenty-first Century Cortez

The scholar's ability to understand the history of a traditional town successfully must begin with an examination of it currently (Kropf, 1993). With this logic in mind, something must be said about Cortez form and its recent landscape construct, even

though my study period ends at 1946. It does not take a scholar to understand that Cortez has indeed changed since its settlement period from over 120 years ago. The village boundary expanded to nearly twice its original size, a number of subdivisions and building additions have occurred, many of its original buildings have been destroyed or moved to different locations, non-historic buildings and structures now serve as intrusions, and much of its extended vernacular has been modified or eliminated. In sum, it is difficult to disagree with the fact that the physical and intangible forms of 2013 Cortez are much different than they were in the 1890s, 1920s, or 1946.

Historic overview

The historic vernacular TFV character of Cortez, or Hunter's Point as it was historically named prior to 1896, can be dated to at least 1887, when roughly the western half of the area now considered to encompass the fishing village proper as of 2013, was divided into 13 parcels for sale by Allen and Mary Gardiner, investors of large tracts of Florida land from Rhode Island. These newly created tracts of land began to be settled by fishers originating from the coastal area of Carteret County, North Carolina. However, earlier archival documentation strongly supports it as part of an area used for American, Bahamian, and European commercial fishing exploitation before the 1887 original settlers began to arrive. What eventually resulted was an expanded village that grew in size and configuration with fluctuations to its form over time, and for the purposes of my study, is referred to as the Cortez historic study area (Figure 4-1).

While not part of my study, it must be noted that plentiful harvests of seafood were also being taken as part of aboriginal activities, as evidenced by at least one known, large shell mound formerly located just north of the historic village along the Palma Sola Bay shoreline. The enormity of this shell artifact is suggested by Norton's

(1892) description of another shell mound located several miles north at Shaw's Point as being 564 feet in length, and up to 20 feet in height. Green (n.d.) cited the Hunter's Point mound as having been only 12-feet in height, but as long as 1,200 feet. The reduction in height is certainly understandable between the two descriptions as utility uses of and treasure hunting in the shell materials occurred regularly. However, the increase in length may be supported through its own legend, not uncommon in maritime cultures. What this suggests is a used environment that was most likely in a fairly disturbed condition prior to the widely recognized settlement date of 1887.

Not including the aboriginal occupations of Hunter's Point, the presettlement activities, possibly in existence during the early nineteenth and even the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been described in detail as temporary encampments erected in and around the Hunter's Point peninsula by Spanish fishers from Key West, Cuba, and the Bahamas. Aboriginal fishers, as well as, former slaves and their descendants often interspersed with the Spanish in operating these fisheries amid the social overtones of the time. Anglo-Americans from Florida up to the northern states also ventured into the surrounding waters, establishing fishing encampments there, perhaps making improvements to the older Spanish/Indian ranchos, forms of which may have already existed.

From wherever these early users hailed, it is obvious that the historic context of Cortez, including its settlement era and after, exhibits a pureness in its continued legacy evolving around fishing enterprise. Therefore, from this traditional legacy, up to the end of my study period, it is valid to identify the historic village in Cortez as having been a continual TFV from its first initial occupance by Westerners and perhaps even by the

latent groups of aboriginal populations. This singular, continued use of the land is quite significant, representing a distinction that separates Cortez from most other TFVs. Table 4-1, which includes determinations of change for the form indicators, can be referenced as a primer for reading the following analysis of form for the period.

Natural/environmental background

Cortez is pre-historically, historically, and traditionally entrenched in commercial fishing activities. This implies a proximity and connection to a water resource. In this case, the water resource is a system of bays, inlets, tidal flats, rivers, estuaries, and the Gulf of Mexico, not uncommon topography for TFVs on Florida's west coast. Cortez, or at least the historic village that is the subject of my study, is a historic vernacular landscape, which is a subset of the cultural landscape broadly interpreted from the human activities occurring on it over time. It is located at the southwestern prominence of a peninsula that juts out between the bays of Sarasota and Palma Sola (Figure 4-2). Aerial views of Cortez dating from the 1940s reveal a stark difference between the layout and textures of the historic village and the surrounding developments. They seem denser, more compact, clustered, and curvy. Graphically, they appear orderly, clean cut, and loud. Cortez, on the other hand seems soft-spoken and lazy with a certain unkempt character that seems to just slide into Sarasota Bay.

At just a few feet above sea level, the natural native landscape of pines, cabbage palms, scrub palmettos, and fringe mangroves has largely been removed or replaced with other more decorative and invasive species including citrus trees, a variety of non-native palms and royal palms, Australian pines (Green, n.d.), and Brazilian Pepper, to name a few. There are still patches of mangroves occurring along the waterfront, but the overall natural landscape in Cortez has been modified from presettlement days and

now has more of a tropical garden appearance. Historically, the waterfront area has always been sparse of vegetation because of the daily activities that took place there. Yet, Cortez appears to be lush now than at any point after its settlement based on historic pictures. Today, purposely planted hedges of areca and other palms stand 20 feet high along many properties. The taller royal and coconut palms line roadways, planted decades ago along with many other types of palms and ornamentals to give it a truly tropical feel.

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space

The latent waterfront of Cortez draws the observer to a conglomeration centered within the wider confines of its historic location. In this case it is a more concentrated construct located between 123rd Street to the east and 124th Street to the west, as compared to the historic western extent to beyond 125th Street. In addition, the historic eastern extent of the waterfront conglomeration occurred one-half block or so further east. In 2013, there is an additional waterfront conglomeration occurring at the eastern extremity, however, this area serves as a less complete, secondary unit, and is not included here since it would otherwise appear duplicative.

In working from a top-down approach, the 2013 waterfront conglomeration sketch in Figure 4-3 reveals a fairly robust enclosing backdrop of vegetation that is much less revealed during the historic study span. The area elements of large geometric facades of the dominant seafood processing facility is emphasized by its whitish, blank, texture-less walls of painted concrete block. The less dominating scale of the extant historic structures is hidden as a result of this domination, but incomplete elements of it peek through the various building openings and open spaces. The large-scale of the two-story U.S. Coast Guard facility also dominates by weighing down the waterfront

conglomeration as a bookend on one side, in some ways portraying a solid base of more modern, texture-less facades and hipped roofs that complement the flatness of the 1960s architecture of the seafood processing facility.

The above newer elements are also complemented by the modern qualities of the current era sailboat moored in the foreground with its sails unfurled. The appearance of sail powered watercraft does not seem to evoke a retro-historic sense of when it was the dominant form during the settlement period. In fact, its presence is rather anticlimactic and seems to poke fun at, or mock the fisher's toil. Yet, the triangular area plane of where the sail should be reflects a ghost historic presence. The mast of the sailboat and its rig line present a vertical and diagonal linear puncturing of the sky that is quite indicative of one element of transition the Cortez waterfront has experienced in its later history as the newer marinas were developed, a seemingly inevitable type of development common to many historic waterfronts as industrial activities compete with recreational pursuits.

The dock systems are also linear elements that are more purposefully constructed to reach deep water as individual or double systems and accommodate larger watercraft. Newer dock systems are thickly constructed and refined in a way that tends to elicit attempts at form perfection and permanence through design rather than as vernacularly assembled to meet an immediate need. However, the contemporary dock creates more a vertical feeling from the form, accented by small nuances of horizontal character as the prefabricated pilings display their treated and milled shapes. Today, dock pilings often add the additional form of stark white, pointed end caps as protective devices, eliminating the common picturesque scene of wildlife that are usually

attracted to them, though this is quite purposeful in its application. Still, and even with the feeling of inconveniently straight linear flow extending at various length straight into the water more like individual fingers, the dock system is highly evident as it extends along the waterfront, rather than out over it to any significant web,

The evidence of nets and net works is nearly completely vanished, though it shows itself in clumps piled in the back of watercraft. As discussed later in this chapter, the Cortez old timers were correct when they opined about the loss of the early fisher's gear and netting. What was once a sea of net spreads punctuated by the high rise of large, octagonal net reels and the camps that served them, is a diminished form at extinction here, with no visual record. However, there may be opportunities for depicting the net works configuration and other historic data using remaining pilings and as part of an underwater archaeological study of some of the disturbed areas.

The watercraft group continues to create a highly defined mass as the strongest focal point of the waterfront conglomeration. This is combined with the various point elements of single, smaller watercraft occurring in isolated, but multiple instances. The trawlers are dominant with their linear versions of mechanical rigs for working the miles of net materials, but for use in deeper waters farther from shore. The vertical masts of distant sails are also visible and reflect the extended form along the similarly extended waterfront. The smaller kicker boats with their clumped nets indicate the modern rendition of the historic skiff but do not dominate the waterfront or the extended bay as their predecessors did.

The waterfront conglomeration, as considered from sketches that are typical of Figure 4-3, and after studying the historic archives represents a significantly altered

form, which is not surprising given the more than half century of advanced technology and community growth that Cortez was exposed to. The once common triangular form represented by the dominant gabled roof ends and unfurled sail constructs represented during the historic study span are barely visible in 2013. Admittedly, there are some expressions of it, but they have been abstracted and made less dominant, and perhaps less relevant by the increase of highly mechanized seafood processing facilities constructed of what the Cortez Design Guidelines refers to as an industrial vernacular construction.

The residential character of Cortez is not a highly distinguishable product requiring the observer to venture further into the landscape to make it distinguishable; however, some residential intrusions appearing out of context and out of scale with the historic character of Cortez express an obvious incompatibility that needs no scholarly explanation. Intrusions that are not in keeping with the historic scale and character of working waterfront areas have been added as layers of incompatibility for decades. In Cortez, and as the literature included, these layers appearing on the landscape can be broadly explained as a changing shoreline, diminution of the historic building skyline and the buildings and structures that once expressed its dominant form, addition of large-scale, modern residential, and the vernacular fisheries contextual buildings that are now extinct.

Village layout form indicator set

Boundary. The 2013 boundary of Cortez represents the historic study area shown in Figure 4-1, and generally represents the original western half, and the expanded eastern half. The evolved study boundary contains approximately 70 acres compared with its original 20-acre size from 1887 illustrated as a comparison between

the two in Figure 4-4. Admittedly, there is confusion when representing these areas as halves, since the gross acreages of 70 acres versus 20 acres do not appear to add up as two distinct halves. This is due to the extension of the shorelines, the addition of the irregular school parcel, and the contraction of other areas. The separation of the village into west and east halves is used for convenience. When looking at a present-day map of Cortez without considering the historical fluctuations, the visual perception does appear generally as two halves.

The 2013 boundary was generally established by 1912 with the addition of the public school and grounds; however, the private land sales were completed during 1909. Therefore, with the exception of tidal lands infill and shoreline extensions, the present-day village boundary has remained reflects a fair similarity to its 1946 counterpart, even though a thicker analysis reveals a much changed waterfront extent that establishes a significant alteration affecting highly contextual areas of the village. Because of this, and the contextual linkage of the waterfront to the commercial fishing village character, it becomes a significant change.

For the purposes of my study, the eastern extent is bounded by 119th Street, extending beyond that to the west with the 1912 school and grounds, which are now part of the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez. All other lands east of the 1912 school are not included as part of the historic village boundary, since no record could be located suggesting this area as being an integral part of the fishing village, per se, most likely due to its fringe wetland characteristics, which are still present today. For clarification, the extent of the 1995 Cortez National Register Historic District boundary of approximately 25 acres does not represent the entire evolved historic study boundary;

instead, it meanders its way in an east/west manner throughout the breadth of the village, as shown in Figure 4-5. Ironically, the historic district boundary of 1995 includes only about 11% of the 2013 waterfront when calculating infill areas and approximately 19% of the historic waterfront as it occurred at the time of settlement.

Regardless, either scenario continues to represent a fiction for high integrity of historic fabric since the modified waterfront represents permanently lost buildings, and a later waterfront configuration that conceals the much more historic, earlier shoreline and former physical construct. In other words, uninformed visitors to Cortez may automatically assume the present shoreline and physical configuration of buildings as having always existed. There is no on-site interpretation that clarifies this dilemma. Much of the settlement shoreline was altered early on by extending the waterfront and creating new canals and basins, with a system of bulkheads and seawalls having replaced most of the natural beach by the 1940s (Figure 4-6). Additional alterations continued after the end of the historic study span (1946) resulting in the 2013 shoreline form.

Parcel configuration. Notwithstanding the original United States government survey delineations of the larger Hunter's Point peninsula, the original western half began in 1887 as a 13-lot subdivision divided into roughly one and two-acre parcels (Figure 4-15) surveyed out of the original U.S. Public Land Survey System that took place during the mid-nineteenth century for Florida. This represents the first original articulated form of the fishing village as defined by its surveyed outer boundary that references the point of beginning of as part of U.S. Government Lot 3. Additional tracts that extended the 1887 subdivision were parceled out from U.S. Government Lot 3 over

time expanding the village boundary eastward, basically doubling its size but generally retaining its north boundary trajectory.

Today, there are more than 250 parcels (Figure 4-7) including the 90 or so sites that are part of Cortez Park, the residential cooperative manufactured housing park that was established in the 1930s located along the northwest shore of the village. The sites of Cortez Park are situated in typical small trailer pad formation with a maximized density, include various outparcels for amenities and the recreational marina area along the waterfront. When including this important property as a single parcel, which was formed out of the original parcels numbers five and six owned by two of the original settlers, the village consists of approximately 167 parcels including the 1912 school site. There is not a significant change from the 1946 parcel counterpart of approximately 170 parcels. The parcel configuration of the remnant lots referenced above include a variety of square and rectangular dimensions laid out in non-uniform patterns representing a localized, non-planned approach of parcel adjustments and land divisions. Since 1907, three major subdivisions of land have occurred in the village, accounting for 68 total parcels out of seven original lots. Including Cortez Park, there are approximately 25 lots with direct water frontage. The earliest build-out of the historic village resulted in 14 parcels having direct water frontage, while in 2013 there are 24 with direct frontage, depending on how the Cortez Park, with its nearly 100 individually planned sites is considered.

Other than ongoing land splits and dramatic shoreline alterations, the overall basic configuration of the village, including its original 1887 platted area and the eastern expansion have not changed significantly since the end of the historic study span date

of 1946. Of course, there has been a significant density increase with the densest area remaining in the western half. Basic waterfront configurations in 2013 reflect a similar historic layout revealed in deep, north/south projected parcels. A modification of use of the eastern waterfront did occur as those parcels were developed after the study period with marina and retail uses, as well as, a new fisheries processing facility beginning in the 1960s. However, the property appeared to always reflect a commercialized use geared toward tourism. The official post-2000 platting of the Cortez Park subdivision did not significantly alter the parcel configuration since it had been long-established by the 1940s. The development of the 1912 school into a museum park did not necessarily modify the parcel configuration, although its preservation and uses as a purposeful repository site for historic buildings and artifacts does affect the village character.

Circulation. If there is understood to be two primary types of circulatory means in Cortez, then waterways and streets form the basis for them. Pedestrian channels are not analyzed since platted streets were mostly used as both vehicular and pedestrian thoroughfares. Watercraft continue to utilize the original, natural channel of the western approach that historically led to the mid-point of the south shoreline near 123rd Street West. The area around this point up until the end of my study period was generally considered the eastern limit of the dominant fisheries watercraft traffic, based on the array of net spreads and net camps that created a de facto demarcation of any additional eastern flowing homestead watercraft traffic. Currently, the watercraft traffic flows further east to the extreme eastern edge of the south shoreline where a fisheries processing facility has been in operation since 1968.

Regarding the upland street circulation system, the original 1887 subdivision of Cortez was laid out so that each of the four north/south streets, and the north boundary east/west street led directly to the water. In 2013, this original street layout remains fairly intact with a north/south orientation, although there is no longer any direct vehicular access to the waterfront due to street vacations and lot adjustments. The 2013 circulation pattern is shown as Figure 4-8. A section of each of these streets at the waterfront has been vacated to the adjoining property owners essentially cutting off public access while allowing their development for commercial fishing or other private purposes, indicating the insufficiency of commercially oriented lands, as originally drawn. Unlike Cortez, most historic fishing communities include a road system that parallels the shoreline.

The later addition central axis road running east/west (45th Avenue) now appears as the strongest village road travelling from its eastern boundary west to the Cortez Park development. However, there is no record of it having been treated as such, except near its intersection with 124th Street, which historically entertained the predominant collection of non-residential buildings and uses, leading to the waterfront, the primary wharf, and the Albion Inn (now a U.S. Coast Guard Station). Through time, the establishment of purchased lands to the east required the dedication of right-of-way portions for road purposes, resulting in the eventual extension of 45th Avenue as part of continual deed revisions. The east terminus represents the village expansion limit with the 1912 school building and grounds serving as a distinct public landmark, historically, and as a museum in 2013.

The historic center of the village appeared to be located at the waterfront near the intersection of 124th Street and 46th Avenue. Here, the Albion Inn, a now demolished hotel and its now relocated attached store wing, and its associated wharf and retail operation formed a west anchor; other retail establishments contributed to this early activity center combined with the fisheries processing buildings. The main commercial corridor was located along the southern extent of 124th Street leading into the working waterfront area. In 2013, this area, occurring east of where the Albion Inn was located, represents the public activity center mainly because it is easily accessed as part of the public road system, the development of a restaurant and publicly accessible pier, and the placement of a maritime monument (Figure 4-9).

A large oyster shell parking lot that connects to these areas serves as a gathering amenity where the cultural reflection of Cortez seems most prevalent. Here, the loosely defined road overlapped with crushed oyster shell is bracketed by what is easily described as the dominant assemblage of commercial fishing-oriented artifacts found in the village, including a fisher memorial as its centerpiece, a seafood processing facility/restaurant, fishing equipment storage yards, and a boat museum in a structure dating back to 1922. A semi-public dock with superstructure is also accessed from this area. In a way, all travel in the village tends to lead the visitor to this area, which is defined more as a retail and tourist attraction, rather than commercial fishing, though commercial fishing equipment is visually present in clumps.

The extreme northwestern limit of the village encompasses the Cortez Park development circulatory system, which has been altered from its original north/south orientation. Though the development has been part of Cortez since at least 1935, its

circulation system is self-prescribed and represents the intrusion of an enclave that is distinctly separate from the TFV setting. However, it is important to note that the use of this area of the village has historically been one more linked with tourism and recreational fishing rather than commercial fishing, based on the pursuits of its second owner/settler. Part of its system of non-improved drive paths appears to have evolved through continued use, while other parts have been designed as part of platting lots.

In addition to the five streets prescribed in the 1887 plat, and not including the Cortez Park drive paths, six other streets are recognized as publicly accessible in 2013, including the eastern boundary 119th Street. Some streets appear to extend through certain properties based on available mapping; however, this does not reflect how they appear on the ground. The recent development of the museum at the northeast corner creates a new influence on the village-wide traffic pattern as some visitors begin their vehicular travel at that point, which is accessed off of the 119th Street boundary street, just south of the Cortez Road arterial. With the exception of the Cortez Park drive paths, all streets referenced are improved with asphalt surfaces

Building mosaic form indicator set

Out of over 300 buildings and primary structures existing within the historic village boundary, nearly 97 are considered to be contributing according to the approved 1995 Cortez historic district, which is approximately one third of the size of the study boundary area. Most of the contributing buildings are residential; less than 10 are commercial, former commercial or institutional uses. In addition, some are lesser buildings and structures, such as garages, or other appurtenances to the primary buildings. Perhaps the most surprising caveat about the historic district is that it does not take in the entire village as defined by my study boundary. Instead it meanders

through the interior portions of the village, extending briefly to capture only a roughly 500-foot section of the all-important south waterfront. From a contextual perspective, the implication suggested by this caveat is the lack of integrity in the village regarding its historic contextual character, which also confirms that some degree of form change between the end of the study period and 2013 occurred.

There are several reasons why the building mosaic in present-day Cortez seems to lack context-specific abundance. First, it was determined early on by the arbiters of the historic district nomination that several of the historic buildings and structures in the village have been relocated or moved from their original locations making them ineligible for a positive determination as eligible historic resources. An argument is possible related to how fishers often moved entire buildings both with their own village settings, and from without.

Second, nearly all buildings existing over or at the waterfront up until the 1921 hurricane were destroyed, eliminating a large stock of vernacular structures that were by that time approaching three decades of weathering. The effects of the hurricane prompted much reconstruction, virtually setting a new base date for the waterfront vernacular construct at 1921 versus 1889. Remember, though the village was settled in 1887, the earliest known structure is dated to 1889. This structure is not even considered part of the waterfront since it is located away from the water, and is residentially used. The newer waterfront construct is especially true of many pre-1921 waterfront buildings and some net camps that were located over the water. Another natural disaster in the form of a tornado also destroyed several buildings along the northern village tier in 1937, eliminating some of those historic vernacular constructs;

however, the effect on the contextual character of Cortez did not appear to be significant, though some interesting buildings were destroyed as a result. Common to many communities using wood as the primary construction material, fire served as an additional, ongoing threat causing several buildings and structures to be destroyed over time.

Third, purposeful redevelopment from the historic vernacular either replaced historic vernacular stock, or altered them to an irreversible non-historic condition. The most significant impacts to this issue are found in near the southwestern shoreline area with the demolition of the early twentieth century Albion Inn in 1992, the construction of the out-of-scale residence at the western shore in 1998, and the insensitive commercial development of the marinas south of the bridge, and along the south shoreline. The Cortez Park development appears to be an intrusion; however, it does have historical precedence and will be analyzed later as part of the contextual recovery form period. In addition, the marina and retail site developed at the eastern waterfront serves as a private, non-residential enclave that now creates a separation between historic cultural context and modern commercial interests.

Residential buildings and appurtenances. The extant historic residential architecture in Cortez consists mostly of dwellings constructed of the vernacular frame style representing a variety of shapes defined by rooflines and massing predominantly consisting of gable-oriented roof lines with the most presented as front gable design (main entry point), followed by side gable dwellings. Garages are constructed using mostly a front gable design, while some have incorporated the shed roof systems. The historic set also includes examples of pyramidal rooflines, while only one or two

buildings, all historic structures, can be considered as distinctly maritime in their adaptation to the historic vernacular landscape.

While nearly the entire historic construct is wood based, there are also several masonry dwellings including the 1912 Cortez School, which was at one time used as a residence. Residential buildings constructed after the last historic study period ending in 1946 are represented by a mixture of wood frames and concrete block walls with false stucco or painted-over exteriors. This modernized presentation creates an enhanced texture-less collection of façade areas in the vernacular landscape not distinctly present up to 1946. High, elevated buildings are new fixtures on the historic vernacular landscape occurring well after 1946 due to recent floodplain management controls. These elevations are much different than the predominance of two-story dwellings built by the early settlers, most of which were elevated on pier groups either of wood pilings or brick. Newer elevations are a mixture of high concrete block stem walls, enclosed or partially enclosed concrete block first floors that are supposed to be uninhabitable spaces, and wood column systems. Constructions occurring after 1946 to 2013 are more indicative of the postmodern Key West styling, or simple ranch design.

While there are some early professionally designed structures in Cortez, most of the historic properties were built by their original owners and local carpenters who lived in the area. The designs were within the means of each fisherman and constructed through time spread out over man-hours of kinfolk and friends. The frame vernacular one and two-story buildings and structures in Cortez still reflect the original modest way of life as functional, self-produced, rarely adorned in a purposeful manner. The oldest existing house in Cortez was built in 1889, which is nearly as old as the village itself.

One of the few extant historic two-story houses in Cortez, it was a contemporary of the net camps, piers, and docks that dotted the bay creating a wooden and cloth shantytown over the water. The reference to shanty is precarious, and though I consider a shanty to be vernacular, some authors such as J. B. Jackson suggested they were too crude to be considered as such (1997).

As stated earlier, many buildings in Cortez are not on their original sites, and have been moved between parcels over time. After 1930, many buildings were purchased in nearby towns and hauled to the village, typically in pieces (Fulford-Green & Molto, 1997). The Taylor Boatworks Museum occurring on the south waterfront as part of the waterfront conglomeration is actually a residence and is one of the most contextual buildings in Cortez. A two-story vernacular building constructed as a watercraft carpentry shop below (now a museum) with a front-gabled roof, it was pieced together from salvaged materials after the 1921 hurricane, and continues to retain this character, even with its partially changed use and adorned attraction flair. It was the site for a popular motion picture during the 1990s.

While most of the extant historic buildings in the village are of a vernacular construction, there does not seem to be any real commonality within the existing building mosaic that speaks to a shared localized knowledge. However, it appears from the available architecture that each structure was developed according to individual choice and decision-making based on personal circumstances. In addition to the compatibility problems rendered by the elevated structures, there are several intrusions that do not fit the scale of the contextual vernacular construct. These include several newer residences that appear to dominate the street frontage due to their scale, or that

reflect extremely large footprints such as occurs at the extreme west shoreline (originally, Parcel 6). These newer constructions are created in response to localized building codes without regard to contextual character and occurred prior to the adoption of historic design guidelines.

In an effort to preserve the vernacular character of the village, several regulatory provisions have been adopted since the 1980s that include historic district overlays, design guidelines, and coastal development standards. These have all been guided through preservation activities occurring over time that began as responses to encroachments of and proposals for insensitive developments affecting the village since the 1970s. These activities resulted in a steady stream of community awareness initiatives that first recognized the unique fishing character of the village, followed by a National Register approval, and the subsequent community visioning exercises that aided the residents in determining how the future of Cortez's built environment should unfold. All new development in the village outside of the last historic study period ending in 1946, and beginning in the 1990s, should reflect these new standards as they became legalized; however, the obvious problems of scale and compatibility continued to plague the village even with their implementation (Frey, 2009).

Non-residential/non-fisheries buildings and appurtenances. The occurrence of non-residential/contextual buildings within the village has changed since the end of the historic study span. Much of this historic commercial fabric in Cortez has been demolished or is now used for residential purposes; these include the buildings that once housed the village bowling alley, sundries shop, and pool hall to name a few. There are two places of worship in Cortez with one being a historic, wood frame

vernacular structure constructed in 1922. The second was constructed in 1950 and is of masonry construction with a cross-gabled roof system appearing more modern when compared to the surrounding historic vernacular constructs.

Two marinas occur along the waterfront, nearly serving as bookends to the village. The eastern marina complex is a group of one and two-story buildings revealing hipped roof forms on top of concrete block and wood frame structures. A private gate encloses this property. The marina facility was developed in its current configuration during the 1980s. The gating of such a large parcel of land at the waterfront creates notions of exclusion from the larger community. The debate of exclusion and reducing public access is only relevant herein as it affects the form in Cortez. Since all of the lands along Cortez' waterfront were held as private lands, any substantial debate is lessened since there were no known public access requirements formulated as part of the village's evolution during the historic study span. However, the physical and psychological separation created through gating tends to flow against the community interconnectedness and egalitarianism that were evident historically in Cortez. Such applications of protected property can also begin to change the character of typically open communities; however, since this type of system occurred well after the last historic study period, significant research is outside of the scope of my study.

The western marina is a small complex of uses and is part of the Cortez Park land plot, consisting of a water sports operation and a restaurant. It comprises a marina with two 1-story buildings that serve as a restaurant and watersports recreational station. The larger building has a habitable square foot area of 960 square feet while the

second is a basic wood frame of 400 square feet. It is likely that these buildings were constructed during the late 1950s.

While marinas are water-dependent uses, they are often in opposition to commercial fishing concerns and interrupt the traditional fishing character. In many cases, they are often found to be at political odds with each other. However, due to property rights and the evolving development of the waterfront, the Cortez Design Guidelines continue to allow new marinas up to 25 slips anywhere along the village waterfront. This is not an uncommon occurrence for many similar historic waterfronts where a balance between outright preservation and protection of a historic use must be balanced with the realities of the changed tradition, regulations, economics, and the political structure that responds to these influences.

As of 2013, three additional restaurants are located along the southern waterfront. Two are directly part of fisheries processing facilities, while one is a stand-alone unit. These buildings and their uses tend to co-dominate the active scene in the amount of pedestrian activity and traffic they generate. The restaurants that are attached to the fisheries processing facilities endure an even more active scene due to the daily work processes taking place. In a way, the modern activity may actually resemble the now missing or reduced historic activity, thereby sustaining the feeling and association with historic commercial fishing activity.

The 1912 Cortez Rural Graded School, which now serves as the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez, is a higher styled masonry building, and is part of a group of similarly styled schools constructed by the Manatee County Board of Public Instruction during the first decades of the twentieth century (Green, n.d.). Its red brick exterior,

prominent Greek style portico and isolated location combine to set it apart from the common buildings in Cortez. While it is a common building, it should not be described as vernacular due to its classical styling. While it appears to be elevated higher than the other historic buildings, its finished floor is far from the required present-day flood protection level of nearly eleven feet above mean sea level.

A second prominent historic building now located on the campus is the recently relocated and restored store building, widely accepted as having an original construction date of 1890. The 1890 building used to be attached to the Albion Inn along the south shore, and was recently relocated and then restored in an area away from the water behind the 1912 Cortez Rural Graded School. The intended use is for part of the interpretive program of the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez. It has also been elevated, and retrofitted for American's with Disabilities Act (ADA) compliance, but the elevation height also does not appear to meet the required minimum flood protection level required by local ordinance, reflecting the exemptions that historic buildings are allowed regarding flood plain programming. When improving historic structures, elevation to minimum flood protection levels is not mandatory as derived from the Code of Federal Regulations [44.CFR 59.1 and 44.CFR 60.6(a)] for historic structure relief. Other buildings in Cortez have been historically elevated, but such elevations were done in a manner consistent with historic construction methods, usually between one and three feet above grade on brick or concrete piers, or wood pilings.

The U.S. Coast Guard Station, constructed in 1992 now takes up this former Albion Inn site as an important, highly visible location on the southern waterfront. Its replacement of the historic Albion Inn represented a distinct change of form for that

parcel of land. Because it is a federal facility, it is gated, adding to the total closed-off area of waterfront.

Finally, worth mentioning is one of the former village grocery venues built in 1935, and constructed of a wood frame with front parapet above an elevated concrete block foundation. Its form is defined by a shed roof clad in metal panels, partially hidden by a parapet run. It is in a deteriorated condition and is now used for storage purposes. Other non-residential buildings have been converted to residential uses.

Fisheries contextual buildings and appurtenances. There is even less evidence of the historic vernacular fisheries contextual construct remaining in the village boundary than that of the non-residential/non-fisheries construct discussed in the previous subsection. This is especially noticeable along the waterfront. Cortez's more modernized fishing waterfront is anchored by two fisheries processing facilities anchored at the waterfront ends of the south shoreline.

The east fisheries processing facility was constructed in 1964 and comprises approximately 7,800 square feet within 20-foot high concrete block building revealing a flat roof form. Its east elevation has a roof extension that covers an exterior processing area.

The western fish processing facility is actually two separate facilities under a single ownership. The largest is a 25-foot tall building with a flat roof form above an enclosed area of approximately 35,000 square feet. This structure was constructed periodically between 1966 and 1986 and represents the most dominant form on the waterfront in scale and activity. It stands in contrast to the historic vernacular of wood framed buildings with gable roofs accessed by extended dock systems once present as

the dominant form. However, it is also part of an adjacent facility, part of which was constructed in 1941 that does retain some semblance of the gabled form. Anecdotal evidence suggests that part of this facility's foundational pilings may be preserved from the early 1920s. It is the smaller of the two facilities at approximately 8,600 square feet and is constructed of concrete block with a second story wood frame. This building, representing a partial construction from this historic study period is more relevant with its front gable roof form oriented toward the waterfront. It must be noted that this building more purposely serves as a market, restaurant, and office for the overall fish processing facility and was referenced above.

The larger concrete block masonry buildings above, with flat roof lines, are defined by the Design Guidelines as a type of industrial masonry vernacular, typical of post-World War II era maritime buildings, and differ dramatically from their wooden vernacular predecessors. There is a remnant of a third fish processing facility located to the east of the largest facility described above, and is also associated with it. It was constructed as a separate fish processing facility as a group of buildings and work areas between the early 1940s and early 1960s, as a wood frame vernacular building with a side gable roof form. It is currently used for storage purposes in association with the fish processing facility to its west. This particular building, with its central breezeway, full length covered porch, and side gable orientation provides a fairly clear articulation of the types of buildings that occurred along the waterfront during the latter part of the study period. It also suggests building methods and traditions that were part of the earliest buildings, as well.

While it is easy to describe the loss of a more spectacularly extant commercial fishing construct as detrimental to the historic integrity of the 2013 vernacular landscape, there is still a semblance of historic character in how the historic remnant forms rest between the starkness of the newer forms, which are blatantly different from each other. It is common for older buildings to be adapted to lesser use intensities as they incur states of obsolescence due to the construction of new facilities. While not uncommon under many industries and cultures, this reuse standard speaks to the recycling nature inherent in the TFV.

Extended vernacular form indicator set

Physical manifestations. There is a limited array of docks, wharfs, and shelter constructs built mostly over the open water or tidal areas that now serve the commercial fishing industry along the Cortez waterfront, occurring at the historically centered waterfront conglomeration of the mid southern shoreline, and at the extreme eastern edge of the southern shoreline. Float barges occur within the mid-south shoreline waterfront conglomeration area, along with some wreckage. There are also several private docks and above water deck areas extending into the bay, though the limited number of residential properties along the waterfront also limits overdevelopment of these structures. Some of these structures are extensive in that they extend horizontally for hundreds of feet in various directions usually forming perpendicular intersections at various points. Some of the larger deck areas were also built over the water as a shared interface with the land to which they are connected can take up over 5,000 square feet of area. However, the once dominant vernacular construct that consisted of not only docks and walkways, but also of associated camps, net works, and watercraft are virtually non-existent in the 2013 vernacular landscape of Cortez.

From a historical perspective, today's Cortez waterfront is missing the assortment of cloth nets and barrels of life-extending lime to rub on them. Nylon netting has replaced cloth and has usurped the net camps and net spreaders so typical during earlier years. The 1921 hurricane destroyed the entire network of docks that extended into Sarasota Bay at that time, leaving behind only the vertical pilings that the extensive system was constructed on. Many of these pilings were also damaged due to scouring and the forces of weight being pushed on the superstructures built on top of them as manipulated by the incoming storm surge, as well as, the water-borne debris carried by the tidal movement and wave action from the storm. Based on historic pictures, the Cortez waterfront looked like a lumberyard stacked high with strewn building materials. Fortunately, these materials were recycled into new and repaired structures, buildings, docks and net camps, and watercraft.

Physical manifestations-fisheries camps. There is one single fish camp still active in the 2013 vernacular landscape. It is one of only two camps still extant, though it is more of an aesthetic fixture than one that contributes much to the commercial fishing enterprise. These small buildings represented some of the most contextual constructs in Cortez. The only camp located directly in the bay and accessible only by watercraft reveals the distinct characteristic form of a popular type of camp built at least up until the end of the study period, with slightly rectangular dimension, front gable roof with metal cladding, and vertical exterior siding of wide boards. Historic photographs reveal an expansive net spread system abutting its north entry and east sides. This is evidenced by the remnant pilings still visible. The construction method for such camps was not unique to Cortez, however.

A nearly identical construct was documented near Charlotte Harbor from the same time period revealing another common building practice and tradition occurring throughout the region. However, the Cortez fisheries camp, originally constructed in 1935 or so, is actually a reconstruction, using only some of the historic fabric from the original structure. It was not included in the 1995 Cortez National Register nomination boundary in the early 1990s because of its deteriorated condition at the time. Regardless, it is highly indicative of a nearly lost form, and one that dominated the extended vernacular landscape.

Another camp exists, and was also constructed during the 1930s. It is no longer set over water and occurs at the southwestern shoreline serving as a storage facility for a group of small cottages. It is constructed of a rectangular wood frame but is now clad in metal panels beneath a front gable roof, and again with metal cladding for roof material. Historically, these types of camps sometimes became upland residences, moved by the fishers from the water to their landside tracts of land. In reiterating the reuse of structures and materials, a few of these have been incorporated into the Cortez architectural construct, but have been over-designed to such a degree that their original forms are difficult to discern in the vernacular landscape.

Physical manifestations-net works. Net equipment in Cortez has basically been eliminated. Whereas, at the end of the study period, net systems and the nets that were laid out upon them were the most common vernacular objects found since the first settlement in Cortez, only slight indications of networks are evident now. It is interesting to note that at one point in historic Cortez, the net systems took up many acres of space that was purposely dedicated to their storage and maintenance. Nets also were a

mainstay of the intangible manifestation act of fishing, thereby having at least two aspects to their import on the vernacular landscape. In a way, the vernacular lifeworld (to copy a concept from Seamon, 1986) was historically centered around the fishing net.

Physical manifestations-dock system. In 2013, the extended vernacular construct is present in a much different character than its historic counterparts. As of this writing, the commercial fishing dock systems consist of single wharfs built out over the water paralleling the bulkhead-ed shoreline and also extending as large platforms from the fish processing facilities. Wood constructed docks extend perpendicularly from the wharfs to accommodate modern deep-sea commercial fishing fleets, as well as, smaller watercraft that harvest bait products and inspect traps. The wharfs are usually covered with front gable roof systems above open sides, while the docks and the extensions are completely open, some with crude railing systems, and others planked extensions over the water and open to each side. The Cortez waterfront now has at least 10 private, residentially used dock systems, which typically extend perpendicular from the riparian boundary from which they are constructed.

During the historic study span, dock construction was not a highly regulated activity, although fishing was regulated. Dock construction today is quite different than at the end of the historic study span due to a much stronger regulatory environment and the types of materials being used. In some cases, the lands beneath the water are considered to be state owned, which has caused at least one major historic dock system in Cortez to be removed recently, after decades of use. In addition, there is evidence of a number of legal actions claiming ownership of dock space along the waterfront in Cortez. Permitting for new docks is hardly an easy task, requiring

compliance with local zoning and building codes, as well as, concurrence from the Florida Department of Environmental Protection. In some cases, the size and location of a proposed dock are prescribed by the local governing body.

Physical manifestations-nets. Nets are not nearly as ubiquitous as they were in Cortez. At one point historically, nets seemed to dominate the vernacular landscape along with the physical constructs that supported them. They were found not only along the waterfront and within the shoreline fringe, but also in the rear and side yards of fisher's houses, stored under open and enclosed sheds, and clumped in stored watercraft. Nets seemed to dominate the fishers' lives through the dedication to maintenance, application, expense, and storage they required. Historically, gill nets were the most commonly used netting, followed by large seine nets, and beginning in the 1920s or so, stop nets. The type of net, i.e., its construct, mesh size, length, depended on a variety of factors including the type of fish sought, the season, the weather, the size of the crew, and the ethics of the fisher who preferred one type over another.

While the synthetic materials they are now made of were just emerging around the end of the study period, the type of nets being used in 2013 are quite different due to yet an additional set of environmental regulations applied in 1995 that prohibits entangling nets from being used in Florida waters. Perhaps the most dramatic of all regulatory applications, this restriction had the effect of neutering many individualized fishing operations in Cortez, as well as, around the state. In 2013, nets are within what the state legislature defines as Florida waters are basically limited to cast nets up to 500 square feet, trap systems, and hook and line methods practiced by smaller fishers,

while other are required to travel further out to sea for their harvests. The usual formation of nets in 2013 can most often be seen as a less visible pile in an individual fisher's watercraft, or dangling from metal booms as a part of the larger corporate fishing boat's mechanical rigging.

In Florida, and in Cortez, this legislation represented a dramatic change in the modern vernacular form similar to the transition from natural materials nets to synthetics during the 1940s and 1950s. According to Green (1985), the change from traditional era to modern era in Cortez became etched onto the palimpsest stone when proposals for banning fishing nets became a heated topic of discussion in 1967.

Physical manifestations-watercraft. The watercraft of 2013 have certainly evolved from the shapes and operations as sail-powered vessels found during the settlement period in Cortez, to the widespread use of motorized vessels by 1946. However, it would be gratuitous to suggest that the basic shape of watercraft is still basically the same, in spite of the localized adaptations, technologies, and the economics of the fishing industry. Also, the acts involved in operating and maneuvering watercraft, and the skills required, are a much-changed form. In present-day Cortez, the history of watercraft evolves according to how they were used. For traditional fishing, it started with sail and manual power. The use of motorized watercraft began to emerge with sail hanging on as part of a slow transition mainly due to personal economic circumstances.

By the 1940s, sail eventually diminished from the traditional fishing scene, being completely replaced with motor powered watercraft due to a forced competition between fishers that required those still using what had become obsolete watercraft (and gear),

to adapt to the ever-changing forms in order to continue fishing (Chacko, 1998). Some of those that could not adapt faded from the scene, or reduced their viability as part of the localized commercial fishing market structure. However, others adapted their fishing know-how and watercraft, or as Smith, Jacob, and Jepson (2003) suggested, “shifted in orientation” to more service-related enterprises such as recreational boating, fishing guides, and other tourist-related markets (p. 57). Present-day Cortez is characterized as a power-driven fishing enterprise, completely different than when it began. While the use of sail never disappeared completely, it did not adapt to later fishing methods, and instead is now used only for recreational purposes.

Other forms were historically available in Cortez I reference to the larger commerce and transporting of goods. The sail-powered schooner was the first watercraft form to accommodate Cortez by 1889, with the larger versions no longer being built after 1910, and eventually disappearing by the end of the 1920s (Souza, 1998). Many of the original schooner hulls were adapted to motor power mechanisms (Smith, 1930). By 1895, steam power became available in Cortez, eventually disappearing by 1921. In fact, water commerce and transport faded completely from the Cortez scene by 1940, being replaced by motorized watercraft, especially the diesel engine.

The small kicker boats with front steering, middle engine compartment, and rear equipment area are now a common watercraft form in Cortez and started to appear in adapted forms by the 1920s, as fishers acquired small motors and incorporated them into their vessels. The large clump of netting that was a common component of the mullet skiff is no longer an integral part of the landscape form. Their individualized

designs and reuses create a less homogenized, extended vernacular landscape than the earlier periods revealed with regard to watercraft. This type of watercraft is used mostly for laying and checking traps rather than direct fishing using nets, though some fishers continue to throw cast nets from their vessels for mullet and shrimp.

Those who continue to fish for mullet in this manner would likely refer to their watercraft as mullet skiffs, or launches, though this type of watercraft is fast becoming extinct due mainly to the 1995 Florida net ban, which, in prohibiting the use of entangling nets larger than 500 square feet in Florida waters, had a devastating effect on many of the last remnants of vernacular fishing forms in Cortez. During the historic study span, the strong presence of mullet skiffs represented a merged activity whereby they were used for a variety of tasks that extended to daily family life, similar to how the family automobile is used. In relating the 2013 watercraft usage as a parallel to the early poling skiffs, this vessel type appears as a descendant from that form.

The modern deep-sea trawler is the more dominant sight along the 2013 Cortez waterfront, however. As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, these types of trawlers began to change the form of the watercraft and the acts of fishing in TFVs, e.g., by replacing beach seining (Cato & McCullough, 1976). Their impact on Cortez was not significant since the reach of the watercraft form was a slow transition from the Northern Gulf coast. Since the 1950s, changing markets would begin to depend on the trawler's capability for extended fishing expeditions further into the Gulf of Mexico. This represented an extreme change of form, not only in the watercraft form, but to all of the other extended vernacular forms, such as fishing grounds and the act of fishing, as well. Today, trawler fishers are out to sea for weeks, sometimes months at a time. It is not

uncommon for trawlers to extend their fishing grounds to include the entire Gulf of Mexico and parts of the Caribbean.

The presence of supply and run-boats, i.e., the original schooners and steamers, diminished in Cortez as soon as automobiles began to haul fish harvests and other supplies over land beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century. While this inevitable disappearance signified a completed of a common form in Cortez by the end of the first decade of the contextual recovery form period (i.e., by 1930), the effect on form from this change to 2013 does not warrant an extended discussion here. However, the stability of sail powered vessel is still reflected in the recreational watercraft that still use sailing rigs. The Cortez marinas serve as repositories for them. The staying power of sail suggests a resiliency of it as a form that is vernacular by its very nature. It also reveals the relevancy of the basic sail construct to modern needs and problems, such as fuel costs, auxiliary power, and the popular romantic notions that evolve its form on the open water. In 2013, even the larger fisheries operators are contemplating the integration of sail power into their harvesting systems in order to reduce costs.

Intangible manifestations. The quiet forms discussed earlier are evident in the 2013 vernacular landscape of Cortez. Intangible forms are an inherent part of the cultural construct. In fact, the intangible form may become increasingly pronounced as part of a cultural setting as it moves from generation to generation. In being intangible, form has vestiges that ramble through the mind with scarcity of real time and placement.

The three primary intangible indicator sets of fishing grounds, the act of fishing, and the elapsed experiential are forms that take on special, contextual-sensitive characteristics in the TFV. These intangible forms benefit descriptions of the landscape-

wide historic physical form in that they blend the forms typically studied as separate units of analysis.

Intangible manifestations-fishing grounds. With regard to Cortez fishers the fishing grounds of 2013 overlap those from the historic period, but are also much more extended with the search for the larger types of fish such as the grouper and snapper. In fact, the variety of fish now being harvested by Cortez fishers includes most of the available species found in the Gulf of Mexico including shellfish and baitfish. However, the fishing grounds have also contracted in a sense due to a regulatory structure driven by various scientific, recreational, and political communities. This distinct change in the extended vernacular landscape form in 2013 is represented in large part due to the prohibition of commercial fishers to use nets larger than the typical cast net within what were the primary historic fishing grounds that delineated the inshore commercial fisher enterprise. This basically eliminated the small-scale fisher from the landscape.

While the overall fishing grounds of 2013 may have expanded due to advancing technology and changing markets, the small-scale mullet fishery grounds reveal a noticeable shrinkage since 1946 (Frederiksen, 1995). In looking at a more factual representation, Frederiksen equates this dilemma to several factual occurrences including a shrinking water column available to fishers. The water column is a vast web of open water, estuaries, tidal flats, wetlands, and water fringe areas that are diminished through anything that decreases them, whether it is displacement through structures inserted into it such as dock pilings, destruction of the tidal systems mitigated by internal, isolated replacements, or locational prohibitions. All represent reductions of the water column, and of course the historic fishing grounds available to commercial fishers.

Effects upon the physical aspects of the fishing grounds have certainly influenced certain intangible manifestations in the historic vernacular landscape since the end of the historic study span, resulting in a comparative effect on the intangible indicator sets. This includes limitations on where and how fishers can fish, propeller scarring of sea grass beds, waterfront development and, according to Antonini et al., (2002), the dredging of hundreds of miles of canals, the filling in of fringe tidal areas, and the loss of coastal vegetation such as mangroves (39% by 1990) and sea grass (22% by 1990). Though many of these effects have physical results, their intangible implications are manifested in how and where the fisher employs his trade. Though the basic learned tradition of fishing for mullet began to lose its defining character by the 1920s, its ability to be recognized as a vernacular process had at least a semblance of resiliency in spite of the decadal advances, but seemed to be totally lost as part of the *fait accompli* of the political process, which had nearly always been active and somewhat influential during the evolution of Cortez, albeit to much lesser degrees. The close-in and shore-oriented commercial fishing activities that once highlighted most of the historic study span are now modified by the latent net prohibition within Florida waters, the expansion of the bait and shrimp industries, and the increased depths required for harvesting the larger prey fish.

After 100 plus years of mullet fishing, Cortez is no longer considered a mullet fishery *per se*, though mullet is still harvested. The requirement to extend the fishing grounds due to net prohibition fractured the traditional commercial fishing form into two distinct forms with one focused on investing in new equipment and watercraft in order to harvest different fish species, and the other to give up commercial fishing and transition

into a recreational enterprise or non-water dependent activity (Smith, Jacob, & Jepson, 2003). Many fishers were forced to do the latter. Ironically, this *force majeure* of sorts actually has precedent in Cortez since its earliest historic study period.

The difference between fishing grounds reflects a different type of fisher; one that is oriented toward the bays and shallow waters of the local ecosystem, and therefore, more connected to the local area, and the offshore fisher, who may have only limited knowledge of the local environment, albeit more knowledge of the present commercial fishing enterprise, as a non-vernacular tradition. Information exists that discusses these differences, with some of it appearing in the form of the elapsed experiential. This differentiation is somewhat captured by Mullen (1978), in how bay and open water fishers of the Texas coast reflect difference in perceptions about themselves, between each other, and their environments.

Historically, the fishing grounds overlapped with other areas as fishers, dealers, and businessmen based out of places such as Punta Gorda, Tampa, and St. Petersburg came to Cortez to set up fishing stations as part of larger networks of the trade. However, it must be noted that environmental effects upon the historic Cortez fishing grounds have also been evident since the beginning of the settlement period. Dredging, as part of the Intracoastal Waterway program was approved by a Congressional Act in 1890 with the first swaths of activity occurring just north of Cortez. This early dredging activity was referred to as the Bulkhead Cut and took place from 1891 to 1892, and another cut south of Cortez, named the Longbar Cut, took place between 1892 and 1895. Both operations resulted in over 20,000 cubic yards of sea floor material being removed and side-deposited along nearby waterfronts (Antonini et

al., 2002). In fact, work on the intracoastal project would wax and wane over the following decades eventually being completed by 1967.

While it is highly probable that each of these human-made impacts affected the viability of the fishing grounds by increasing watercraft access, the effects on fishing grounds from erosive or ecosystem degradation has proven much more debatable. Certainly the effects from storm events after 1946 caused much damage to fishing grounds that were changed through alterations of the barrier island system, opening new inlets, and closing others. The first red tide outbreak noticed by the Cortez fishers occurred in 1947, one year after the end of the historic study span. However, red tide along the Florida Gulf Coast has been recorded since the 1840s, and even longer than that elsewhere. Fishers often blame the appearance of red tide to overdevelopment and pollution; however, as of 2013, no scientific evidence can absolutely conclude direct causes for past outbreaks, or accurately predict new ones. However, Jepson (2006) suggested that the red tide outbreaks affected the available grounds so dramatically in recent years that its side effect was to cause significant reductions in the number of commercial fishers plying the fishing grounds, who were already walking fine lines from gear restrictions and the effects on the act of fishing.

The impacts from red tide and other natural and human-caused conditions can be linked with noticeable reductions of commercial fishing infrastructure across the United States, which, when considered to be part of the overall fishing grounds construct, declined steadily after 1946 as gentrification of the waterfront resulted in rampant conversions to residential and non-fishing uses (Beatley, 2011). Finally, the diminution of available fishing grounds can also be attributed to landowner complaints,

increased law enforcement, and strong anti-fishing lobby groups. In some cases, lands adjacent to fishing grounds were developed for dense residential purposes, fostering a “coming to the nuisance” circumstance, whereby the newer activity became elevated in importance over the historically established commercial fishing activity (the “nuisance”). The schism that developed between the activities caused direct consequences for the fishing grounds. While it is presented only with a broad brush here in order to provide more of a lead-in to where the historic study periods would lead, the reduction of this essential support infrastructure affected the fisher’s entire range of intangible manifestations of form.

Intangible manifestations-act of fishing. Perhaps the biggest change to Cortez has been the methods for harvesting fish that began to change from individual and small crew fisher operations using traditional netting after 1946 to larger, manual labor types of crews using high technology (Purdy, 1980). After this time, the nearly complete transition to motorized watercraft from sail did not necessarily change the immediate physical form that made up the act of fishing, but certainly would change its scope. Commercial fishers would continue to fish using much of the traditional methods and the resultant forms through the 1980s, but the competition from the larger-scale commercial operations created a major shift in the hierarchical structure from the individual, long-time captain, to the power brokers.

In 2013, the once traditional, more agricultural and avocational form of living and working in the TFV, only now just slightly present, evolved into one replaced by a pragmatism more focused on bringing home a paycheck (U.S. Department of Interior, et al., 1990). Frederiksen (1995) suggested that after the 1950s, “a new breed of gillnetter

entered the fishery” (p. 79). Money became the primary goal; novice fishers were now invading the mullet fishery landscape, prompting a change in the traditional fishing ethic where carelessness and greed trumped good stewardship of both fishing method and fisher relations. The small crew and individual operations for catching fish that still was a dominant character of the act of fishing by the end of the study period has also been modernized, reflecting a less-vocational, aloof process and personal investment. In other words, the pursuit of the catch using one’s traditional know-how, resulting in a productive, self-gratifying harvest has become one of corporate needs and requirements based mainly on production.

Whereas, even up to the 1995 net ban, individual fishers continued to use and handle nets for harvesting mullet, representing a continuance of the historic and generational harvesting methods, the fisher’s present-day act of fishing is mostly represented through the mode of being part of a crew attached to the economic engine of the watercraft and its captain. The advance of mechanically drawn netting increased catches while also reducing the manpower needed (Shortall III & Lowry, 1983). In a way, rapid advances of technology after World War II both helped and hurt local Cortez fishers. On one hand, certain fishers could better compete with external markets and expand their fishing grounds to accommodate steady or increased harvests. In contrast, it created noticeable economic differences between the small-scale fisher and those who could afford to adapt, basically amounting to a stratification of fishery networks (National Research Council, 1988).

Additional issues of a slowly degrading ecosystem, depletion of marine resources, and a growing generation of fishers who knew little about traditional methods

widened the historic-to-modern gap even further, resulting in a more rapid change from established vernacular forms to non-vernacular forms that were now seemingly permanently set in motion. The concept of traditional ecological knowledge was a dwindling part of the fisher's act of fishing, as well, since technology seemed to replace the human-oriented, and vernacular indulgent components of fishing.

In 2013, the captain of the small-scale mullet fishery appears as a completely separate, logistical entity versus the visceral embodiment characterized by the historic crews. While still respecting the distinction between the hierarchical structure of commercial fishing, the traditional historic crews were more akin to presenting a seamless on- and off-board working structure, who served as extensions of the captain's knowledge. Now, they seem to serve as hired hands used for various divisions of labor. The former seamless structure was less compartmentalized, more socially intrinsic, often being inclusive of fishers who had as much knowledge and skill as the captain, but who could manage the small enterprise when needed. The transition of fish hauls went from what was common for only a few fishers bringing in most of the catch in the historic village setting, to the faceless corporate harvest whose hauls are ill-defined, nebulous, as part of trade secrecy (Varney, 1963). This created a distance not dissimilar to what Henry Glassie was getting at in creating a distinction between vernacular and technology. A form of covert behavior had always been present in commercial fishing; however, the differences just mentioned reflect a different trade form that equates to a separation between a vernacular know-how and an internalized, more personalized secrecy, and one that increased in scale to a purposeful, competitive scheme.

The harvesting of mullet, as part of the strongest identity characterized for the historic period fishers, is no longer the most relevant form of fishing in 2013 Cortez. Because of the more capitalistic orientation of Cortez' commercial fishing enterprise, the restricted environment in which fishing now takes place, and the insertion of a laborer-corporate structure and external influences that have steadily broken away from the kinship and egalitarian-oriented fishery community, the fishing act itself holds much less meaning for Cortez. This latent decline is similar to what happened in the gradual decline of the North Carolina Menhaden industry, as described by Garrity-Blake (1994).

The fishing methods and associated vernacular constructs associated with the mullet industry along Florida's Gulf Coast, as identifiable local cultural symbols, faded with each passing decade after 1946 beginning with the seasonal mullet closures of the 1950s, size, gear, and time restrictions from 1989 through the early 1990s, and the 1995 net ban (Mahmoudi, 2005). The marketing of mullet, once primarily confined to Southern markets after the decline of the Havana markets, switched to Asian markets that prized its fish roe as a delicacy. This rather large market widened the already entrenched cultural distance between the mullet fishers and the non-fishing societies that were surrounding them. The localized and culturally defined act of fishing became increasingly less apparent as individual fishers could no longer depend on their fishing harvests to make a complete living as commercial fishers. Instead, to the less-keen observer, the overall act of fishing transformed from a sort of handcraft with all of its traditional knowledge, to one that now resembles a factory setting described by Garrity-Blake (1994).

Now, my study is not so naïve to suggest that fishing in Cortez simply moved along through time as an isolated endeavor that lacked any semblance of desire for high production. In fact, the tradition of commercial fishing in Cortez has historically been punctuated by maximizing fisheries production, even prior to the historic study span. While historically noticeable from time to time, the strongest schisms associated with the commercial fishers actually seemed to develop between commercial and recreational fishers after 1946, though sport fishing was popular in Florida even before the Civil War.

Whereas commercial fishers related their role in fishing as farmers who would tend their fields with care, suggesting a localized commitment based on long-standing stewardship, recreational fishers saw them as over-exploiting the resource (Jepson & Florida Humanities Council, 2006). As early as the late nineteenth century, recreational fishers were complaining about prize fish declines from increased water traffic due to commercial fishing boons that enabled expanded markets allowed by railroad expansion, ice factories, and an increase of fishers themselves (Purdy, 1980). This particular schism slowly built-up to become a highly influential factor as part of recreational fishing lobbying efforts that ultimately aligned with proponents of the 1995 net ban, and favored other restrictive applications up to that time. Therefore, the act of fishing in Cortez, as one that has historically merged the traditional commercial fisher, recreational fisher, and the corporate fisher has not really changed in and of itself more than the technologies and legislative influences have caused such changes to be more apparent in how each is distributed. The latent allowable forms represented by the inshore cast net technique, and the allowance of seine nets less than 500 square feet,

offer a glimpse of the historic and traditional act of fishing to be sure, which suggests a diminished landscape oriented toward a particularly defined form that at one time had more of a presence on it. Here, the evolution of the vernacular form results in changes of degree and in the act itself where the evidence of change across the wider landscape is considered a tenable determination.

The traditional act of fishing as a dominant form on the three form indicator sets has been affected as a peripheral form, now nearly replaced with a much larger-scale commercial fishing built construct, the nearly complete disappearance of the historic contextual fabric (i.e., waterfront constructs), and a reduced extended vernacular from both physical and intangible perspectives. The latter includes the disappearance of the historic erected and artifactual constructs, a severely neutered dependence on learned, traditional knowledge, a changed captain/crew relationship structure, and a strong sense of cultural loss.

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential. It is interesting to see how the form of the fisher's folklore is shaped as part of the generational movements, and in response to outside influences. While new interviews of the present day fishers in Cortez are not part of my study methodology, research that uses interviews has already been done by others and can be used here. The cultural flux has certainly changed in Cortez. Most fishers in Cortez up to 2013 continue to lament the destruction of the small fisher enterprise due to the 1995 net ban as part of the environmental awareness era that began in the 1960s. As new science develops, there continues to be a call for overturning the legislation in order to go back to the way it was. The changed economy

in the United States only strengthens this call as a means to increasing jobs and payrolls, and getting people, including fishers, back to work.

However, as of the date of my study, nearly 20 years have elapsed since the net ban was enacted, effecting an increasingly widened separation between generations. Several studies have been produced that reflect on the effect of the net ban on commercial fishing communities. The separation of the experience and the learned tradition of fishing under more traditional fishing methods of gill netting from the modern use of synthetics as part of the environmental awareness era since the 1970s are even further removed from the truer historical and traditional fishing methods that occurred up to 1946. In 2013, there is a deep disconnect of generational fishers that began as the later fourth and fifth generations in Cortez were coming of age, and then exacerbated by the net ban, followed by the intrusion of what locals referred to as outsiders. This represents a lost cultural flux in Cortez.

Another elapsed experiential discussion for 2013 revolves around the feeling of those generations beginning to feel a sense of loss; a sense of losing something sacred. In 1994, the Florida Humanities Council, in sponsoring the brief work entitled *Vanishing Culture: Images and Voices of Cortez Fishing Folk*, highlighted the plight of how the long-term associations with fishing and fishing culture in Cortez had created a sacred environment connecting the culture to its “dilapidated buildings...structures...and open spaces” (p. 1). Since Cortez began recognizing its heritage, or more appropriately, its lifeworld being in jeopardy, it has focused on an active preservation and cultural protection campaign. However, as the economy continues to be sluggish, as philosophical and global paradigms regroup, and the original movers and shakers

disappear from the scene, the threat of heritage insolvency becomes a more predictable trend. In this case, heritage insolvency represents a transformation of the historical vernacular with forced versions of it; tidbits here and there that mark some relationship of the present situation with that of one that is past. Even with the establishment of the recent Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez, there is a sense of something that cannot be explained or captured in writing, on film, or in displays. The memory of the historical vernacular continues to fade.

In 2000, the community of Cortez set toward creating a vision for its future (Cortez Waterfronts Committee, 2000). This exercise was intended to reflect the desires and vision of the village's residents and its stakeholders. It is likely that the components contained within the 2000 Cortez Village Community Vision Plan have been incorporated into the various iterations of the Manatee County Comprehensive Plan and Land Development Code. Some of the ultimate goals identified were to

- maintain the commercial fishing enterprise and its heritage with limited change;
- maintain the historic fabric, i.e., buildings and architecture;
- prevent incompatible development; and
- limit or eliminate base flood elevation requirements, and the substantial damage provisions required by the Manatee County floodplain management standards.

The immediate first glance value of the above community desires suggests a strong preservation attitude toward the traditional fishing and culture and historic architecture, while limiting constructs that would be considered incompatible. The practice of visioning, as noble as it appears, often relates to a response or threat of loss. In some cases, the act of self-identifying sacred elements or treasured artifacts, places, or

environments of one's culture, sometimes runs together with an already declining or affected cultural landscape.

The elapsed experiential kicks in here, as the community comes together to bear witness to what it finally recognizes as effects on their past and present that in some way have always been important. Granted, some communities may opine for decades about such losses of their culture, until some recognition or action is taken. The elapsed experiential becomes even more poignant in current viewpoints for how things were done, how they used to be, and with the arrival of many non-fishers as outsiders, how things should be. These reminiscences, mixed with an incomplete preservation attitude by the new movers and shakers who never experienced, or had any personal connections to pre-1946 Cortez, only add to the steady accumulation of the lost cultural flux into the future, as context and fabric disappear.

Discussion of the twenty-first century form in Cortez

The more than six-decade span of time occurring after the end of the contextual recovery form period indicates the most significant change to the historic vernacular landscape form in Cortez. Based on the above analysis of the form indicators, Table 4-1 provides a positive or negligible change determination finding of each form indicator based on this analysis, and as occurring after the end of the historic study span in 1946 and ending in 2013. Only one indicator (parcel configuration) was determined to not have changed significantly.

In 2013, the Cortez waterfront is considered a modernized form construct, as appearing much different than its historic precedents. Its residential construct, when considering the maritime traditions of building reuse, remained fairly stable throughout its history with less of a diminution of the physical construct; however, numerous

intrusions were added that affected the character, scale, and presence of historic vernacular forms. While the non-residential form construct represented a rebuilding of the waterfront areas almost anew from 1921 to 1946, its rapid recovery suggested a modeling after the original settlement form occurring between 1889 and 1921, but with modifications. In spite of the mass destruction in 1921, the overall highly contextual vernacular landscape erected form up to 1946 is considered to have been more stable compared to the later modern period after 1946, albeit, indicating several adaptations of individual forms due to the influences of technological advances, in the physical forms becoming denser, and in the accumulation of forms being continually added. The 2013 village layout represents the least changed form indicator set between 1947 and 2013, though it still changed significantly overall. Distinct form changes with regard to shapes and materials were directly affected primarily by changing technologies affecting gear, and political ramifications of environmental awareness. The latter is a complicated matter that has tiers of effects that serve as a cumulative ultimate effect.

In 2013, Cortez' modernized, highly privatized waterfront is more indicative of a non-communicative waterfront between updated and medium-scale fisheries processing facilities that evoke certain vestiges of former vernacular activities and recreational and tourism uses and constructs. The lack of a strong residential waterfront character was in 2013 did not seem to represent a change, since permanent waterfront living did not seem to hold a high standard in Cortez, and has not been as affected. Nevertheless, its shoreline boundary is nearly completely changed, with filling of the shore areas beginning just prior to 1921 and occurring sporadically until after 1946. However, in spite of the shoreline alterations to the south and west, the historic boundaries to upland

areas to the north and east remain nearly intact according to historic expansions through 1912.

With the exception of platting the Cortez Park manufactured housing project at the northwest corner, the parcel configuration in Cortez remained comparatively stable since 1946, with no successful internal conversions to major residential or commercial developments, though some were attempted. The same can be said regarding the circulation pattern, though the closing off of the north/south street ends at the waterfront created a significant change to the waterfront access. The significance of commercial and residential development proposals, though part of Cortez's history since at least 1909, reveal significant encroachment upon Cortez as a separate historic village in contrast to post-World War II developments. The social impacts from these later developments would lead to mixed feelings regarding the importance of commercial fishing in the area, reflected in what would amount to a modern NIMBY-ism (not-in-my-backyard) changing the local community support structure on one hand, and increased environmental protection on the other. These two factions seemed to merge with a concurrent preservationist influx from individuals that may have been from both groups, some rather reluctantly so.

The extended vernacular has been affected the most since 1946. Whereas, this indicator set, except for watercraft, as a an overall group remained fairly stable up to about 1946, more so than the other vernacular form indicator sets, it reveals a significant loss of contextual character in 2013 since that time. Regarding the physical manifestations of the extended vernacular construct, the fisheries camps, net works, and nets are for all intents and purposes, erased entities from the vernacular landscape

in 2013. Some historic dock system elements remain, but only in regard to very limited historic footprints. Some underwater elements are likely still extant; however, there is no known program for studying the underwater evidence as of the date of my study. A few historic watercraft remain, but none are relevant from before the 1940s, except as “museum-ified” artifacts and remnants of whole watercraft constructs.

The extent of the fishing grounds represents a conundrum in that it has been affected as a construct that is continually changing. In this respect, it retains some essence of historic integrity. However, it appears to increase and decrease in extent at the same time. Whereas, the fishing grounds in Cortez have increased to include the entire Gulf of Mexico, the available area has been exponentially enlarged. However, this is due to non-fisher circumstances such as going from an inshore commercial fishery to one that is mostly offshore, a direct effect of technology, politics, market demand, and competition.

There is an opposite effect, as well. In this sense, the fishing grounds decrease through reductions in the water column that is available to fishers due to infill development of tidal areas, waterfront residential development, and regulation of fishing. When it comes to distinguishing between the small-scale fishers that remain in Cortez, and those that are larger scale, an overriding question lingers for who is being affected by the increases and reductions of the fishing grounds. It appears that the small-scale fisher is mostly affected since there is a reduction of the fishing grounds pursuant to the inshore fishery. The small-scale fisher is also impacted by the disadvantage of having to compete with the larger fisheries operators, and therefore has to settle for a limited economic benefit, or establish an enhanced economic relationship

with the larger entities. The larger scale fisheries operators appear less affected since their operations evolved, or were initiated to accommodate the extended fishing grounds demands and requirements.

The perceptions involved with regulation-laden commercial fishing enterprise affect the awareness and perception of the fisher and the general public regarding the availability and extent of the fishing grounds. Based on the research of the historic periods that unfolds throughout this chapter, the historic vernacular form in Cortez is represented entirely as a small-scale fishery construct. The obvious difference represented partly in the changed fishing grounds is evidence of a historic form change to the scale of the contextual construct. The fishing grounds changes, in turn, cause real and perceived changes to the act of fishing and the elapsed experiential.

The act of fishing in modern Cortez is also a much changed construct that is affected by technological improvements in how the harvesting of the primary target of mullet and non-historically pursued species have effected new techniques and methods more suited to the large-scale fisher. Legal restrictions to the how and when of harvesting also have an effect on how fishing is done. While fishing regulations have been implemented under a variety of legislative acts in Cortez since the settlement period, the most dramatic effect occurred as a result of gear prohibitions in 1995. The act of fishing with gill nets as part of the inshore fishery experience, and also the predominantly historic fishing act, is seen as a sudden and severe diminution of the inshore gill net fisher, and the elimination of any continuance of the historic act of commercial fishing.

The gaps between fishers and captains increased during this later period as the historically small crew structure grew to a much larger corporate system that became more compartmentalized. The focus changed from a seamless harvesting team of fishers with skills on par with captains, to one focused on individualized duties more akin to laborers with minimal skills that were not necessarily part of the local cultural flux. While all fishers desired fruitful catches and sufficient incomes, the modernized Cortez fishery enlarged itself to the likes of the inanimate economic machine of watercraft-owner-economic market; this drove the fishers rather than the inherent pursuit and freedom of traditional fishing. This dependency on the economic machine and the advanced technologies that went with it also caused a significant decrease in the localized traditional knowledge skillset required of the earlier vernacular fishers; this specific tradition was able to last to a degree even past the end of the historic study span of 1946.

Generational attitudes and the conveniences of advancing technologies also had an effect on the act of fishing that caused a veering away from traditional knowledge and a sense of continued loss of culture that is represented as a form of an elapsed experiential. I argue that the recognition of a lost or disappearing sense of one's culture, whether through the destruction of physical constructs, or as part of the intangible character of a place or tradition, represents a changed historic form that most likely has been ongoing for quite some time. Since landscapes are always changing, this is not surprising. However, the degree of change can mean the difference between accepting change that is fairly stable or dramatic change that is not. Interestingly enough, the sudden and widespread loss of the historic construct in Cortez after the 1921 storm

surge did not appear to imbue a loss of culture or a sense of place in Cortez even though the entire waterfront construct was nearly destroyed. By that time, Cortez had been established for over 30 years. It was not until the development booms of the 1950s and 1960s rolled around, that cultural changes were beginning to affect the villagers of Cortez in ways they were only beginning to understand and notice, both visibly and cognitively.

The lost cultural flux, partly represented by the number of full time fishers being replaced quickly by avocational fishers contributed to the ongoing sense of loss on a more permanent basis than prior precedents. For example, the common legends for finding lost treasure certainly persuaded fishers across a wide spectrum, and far back in time to give up their fisher-as-living status temporarily, since coastal areas have historically been shrouded in these types of legends. After subsequent failure at other types of employment, the overriding majority always seemed to fall back into fishing after a relatively short spell, since the basic social infrastructure of the time afforded that opportunity. However, the more complex postwar social structures presented different opportunities that allowed fishers to pursue other quests such as drug smuggling that were much more involved as initial investments, with many resulting in incarceration and internal conflicts. While this can be compared to active liquor production that occurred during the historic study span, the ramifications that helped to diminish the local cultural tradition were much more pronounced for reasons that are beyond the scope of my study.

These types of cultural dynamics resulted in strong senses of cultural loss and a reactionary response for reversing the ebb of cultural identifiers that many of the second

and third generation fishers and their families began to opine about early on. However, the first real effects of preservation as a tool did not begin until the 1980s, with the passage of the first historic overlay in Cortez. However, several intrusions would occur after this, resulting in a National Register of Historic Places historic district approval, and a community-wide vision with resulting design guidelines. Ultimately, the Florid Maritime Museum at Cortez was established instilling the importance of Cortez to Florida's maritime history. Of course, the effect of the preservation up to this point is questionable given the diminution of available historic constructs along the waterfront, and the changes from a vernacular TFV to one that has been modernized.

In a way, Cortez has been museum-ified to a degree that affirms cultural loss, which is not uncommon for many historic districts across the country. A fairly robust debate has been ongoing as far as what preservation and its own effects such as tourism and a brandishing of its heritage will do to the community. The staged, yet picturesque effect of "old fishing" in Peggy's Cove, Nova Scotia is a perfect example. The quaint fishing village is a nearly perfect traditional fishing scene until one realizes the throngs of tourists that assault the town's meager circulation paths in a mass convergence from strategically placed tour bus parking lots, on their way to the gift shops and small eateries, and photographic opportunities that seem staged and contrived. The primary historic element missing is the vibrant activity that created the landscape.

Presettlement Form Period Occurring 1887 and Prior

Synopsis of the period

The presettlement form period is represented by initial land disturbance and development activities, including the fishing rancho and early American fishing

operations, transiency, and land privatization. Exploration and discovery are certainly part of the period, but are implied activities not examined for my study. Presettlement form is a value-added discussion when considering the historic vernacular form of a place with a known origin date. It is not enough to suggest prima facie that the Cortez fishing village form developed out of an uninhabited, wooded peninsula with a few artifacts left behind by previous temporary human activity. The discussion of the form indicators can be followed through the graphic tiles shown in Figure 4-11.

Any discussion that attempts to expose cultural form in the landscape must at least look to prior precedents for influences and perhaps guidance. The vast amount of academic discourse regarding form influences based on natural and environmental determinants is too interspersed and debated in the literature to be forgotten here. This is not to say that form is not naturally or environmentally informed or determined after a place or setting has been culturally established. It is also not my intent to suggest a strong position for any specific type of determinism applicable to initial settlement as a general rule to Cortez or other settings. However, the natural formations and features of the presettlement land and setting most likely influence the generative mind as previously discussed. The mere and obvious fact that a waterfront is settled due to its location to the water, and perhaps as a first viewed setting as part of its discovery can certainly be construed to be environmentally deterministic precisely to this relationship. However, future cultural determinants of form are not always necessarily so, depending on various factors including, but not limited to evolving economics and individualism.

For the purposes of this paper, it is reasonable to consider the presettlement condition used here as a distinct form period, as the first phase of cultural interface with

Hunter's Point, or what can be considered the larger Cortez study area and its relative surroundings. While Native Americans (aboriginals) and early colonial activity most likely impacted at least to some degree the larger peninsula that the Cortez study area is part of, an investigation of any permanent settlement by either group is also not being undertaken as part of my study. Instead, the presettlement form period is considered with regard to the activities of the fishers from the Bahamas, Cuba, Key West, and other areas, including early Manatee County settlers. There is evidence of small fish camps occurring there from written records, along with mid-nineteenth century land surveys suggesting extensive pinelands covering the coastal area uplands. This opens up the possibility that at least some early deforestation of the natural vegetation took place, denuding the available pines, cabbage palms, palmettos, mangroves, and sea grapes for access, sustenance, work and building activities. By the time of Hunter's Point settlement during the late 1800s, the vegetation at that time could even have regrown several times as a result of human activity. Therefore, any assumed natural vegetation form of Hunter's Point, and even landforms should be questioned when applicable to a study.

The presettlement human interface that occurred at Hunter's Point was a foundational precedent for all subsequent cultural landscapes that eventually formed into the Cortez study area, but this form is not treated as, or assumed to have had a permanent stature. Instead, presettlement form is considered as having mostly temporary or seasonal features and character, whereas, settlement per se, is one that has formations of permanence that go beyond mere notions of it. Roberts (1996) discussed the temporal differences between settlements as those lasting for only a few

days, or what he referred to as “ephemeral,” or for several weeks (temporary), seasonal (several months), semipermanent (several years), and those lasting for several generations, or as places like Hunter’s Point would become, permanent. The same relationships could be applied to forms in the cultural landscape. Roberts expanded his discussion of permanent form to suggest that typical hunter/gatherer/fisher activities tended to suggest less permanency in the settings where they took place. The establishment of Hunter’s Point provides a good study for this argument, since its origins included transient activities of seasonal fishing, as did its early settlement activities. However, it eventually became a permanent settlement due to various cultural inflections of the ongoing fishing activities and the fishers that developed permanent homesteads built around the fishing enterprise.

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space

The waterfront conglomeration during the presettlement form period is documented sparingly in the archival record, but without distinctions of specific location and graphic representation. Therefore, it is presented as part of my study as mostly conjecture based on other interpretations and written descriptions. The form, shown as Figure 4-10, represents a rustic, temporarily erected construct by non-indigenous influences using mixed materials brought to the site (precut lumber) and gathered locally (logs and thatch) as part of the natural resource availability. Because of the remoteness of the location, refinements of spatial areas beyond a radius of a few hundred feet were most likely limited to gathering wood and thatch for fuel and building. It is highly unlikely that any agrarian development took place. Figure 4-10 actually represents the first attempted sketch of the waterfront conglomeration used for my study. It appears in a slightly different format as subsequent historic period sketches to

show the deviation in form depiction that my study took on. The inclusion of the seine net as occurring seaward of other forms suggests a rolling out of form previously discussed, with the net as perhaps the most seaward physical construct, even more so than the watercraft. In leaving Figure 4-10 intact, it reveals just one method for depicting form when revealing the historic vernacular landscape.

The presettlement erected construct was likely tightly placed along the waterfront to allow efficiencies of the industrial applications of the shore area. This would have represented a compact, definable construct that was not spread out. It is known from the historical record that a fisheries building extended out over the waterfront serving as a connection to the immediate upland area where a sleeping quarters and kitchen were located in two additional enclosed buildings. Because previous documentation indicates the use of an onshore pulley mechanism to bring water vessels closer to shore, it is also more likely that the land construct existed in addition to the over-the-water construct. The use of space in this way is then mimicked, and perhaps even copied during later form periods, with the possibility that some erected form footprints and pilings could have been reused from these abandoned forms. Perhaps they were still intact at the time of settlement in 1887. Reuse of materials is a common cultural trait found in fishing villages around the world. The Hunter's Point presettlement site, consisting of a partial building mosaic and a complete, essential physical manifestation of the extended vernacular form of a fisheries camp, net-works, dock system, nets, and watercraft represented two of the three vernacular form sets.

Village layout form indicator set

Exactly what the presettlement fishers at Hunter's Point found as a left behind artifact is not likely to be precisely determined. No doubt, Hunter's Point, as a larger

peninsula that included the boundary limits of the Cortez study area, was referenced in its first fairly accurate graphic form as early as 1851, and was already a human-disturbed area (Follet's 1851 map of the coast, National Archives, not included herein).

As already referenced earlier, the large indigenous shell midden found along the north shoreline of the peninsula is an obvious evidential clue acknowledging prior human activity. There is also prevalent historical documentation of Spanish settlements in the proximity of Hunter's Point (Matthews, 1983; King, 1963). However, post-contact (non-indigenous) human activity at Hunter's Point and perhaps attributable to the confines of the Cortez study area can be inferred from the numerous documented descriptions of the prevalent Spanish fishing rancho enterprise that occurred along Florida's Gulf Coast from Tampa Bay south to Charlotte Harbor and Key West at least far back as the seventeenth century. Some of these lingering rancho operations were recorded in the area until the 1920s.

In acknowledging no strict adherence to a particular timeframe, Stack (2011) described a "Gulf Coast Fishing Ranch Period" occurring between 1760 and 1840. A 1963 oral interview with an early watercraft builder named Asa Pillsbury in Palma Sola, Florida near Hunter's Point cited Pillsbury as suggesting the presence of ranchos up to the late 1880s. Other literature suggests, with general consensus that some Spanish fishers eventually mixed with indigenous groups, who together harvested the shallow coastal waters of the area. The eventual merging of the two cultures resulted in both permanent and temporary developments along the coastal peninsulas and islands as part of an extensive, coordinated economic operation that became Americanized as Spanish influences waned, and as Florida became increasingly settled. The later fishing

enterprise appeared to transition to white businessmen, and operators from the Atlantic states.

The influence on the future Hunter's Point settlers regarding the landscape forms created from presettlement human activity is difficult to clearly delineate. There is no available finding that any remnant artifacts were evident when the first Hunter's Point fisher settlers began to arrive in the late 1880s to purchase lands. Though it is likely that artifacts from indigenous activities, as well as, from the fishing ranchos and interspersed maritime activity around Sarasota Bay were likely available for discovery on the presettlement Hunter's Point study site, most, if not all of these historical resources are likely too disturbed or are now missing for present-day recovery and analysis; unfortunately, this virtually eliminates a presettlement artifactual data set. However, Stack (2011) made it clear though, that Western profile presettlement artifacts were indeed still being unearthed throughout Charlotte Harbor sites as late as the 1990s, as well as, during her own study of that area around 2010. She documented numerous findings of olive jar pieces, iron nails, ballast material, and various metals, and various shards and sherds. It is likely that through a strategic, coordinated effort, similar findings could materialize on the Cortez peninsula in spite of the heavy disturbances already experienced there, which might suggest early building formations. However, the private land structure now in place there severely limits this possibility.

Boundary. The first cultural documentations representing a physical form of the Hunter's Point study area began to be realized by 1625 when Da Laet delineated the indented bays of Tampa and San Carlos with a large landmass jutting out between them. A crude map to be sure, it may be stretch to suggest that Hunter's Point began its

boundary form in this manner; however, the idea of the physical formation could have been implanted in the generative minds of subsequent travelers to the area, as well as, those who could read the map, and formulate a possible coastline feature. By 1703, DeLisle's map showing the lands of *Floride* ascend to a slightly improved delineation of how the peninsula between the above two bays became fine-tuned with its geographical reality. However, no other maps could be located that defined the Hunter's Point peninsula as occurring prior to the official United States coastal area surveys that would begin during the 1840s. At that time, a truer shape to the Hunter's Point boundary that closely represented the Cortez study area was produced as part of this official undertaking.

Parcel configuration. The second part of the presettlement form construct consideration lies in the early formal surveying of Florida's Gulf Coast when official subdivisions of the area began in 1846 through the first official U.S. survey of the coastal counties. In 1836 Lieutenant Levin M. Powell, USN, made an initial reconnaissance trip up the Manatee River to scout for signs of aboriginal populations. Powell and his crew sailed up the river to the "head of boat navigation" and saw no signs of recent aboriginal encampment or, as he put it, "presence of the enemy" (Dye: 1969, p. 15).

Lieutenant Powell's initial work then led to what would become the earliest referenced map of the immediate Manatee area made by him in 1843. This gave a more precise and accurate shape to the coastal form of Hunter's Point, and began to define it in terms of particular tracts of lands-the first known indication of true subdivision of the area. For the Hunter's Point peninsula, the 1846 Government Land Office surveying of

the high water lines, as contained within U.S. Government Survey sections of the Hunter's Point peninsula according to township, range, and section are the earliest reference lines found as part of my investigation to appear as an official scientific delineation. This survey was done in tandem with the 1846 division of lands in Section 3 of the newly created coastal township into three distinct U.S. Government Lots, as depicted by Deputy U.S. Surveyor Colonel Samuel Reid's field notes and mapping. Congress had recently authorized Florida to sell lands to the general public, so surveys of all lands were well underway by this time. This represents the earliest true subdivision of Hunter's Point with the added descriptor of a pine tree symbol indicating that the lands were still forested, most likely with longleaf and slash pines. This also corresponds to Stearns' (1887) early remarks from 1879 of the uplands being forested with tall pines. This provides insight into how the area, including Hunter's Point may have appeared from a natural environment condition, notwithstanding the human fishery activities that were most likely taking place on or near it up to that time.

The initial subdivision of the Hunter's Point peninsula into a lot system, as U.S. Government Lot 3 consisting of what was then determined to be 61.30 acres, physically framed the first facsimile of it in a physical, two-dimension sense (Figure 4-12). This is not an insignificant matter since this initial demarcation created a more precise and future confine for the Cortez study area that historically after settlement, would encompass most of that configuration. According to later county plat maps, the present day 119th Street served as the primary eastern fringe for U.S. Government Lot 3, from which most subsequent legal descriptions were delineated.

Even after the 1846 surveys, delineations of the Hunter's Point peninsula continued to be represented by abstract points of prominence in various outlines that changed shape across a whole spectrum of maps. While the first survey of Hunter's Point etched at least some semblance of a real-world land configuration, it was not until 1851 that the name of Hunter's Point was prescribed to the peninsula suggesting its name was derived from an early settler named Hunter. The name reference for certain land points along the coast appears as a common theme on the 1851 map by Follett, titled *Map of Country in the Vicinity of Manatee, Florida* (referenced earlier). The specific derivation of the Hunter name, other than that he was a nearby settler, is unclear. However, as a case for future research, it is known from Upham (1881) that a Dr. Hunter and some of his associates built a structure on Sarasota Bay from Cedar Key lumber and recycled materials obtained on the Manatee River near Palma Sola. The Sarasota Bay structure was deconstructed after a spat between the partners by a Dr. Skinner, who then rafted the sections back to the Manatee River location via the Palma Sola Bay. Hunter's Point could have been for him.

The relative accuracy of the peninsula's true formation appearing on the 1846 map is remarkable enough when considering that subsequent maps grossly disfigured the basic formation of the peninsula. While Hunter's Point, or simply Hunter as it appears on the 1851 Follet Map, served as what appears to be the first place name designation of the peninsula, the first map indicating its later Cortez name after settlement is on a Manatee County map dated 1890 (Figure 4-13) included in an early visitor's guide (Norton, 1892, map by Longmans, Green, & Co.). While this earliest recognition of Cortez is popularly referenced as being organized there in 1896, as

commonly suggested by others, it is peculiar in that it appears at least six years earlier here. The record suggests Cortez was chosen as a second choice name since the U.S. Postal Service apparently rejected the Hunter's Point name because it was apparently being used elsewhere in the state. However, there is a conflicting historical record regarding the name and date for the post office. It is known, from Norton's visitor's guide published in 1892, that Cortez is also already referenced as a tourist destination on Sarasota Bay located six miles southwest of Palma Sola via a post road (it was more like 12 miles). It is therefore reasonably clear that the name of Cortez surfaced well before its recognized date of 1896. This could align with the United States and Worldwide Postal History (Forte, n.d.) website documentation that identifies the post office name of Cortez actually being established in 1888.

However, another peculiar aspect of the early mapping reveals that many published maps created after the 1890 map date referenced above, do not include Cortez, and are shown to often omit it even as a geographical place. In fact, the Cortez graphic reference does not appear to pop-up on another map until 1898, albeit with its reference point incorrectly delineated on the barrier island to the southwest. An 1899 map delineates it more accurately. Still, the origination of the name Cortez remains unclear.

During the 1880s, much of the lands around Hunter's Point were sold to the Florida Land and Improvement Company, whose president was Hamilton Disston, the Philadelphia industrialist. Disston, whose legacy is one of both fame and infamy in Florida, was an early schemer of Florida land sales and perhaps the earliest contributor to its future land boom saga. In recognizing the opportunities in land development

offered by a fairly wild and sparsely settled area, Disston was able to control well over four million acres of land in Florida with an initial \$1 million investment, eventually owning at least a quarter of that. Disston's apparent good fortune for acquiring the land so cheaply occurred as a result of many socio-political convergences of the time, including the recently enacted Florida constitution in 1868, as part of an 1881 agreement with Florida's Internal Improvement Fund Board of Trustees, and as a scheme advocated by Florida's Governor G. Bloxham, who at the time was courting "Yankee" capitalists to help him get the state out of its economic basement.

Disston immediately sold half of the acreage for a profit to a wealthy British shipbuilder prompting what some cite as the first land boom in Florida (Grunwald, 2006). Just a few years later, over 150,000 tourists sought out Florida as over 800 miles of new rail lines were established, including a direct line to Braidentown (its earliest spelling) by the turn of the century, the closest public land transportation linkage at the time to Hunter's Point. While there is no evidence to suggest that Disston became personally involved in any Hunter's Point lands, his involvement and marketing campaigns surely increased land speculation in the area as far south as Naples. However, Disston's visible impact on land development in the area is evident in the Pinellas County configuration of cities that bear the marks of his company's town planning and design, especially Gulfport, which was originally named Disston City in 1884. He also developed Tarpon Springs and later, his land development companies would create designed development schemes for lands that adjoined the landside boundaries Cortez. It must be noted that even as early as 1884, recreational visitors predicted the coming waves of development as evidenced by Henshall (1884), who

opined that the simplicities of village life, and hence, the sense of place they evoked, would soon disappear.

Disston's activities in Florida were likely receiving national attention as part of the thriving land boom, which helped to nurture a rebirth of land ownership and opportunity for many land owners still struggling from economic hardship and Reconstruction Era recovery. There was likely a brewing sense of urgency among would-be settlers from outside of the area who sought ample hunting and fishing opportunities, along with developable lands that Disston seemed to offer as part of his company's aggressive marketing strategies. The firm's outreach included large tracts of land available from \$1.25 an acre. The Florida Land and Improvement Company (1881) described the opportunities as they presented themselves in a Florida-for-the-taking in his listing of its several components beneficial to potential settlers such as a comfortable house for \$50, an even bigger house with four or five rooms for between \$250 and \$400, or lumber available for purchase from between \$5 and \$12 per 1,000 feet at local sawmills. In addition, he noted the best places for settlers in Florida at the time as those situated on the Gulf of Mexico.

The economic outlook for growing citrus was even mentioned, a more terrestrial pursuit of some of the original Hunter's Point fishers as Adams cited the high worth of the fruit once a grove began bearing its fruit - usually five to eight years from budding, or up to 20 years from seed for oranges (Norton, 1892). A review of aerial maps from of 1940s Cortez reveals various grove formations.

Some of the sense of urgency felt by settlers is suggested by Silas Stearns (1887) as part of his previously referenced U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries

report for the year 1880 to George Goode, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution at the time. The comprehensive and detailed report provides some insight into the land acquisitions that are related to the presettlement Hunter's Point properties, and the quickness in which they were purchased and subsequently developed. In the comprehensive report, Stearns suggested that around the bay systems of Sarasota and Palma Sola, where the seining flats were conducive to that type of fishing, the available lands were in high demand, with many legal claims on them, and therefore were being accumulated by fishers and the fishing firms already using them or wanting to secure them for their trade. He wrote that the best land/shore/sea connections were already developed with many having permanent buildings and even docks. It is not clear if he was referring to Hunter's Point here. However, his descriptions of other fisheries buildings along the coast appear more as an admonishment because they were shanty-like, and not as being of the higher quality he found at Hunter's Point. This leaves open the possibility that the future Hunter's Point settlers found an established built construct that was indeed more permanently placed and constructed.

Since Stearns' study was completed for the year ending in 1880, and only later published between 1884 and 1887, there could have been a run for the lands around the Sarasota Bay system based on this input. Stearns' rather lengthy description of the Cedar Keys fisheries, where some of the original settlers were likely living just prior to the time his report came out, may have given some notice to the fishers there, motivating these future Hunter's Point fisher/settlers to move further south where the marketing schemes by Disston's company were focused. Additional encouragement may also have come in the form of a more suitable type of fishing to the native North

Carolina fishers available around Sarasota Bay, which closely matched their similar experiences when comparing ecosystems, versus the open character of the Cedar Keys with its low energy coastal systems. The barrier islands around Sarasota and Palma Sola Bays offered a more dynamic coast associated with shoal fishing grounds protected by a barrier island system. Since the appearance of the isolated coast presented an undeveloped and teeming marine resource, in spite of the long-standing presettlement fishing activities already documented there, and perhaps perpetuated by tales of flying mullet that sounded like thunder, the urgency to stake claims as fishers in an opportunistic and unsettled new territory must have been strong indeed.

According to deed records, the first purchaser of Hunter's Point from Disston's Florida Land and Improvement Company is recorded as Allen Gardiner who, in 1884 bought U.S. Government Lots 1 and 3 totaling 111.7 acres. As of 1887, these Internal Improvement lands as they were called, were available from generally \$1.25 per acre up to \$6.50 per acre. Soon after, in 1883 Gardiner died, leaving his widow to manage the new land holdings. With the assistance of her brother-in-law, David O. Clarke, a farmer already established in Manatee County, Mrs. Gardiner subdivided a portion of Lot 3 in 1887. Clarke would then serve as her power-of-attorney in selling off parcels of land to the fishers from North Carolina, and others who would purchase them.

There is no evidence, other than remnant fishing operation buildings and structures as cited by Stearns, that Hunter's Point, namely within the boundaries that represent the Cortez study area, contained any other type of building forms at that time. In spite of the fishery operation that may have overlapped its eventual subdivided boundary, Hunter's Point is assumed to have been a mostly undeveloped property

whose landscape up to that time was a fairly fresh palette, though not pristine, on which to establish a purposeful fishing-oriented community beginning with the 15 original settlers who began purchasing the lands in 1887. While all of the first 13 settlers were from North Carolina, several had already been established in Manatee County and other areas in Florida as settlers of other property.

Circulation. There is no recorded trail or road system to Hunter's Point documented prior to the 1887 initial subdivision, confirming its accessibility only from the water. The existence of the large shell midden suggests an indigenous trail system that could have been improved upon into the future through the eastern uplands westward, which may have required traversing wetland dominated areas common throughout western Manatee County, historically. The conjecture of water-only access, based on the evidence up to that time, suggests an access form of early circulation used by fishers and run-boats. It is likely that the initial settlers at Hunter's Point had made earlier periodic trips to Hunter's Point while on fishing trips from other areas, and perhaps while some of them were still in the Cedar Keys.

The most likely travel for the earliest settlers from the Carteret County area of North Carolina making their way to Hunter's Point would have begun with a sailing trip to Morehead, North Carolina to catch the train that eventually found its way to the Cedar Keys or Tampa. From either the Cedar Keys (its original name in the plural that was changed later to its current singular name) or Tampa, a steamer could be taken to either St. Petersburg or Braidentown. From St. Petersburg, one could catch a ride on the biweekly schooner run to Hunter's Point, or from Braidentown. By the first decade of the

twentieth century, a taxi could be hired for the trip from Braidentown to Cortez ensuring an extremely rough ride given the unfavorable condition of the road network at that time.

Early on, navigation from the water was the best means for getting to Hunter's Point. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had already begun channelizing the local waters of the Manatee River as of 1883 (U.S. Army, 1889). Improvements were prioritized with allocated funding from the U.S. Congress for improving sections of the Manatee River in 1886 based on governmental surveying and examinations from 1881. By 1887, field officers noted the river as being served by at least one schooner and two steamers during the area's busy season of eight months during the year.

Building mosaic form indicator set

Because the presettlement building mosaic of Hunter's Point is based mostly on early descriptions and conjecture, the form indicators of residential, non-residential, and fisheries contextual buildings must be considered as a whole, since what may have occurred at Hunter's Point was more akin to the waterfront conglomeration not intended for permanent occupation, and therefore, would not be appropriate to discuss separately, though humanly erected as they were. Also, because the construct was for all intents and purposes, a purposeful, yet temporary processing facility that served as a part-time camp for fisher teams, the construct was simply not extensive enough, based on historic documentation to list each indicator set separately.

The processes found in the Hunter's Point pre-developing village form, or village-morphogenesis to lack a better term, was not as purposeful as it would have been as Vance (1990) suggested to include assigning the land, creating a circulation plan, accommodating industry advances, building noticeable wealth visible in the construct itself, fostering an investment sense in the construct, and planning for future growth and

improvement. The presettlement construct in this case, most likely lacked the sense of land ownership and investment found in actual settlements of permanence that would contain most, if not all of the processes proposed by Vance, although, as the literature reveals, some presettlement constructs in other areas such as Bunce's and others in the Charlotte Harbor area seemed to inadvertently become more permanent as far as the decadal occupations of them occurred. The 47-year residence that is documented by one known Spanish fisher is an example that must have exhibited some sense of stewardship, if not ownership of the surrounding landscape, which leaves room for future studies from an anthropologist's particular point of view. The implication here is that these seemingly temporary operations likely became semipermanent or permanent in spite of the impermanent landscape form, or legal formalities.

In the maritime vernacular, a fishing rancho was a coastal fringe operation developed by early fishers consisting of a mix of Spanish and indigenous fishers, who occupied various islands, bay, and riverine lowlands over temporary and long-term periods, selling their harvests mainly to Cuba, and centered around the emerging markets of Havana. The importance of Havana to the early United States rancho operations, and to those that ran them cannot be overstated, as evidenced by its description as the third largest city in the New World by 1800. Early visitors to the coastal area commonly described the ranchos as temporary settlements consisting of crudely constructed buildings of palmetto thatch sides and roofing, formed in circular and square footprints. The structures were probably held together by nails and/or roping made from cabbage palm fronds. Cabbage palm trunks likely comprised the framing of most of these structures as a readily available structural supply. Matthews (1983)

included descriptions of them as “shanties” having a residential form (p. 283), some of which were approximately 15-foot square. Matthews, in citing another’s personal correspondence from 1879, also referred to typical local settler shanties as being 12-foot high with a walled dimension of 12x50, with a separate room used for a kitchen; rooms were sometimes divided by sailcloth. Covington (1959) also cited them as being approximately 15 to 20 feet square.

As referenced earlier in my study, the oral interview with long-time Palma Sola (in Manatee County) watercraft builder and fisher Asa Pillsbury in 1963 (King), suggested the active presence of ranchos to approximately 1885 near or at Hunter’s Point soon after he arrived with his parents as a child to the area in 1881. While his recollection placed the rancho along Palma Sola Bay just north of Cortez, this represents a distance of up to one mile shore to shore between the southern shoreline on Sarasota Bay to the shoreline on Palma Sola Bay. The possibility of human disturbance along the shore area of Hunter’s Point at that time is then high, especially due to the long history of the rancho activities along the Florida Gulf Coast.

Perhaps the earliest account of fishing ranchos is from the early 1770s, when Captain Bernard Romans (1775), the British Deputy Surveyor General documented the established existence of fishing ranchos along Florida’s Gulf coastal islands and shore areas as being “covered with fishermen’s huts and flakes” (pp. 185-186). He noted a multitude of fishers, perhaps between 150 and 400 of them in the Charlotte Harbor area alone, harvesting redfish and mullet for roe. He commented that there were both permanent and transient fishers, some leaving after the fishing season ended in March, while others decided to establish homesteads. The structural forms were impermanent

buildings, made of available local natural materials such that they needed constant attention, many of which had to be rebuilt by the returning fishers the following season. Romans suggested that each rancho had at least one small schooner associated with it.

In 1831, the Key West Collector of Revenue William Whitehead reported that Charlotte Harbor had four extensive rancho operations with over 130 men (Covington, 1959). According to Whitehead, each of the four operations had a small schooner for taking the catches to the Cuban markets. As referenced earlier, his descriptions of the architectural form of the rancho structures was that they were generally 15 to 20 square feet with a frame of wood covered in thatch. Whitehead also noted two dominant, yet different fishing enterprises occurring along the Florida Gulf Coast at the time. One form of commercial fishing was considered temporary or seasonal occurring during the winter months, and owned by New England masters who maintained small fleets that would sell the harvests to mostly Havana markets. The other form was represented by the typical fishing rancho occupied by Spanish fishers and their families who maintained a more permanent presence.

There are other references to early fisheries camp forms as evidenced by photographs and museum interpretations representing three building and structure forms including the front gable, circular hut, and shed roof. The Reflections of Manatee (n.d.) website indicates a “chickee” construction, which based on the relative inaccessibility, isolation, and immediately available local materials of Hunter’s Point, would have been the most economic and efficient. The seasonal fluctuation of the activity there made this type of construction even more likely. This would likely have included a basic light frame of pine or cabbage palm poles covered in thatch. Those

buildings used for fish processing were likely left open on one or several sides, while sleeping quarters were probably completely covered with siding.

The circular hut is evidenced in more than one photograph and also represented in Bunce's Manatee River fishery where he was reported to have at least 30 of them, as well as, in other mullet camps as far north as the mid-Atlantic Coast (Goode, 1887). The circular form was present in the late eighteenth century along the North Carolina coastal areas. The circular hut would also have been made of pine or palmetto poles and thatch found in abundance on the undeveloped peninsula of Hunter's Point.

Another possibility is the building or structure made of precut lumber that was delivered to the site by schooner or other watercraft. An important point to remember here in attempting to piece the possible form together is the reference by Stearns (1887) to the higher quality of the structures at Hunter's Point. His observance must have been based on other camps where the construction was apparently of a lesser quality, using the most simple of methods and design. One possibility, because of the reference by Stearns of the structures being rectangular in shape could have been a shed type of building with multiple doors and basic windows with shutters similar to the one shown as part of a mullet fish camp around Bogue Sound in North Carolina from the early 1990s (Core Sound Waterfowl Museum, 2002). He did indicate that some of the buildings were constructed of boards, which were probably precut pieces of lumber brought to the site.

The construction from a preset lumber stock would have been simple, and perhaps even easier than having to rely on the local resource. As local American owner/operators from the Gulf and Atlantic states became more prevalent in the

industry around Hunter's Point, maybe even spending modicum of time on the peninsula, constructing an improved building set and configuration was very possible. After all, Stearns did reveal that one of the owners of the presettlement buildings at Hunter's Point was a fisher named Sweetzer, whom historical records indicate as residing in nearby Palma Sola near the homesteaded property of early Hunter's Point fisher and land purchaser James E. Guthrie. Guthrie was the sixth land purchaser recorded at Hunter's Point.

According to archival records, Solomon A. Sweetzer hailed from Beaufort, North Carolina, and was likely connected to Guthrie somehow, and likely reminisced to him about the benefits of Hunter's Point and the locally abundant water there. Sweetzer is cited as influencing others to the area, such as two early foreign settlers, the de Nodas, originally from Spain whom he met while delivering a fish haul to Havana, Cuba. His apparent penchant for "selling" the area could have also worked on Guthrie, whether it was earlier while both were still in North Carolina, or as they became acquainted in Florida. This influence could also have been passed around to several of the other fisher settlers.

Captain William Bunce, a former United States military officer from Baltimore, Maryland, operated at least two fishing ranchos in the area from approximately 1835 to 1840. Bunce may have been the form changer of the Gulf Coast fishing ranch enterprise in how he exploited its operational scale. Notwithstanding the political and military problems that served to effectively neuter his investments by 1840, Bunce seemed to embrace the tools of efficiency and economy for his operations in that he developed them to be virtually self-sufficient factories, for lack of a better description.

While exploitation of the harvest through manual netting until reaching vessel capacity for direct delivery to ports is one thing, the additional maximization of harvest through the land/water interconnect suggested a more committed application of form, and perhaps with a more permanent intent.

In detailing some of the structures created by Bunce's ambitions, Dodd (1947) provided an insightful look into the overall built environment of the captain's rancho operations. At Bunce's fishing rancho at the mouth of the Manatee River, there were approximately 30 buildings, many of them having circular forms and also constructed of palmetto thatch and trunks. However, he employed sawed wood planks for the walls and floors of the building(s) he occupied. Bunce also created more of a village setting by including trade functions such as blacksmithing among the building array. Numerous fishing watercraft including smacks, sloops, and canoes, seine nets, fishing gear, and a covered wharf were also present. Approximately 150 men occupied the operation. According to William Whitehead (Matthews, 1983), Bunce's operation used a nearly 60-foot sloop that had only one mast. Unfortunately, Bunce's "villages" have yet to be thoroughly examined using archaeological methods for their form constituents with regard to the cultural landscapes they were part of.

Just after the Civil War, recreational cruisers and fishers such as Hallock (1876) and Henshall (1884) visited Florida's coastal waters and documented fishing operations as still active in the Charlotte Harbor area. By this time, the thatched huts had apparently evolved into more permanent wood structures, including wood wharfs and dock systems. In some cases, windows were probably added with wood shutters. The most pertinent recording of fishing rancho operations at Hunter's Point must again be

attributed to Stearns, whose 1880 accounting of the fishery at Hunter's Point detailed how the erected form and extended vernacular may have overlapped onto the Cortez site. Stearns reported this fishery as one of the most important and best organized along Florida's Gulf Coast, producing single mullet harvests of up to 10,000 pounds. He cited two nearby lesser facilities located on Palma Sola Bay. In fact, the local waters around Hunter's Point were so teeming with mullet that Stearns (1887) compared their constant and multitudinous air leaps and water landings as resembling "distant thunder" (p. 454). That experience of an Eden-like abundance was later echoed by local watercraft builder Asa Pillsbury (King, 1963), whose own memory offered up the same existence of teeming waters that characterized the natural surroundings.

References to a built construct. Based on the above historical evidence, the likelihood of an existing built form already at the Hunter's Point site when the first settlers began purchasing lands there is very probable. While Hunter's Point as a historical reference location would have included much of the land surrounding the historic study area, it is likely that an early building or structure was located near its western tip, which may be evidenced by an early structural marking from Reid's 1846 survey, and a later marking on Follett's 1851 map, which draws attention to a purposefully marked location near that spot. Some of the literature about fishing ranchos references their locations generally as occurring on or next to aboriginal middens and mounds. The shell midden's actual location in Cortez was located just north along the shore of the western tip, so built structures may have been in near proximity to that.

Stearns' Gulf Coast fisheries data published in 1887 noted 18 fishers of mostly Bahamian descent working the fishery, some as actual fishers and processors, and others as haulers of the catches to the Cuban markets. He described three buildings consisting of one at 30-foot by 12-foot for fish curing, built up on pilings and extending out from and over the shore of the bay. Two other buildings were noted with one made of boards as the kitchen, dining, and captain's quarters; the other building described as a shanty made of palmetto thatch and used as sleeping quarters for the workers. While no other details regarding size and roof configurations were provided, these structures must have been close in size to the fish curing building since one accommodated multiple use spaces and the other had to comfortably allow sleeping arrangements for at least 18 workers.

Extended vernacular form indicator set.

Physical manifestations-fisheries camps. The dialogue about camps as part of the fisheries development is duplicative of the discussion above since the erected construct was limited (refer to the subsection "References to a built construct", above). However, the notion that these types of constructs were indeed only temporary camps versus permanent trade buildings and dwellings is more associated with fact than conjecture, in spite of their duration or improved design. It may be that several of the crewmembers living there at the time of Stearns' visit were stationed there for extended periods of time, perhaps up to eight months or so. Because at least one building, apparently for cooking and dining was constructed of actual lumber, it appears now that some permanence was assigned to it, in spite of only partial occupance. The third building was for sleeping quarters made of palmetto thatch and poles. Since the surrounding lands were not yet legally claimed, and were difficult to access, a fisher

could easily have lived on the land for years without much notice. This is especially true since the entire region was occupied by similar constructs of ranchos operated by mixed American and Cuban interests.

Physical manifestations-net works. In again referencing Stearns' 1879 physical descriptions, he also noted important extended vernacular structures such as seine reels, mullet roe drying frames, and machinery devised to haul the watercraft from the water. In addition, there must have been areas set aside for treating and mending the nets (probably near the net reels), along with an area designated for salt storage, such as bushels and barrels stored in the huts. Spanish Cuban fishers were required to buy salt from Cuban dealers; however, this was unlikely for this later fishery, which appeared to have been owned and operated by American interests, as cited by Stearns as being Sweetzer and Thomson.

Physical manifestations-dock system. Since used and discarded materials are often placed at a high value by maritime communities, there may not have been any significant building forms or architectural remnants remaining on the site, as they would likely have been salvaged and used by others. However, it is likely that the pilings on which the large, fish curing building was erected, could have been left in place. Early pilings could be stomped into the muddy bottom simply by several fishers jumping up and down on a rigged frame attached to a piling. For sandy bottoms, other measures were applied such as surrounding the underwater piling with rocks or a barrel and then filling it with concrete or gravel. If this is the case, then some aspect of dock placement by the Hunter's Point settlers could have been influenced by that remnant configuration. This may align with the fact that the very first land purchaser (parcel 5) chose the

northeastern corner of Hunter's Point because it may have retained some of this information and infrastructure, and leftover building footprints. Stearns' descriptions of the buildings included a reference to being built up on pilings and extending out from and over the shore of the bay. However, there is no evidence to suggest that a dock or dock system was used, especially since it appears that the watercraft were pulled onto shore or nearer to the fish processing building for unloading and loading tasks, as well as, securing them. It is likely that a wharf was attached to the fish processing building.

Physical manifestations-nets. These are well documented. Stearns aptly described the fish nets used as both seines and cast nets. There were two seine nets; one was 100 fathoms (600 feet) in length and 16 feet deep, while the other was 75 fathoms (450 feet) in length and only 12-foot in depth. He even described their mesh sizes as two inches, and one and one quarter inches, respectively. The circular cast nets were between 12 and 14 feet in diameter with a preferred throw distance of 15 feet.

Again, according to Stearns (1887), the sizes of seine nets used in the Hunter's Point fishery were similar to those used by other fisheries in the vicinity, though the smaller fisheries at Palma Sola Bay used seines of around 60 fathoms (360 feet) in length. It is clear that the gill net was not in common usage around Hunter's Point during the presettlement period. This does remark of an absence of form from the later installation and prevalent use of gill nets by Cortez fishers. The gill net appeared as a diffused type of gear from the Northern U.S. Atlantic fisheries and was already the most used type of fishing gear in certain North Carolina mullet and shad fisheries. Earll (1887), a colleague of Stearns, noted that the gill net had transferred to North Carolina fisheries by 1844. While mullet was the most caught fish along Florida's Atlantic Coast,

the dip net and cast net were favored over the gill net, perhaps due to the different topographical features of the coasts.

Seine nets were also favored over gill nets in the fisheries along Florida's Gulf Coast, with lengths running up to 150 fathoms (900 feet) in the Apalachicola fisheries. Stearns (1887) noted that the gill net was in use in Apalachicola and the Cedar Keys when he visited those places in 1879, but their use was on a much more limited basis than the fisheries located at the Cedar Keys, Sarasota, and Charlotte Harbor. According to local information relayed by fishers to Stearns, gill nets were first introduced in the Cedar Keys during the early 1870s. Again, the introduction was through fishers from the Northern U.S. Atlantic fisheries. It is likely that the gill net was then brought south to the Hunter's Point fisheries by fishers from the Cedar Keys, and from those who had migrated directly to the area from North Carolina where gill netting had been established earlier. The gill net, as a favored fishing gear by certain fishers from these areas, could also have migrated along with the fishers, resulting in the gear's diffusion to the Hunter's Point area by some of the later Cortez settlers.

Physical manifestations-watercraft. Again referring to Stearns' (1887) report of the Gulf Coast fisheries from 1879, he cited two types of vessels appearing at Hunter's Point. The larger had a common length of 26 feet, designed with flat, but rounded bottoms and sharp bows. The stern for each had a form that was noticeably wide and overhanging. These vessels were likely modeled after the same form of sailing vessel referred to as a "smack" by Asa Pillsbury (King, 1963), who as a watercraft builder, served as an expert witness in providing historical details of these watercraft, though descriptions of watercraft seemed to vary in preciseness. Smacks were designed with

live wells that allowed caught fish to be kept alive until delivery or sale; however, Stearns did not indicate that live fish were marketed as part of this fisheries product. In this case, the live well system may simply have been disregarded and unused, or redesigned for other purposes. Instead, the catch was sold as salted fish, mostly with their heads still on—a peculiarity of the Cuban market that then limited the use of brine when the heads were kept intact, since it reduced their quality. Mullet roe were also processed on-site, suggesting an additional form construct.

Stearns' 1879 account suggested that there were many similarities between the various constructs of the Charlotte Harbor and Sarasota Bay fisheries. Clues from his area descriptions guide even further the form that likely occurred at Hunter's Point with regard to watercraft. Because of the vessels' comparatively limited length, they most likely held a sloop, or single-mast sail rigging giving attention to the available form for the purposes of my study. Many of the smaller fishing smacks plying the Gulf Coast waters were noticeably main sail with optional jib configurations. Stearns purposely suggested a similarity with the lapstreak (sometimes referred to as lapstrake) watercraft found in fisheries of Maine and Massachusetts, which were used for inshore fishing. In these designs, the vessels also had flat bottoms with wide, flaring sides. The mast was likely placed forward on the vessel, similar to the Key West vessels of the same size. It was likely unfixed to allow removal and placement on the boot floor during capture and hauling.

Because of the connections of the fishers to the Bahamas and Key West, the sail configuration likely referred to the traditional leg-o-mutton shape in that it was tall-peaked and triangular. This presented a three-sided sail form, with an optional jib

located over and beyond the bow. Because Stearns indicated that the buildings at Hunter's Point were owned by Sweetzer, who is recorded as having made trips to Cuba, the form of the larger watercraft could have reflected this Cuban fishing smack design, especially since they were required to make the extended trip as a destination to their markets. Some references to the Maine lapstreaks as having spritsail rigs, though a later cultural installation at Hunter's Point, suggest that the sprit design may have preempted the Hunter's Point settlers, who are credited with bringing them to Cortez. However, such an early occurrence of the North Carolina spritsail design is not likely for the larger watercraft since it did not favor offshore trips.

Stearns also documented smaller vessels of approximately 16 feet in length. These served as tenders to the larger vessels, and were likely akin to flat-bottomed skiff designs, or launch for transporting fish hauls and supplies. They were likely also sloops with non-fixed, single mast and sail designs that could be disassembled fairly quickly. These watercraft were probably of local origin, and could have represented early spritsail configurations; however, there is no record to date to substantiate this. Most likely, the sail form was likely that of a Bermuda rig to allow ease of use, which was used only sparingly. These vessels were likely poled by hand as inshore vessels.

Intangible manifestations-fishing grounds. Because certain fishing activities were aptly recorded by Stearns (1887), it can be conjectured that the seine and cast net operations taking place at Hunter's Point were taking place within the surrounding bay waters and the shorelines of the adjacent barrier islands. The facility at Hunter's Point served as the primary station where fish were processed first and then delivered from. The crew was also stationed there, rather than at other stations, representing a stand-

alone operation. In this case, Stearns cited Americans as the owners of the buildings; however, there is no mention of watercraft ownership. He did indicate that the captain was in Key West at that time, suggesting a possible business relationship with Key West interests. The captain was likely Solomon Sweetzer, the local fisher from Palma Sola. With these circumstances in mind, Stearns cited that mullet were the catch of choice and processed exclusively for Cuban markets.

While there is no evidence to date suggesting the domain dimensions for the fishers at Hunter's Point, territories were not as exclusive early on as they likely became after the 1880s or so, once land development began to surge, and fishing grounds were being exploited by more and more fishers who were land-based on adjoining uplands to the fishery waters. Because the early operations were limited by time in order to process the fish without ice, the most likely scenario is that the fishers operated within a reasonably close distance to their upland infrastructure. Since mullet was the likely harvest priority, inshore fishing represented a reasonable range of fishing grounds pursuant to the investment in a fisheries processing facility. As a point of reference, it is known from the historical record that the Hibbs Fish Company, the first dealer documented as working directly with the post-settlement Hunter's Point fishers was cited in 1907 as having a fishing grounds radius of up to 50 miles (St. Petersburg Times, December 1, 1907). In the case of the presettlement Hunter's Point fishers, the fishing grounds most likely occurred within this same range pursuant to the fishing construct as a processing station; this is probably more reminiscent of an inshore range of north to south, rather than one that extended west and out to sea, instead staying closer to shore where the mullet, as the primary harvest fish were sought. This is not to

say that offshore fishing was not at least part of this earlier commercial fishing enterprise; indeed it probably was. The recorded history leans closer to the fact that mullet were harvested extensively as the primary fish between Charlotte Harbor and Tampa Bay. They were also harvested during winter months in the Cedar Keys north to Apalachicola, but other forms of fishing also took place, unlike the specific targeting near Hunter's Point. This suggests a wide-ranging fish resource; however, the technology, watercraft, competing fishers, and type of fish sought for each fishery during the presettlement period dictated a limited range standard.

However, several of the early fisheries as far north along the coast as Hunter's Point served exclusively Cuban markets abroad such as Havana and Matanzas, rather than the local communities where the fishing was done. The interesting dynamic here is that there were few Cuban fishers, most of them being of Bahamian or American descent. The biggest concentration appeared to remain in the Charlotte Harbor fisheries, which has an extensive history of rancho operations.

For the sake of discussion, the market situation presents another conundrum of form related to the vague and obscure fishing grounds as an intangible construct. The main question is to whom does any fishing grounds apply? Since there was no permanent, legal settlement at Hunter's Point at that time, instead serving as a temporary facility, a fishing grounds attached to it seems rather fluid, and without a reasonable confinement to any particular place, person, or group. In contrast, it is easier to understand the fishing grounds that attaches to a settlement since it is more permanently fixed as a place from which fishing occurs.

The fishing grounds in this case, can be treated in an alternative reverse fashion, indicating a suggestive form extending from Cuba, rather than from Florida's Gulf Coast. This means that the fishing grounds from Cuba, since their markets supported this particular fishery, and pursuant to Hunter's Point, could be argued as an extended fishing grounds of over 300 miles, since additional harvests may have been taken between Hunter's Point and Cuba. In addition, the fishing grounds, as they were attached to Hunter's Point, could really only be looked at as temporary forms, since there was no permanent attachment through ownership. Since the fish were not delivered to American interests, this seems to make some sense. The chosen market, in which the fishers sold their catches, would not matter when it comes to redefining the fishing grounds, though it appears as two different forms.

Intangible manifestations-act of fishing. Along the middle Florida Gulf Coast, and as already referenced, various historic accounts suggested that mullet were the most processed fish and that fishing was performed through the use of large seine nets and smaller cast nets. According to Stearns (1887), the prevalent type of fishing done from the fisheries of Sarasota Bay and Charlotte Harbor were similar, with similar gear and other physical constructs. However, there were marked differences attributed to the act of fishing for the Cedar Keys and north, as well as, South Florida, and Florida's Atlantic Coast. Stearns referenced only briefly how the act of fishing was influenced and formulated within the fisheries. When it came to the act of fishing, Stearns was obviously concerned with the more physical manifestations of how fish were harvested and then processed, and how the fishers were organized.

In the Cedar Keys, Stearns (1887) remarked that a method of blind hauling was done that resulted in a wide variety of fish and shellfish being caught. It was probably not a seine net type of pursuit since the shoals around the Cedar Keys were extremely grassy and filled with oyster beds, the latter of which would have wreaked havoc on the net materials, though some fishers still employed it there. This suggests that some of the first Hunter's Point settler fishers were not likely influenced by their Cedar Keys experience, and instead, brought their North Carolina methods forward since the mullet fishing there was historically based on being able to see the primary resource, which acquired a certain skillset beyond just dropping a net in the water and catching whatever happened into the net. This may have been consternation for the original fishers who were in the Cedar Keys, who were then prompted to look for better opportunities that seemed to coordinate nicely with the concurrent land boom taking place along the more southerly bay systems.

The presettlement form period fishers around the Florida Gulf Coast, as well as, those fishing and working along the North Carolina coastal areas were often part of what Stearns reported as fish gangs. Unlike the territorial gangs identified by Acheson (1988) that were part of Maine lobster fishers, the Hunter's Point gang referred to a team of fishers with varying skills, its captain, and the haul driver(s) or "marketmen." Also unlike the lobster gangs, which were often based on a hierarchy of skills and local lineage, these gangs were of mixed origin and bearing, usually derived from a captain's or operator's travels to primary ports where he would hire individual gang members to complete his team. In some cases, locals were hired, but there is little evidence to suggest a kinship arrangement existed in these presettlement fisheries. Some of them

were managed and owned by family members, such as in Charlotte Harbor by the Beacon brothers, and later the Chadwick brothers, one of whom would also own property at Hunter's Point by 1894, and invest in a Charlotte Harbor fishery by 1899. For example, a few small fisheries occurring around the bay systems of Tampa and Palma Sola were operated by relatives and close friends, but these were remarked by Stearns to be part-time fishers who sold few fish, and operated more based on subsistence needs.

The act of fishing in presettlement Hunter's Point then, did not appear to be one of any intrinsic, personal desires, or special avocation from which the fishers could better themselves personally or practically. The living-to-fish attitude given to many Cortez fishers through the literature was not apparent during presettlement times at the Hunter's Point fishery. The act of fishing was really nothing more than a means for a living that did not pay well. In fact, Stearns repeatedly pointed out that most fishers were typically in debt, with most profits going toward sustaining the fishing enterprise. The lay structure was not much different than other fisheries in the United States where livings were earned as part of share systems. The indebtedness and insecurity of fishing as a trade has been written about extensively, so this is not surprising. That most, if not all of the fishers maintained no direct linkages with the local land-based communities made it even more difficult financially and socially. The act of fishing appeared to be more of a burden that was difficult to come out from under, once an investment into it was made. Granted, the captains and owners typically seemed to be much better off. In contrast to the fishers and crew, this is likely attributable to their local linkages.

The couple of decades before the settlement period represented the beginning of a changing fishing ethic and connectedness with the natural environment as part of centuries-long traditional methods. The eventual passage of the recent Civil War into a longer-term memory and recovery period shed new light on opportunity and investment in advances of fishing labor. While many will opine, myself included, about the dramatic and form-changing effects from wind power to steam and fuel, or from the introduction of synthetic materials, the slow evolution of a changing vernacular landscape form may actually begin with the early ideas for reducing manpower in fisheries. Garrity-Blake (1994) commented about how these types of advances would enable larger catches with fewer men. While the railroad and steamboat certainly had their own course-changing effects, they may have actually increased manpower due to increased production, and therefore, increased markets. More fishers were need to fill the demand produced by technological advances, but many would be inadvertently directed to the less-than traditional components of the trade such as processing rather than direct fishing.

The introduction of artificial ice is certainly most pertinent to any forthcoming argument here. Ice-making and fish preservation through icing in hot, humid climates such as Florida changed how fish could be processed by actually. Fish no longer had to be gutted and could be frozen. While this was apparently not available to the Hunter's Point fishery by 1887, it was already established in the Cedar Keys. The technology for creating artificial ice was discovered during the 1840s, so it had already been around for quite some time.

The drive for maximizing fish harvests with most medium and large fisheries operations seems to fly in the face of any ecological considerations. The act of fishing with large nets was to earn income and provide sustenance either for one's self or his family. It is understandable how the "hand-craftedness" of the act itself took on special meaning to fishers. The combination of the structure-less vocation with the freedom of open water and the natural environment must have supported the sense of meaning. However, as competition and investments into the enterprise increased, and fish hauls for the small-scale fisher did not, notions of ecological stewardship and traditional knowledge of the natural environment increased, or at least remained steadfast since the act of fishing continued in the vernacular sense, in spite of other changes.

Certainly, as part of a long history, fisheries have been documented as being depleted due to overfishing. Without further research into the matter, it seems obvious that such depletions occurred from too many fishers taking too many of a species in a relatively brief period of time that did not allow replenishment. This is basic biology and ecology. Part of the traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) includes these inherent characteristics of vernacular fishing skills, yet also is rounded by a knowledge of fishers that future harvests are dependent of some system that avoids depletion (McGoodwin & FAOUN, 2001). Stearns noted that in 1879, the fishers at Hunter's Point would occasionally catch too many fish, causing many to be wasted. The rights of nature seemed to be preempted here for the sake of the catch as an act of fishing that was unplanned and processed for maximization.

The point here is that most vernacular fishing methods have a way of being self-sustaining by their very nature. This is especially true for fishing, which, as a basically

unchanged, thousands-year-old pursuit, really did not begin to move away from its complete set of vernacular handcraft forms until the mid-nineteenth century when sail began to decline, and fish preservation changed how they were processed. So, the ecological belief system of presettlement fishers represents a schism between the individual fisher who could make a living at fishing, was connected to family and land, and who could continue his traditional, learned system of fishing. The steepened knowledge, which was cumulative as part of a local natural environment he was attached to, became in a way, a distinct ecological framework. This type of framework could not pervade other fishers and crews who were simply working to make a living, and did not have these other intrinsic connections. Therefore, the ethics attributed to a fisher, and perhaps a small crew, were equally transferrable under those types of circumstances.

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential. The folklore of the presettlement fishers is extremely limited and at first appears as nearly an empty set. Some insight can be retrieved from historic documentation that highlighted the fisher's attitudes and socio-cultural dynamics taking place during that time. With regard to the presettlement elapsed experiential at Hunter's Point, a focus should be directed toward two facets of the available cultures occurring at the time: a) that of the North Carolina roots of the original Hunter's Point settlers; and b) the ranch operators who were fading from the local area scene.

In their detailed account of United States coastal fisheries along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts from 1879, both Earll (1887) and Stearns (1887) included a modicum of keen observations about the attitudes and experiences of fishers living and working at

various points along the two coasts. Earll remarked that in the Tidewater region of the North Carolina Coast, most people who lived near water probably fished for sustenance. The topography of large bays, rivers, and estuaries connected to the sea through inlets provided hundreds of miles of access to both farmers and those wanting fresh fish to supplement their incomes and diets.

Economic conditions resulting from the Civil War played an important role in shaping the elapsed experiential of the future Hunter's Point settlers, though none of them were likely direct participants in it. Instead, the aftermath effects may have influenced some of them to seek new opportunities based on stories about how things may have been better prior to the still raw schism with the Union. Because North Carolina had been a secessionist state, the lost cultural flux must have been strong for several decades after the war's end, and at least until Reconstruction's official end by 1877. History itself reveals the economic hardships encountered by many southerners after the Civil War ended. Facing a system of worthless monetary structure and enormous capital investment losses, many southern towns also found a damaged built environment requiring significant recovery efforts.

Market connections and linkages were also depressed or dried up and required long-term recoveries. In a postwar context, the number of refugees competing for jobs and basic living conditions also placed demands on a worn out population. The emigration of North Carolinians had actually begun prior to the war, with approximately 30% of native North Carolinians exiting the state to places further west. Yet, these challenges also represented local opportunities that the young future Hunter's Point settlers did not seem to favor. Perhaps, in adding insult to the already injured economic

structure, the 1879 hurricane that ravaged North Carolina's coastal fringe fostered local fishers' decisions to move to Florida, where land was beginning to appear relatively cheap and widely available, and political ramifications from reconstruction overlays were not as strongly inculcated into the culture.

Nevertheless, historic documentation suggests that by the 1880s, the mullet fishing industry in Carteret County was still going strong, second only to the harvests from Florida waters. This was partly due to postwar improvements in transportation, such as newly surfaced roads and highways, re-establishment of the railroad infrastructure, and steamer capabilities. These allowed a quick expansion of the commercial fishing industry (North Carolina Museum of History, 2013). Improvements were also being made in fishing equipment and harvest methods, partly produced by Northerner influences and multiple attempts at "profitizing" the menhaden industry. It is known that the first menhaden factory was established in Carteret County by 1865, with several others following suit as they refined the business to improve its viability as a profit industry. Yet, anecdotal evidence suggests that some of the original settlers had a strong desire to move to Florida to provide the growing lumber industry at Cedar Keys with fresh fish (Green, n.d.). However, several North Carolina businessmen had already begun to exploit Florida's Gulf Coast for its commercial fishing opportunities. The appeal of Florida's leaders to bring in new settlers worked in tandem with these circumstances. Considering these factors that all seemed to align, the lost cultural flux and continued sense of loss promised by a slowly recovering postwar region isolated as it was, were probably revived as part of a new prosperity afforded to those who would leave and begin anew.

Now, the foreign rancho and commercial fishers from the Bahamas and Cuba dotting the mid-Florida Gulf Coast during the late 1800s must have held a different elapsed experiential. Again, according to Stearns (1887), many of these fishers, especially the Bahamians, were brought up in only fishing environments. In alluding to a vernacular sort of description, Stearns suggested early on that their expertise and knowledge of fishing was part of a hereditary process learned and handed down from their forebear. These particular classes of fishers seemed to be highlighted by Stearns as more worldly in maritime grounding and bearing than their American fisher counterparts. Their acceptance into society was different in the Florida Keys versus the other fisheries north along the Gulf Coast to the Cedar Keys. In Key West, for example, many had acculturated into the local society there, raising families, and becoming politically involved.

However, as of 1880, Stearns wrote that there was vast difference between the older fishers and their generation of sons. The older fishers seemed less able to adapt to improved methods of fishing, failing to give up their long-standing traditional methods learned from their fathers, while their offspring were quite ready to adapt to changing techniques. Stearns does not provide examples, though he did suggest that education levels were much different between the two generations, with the older fishers displaying an ignorance of sorts. This is surprising in that the traditional handcraft of fishing, regardless of a person's education, was not formulated around a feeling of respect by Stearns, as evidenced by his undetailed commentary on the subject.

The elapsed experiential that reveals itself here is that there already seemed to be an ebbing of vernacular methods, most likely purer forms of artisanal fishing, and

understanding that amounts to a sense of loss of a prior cultural flux that had sustained it for presumably numerous generations before that. Since Key West was the largest municipality and coastal port in Florida at the time, the availability of new methods, gear, equipment, and techniques was probably fascinating to the younger generations who envisioned more fruitful lives by adapting to these newer forms. In order to become Americans, and in essence, part of the American mainstream, this was a necessary course.

Now, the Spanish Cubans did not seem to fare so well as the Bahamians. Stearns cited a disliking of them by American fishers in general, especially by those in the Cedar Keys, where the approximately 250 predominantly white fishers kept their distance from them. Again, like the older Bahamians, the Cubans were averse to changing from older, traditional methods, whether they were from their own cultures, or what they learned from Americans. The inability, or desire to adapt, did not mesh well with many of the North Carolina fishers who became part of that Cedar Key culture looking to improve their own standings in life after the challenges they faced in their native postwar North Carolina. Though not a feeling shared by every fisher, the squatting on prime fishery lands, and fishing of the available resources from Tampa Bay to Charlotte Harbor by Cubans and Spaniards presented additional resentment, worsened even further by troubles brewing in Cuba at the time and the threat of yet an additional war with the Spanish. This feeling of resentment was actually inserted into American culture and politics, even though many of these displaced Cuban fishers and their families had been living on the islands and fringe waterfronts along the Florida Gulf Coast for decades. While American citizenship and land ownership were a high priority

for the Cuban's, the feeling was not mutual when it came to arguments of nationalism. This particular dynamic deserves a well-studied research project that is beyond the scope of my study here.

Discussion of the presettlement period form

The above descriptions, though limited in the range of time continuum for historical descriptive circumstances, provide good examples of the magnitude of how the coastal areas along the Florida Gulf Coast were already developed, and in some cases, overdeveloped with a documented built form, or a presettlement form in the case of Hunter's Point. Stearns (1887) suggested that all of the buildings constructed along the coastal area there, reflected similarities in design and construction, though he alluded to a higher quality attributable to the Hunter's Point construct. This basic setup created the presettlement waterfront conglomeration, which can be illustrated through both historical documentation and contemporary conjecture. Again, based on Stearns' descriptions, a conceptual illustration of the presettlement waterfront conglomeration at or near Hunter's Point prior to its settlement was possible as referenced previously as Figure 4-10. This knowledge increases the contextual backdrop for the historic study period beginning in 1887.

With such endeavors taking place at Hunter's Point then, it is not inconceivable that at least some remnant of this activity was still present upon arrival by the first fisher settlers. While some human deforestation was very likely, the cabbage palm, palmetto, and pine scrub uplands were probably still prevalent as cited by Stearns (1887) and also documented by Reid's 1846 survey of the Cortez coastal area (Figure 4-12). Much of the mangrove shore fringes and islands were also wooded over by the time the Hunter's Point settlers arrived. Whether in highly eroded ruins, scattered artifacts, or just

a few clumps of debris, the presettlement character of the historic study area, whether contained within the actual study boundary or within a reasonable proximity likely represented a debris field of the structures of the commercial fishing operation described, above. Though Stearns cited the buildings of the operation as being of a higher, more permanent quality, a fact that he purposely clarifies from the other fisheries in the area, they still probably had an element of impermanence to them in that they were not homesteaded structures where such care and ongoing maintenance might have been given them. It is likely though, that they were used right up to 1887.

The impermanent character of the fishing enterprise did not mean that the built effect on the Hunter's Point landscape was barely noticeable. Indeed, it must have been quite an active place, perhaps even more so than after the first few years of the 1887 settlement date, considering that at least 60 fishers were occupying six fisheries within a few miles of Hunter's Point (Stearns, 1887). The presettlement form that was physically manifested most likely represented a unique maritime vernacular landscape that revealed a network of stations oriented solely to commercial fishing enterprise; this is worthy of a separate study. Considering this, the overall fishing constructs that spread throughout the coastal bay systems from the Hunter's Point peninsula south along the coast to the Marco Island area established an interesting building mosaic as part of this wider historic cultural landscape. However, that unique vernacular system of commercial fishing networks and individual operations quickly changed after a long-established presence until the 1880s when permanent settlement and technology began to affect and change that somewhat entrenched version of the ever-changing maritime landscape.

Because the presettlement form, as it was effected at Hunter's Point, was quite unique, mainly due to the limited breadth and temporary nature of its physical footprint and the differentiated circumstances of its intangible manifestations, it is not too difficult to discern a measurable form change effect. Since the presettlement form period has no prior form precedent as part of my study, it is unnecessary to include a significant affect to form table, as provided pursuant to Table 4-1 for the more obvious affect to form occurring as part of a later, delayed analysis from the end of the historic study period.

Settlement Form Period Occurring 1887 to 1897

Synopsis of the period

The roughly 10-year settlement period represents the beginning, or establishment of the historic vernacular landscape of Hunter's Point, which becomes more defined as a fishing village now known as Cortez. While it is the official beginning of a cultural form based on a kinship type of settlement structure, its physical form was most likely influenced by intensive commercial fishing activity that took place within the same tract of land, and the immediate bay areas. The existing built infrastructure at Hunter's Point prior to settlement, if any was still extant at the time, was likely owned by a local, land-based fisher or business group, for which a reference was traced back to and revealed. It is known then, that commercial fishing represented the traditional landscape of the area based on the circumstances of this finding.

The settlement period occurred from 1887 to 1897 when the original 13 parcels were surveyed and drawn up for sale by a local surveyor named E. B. Camp. These platted parcels were eventually purchased and repurchased along with seven additional properties to the east among 15 original settlers and one public entity as part of 20 separate transactions. All of these purchases, except one, were by fishers native to

North Carolina. The settlement form period represents a critical juncture in itself as encompassing the original development build-out of the first official platting. This included the succession of individual land purchases up to when the final lot of this original plat was purchased to complete the sale in full of the original platted lots, the transition from a temporary occupance to permanent then followed by rapid growth and development. The plat, along with these initial land purchases effected a village layout form by actually giving it a distinct physical definition that could be examined into the future. The common denominator of fishers being from North Carolina also effected a certain cultural aspect to the study that, admittedly, adds a richness of context.

Certain indicator sets of the building mosaic form were changed through the focus on creating a more permanent settlement versus a temporary fishing camp structure. Additional fisheries contextual buildings were also formed, serving as a commercial link between Hunter's Point and dealers who had no land interests. The oldest extant residential building in today's Cortez purportedly dates to 1889, with a total of less than five buildings extant from 1897 and earlier. Only two non-residential/non-fisheries buildings from the settlement period survive in 2013. It appears that the name of Cortez was attached much earlier to Hunter's Point than some of the anecdotal literature suggests; the record appears to indicate a date of 1888, which suggests that permanence of place was an intended construct desired by those making, or considering land purchases. Since much of the extended vernacular had been already established at Hunter's Point, the change of form to this indicator set would have been in the form of intensity, or the addition of similar forms on the physical vernacular landscape setting.

The intangible form was represented by changes effected as part of the kinship culture whose trajectory was part of a closer-knit cultural structure, as opposed to the motley assemblage of fishers-as-labor precedent occurring during the presettlement form period prior.

Notable individual critical junctures occurred in addition to the form period itself, which could be considered a distinct critical juncture, including a yellow fever epidemic at the onset of the initial platting (1887 to 1888), which may have delayed some of the first land purchases (only three were sold within the first year), the introduction of the two-story building (by 1890), governmental dredging (begun by 1891), the Financial Panic of 1893 to 1897, and the first recorded fishing-related death of a permanent fisher (1894). Table 4-2, which includes determinations of change for the form indicators, can be referenced as a primer for reading the following analysis of landscape form for the settlement form period.

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space

The waterfront conglomeration during the settlement form period is a fairly documented archival record regarding village layout, but is less clear regarding the building mosaic; while there is a standard of form for streets and parcels, the building mosaic lacks accuracy and orientation with regard to graphic evidence and extancy. Therefore, it is presented herein as the recorded details allow interpretation, as Figure 4-14. The erected architectural form developed consistently along the waterfront regarding an early build-up of camps over the open water and at the water's edge. The construct that existed at the time of the first settlers' arrival most likely included some buildings and structures developed by fishers who did not have official, legal claims to the surrounding lands, since no record of indentures, deeds, or other agreements could

be found. However, there is written evidence that several fishers, or fisheries operators, referenced earlier, such as George Hatsel and Solomon Sweetzer were operating from there out of buildings possibly erected and owned by them as separate from the underlying lands. As referenced earlier, Stearns (1887) described part of this form from his study of the area in 1879.

In building upon the existing and found construct by the original settler group, the evolving form during the roughly 10-year settlement period also represented an immediate evolution of form from rustic and temporary to basic and permanent. The term “basic” in this case, serves to identify an improvement of quality over the rustic. The temporarily fashioned construct likely consisted of mixed materials brought to the site and gathered locally as part of the natural resource availability pursuant to the original temporary fishing activities. The temporary nature of what some of the archival records suggest, supports a dialogue indicating that the initial fishing construct along and over the water quickly transitioned into a more permanent base of commercial and residential operations. The record also appears to indicate that some of the early fishers who would later be the stalwarts of the growing village, were most likely establishing the base of fishing operations while still living or working in the Cedar Keys and Palma Sola, as evidenced by one of the first four settlers having been married in the Cedar Keys as late as 1893, though purchasing lands at Hunter’s Point by 1889.

This transition between locales serves as a present indicator that can be construed as an intention toward a more purposeful permanence, limited the settlers’ investing ability, which may have been guided somewhat by their financial net worth. However, by 1890, the more recent anecdotal record suggests that more refined local,

yet still vernacular residences were already being constructed by them, such as the W. T. Fulford residence listed in the 1995 Cortez National Register nomination as constructed in 1889, and that there was enough demand for a retail store and supply operation at the waterfront, supposedly in place by 1890.

According to archival photographs, the erected construct at the water/land interstice was, in fact, the quintessential conglomeration of quickly erected vernacular squares and rectangles connected to larger pier systems as lineal features supporting net spreads and access walkways erected between them. The construction method here appeared to be dominated by vertically hung, single wall forms with shed and gable roof systems. The piers appear to have been assembled most often using plank lengths that ran parallel to the run of the piers, rather than perpendicular, as would define their later designs. This method of construction appears to have served as a time saver in construction, as well as, an efficiency preference, since longer board lengths could be purchased off-site at less expense rates than smaller cut boards. Based on the historic photographs available, this would have required at least the construction of a box frame attached to pilings that met the bay floor, and were somehow driven in, and then extended above the water line to a height that also allowed them to be revealed up to six feet for other attachments and uses.

The first three land purchases, which occurred within the first seven months of each other, suggest a desired focus on the earliest development along the western fringe waterfront. This also suggests the existence of a previous construct at this location referenced during the presettlement form period earlier, as suggested by Stearns' (1887) fishing grounds chart from 1879 that pinpointed the fisheries locations.

Interestingly, the first purchases were by fishers who resold their land without establishing permanent homesteads. This fact seems to attach an importance to the parcels, either as retaining some prior development value such as existing structures, or known location.

The earliest nautical charts and coastal survey progress charts from the 1870s indicate the extreme western tip of Hunter's Point as having the deepest natural access channels closest to the west shoreline, though it also appears that a fairly deep channel occurred toward the inner harbor area toward the east, but without the closeness to the land afforded by from the extreme west. It makes sense, that the earliest activities at Hunter's Point would have occurred here, and that the more permanent architectural construct also began to establish itself. The apparent limitation, or change in future exacerbation of a more developed waterfront at the west shore, would have likely been due to the availability of it by the two parcels that represented it. The less lengthy, south platted shoreline was available by twice as many (four) parcels, though the addition of an after-the-fact parcel (numbered 14) in 1889 by W. T. Fulford created a slightly longer south shoreline, which was then made even longer with the subsequent purchases occurring after the settlement form period.

However, as the internal parcels not having water access were purchased through 1892, the southern waterfront area became more established simply because of the increase in new settlers purchasing the platted lots along its shore, as well as, the lots to the north of it, that were probably given an implied waterfront connection through the north/south oriented street system. So, it most likely took about three years, by 1890 or 1891, for the southern shore to begin to develop in a more substantial manner than

the other shore areas because of how the 1887 plat was laid out. In addition, the north-south street orientation probably allowed some individual squatting above the tidal areas and the open water evidenced through a dense development of camps and processing facilities that would have been available for construction and access because of the street system. The western shoreline was not accessible by any street system at the time. These circumstances may explain the need by the earliest land purchasers to clarify their riparian rights, which can be found through recorded deed instruments.

The tightly erected construct of semi-permanent buildings that probably dotted the western fringe waterfront, probably reached an early build-out during the first few years with the development of the Fulford Hotel complex, and later development of the individual, property-adjointed fish houses and dock systems represented by the adjacent land owners where no public access was available. The apparent proliferation of a more permanently constructed waterfront enterprise became even more concentrated as the southern shore land owners began to construct small camps for other fishers, who could, in turn, either provide a rental income or in-kind exchange to the land owners, or assist them as crew members. Before submerged land laws were enforced in Florida, it is likely that at least some of the original land owners sold or rented tracts of land that were probably submerged at least part of the time. This is evidenced later, perhaps around 1910 or so, in the case of Millard Brown, whose store appeared to be constructed beyond the legally delineated waterfront boundary of the 1887 prescribed parcel 12, by then later subdivided into a 10-parced tract.

Additional evidence suggests implied exchanges of certain use rights such as dock space for fish houses, such as one by Jess Williams after 1906. There were likely other such local transactions, some made as verbal agreements suggesting a vernacular form of land exchange (i.e., without formality of legal documentation), not dissimilar to how actual, physical materials are re-used. This notion of land exchange, and build-up of the waterfront, not only by land owners, but also by others who may not have had a fully vested interest in any lands of Hunter's Point, is suggested by an eventual legal action taken between two parties during the early 1930s indicating that such a dynamic did occur. In this case, the use of an erected structure over the water, and the ownership of the construct were being debated.

Again, the development of a retail operation within the first three years of settlement, suggests a quickly growing built construct that also quickly transitioned into a permanent settlement beyond the temporary notions of just a fish camp. Historic records suggest a peculiarity of store owners were arriving from the Midwest to Hunter's Point, such as the Brattons from Illinois, and as a comparison, the Johnsons, also from Illinois, who opened the first store near Punta Gorda. Written records continued to refer to Hunter's Point as a fish camp through the early 1890s, though this is somewhat of a misnomer, since the permanent, two-story residences were also being completed by that time by the original settlers, suggesting that an early aspiration and intent of the settlers also focused on wider business ventures of land leasing and resale, agriculture, and early forms of recreational tourism for both subsistence and profit. Therefore, the waterfront and over-the-water construct developed in a more substantial, though not necessarily quicker manner than the upland commercial and residential constructs did.

This suggests a dense construct at just beyond the shoreline and open water harbor areas, and a more thinly developed construct among the purchased lands. The control of the land and tidal areas in this manner also favored later upland subdivisions that would meet the needs of the developing kinship cultural construct.

Based on the written record, including but not limited to the local county tax reports, census data, and private directories, the first three and one-half years of the settlement form period probably saw at least 10 fishers using the lands and their associated waterfront areas that would later define part of the Cortez fishing village boundary. The number of fishers was more than the number of land purchasers during this time. By 1895, the number of land purchases would nearly double, but the increased number of fishers according to local census records, suggested a much quicker rise in fishers versus landowners. This reflects a strong fish camp construct, supplemented by the Fulford Hotel, already in place by then. Several early fishers who did not own lands at Hunter's Point, could even have built their own camps along the eastern south shoreline area until they were able to purchase some of the lands that connected them to the applicable shore frontage. Under either scenario, and by the end of the settlement form period, there were 15 original settlers (not including children, but including the Bratton couple as two because of her strong influence on the development of the village) and at least 30 fishers. This accounts for a sparse upland residential construct supported by historic photographs, and a dense waterfront and tidal construct occupied by both land owners with a focus on stability, itinerants who also focused on some future stability, and others who did not achieve stability in the growing village.

By the end of the settlement form period then, the overall construct would have been established as a completely vernacular set, constructed by the local land purchasers through shipments of materials to the site by schooner and cart, with little, if any influence from professional designers and construction companies. The record indicates that J. Felts, a local carpenter from Palma Sola constructed many of the early 1890s Cortez homes (Hall, 1986). Felts most likely had a close connection with J. E. Guthrie, who also owned land near Felts at nearby Palma Sola during the mid-1880s.

The use of traditional know-how based on established building practices of the time were used that did not necessarily incorporate any local or regionally biased standard, other than materials, which would have been pine, cedar, and perhaps cypress for the water-oriented constructs. The vernacular construct, especially regarding the permanent residential buildings, developed throughout this period was a blend of diffused practices for constructing dwellings that could have been found throughout Florida and the elsewhere in the United States, deriving from the I-house design of two stories and two rooms wide, side gables, and a rear wing or ell. Other than the materials being locally favored in building completion, the locational circumstances likely warranted the placement of the buildings and structures in a special alignment with the water, sun, and off-water breezes; however, these practices did not seem to present themselves as a common construct. Instead, the orientation of the residential building mosaic seemed more predicated on the established orientation of the plat. The tidal area buildings and structures were oriented according to access by watercraft, and thusly the available channels, and their connection to the primary fisheries buildings. Again, these practices did not necessarily reflect a regionally distinct

or new introduction, only a commonly used practice found in other, similar coastal communities, in spite of some of the written record suggesting transference from North Carolina precedents.

Now, having limited the interjection of some special, local or regional flavor, there is merit in suggesting that certain traditions could have developed from Hunter's Point, or from regional areas up to the Cedar Keys where some of the fishers spent time. Based on the photographic record and identifiable use patterns, it is logical to suggest here that decisions to build residential properties directly on or away from the waterfront were already established as part of the applied vernacular generative thinking process. The original waterfront did not appear to ever reflect a residential character. This could have been based on learned or handed-down experience with the demands and perils of placement in such vulnerable ways, or it could have been part of the business vernacular for accommodating the intended and emerging commercial fishing enterprise, especially since the waterfront areas were more individualized and separate, rather than common among the community. The fisher settlers could have understood the importance of reserving the waterfront for such purposes, based on historic use precedents, whereas, private residential would have used up the primary value of the land.

Another reflection of local vernacular incorporation could have been inserted into how the camps were constructed. In this case, they were obviously placed in the tidal areas on piers or elevated on pilings above the water line. It is unclear if the original pilings were driven into the bay bottom, or if they were stabilized by concrete surrounds. Beard (1914) instructed that pilings could be driven into muddy bottoms by attaching a

log to two piles and then physically jumping on them by able men. For sandy bay bottoms, creosoted pilings were slipped into old barrels placed under the water, and then filled with rock or gravel. Since the early nautical survey records reveal a soft, sandy bay bottom, the latter would have worked best.

The use of what appeared to be cypress materials applied in mostly vertical configurations is intriguing. Lacking a predominant use of exterior batten strips, according to early photographs, the less permanent character of the flush application of siding to the camp buildings reflected an easily assembled and repaired construct that could be capped with wood or metal panels. While important, the builders recognized the intensive function and prolonged wear that these buildings would be subjected to, and therefore, did not invest much into their design or construction.

The extended vernacular construct did not represent a distinct form change at Hunter's Point from what had already been in place. However, there was a physical increase in it and how it was laid out over the landscape. The camps, net works, dock systems, and nets would have been remarkably similar. The appearance of steamer watercraft in the area, probably before 1890, was the biggest form change pertinent to the watercraft form indicator. While the steamer construct was much larger than the typical spritsail skiffs used by the local fishers, its shape as a watercraft form was also much different. The double-masted schooners that were still in use would have been closer in size to the steamer, but the detailed forms were again much different. While steam had already been prevalent in other areas by the 1870s such as Apalachicola, its appearance along the mid-Florida Gulf Coast by the end of the 1880s went hand-in-

hand with a changing vernacular that was emphasized and already in place at the turn of the century.

Some previous studies of Cortez discussed the use of space there as incorporating an inherent fisher's orientation to the laid out village construct. The emphasis seemed to be pointed at how all of the first streets led to the waterfront. However, this assumption does not appear to be supported by any factual basis, since the first land purchasers did not seem to offer any input into this. In fact, the layout of the Hunter's Point plat seems to have been done in a much less traditional pattern than found in many other fishing communities. The most noticeable is how the waterfront was privatized, and the lack of a parallel waterfront street to allow retail and wholesale integration. Additional discussion about spatial considerations that is more fisher-oriented was focused on the separation of transient fishers from the property owners and the formation of fish camps out over the water, creating a virtual lived-in community away from the upland village. In a way, this extension of the livable community represented a thematic form of village design not present in other types of settlement villages outside of the TFV construct.

Lacking ice, fish hauls during the settlement period were mostly preserved with salt and, to a lesser extent, smoke curing for personal use. While ice was available in nearby Palma, the settlement period Hunter's Point did not yet have its own ready supply. This would not occur until after the turn of the century when a small icehouse was constructed. The use of salt involved gutting the fish, rubbing and filling them with salt, and storing them in barrels. These barrels were then sent by schooner to other processing facilities, or were taken directly to them immediately after unloading a catch.

Some of Palma Sola fisheries used a brine solution for fish preservation. The timing of this would have had to been nearly perfect, and it is likely that many prepared loads of fresh fish became spoiled and unusable. Mullet does not store well due to its high acidity, so the cost of storing has always been at odds with the process paid for it by the pound (Cato & McCullough, 1976).

The availability of ice as more of a luxury during the settlement form period certainly transformed the process, as well as, the space utilized. For example, the large icehouses that were constructed in other communities to store the large chunks of ice, often up to 200 pounds and at two feet square with a thickness of 12 inches. Sawdust was then applied over the ice as an insulator to slow its melting. Much later, when ice was readily available and locally processed, the fish were harvested and unloaded at the dock, where they were immediately iced and packed in 100-pound boxes (Bradenton Herald, February 2, 1952). Earlier, however, they were packed in special barrels or large boxes used for packing salted fish (Green, n.d.). The packing of fish such as mullet in North Carolina and several New England States during the late nineteenth century was regulated. The size of the barrel and the method used to salt, or dress the mullet was done according to certain protocols where a government inspection finding of incorrect procedure could produce a hefty fine (U.S. Fish Commission, 1899).

Village layout form indicator set

Boundary. Only anecdotal evidence is available to date that offers suggestions for how Hunter's Point originated as a fishing village settlement by a group of fishers who seemed to have connections with each other prior to its settlement. It would be a wasted exploration to conclude that mere happenstance or dumb luck was behind

Hunter's Point being chosen as a place for the initial settlers. It is apparent from the presettlement form period discussion earlier in association with the wider economic and political trends taking place at the time that the mid-Florida Gulf Coast presented opportunities for those knowledgeable of its resources. The reasonable researcher would also surmise that there must have been strong desires by the settlers in establishing a fishery that would allow them to ply a traditional trade of fishing they were mostly familiar with, not only as crew members working for others, but as captains of operations and as self-willed entrepreneurs.

The defined, original boundary for the historic study area began as a subdivision of the U.S. Government Lot 3 delineation survey in September of 1887 by land surveyor E. B. Camp who established a plat for the property's owner, Mary Gardiner, the widow of the original owner, a northeasterner from Rhode Island who did not appear to ever occupy or homestead any of the nearby lands, as referenced under the presettlement form period documentation and analysis. Basically resembling the southwestern quarter section of a circle, the 1887 subdivision consisted of three sides including a northern boundary delineated as a street, the east boundary formed by the sides of three vertically oriented parcels, and the natural shoreline running westerly and then northerly from the southeast corner in a semicircular path to close the boundary shape at its westernmost point (Figure 4-15). This original subdivision of just-under 20 acres established a surveyed boundary for what would become the historic fishing village of Cortez, and represents the first definable form of the historic study area from which the cultural effects are evaluated forward.

The original 15 settlers purchased parcels consisting of the 1887 subdivision, including additional parcels that expanded parceled ownership beyond this original boundary by 1897, as shown in the graphic tile set in Figure 4-16. Excepting the 1912 school boundary, the village would eventually expand further by a near doubling of its east/west length toward what is now determined by 119th Street. This eventual expansion would more than triple the size of the village to approximately 70 acres from the 1887 subdivision area.

The settlement form period shoreline was dramatically different than its 2013 configuration as shown earlier in Figure 4-6. Based on archival warranty deeds and legal descriptions, as well as, historic maps and photographs, the filled-in waterfront expanded the original shoreline seaward by well over 230 feet at some points. In Figure 4-6, the vertical dashed line represents the eastern extent of the 1887 boundary (not to scale).

Parcel configuration. The settlement period of 1887 to 1897 includes the addition of lands to the original 1887 subdivision, increasing the original 13 platted parcels to 20 parcels; however, the first internal subdivision of any of those parcels would not occur until 1907. So, it is reasonable, as part of my study, to frame the growth of the village as part of these initial purchases prior to internal land subdivisions. Even though land speculation could have been part of the reason for the original settlers to purchase, it represents a different aspect of village growth beyond settlement, especially since nearly all of the original purchasers up until 1897 established some permanency there.

Including the 1887 subdivision plat promulgated by Gardiner, three additional subdivisions took place during the settlement form period. Pursuant to Gardiner's 1887 subdivision, the initial subdivision encompassed 13 parcels totaling approximately 20 acres consisting of seven 1-acre parcels, and six larger parcels between 1.77 acres and 2.27 acres each (Figure 4-15). It is unclear why the 13 parcels were configured into six with waterfront frontage, and seven internal, with a north-south system of four streets leading to the south shore, and a single north boundary road leading to the west shore.

Two of the 1887 parcels appear to have been somehow assigned to two unknown persons named Faries (parcel 5) and Lene (parcel 11). However, no records of these purchase transactions have been found to date. The first property sold according to land purchase agreement dates was parcel 5 by J. T. Flowers on October 6, 1887; this was only a month after the subdivision drawing was completed. The second purchase occurred several months later by W. J. Foreman during January 1888. However, neither of these individuals is cited by any of the popular literature as being one of the original five fishers, though they did both appear to have linkages to them. Both were actually residents of Palma Sola and Perico Island, respectively, and owned property there, with Flowers holding land interests as a neighbor to J. E. Guthrie and his Palma Sola land holdings. Foreman too, was linked to Guthrie through familial ties of his first wife, making them relatives by marriage. The irony of this relationship lies in the fact that Guthrie, as one of the original settlers at Hunter's Point did not actually sign for land purchases until 1890, allowing five other settlers before him access to the lands for purchase.

Joseph Fulford was actually the third land purchaser by 1888, and was a brother to William, Nathan, and Sanders who are also cited as the original settlers. The first land purchaser to actually establish permanent residence at Hunter's Point appeared to have been W. T. Fulford who signed a land purchase agreement in April 1889. Since he represents the first of the original Hunter's Point settlers who would stay permanently, though delaying his purchase for nearly 19 months after the initial subdivision, it strengthens the argument that neither he, nor any of the future fisher settlers had any influence on this first village layout form. This is further supported by the fact that his purchase was a site-planned purchase out of the U.S. Government Lot 3, and not as an official plat addition to the 1887 recorded subdivision. Instead, it is an after-the-fact consideration that carved out a new parcel 14 of approximately 2.1 acres from the larger U.S. Government Lot 3, essentially adjoining and expanding the east boundary of the original 1887 village boundary. From the earlier presettlement form discussion, Lot 3 was the larger U.S. Government Lot that totaled 61.3 acres as referenced on Samuel Reid's 1846 survey (Figure 4-12), which was purchased in its entirety by the Gardiners. This additional lot by the first cited permanent fisher began to effect an altered and revised form of the original boundary.

Again, as history attempts to reveal and complete the transactions of the oft-cited first five Cortez settlers, as well as, the complete set of the original subdivided parcels, and according to deed agreement dates, the second property purchased by a future permanent settler is dated May 21, 1889 by D. S. Fulford (known as Sanders), who purchased parcel 5 at the northwest corner. This was actually a repurchase of land from J. T. Flowers who was the very first purchaser back in 1887. Surprisingly, and not in

alignment with who were the first settlers of Hunter's Point, the seventh purchase is dated March 14, 1890 by W. J. Foreman, who purchased parcels 3 and 8 running from the northerly delineated street south to the waterfront. This added to his earlier purchase of parcel 13, creating a linear land holding spanning from the waterfront north to the village boundary, an extensive, and perhaps the most valuable of all of the eventual holdings, since most of the village commercial activity would occur within and along these parcels. Though Foreman was reportedly from North Carolina, he did not appear to be a highly dedicated fisher either. Instead he was an agricultural producer, and apparently, a land speculator. Not surprisingly, J. T. Flowers also appeared to be a land speculator and entrepreneur, though he had also been cited as being a fisher. Flowers can be documented to have hawked health elixirs for sale to anyone who would buy them.

The additions of Foreman and Flowers as jacks-of-all-trades and not as purely dedicated fishers, and as part of the original settlement form is interesting in that it indicates an apparent economic market conducive to a just-established group of settlers around open purchases of lands. One cannot help but inquire about the promise of the fishing industry at the time where a retail operation could survive in such isolation. A specific question that derives from this asks why the retail store was able to establish itself so quickly. This leans toward a preestablished commercial need. It is apparent that the history of commercial fishing around Hunter's Point was already long-standing and that the fishery resources were still plentiful. Prior connections and networks had already begun, as well. This quickening of settlement after temporary occupancies indicates a strong propensity of Hunter's Point for growing in a rapid pace through 1897,

when 24 lots overall were purchased or repurchased, and numerous buildings and structures were erected, especially at the waterfront and tidal areas. The attractiveness, or ripeness of emerging settlements to distinct groups of business people who were not part of its dominant trade, was part of the growth of Florida as an apparent settler's paradise. While there may not have been any specific influence by them on cultural context of the form, they certainly had the ability to add to it.

Understanding the purchase dates for the first properties allows a better understanding of how Hunter's Point began to be settled and how it began to take shape and develop form. By the time of N. Fulford's purchase of parcel 10 in 1892, four of the originally subdivided parcels had still not been purchased by any of the fishers. Parcels 4, 2, 9, by 1894, and finally parcel 1 and an outparcel school site, in the order of their transactions, would finally complete the build-out of the 1887 subdivision by 1897, where expansion, and therefore, alteration of the boundary was ongoing. It is important to note that the village's original boundary form began to expand even before the 1887 plat parcels were fully purchased. The fact that the last properties to be purchased were landlocked is not clear, since it appears that additional waterfront lands available to the east could have been carved out by N. Fulford, who did not choose to do so even though he was a fisher. This may have resulted from the kinship premise in that the adjoining parcel to the south was held by his brother, which, in essence established a single, large familial compound. Also, based on the historical topography, the waterfront areas to the east appeared to have less waterfront access since they were rather swampy and wooded, filled with mangroves and increased wetland indentations; these

topographical elements may have made them less desirable to at least certain commercial fishers.

The eighteenth transaction by L. J. C. Bratton (Mrs. Bratton), dated November 28, 1896 is important to note since it would prove to have a special impact on the landscape form of the growing village. As a married couple, Mrs. Bratton and her husband William became very involved in the development and social life of Cortez. Though they were from Illinois and not from North Carolina, and not considered to have been quintessential fishers, they held title to several acres of land in Cortez and other areas to the east. The prime real estate in Cortez would really prove to be their purchase of the linear strip of lands designated as parcels 3, 8, and 13 from W. J. Foreman. This land purchase has increased significance since it was nearly four acres, giving them the fourth largest holdings at the time, and because it represented the primary non-fisheries retail operation in the burgeoning village.

Though the Brattons arrived toward the end of the settlement period in 1896, they quickly began developing their portion of the waterfront of parcel 13 from the two-story, side gable, frame store that was already there since at least 1890. Their contribution would give a non-characteristic stylistic definition to the more vernacular waterfront conglomeration with the expansion of the existing 1890 waterfront store into a hotel, and the development of the first large wharf to accommodate the run-boats servicing Cortez. The pyramidal roof character of the retail building constructed at the end of the wharf added a distinct, untypical vernacular form that served as the first marina facility, while the hotel expansion adjoining the existing two-story store structure served as a place for visitor lodging and a sundries operation. Since D. S. Fulford is

known to have built a lodging facility to the northeast of the Bratton's site, as well, it appears that there must have been some competition between the two.

The development of the Bratton dock structure seemed to coincide with the initial dredge cuts in the bay systems by the U.S. Army between 1891 and 1895 suggesting some speculation of increased water traffic and accessibility positively affecting the economy of Cortez. There may have also been some business relationships between the Brattons and fishery outsiders such as John Savarese and Henry Hibbs, whose fisheries businesses were booming at the time from Tampa and St. Petersburg, respectively. Hibbs had over 200 fishers by 1896 and operated a fish house out of Cortez, as well as, from Disston City (present-day Gulfport), and nearby Terra Ceia. Hibbs was from Newport, North Carolina, so it would not have been difficult for him to establish personal and business connections with the fishers and landowners at Cortez, who happened to be from Carteret County, North Carolina along the Atlantic coast. Savarese, who was not from North Carolina, held title to several run-boats that served the area and was another relative by marriage to J. E. Guthrie.

In referring back to the initial subdivision of Hunter's Point, the fact that the 1887 plat was created before any of the recorded deed dates by the fisher purchasers does not rule out the possibility that informal meetings and discussions took place between Mary Gardiner as the seller, and the fishers as interested parties. This would have included Flowers and Foreman as the first buyers, who had some keen knowledge of the area and the platted configuration, perhaps in concert with J. E. Guthrie. The resulting plat could have been designed according to a local understanding of the Hunter's Point fishery with input from them. However, in revisiting the early addition of

parcel 14 by W. T. Fulford, it seems unlikely that such discussions occurred. At least it suggests that Fulford's preference for lands were not included in the 1887 subdivision. So, for the purposes of construing the original village layout form at settlement, it is accurate to conclude that it evolved over a 10-year period that expanded organically beyond its original boundary to accommodate the needs and desires of the fishers that purchased lands in an irregular manner, but that seemed to benefit the kinship arrangement.

Circulation. The 1887 plat provided for four north/south streets and a single north boundary street running east to west; this represented the original upland circulation pattern. The latent anecdotal discussions suggest that these streets, as designed travel ways, were limited to the platted area with no established connections to areas to the north and east of the village during the early settlement period. Because of the land sales taking place at that time, it is very likely that access streets were already in place as crudely developed trails that ran eastward, and then northerly toward the Palma Sola area, which was the nearest developed area by the end of the settlement period. These traveled routes most likely became worn as sandy paths on which continual use often establish de facto circulation patterns. Green (n.d.) cited the roads as being sandy at least until 1908, when they were then surfaced with locally available oyster shells.

Since gas-powered vehicles were not present during the settlement form period, various forms of surreys and wagons were used for hauling and land-based transportation. Therefore, while the standard, modern garage was not yet an established structure of the residential construct, other structures for housing the lesser

vehicles and perhaps the animals that powered them were probably in place along the circulation paths. These paths were predesigned, so there is no real evidence that natural circulation paths emerged or altered the designed patterns. Nevertheless, the condition of the travel-ways through Cortez and outward from it continued to be similar to sandy trails characterized by rutted sections making land travel a major task.

As lands outside of the 1887 subdivision were purchased, the northerly boundary road continued to extend eastward, and a new north/south road would accommodate W. T. Fulford's 1889 purchase. It is likely that the north/south roads remained fixed as accessible streets. The development of a new street, Bayview Avenue, the one-block long section of street from 125th Street to 124th Street Court, then known as First and Seconds Streets, respectively, probably began to take shape through parcel 13 as part of the retail activity centering around the Bratton's retail ventures. Notwithstanding the predesigned character of the circulation pattern up to this time, the use of this area as a community activity center dictated the official designation through a subsequent subdivision plat, but one that not occur until 1912.

Given the arduous journey expected from land travel during the settlement period, water transportation was still the most efficient means of movement by the settlers, though the community remained relatively isolated. A decent road out of Cortez to places like Palma Sola and Braidentown were still crude paths through thick undergrowth of palmetto bushes, some of it requiring the traversing of low lying wetlands. The average amount of time for a boat trip to points along the Manatee River could have taken an entire day by sail, depending on the wind and weather. Yet, even as late as 1916, schooner travel to the local towns was often done in large groups by

willing settler captains (Eaker, 1994). So, the importance of the water approaches to the settlement village, as it began to orient itself to the retail component now in place on the southern shoreline at parcel 13, cannot be understated as the first vestiges of a dominant built form began to take shape there. The waterfronts at the ends of Second and Third Streets (124th Street Court and 124th Street, respectively) historically served as the primary gathering places for itinerant watercraft and the villagers and visitors who frequented the shoreline and the retail operations there. The activity also served to demarcate an area around which the commercial fishing center of the town and the development of the extended vernacular construct along and over the water most likely began to form.

It should also be noted that the land purchase agreements also helped to define the street system such as reserving equal splits of half chain strips (32.5 feet) as part of the deed instruments. Subsequent purchases and repurchases would occur steadily through 1909 that would further affect both the street configuration and the boundary of the settlement.

Building mosaic form indicator set

Since historic documentation reveals established presettlement commercial fishing activity in the Hunter's Point area, there is possibly an influence of built form that could have guided the first buildings and structures of the settlers. This could have resulted in a reused, partially built construct of fish camps and dock systems. It is possible too, that no purely natural or pristine form defined the shoreline and upland areas where the settlement began to develop as fishers arrived and cleared tracts, constructed buildings and structures, and established longer terms of occupancy. Instead, the already manipulated environment could have included an altered landscape

of sporadic vegetation rising slightly above a previously developed remnant of wooden fish processing buildings, perhaps some constructed with wood-boarded sides and flat or gable roofs, mixed with local natural materials such as palmetto logs and thatch. Additional building remnants such as the fish camps (sleeping quarters) and even net camps including those described by Stearns (1887) from 1879, may also have been extant at the time serving as a model, or as usable footprints or for foundation supports.

When the original settlers arrived at Hunter's Point, they most likely also found remnants of the rancho complex cited as being in the area, along with a disturbed, but still mostly natural environment that may have been excessively timbered, but without any significant, more permanent structures. At this point, depending on the condition of what the earlier campers and fishers left behind, the form of the built environment began as the Hunter's Point settlers were next influenced by how the lay of the land was divided into purchasable parcels. Such divisions of land obviously affect future built form since the limitations of space and land usage set a preconceived development form in the mind for the maximum use of the land. This process of forming in the mind of what can be built is predicated on the intended function.

Residential buildings and appurtenances. Simply building a house to live in is not the same as building one that is oriented to a working environment, or one that has multiple functions. For example, while commercial fishing may be the primary intent of function and use of a property, gardening for sustenance may also fit into the mind of the fisher who ensures adequate orientation for large tracts of land to accommodate this. Local gardens were a distinct part of Tidewater South villages and fishing communities, in general.

Chiarappa (2005) said that the landscapes of the pound-net fisheries in the Great Lakes were always visually connected to the shore. This is a valid argument for many fisher villages, and is perhaps true to a degree in what would become at Hunter's Point with its street system that terminated at the water; this resulted in the appearance of the street form to continue in another form into the open bay and the construct erected there. However, with at least half of the settlement's upland parcels being landlocked and removed from the water, there is doubt that the importance of a residential building's orientation to the street that did convey into the bay was a matter of extreme importance. Based on historical photographs and existing building footprints, there does not appear to have been any set pattern or method for residential building placement. It is known that the first substantial and permanent residence, and perhaps the first major building in the settlement, as built by W. T. Fulford is still extant and was constructed facing west several hundred feet away from the waterfront as the dictate of the street directed. What is most important is the placement of the structure away from the water, nearer to the northerly property boundary, with an apparent reserve closer to the shoreline for intended commercial fishery operations.

It appears from the record that D. S. Fulford developed his western shoreline in a more purposeful, water-oriented manner in that the complex of a single, one-story building with two-story residential units attached was built nearer to the water in order to be more amenable to visitor appreciation of the waterfront, rather than as part of a ritualistic orientation to the waterfront that is often cited as a requirement in the fisher vernacular of maritime building tradition. In other words, it seems there was less intent toward commercial fishing for this construct and more toward waterfront tourism. There

is a caveat to this train of thought, however, in that D. S. Fulford could have developed his property with a water orientation in a way that also served the burgeoning fishing enterprise by accommodating other fishers looking to settle in the village. The waterfront orientation would have made sense in this respect as temporary housing that also afforded dockage.

Since the original settlers mostly hailed from coastal North Carolina, and some documentation suggests transference of built traditions, a search was performed for vernacular structures within Carteret County, North Carolina for shared similarities of contextuality, and timeframes. Some congruent tidbits were evident, but only with enough sufficiency to make a couple of generalized statements not detailed enough as conclusive evidence of any revealed cultural pattern, such as whitewash paint and yard pickets.

As part of a larger regional diffusion (Kniffen, 1936), vernacular structures in the coastal south were similar in form, but with no significant nuances found that reflected localized adaptations. Many descriptions of coastal North Carolina describe the individual communities there as being isolated and reflecting characteristics of being seafaring towns located directly on the water. This description could be used for any number of coastal communities in the South historically, so there seems to be no significant revelation here. An improved and usable description would also include details that “factual-ize” the local vernacular between the two, and how they share the architectural forms of one and two-story dwellings, with both front and side gabling—a common basic form found in Hunter’s Point buildings.

The early residential construct of the settlement period strongly favored the I-house form representing a plain and easy design with a wood, rough lumbered frame. There was often a single front entry centered, with offset gable windows evident in the settlement period houses. The typical exterior siding was horizontal clapboard that provides some indication of a higher quality structure. Many of the non-residential structures at or over the water were clad in vertical siding arrangements.

The early houses were often constructed in phases, such as the 1889 W. T. Fulford house, which is documented as beginning as a single story structure, and later modified as a two-story residence. While this was certainly possible, that earlier configuration would not have matched historic buildings occurring at the time. It eventually received a cross-house configuration with lower and upper porch projections. Most of the settlement period residences included this feature, also known as a verandah, and was typical of the Tidewater South residences (Noble & Geib, 1984). All of the early documented structures appeared to be elevated between two and three feet on top of concrete or brick piers. These types of treatments, along with the added verandah are perhaps the signature diffused elements, though the verandahs also appear in other regions.

Exterior architectural adornments were also minimal on the settlement period residential buildings, reflecting a functional purpose of structure as shelter that could be relocated and disassembled, as necessary. One major difference is that in Beaufort, North Carolina, many of the vernacular structures seemed to have had cupolas, or widow's walks attached to them, whereas, in Cortez, there is no evidence of a predominance of historic structures with that type of exterior form addition, based on

historic photographs and documentation. The use of this system in North Carolina allowed the spotting of mullet running along the bay harvest grounds, obviously an erected type of form determined by its applicability to a fishing method. Since whaling was a long-standing traditional fishing occupation in North Carolina, the walks were used even earlier for the spotting of whales beached along the shoreline. Thicker analyses could reveal direct adaptations of these types of form indicators if they are found to have been an influence at Cortez. For example, one internal form detail indicates the use of specialized venting systems as above-porch attachments that were widely used along the North Carolina coastal areas to increase air ventilation. However, this type of form addition, even if found on Cortez structures, speaks too little to assessing form in the wider landscape. Since my study does not place a remarkable significance on minimal degrees of form that represent microscopic considerations of form adaptation and influence, there is no necessary discussion that follows this tangent, unless the otherwise minor detail somehow provides significance to the landscape form.

The basic vernacular construct of residential buildings during settlement then, represents a distinguished vernacular of mostly two-story, wood frame structures with side gable roof systems using locally available pine and cypress materials. They were mostly rectangular in their basic footprint changed later by mostly rear additions, or ells. This represents the first and dominant erected form that seems to have been aligned with regard to similar vernacular constructs found in other communities in the area and around the region.

Nuances in the individual designs are evident in how they were ultimately detailed, but still lacked the ornamental detailing found in later houses. Partial and wrap porch extensions were common to the highest percentage of these buildings. Clapboard exterior siding placed horizontally also appeared to be the most common application. A few owners constructed storage units for animals and wagons. Every residence would have included at least one water tank on their property to at least catch rainwater, though there is evidence suggesting that an artesian well was also located within the village, and that some residences did not have water tanks for potable use. Most water tanks would have had flat covers as part of a catchment system, while some had conical or gabled covers. However, the residential construct is a limited form in the traditional fishing vernacular landscape of Cortez, based on historic house locations and the strong fisheries contextual structure of the waterfront conglomeration.

Non-residential/non-fisheries buildings and appurtenances. This form set is limited. The first building to fit into this construct, other than the D. S. Fulford mixed-use complex, would likely have been the purported 1890 store that carried the form of the residential buildings common at the time as two story, single depth, I-structures. However, based on an examination of historic photographs and the building itself, the original building appeared to have enlarged fenestration on at least one of its long facades, and achieved access from the shorter gabled end. Its orientation to the water was purposeful in that it must have been constructed to serve the fishers and the flurry of contextual activity that began to form soon after settlement. In fact, its original location appeared to situate it partially over the water. By 1897, it is not likely that the Brattons had constructed the west wing to the 1890 store, since they themselves had

just begun to settle in the village. Therefore, the non-residential/non-fisheries building set was a limited construct during the settlement form period that also limits the discussion of it here.

However, one of the original erected forms in the village, the first Fulford Hotel, a complex of three buildings most likely was constructed toward the end of 1892 since the Manatee River Journal (May 26, 1892 edition) informed the reader that the lumber had arrived for it by schooner. This suggests that the lumber was likely cut at, and delivered from Cedar Key, which had a strong lumber industry, and which Fulford probably had connections to since he worked and lived there for several years before establishing residency at Hunter's Point. By 1893, the hotel was already being advertised as the Hunter's Point Hotel in the Manatee River Journal.

Curiously, another report in the Manatee River Journal from August 6, 1892 made reference to a multitude of watercraft sheds and residences at Hunter's Point, with 21 people residing there, but did not reference any non-residential buildings. This leads to an inquiry as to an alternate date for when the 1890 store appeared. The same may have been true for the other settlers, as well, based on the varied dates of their land purchases, and the simple requirement that they most likely established dwelling units over time early on, prior to relocating permanently. By 1897, there were up to 40 fishers at Cortez, with reports of new houses having been recently built there, indicating an ongoing building process

In early 1894, it was reported by the Manatee River Journal (January 2, 1894 edition) that D. S. Fulford had lost his partner from drowning at his "camp" at Hunter's Point. Having been in the area for three years before his drowning, and having

purchased a narrow strip of land abutting Fulford's to the north suggests that this partner, whose name was L. F. Kelly, also from North Carolina, could have assisted in coordinating Fulford's early enterprise. Since Fulford was married in the Cedar Keys in 1893, rather than Braidentown or other nearby town, it appears that he still may have been living there well after his 1889 land purchase at Hunter's Point, which strengthens the notion of Kelley having had a certain modicum of influence and decision-making ability over some of the form construct.

According to deed records, Kelley seemed to have another partner in ownership of this piece of property named W. H. Adams. It is curious to think that this may have been the one-time owner of the Tampa Fish and Ice Company from about 1885 to about 1900. Adams transferred his interest in the property in 1893 to D. S. Fulford. The fact that this particular Adams could have been part of a Tampa fisheries processing facility makes sense with the other connections to Tampa and St. Petersburg that were occurring in Cortez at the time. Kelley could have been in the process of establishing a business relationship prior to his drowning that did not ever come to fruition.

Fisheries contextual buildings and appurtenances. With up to 40 fishers trying to make a living in Cortez by 1897, and 10 fishers now owning land there, the residential construct was creating an internal presence in the village as a permanent construct, and in an extended form as part of the fish camp scene over the water. In tandem, the erected waterfront conglomeration was emerging, as the highly contextual forms of the camps and the fisheries processing buildings were increasingly apparent in the landscape, and as part of an emerging waterfront skyline. Here, the fisheries houses were creating the active scene and appeared as part of each captain's waterfront base

that connected to the street that connected to their land. They distinguished themselves from the average fish camps as larger structures where fish hauls were first brought. However, additional fisheries houses were erected by outside dealers and captains such as George Hatsel who did not appear to own any land in the village proper. This is part of the enterprise agreements between fishers that resulted in a denser built construct along the waterfront.

The captains who had built their own camps as processing facilities were reverting them to just being camps, actually reducing the number of fisheries processing facilities, and increasing the camp configuration. The fact that the fishers and captains were selling to distant dealers, or who were serving as middlemen in the fisheries processing schema, highlights the initial difficulties in balancing business with commercial fishing. Both seemed to be full time operations, yet the relative isolation and transportation limitations of Cortez continued to hamper the fisher-as-dealer structure. However, certain infrastructure was needed that allowed quick processing and loading of the daily catches on the run-boats to avoid spoiling of the catch. Some records suggest that the fishers in Cortez may have banded together in leasing space at the “Old Dock” in Tampa, yet this arrangement did not appear to offer a stable or economical situation for the fishers (Manatee River Journal, April 26, 1894 edition). Therefore, the transition from impermanence to permanent settlement in Cortez seemed to create distinctions between fishing, processing, and marketing. The formatted set of relationships resulting from these distinct acts would last at least through the following form period up to 1921, when landowner/dealer constructs would begin to form as part of the Cortez cultural flux.

By 1895 during the seasonal harvests, the steamer Mistletoe, which was owned by John Savarese out of Tampa, eventually captained by local fisher and landowner C. D. Jones who purchased parcel 7 in 1890, went from a single, weekly run, to three runs per week from Cortez as the harbor dredging improved navigation. The steamer added to the sail form of the watercraft during this period. Less than 10 years earlier, the Mistletoe was running further north out of the Cedar Keys. It was reported that the Cortez fishers shipped their catches to only one fish house located in Tampa, also owned by Savarese (Manatee River Journal, May 14, 1896 edition). However, Henry Hibbs also had a piece of this action with his fleet of sailing schooners appearing at the loading dock in Cortez. Several schooners were also transporting goods and produce between Cortez and other ports. Now, Savarese was related to J. E. Guthrie by marriage, further enhancing the kinship cultural makeup of Cortez, though he was from Italy, and not U.S. born. However, competition emerged from Hibbs, who also established a fish house at Cortez around this time. Hibbs was known to work closely with fishers by giving them credit advances so they could purchase gear, supplies, and daily living articles (Gulfport Historical Society, 1985). The temporary fishing camp of Hunter's Point was now evolving into a settlement of commerce and permanence.

With such a large contingent of fishers already there and working, the fisheries contextual erected construct was fairly pronounced as part of the waterfront conglomeration. By 1897 there were several captains hauling fish with their crews. Prior to 1895, some fish catches were sent to the Cedar Keys via a variety of schooners such as those operated by the Fogarty family near Palma Sola. This marketing changed as

established dealers delivered them to St. Petersburg or Tampa for secondary loading onto railroad cars for delivery to consumer markets.

The active fishing dynamic between fishers, captains, and dealers is not fully understood in Cortez. Most written accounts do not detail the structure between these three entities, though it is clear that many of the original fishers were active businessmen. One example is the Chadwick family. Clay, Steve, and Hubbard Chadwick were brothers from Beaufort, North Carolina who came from a line of entrepreneurs in the Atlantic Coast commercial fishing industry. They established the Chadwick Fish Company in Punta Gorda by 1901, but had purchased parcel 10 in Cortez in 1894, retaining ownership of it until they relocated to Punta Gorda. The extent of their Punta Gorda fishery indicates that they employed over 100 fishers, virtually dominating the fisheries around Charlotte Harbor. It is likely that the Chadwick brothers also operated a fish house in Cortez, either as an independent structure built over the water, or under an agreement with N. Fulford, who had sold them parcel 10, or with other fishers.

By 1897, an amended fishing law was in place that prohibited net fishing in Florida waters between June 15 and August 15. The catching of mullet were further prohibited during an additional period from November 15 to December 31. The lack of available fishing enterprise left the fishers in the village to return to their North Carolina relatives or cater to the tourism trade, which had already taken hold in Cortez. Of course, it was reported that the pompano season was in full swing during May, so there were other fish being taken by hook and line, allowing some of the mullet fishers to work

as guides. Yet, the notion of a part-time fishery does not seem to make sense given the quick pace in which development continued at Cortez.

The earliest photos of Cortez revealed a dominant vernacular form that was quite simple, represented by gabled roof systems above facades that faced the waterfront. This orientation allowed the dock systems to be attached to the structures as they extended out from the building over both land and water. The efficiency of unloading the daily harvests required an open, central passage system that can still be seen in the 2013 fish house constructs. The orientation of the historic front gable and open entry was common for the time period, as found in other communities such as Chokoloskee, Punta Gorda, Sarasota, and the Cedar Keys. In fact, there appears to have been no regional standard, other than the materials chosen, that dictated the ultimate construct. The general construction of fish houses was common throughout the United States. Perhaps the most distinct regional quality lay in how the fish houses were constructed as part of a network over the water in the bay. In Charlotte Harbor, they were strategically located in remote locations to enhance processing activities. This structure could have been used by Cortez fishers who were fishing those areas, or who preferred to deal with the dealers there such as the Chadwicks, even though it was further separated from Cortez than the Tampa Bay docks, depending on where a fisher was fishing.

Extended vernacular form indicator set

Physical manifestations-fisheries camps. Several records appear to differentiate between fish camps and net camps. The net camps were less for human habitation than as a means for storing and working on nets and equipment. Some were open on their sides but covered by a gable roof system. While some referred to Cortez

in general as a fish camp, the structural connotation was aimed at small buildings erected on pilings at or over the water that were partially enclosed, but wrapped with an overhanging porch extension to allow processing work that was protected from sun and rain. However, several of these evolved from fish processing facilities while dealer networks were established. In some cases, they were used as net and fish camps. Both types were part of the extended vernacular systems that were organically and more densely developed around the waterfront activity area of the south shoreline extending east to about 123rd Street (originally Fifth Street). The net camps, along with several fish camps were directly connected to an associated system of net spreads, and in some cases, a fish camp structure. A network of raised docks and walkways often surrounded the camps and were sometimes strategically placed adjacent to the fish houses.

The first fish camp buildings were developed over the water on pilings using the vernacular design of basic wood structures with both shed and gabled roof systems. These buildings were constructed for human habitation but consisted of only the most basic living amenities. They were described by some of the early residents as small but having a large presence concentrated in dense configurations along the waterfront and foreshore (Eaker, 1994), and were only big enough for a bunk or two each. There is a resemblance of the settlement design of these camps with that of Stearns' (1887) description from 1879 of similar presettlement structures suggesting a diffused vernacular that was found throughout the coastal areas of the South.

The designs of the fish camps were partly based on the intended use for the more transient occupant who had not invested in the available land purchases. The separation of the fish camps implies a desired separation away from the homesteaded

properties, although some transient fishers seemed to have boarded with established fishers at certain times. This became more of a trend as the settlement grew, mostly out of economic need. Regardless, the fish camp becomes a distinct regional import to the vernacular TFV with a determination guided by weather as a purposely built, erected construct intended for a duration controlled by economics. The fact that they were constructed in large numbers represents a form of the worker or corporate housing constructs of industrial America. The obvious question arises here pertaining to the relationships between the landowners and those occupying the camps, though it is likely that some of the camps were probably occupied by some of the landowners, as well.

Physical manifestations-net works. Nets were mostly laid out in 100-yard sections over extensive net spreads that were in essence, part of the dock system that diverted from main walkways to the in-between areas for net access. While the net spreads gave a horizontal appearance in their filled form similar to rolling waves, there was also verticality in their design when they were barren of net materials, and in how they represented a tent-like quality. With up to 40 fishers in Cortez by 1897, and a growing number of camps, the infrastructure required for what would have amounted to thousands of yards of nets, as the Cortez fisher's primary tool of the trade would have been quite extensive. This is evidenced by historic photos and the horizontal character presented by the net spread form over the water.

There is also some evidence that the less encompassing, but more dominant net reels were used by some fishers. These structures, though confined to a roughly 10x10 horizontal footprint, dominated the surrounding landscape form when present because of their atypical octagonal shape, and the one and one-half stories height to which they

reached that rose well above the flatness of the net spreads. Though some records suggest that net reels were fairly easy to construct and use, there simply were not enough of them to suggest a typified landscape construct along the Cortez waterfront. Based on the historic photo collection to date, there were likely three of these structures during the settlement period. However, the net spread system was forming a distinct corral pattern paralleling the entire south shoreline, basically extending the village into three horizontal strata, or zones: a) the extended construct built over the water; b) the waterfront conglomeration; and c) the upland construct.

Physical manifestations-dock system. The extensive dock systems that extended over the open water from the fish houses, shorelines, watercraft docks, and between net spreads and camps provided a continuous, networked linkage between fishing-related functions. The dock system is physically and functionally related to the net works, making them nearly indistinguishable. Yet, they deserve to be recognized separately since there are instances where they served varied purposes and functions.

In a way, the dock represented three distinct form occurrences. The first form occurrence is its support structure marked by the piling system that is vertically oriented, partly above water and partly hidden below the surface and below the bay floor. Even without the inclusion of the walkways for which it is constructed, the pilings represent a long-standing, historic form that is uniquely identifiable by itself in its water element. It has a maritime character and form and can be present by itself without adornment and continue to evoke an intrinsic function in the landscape. The second form occurrence is the horizontally oriented walkways and railings, or, if the pilings are the support system, the body of the dock. While the horizontal form conveys travel, provides direction, and

gives access to the water, it becomes meaningless over the watery environment without the support of the pilings. The third form occurrence represented by the dock system is its footprint that extends from and over the water. This is perhaps the most revealing of the three form occurrences with regard to noticeable form change and impact upon the vernacular landscape. It is also the most peculiar to individual communities as fishers establish physical connections to the water.

Only a small percentage of the overall dock construct supported non-fishing functions such as unloading general retail goods or loading and unloading of passengers. The configuration of an aesthetic offered by these constructions as they interacted with the net works was a dominant feature of the village settlement, taking up an open water area that was likely well over 10 acres in size. The form of the dock system was simple, albeit extensive consisting of common vertical pilings set at distances of only a few feet. The walkways were also simple and were constructed of both perpendicular and parallel planking attached to a basic box frame. The box frame was in turn, attached to the vertical pilings. Historic photographs reveal the construction of the open water dock systems as more crudely designed, whereas, the subsequent period loading dock systems were more extensively designed and more strongly constructed to allow for the increased weight of loaded materials and transports.

The expansive footprint that the dock system would encompass as it tied into the erected constructs is evident from the visible pilings that remained after the 1921 hurricane surge destroyed the horizontal system in its entirety.

Physical manifestations-nets. The primary nets used during the settlement period were gill nets, seine nets, and cast nets. The gill net has been the most common

net in use in Cortez since the first settlers arrived. The gill net system causes fish to become entangled so that they cannot free themselves. Originally, the gill net was laid out as the watercraft circled the fish school, usually along a precise course that the school was expected to travel while in pursuit. In many cases, additional mechanical power was unnecessary toward the end of the process, catering to a more vernacular system. The seine net was used mostly for near shore collections as part of team hauls. These nets were typically seasonal devices and were laid out in extended lengths where fish were corralled and then pushed to shore like a sideways scoop. Cast nets were used as needed by fishers, but were limited in the roles for commercial fishing due to their small size, though it was referenced earlier that fishers in Palma Sola Bay were using these exclusively during the presettlement period. However, individual fishers just starting out could more easily afford these nets and earn some money from them, or at least provide food for themselves and their families. With up to 15-foot diameters and a high degree of strength and skill, an individual fisher could make significant hauls of mullet amounting to several hundred pounds.

Settlement form period nets were made of cotton or linen and required continual, daily care to such a degree that a particular vernacular form developed out of this in the net spreads and net reels that made up a larger percentage of the construct built over the water, along the shoreline, in yards, and as part of the building mosaic in the form of the storage shed. Cotton net care required more physical space than any other artifact of fishing. Historic photographs reveal the acreage taken up by the net spreads, docks, and camps. Large amounts of space were required since storing of nets was best accomplished in open, airy environments. The sheer magnitude of the resultant form is

one of the most dramatic, yet least observable today. The disappearance of the natural fiber nets, and the devices used to maintain them is perhaps the biggest change in the vernacular landscape that has ever occurred in Florida Gulf Coast TFVs.

Adkins and Bourgeois (1982) suggested that the care of nets amounted to a fifth of a fisher's income. The additional requirement of storing lime used for treating the nets after each use to clean the accumulated slime from them had at least a minimal effect on form in the quantities that had to be stored, and the locations in which it was stored such as additional storage sheds. The cotton nets were in place until the 1950s but were introduced to commercial fishers just after World War II. The inference is that the cotton nets were certainly the only type of nets used during the settlement period, and also throughout the historic study span. This generates the idea that the complex of this extended vernacular form should have remained fairly stable throughout the study period, with exceptions given to increases and decreases in its size or activity.

Physical manifestations-watercraft. The easiest discussions of generative form lies in the watercraft, which are more easily transferred forms than those making up the village layout (somewhat topographic dependent) and the erected forms found in the building mosaic, especially during initial settlement stages. It is doubtful that many of the original settlers came to the Cedar Keys and Cortez with their watercraft trailing behind them, if they even owned them outright at the time. The settlement fishers' youthful ages being in the teens and twenties would likely not have supported an ability to do that, especially during the difficult decades after Reconstruction. However, the use of small sailing skiffs would have sufficed during the interim. The prominence of the localized spritsail skiff adapted to North Carolina from the northeast would have been a

watercraft form that was also suitable to the shallow waters of the Cedar Keys, as well as, the sandy wading depths found around Perico Island and Hunter's Point.

Documentary evidence suggests a strong transference of this form into Florida, so it is easy to also conjecture that its ultimate use at Hunter's Point was a strong formation in the generative mind, even in the Cedar Keys where the visible spritsail form was not as easily apparent amid the milieu of watercraft forms. However, the form likely arrived in the coastal area before Hunter's Point was settled.

The early fishing watercraft of the settlers were small and made of wood materials during the settlement period. The available wood, according to an analysis of extant frames would have been mangrove and cedar, which reflected local traditions and usage. Part of the construct would have been made of cypress as another locally available wood, that when combined with the other woods formed an extremely rot-resistant, pest resistant watercraft. The spritsail skiff, as adapted to North Carolina fishing grounds, found its way to the Florida Gulf Coast and Hunter's Point early on, adapting over time and through the acquiring of the local experience on the local waters there (Allen, 2003). According to Allen, the adapted designs of the Hunter's Point settlers were interpreted by the local builders from Palma Sola, and later those that established residences at Cortez. With input from the fishers who were plying the waters daily, the local builders made small refinements resulting in early design nuances in the shape and height of its bow, the sweep of its upper rail edge (sheer), and rake of its stern. What made the spritsail truly unique was its use of a long diagonal sprit that spanned from the bottom of the mast upward at an angle to it.

The spritsail skiff was commonly used along the Atlantic during the 1890s, and was unique to those waters earlier than when it found its way to Hunter's Point, with its long, diagonal sprit. Its basic form was simple and inexpensive to construct. Its optimal use was in shallower waters of bays that were protected from the open waters of the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic Ocean. There is no mystery that its use was quickly adapted off the North Carolina Coast with its protective barrier island forms, and also to those of Sarasota and Palma Sola Bays with their similar natural protections. It has a history of being used for shellfish and transportation to at least the end of the nineteenth century. With the spritsails, a peculiar topsail was designed for North Carolina watercraft, as displayed and interpreted at the North Carolina Maritime Museum at Beaufort. However, this separate topsail did not appear to be adapted by the Hunter's Point fishers.

The first watercraft were often referred to as skipjacks with the dominant use of sails occurring from 1889 to approximately 1920; after that the one-cylinder motor began to replace its sail power, but it was a slow progression. These skipjacks were typically 16 to 18 feet in length and had rounded bottoms (dead-rise). The sails were made of white canvas referred to by some as ten-ounce duck. The spritsail mechanism could be unfurled and taken down easily in order to revert to poling when fish were sighted (Green, 1985, p. 67). The typical skipjack crew was one fisher per watercraft consisting of a team of four boats. Once the fish were caught and loaded onto each vessel, the fishers would pole back to their fish camps and docks.

Intangible manifestations-fishing grounds. During the settlement period, the fishing grounds encompassed the enclosed bays, inlets, shorelines, and riverine systems of the Manatee River, Palma Sola and Sarasota Bays. Historic reports even

prior to the settlement period revealed an abundance of fishing opportunity. The impetus for the settlers choosing the Hunter's Point site as a place to establish their first camps and purchase lands most likely derived from this history that must have been known by them already through written reports and interpersonal communications, and their fresh experiences on the waters as captains of their own watercraft. When this abundance waned, as expected from time to time, the fishers extended the fishing grounds reasonably according to the watercraft and fishing methods used. Without any significant municipal or land development to the south, there was special care taken by the fishers in understanding the limitations of catch, distance, and handling. Therefore, the fishing grounds were at first limited to their unique, vernacular constructs and methods that dictated time and distance.

Early on, the fishers could not simply catch some fish, and then wait for another catch to maximize each harvest. There was no ice or refrigeration to keep the fish alive, and they were focused on the mullet, rather than the larger prey fish that many early fishers kept fresh through the use of live wells. Daily hauls required turnover at the base camp on the same day, or within a reasonable time depending on the ambient weather conditions, in order to successfully process the fish, otherwise they would begin to decay. The fishers learned to use distance, catch, weather, and timing in such a way as to establish a pattern of local applicability for when and where to fish, and how they would be processed later so that they could be sold or traded successfully.

By the end of the settlement form period, however, and based on written reports from 1899, there are indications that the early fishers had already extended their harvesting outside of the Sarasota and Palma Sola Bay systems, moving south to the

Placida area, suggesting an extension of the fishing grounds that ties in with the fisher ethic of overlapping “claimed” fisher grounds. W. T. Fulford was known to spend several days out fishing near there, which at least confirms an extended fishing grounds, and a process for either selling fish to remote dealers, or bringing back a successful haul for local processing. It is important to understand how these fishers extended their marketing connections that could have allowed them to unload their harvests at the fish houses where they were fishing rather than store them on their own watercraft over such lengthy periods of time. While the salting of fish would have allowed this, the inability to process the catch and then store them was simply not available without distant land-based connections. The same held true for ice preservation, which during the settlement period, was a less likely scenario.

So, it appears from the written record that the fishing grounds were extended based on the fishers’ ability to successfully process the catch. This could have been done by making late catches and bringing them back to their own fish camp base, or through the use of distant, land-based connections and agreements. What also appears is the desire by Cortez fishers to spend their time fishing, rather than processing the catch as a dual objective.

Intangible manifestations-act of fishing. The settlement fishers came from traditional fishing families with origins formulated along the middle coast of North Carolina where mullet was the most valuable fish sought and fished for. The availability of that resource to an even greater degree in Florida allowed them to adapt the knowledge they had already accumulated as young men who likely learned it from their fathers. The use of nets and sail during the settlement form period at Hunter’s Point

represented a form that was not dissimilar to what had already been part of their own traditions.

There is little information available on the possibility of overlaps between the settlement fishers and those that may have already been fishing the grounds to that period. It is known though the historical record that a mix of Americans, Bahamians, and Cubans were there in a rather large range along the coast at least until the 1880s. The knowledge that could have been gained from these established fishers was immense, especially given the possibility that some of them may have been fishing the grounds for their entire lives, as indicated by anecdotal evidence regarding the ranchos by the early surveyors. However, this remains unclear, but presents a possibility for future exploration. The act of fishing must have held significant implications between the new settlers and the established rancho operators and fishers. The politics of nationality and the intricacies of social divides that were occurring at that time likely influenced the act of fishing between both groups.

The potential for large hauls of mullet as the primary target of the Cortez fishers, appears in the historic record as more of a common occurrence rather than the opposite, suggesting the relative abundance of the resource in the local waters, and perhaps one of the reasons that the peninsula was targeted by the early settlers. Of course, the mullet were also cited as being elusive at times, which suggests that the fishers, even with their traditional knowledge adapted to this particular species, were not always successful when fishing (early reports in the Manatee River Journal from 1900).

It is known from the archival record that there were differences between the methods used between North Carolina and the Florida Gulf Coast fisheries. This may

suggest why certain fishers from North Carolina headed south. First, in regards to mullet, North Carolina had enacted special laws by 1879 regulating how they were to be stored. For example, the storing barrel had to consist of 25-inch staves and have 13-inch heads. In addition, mullet were graded according to the size of gill net used. Similar laws were in place in Maine and other states to the north. However, Florida did not have these specific laws at the time, though the methods for dressing fish were likely carried down from the North Carolina precedents, especially since the mullet, according to the U.S. Fish Commission (1899), was considered to have the highest level of importance above all finfishes between North Carolina, Florida, and other Southern States.

In addition, the storage units for salted fish were of extreme importance in order to preserve the quality of the fish. The concern of turpentine leaching into the fish devalued the mullet, requiring a non-leaching wood material such as white pine from the Northern States versus the widely available longleaf pine found in the South. A well-packed barrel of mullet could last for up to six weeks. The typical method for dressing mullet was to split it down the back so it lays flat for gut removal. In Florida, the head was removed due the larger size of mullet found, whereas, in North Carolina this practice was not done. Once flayed, the fish is then soaked in clean salt water, rubbed in salt, layered and then sprinkled with more salt. Another big difference between North Carolina and Florida was who was actually doing this packing. According to the U.S. Fish Commission (1899), Florida fishers performed the task of packing after fishing more often than their North Carolina counterparts who were more likely to use assistants.

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential. The elapsed experiential of the settlement form period village is not documented and not available since the village itself had not fulfilled any type of form entrenchment or cultural weathering *in situ* to supply this particular indicator of form. Some context may be discernible for interpretation here though, in that some forms from an elapsed experiential could have begun to surface later among the settler group as the local cultural construct took shape. Of course, an elapsed experiential playing between their Florida experiences and their roots in North Carolina were likely taking place as they adapted to their new location. In this case, there may be different sets of the elapsed experiential worth mentioning here.

The first experiential is derived from the context of the soon to be displaced Spanish fishers who had a fairly long history of fishing along the Florida Gulf Coast. Records indicate that some of the Spanish fishers became fairly entrenched in the impermanent fishing cultures they established, and the physical constructs that persisted over time, though they were crude and temporary, even by vernacular standards. Since it is known that they left behind at least some element of a built construct, and perhaps even a tradition, the record reveals some clues for discussion here. However, the Spanish fishers represent a distinct and separate elapsed experiential that, unless a direct connection can be found that links them to the Hunter's Point settler group, becomes a disconnected analysis, better reserved for another study.

The second elapsed experiential reverts back to the North Carolina roots of the original settlers. It seems that the only forms of folklore that can be discussed are those that may have been transported to the settlement village through the chains of passage

from North Carolina. The experiences of some of them in the Cedar Keys, Palma Sola, and other areas bear a worthy analysis, some of which has been discussed herein, but again most of which is more relevant to a separate, later study, since excessive detail of these experiences are unnecessary to the historic study period of my study, which analyzes landscape form change. However, the arrival or appearance of distinct form changes is highlighted as part of the overall analysis when warranted for each study period.

Discussion of the settlement period form

The overall vernacular landscape form of the settlement form period represents a significant change of form from the presettlement form period since it transitioned from a temporary construct to one that was more committed and permanent. This is a collective significance where 10 of the 15 indicators were determined to have a positive finding for significant change. Some of the form constructs, such as the fisheries contextual buildings and nearly all of the extended physical manifestations of form, except watercraft did not change enough to warrant a determinant of significant change. Based on the above analysis of the form indicators, Table 4-2 provides a positive or negligible change determination finding of each form indicator during the settlement form period as compared to the previous historic study period.

It is known from an analysis of the presettlement form period that up to 60 fishers were already harvesting fish at temporary facilities at and within close proximity to the Hunter's Point peninsula, representing an intensively used ecosystem and shore area imprint of human activity. This may not have even included several other fishers operating out of the area who also must have built temporary camps along the peninsula and perhaps along the shores of what would eventually become the entire

Cortez historic study boundary. These would have included various captains-fishers-dealers mentioned in the historic record such as Solomon Sweetzer, George Hatsel, Henry Hibbs, and John Savarese. Even some of the early Hunter's Point settlers could have erected temporary fish camps prior to settlement.

The settlement form period identified a predominance of fishers originating from North Carolina and having formed around some modicum of kinship, whether through familial ties or as part of origin cultural relationships and connections. While various individuals from both the presettlement and settlement form periods appeared to be outsiders, especially those that did not own land in Hunter's Point, closer inspection reveals them to also have actually had insider connections, related more to kinship rather than business. These early connections among the fishers created both physical and intangible constructs that did not necessarily create a truly unique overall form from other Florida Gulf Coast TFVs, as much as they did in creating a more stable sense of it.

The waterfront conglomeration began to take on a more permanent physical form by the end of the settlement form period as properties were purchased and land connections began to merge with the use and benefits of the waterfront and open water areas. This resulted in the obvious spurt in fishing contextual development along and out from the waterfront joined by the establishment of permanent homesteads in the interior of the village. However, since the residential area served the cultural construct in a less contextual manner than those tied more directly to fishing enterprise, it did not emerge as a primary point of study. However, since permanence was being attached to the residential form, it also transferred to the waterfront conglomeration, but not as part

of a physical structure, since experienced and generational fishers held long-standing traditions based on knowledge of waterfront hazards. This was reflected in how most of the residences were constructed away from the water, allowing the waterfront to emerge as a temporary, yet intense construct that superseded the presettlement construct of a few buildings and infrastructure.

All three of the indicators changed between periods for the village layout form indicator set, which is not surprising given the privatization and purchase of properties that would define Cortez as a village. The Hunter's Point reference prescribed as early as 1846 became more tangible through official land purchases and private subdivisions that established a settlement beginning in 1887; the abstract location of Hunter's Point, known in the real world to only a few, became more tangible as it became individualized and inhabited with permanent intent versus just as a place from which fish could be harvested. Its physical form, though existing in nature, was virtually absent to the human mind since the only real reference to would have been through a fishing or recreational cruising activity that was then relayed to others somehow. Each indicator revealed a constant flux of change as the original prescribed plat boundary expanded to include new property purchases. Thusly, the physical boundary and parcel configurations expanded accordingly, changing the shape of the village. The upland circulation pattern, as the third indicator of the village layout form set established itself along with these additions.

Two of the three building mosaic indicators, residential and non-residential/non-contextual, were determined to have changed significantly from their presettlement conditions. The most obvious change lies with the residential construct since fishers

were now establishing permanent homesteads and families. In a sense, raw land was now being molded to suit personal lives and occupations with long-term occupancy and direction. The built residential construct, while still basic, was completely different in its application on the land beyond just the physical shapes it took. The commonness of the two-story residential structure marked a distinct form change to be sure. The significance of the purchased boundary around the residential construct also became part of the house, extending its physicality. With the institution of kinship and familial ties, some of the residential boundaries enlarged, though definable boundaries might have become less clear over time. The residential construct, as a form in the vernacular landscape emerged during the settlement form period as a fairly predictable model for establishing form definition and permanence, but would be short-lived.

Though limited to only a couple of individual buildings, the non-residential/non-contextual construct also established itself during the settlement form period, though commerce had already been a part of the presettlement history at Hunter's Point. However, it now helped to nurture a growing community by including access to items not related to fishing. Instead the addition of goods and supplies, and gathering places for nurturing cultural lives reflected the permanent construct. These constructs presented a civility and humanness to the vernacular landscape that was not present during presettlement.

The fisheries contextual form is presented as not changing significantly. This is because the fish houses were similarly constructed as cheaply constructed buildings erected at the shoreline extending over the water. The mere addition of one or two of these as new buildings did not change form as the other indicators did. A changed form

does not necessarily result from the addition or replication of it when the physical form is the same. I acknowledge that this can change as a matter of degree, while for others it would be a matter of context. Because the contextual nature of the construct did not change between the two periods, since the processing of fish hauls may have overlapped, and because the development of new constructs was limited, no change is positively determined.

The extended vernacular form during the settlement period is fairly split as not significantly changing from nearly all of its physical manifestations, to completely changing with regard to those defined as intangible. It is not difficult to understand that the fish camps, dock system, and nets did not change significantly enough to warrant a positive finding. These particular indicators were already present along the shoreline that had previously accommodated up to 18 fishers. Since net reels were used by the presettlement fishers, the addition of the new form of net spreads established a change to the extended vernacular in both shape and size. Whereas the net reels created that dominant form that is so distinct from other vernacular shapes in the fishing context, the net spreads were also dominant in their expanse, and in how they mimicked the sail horizontally, rather than vertically. Fish camps were found to be similarly constructed, so the addition of new camps was not significant. The same held true for the nets, which have continued their basic forms and inherent meaning as personalized gear for millennia.

The watercraft did reflect a change to the physical manifestation of the extended vernacular form. First, the introduction of the steamer as a distinct vessel is the most obvious. While steamers had been around since the eighteenth century, their use along

the mid-Florida Gulf Coast for fisheries development did not appear until the 1890s. This is mainly due to the absence of business opportunities for steamboat use, which was up to then dominated by sail-powered schooners. The economics of steam took some time to be worked out to make it worthwhile. Even by the time the steamboat era ended during the 1920s, its use persisted in limited commercial capacities. Nevertheless, in Cortez, it was useful and became part of the fisheries context.

The double-masted schooners continued to ply the local waters, reflecting a continuance of the historic form in Cortez, but also on a limited basis. It did not appear that the local fishers owned these types of vessels, but the importance of them to the available form is self-evident. Schooner forms were prevalent around Cortez and the Florida Gulf Coast until the 1920s. Similar to the fishing nets, their forms had been long-standing and traditional, but not yet changing significantly during the settlement form period. However, the schooner had already begun a decline in its appearance by the 1860s.

The form of the sloop is the most pervasive watercraft affecting Cortez. While it was used extensively during the presettlement form period, its adaptation to the mid-Florida Gulf Coast was reflected by the addition of its diagonal spar that created a four-sided sail rig. Its use seems to have predated the Hunter's Point settlers, however, as identified by Stearns regarding the Charlotte Harbor area fishers prior to 1880. It is known that certain groups of fishers from the Atlantic Coast were already in that area who could have transported their local vessels south. Because of this, the spritsail sloop does not warrant a determination of significant change to the vernacular landscape, though it is inclusive of it. The poling skiffs are additional vessels that reflect a similarity

of the hull form of the spritsail, and therefore, the major details regarding their overall shape are not significant enough for the purposes of my study to examine further.

Perhaps the most telling change in the vernacular landscape occurred with the intangible indicators. All three appeared to have represented significant changes. This is also not surprising given the change from an unsettled place to one that is permanently lived in, with permanent artifacts attached to an emerging cultural construct. The fishing grounds changed significantly because they automatically became attached to a land base where culture was establishing itself. Because it was a fishing culture, there is an assumption that the fishing grounds it attaches to become more defined and permanent, as well. The presettlement fishers seemed to have a wider swath for fishing grounds with an ability to relocate according to the benefits offered by the local resource. Therefore, the fishing grounds could also easily and conveniently change. These too were impermanent notions or concepts to the presettlement fisher, whereas they were permanent and vital to the Cortez fisher during the settlement form period. The settlement form period marked the beginning of a trend of local knowledge that would be physically and intangibly handed down to subsequent generations that shared the land and water connections. Vernacular technology limitations during the settlement form period also restricted the fishing grounds available to the fisher settlers. Again, this resulted from being tied to the abutting land and investing in the permanence of the place, whether knowingly or not.

The act of fishing in settlement Cortez is tied to a much deeper understanding and meaning regarding the relationships between the fishers and the resources that were connected to them physically and intangibly. The act of fishing presented a

manner in which the fisher made a living, but it also reflected on his status in the community, which was now a permanent construct. The act of fishing became a shared construct molded by the fishers and passed onto subsequent generations. In establishing Hunter's Point, the fisher settlers also established a new act of fishing adapted to their new locale. During the presettlement form period, the common shared culture was too obscure and ill defined. This is not to say, that the crews of presettlement fishers did not have their own indicators leading to a definable act of fishing construct; it is possible that one could be described. However, the act of fishing between the two periods changed because the installation of a cultural base, again attributable to the notion and effects of permanence versus impermanence.

The elapsed experiential is also a significant change between periods for many of the same reasons. The specific fishing culture of the Cortez fishers and their families revealed a much different construct of lost cultural flux and a continued sense of loss than those of the presettlement fishers. Because Cortez grew primarily from a North Carolina origin, there was a common sharing that was already experienced by the settlers, and that could be shared with future generations. As part of a finely knit, growing community, the elapsed experiential was distinctly becoming removed and replaced by the new locale and the experiences it would generate. The mix of generations and fishers from a variety of locales as part for the presettlement form period could not match this distinction even if one could be revealed. Therefore, the elapsed experiential is a changed construct that spanned the entire settlement form period in Cortez.

A further inquiry here would be to examine how the lots of the captains and compared with those of the other inhabitants at Cortez. In many maritime towns, such as Beaufort, North Carolina, captains of ships often lived in stately residences commanding impressive views of the harbor or waterfront areas. Garrity-Blake (1994) wrote that captains from the late nineteenth century North Carolina coastal towns often lived in upscale dwellings, many of them adorned with ship materials and large parts of ships. Forrest (1988) suggested that local identity, as part of an internalized aesthetic incorporation came from land ownership and the traditional fishing occupation as indicators of power within a culture in some Tidewater communities. This could have been true at Cortez, which, sort of developed under that influence. The tradition of land as a source for making one's living, and as the major, immovable investment connected the fisher and his family to the place as more of an aesthetic rather than material symbol. The connection to water as part of the traditional occupation strengthened the connection, and hence the internal power in the community, even more.

However, at Cortez, a different pattern in scale, title, and economy was prevalent due to a difference in these types of dynamics. In Florida in general, almost anyone with a boat seemed to be given the respect of being referred to as captain. The title of captain at Hunter's Point also seemed to reflect a certain respect required of anyone who was not a captain. However, based on at least one writing, the requirement to address one as a captain waned after veterans began to return from World War II, reflecting an apparent social disjuncture either gained out of respect for servicemen, or from a social analysis that deferred to wartime ranks over symbolic tradition.

The isolation of Hunter's Point, and its early growth that focused on fishing, created an obvious distinction between those who owned vessels and those who did not. It was not uncommon for the primary fishers, and hence, captains to develop their properties with initial two-story, vernacular structures. By 1893, D. S. Fulford was able to construct at least two double-story buildings and a third single story, side gabled stand-alone as part of a complex for attracting visitors. The historical record reveals many of the earliest dwellings of these primary movers and shakers in the growing building mosaic as being two-story residences with horizontal weather board as exterior siding, a common, primary form of the upland area. Now, compare this with the single-story structures of the single fishers who lived in the various fish camps strewn across the tidal areas and the qualitative difference is easily noticed. While many of the itinerants may have owned watercraft, it seems as if their ambitions were satisfied through the simple living afforded by the contextual nature of the modest structure, which may have been part of the separation of power groups in the village. Many of the itinerants remained as outsiders since the long road of apprenticeship meant a slow rise up the ranks competing with other emerging fishers who inherited knowledge and equipment from their forebears. In fact, Forrest (1988) noted that fishers historically could rarely purchase entire sets of fishing gear and equipment as part of starting into a traditional occupation such as fishing because it was just too expensive. The unpredictability of the trade worsened the prospect, preventing many to simply move on. In this way, through the landowner structure of kinship, captains knowingly or unknowingly controlled the land and the hierarchies attached to it. The displaying of

success levels was most likely not purposeful at Hunter's Point, though it would become evident later in Cortez in the residential designs of a few of the larger houses.

There is an overarching consideration here of how the original fishers were able to fund their investments at Cortez. Most reports suggested that fishers, in general, did not make a lot of money, and were often in debt (Stearns, 1887). Tax records from 1889 indicate that the fishers claimed possessions amounting at most to a modest \$200, with most of them claiming less. Their ability to buy land was most likely through agreements that may have extended payments over time, though the recorded deeds do not indicate this. The fact that Hunter's Point was established as part of a kinship settlement in which many of them were blood related or had been associated with each other previously may have helped. Since the available census records from 1895 and 1900 suggest that all of the settlement form period settlers, except for the Brattons, hailed from North Carolina, it speaks strongly to the "shore crowd" referenced by Eaker (1994, citing Sider, 1986) where family members help each other become successful, from the brothers and friendships suggested by the history in Hunter's Point and after it became Cortez, and from the other nuclear family members typically at home while the fisher was away fishing. The help they provide is taking care of other things such as daily chores, and fisher side jobs so that the fisher can spend more time fishing.

Kinship in the settlement domain also seems to nurture the vernacular and continuation of local traditions. Poggie and Gersury (1984) suggested modernization and non-fisher involvement occurring in the fishing industry helped to displace this traditional knowledge and prevent its generational transference. Longtime fishers interviewed by them saw fishing as a mysterious and esoteric calling that "strangers" to

the fishing industry could not easily understand without the benefit of it having been “imported to a relative by blood or marriage” (p. 941). Garrity-Blake (1994) wrote that many fishers viewed their trade as something that had to be “bred into a person from ancestors who have lived off the water” (p. 66). At Hunter’s Point, then, the generational ties to fishing, or “patri-orientation” that go back even before settlement connections to both of these issues regarding long standing traditions and its eventual breakdown as cultural dilution occurs.

Contextual Growth Form Period Occurring 1898 to 1921

Synopsis of the period

The contextual growth form period is marked by what could be described as a process of characterization of Cortez as a TFV. It is a period where the initial settlement activities that are more temporary in nature, i.e., periodic visits and stays, circumstantial fishing, low investment of buildings and structures, land purchasing without development, etc., transition to those that are more permanent. A number of critical junctures occurred over the 24-year period that caused fluctuations in the village’s growth trajectory, along with only a subtle dilution of its North Carolina heritage as more outsiders moved in. The indicators of form can be followed by referencing the graphic tiles found in Figure 4-18.

Cortez achieved a build-out of purchased parcels by 1909, extending again in 1912 with the addition of a new publicly owned school. Based on U.S. Census records, and by the end of the period (1921), there were approximately 240 people living in Cortez, with approximately 70 listed as fishers. Approximately half of these fishers were natives of North Carolina. The biggest growth spurt occurred between 1900 and 1910 when the village population more than doubled from 81 people to approximately 193

people. The number of fishers during the time increased from 24 to approximately 60, with 60% of these native of North Carolina. As a comparison, nearly all of the property owners were from North Carolina by the end of the settlement form period (1897), which had a population of approximately 70 people, 30 or so of whom were fishers.

The quintessential elements that created the vernacular context during the settlement form period were strengthened, and to a degree, were on the verge of becoming entrenched during this time (Heath 2001; 2009). As already alluded to, the temporary character of the Hunter's Point fishing camp transitioned into the permanent village of Cortez toward the end of that period, and new settlers were still arriving by 1921. The apparent economic success (and notoriety) of the Cortez fishers, along with a tourism industry that was encouraged as part of, or immediately after settlement, seemed to work in harmonic synchronization with the built construct and the traditions the community began to establish and embrace, even if it was an unwitting settling-in of the cultural nuances that gave Cortez a more stabilized character as a uniquely defined and isolated enclave that was developing in similar quick fashion as other waterfront communities, but would differentiate itself through its entrenched traditional fishing character.

In 2013, there are approximately 30 primary buildings plus additional lesser buildings and structures remaining from this time period, mostly residential in classification. The vernacular landscape saw its most cultural progression defined by an ongoing momentum from the settlement period as the Cortez community of fishers solidified their economic base, and new generations began to emerge over the next 20 or so years into a commercial fishing village with strong North Carolina roots. The

growth of Cortez in this way was not necessarily considered a distinct phenomenon since other communities along the coast were also growing rapidly according to various degrees. However, future patterns would begin to separate Cortez from these other communities in creating a more resilient contextual community that maintained a fair amount of physical integrity from its origin character, which would not be replicated by those other communities.

The contextual growth form period in Cortez represented an extensive build-out of the waterfront extending into the bay. By late October of 1921, Cortez achieved its most significant vernacular form with approximately 60 houses in the village, several retail establishments, two fisheries processing facilities, and an active waterfront conglomeration and extended vernacular physical construct that established a distinction from the residential upland area. The form of sail power was still evident, but beginning to wane as the aging watercraft were being steadily converted to motorized vessels.

The end of the period culminates in a major storm and flooding event, resulting in a dramatic diminution of its most culturally significant architectural construct at the waterfront, which is discussed in the next section. The process of rebuilding from this experience added to its resiliency without changing its essential intangible character, while recovering a semblance of its destroyed physical construct, but unlike other communities that opted for noticeable change as part of their recovery activities. Table 4-3, which includes determinations of change for the form indicators, can be referenced as a primer for reading the following analysis of landscape form for the contextual growth form period ending in 1921.

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space

The waterfront conglomeration for the contextual growth form period of Cortez is depicted in Figure 4-17. Historical documentation exists that assists with identifying and locating buildings and structures along the active waterfront during this time. By 1921, the Cortez waterfront reached its peak as a highly vernacular, dense construct in its physical formation, while still in the process of assuming its identity for two of its three intangible manifestations. The use of highly vernacular as a term is appropriately applied to the end of the contextual growth period since the effects of modernism and technology had not yet pervaded the waterfront construct, which was continuing to expand as an interconnected system of camps, docks, and net works. The Cortez waterfront continued to reflect traditional tendencies with regard to its built construct, while coping with technological and political advances from a variety of external sources.

The mix of front and side-gabled forms, some with room extensions from their non-gabled elevations (what McAlester & McAlester, 2006, referred to as the one and one-half units deep shape), evoked a strong, pre-railroad character with the vertically applied siding and roof peaks giving a vertical flow to the building area planes. The wood shingle roofs had not yet changed to the metal panel cladding that was being applied to the roofs in other rural areas. The traditional Tidewater South, two-story I-house form was sporadic in the waterfront conglomeration, occurring at the extreme western shoreline and as a single example along the south shoreline, one serving as a hotel, and the other serving as a retail store. However, it was popular in the more upland areas.

The anchor form of the waterfront conglomeration began with two standout features from which the other buildings and structures seemed to spread out from. The early Albion Inn and its associated dock with retail building seemed to dominate the visual architectural scene due to their size and prominence along the waterfront. Based on historic photographs, the irregular shape of the Albion Inn renovation, with the attachment of the east wing to the formerly front-gabled two-story store building was revealed as part of the backdrop. The unusual form of the hipped roof attributable to the dock retail building is unique among the gabled olio of buildings that extend the west shoreline and open water area. In a way, the dock building, and its lengthy dock structure, both of which served together as the village's first marina in a way, gave a modern, more permanent treatment to the waterfront construct. While the rooflines without revealed gable ends were certainly newer and different in the village, the horizontal lap siding applied to it was also different from the other structures in the immediate vicinity, except for the retail store and hotel they were associated with.

The overall built structure of the waterfront conglomeration extended over the water from the shoreline, but also gave the appearance of being closely attached to it as having accumulated in small incremental expansion over time. The dock extensions filled in the water spaces between the buildings, creating a weblike structure, with the only open space reserved for net spreads and watercraft access and dockage. The form of the extended vernacular construct, crudely expressed in Figure 4-17, reflects an organic accretion of human-built forms along the waterfront, as part of a displacement of the water surface, an extending of the waterfront, and perhaps even early reduction of the available water column by the fishers. Later versions of the waterfront

conglomeration would reveal a leap-frogged effect that seemed to provide a distinct separation of the fishers, the dealers, and the upland area. Instead of the contextual growth form period interconnectedness between buildings, structures, and functions, there would later be an extension of net spreads without buildings in a U-like manner around a central bay.

The approximately 20 buildings that made up the Albion Inn, camps, and fisheries processing facilities along the waterfront area were clustered so that they appeared as an integrated, unified set that allowed a communication with each other through a system of docks and net spreads that did not require passing over the uplands areas. The front gable roof dominated the roofline form with less and less puncturing of the skyline from sail masts, which were in rapid decline by the end of the period. While still used for auxiliary power, sail cloth and the wood masts they were attached to were increasingly being stored away; at first in the vessel, secondly within the camp buildings, and finally, in upland storage facilities and rear and side yards of residential dwellings. In this way, the yard became a living-work yard that also served to extend the commercial trade to the familial life, or in-shore crowd by extending to the available spaces there. The practice of extending space was therefore a common practice that evolved from earlier traditions that made it an inherent part of the commercial fishing culture, yet found among a disparate geographic representation. In other words, the practice was not only found in Cortez, but also in a wide variety of commercial fishing communities.

The over-the-water construct became the truer workplace and center of commerce pursuant to the commercial fishing enterprise. Walking to the shoreline from

one's home in the village represented a familial-to-business transition that was never fully separated and distant; instead, always connected to fishing somehow, yet still a distinct demarcation. Entering the waterfront conglomeration from the water meant the opposite, i.e., a transition from business to familial life-again, not a complete separation, but enough to make each distinct. However, it also meant that many outsiders did not have to intersperse with family life, whereas, business could be conducted without actually entering the uplands of the village. This arrangement kept that minimized distance from, and between the two. Basic watercraft form was steadfast with regard to the inshore vessels that were now being motorized. However, as the motor began to exchange the sail, watercraft superstructures were also now beginning to emerge as cabins built mid-deck toward the bow. So, while the basic form of the watercraft retained its essence, additions and reductions were changing its dimension and silhouette across the maritime landscape.

Fishing in what could be debatably still a new frontier meant a re-established way of life and income for several of the fishers and their growing families, prompting an influx of new fishers through the encouragement of the original settlers. The developed, yet still isolated waterfront adapted quickly to certain cultural advances marked by individual adaptations that were then mimicked by others, causing an advancement of changes. Yet, the temporary character of the built construct remained mostly as a common standard for the fishers, while variations of atypical vernacular also began to emerge with outsider, non-fisher influences, that were blending into the community by outsiders who could make fishery livings through symbiotic relationships without becoming part of the highly localized cultural entrenchment.

To many outsiders not living in Cortez, the waterfront during the entire contextual growth form period, including its emerging character during the settlement form period, was symbolic of the hard-working fishery and its inhabitants. The roughly constructed waterfront over the instability of tidally influenced bay bottoms that directly connected to a seemingly infinite body of water that offered an invisible bounty represented a separated culture apart from more mainstream tendencies of waterfronts that were being developed, even though all of Florida was still not far removed from its frontier status. While Cortez, as a whole was not totally unaffected by progress, its waterfront through 1921 was even less affected, continuing to reflect the impermanent character inscribed in it through the traditions still being handed down from generations.

Since most of the original fisher settlers were considered young, even according to today's standards, they seemed more able to adapt to the technological advances that evolved along with their village's own growth over time. The adaptability of younger generations to newer methods is certainly evident in post 2000 societies; however, one must question how well the fishers may have adapted to, let's say, motorization of watercraft, had they all been in their fifties or sixties. While certain fishing traditions may still have been handed down from abutting generations, they were influenced to a greater extent than their forebears since their exposure to these advances were part of the cultural flux that began to encroach upon them as part of significant events and modernization not witnessed during earlier generations. In other words, the settler generation was coming of age, revealed in bits and pieces as part of the waterfront conglomeration.

The density of the waterfront construct reached its peak to the end of the contextual growth form period as Cortez became a built-out community and the 14 overall waterfront parcels that would ultimately define its shoreline boundary were purchased as individual parcels. By the end of the period, a well-defined area of waterfront activity that extended for half of the south waterfront established itself according to the originally prescribed north/south street termini. The accessibility of the waterfront was limited to those few parcels and their early business networks including establishing markets and recruiting new fishers helped the original waterfront in expanding. The eastern waterfront failed to develop commercially during the period, instead retaining its residential character with individual fishing constructs attributable to the adjacent landowners.

Village layout form indicator set

Boundary. The 1921 Cortez village boundary was fully established by 1912, which also represents the breadth of the study boundary. It is based on the extent of the original village settlement (roughly the western half) and its growth to a complete build-out (roughly the addition of eastern half), and includes the extent of the National Register of Historic Places Nomination boundary approved in 1995. This means that what is commonly referred to as the 2013 village boundary has basically been in place for 91 years. While the village may now be considered by some to have undergone a contraction of sorts, it has certainly not gotten larger. By 1921, the entire contextual growth form period boundary contained approximately 60 acres, though the shoreline area would be severely altered through fill after this period. Some of the filling actually began prior to the end of the period, but not enough to suggest a highly altered shoreline. Some records indicate that the easternmost shoreline was filled in 1904;

however, this is not likely since the four landowners who controlled those areas were not established on their properties for a sufficient amount of time to support the time and coordination needed for this work. In addition, chronological mapping does not reveal shoreline extensions either. Of course, fill for this type of endeavor may have been available from the local Intracoastal dredging projects, yet there is no known literature that documents this. In addition, the more likely date for the extensions of these lands southward into the bay is either 1964 or 1984.

The last fisher-related land purchase occurred in 1909 with the column of parcels located along the west side of 119th Street. However, the village boundary experienced an irregular extension when the Cortez Rural Graded School was constructed in 1912 along what would become 119th Street. The north/south linear path of 119th Street would then become the extreme eastern historic study boundary, with the 1912 school creating a boxy extension to the east at its northern boundary. The rendition or appearance of the school boundary changed throughout this time in how the villagers perceived its extent. While it was treated and maintained as more of a rectangular confine, the actual, delineated boundary was an irregular polygon that followed the arterial road to its north and the angular parcel run prescribed by the Georgia-Florida Land Company from its large-scale development plat created in 1909. While settlement in the village had already been expanding eastward beyond the 1887 plat as part of the settlement form period, the vacant lands of U.S. Government Lot 3 still held by Mary Gardiner were only slightly slower to be developed. This extension of the village to the east created a sort of a future infill area that remained fairly sparse even through the 1940s.

Though pre-1921 plats do not indicate it by 1909, the Georgia-Florida Land Company parceled out a roughly five-acre area between the 1912 school and the Nathan Fulford property to the west who purchased his in 1894, effectively causing a de facto pre-contraction of what would have been an expected part of the village's reasonable area, and altering its boundary, though no development of it occurred soon after. With this pre-contraction, and by 1912, the extent of the fisher-related boundary was set in stone. Therefore, the earliest completed boundary of Cortez occurred during this second period under three distinct critical junctures. Two of these junctures took place in 1909 with the company pre-contraction and the private individual land purchase of the eastern parcels, followed by the third in 1912 with the construction of the school, and the implied outparceling of the school grounds, as a joint public/private transaction.

Parcel configuration. The additional lands between 119th Street as the expanded eastern extent of the village, and the original settler boundary established by 1897 filled in completely by 1909. By 1912, the full extent of the village was set in stone when the Cortez Rural Graded School was constructed to serve the children in the area, mostly from the historic village. Also by 1909, recorded deed instruments indicate that the Georgia-Florida Land Company had out-parceled a roughly five-acre area to the west of the school grounds running along present-day Cortez Road, effectively establishing a final village boundary that, with the exception of the Cortez Trailer Park and four minor land splits occurring after the study period, matches the 2013 parcel configuration. For the purposes on my study, this carved out property is not considered to be part of any historic development of Cortez or Hunter's Point, and represents a

reduction of the historic boundary configuration, but occurring as a post-settlement form period diminution.

Nevertheless, the Cortez village setting still experienced rapid increases in population and growth in its developable construct. Beginning with approximately 80 to 100 people living in Cortez as it formed during the first five years of the contextual growth form period, it quickly increased its population as the original families expanded and new fishers arrived through recruitment or as part of the development boom. By 1909, approximately 30 land components were claimed by approximately 25 owners, under a less-than stable transactional flux that would be ongoing throughout the historic study span. This reflects an unstable form in parcel configuration, as part of the village layout indicator set that is quite different than the stability of the building mosaic up to that point, in spite of new erected buildings being added.

The first internal subdivision of multiple designed lots in Cortez occurred in 1907, 20 years after the original E. B. Camp plat, when the two original properties (parcels 11 and 12) were surveyed and platted creating 22 total parcels, adding 20 new lots to the original settlement subdivision. Parcels 11 and 12 relate to the present day locations of the A. P. Bell Seafood Company/Star Fish Company waterfront docks, buildings, and processing facilities. The west boundary of parcel 12 also fronts present-day 124th Street (formerly Second Street), which evolved into a main commercial avenue in the village, leading directly to the highly developed waterfront area that included the Albion Inn complex site adjoining the west side of the street at the waterfront. It also included M. Brown's store spreading out over the water, which would unfortunately become a victim of the 1921 storm surge. Other non-residential uses occurred along the street at

least to 45th Avenue. At least some of the buildings used for these purposes were converted to residential uses and are still extant in altered forms.

There is a strong assumption when considering this first subdivision that the form of the commercial area was in full development phase, and that the economic opportunities envisioned by J. E. Guthrie, the first fisher to purchase parcels 11 and 12 in 1891 were quite evident. This subdivision would in essence, become the heart of the commercial fishing enterprise in Cortez in how it established the precedent for allowing mixed types of growth in the village. This notion does not support that fishing enterprise was the only type of activity desired in Cortez, or that it was somehow being controlled by those early fishers who held a modicum of power and control in the village. The trends of subdivision and land ownership tend to steer away from this, being trumped by purely economic considerations, of which fishing was a major focus, but certainly not as an exclusive paradigmatic enterprise from which everything else should follow. Other fisher/landowners performed similarly with their land holdings.

Now, this is not to say that the subdivided lands were simply put on the market for the money they represented either, since several properties were split among family members as marriage and children dictated. There could have been a symbiotic justification for Guthrie's particular subdivision whereby newly arriving fishers and commercial fishing industry representatives were also seeking to establish themselves into the contextual enterprise of commercial fishing.

Guthrie's manipulation of the land is understandable no matter what the exact circumstances of his original subdivision were. The simple fact is that Cortez was growing rapidly and needed new, individual parcels within close proximity of the fishing

village activity to accommodate the wider cultural whims of the growing fisher population, which more than doubled by 1910. Unless a fisher wanted to establish his own self-sufficient enterprise, it really made little sense to sit on large land holdings as time went on. The original fishers likely sensed the growing appeal of Florida's climate and exposure to the salt air to Northerners who had begun to visit Florida after the Civil War to appease depression, consumption, and other maladies of the time. The first purchasers of the lands at Hunter's Point before the fishers began to invest, the Gardiners, were indeed Northerners from Rhode Island, who sought such relief. The fishers who had land purchase on their minds, took advantage of the opportunities made available to them as a group, rather than individually, and it would be only a matter of time before their original investments provided some modicum of financial control and social power.

Part of the fishers' land eminence likely became pronounced by the surrounding land schemes prompted by the Georgia-Florida Land Company, which designed a large-scale, 785-lot subdivision of over 800 acres in 1909 that encompassed nearly the entire peninsula, and virtually surrounded the already established fishing village. Basically a gridded design with a large, central parkway serving as a central east/west axis that reserved smaller lot design around large open space areas, the development focused on a golfing theme. Present-day Cortez Road was designated as more of a collector road in the design but was named Bradentown Street, with a newly proposed arterial boulevard named Cortez Camino bifurcating the peninsula running east and west. By 1910, a two-story, bay-front clubhouse would be the only real manifestation of the development. This clubhouse would soon become vacant within a couple of years,

with the wood it was made out of used for building new structures and repairing old ones in the village. In fact, anecdotal evidence suggests that much of the Albion Inn renovation and expansion was accomplished by recycling these materials.

On close examination of this large planned development, it is interesting to notice how some of the minor streets held the names of some of the original settlement fishers including Fulford, Guthrie, and Green. Of equal interest is the naming of the eastern north/south avenue grid with mostly northern state names. Such dedications may suggest associated land ownerships and/or marketing tactics to lure certain investors. Warranty deeds suggest that some of the original fisher settlers such as N. Fulford purchased these lands, or were given rights to them by the developer. However, the development of the surrounding lands to this magnitude also reveals the pressure that some of the Cortez settlers must have felt in response to its potential. Even though Cortez appeared as sort of an outparcel to the larger planned development, there are no records to suggest a selling out of parcels within the boundary of the fishing village proper, by the fishers at the time. Certainly the fishing village was a very recognized entity by outsiders, especially when one considers the fact that this new subdivision was actually named as the *Cortez Addition to Cortez*, reflecting some kind of designed relationship to, or extension of the vernacular fishing village's assumed lifestyle by outside interests.

In a report from the Chief of Army Engineers to the Secretary of War (U.S. Congress, 1910) regarding the improvement of the Sarasota Bay waterway, a 1909 letter from L. J. C. Bratton described the development by foreigners as being over 1,000 acres intended for residential and business purposes. Of course, it appears that the

term “foreigners” points to a company based out of Georgia, but that had Northern roots. Typically, many Southern natives referred to Northerners as foreigners (Peacock & Sabella, 1988). While Mrs. Bratton was a retailer, land speculator, philanthropist, and Sunday school teacher, her interest and role in expanding local infrastructure for enhancing commerce was obvious, but mostly unclear; this is especially noticeable from her departure from the village before 1910. It is known that she held interest in lands near the proposed development, that her parents also lived on and invested in land nearby, and that the Bratten [sic] street name did appear on the revised 1921 plat. Because some of the early fisher’s names were on proposed streets, it appears that the fishers were taking advantage of miscellaneous land holdings they had accumulated as part of their overall business acumen, or that the subdivision designers were negotiating with them somehow in order to garner local approval and perhaps sales agency.

However, the golf theme represented a much different character that would likely have prompted a schism between the two areas, as evidenced by future battles between the Cortez fishers and surrounding residential owners. While the quaintness and charm of a coastal fishing village has various appeals to the romantic senses of many people, the reality of smells, sounds, and modest living have proven through time to be perceived by newcomers as nuisances that often did not create much neighborliness. In fact, the reality of Cortez at the time likely proved more of a nuisance to many of the transplanted landowners, whose unsuspecting outlook of their coastal purchase did not consider such harsher realities of others making a living nearby, i.e., the sights, smells, noises, and presence of what basically catered to light industrial types of activity.

As the waterfront in the fishing village began to intensify and become denser with increased development of fishing-related buildings, another major subdivision within the village took place in 1912 by the Brattons, who, based on their other land purchases in the area prior to this, were well aware of the economic opportunities provided through land conversion. Their subdivision of the original parcels 3, 8, and 13 increased the new number of lots in the fishing village by 29, while also establishing Bayview Avenue with a 60-foot right-of-way, though it was only one block in length. The subdivision shows the addition of a new street at about its midpoint as Cortez Avenue, a 30-foot right-of-way, which would equate to present-day 45th Avenue. The naming reference using “Cortez” in such a manner suggested it as having an elevated hierarchy of importance, yet the narrow width now suggests otherwise. Another interesting point is that it duplicated the major thoroughfare found in the 1909 Cortez Addition plan. The Bratton subdivision plat also indicated Cortez Avenue (45th Avenue) as extending eastward into the village, which had been referenced only textually as part of other deeds for road reservations, requiring multiple future deed amendments. Bratton’s 1912 subdivision also included the names of purchasers, which seems to suggest that there was a ready market for the lands, which may also have prompted the Brattons to subdivide and then sell as their time in the village was waning.

With a stifled economy and a world war, no significant re-platting of lands would occur until nine years later in 1921, when the plat for the Cortez Addition would be amended with a completely different configuration that eliminated the grand design of large public open space areas that at first helped to buffer the surrounded village. The revised design reduced the number of lots dramatically from nearly 800 down to about

273 by establishing ranchettes of various sizes from approximately four acres to over 40 acres, while retaining the higher density blocks still abutting the recently expanded village at its eastern boundary, and along Palma Sola Bay around the shell midden area to the north. At this point, it also identified as an outparcel, the 5.4-acre piece of land occurring within the northeast corner of the historic village, which was officially deeded out by 1909, and now referenced as parcel 86. To reiterate, this effectively removed that portion of land from any future consideration of it being part of the historic village since it represented a wholesale, corporate removal of land, and no fisher or Cortez village resident, per se, appears to have purchased it previously. In essence, it appears as not ever being part of the village to begin with, which is reflected in the graphic tiles form indicators.

In July of 1921, the last official major subdivision to occur within the historic village boundary until well after the end of this historic study period was an approval for 17 lots, increasing the number of lots by another 15 in the village. This was named the Willis Subdivision, with the original owner, Augustine Willis, having purchased the two original parcels by 1892, though he would not be alive to transact the 1921 subdivision. Willis became the second fisher to succumb from a direct fishing accident after falling in his watercraft in 1914. So, by the end of the contextual growth form period, the original subdivision in 1887 of 13 parcels increased to 20 by the end of the settlement form period, to approximately 33 by 1909 as a build-out, or actual purchases of the available village lands as large parcels, and eventually to 97 as part of three major subdivisions occurring within the village study boundary by 1921. Of course, additional land splits would take place over the duration of time to 2013.

Circulation. The circulation system shows obvious expansion by the end of the contextual growth form period, but only as part of providing access to the newly created parcels eastward of the central core of the village. As mentioned already, the appearance of Bayview Avenue and Cortez Avenue (45th Avenue today) as part of a 1912 subdivision of parcels 3, 8, and 13 increases the understanding of how the circulation in the fishing village took shape. The designation of Bayview Avenue with a 60-foot width, which was the one-block section of street running parallel to the waterfront, and in front of the Albion Inn and its wharf, strongly suggests its importance to the village as a being part of the central village commercial activity. The plat also seems to suggest that Bayview Avenue, matched to present-day 46th Avenue extended, or would in the future, to the east, as well, though the streets are offset, and have been since their establishment.

As of 1912, the Cortez Rural Graded School helped establish the eastern road boundary as 119th Street, which serves as extreme western boundary for the purposes of my study. In addition, 45th Avenue West was also established as a right-of-way, however, several deeds had to be revised to reflect the dedication of the roadway. Some deeds were simply not clear in this regard, referencing a land purchase as being subject to road dedication requirements that might follow. This would reoccur until the street system fully conceptualized later on.

The 1921 Willis Subdivision added the new 20-foot street that was to become 45th Avenue Drive. It also delineated 45th Ave, which had already been established as the primary east/west axis through the village as a 20-foot street. On its east boundary, another 20-foot street was added connecting properties south of the central east/west

axis, which would become 121st Street Court. This addition basically established what would become the ultimate street network for the village, with additional extensions of these streets as the parcels were developed. By the end of the period, the roads within the historic village were still made of sand with a mix of oyster shell. The arterial along the north boundary of the village, Cortez Road (or Bradenton Street as it was called then, 45th Avenue was actually referred to as Cortez Street) had been coated with a bitumen surface by 1940.

Land speculation originally dictated the evolution of the street system in Cortez, though the basic street pattern in place by 1921 would remain intact to 2013. Land divisions of the original purchases of large land tracts into smaller parcels affected travel patterns to access the new parcels by the new owners. At least one historic, irregular path that existed during the first decades of the twentieth century is still discernible from 2013 aerial photographs, suggesting early use patterns for dock access.

Building mosaic form indicator set

By 1921, the number of parcels in the village increased from the original 13-parcel subdivision to 97 parcels, thereby effectively increasing the potential and realized density of the built construct. There were well over 50 dwellings serving approximately 250 people. The waterfront along the southern shoreline of the west half of the village was developed with commercial fishing buildings to a near maximum capacity, as lands were available. The number of fishers living in Cortez grew to approximately 75, with approximately half of them native to North Carolina, representing a subtle dilution of the North Carolina kinship structure.

Residential buildings and appurtenances. From 1898 until 1921, Cortez developed in a rapid fashion with new dwellings spread out across nearly every

available parcel. The range of dwellings from this timeframe are the most extant to date with at least 40 still represented, 29 or so of which were considered eligible for listing in the 1995 Cortez National Register District Nomination. The placement of growth was still sporadic though, with most of the development occurring between the historic Second and Fifth Streets (124th Street Court and 123rd Street Court, respectively).

The north tiered lots between Second and Fifth Streets began to fill in with residential constructions, mostly vernacular cottage designs with front and side gable forms often represented. The emergence of the hipped roof was also becoming more pronounced with a possible influence from the Bratton/Guthrie dock building as the first example. The flat roof did not seem to be a dominating form except for some appurtenant structures. In 1918, at least one architecturally designed residence was constructed among these northern lots, representing a nuance of form that strays away from the contextual vernacular. This building is represented as a two-story,

The overall architectural form of the buildings began to change from the typical two-story side-gable designs to mostly single-story cottages with the three roof forms of front and side gables, and hipped represented equally. The appearance of all three of these forms reflected an individualized preference that strayed away from a collective cultural pattern in Cortez. The availability of various designs, whether purchased through pattern books, or used as references, increased throughout the United States during this period, leading up to the mid-1920s land and development boom just prior to the Great Depression. The increase of pyramidal roof designs in the village appeared to make sense since their popularity surged in Southern U.S. communities during the first few decades of the twentieth century as being more economical and requiring less

materials (albeit more complex in configuration). They were also more spacious than the one-room deep I-houses that seemed to represent a standard design in Cortez during the settlement form period.

The side-gable form was also represented revealing a steadfastness of the original I-house form, but with more focus on the reduction of height and the increase in single-story floor area and expansive porches. The porch extensions were beginning to be incorporated into the design of the structure either as an extended roof or integrated attachment that flowed evenly from the roofline.

However, none of the residential constructs favored a distinct maritime vernacular as some of the literature about Cortez has suggested. The only exceptions may be in how the houses were consistently elevated on low-rise piers, and perhaps how some of them reflected simple and basic maritime cape cod forms with side-gabled structural elements that diffused from northern maritime areas after the two-story I-house and single-story extended porch influences began to fade. What is revealed is a diverse collection of residential construction that is actually not uncommon for many U.S. fishing villages during the early twentieth century (Ennals & Holdworth, 1981).

Non-residential/non-fisheries buildings and appurtenances. Non-residential/contextual buildings occurring within the village increased as a smaller subset in direct response to the social needs of the village. However, their cultural significance was important for establishing a tread of permanence in the community. These buildings also helped to create a distinct social network that lessened the industrial remoteness of the village by giving need to establishing networks with other communities – at first by water, then as part of an overland connection as automobile

use created demand for improved travel ways beyond what had begun and lasted for a time as rutted wagon trails. In essence, the establishment of schools, churches, and buildings housing other similar institutions would serve to permanently embed Cortez and its fisher families into the community in spite of their isolation. In fact, many of these types of buildings, and the social institutions they represented, would finally allow outsiders to also have access to the community, lessening their own trepidation and mystery about the place. This in turn, would foster a first-step inclusion of Cortez to the wider community, allowing them to benefit from infrastructure improvements and other public services.

The non-residential area occurring between 124th Street Court (Second Street) and 124th Street (Third Street) continued to serve as the active center of the community. This may also have included a wider sphere of participants from the larger Cortez Peninsula as it developed quickly with non-residential and non-contextual buildings including a collection of retail and service businesses. However, the primary fishing activity did extend just to the north to accommodate of the west shoreline. The Albion Inn was established as an expansion from the two-story retail supply building built partially over the water but accessed at the terminus of both streets, its scale marking a dominating presence.

Cato and McCullough (1976) suggested that the supply stores that seemed to show up in isolated villages increased the opportunities for fishers to frequent the area they were served by, and in some instances, to establish a more permanent presence there. This may better explain why waterfront retail embedded itself so quickly after settlement at Hunter's Point. Even though there are relatively few of these buildings, the

effect on the waterfront conglomeration is both readable and clearly visible. Figure 4-19 illustrates a tightly conjectured aerial perspective of the waterfront and bay configuration for the non-residential/non-fisheries buildings, fisheries contextual buildings, fisheries camp buildings, and dock system based on historic photographs taken around the time of the contextual growth form period.

There were two non-fisheries/non-contextual buildings that maintained a continuous visual prominence when considering the waterfront conglomeration, and that are worthy of some discussion here. These included the 1890 waterfront store, which was a retail building also referred to by some as the Burton store, which was highly prominent; it was expanded to become a complex of buildings, structures, and land alterations from different time periods. Also, the 1908 Church of Christ building, mostly indiscernible from the waterfront from a volume standpoint, appeared very visible in the landscape from the water due to its tall steeple, which reveals its own highly readable context. In addition, another building that did not have any visual prominence from the waterfront, but may have been part of a significant, intangible landscape connection for its impact to the community, was the 1912 school. This building was a first publicly constructed building representing a higher design style that would become a symbol of community after the 1921 storm that affected Cortez.

Regarding the first building with visual prominence, the 1890 store served as the initial supply store for fishers from Cortez and most likely fishers from other villages along the coast who plied the surrounding waters. It was perhaps the only point of public ingress and egress along the waterfront during that time, and the form periods that followed. This access was located at the west side of the building, extending west

for perhaps 100 feet or so. Oriented toward the water through its narrow, front-gable side, its large side window sets are clearly remarkable during its early placement. However, its strange, later configuration during the contextual growth form period added to its distinctiveness of the landscape. For one, its bifurcated west elevation attached to a two-story, perpendicular wing gave it a contrast to the smaller-scale of the buildings and structures found scattered among the conglomeration of buildings that formed around it. During the contextual growth form period, it would have complimented the Fulford Hotel complex located at the northwest corner of the village, representing two highly visible anchors in the landscape. However, a wider, more structurally sound wharf and dock were constructed extending from the southeast corner for several hundred feet. This wharf was the most significant in the village at approximately eight-foot wide and for part of its history, included a rail system for hauling loads by rail cart.

Another feature of the wharf was the modernized building located at the end of it, that together with the dock were commonly referred to as Bratton's Dock, but later purchased by Joe and Lena Guthrie. The importance of this building is that it too was prominent from the waterfront conglomeration view with its cross-hipped roofline that hovered over the water, as a new form that contrasted the skyward projections of the gabled ends and extensions that seemed to flay out above the water. The second dwelling constructed by W. T. Fulford in 1906 would incorporate a pyramidal roof above that two-story structure, reflecting a similarity of roof design as another prominent building viewable from the waterfront. At least seven buildings would be designed with this standard by the end of the contextual growth form period. Even the ranch form of the building of the Bratton's Dock with its horizontal, more permanent quality was new

and markedly different from the lesser quality buildings erected by the fishers around the waterfront conglomeration. Given that the Bratton/Guthrie dock construct was originally erected by outsiders from the Midwest who were not fishers, and who seemed to have solid financial backing, this is not surprising. So, while the Bratton/Guthrie dock and Albion Inn, as an overall individualized complex, anchored the waterfront conglomeration construct, the effect was one that was out of context architecturally, even though its location was perhaps the most important to the village as a whole.

The Church of God building, constructed in 1908 also became a visible addition to the waterfront conglomeration as its steeple punctured the skyline. While places of worship have historically been focal points of many communities because of their centralized locations, this building was located away from the town center toward the east near the 1895 school building. At the time, this area was considered the outskirts, as being east of town; in this case, the town would have been the area extending from 124th Street. The land for the building was incidentally, donated by the Brattons, which is important since their influence as outsiders should not be understated. The factual theme regarding why they donated land for the church building on a parcel beyond the main activity center is not clearly understood, though Mrs. Bratton had relatives near Cortez. However, it was also likely predicated on the availability of land and the need for such a venue. There is a suggestion that the quick growth reduced land availability closer in.

By 1901, D. S. Fulford had left his enterprise in the village for Grove City to the south, another fishing area where W. T. Fulford would spend time fishing as the more immediate fishing grounds of Cortez proved unfruitful. The apparent abandonment of

the Fulford Hotel complex would result in a discontinuance of the northwest waterfront from recreational fishing activities. The two-story buildings would eventually be destroyed by fire before the end of the contextual growth period. During this time, the waterfront landscape owned by Fulford would lack sufficient activity on it, thereby fostering a stabilization of it as remaining unchanged until his return by 1930. Fulford's waterfront, i.e., parcels 5 and 6 and the uplands attached to them, did not seem to incorporate the commercial fishing character as the southern waterfront area did. Instead, and because of his focus on creating a hotel enterprise, it represented perhaps the first recreational focus of Cortez from which it would continue to build upon to 2013. This was a significant and important piece of land in Cortez with its extended waterfront and future location at the foot of the Cortez Bridge. The fact that it was never committed to a commercial fishing enterprise is remarkable. Its evolution into a trailer park and small water-dependent retail node, while certainly par for the course, historically, would have one of the biggest effects on the Cortez shoreline that kept it tight and limited in extent. The occurrence of the trailer park by 1935 may have served as an insulator to other types of development, including commercial fishing for a while, though corporate development interests would eventually attempt to transform the property.

By 1912, other important non-fisheries/non-contextual buildings were erected in the village. The village members decided to incorporate in that year, and as a response of that action, completed a small jail made from tabby that is still extant in 2013. The only remarkable quality of the building is the materials from which it was made, making it peculiar among other buildings. Of course, its location along the 124th Street line of commerce is worth mentioning. Another important building along the waterfront was yet

another retail supply store owned by M. F. Brown located at the southwestern corner of parcel 12, the latter owned by J. E. Guthrie. Brown's store, according to historic records, was originally owned by Guthrie, is clearly evident in at least two historic photographs, one of which clearly reveals its physical orientation within the waterfront conglomeration. This structure would be destroyed by the 1921 storm surge, with additional photographic evidence revealing only its frame foundation remaining.

The 1912 school, still extant in 2013, and perhaps the most uniquely designed building in Cortez, has deep architectural and social implications for the village community. It formed an east anchor to the village, though it was not visible from the waterfront. Its Greek-styled portico and parapet roofline, along with brick construction created more of a non-contextual intrusion into the village, as part of a wider, publicly influenced design that was certainly not unwelcome in the village, but from a contextual perspective, was out of character with the vernacular setting, reflecting a solidified mainstream attachment to the outside world through what was the most permanent building erected in Cortez by that time. Five other schools of similar construction were commissioned around Manatee County at the time, so Cortez was not the only recipient of the design. Though not visible from the waterfront, its impact on the vernacular landscape is important for other reasons, a couple of which are worth mentioning here.

The location of the school grounds at the eastern periphery of the village seemed to represent a limit, or confinement of additional development to the east. The relatively small size of the village up to the point of its construction served as a demarcation point of sorts, providing an easily recognizable edge to the upland physicality of Cortez,

especially with its western-facing façade, and as a barrier from the encroaching development taking place from the west and north.

The use of the school by the villagers during the 1921 storm represented a safe haven amid an almost instantaneous destruction of their waterfront and the lifeworld that were quintessential components of their village character. In an ironic way, the sense of place that would eventually develop in Cortez decades later probably began from this school building, as part of the memory of what had once been a pinnacle of their vernacular development. While the school itself was invisible to the viewer from the waterfront, its future symbol as this place of refuge held a significant spot in the waterfront conglomeration landscape as a sacred structure, since they all became connected through catastrophe. This will be discussed in a little more detail in the next section. However, when observing and evaluating form in the landscape, there is a challenge in discerning between the obvious, visible form of the waterfront landscape, and this esoteric, intangible connection of a building that was for all intents and purposes, non-vernacular or anti-vernacular, depending on one's interpretation of it as it existed during the period. In my view, the vernacular landscape was affected by the addition of this building, but it did not change significantly. This is not only because of my focus on the waterfront as the cultural collective of primary indicators where the building was physically absent, but also because additional, significant changes at least up to 1921 failed to take place as a result of it.

Fisheries contextual buildings. By 1900, there were several schooners and at least two steamers serving Cortez. Since some initial improvements in the Sarasota Bay and Manatee River through linear cuts by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had been

completed by 1895 or so, water travel increased in tandem, opening up Cortez to a wider array of supplies, artifact-ual influences, and cultural nuances made possible through the increase of travel and personnel not as prevalent during the settlement form period. However, by 1900, the emerging village, even as rapidly growing as it was, was reported as still being a camp where fishing was done as a seasonal pursuit reminiscent of a recreational destination, rather than as a year-round, working waterfront where its fishers also lived and were establishing permanence in both the physical and intangible constructs. As it became permanent settlement, it carried a sense of transition from the presettlement fishing activities as part of an actual fishing season, which was already a known fact based on Stearns' 1879 report discussed earlier. Later reports about several of the Cortez settler fishers indicated their returns from North Carolina where they were spending the non-fishing summers.

Based on anecdotal information, only two fisheries processing buildings were in place by the end of the contextual growth form period. According to historic photographs, these appear to be similarly located in an extended alignment with the Bratton/Guthrie Dock, as being located furthest away from land, and oriented toward oncoming watercraft for ready unloading. This makes sense since the two operators, Savarese and Hibbs, did not appear from the record to own land in the village. Others, such as George Hatsel were reported to have fisheries buildings in Cortez, but the extent to which these buildings processed daily catches is unclear. Nevertheless, the two that are referenced as existing up to 1921 do appear as one-story, side-gabled buildings with extended porches, constructed with vertical exterior siding and wood

shingles. Each was attached by a southerly running dock that connected with an east/west running pier.

As a comparison, the fisheries operating around the Charlotte Harbor fishing grounds to the south developed a system of processing facilities scattered throughout the bay and coastal islands there. Basic descriptions of these structures were referenced by Taylor and Cook (1990) as two different types that may have some shared influence with Cortez constructs. As part of the extensive fishery based out of Punta Gorda with its early railroad connection by 1886, fishers organized a system of remote buildings directly in the bay as over-the-water ice house constructs, and on the tidal and upland areas of flats and islands as residential fish camps. While descriptions are provided only for buildings occurring from 1920 and later, earlier constructs likely had similarly constructed characteristics, but due to the extreme environment they were exposed to, were no longer extant for study.

Taylor and Cook (1990) also indicated similar rectangular frame vernacular buildings with gabled roofs. The roofs were clad in metal panels while the siding was mostly cypress applied with wide boards; battens seemed to be added only sparingly. For the icehouses, the wood plank siding was doubled for better insulation. Wood decks were commonly attached for vessel mooring, access, and as work areas. The ice stations were attached to pine pilings but in a temporary manner, allowing them to be lifted off of the pilings and relocated to different areas around the fishing grounds. According to the historical record, it appeared that these movable structures may have been attached loosely to the pine pilings with special grommets or clips, allowing them to rise and fall with the tidal fluctuations.

While the allowance for tidal-raising of structures is akin to a learned protective tradition, it did not appear on most land-based constructs studied by me. The simplistic manner of structural mobility, i.e., from one location to another, reflects the common standard of construction of these types of buildings found throughout a variety of traditional fishing landscapes in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the possibility of shared influences here is at least a remarkable consideration. At least one group of fishers from North Carolina was likely involved in these types of operations and constructs. The Chadwick brothers had purchased lands in Cortez by 1894, and went on to operate one of the largest fisheries in Charlotte Harbor by 1900. Since none of these buildings appear to remain from before 1920 in Cortez or Charlotte Harbor, it is difficult to assess if the Chadwicks brought some of their construction methods with them from either North Carolina or Cortez that resulted in these remote fish camps and cabins, though it is possible. However, the historic record does suggest that they could have been formulated as early as 1886 when the first railroad line reached Punta Gorda. Of course, by 1879, Stearns (1887) had already documented various buildings of wood and thatch constructed as fisheries camps along the Florida Gulf Coast between Charlotte Harbor and Tampa Bay.

Extended vernacular form indicator set

Physical manifestations-fisheries camps. The historic array of small and medium size camps associated with the commercial fishing industry along the Cortez waterfront occurred along the entire length of the waterfront conglomeration of the mid-southern shoreline, and sporadically along the other shorelines of the Florida Gulf Coast. By 1921, most of the landowners in Cortez held ownership to at least one camp complex that extended over the water and included watercraft storage structures open

on its sides. In some instances, some of the internal parcel landowners shared camps with those having riparian rights, or arranged a right to have access to the physical waterfront area.

While the overall construct of fisheries camps represented a modest quality, the landowner's camps were typically larger buildings expanded over time with additions extending the building to accommodate additional gear and equipment, as well as, living space. Porch extensions appeared as work areas, many pieced together with a motley collection of wood boards with no particular design intent other than to enclose space or limit exposure to the elements of sun and rain. Some presented lattice attached to the porch roof columns for a combination of diffused sun and light. The smaller camps were nondescript, appearing as shanties with four basic walls and a roof.

While there is no detailed historic record to ascertain a precise count, the overall number of fisheries camps buildings and structures by 1921 is possible to have been between 20 and 30. This accounts for 12 waterfront owners who each had these structures, and several of the internal landowners, who also built camps out over the water. There were also some non-Cortez residents who appeared to have constructed camp buildings in this area, but there is insufficient physical evidence to provide a detailed location of each of them, though some are referenced anecdotally. Perhaps the most interesting relationship regarding these camp constructions is their continuance from the early Spanish rancho occupations, to the presettlement form period, and the organized proliferation of them in the Charlotte Harbor coastal fishing grounds area. As mentioned earlier, the fact that one of the progenitors of the organized construct of fishing camps could have been a familial group of fishers from North Carolina who had

owned property in Cortez during the settlement form period leads to a future analysis for determining a flow of influence. In this case, it is unclear if the fishers spread the fishing camp structure from North Carolina or Cortez down to Charlotte Harbor, or if the fishers were influenced by what had already been appearing in Cortez by 1894, when they purchased lands in Cortez.

Either way, the proliferation of constructs with similarities in form and location along a wide stretch of the mid-Florida Gulf Coast, as noticed by Stearns (1887), warrants additional study, beyond the scope presented here. While fishing camps were documented as outposts along North Carolina coastal islands by the eighteenth century, they were also documented as part of the Spanish fishing ranchos that dated to the eighteenth century. The question of influence, especially with regard to the locational form and use of the structures as part of a large fisheries system reveals a commonality between Cortez and Charlotte Harbor enterprise that does not appear to have been specifically studied in detail. Since they both shared the initial contact market of Tampa, the constructs may have evolved from a few individuals working as part of a network of businesses, rather than just as something that caught on by sheer luck and happenstance of a found artifact.

Physical manifestations-net works. The threefold increase in fishers in Cortez by 1921, and the requirement for an expanded net mending and drying infrastructure in Cortez, resulted in an expansive over-the-water system of horizontally configured net spreads. These basic frame systems were made from cheap timber and rough-hewn lumber that formed basic vertically placed box frames closed by horizontal lengths attached to extended wood pilings. To allow enough air circulation for nets that were

often in 100-foot lengths, the nets were draped over the extended frames, or racks as they were also called, creating an undulating pattern of fiber material and cork or wood bobs. Planks used as walking platforms were placed around the spreads to allow fishers to access them and maneuver the nets across for spreading. Each net spread varied in size, but most were rectangular in dimension, additions to them made as the net load increased among the fisher crews, as part of a communal facility, or according to agreements between individual fishers.

The overall system of the net works created its own pattern, or mosaic on the open water landscape that spread along and across the waterfront. The fisheries camps and processing buildings rose from the net spread structures as intermittently placed, yet all connected as part of a web-like system that allowed fishers to access the primary dock structures leading to the two or three fisheries processing facilities. Therefore, the growth of this construct up to 1921 appeared as an accreting outwardly growing form, whereby the close proximity of the structures to the shoreline was determined by the hierarchy of abutting, uplands land ownership, and the rights of access allowed by those landowners. Later, riparian rights would complicate how the access to these areas would evolve, pitting some over-the-water structure owners, against those land owners, and with land sovereignty issues claimed by government interests.

While the basic configuration of the net works structure changed only in size versus shape or materials during the contextual growth period from the settlement period, its impact on the waterfront as a nearly built-out over-the-water form depicted it as a distinctive extended vernacular form, attributable to TFVs of the Florida Gulf Coast. While net reels were used extensively in many TFVs in the United States, there were

relatively few in Cortez, though Stearns (1887) indicated that they had been the primary equipment for drying nets by fishers at Hunter's Point during the presettlement form period.

Physical manifestations-dock system. By 1921, the dock system had also expanded, but in the same vernacular manner as it had up to 1897. The addition of 24 years had little influence on the slow evolution of technical methods for dock construction, except that there was more of it as a physical construct, contributing to an almost overcrowded water/land interstice. Some docks, such as the one initially constructed by the Brattons extending from the Albion Inn to the south were lengthened and strengthened to allow run-boat loading and unloading. Also, the docks were reinforced using thicker lumber components such as 4x6 floor joists and palmetto pilings bolted together to form thick bulkheads up to 36 inches thick. This method of construction was not new for the time since materials could be hauled to the site, but it represents another aspect of creating a more permanent erected structure that contributed to the overall vernacular landscape in Cortez. Figure 4-19 illustrates how the basic formation of the dock system extended into the surrounding bay and may have existed along the Cortez waterfront.

The Bratton/Guthrie dock was perhaps the most significant of these constructs since it accommodated a wider variety of activities and business ventures, serving more as the community wharf. It was not limited to only fish and fishing gear loading and unloading, but also served in function for general supply deliveries, ice deliveries, and tourist watercraft. Because of this variety, it was purposely constructed to accommodate larger vessels with reinforced structural capabilities. The Bratton/Guthrie dock,

therefore, served as the anchor wharf from which the larger dock system was connected.

Based on historic photographs, the docks appeared to extend from each waterfront parcel to a system of net spreads and camps. The more commercial waterfront between the Albion Inn and 123rd Street Court provided perpendicular dock connections that ran more or less parallel to the shoreline. At the most, there were two or three of these structural tie-ins to the overall system--all appearing to be loosely and minimally constructed in a very temporary manner.

There is some reasoning that can be conjectured here that may support the lack of development creep toward the north along the western shoreline. Parcel 7, the largest land parcel of the original 1887 subdivision of 13 parcels, and sandwiched between the two western shoreline parcels and the Albion Inn parcel, was owned by the seventh settler in Cortez, C. D. Jones who had left Cortez for Palma Sola by 1903. His absence as a permanent settler, though visiting on a temporary basis but not as a commercial fisher since he captained the Mistletoe steamer, would have stifled development of the property beyond the fish camp he had constructed over the water at the end of a long dock. Since he kept the property to near the end of the contextual growth form period, his infrequent visits, and employed status as a run-boat captain would produce little opportunity for it to be developed.

The two individual properties along the extreme west shoreline owned by D. S. Fulford were temporarily abandoned by him by 1917, leaving this significant stretch of waterfront property vacant and untended. While it is highly likely that itinerant or even some established fishers used the abandoned buildings and structures up to 1921

during Fulford's absence, the overall effect was a stabilizing of that waterfront until his return around 1930. Of course, the fact that the Fulford Hotel complex was basically destroyed by fire during his absence caused a diminution of the available waterfront form of two-story gabled buildings.

Physical manifestations-nets. Not every indicator will reveal dramatic changes worthy of elongated discussions between periods. The use of seine nets and gill nets by Cortez fishers had not changed significantly by 1921 from the earlier settlement period, though gill nets were not identified as equipment at Hunter's Point during the presettlement period. Seines were often used during brief periods as the mullet ran along the coast early in the season during the fall. Some fishers used stop nets along with beach seines in order to redirect the movement of fish toward the seine. Some fishers likely used stop nets throughout all of the harvest periods. Historic photographs reveal seine fishers hauling in catches of fish along the beach, presumably on one of the nearby barrier island stretches of Longboat Key or Anna Maria Island.

In contrast, seine net fishing accounted for the most of the fish harvests in North Carolina coastal fisheries for over 100 years until at least the late 1970s. The only exceptions to this primacy were the years 1937 to 1940, where the gill net edged out the seine net in total harvests for each of those years. Cast nets were still essential components of a fisher's gearbox, though it was not used for commercial fishing, instead continuing to represent a subsistence or recreational pursuit. In physical terms, the types of nets used, and the processes for maintaining them was an unchanged vernacular indicator set from the settlement period ending in 1898, until the end of the

contextual growth period in 1921. Other changes were unraveling that were more socially ordained, based on varying values-both internal to Cortez, as well as, external.

Though gill nets continued to be the primary fishing net in Cortez, schisms between fishers began to develop during the contextual growth form period that saw an increase in stop netting and seine hauling with the advent of powered launches and motorized equipment, such as the land-mining based, gasoline-powered “donkey,” that pulled the net from the water into the vessel without requiring a team of fishers.

Even in Cortez, with its build-up of a kinship-oriented fishing culture, the differences of opinions on this issue were so great that it would lead to the apparent dynamiting of one gillnetter’s house by stopnetters during the contextual growth recovery form period later. The interesting fact in this growing disagreement on gear and method in Cortez is that many of the stopnetters were not native to North Carolina suggesting that different cultural values were present in Cortez during this period. In fact, several had long roots as Florida natives. The problems between the fishers in Cortez associated with these different net types revolved around use of the net and the amount of resources taken.

Fishers employing gill nets were typically viewed as being more mobile fishers than those using stop nets. Gillnetters could locate fish from a vessel and employ the net virtually anywhere within the fishing grounds. The 300-foot to 3,000-foot encircling gill net system was a standard net used by Cortez fishers who typically would tend the nets since catches would have to be retrieved within a few hours to prevent damage to both the fish and the nets. These nets were typically used for mullet that were plump from roe, when prices per pound were elevated. Some fishers would use floating or

underwater gill nets, which were assembled to lengths of over one mile, and which were considered more stationary, but used the same mesh-trapping device. These gill nets would be placed overnight based on tidal influences, and were used after the spawn run period when mullet prices were lower.

A continual effect upon fishers was in the form of an evolving regulatory environment involving gear and “fish laws” that had already been implemented in Florida even before the fisher settlers arrived at Hunter’s Point. These laws, occurring in Florida as early as 1881, partly out of the establishment of the U.S. Fish Commission just after the Civil War, sought to protect species that were declining due to overfishing depletion. Part of the onslaught of regulations was being carried out by recreational fishers who had been visiting Florida coastal areas as tourists; they did not live there, at least not permanently. The enactment of fish laws and rules would create the notion of a fishing season to the general public. However, this was somewhat myopic since the catching of fish according to a schedule was already an inherent form of the fisher’s traditional knowledge that would typically be followed by established natural patterns of fishery abundance and availability. Of course, harvests were also predicated on market pricing, when fisheries operators would set higher fish prices.

The management and care of nets also remained stable. They were still made of natural fiber cotton with predetermined net mesh sizes, and lengths determined by the size of crew, and the advancing technology for hauling the nets back into the vessel. Though this would be an important consideration for watercraft, and the act of fishing, it had no significant effect on the nets as highly contextual artifacts.

Up to 1921, the maintenance of nets also remained stable. The cotton net material, as a cellulose fiber, continued to require constant attention and repairing if a fisher wanted to retain his gear investment. This required the use of net spreads that also increased in spatial allocation in tandem with the number of fishers employing cotton nets. The drying of nets through proper airing out was one of the most contextually significant aspects of the vernacular TFV that prevented them from degrading due to a chemical process referred to as overheating. In some instances, the accumulation of slime, fat, detritus, and other organic substances on netting that was not properly spread would cause a reaction akin to generating enough heat to cause them to catch fire and burn. This was reduced by rinsing or treating the nets with a variety of agents including lime, tar, salt or solutions made with them. According to a 2013 display at the Florida Maritime Museum at Cortez, the fishers typically used lime and saltwater rinses.

While the form of the net structure remained stable, the addition of agents for maintaining nets on the waterfront as an effect to the vernacular landscape form is fairly debatable. There is certainly an effect when considering the overall process of maintenance, of which the preservation agents are part of, and to which they certainly contribute. However, from the landscape scale of my study, the zeroed-in resolution of the agents themselves is not considered in detail. Its preliminary consideration does reveal the different levels of resolution the researcher can gravitate to, as Kropf (1993) helped to clarify in his study of urban form.

To restate, the basic form of the fishing net in Cortez did not necessarily change during the contextual growth form period. The favored fish sought still deferred to the

mullet, and the fishery topography was still confined, requiring little need for adapting new methods or nets.

Physical manifestations-watercraft. The gasoline engine prompted the most significant change to watercraft during this period. In fact, the conversion from sail power to gasoline powered watercraft represents one of the most significant changes to the extended vernacular landscape form in Cortez, and most other TFVs that were entrenched or emerging at the time, as well. While the transition was incremental, since the first mass produced motors were not widely available until at least by 1915, by 1921, the adaptation of watercraft originally fitted for sails to outboard motors, and the standardization of vessels effecting a wide cultural swath across the United States was already in full swing. By 1920, the motorized culture was already publishing reports of fishers being able to be more competitive and successful than their oaring and sailing counterparts (Motor Boat Publications, 1920).

Standardization, the manufacturing of a common, identically designed set of components that could be used for a particular line of watercraft, or among different types, was seen by its proponents as necessary to watercraft production for increasing quality, lowering costs, making them more affordable to the public. Ironically, some naval architects saw a lack of quality deriving from local watercraft builders due to unstable periods of building. This appeared to be a design community's attack on local craftsmanship, which is even today looked at as having a much higher quality than mass produced products. In 1921, the naval design community even suggested that prestige for the local builder was better achieved by aligning with a business that had the benefit of nationwide advertising (Deed, 1921). The mass production of watercraft

prompted by their motorization would begin to markedly reduce local water-craftsmanship.

The first motorized vessel in Cortez was apparently purchased and installed by N. Fulford (Green, n.d.) sometime around 1910. This seems fairly early since the first boat motor in the United States was not given a test run until the AMC company did it out of New York in 1896, but only a few of their models were manufactured immediately afterwards, numbering less than 30 total. It is doubtful that Fulford received one of these first products. Cameron Waterman developed the first widely available outboard in 1905 receiving a patent for his design in 1907, during which he manufactured around 3,000 of the motors out of the Detroit area, where up to 200,000 automobiles would be produced by the end of 1908, and over eight million by the end of 1914. Now, Waterman's models were being touted as developed primarily for the fisher, suggesting a ready market based on either demand, or function (Whittier, 1957). Norwegian immigrant Ole Evinrude designed an outboard motor out of Milwaukee, creating the second successful mass manufactured outboard motor, which was tested in 1907, but was not patented until 1911. His patent was followed by another mass production of over 25,000 outboards by 1915. The wide cultural desire for powered watercraft would result in over 750,000 outboard motors purchased by Americans during the 1930s.

While early mass-produced motorized boat motors may not have been readily available to the Cortez fishers, it is possible that they were rigging their own motorized systems as an adapted technology to their sail watercraft. Through a thicker descriptive analysis of boat motorization, the historic record does reveal this type of activity as

occurring in Cortez and other TFVs. It reflects an adaptive skill of at least certain of the first fisher settlers as embracing technology and moving away from tradition.

Getting back to N. Fulford's first use of a motorized vessel, it was suggested by Green (n.d.), that he had a 4-horsepower Barker motor. The Barker Factory was out of Norwalk, Connecticut and began manufacturing motors as early as 1900. The company did manufacture a single cylinder, 4-horsepower motor, which seemed to be widely available by 1905, or so. It is possible that Fulford had equipped one of his vessels with this motor that would have predated the smaller, refined outboards made available later by Waterman and Evinrude. This accounts for the anecdotal accounts of extremely noisy engines used by some of the fishers around this time. It also suggests that conversions to power were occurring early on by some fishers, and that others were either reluctant or not able, financially, to convert their own vessels.

As a matter of record by 1908, some of the local watercraft builders heard Cortez fisher A. Willis plying the Manatee River in an open launch with a very loud motor and envisioned the quickening of the end of sail. However, Robie (1921) reported that sailing rigs were still prevalent along the Cortez waterfront supporting the suggestion that the persistence of sail, as opposed to the sudden and wholesale change to motor was still continued. Cuban fishing smacks under sail power were still seen on the local waters by the end of 1921 (Warner & Warner, 1986). Other areas such as those along the coasts of North Carolina saw a significant reduction of sails used for fishing, yet they still persisted in those places (Garrity-Blake, 1994). This persistence is not surprising, and does not reveal much significance in its temporal quality, since cultural adaptation to change is complex across a wide and varied geography. Sometimes, rapid change in

extremely localized geographies such as Cortez may have occurred in response to other technologies, standards, methods, etc.; however, it was not the case for motorization, which depended on a fisher's success, acute economic situation, ease of availability, willingness or resistance to change, familiarity, logistics, the list goes on.

Regardless, the basic watercraft form was noticeably changing after centuries of a fairly stable form configuration, and were now being represented by a mixed indicator set that consisted of unaltered sail craft, large and small motorized vessels, and rowing skiffs, with a few vessels from the north adding to the mix either as part-time fishers or as recreational visitors (Smith, 1930). Smith further identified a Tampa Bay sharpie along the coastal area that he saw as a mimicked design from Pamlico Sound along North Carolina's coast. Made of local pine materials, it was cheaply constructed with a flat bottom up to 50 feet in length. It also retained its two sail masts and had a quickness that allowed speedy delivery of fresh fish from the fishing grounds to the shipping points along the coast. He also identified the smaller skipjack with its retained single mast configuration. This is the name that Asa Pillsbury used for describing many of the watercraft in the area during the Hunter's Point and early Cortez periods. The skipjack attained a length of only 20 feet with semi-vee bottoms, and had a sprit with a jib.

Perhaps most interesting is Smith's reference to what he called the 30 or so "lapstrake" watercraft at Cortez. Here, he purposely makes a distinction between a group of watercraft he purposely referred to as occurring at Cortez, and those found at other TFVs along the coast from Charlotte Harbor to Apalachicola. Smith's lapstrake connotation was based on a design out of Maine and the northeast United States that referred to how the vessel's hull was constructed. Another interesting, and perhaps

coincidental reference to the lapstrake watercraft came from Stearns (1887), who documented the watercraft (he called them lap-streak) along the Florida Gulf Coast near Charlotte Harbor in 1879. In Cortez, they were represented by a similar, but looser mainsail and jib configuration as the skipjack just referenced, but achieved lengths up to 24 feet, and had round bottoms. The importance of Smith's reference reveals a distinction made of a few out of literally hundreds of vessels that were in operation between Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor at the time. This exemplifies Brunvard's (1996) suggestion that certain traditional watercraft forms were representative of distinct local cultures where the knowledge of their design and construction was passed down and then found later as a diffused, spatially distributed artifact that achieved at least some modicum of success, albeit for a relatively brief period.

The slow transition is not surprising since the estates of the typical fisher were rarely flowing with money. Of course, many of the successful captains and the Cortez landowners who were making profits beyond fishing were able to make the transition more quickly. They would use the power of the motorized launch to tow the smaller skiffs to the fishing grounds where the gill net form took prominence over other net equipment, not only in Cortez, but also in many fishing communities along the Southeast and Gulf Coasts of the United States.

Again, for those who could afford a motor in Cortez, there was no sudden shift from the vernacular watercraft being used after the turn of the twentieth century to a standardized watercraft that was purchased as a motorized fishing boat. Sail-rigged and simple rowing watercraft were modified by making room for motors, eliminating their centerboards and sail components and outfitting them with new motor systems. In some

cases, the sail rigging was preserved as a source of auxiliary power. Many of the original fishers had learned their fishing methods using sail and oar watercraft. In fact, their distinct knowledge of fishing often revolved around this knowledge. Their generation would be the first to begin a withdrawal from this tradition, marking a significant change that would insert itself into the act of fishing.

By the end of the contextual growth period, gasoline had become a permanent retail commodity in Cortez as indicated by at least one historic photograph revealing a Red Crown Gasoline sign at the Bratton Dock, most likely after 1921. The Red Crown product was available after 1911 as part of the breakup of the Standard Oil Company. In the Cedar Keys, McCarthy (2007) suggested that the waterfront form was rapidly changing to one without sails where fishers were now pulling up to the docks to fill their gas tanks with the newly constructed fuel supply stations. A similar change was occurring at Cortez. By 1921, more than 100 run-boats were passing by Cortez, many of them stopping at the Bratton Dock. The demand for gasoline required at least weekly refueling by gas launches from the Port of Tampa (Antonini et al., 2002). Ice deliveries also increased as the fishing hauls increased. New dredging of the bay in 1919 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers replaced the older cut dredged during the mid-1890s. Increased water traffic and commerce on Sarasota Bay was a main arbiter for this improvement prompted by some additional support by Cortez fishers and business persons, who must have sensed the scale of commerce that was developing from the transition to motorized delivery methods by water, in spite of it also occurring over land. The spoil from this dredging activity would be used to effect a new shoreline boundary form in Cortez.

At about the same time, the transition from animal-drawn wagons was also revealing itself in Cortez. The increasing availability of powered land vehicles would also affect local vernacular forms with the first Model T Ford showing up in Cortez around 1915 or so. Its form is identified in the waterfront conglomeration sketch in Figure 4-17 as an emergent form that would affect the character of the waterfront not only in and of itself, but as a revolutionary paradigm of technology. Ironically, or coincidentally as the case may be, the boat motor seemed to catch on quicker than the automobile at first in Cortez. Part of this was due to the lack of quality roads leading to and from Cortez. Even by 1921, the Cortez arterial remained a hard-surfaced, but non-paved road, always subject to rutting and erosion from heavy rains. It was not until that year, that local engineer Jack Leffingwell was asked by Manatee County officials to design a road that could be improved between Cortez and Manatee Avenue in order to improve travel to and from the communities along the Manatee River. Travel by 1921 was still more efficient and quicker by water. However, the effect of the auto would begin to affect the upland vernacular landscape in Cortez with the construction of the Cortez Bridge that extended from the northwest corner of the village across the bay to the barrier island. Though under construction, it would not be fully completed by the end of the period, but would serve as a monument to a changing vernacular landscape represented by motorization of both watercraft and the automobile.

The overall effect would result in an evolving and significant diminution of the local vernacular watercraft as an artifact and symbol of a particular fishing culture with an identifiable origin (North Carolina), along with the first appearances of significance loss of traditionally learned skillset that involved the use of sail and watercraft handling.

The new, non-vernacular watercraft structure would now be oriented toward increased production and extending the fishing grounds that would in turn, slowly progress, but with a continual reference by the fishers, young and old, to the benefits of former watercraft structures and cultural significance. However, the fisher's watercraft was ensconced as a physical connection to his identity as a fisher, regardless of its form, and his attention to it reflected a sense of pride and worth of his reputation as part of the commercial fisher's way of life, freedom, and independence commonly associated with that lifestyle (Peacock & Sabella, 1988).

Intangible manifestations-fishing grounds. The fishing grounds for the Cortez fishers continued to encompass the physical area of the bays and estuaries of Tampa, Sarasota, and Charlotte Harbor. To the fisher, the grounds were related as being female, while the schools of fish were male (Frederikson, 1995). It was the primary working landscape of the fishers, without which fishing could not be done, and the associated vernacular construct would not have evolved. Similar to how farmers shaped their upland landscapes from barren fields and unsettled forests, so did the fisher with the extended landscape, or fishing grounds of the open water and tidal areas, not typically thought of as part of the working landscape (Cannavo, 2007). Referring to it as a waterscape is not sufficient, since it extends from the upland as part of a physical and less-than physical manifestations of the TFV landscape. Never a purely definable spatial artifact, its boundaries shrank and grew as the fish ran and were available to what remained an inshore fishery to the end of 1921.

The first inshore commercial fishers of Cortez, who had by the end of the contextual growth form period committed over 30 years to a vernacular tradition of

fishing, were fading as a distinct vernacular group of artisanal fishers as newer technologies such as motorization, ice, and refrigeration allowed them to adjust their methods accordingly. Toward the end of the contextual growth form period, the second and third generations of fishers were able to visualize and sense an expanded and evolving concept of the fishing grounds. However, the availability of the physical grounds also began to shrink with new land development, recreational fishing, and an ever-increasing regulatory environment. Since the fishers had long adapted to an inshore fishing tradition, the extension of the fishing grounds did not immediately occur in tandem with it simply because they could now reach them more easily. Instead, that would come later mostly from an increase in regulatory measures. Instead, the biggest change was in their efficiency with regard to the act of fishing.

In spite of slow adaptation, the contextual growth form period still presented technological innovations that were being applied even in small-scale commercial fishing industry locations such as Cortez. The generations that followed the original fisher settlers were able to use the traditional fishing knowledge that was handed down from their forebears in an adaptive manner that suited their own individual and collective purposes. Notwithstanding the increased accessibility of the fishing grounds to fishers due in part to motorization, after 1900, the fishing grounds became expanded in a sense as fishers were seemingly able to spend more time in it as ice became more easily available through remote retailers and specialized ice run-boat systems such as were developed in the Charlotte Harbor fishery. While there is no evidence to date that the Cortez fishers developed this kind of system, which allowed fishers to extend their time in the fishing grounds, there is a high possibility that at least some of them extended

their fishing grounds as far south as Charlotte Harbor through the development of personalized and commercial fishing connections from older established relationships such as with the Chadwicks, as referenced earlier, herein. Inter-fishing grounds relations expanded opportunities for the Cortez fishers.

However, the argument that fishers were somehow spending more time on the water may not be completely accurate. In contrast, the newer technology also allowed fishers to spend less time in the fishing grounds according to McCarthy (2007) since they could get to fishing grounds and return to port quicker. So, there was a continual waxing and waning of the fishing grounds both temporally and spatially.

In my opinion, and based on the historic record, it seems as if fishers opted for increasing their time in the fishing grounds by the end of the contextual growth form period, especially when the fish were running. Their ability to travel further and to acquire ice in remote areas not available earlier allowed them to stay longer rather than having to return quicker. This of course depended on the scale of the catch, which, with exception of brief unproductive fishing excursions, did not seem to have a temporal bearing of the fishing grounds during the overall period. And while motorization may have allowed an extension of the fishers' reach into more distant fishing grounds, the relative newness and expense of acquiring the latest technology was not available to all fishers. This represented a disparity between groups of fishers that may have revealed itself in one group of fishers choosing stop net systems over the more traditional gill net system. Hence, the ability of some fishers to extend the fishing practice, also served to creating a challenge to the local value system and ethics of fishing that had been relatively stable for most of the contextual growth period.

However, anecdotal evidence suggests that by the 1920s the Charlotte Harbor fishing grounds were developed under a loosely defined territorial system. The inshore fishery that Cortez' history is based on, did not appear to present a rigidly controlled system of earmarked fishing grounds, which is unusual. The local, inshore waters were often attached in an intangible manner to the villages and large landowners generally abutting them. This is in contrast to the open Gulf of Mexico, where fishers historically fished unfettered from notions of territoriality. In one way, the accessibility to the wider open water areas through power motoring could have opened these areas up, therefore expanding the grounds.

Yet, in Cortez during the contextual growth form period, there seemed to be a commitment to mullet as the primary catch, and steadfastness with fishing the same waters that the early settlers did. Of course, this steadfastness was likely predicated on the availability of the fish, which the fishers up to 1921 continued to rely on without significant, long-term declines or unproductive seasons, though the first real instances of catch reductions and low productivity would occur later. While the relative abundance of fish was good, it did not require a search for new grounds, though the power motor did allow some fishers to search for other fish that brought higher per pound prices. These fish, such as grouper and snapper did require fishing trips beyond the inshore area, yet there is no predominance of these activities that significantly affected the vernacular landscape form.

The narrowing or shrinkage of the available fishing grounds was also a very real problem for the Cortez fisher in both physical and intangible terms. The freedom to fish where one wanted, that was part of the settlement form period form, was developing

into a more defined, programmed form as part of the contextual growth form period mostly led by external forces beyond the fisher's control. The land booms that were evident in Manatee County before and after the First World War resulted in attracting increased development and land speculation activities that began to encroach upon the village and the adjacent inshore, historic fishing grounds of the first settlers. Part of this shrinkage was prompted by the improvement of the Intracoastal Waterway that began in the 1890s, and repeated in 1919 in Sarasota Bay based on local support for enhancing the opportunities for water-oriented commerce. The resulting chain of development impact appears to have been fostered by a somewhat self-inflicted conundrum that attempted to balance traditional fishing with accommodating commerce.

Extensive residential waterfront development, much of it delayed until after World War II, would begin to surround and affect Cortez as part of intense land subdivisions and planned community design (Antonini et al., 2002). As development occurred during the period, many fishers saw reductions in the shoreline tidal area where mangrove fringes once existed, serving as nurseries for many species of fish.

Another element of the shrinking fishing grounds was revealed as part of the brewing feud between gillnetters and stopnetters. The ramifications of how the fishing grounds were perceived differed between the two groups, and both physical and intangible issues resulted from it. From this schism, it is possible that a more territorial breaking up of the overall fishing grounds began to develop. The issue of encroachment began to develop as part of this, for example, as gillnetters "invaded" the confines of a stopnetter's set net system, and vice versa. Perhaps one of the most inherently vernacular skill sets of the traditional fisher was in knowing where and when to fish

based on an implied knowledge of fishing locations, or spots, as belonging to a certain fisher, at a certain time. This developed as part of the settlement form period, and continued through the contextual growth form period. Later, this would be referred to as fishing space management, little known and applied through any scientific allotment system up to 1921. Anderson (1984), in discussing this as part of post-World War II fishing trends, referred to it as a form of reciprocity between fishers (p. 794). As an implied knowledge set, it combined with the learned knowledge of weather, topography, and tides to name a few that comprised a total vernacular knowhow set that extended the fishing grounds accordingly. The accomplished traditional fisher also incorporated other esoteric aspects into his knowledge of the fishing grounds whereby he could “visualize the underwater terrain” and the fishing gear as it lay in the water and related to the shore (Gilmore, 1998, p. 272).

Finally, the continuing regulatory environment, much of it fostered by encroaching development was beginning to be felt by the fishers regarding their fishing grounds by the end of the period. All of the fishers, though typically strong advocates of free enterprise and property rights on land, began to question the efficacy of laws that restricted where, when, and how they could fish. They saw a reciprocity responsibility when it came to both freedom and rights where a particular code of mutual no harm between neighbors was to be followed (Frederikson, 1995). The imbalance was to the fishers, an affront to their traditional knowledge of the fishing grounds that seemed to be ignored in favor of non-fishers who may never have even been on the water. The question of who actually controlled the horizontal and vertical components of the fishing grounds was an immediate, internalized response that would take years of virtually

silent consideration by the fishers before it would be expressed. The encroachment of the fishing grounds by non-fishers was akin to a long historical record of confrontations involving American Indians and the “water-borne Europeans,” cattle ranchers and “sod busters,” and the Spanish rancho fishers and American fishers along the Florida Gulf Coast (Frederikson, 1995, p. 179).

So, though the various structures of the fishing grounds waxed and waned during the contextual growth form period, it also changed significantly in its extent. This significant change was reflected in a reduction of the fishing grounds physically as new development encroached and invaded space. It also became reduced as part of an esoteric, intangible sense of overlapping between fishers that was becoming less respected than how it was perceived by outsider non-fishers from prior generations. However, the fishing grounds also increased as technology enhanced the fishers’ ability to extend their usual fishing grounds, and either spend more time in it because technology allowed it, or less time for the very same reason. This represents an added variable to how the fishing grounds were part of the fishers’ traditional space.

Intangible manifestations-act of fishing. In contrast to the changing spatial and temporal elements of the traditional fishing grounds, the act of fishing remained a fairly stable vernacular form from the settlement form period according to the purposes of my study. While some intrinsic and extrinsic social and political nuances occurred that affected the act, there were no significant changes. This seems surprising considering the discussion about technological advances. Though motorized technology caused an effect, the basic act of using gill nets and seine nets continued in spite of the watercraft forms changing toward the end of the period. Fishing for mullet, as the

primary pursuit, was still shared by most of the fishers, with more than half of the Cortez fishers native to North Carolina. In fact, though the number of non-North Carolinian fishers settled in Cortez was increasing, fisher recruitment of friends and family, or through a camaraderie base, remained steady. The increase of fishers by nearly triple from the end of the settlement form period certainly represented an increase in the activity to be sure.

Toward the end of the settlement form period, Cortez contributed most of the over 20 million pounds of mullet that were being harvested as a dependable fisher harvest in Florida. This primary pursuit of mullet as the target fish, continued to build around itself as an act that was individualized in how each fisher managed his own operation or team. It was also a collective act in that the ultimate goal for harvesting mullet was basically the same for them as a group peculiar to this one TFV. The type of fishing then, i.e., the pursuit of the same species, whether through seine netting or gill netting, or even cast netting represented a similarity in the form. The use of nets, which did not change as a form, typically operated by hand to a large degree, still represented a vernacular method. In describing the commercial fishing industry along the Florida Gulf Coast in 1928, Matthews suggested that there was very little change in the equipment and methods over the 50-year period dating back to 1878. In addition, he remarked that gill netting had been the most popular type of fishing in Florida compared to other Gulf States. Even the salting of fish had remained a steady part of the act of fishing by the end of the contextual growth form period, since ice was rarely an absolutely dependable utility. Some latent changes to mechanical devices began to be

applied, but the critical juncture required to represent a form change to the overall act, simply was not yet evident to a sufficient degree.

The act of seine netting versus gill netting may have represented early on in the period, a difference of fishing methods between two groups of fishers. In turn, this may have resulted in the schism that developed between the gillnetters and the stopnetters that would erupt during the contextual recovery form period after 1921. Regardless, based on historical annual statistical information by the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, gill netting had never relinquished any significant ground to stopnetters as far as the primary net system used.

Florida typically lagged behind other states in the strength of regulating its fisheries, though the act of fishing was already being regulated by state officials as early as 1881. By 1902, popular information sources, such as from The Florida Cracker, a regional information source, was already reporting that a crescendo of complaints against seine netting had built up, referring to a noticeable depletion of fish. Tourism had also increased and was staking its claim on Cortez, mostly from recreational fishers and those seeking medical relief. Yet, the fisher continued to maintain a self-directed ethic akin to a farmer tending his field with time, care, and a nurturing of it for future use. In essence, the Cortez fisher felt strongly that he was providing a public service. Even though pressures from external forces such as development and conservationists were continually placed on fishers during the period, their particular act remained on a steady, fairly level trajectory.

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential. While the act of fishing may have represented a fairly stable dynamic, the lost cultural flux of the contextual growth

form period began its formation regarding Cortez as the new generations born into, or arrived as children in the community began to age and acquire a modified vernacular. This resulted from the evolving technologies in watercraft, fish preservation methods, encroachments through external land development, and the arrival of outsiders to the community who brought a mix of fishing methods and varying social viewpoints and perceptions.

To restate, the settlement form period fishers of Cortez, who had by the end of the contextual growth form period committed over 30 years to a vernacular tradition of fishing were fading as a distinct vernacular group of artisanal fishers as newer technologies such as ice, refrigeration, and power motors allowed them to adjust their methods accordingly. A second generation of fishers, some of whom had North Carolina roots, and others who would be born into Cortez rather than transplanted, were already causing alterations to the residential housing construct. In some cases, the settlement form period fishers were increasing the square-footage of their residences to accommodate new fishers arriving to Cortez.

As the regional and national cultural flux pressed in more influential ways due to increases in technology and travel availability, the second and third generations of fishers growing up with Cortez as part of their own contextualized memories, could better view Cortez and its cultural flux than their parents, even if some of the fishing tradition had been handed down from them. For example, their views of a shrinking fishing grounds were most likely received and experienced in different ways. In some ways, they may have represented a dramatic change to their childhood views of space and expanding cultural influence, which may have presented a sense of confinement

and closing in, while in others it may have presented notions of new opportunities. Only later would the newer generations better articulate how these changes and influences would affect their own experiences and the small village culture that they were part of.

At the beginning of the contextual growth from period, additional steam and schooner visits to the wharf at Cortez connected the fishers and residents to external communities through a waterway exchange of goods, services, and the cultural flux of external cultural systems. The development of denser and vibrantly commercial “connected” towns, such as Gulfport and St. Petersburg, as well as, the barrier island of Anna Maria, gave the Cortez residents opportunities to visit other areas that had cultural dynamics happening other than fishing. The relative isolation of living in Cortez started to wane as this access increased.

While the use of watercraft was still considered the most accessible mode of travel, even as early as 1900, the trail between Cortez and the western reach of Manatee Avenue that ran along Palma Sola Bay, eventually leading into Bradentown, was starting to open up the opportunities for excursions into nearby towns by any resident of Cortez. The resultant increase in access and decrease in remoteness mainly due to the success of fishing, served as a prime influence based on commerce that would be able to better embrace the technological advances on the immediate horizon.

While D. S. Fulford had already instituted the idea of a hotel during the settlement form period, the Bratton’s subsequent development of a hotel addition to an existing waterfront store south of Fulford’s retail complex, and along the more commercial-oriented south waterfront added an additional and interesting cultural mix of Northern settler influence into the local economic and social scene. One interesting fact

is that the retail merchandisers that participated in Cortez' early contextual growth form period were from the American Midwest. Census records from 1895 reveal that A. J. Cook, owner of perhaps the first retail outlet in Cortez, was from Illinois. The Brattons, who owned the building through their purchase of the land beneath it in 1896, were also from Illinois. Another retailer, J. Burton, who would buy out A. J. Cook, was from Indiana, and his wife was from Illinois. One has to wonder about the potential for sharing and blending of two distinct cultural regions of the Midwest and the relatively new settlement territory of the Florida Gulf Coast, enhanced even further by the original North Carolina influence. However, the early influence would not last for most of the contextual growth form period as Cook would be gone by 1906, and the Brattons would depart just after the end of the first decade.

With the arrival of new fishers and the addition of children to Cortez, land resales and exchanges seemed to be quite fluid after the turn of the century, prompting a densification of the residential character. While the village was still growing with the purchase of new parcels toward the east, some of the large property owners such as the Brattons, J. E. Guthrie, and N. Fulford were creating additional parcels right along the commercial hub of Third Street (124th Street). This was, no doubt prompted by the incredible surge of new residents and the prospering commercial fishing trade between 1900 and 1910.

Another change to the cultural flow in Cortez prompted by the increased population was fostered by the agreement to incorporate the growing village in 1912, and the construction of the second public school during the same year. Typically, notions to incorporate are underscored by a need to better manage the physical and

organizational problems that were growing along with the expansion of Cortez. The needs for an improved public infrastructure, public safety, and coordination of a legal standing was proof that the cultural flux in the village was already well beyond fishing camp status to a place of permanence. Yet, there was still inadequate access to Cortez by land, and its continued remoteness helped to foster an unacknowledged momentum of change as the villagers grappled with their daily lives organized around the commercial fishing context. The differences represented by places accessible primarily by water, and other communities with land access, creates in a way, two distinct landscape forms that another study beyond mine here could encompass.

Now, at the end of the first decade, the motorized watercraft began to appear in Cortez, creating a new paradigm for both fishing and water-borne travel. The scenic gaze of a the sail as part of an incredibly long-standing era that prompted many early (and later) writers to comment romantically about its impact on the watery landscape, did not have a lengthy mulling over period as it was changed by steam power, and then quickly by fuels. While the loss of a distinct part of culture may have been a premature assessment at the time, the inroads of tradition loss was certainly gaining momentum as vernacular sailing watercrafts-men lamented the transition (Warner & Warner, 1986). However, the newer generations were able to adapt it much more readily, as part of the wider mainstream culture acceptance, and in aging along with the technology. The common forms of the settlement and early contextual growth form periods were now beginning to appear out of synch with feelings of a localized tradition as they became components of the physical culture that were now within reach of the fisher, beginning with the more influential and stronger fisher/landowners.

The rapid pace of development strengthened Cortez as a TFV moving away from the vernacular due to the burgeoning technological improvements and population increases that were beginning to change local methods and rural character. Yet, the building up of the traditional fishing culture did not seem to be as affected, though the degree of a more pure vernacular-based culture dependent on the application of handcraft was lessening. The focus on fishing was stronger than ever, but toward the end of the second decade, it actually returned to more of a subsistence focus as men went off to the First World War, and those remaining struggled with the related economic depression and a rather severe flu epidemic that raged from 1917 until 1918. This regression, or more precisely, stabilization of what had been dramatic growth up that point, was a sort of “economic stagnation” referenced by Shiver when he was describing limited change to the buildings of Key West (1988, p. 42). The waxing and waning of brief periods of stability are commonly found as episodic, reflecting the influential power of the wider culture flux on the more local. These temporal relations between the wide cultural flux and the localized built constructs are themselves unstable, giving way to the constraints and opportunities formulated by an unlimited number of influences beyond the control of the local culture (Rapoport, 1992).

By the end of the contextual growth form period, and with dredging operations being performed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers around Sarasota Bay, one such opportunity presented itself that accommodated important changes to the some of the Cortez form indicators. For example, because of the timing of the dredging of the cut that would replace the 1895 Longbar Cut, the owner of the Albion Inn would begin to extend the property into the bay as far as one of the first walled shorelines in Cortez.

Though it would take more than two years to complete, it would set the precedent, based on the given opportunity found during lean times, for others in Cortez to follow. This, in tandem, was occurring at the same time as the new construction of the bridge that would connect Cortez with the adjacent barrier island system, making way for one of the strongest land booms in pre-World War II history.

As part of the elapsed experiential in almost any contextual place, some element of culture, the setting, or the vernacular process remains in a constant state of being diminished as pointed out by Duprey (1959). From the beginning settlement in Cortez, we have thus far seen a minimally developed peninsula developed with a waterfront construct that was adjoined with a permanent residential complex followed by changes in watercraft. The vernacular landscape was still mostly vernacular, though it became denser, and some nuances of technology and higher design crept in. Though many sails were stowed away and disappeared from the visible landscape, the forms of watercraft hulls mostly remained as they were adapted to fit motors, but without highly noticeable changes to their exteriors.

While the diminution of vernacular as stated resulted in some non-vernacular replacement during the contextual growth period, there were also many occurrences of vernacular to vernacular renditions, whereby there was no diminution of vernacular per se, only a replacement, or strengthening of it. Unlike other places such as the early Cedar Keys or Key West, where multiplicity of economic stalwarts competed with each other amid a constantly changing system of wharf uses and adaptations, resulting in extreme growth followed by rapid decline, Cortez maintained its focus on commercial fishing. It is this type of non-diminution that allowed Cortez to remain relatively stable

throughout the contextual growth form period, and also through the following period of contextual recovery as part of the experiential of its intrinsic group.

Regardless of any technological advances that may have improved the fisher's ability to withdraw from sail, commercial fishing remained a precarious business due to an unpredictable market, sudden weather extremes, equipment failure, and the dangers of exposure and reduced agility on the open seas, which could result in fire, explosions, blunt trauma, or drowning (Tebeau, 1976). While the advance of motorized watercraft allowed a fisher to reach the fishing grounds and return quicker, it also required a new set of knowledge and logistics that appeared to have been embraced positively by the fishers as a collective whole. Physically, the use of sail and oar required the additional instance of strength and dexterity for operating a vessel, whereas the motorized vessel did not, though this may be a debatable issue among some fishers.

The elapsed experiential for Cortez fishers was formulated in a strong sense of teamwork loss. The incursion of technical advances away from sail, as the most significant available change up to 1921, even though it was not immediately widespread, allowed fishers to become more independent from each other, resulting in a reduction of the fishing crew. In traditional commercial fishing, the reduction of labor in this regard reduced the physical and intangible forms as part of act of fishing, thereby creating a sense of loss and meaning of the work itself, while allowing the fisher to spend more time in the fishing grounds. It certainly began to increase the dependability of the fishers' daily runs, which previously may have been dictated by wind and other weather elements that were not conducive to using sail.

While the use of steam had already offered an alternative to sail much earlier, thereby representing a sort of transition to motor power, other forms in the landscape also began to adapt, or change accordingly. Docks and wharfs were constructed to accommodate the change in watercraft form for both access to the port and loading at the physical infrastructure afforded by the village and the dealers who operated out of it. The slow conversion to ice as a preservation method became more prominent as deliveries of it became part of a more dependable schedule. Though the built construct in Cortez did not appear to change in any significant respect due to the permanent establishment of ice facilities in Cortez, it also served as a form of elapsed memory that reduced manpower. However, since its storage and preparation was relegated to the inshore activity in Cortez, there seemed to be little effect upon the fishers' act of fishing, and the amount of time they spent doing it, since the inshore worker could now do it. Ice preservation, as a complex construct, was organized much differently in Charlotte Harbor to the south, where a particular form was created based on a network of ice stations constructed in strategic points throughout the coastal area. In Charlotte Harbor, and in other coastal fishing villages, the industrialization of commercial fishing seemed to break down the village concept and character.

The amount of commerce increased dramatically during the contextual growth form period, which was effected in the adjacent bay system. By the end of the period, there were still only a couple of fish dealers operating out of Cortez; neither were part of the original settler group, though there was a kinship connection that between them that even extended to other fisheries such as Charlotte Harbor. The network of built structures and the fisher-to-dealer relationship there was markedly unique from Cortez

in that Cortez continued to remain close-knit as a living village. It is the living village, that is, a place where the fishers both worked and lived, and invested their personal and business interests that created an elapsed experiential that was much richer than that all of the other fishing villages along the Florida Gulf Coast. Whereas, many fishers in the depleted and recovering South may have embraced heavy industrialization of the enterprise as a means to “economic salvation” discussed by Garrity-Blake (1994), other groups disdained it, and recognized it as an unwelcome change to a fading traditional fishing operation.

Discussion of the contextual growth period form

Significant changes occurred in Cortez during the contextual growth form period that were significantly affecting several, but not all of the vernacular landscape forms established as evaluative indicators for the purposes of my study. Effects to form were significant enough to represent distinct change in all areas of the village layout, in its residential and non-residential/non-contextual buildings, in the extended vernacular form of its watercraft, and in all three of the intangible extended vernacular forms. Based on the above analysis of the form indicators, Table 4-3 provides a positive or negligible change determination finding of each form indicator during the contextual growth form period as compared to the previous historic study period.

The village layout form changed significantly due to the successful growth of Cortez that allowed it to transition rather quickly from a temporary construct to one that was more permanent. While it took approximately 10 years for Cortez to build out the original platted subdivision from 1887, nearly 25 years passed from that time before the village boundary would be permanently set with the development of a public school at its eastern fringe. The expansion of the village during this time from the original 13

parcels encompassing approximately 20 acres resulted in nearly 100 parcels in an enlarged village of over 60 acres. With a population that tripled, the significance of the changing form set is fairly obvious.

While the effects of significant change resulting from an increase in number or scale of certain forms is debatable, by the end of the contextual growth form period, the permanent character of the overall residential construct was also significantly improved with new forms being added, and the original two-story forms that were prevalent changing to single-story constructs. This is in slight contrast to the fisheries contextual form that still retained an element of impermanence, mainly due its location along the vulnerable shoreline or above the water. However, the ability of the fishers to continually relocate buildings and structures throughout all of the form periods is a testament to the common perception that maritime communities incorporate an ethic of mobility, adaptation, and recyclability into their approaches to certain built forms.

Perhaps the most significant changes in Cortez occurred over several of its extended vernacular form constructs, since they were more directly related to fishing, per se. While basic fishing equipment and gear such as nets, net works, and the docks remained relatively stable with regard to their form imprints and use in the village, the changes to the watercraft form as a result of the combustible power motor would be the most dramatic for the period, and at least until the end of the historic study period. Commercially, merchant watercraft designed with sail rigging were manufactured until World War I (Souza, 1998). The slow transition was due in part from fishers realizing the economic benefits of continuing with sail, whether it was cost-related or efficiency of use. Nevertheless, the withdrawal from sail meant a diminution of the sail form, while

the basic shape of the watercraft hull did not change significantly at first. Only later, would watercraft be incorporated into the Cortez landscape as fresh design imprints resulting from mass-produced watercraft versus those built by local builders. As expected, the transition from the handcrafted form was slow in itself due to either personal reluctance or personal economics. One important fact is that fish hauls could be delivered for processing more efficiently and quickly, theoretically reducing the potential for wasted catches. However, the ability to increase the catch with the new technology may have also increased the potential for waste, though this has not been closely examined, herein.

The physicality of the form change shared equally with that of the intangible nature of form change, as well. The skillset required by the fisher was much reduced through the use of motorized watercraft in a variety of ways. Some fishers would see this as a distinct loss of the true fisher model and his connection with the natural surround that worked together to formulate his overall knowledge. The disparity between those who clung to sail and those who quickly converted to motor was noticeable not only in watercraft forms and certain skillsets, but also in equipment that utilized motor power. This caused yet another diminution in the use of manual labor and the hand as a learned craft. The obvious disparity is revealed beginning with the second and third generation fishers who were not as entrenched in the more traditional forms, and who were therefore, more open and adaptable to the newer technology, though some of the early fishers adapted quickly.

Both Matthews (1928) and Glassie (1968) suggested that cultures in the South in general, had resisted changes to many of its vernacular material constructs from

mainstream influences. However, the need for the to fully recover from the effects of the War Between the States also meant a reluctant change from more traditional methods that had re-manifested themselves after the war. To some, mechanization and technology meant a reduction of the fishing experience, whereas the inherent life of fishing as an act steeped in long-standing tradition, a means of living one's life, and from which one might have derived personal meaning, also were being diminished. Garrity-Blake (1994) discussed such an effect as the Menhaden fishery changed along the coasts of North Carolina. In Cortez, similar changes were noticeable in the physical and intangible changes revealed from the evaluation of the form indicator sets.

Obviously, the fishing grounds could be extended for certain fishers, depending on the type of fish sought. Since Cortez fishers sought the mullet as a primary target fish, there was no pertinent need to extend the fishing grounds other than travelling to more remote areas as part of following the runs of fish. Historic records seem to reveal a consistently plentiful bounty up to the end of the contextual growth form period. The act of fishing was changed for many fishers because of the other changes, though some either did not, or could not change, again for reasons of personal preference or economics. The basic lay of setting the types of nets used and knowledge of when, where, and how to catch marketable quantities for Cortez fishers was still the same through 1921, though technology was changing these abilities. The changes represented the beginning of an elapsed experiential that began to separate the original generation from those that followed it in Cortez. Even some of the second-generation fishers would cling to their handed-down traditions, though most were able to adapt successfully. The elapsed experiential of the original fishers probably did not reveal

itself as part of any meaningful, articulated manner before 1921. Though there is a recognizable difference from a historical view back in time, the differences would only be articulated by the subsequent generations who would later form an elegiac framed around traditional fishing and the establishment of what would become a distinct place recognized as part of an understood and articulated vernacular landscape.

Discussion of the diminution of form event of 1912

It is necessary to peer into the effects on the vernacular landscape form of Cortez from the hurricane that struck the coastal area at the end of October 1921. The characteristics of the storm were akin to a Category 3 hurricane with wind speeds reaching 140 miles per hour, and included a storm surge up to 11 feet in some areas. The likely surge in Cortez was probably at least six to eight feet. The physical effects to any landscape from a hurricane are well known and documented throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, and there is a modicum of photographic documentation prior to this time that captures the damaging effects to buildings and waterfront conglomerations, in many communities. While there is no graphic or ordered description included as part of the particular discussion here, a brief foray into the queries it presents is warranted.

The storm made landfall as a Category 3 hurricane at Clearwater Beach to the north with its southern eye wall mostly affecting Cortez resulting in the high tide surge of water that inundated the entire village. While no fatalities occurred in Cortez, the entire waterfront form structure except for the Albion Inn building was destroyed. The waterfront conglomeration that had formerly consisted of residential and non-residential buildings, the extensive dock systems leading to a network of net and fishing camps, many of the vessels that made up the watercraft form, and fishing equipment became

an entangled heap of formless materials. Only the vertical, and in some cases, diagonally askew pilings remained in place. The Albion Inn narrowly escaped destruction, in part due to its higher land elevation and the beginning construction of a perimeter seawall and land infill that was in progress when the storm surge came ashore. This activity would later define the expanded waterfront boundary of the property, as well as, affect the boundary configuration of the village, setting a precedent for other infill activities that would occur during the next form period and later.

Individual structures, as well as, entire communities have historically been destroyed in a matter of hours from wind and water loads produced by storm events. The obvious changes to the landscape from these or any type of catastrophic human-made or natural event are sometimes wholesale in their affect, and are certainly relevant to landscape change. For the purposes of my study, some would agree that a change to the vernacular landscape form of Cortez was effected; some questions about this arise, however. Debatably, one of the first questions asks whether such wholesale change constitutes a landscape change, per se, especially if the landscape is ultimately restored to a similar pre-event state or condition. The sudden effect then, is in need of a proper discussion in order to address this peculiarity of form change, which is derived by nature and not necessarily culturally generated. This subsection departs for a moment from the strict application of the contextual form framework to include a necessary discussion of the dynamics involved.

For the purposes of my study, the storm is referenced as an event rather than a historic time period. This is attributable to a sudden destruction of existing form that occurred almost instantaneous, rendering it as being out of alignment with cultural

forces primarily discussed as part of the contextual form framework, though there will always be a lingering debate about how these interactions are viewed. The recovery after the storm could be considered a distinct form period as the old form was replaced, but this kind of arguing tends to extend the discussion too much for my study, which brings it up as a possible future in-depth discussion, rather than as one included herein. The fact that the vernacular landscape construct was made vulnerable to destruction through a cultural agent is not relative at this point either, since it too requires a more in-depth, non-form analysis.

The destruction that occurred is certainly a critical juncture along the landscape form continuum. As a result of the event, nearly every structure along the Cortez waterfront was destroyed. A major effect was that the use of land was significantly altered and the local culture altered its views of their immersion into the landscape and in living directly on or near the water. The waterfront conglomeration did change from the settlement form period with regard to its configuration. The storm encouraged some waterfront landowners to extend or harden their shorelines, though the overall shoreline would change to a significant degree over time, and after the end of the historic study period of 1946. Many of the subsequent buildings were placed on pilings driven to deeper depths (Green, n.d.), though this not readily apparent in the landscape form.

The two fisheries processing facilities that were operating out of Cortez apparently did not rebuild, causing the local fishers to build new facilities and establish their own markets and economy-some of them eliminating the middle business factor. While one newspaper report following the storm suggested total damage in Cortez at roughly \$75,000, it cited \$500,000 worth of damage at Sarasota. The disparity of total

damage seems to have suggested a lesser value of investment made in Cortez. This could be related to the scale of the waterfront development, and/or the quality of the overall construct that might have already begun to change in Sarasota as a less resilient TFV than Cortez. The notion of impermanence built into maritime constructs was noted earlier in my study as one having a fatalistic view; the desire to create an unadorned landscape went with the act of fishing and the cultural genetics that fostered it among fisher communities and the lifeworlds they nurtured.

In Sarasota, the commercial fishing industry did not return to any significant former construct in the waterfront landscape there. The impending Florida land boom would affect land values their resulting in a redirected focus on waterfront investment; commercial fishing in many other coastal fishing communities was affected, but in varying degrees. Cortez rebuilt quickly since its overall landscape construct had impermanence that allowed them to regroup quickly as a close-knit group, pursuing a common goal of commercial fishing. The group effort toward recovery, then, must have been very strong, and of course, resilient. While the term resilient is widely used in 2013, its effect early on in Cortez is important to establish for adding to any future study of modern resiliency.

Of the three form indicator sets, village layout, building mosaic, and the extended vernacular, all were affected. The village layout was the least affected although some subsidence likely occurred as a result of the storm surge scouring around the numerous pilings extending from the waterfront, and from the erosion of the shore areas, which is a common event from heavy wave action. The layout of parcels, especially those that were not waterfront, was also not affected, though erosion may have lessened the

extent of certain property high water lines. Waterfront lots most likely experienced some erosion, and some mangroves that were still growing along the shore may have been damaged. Upland circulation patterns do not appear to have been affected much, although some water routes and inlet communications with the Gulf of Mexico were changed. Trees were defoliated, as evidenced by some historic photographs. The building mosaic along the waterfront was a near complete devastation, as was the entire set of extended vernacular fish camps, net works, nets, docks, and many watercraft. The storm also created a virtual lumberyard out of the pre-storm construct of the larger bay system, much of it piled up around the village waterfront from which many fishers recycled for reuse and rebuilding. Upland buildings were damaged by wind effects with some of them lifted from their foundations by the rising surge.

The elapsed experiential was affected as a permanent imprint on the minds of those who experienced it. In fact, many writers and residents of Cortez divide its history before and after the storm (Hunt, 2003). However, when the fishers were asked by county officials what they needed, they politely declined any specific assistance, and pointed to a desire to be returned to Cortez in order to begin reconstructing what had been destroyed and get back to fishing (Manatee River Journal, October 27, 1921). There does not appear to be any evidence that those who experienced the 1921 event related it to a complete loss of the village's local feeling or sense of place. While the waterfront was destroyed mostly in its entirety, most of its residences were spared. The importance of the intactness of the home after a catastrophic event has importance in a community's resilience in responding to it, even though this can also be the case where homes too are destroyed. Nevertheless, the ability of the Cortez community to return to

their homes while rebuilding probably also allowed the continuance of the built form in much the same manner as prior to the storm.

Cannavo (2007) wrote that certain aspects of a place have an inherent stability that are temporal in nature, and become “distinct and enduring” to the group that experiences it (p. 21). The same may have held true for the fishers and their families living in Cortez who experienced the event, and who then connect to the storm through their memories and in how they account for time and space; in this case, their own personal experiences may be compartmentalized in relation to the storm and the now destroyed waterfront, as occurring either as before or after the storm. Of course, other critical junctures may serve to do the same, but there is an unusual amount of recollection and frequency in historic records that seem to draw references to storm events over others.

Decades later, the event, as a critical juncture, was still remembered as perhaps the most significant event in the history of the village, though it was not a human or culturally driven force or influence, and instead represented a natural phenomenon that was distinct and separate from the vernacular constructs up to that time. The bay systems that they fished, though natural and connected to their learned knowledge of natural patterns of tides and weather, were part of their extended vernacular, both physically manifested and intangible. However, the bay systems were spatial and temporal extensions as part of their working vernacular and thus part of the place and setting. The storm, though it affected what was spatial, and therefore, effected a spatial impact, may reveal a stronger temporal aspect since what was destroyed was a

physical record of history that would engrave itself into the elapsed experiential mind of the Cortez community.

The major academic conundrum presented from this critical juncture, as a wholesale destruction and elimination of the physical form then, is in how it is considered afterwards. There is an additional question that arises from the natural versus human effect query. The addition of form seems to alter the landscape; however there is a fine line between adding similar forms and a resulting significantly changed form. It may depend on the impact generated by the reduction. Therefore, is the diminution of form, as happened from the storm event, equal in some way to the problem associated with whether form changes from an increase of it-particularly when it is mimicked? The inquiry is important because if form along the waterfront is removed, it must be changed, especially from a spatial standpoint as a lesser existence of it. For example, the elimination of a half of a single circle reveals a much different form. Yet, if the culture did not directly cause the change, can it be considered under the program here as a change in the landscape form, since the cultural influence has been the primary point of focus for the purposes of my study?

Hopefully, such questions can be clarified a bit further. For example, the only real human-built form remaining after the storm, along what I have already determined to be the most contextualized construct in the TFV as being the waterfront conglomeration, were almost immediately transformed into piles of debris. The same materials were present, but the physical shapes and the purposely erected configurations had changed, reflecting a new, but only temporary condition, since a recovery and reconstruction was inevitable in this case. The previously established footprints, now

more or less, ghosts of the previous form were mostly left in place as pilings that once supported the now destroyed structures.

Certainly there is a visual difference from the visual, physical construct as it appeared the day before the storm. It is reasonable to suggest that future form, as part of rebuilding efforts may be influenced by the event, and therefore have represented an altered form or form change. But, what if the recovered form matches or mimics the pre-event form? Is there a form change then? This argument sounds a bit like whether a falling tree in a forest makes a sound if no one hears it. The same kind of logic is present that suggests shyly, if the human generative mind did not cause the effect contributing to the destruction and change of form, then can the change of form really be considered as a significant change, regardless of the obvious physical effect? Or now, does it simply just become part of the community's elapsed experiential?

The primary questions again must be reiterated at this point in asking whether the vernacular landscape form, destroyed as it was, simply became a partially extinct vernacular form, and did it change because there was a diminution of it? It is all too easy to conclude that the human-built form that was distinct in the landscape did change because it went from being a functional form to being formless as a pile of debris, instantaneously. Heath (2009) suggested that the post-disaster cultural landscape construct is often very different from what it was prior to the disaster. This implies change, regardless of the circular argument presented by this portion of my study. Others, such as Savage (1952), Varney (1963), Shiver (1987), Edwards (1991), and Muir (2007) recognized the powerful destructive effect on human-built forms from storms, but did not offer any detailed discussions explaining the cultural versus natural

dynamics of the effects. There is little scholarly discussion about this type of debate on disaster and form other than issues of compatibility and design. For vernacular settings, Heath (2009) argued that newer conditions of development such as higher construction standards and more industrialized (mass-produced perhaps) materials and methods become part of a landscape that is then changed. Yet, he also understood there to be a “cultural resilience” in that the previous vernacular did not disappear altogether, as recognizable nuances of it still emerged, albeit as a synthesis between the newer and the former (p. 15). At uncertain, but almost assured points in the fisher’s life along the maritime coast, the experiential aspect of extreme weather will have contributed to his learned knowledge.

What I get out of Heath’s argument is that a long-standing vernacular does not simply become “extinct” in its entirety after a wholesale destruction that a disaster could effect upon it. The simple premise here is that for the vernacular to completely change into a new vernacular or non-vernacular would also require the culture to change or to have been made extinct. In a way, this bolsters an argument that form does not change, because it was not a purposeful action that caused its diminution. Further, there is no form change to the waterfront conglomeration, one of the objects of my study, since the form to come was yet to be erected, but would evolve physically. While I do not want to reach here for a play on words, this side of the argument does rest on the fact that zero form, or form destroyed and pending its remaking (not making) really represents the same form until its subsequent reconstruction dictates from an analysis of it that form change has occurred.

Additionally, a natural event such as a flood or windstorm precludes an epistemological program for understanding form change in the cultural landscape. Such events that have sudden impacts on form either represent a complete form change, or they must be rendered as disqualified with regard to change and the studied influences on it. Having said this, there is merit in understanding how subsequent form may be influenced by the critical juncture of an instantaneous and destructive event. If future erected and built form changes from the pre-disaster form, then there is some lesson to be learned, along with answering the question about why the form changed the way it did. It is also interesting to ponder what would have had the critical juncture not taken place, though that is for another study. So, the next form period, contextual recovery form, provides some insight into the recovered landscape contextual form as it was reestablished in Cortez.

While it may appear obvious that the recovered form in Cortez represented a distinctly new form change, or a replacement form, based on its physical aspects, the tautological wrangling of these arguments around it becomes circular and complex in nature, to say the least. What to do with the storm event is equally problematic, and that is why it is discussed only tangentially here. If storms are found to be determinants of vernacular landscape change, then perhaps the most obvious factor elicited from this discussion is that it is an expected, repeatable determinant or event that requires an in-depth analysis that the limitations of my study cannot sufficiently address. Yet, it is an important discussion that is good fodder for later consideration.

Contextual Recovery Form Period Occurring 1921 to 1946

Synopsis of the period

This timeframe spans 25 years to just after the close of World War II, and is referred to as the contextual recovery form period. The convenience of using the 1946 date coincides with the only available aerial photograph captured less than a year later that clearly captures the built vernacular construct of nearly the entire historic study area. No other comprehensive graphic representation of the village, using such a high resolution of imagery is available until at least the 1960s. As a point of terminus for the study, the date of 1946 also reflects a date after which many cultural and economic changes in the United States as part of the postwar economic boom are widely cited as beginning to take place, so the date sets an orderly and logical cut-off of form examination. While not surprising, all of the form indicators in the village of Cortez would eventually be affected to various degrees by the postwar influences and activities occurring en masse and as part of one the greatest technological and economic booms in the history of the United States. However, the additional analysis of this period would have extended the scope of my study too much, and the complexities of the culture in the United States after World War II require a particular focus of detail that warrants a separate or follow-up study to the one included herein. The discussion of form indicators can be followed through the graphic tiles shown in Figure 4-21.

The period of contextual growth recovery reveals another phase of dramatic growth and prosperity in the history of Cortez, but as a type of renaissance after the devastating windstorm and tidal surge of 1921. The entire waterfront would be resurrected with new buildings and structures, and the upland areas would more fully develop with divided parcels and permanent residences. The automobile increased the

need for upland structures such as garages, though the road infrastructure still remained unimproved for most of the period. While some basic amenities, such as residential electric were commonly available and installed throughout the village by the end of the contextual recovery form period, public water would not be available until well after the end of the period, providing a reminder of the village's relative remoteness from the urbanized community.

While the village layout remained fairly static after the initial shoreline hardening activities prompted by the owner of the Albion Inn at the time, and with the exception of numerous individualized land splits, both the building mosaic and extended vernacular experienced infusions and sustainability of both updated and contextual growth period form elements, rather than adaptations to forms that may have been considered modernized for the time. The continuance of form repetition from the previous period is not too surprising given the need for a return to normalcy after the 1921 storm, and the long period of a static influence of decreased fishing harvests during the 1930s that was framed by the Great Depression and World War II.

Additional influences on the landscape form of Cortez were brought about by the second major land boom affecting Florida during the first half of the 1920s. Development proposals of platted, small-lot subdivisions on lands being dredged, filled, and clear-cut began to bring in an influx of Northern investors to the immediate vicinity, though most of these developments would eventually come to a halt as the economy soured by the end of the decade. The modern retail stores of the time exemplified by the scale of size, supply, and experiences at Woolworths and McCrorys in Bradenton,

and Webb's City in St. Petersburg competed with the smaller retail establishments in Cortez.

Though tourism already had a tenured grip on Florida's coastal areas, a new type of tourism sprung up as a result of the automobile mainstream, which would carve out its own particular niche in the economy and form of Cortez. The impact of the combustible motor began to weigh heavily on the landscape forms of Cortez in both its upland and water landscapes as roads began to be improved under organized management districts, and sail power use on watercraft gave way to motorized vessels. A secondary impact to the formerly entrenched usage of watercraft for fishing, delivery of goods, and general travel also began to fade. Promotions from local civic and organizational leaders for improving the waterways were now being replaced with calls for improving land-based travel surfaces in the form of hardened road corridors and engineered bridges. The impact of the 1922 Cortez Bridge to Anna Maria Island, which extended directly from the northwest corner of Cortez, expanded the accessible land space available only by watercraft previously.

The population of Cortez grew steadily to over 320 people by 1946, with a slight rise in the number of fishers; the number of occupational fishers, according the U.S. Census data, appeared to continually increase throughout the historic study span from 1887 to 1946. However, the number of fishers native to North Carolina became diluted from its high point of 75% at the end of the settlement period, to 60% by 1910, and subsequently 23% by 1946. By 1946, the original 13 parcels from the 1887 plat had been divided into 172 parcels including the 1912 school site. This figure does not include the individual sites attributed to the trailer park at the western shoreline, since

they were un-platted at the time. Their impact and use during the period reflected a temporary occupancy by visitors, similar to a hotel or campground. This is more akin to a non-fisheries commercial use versus contextual usage. After 1955, outside of my historic study period, it would begin to transition into a more permanent developed area.

A few elements of the settlement form period did remain virtually unchanged, such as the basic dock and net works configurations, and individualized camps built over the water. At least one facet of the multifaceted act of fishing could be viewed as remaining stable, though nuances of change and transition did begin to reveal themselves throughout the period. The rebuilding in the wake of that disaster saw houses rebuilt with salvaged wood, property relocations, and a strong reservation about living directly on the water. In a way, one could look at this final phase as a regurgitated phase of contextual form entrenchment by infusing an already entrenched cultural entrenchment. During this time, the net spreads and docks were rebuilt over the water. Lots were continually divided to accommodate an influx of new arrivals including expanding families and new business ventures. The original street pattern was also extended to accommodate the increased density, but most of the pre-storm residential architecture remained. Table 4-4 provides a positive or negligible change determination finding of each form indicator during the contextual recovery form period as compared to the previous historic study period.

Waterfront conglomeration and the use of space

The 1921 hurricane destroyed the entire network of docks that extended into Sarasota Bay at that time, leaving behind only the vertical support pilings that the extensive system was constructed on. Based on historic pictures taken immediately after the storm, the Cortez waterfront looked like a lumberyard stacked high with strewn

building materials. Fortunately, these materials were recycled into new and repaired structures, buildings, docks and camps, and even watercraft. In fact, though much of the materials were pre-1921, the nearly entire waterfront conglomeration form existing during this period is traced only to 1921 or later. Therefore, the landscape form represented by the construct becomes a reestablished or recovered form not previously existing, nor evaluated up to that point. This new, or replacement form, from the construct that my study construes as a repository of the most contextual form indicator set in the overall vernacular landscape of Cortez, continued to sustain the vernacular character of the earlier periods, albeit with variations. Figure 4-20 suggests the available, dominant forms of the waterfront conglomeration through a sketched graphic that can be compared to the waterfront conglomerations of the earlier periods. The detail includes the insertion of a motorized truck form from the 1940s since it affected the landscape form in a variety of ways. The appearance of the motorized vehicle began during the prior period, as indicated in Figure 4-17. The early availability of combustible motors allowed them to be adapted to watercraft by the Cortez fishers.

By 1946, the reconstructed waterfront became more individualized, extending along and beyond the shore in a much less communicative configuration. Whereas, the previous constructs were more tightly placed as an interconnecting grid of buildings, structures, and net spreads over the water that created a system of small harbors, the few newer building constructs seemed to be oriented toward the open water as if vying for the attention of those watercraft that were harbor bound. The net spread construct was perhaps made more distinctive as it covered the open water at a distance from shore, forming a distinct u-shaped corral as an outer area of confluence that revealed

an organic growth of basic wood platforms, as both the quantity of nets increased along with the rising number of fishers. The highest density of the construct remained situated between its historic width area of 125th Street and 123rd Street Court, though it extended slightly north along the western waterfront. Individual property owners with direct water frontage along the shorelines to the northwest and the east constructed their own extended vernacular constructs.

The fact that nearly all of the built evidence attributable to the extended vernacular constructs of fisheries camps, net works, and dock systems could be dated to 1921 or later, strains the form evaluation for a number of reasons. First, though the basic fisheries waterfront construct was nearing the quarter-century mark by 1946 with regard to age, it also created a large insertion of form that lacked the benefit of observation along the original, fully spanned time continuum of Cortez as a settled commercial fishing village. In one way, the replaced form created a disconnect from the original form, as if two different communities were being examined, regardless of the similarities of the individual form shapes and use of materials were continued as part of traditional practice.

Second, the influence on the revised waterfront form resulting from the impact of the storm may have been encoded in the minds of some Cortez residents in both physical and intangible ways. While some influence of storm experience was discussed a part of the generative form prior to the settlement form period, the question arises as to the scale of any changes, or even if the previous form was changed as a result of destruction, or if it can be determined as non-changed due to reconstruction of the similar shapes, even though in a changed configuration. Just because a form is

replaced, regardless of the size of its footprint, does not necessarily equate to a changed landscape form. If form can be considered to be a recovered form, then how finely grained should an analysis of its differences be when considering it under the rubric of my study?

Third, while the discussion of the previous subsection on the 1921 storm event steered toward form as being changed from the event, other factors such as watercraft technology using power, and the incorporation of the automobile helped to insert new forms into the waterfront landscape through the reduction of delivery run-boats due to the automobile, conversion of watercraft to motors, modifications of the dock systems to accommodate these changes, a less connected waterfront, the establishment of local fisher-dealer structures, and a slight increase of fishers living in Cortez. For example, the ability of the local fishers to serve as wholesale conduits for their peers allowed an additional element of stability by solidifying a commercially feasible hierarchy that was somewhat kinship based. The expansion of the waterfront with additional constructs as might have been influenced by outsiders was likely curtailed because of the local knowledge fishers shared with each other. Unlike other commercial fishing communities, the fisher-dealers in Cortez also lived there, as part of a well-defined area surrounded by either natural systems or committed lands. The irony lies in the fact that the encroachment likely served as an insulator to both inward and outward expansions of Cortez and the expansion of forms from it. Another irony is found in the way the Cortez waterfront actually contracted by 1946, though there were more fishers and a larger population.

A fourth ramification of the establishment of a recovered form set is complicated by other significant events that followed, such as the land boom, the economic downturn, and the Second World War. Other events that are more local, yet are significant to Cortez, such as the apparent lack of mullet from the local waters during the 1930s confuse the trajectory of the landscape form from a temporal-spatial perspective. Another complication is that resource disappearance may have resulted from different causes, such as weather, land and waterway development, or even an exacerbation of motorized vessels appearing on the waterways.

Village layout form indicator set

The basic village layout form revealed a basic stability through 1946 in its configuration; however, significant changes to the shoreline boundary and parcel configuration did take place. As a result of shoreline alterations, the primary activity center of the village also shifted. The recovered waterfront conglomeration, occurring as a result of the 1921 storm, also represented a significant change in how it was reconstructed in a less than communicative pattern, revealing a more individualized commercial fishing enterprise.

Boundary. The perimeter boundary of the village began to be altered during the contextual recovery form period as the shoreline was extended into the water through fill activities. Some areas were demarked differently than their platted delineations, giving the appearance, or perception, of a varied configuration of some parcel use areas. The waterfront conglomeration area was also expanded well beyond the shoreline. This area, though recognized by that time as not owned by the fishers or adjacent landowners per se, did generate certain rights that were attached to the land. The proliferation of habitation and commercial uses over the water was not uncommon for

the time period. However, it is interesting to note how the physical boundary of the village actually extended beyond the upland areas to accommodate a unique maritime spatial configuration produced by economics and accessibility, rather than riparian ownership, as fishers concentrated their actual fishing activities in specific areas.

The western and southwestern shorelines were the first to extend as simultaneous activities of bridge construction and dredging of the Intracoastal Waterway created fill opportunities through the use of spoil materials. As a result of the Cortez Bridge completion by 1922, the shoreline at that point was filled to accommodate the roadbed for accessing the bridge. The construction of a tollgate and bridge tender's residence increased the amount of fill needed, creating the slight extension of boundary space where Cortez Road met the northwest corner of the village boundary at the time. The owner, D. S. Fulford, was apparently not occupying the property at the time, so the fill area created was in direct relation to the road construction and not through any purposeful intent by private owners. Only after the contextual recovery form period, with the further development of the Cortez Trailer Park established there in the mid-1930s, was the property extended further into the bay, and a designed hardening of the shoreline established.

At the same time of the bridge fill activities, the owners of the Albion Inn had also begun extending and hardening their shoreline at the southwest corner of the village. According to Green (n.d.), the fill used, which included large earthen boulders, was from the dredge spoil of the 1919 Longbar Cut replacement to the southwest near the Longboat Key Pass. The shoreline was extended up to approximately 150 feet, creating a front yard for the hotel complex, and planted with over 100 coconut palms. As the first

hardened shoreline, it set an extreme standard for seawall protection that would not be exactly copied in the village through 1946. What may be attributed to learned knowledge, and in using these boulders and smaller rock infill as a base, then surrounding them with extensive concrete walls with tapering bases, they appeared to be built as fortifications against inevitable storm surge, and as a prevention of loss due to coastal subsidence and erosion. As stated earlier, one of the reasons the Albion Inn was not destroyed by the 1921 storm was partly due to this fill and hardening activity that actually began prior to the storm event.

It is also important to note that the mangrove fringe, mostly a wetland area, located at the southwest corner, was kept nearly intact until the end of the contextual recovery form period; however, it would later be penetrated, cleared, and filled, extending the western shoreline seaward, and enlarging the village acreage. By 1946, the shoreline from 123rd Street, then west to just beyond 121st Street remained the least altered in the village, with no significant shoreline extensions, though clearing did take place, along with construction of water-dependent uses.

Parcel configuration. While the village boundary reached its extent based on land purchases and dedications by 1912, it grew to approximately 171 parcels by the end of the contextual recovery form period. That amounted to approximately 70 new parcels subdivided from the existing configuration, and then adjusted for street rights-of-way dedications up to the end of the period. A couple of waterfront parcels occurring along the eastern shoreline area were combined into a single parcel, causing a slight reduction of total parcels; however, the significant effect to the overall landscape form

from this contraction may be in how this particular 300 feet of shoreline would remain as the least altered in the village over its history to 1946.

At least 65 new parcels were created prior to the 1921 storm through official platting from the original land purchases that represented the village extent area by 1897. In fact, the middle portion of the village is where the concentration of parcel subdivisions occurred through the end of the historic study span. Both the extreme west and east one-third sections of the village would remain with the largest parcel configurations, with urbanization occurring between 124th Street Court and 123rd Street. The east one-third would retain its more rural character, though the village had pockets of undeveloped parcels that gave a false impression of rural character during the 1940s since the land was already subdivided into a denser configuration than the other areas. One case in point for this false appearance was represented by the appearance of only two large parcels at the northwest area, originally parcels 5 and 6. Though they remained the largest parcels in area by 1946, the northern parcel tiers were already in the process of establishing the grounds for a transition to dense residential permanence and mixed use. The irony lies in the fact that the northwest waterfront parcels and abutting lands were never fully interconnected with the primary commercial fishing activities occurring at the south waterfront. This is in spite of their strong presettlement and initial settlement forms that were directed toward commercial fishing constructs.

Circulation. The basic circulation pattern in Cortez by 1946 was similar to what had appeared there by 1921; however, use patterns and legal dedications for accessing subdivided parcels created a larger street system on paper that was not used in full by the residents. Various maps of Cortez appear to show a variety of roadways traversing

throughout the village, yet the basic grid developed by 1912 showing the five original north/south streets, and the east/west extension to the final build-out area to the east would remain intact. All of the five original north/south streets led to dock systems that extended into the bay. The completion of the Cortez Bridge to Bradenton Beach extended Cortez' reach to other communities, opened up additional tourism effects, and served as a strong basis for improving local street networks.

By 1940, four of these streets along with 45th Avenue as the primary east/west street, were listed by the Florida State Road Department as all having a bituminous construction. The Bradenton Herald reported in its August 4, 1926 edition that the residents of Cortez had approved a \$100,000 bond for paving 7,000 feet of its streets. So, it is likely that the first paved streets in Cortez appeared after this time, and perhaps delayed until some form of a bitumen mix was sponsored as a street improvement project during the 1930s as part of the Work Progress Administration allocations for road construction. It is reasonable to suggest that a priority for improvement was prompted by the location of the 1912 school and 45th Avenue and the part of 119th Street that served it. Four of the original north/south platted streets, and the more recently dedicated Bayview and 46th Avenue streets were also paved. The Cortez arterial along the north boundary was paved by 1926 as a two-lane through street (Green & Molto, 1997). However, the other roads, including 125th Street, which was one of the original streets from the 1887 plat, remained unimproved at the end of 1946.

One interesting feature in looking at the aerial perspective of Cortez from the 1940s is the ghosting of historic travel paths, some of which traverse parcels in a diagonal direction, making them distinct from the prescribed grid. Visible examples

appeared as diagonal paths on the original parcels 11 and 12. These parcels, representing the confluence of where the initial commercial fishing and retail activities were centered, were eventually extended seaward through fill and shoreline hardening after 1921. What resulted were relocations of buildings away from the water, being inserted onto interior parcels. The addition of two streets, Bayview Avenue and 46th Avenue, running parallel to the shoreline were also established as the result of use, access, and shoreline extensions. At one time, 46th Avenue was part of the subdivided parcels of the original parcels 11 and 12, signed for purchase by J. E. Guthrie in 1890 and 1891, respectively. The one-block long street that ran on the north side of the Albion Inn was actually prescribed by the subdivision of parcels 3, 8, and 13 in 1912.

The relevance of the lack of a parallel street to the shoreline system in Cortez was remarked about earlier in my study. In looking at several other TFVs in Florida and elsewhere, a common circulation pattern typically included a street that served as an access conduit to the waterfront by running parallel with, and close to it. The original 1887 plat of Cortez did not incorporate this design. Instead, it included simple north/south streets, limiting direct water access to the majority of parcels internally established. This seems to have suggested that the original Cortez plat was not designed by fishers or landowners who had particular maritime experience. The appearance of the parallel streets later, though only three blocks long, seemed to be an acknowledgement of this consideration.

The end result is that the street system did not change significantly, from the contextual growth form period that ended in 1921. Parcel dedications of streets and area adjustments throughout both periods resulted in the recognition and use of a

limited parallel-to-waterfront street system in full use during the contextual recovery form period. In a sense, the vernacular landscape form did change for the most active area through this accommodation, resulting in a different waterfront dynamic with more publicly available access. The relation of buildings from this adaptation, though mostly unchanged since they were constructed to provide the most direct access to the dock and waterfront extensions, also changed slightly. A detailed study of the confined area between 124th Street Court and 123rd Street may reveal a more interesting resolution of change, beneficial to such a study.

Undoubtedly, the most important circulation event in Cortez overlapped between the completion in 1922 of the Cortez Bridge and the focus on road construction as a mainstream infrastructure process. The two-lane, wooden bridge actually extended the circulation potential of Cortez though it did not travel directly within its boundary. Its construction point at Cortez' extreme northwest corner altered the Cortez boundary with the addition of fill and a lineal extension into the bay. The simultaneous construction of bridge tender's residence created a state-sponsored design of a residence-office use that was out of place in the vernacular landscape environment marked by traditional fishing and remoteness.

The bridge was in the process of construction when the 1921 storm event happened, serving as a corral of sorts for the debris piled up against it from destroyed structures along the various Sarasota Bay waterfronts, many of them from the across the bay on Anna Maria Island. The bridge connected the mainland with the adjacent barrier island, part of which had already been platted with 235 parcels by 1911. Located directly across the bay from Cortez, the subdivision seemed to represent another facet

of what would become an enclosure and confinement of Cortez amidst an encroaching real estate development plan for the entire peninsula. The bridge served as a final encroachment of sorts as it now punctured the fishers' fishing grounds as a sign of progress and a threat to commercial fishing itself, though the schisms that would develop socially and politically would take time to develop. The activation of several laid out development plans would also encourage additional traffic and a changing social and political dynamic around the village. However, the bridge was both a boon and boom to the Cortez fisher community.

The progress of road construction and improvements that surged during the 1920s caused a shift in the delivery of fish and the marketing of them by the fishers. In fact, the increasing availability of the automobile, more specifically, the Model A Ford, served to reduce significantly the need for run-boats serving Cortez (Rudloe, 1992). It also would affect the form of the waterfront construct as it adapted to the changing technology after reconstruction from the 1921 storm, which, in part, fostered the changed configuration of the built form, but not necessarily the form itself.

Building mosaic indicator set

The contextual recovery form period represented varying waves of boom and bust, which were partly revealed in the addition of most of its remaining building mosaic inventory. At least 50 residences and a few non-residential structures were erected during this period, with all of the waterfront and over-the-water buildings and structures having been reconstructed after the 1921 storm event. The overall form did not waver significantly since the basic, and most predominant form exhibited throughout Cortez's history from 1887, was captured in front and side gabled habitable constructs. Several buildings were actually purchased as already-built residences in other communities, and

then disassembled and relocated to Cortez. Obviously, any maritime influence of these types of off-site structures would have been limited, reflecting more mainstream, vernacular building approaches.

Some scholars, such as Schein (1997) suggested that the landscape reveals most of its changed form through its residential areas. In many cases, this may be true; however, it appears based on my study thus far, that the opposite is true. That is, the most significant changes seemed to be reflected in the non-residential and extended vernacular constructs, whereas, the residential settings only increase in number, but do not necessarily change to the degree that would support his thesis.

Residential buildings and appurtenances. The contextual recovery form period architectural construct in Cortez continued to reflect the vernacular frame style representing a variety of shapes defined by rooflines and massing. The relocation of buildings is often cited as an inherent practice, and ethic, attributable to maritime communities. Mellin (2003) highlighted this as part of traditional practice in Canadian Atlantic maritime communities. Some references by other authors to the reuse of building materials have also been cited earlier in my study. It is known through the archival record that some fisheries camps were moved inland and incorporated into existing houses. For example, this is evident in the relocations and conversions of a camp into a rear kitchen extension, and a retail store into a permanent residence. Several other examples exist also in Cortez, perhaps contributing to the forms of individual structures, and certainly to what could be described as an architectural form ethic for reuse; however, lacking a detailed study of these structures as a group, the effect on the wider landscape is not remarkable for the purposes of my study.

As of 1930, and perhaps the most significant feature of the residential construct from the period was the fairly common activity of residential units that were being purchased from outside of Cortez and transported to parcels in the village. Now, this was no insignificant endeavor, especially since the available roads between Cortez and the more developed areas where these houses were located were still fairly substandard. However, the negative economic conditions appeared to influence the purchase of entire houses for relocation and proved a better use of available funds versus new construction. It may be that many, if not all of the relocated houses were provided at reduced prices by late 1920s bank foreclosures as a result of the failure of their previous owners to pay from them or the lots they were constructed upon. The fact that some residences were purchased and then hauled to Cortez over miles of substandard roads suggested a substantial cost savings over other determinants such as time, material accessibility, and relevant skill. It also suggests that some of the local building practices were becoming obsolete as the economy and technology changed the wider landscape of availability to isolated communities.

After the 1921 storm surge, and by 1946, only two residences were still located directly on the waterfront-both elevated on pilings. One of these was the water-dependent structure of a local watercraft builder who launched vessels directly from the waterfront site; the other was a structure built over the water at the end of 121st Street. The latter structure was not built for a fisher, however, and was actually a houseboat that was moved to the site and converted into a residence (Green, n.d.). However, several others remained as waterfront structures, but were set back enough to allow a waterfront yard. While Green suggested that many houses were moved away from their

pre-storm waterfront locations and then elevated using more sturdy pilings, the record does not seem to suggest this for a couple of reasons. First, though there were a few residences built over the water, some as fisheries camps, the number of waterfront parcels was limited, so only a few property owners would have relocated their residences as a result of the storm. It is likely that some residences were elevated higher than normal, perhaps an additional foot.

However, given the inundation of the entire village in 1921, its continued vulnerability to storm surge, and the experiences of the community from the disaster, it does not appear that the early fishers and residents elevated residential buildings to any significant degree above what had been typical. Now, this seems to contradict suggestions to the contrary. Only one residential building, N. Taylor's, discussed earlier, as a product of its watercraft builder occupant, and who constructed it after the storm, appeared to be elevated enough to allow the habitable area to remain above flood elevation levels of the 1921 storm's effects. Historic photographs taken prior to the 1921 storm indicate standard foundations of logs and masonry from one to perhaps three feet at the highest. So, any form change because of experienced flood events did not appear to be effected by the residents, and is an apparent non-juncture up to 1946. The latent elevations of some pre-1946 homes to present-day regulatory standards have occurred in the village and are available for evaluation; however, the latent effect is outside of my study scope. The implication here falls back to the values of the fatalistic mindset, reminiscent of many TFV cultures, discussed earlier, herein. This fatalistic attitude toward architecture, while probably present in the non-residential constructs, begins to fail both before and after the 1921 storm, since the level of architectural

design became more expressive and permanent based on its refinement of styling and use of alternative materials beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century.

The development of garages to accommodate automobiles was perhaps the most significant addition to the overall residential indicator. While it is likely that most residential buildings had already incorporated storage appurtenances to their primary houses, new definitions to accommodate vehicle widths with direct access from the Cortez street system were revealed spatially as a relationship between the house, the garage, and the street, which still had no pedestrian sidewalks. In some cases, existing storage facilities were simply converted to house motorized vehicles as work animals became virtually obsolete by the end of the period. However, by 1946, there were still many fishers who did not own motorized vehicles, instead, choosing to invest their limited incomes on their fishing gear, and more importantly, on adapting their watercraft to power. The importance of living in the village for these fishers was paramount to earning a living that began with the earliest settlement transitioning from a camp setting to one that was more permanently based.

The additional appurtenances of water storage and outhouses remained steadfast fixtures in the village, since public water would not become available until well after the period. At least two early water storage structures and one outhouse remain extant as of the date of my study. By 1946, and according to public records, the village still had only three artesian wells to serve its residents. They were all in place by 1914, and anecdotal information suggests that the community shared in accessing at least one of them through a loosely coordinated system of periodic money payments. Rainwater would have been captured by nearly all of the existing structures as part of

general vernacular design adaptation for utilitarian purposes. While my study does not detail these structures as significant in the over vernacular landscape, they were important and necessary structures, whose design and use could generate a relevant discussion on their contributions to a form aspect. However, such an examination is unnecessary and beyond the scope of my study.

The interesting fact about residential additions in Cortez during the contextual growth form period is that there did not seem to be many residential units added to the Cortez landscape during the Florida land boom period leading up to the bank collapses at the end of the 1920s. Some notable residences were added during this time, usually exhibiting a distinctly vernacular high gable roof line, but only a few are now represented. A number of residences were added just prior to the 1921 storm, as well as, a significant number after 1930, or so. Therefore, the residential indicator of the building mosaic seemed to be relatively stable for a lengthy period after the storm, suggesting a limited amount of land investment by local fishers and entrepreneurs in Cortez, and a hesitation by outsiders for the same. One obvious suspect may relate to Cortez' continued isolation during this time in light of new, perhaps "modern" developments occurring around it. Outsiders would have likely been more attracted to widely marketed, newer develops with waterfront access and associated amenities, where residential buildings could be designed to suit the modern subdivision, away from what Jane Jacobs had later referred to as that troublesome working waterfront.

Another highly suspect influence was likely due to the physical and intangible effects caused by the 1921 storm. Obviously, the rebuilding of nearly the entire working waterfront took a significant amount of time. Many fishers, as well as, fish dealers left

Cortez permanently leaving other gaps in the commercial fishing enterprise that had to be coordinated into the future. The fishers, as part of a self-sufficient community, likely reverted to a subsistence lifestyle for quite some time until the overall working infrastructure was reestablished. Therefore, the residential construct would remain fairly stable leading up to and beyond the Great Depression. The oft-cited “disappearance” of mullet from the fishing scene beginning in the middle of the Great Depression extended the stability factor even longer since the lowest recorded harvests were also affecting the already limited development cycle. One of the reasons Cortez failed to change its small-scale fishing trajectory like other villages, may be due in part to this continued stability. This may have become a saving grace for its vernacular form.

Some of the notable residential constructs that did appear during the period warrant a brief discussion. Perhaps the most interesting building that could be considered a maritime vernacular adaptation attributable to TFVs is the previously referenced N. Taylor residence, now doubling as the Taylor Boatworks Museum and an outside maritime display feature, and occurring on the south waterfront. A two-story vernacular building (museum space below) with a front-gabled roof system, it was pieced together from salvaged materials just after the 1921 hurricane. It is noticeable in several historic photographs, and at one time, revealed a large, elevated water storage system at its waterfront to accommodate the second-story living unit. Built as a front-sided gable vernacular, the first story area was used as a boat building shop throughout the period. This building likely represents the most distinguished and representative maritime vernacular in the village, though it was built during the latest period of the historic study span.

Other notables include a small sampling of masonry structures and craftsmanship. Brick and concrete were used primarily for chimneys early on, and later for elevating structures, and building entry steps and porch cheeks. One residence was designed by a Tampa architect, revealing a concrete front porch base and columns in front of a wood frame main structure. Built in 1929, it has a limited masonry application, but begins to reveal the use of alternate materials in Cortez, though it was not the first “designed” residential structure; the earliest designed residence was likely built in 1918. Another residence, built around 1935 was designed and crafted locally with a rock base wall enclosing the front porch area--another limited application of masonry materials. The only residence built completely out of masonry, was by a non-fisher who constructed a cross-gabled structure during the 1940s. This building, along with one or two others in the village at the time, represented a dramatic departure from the wood vernacular that dominated the residential architecture in the village at the time.

With the exception of a couple of newer constructs, and the adaptation of existing structures, the prominent two-story residential form seemed to disappear from the scene. Newer buildings reflected the gable vernacular styling that replaced higher style design renditions attempted during the earlier periods as leftover chatter from the end of the nineteenth century. At least 30 of the residential buildings constructed up to around 1946, including several of the structures relocated from other communities, were designed with the front gable form. Throughout the period, open porches became enclosed and additions were being added to accommodate extended families. While some authors discuss an overall alteration of the basic house form due to these activities of addition and enclosure, they did not seem to affect the significance of the

basic form in the vernacular landscape, though they were plentiful, and affected most of the residential building to some degree. The main reason for ignoring these factors of form modification is inherent in the degree of the impact, or resolution at which my study considers form change. Since cultural landscapes or their subtypes are never really static, there is an expectation that change accompanies the continuance of time. The addition of physical enclosure of porches, for example, does not necessarily, in my opinion, change the form since it retains its shape of roofline and other measurable qualities. However, if a dominant new form is added and explained as significant somehow, it would be considered a significant change. The resolution, or specific detail of porch enclosures and rear or side additions is often negligible regarding the effect to this particular quality, and perhaps quantity, of the landscape.

The locational factors contributing to new residential constructions appeared to occur simply as parcel infill of formerly vacant lots, and as replacements of properties damaged from fire and a tornado that struck the village in 1937. The sudden form effect from what are referred to as disaster events is an inescapable issue that can present itself at any time in the landscape setting. Based on the discussion in the previous section, and the revealed historic occurrences, the potential for the most dramatic, non-purposeful form impact is a clear result from disaster events, whether human-made or natural. Again, the question lies in how the form is then reestablished, if at all. It is obvious that the sudden change establishes itself as part of some unfolding of a sequence of events. The predictability of the event and its outcome are possible, but rarely, if ever as a precise measure, though many attempts are made at them. Another query then lies in how culture influenced the sudden erasure of form from the scene. If a

building is destroyed by an event because of shoddy workmanship, is the resulting form-affect human-made due to the lackluster process that went into its making? The same is to be considered in the opposite context. If a building is purposely made to withstand an event, such as the Albion Inn did in 1921, what or who, precisely determined the outcome? Kropf (2001) presented a similar discussion regarding how buildings change because of human processes as determinants of change, rather than the buildings changing themselves, for example, through age.

Finally, a new form did begin to reveal itself in 1935 with the establishment of the Cortez Trailer Park, on the property of the former Fulford Hotel at the northwest corner of the village. While this will be discussed in more detail under the next subsection, since it actually began as a road tourist camp, indicative of a business enterprise and not as a residential construct, the form of the travel trailer added a new construct to the Cortez vernacular landscape setting. The establishment of the trailer park as a use in the village, would eventually transition into a permanent residential enclave. This enclave would provide the grounding for removing a large portion of historic land from the commercial fishing landscape.

Non-residential/non-fisheries buildings and appurtenances. The continuing trend of non-residential/non-fisheries buildings continued to inform the feasibility of local establishments in Cortez until the end of the contextual recovery form period, even as the retail structure in the wider cultural landscape of Manatee County was changing from small, one-room stores to the larger department store concept. In spite of the increase of traffic potential from the new bridge to the barrier island that literally extended from the Cortez boundary, the main commercial corridor in Cortez, the

north/south running 124th Street, would continue to develop as the lead-in street to Cortez' primary working waterfront area. This suggested that Cortez continued to have localized needs dedicated to its unique individual group circumstances. This placement of non-residential/non-fisheries buildings resulting from waterfront relocations to more inland areas and new constructs such as a second place of worship at the beginning of the contextual recovery form period, and even the addition of a new retail store in 1935 revealed the need for these localized services, not dissimilar to the neighborhood store concept found in most urban areas.

In essence, the non-fishing commercial uses of Cortez began to withdraw as a presence at the waterfront, as the commercial fishing construct began more competitive and less connected as Cortez insiders began to control the processing and marketing of fish harvests. Instead of an interconnected waterfront construct that formed the working waterfront before the 1921 storm, the reconstructed waterfront, and the emerging commercial operations by insiders created a more compartmentalized waterfront form, with fine lines between separate and distinct constructs that were less communal, less public.

Access to individually owned automobiles and a new focus on land travel infrastructure, as opposed to a decline in focus on waterway navigation improvements until after World War II, now allowed Cortez residents to travel more often to other areas (Antonini et al., 2002). Though the increase in automobile would have little effect on the Cortez circulation pattern, the land development boom of the early 1920s would emphasize an encroachment on Cortez that had already begun by the first decade of the twentieth century. New, non-residential buildings would also begin to dot both sides

of its peripheral north boundary as the newly constructed bridge to Anna Maria Island expanded the numbers of people passing along the outskirts of the village. The bridge construction would also create a demand for the north boundary road of Cortez for subsequent improvements and funding as the only arterial from more established towns in Manatee County to Cortez. In addition, the public use of the northern arterial would help fund improvements to at least a couple of the village's internal roads, but again, without effecting a significant form change.

While the withdrawal of some of the non-residential/non-fisheries buildings from the waterfront helped to emphasize the commercial character of 124th Street, the non-residential/non-fisheries construct between 1922 and 1946 would have some effect on the overall vernacular landscape form of Cortez, especially with regard to the contextual character of the waterfront conglomeration, that was redefined physically and as part of a proprietary-land ownership configuration. With regard to the forms of the built construct, several additions were added during the period. A two-story service station for automobiles was constructed along the north boundary by 1926 reflecting an early adaptation to capturing increased vehicular travel and usage. The use of a two-story, side-gable building with residential quarters above appeared as a latent, yet non-purposeful addition to the vernacular two-story forms of the earliest structures, suggesting a resiliency of the form, yet it would not start of renewed trend of building practices. Its location at the north boundary identifies its relationship with the road as an automobile-dependent facility that begins to separate the village from being strictly, or mostly, water dependent during the previous periods. As referenced earlier, gasoline was already available in Cortez at the waterfront by the early to mid-1920s. The fact that

commercialized gasoline appeared at the waterfront to service watercraft before its installation at the periphery road to service automobiles is interesting, but reveals the dependence of the community to the water, and its relative isolation that continued to define it during its first three decades after settlement.

The real, non-fisheries value of the waterfront was established by the early additions of the waterfront store, the Fulford Hotel, and the Albion Inn during the 1890s. While these early incarnations likely served and related to fishers and their particular needs, it did set a precedent for future waterfront development and the forms that would effect the vernacular landscape. What these early additions did was establish primary, non-residential, non-fisheries uses at the onset of Cortez's evolution. Some would argue later that changes to the waterfront from commercial fishing to non-fishing specific uses represented an incompatibility to the traditional fishing construct, a departure from its commercial fishing, small village roots. Yet, the historical record reveals these non-fishing uses from its earliest land purchases. Therefore, the fact that a significant portion of the Cortez waterfront, especially from the Albion Inn to the northwest corner of the village was continually dedicated to other uses reflects an inherent form that became part of the community identity. If these lands had been converted during the early decades to traditional fishing docks and processing facilities, then certainly the intensity of the village as a TFV would have occurred. Any subsequent conversions of those uses to non-fisheries uses would have been highly suspect of changing the waterfront character, and perhaps its form as it adapted to the different uses.

However, since the uses of the land have such long-standing non-fisheries traditions, then it is debatable whether the installation of a trailer park in 1935 at the

historic parcels 5 and 6 at the northwest corner of the village represented a significant change in use and character of the village. Granted, the forms of the trailers and their automobile dependence were a distinct addition to the established physical form, as the metal and steel of the automobile and mobile trailers shared space with any remaining site-built structures. This conversion did create a separation of the lands from the village that would hold until the present, appearing, though not officially determined, as another contraction of the village boundary.

The above examinations of significant form changes render the additions of other new non-residential/non-fisheries buildings during the period as rather insignificant since they did not appear to effect a variable difference on the landscape, which had already been expanding in the form of an extended, but compact commercial corridor. A masonry retail building was added along 124th Street that departed from the wood frame vernacular, but this building was destroyed, along with other buildings and structures by the swath of a tornado in 1937. The addition of a new place of worship and its high steeple puncturing the sky added to the form, but this particular form was also established on another site in the village during the previous period. The flat-roofed retail building developed along 124th Street in 1935 did serve as a departure from the localized gabled and pyramidal roof configurations, yet its impact to the form as a singular addition, did not appear substantial enough to warrant a significant change in the wider landscape form of Cortez, though its construction did appear to be a strictly vernacular addition using some modernized materials.

Fisheries contextual buildings and appurtenances. The post-1921 storm altered the commercial power structure of Cortez by eliminating the outsiders as fish

dealers, and replacing them with those who were considered insiders because they lived there. It is known from the historical record that John Savarese, perhaps the first outside dealer in Cortez actually became a Cortez insider through marriage. There is evidence of other close ties involving Cortez fishers with fish dealers in other TFVs in the Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor areas; however, the truer sense of Cortez fisheries as part of an internalized structure began after the 1921 storm reconstruction as several of the fishers already living there established their operations as dealer operations. Whereas, in many TFVs, the outsiders would come later as a village evolved, and therefore, affect the power and ownership structure, in Cortez, it seemed to occur differently. In this case, the outsiders did not return after the storm, forcing the fishers to forge their own markets and facilities. The event became yet another determinant to form as it affected not only the physical construct, but also the intangible construct.

Peacock and Sabella (1988) wrote about how the power of the fishers from Atlantic Tidewater communities was determined by their relationships with the outsiders, and the activities that followed. Internally, the fishers, especially as landowners with direct ties to the original settlers, had an enormous amount of what the authors referred to as an aesthetically oriented power. This apparently added to an atmosphere of cooperation and manageability among the fishers. However, the influence of outsiders early on, according to Peacock and Sabella, viewed as more of a materialistic-oriented exchange, should have created a certain amount of schism between individuals and groups. The lay of the pre-storm physical constructs did not suggest this in how its physical form was configured as more of an interconnected, organically grown network

that appeared to extend from the shoreline as a patchwork of facilities, yet one that seemed to flow together in a seamless manner. In fact, stronger elements of the divisiveness that the authors mentioned sometimes resulted from the resulting reductions of power due to external competition, seemed to emerge more convincingly as part of the fishers' recapture of the total fishing enterprise. Perhaps, this is part of the reason why the post-1921 reconstructed waterfront appeared less organic, and less cohesive.

As far as the waterfront conglomeration is considered, only two buildings retain any significant semblance of fisheries contextual building historic fabric at the time of my study. The lack of historic fabric remaining in the twenty-first century waterfront is surprising since most of the contextual recovery form period fabric was constructed after 1921, rendering a less aged set. Also, several of the fishers' descendants remained in the village, which helped to preserve a substantial portion of the fisheries contextual buildings after the end of my study. However, up until 1946, most of the fisheries contextual fabric built from 1921 and later, combined to create an identifiable indicator set. An examination of the waterfront areas from a high resolution 1947 aerial photograph suggests the presence of five fisheries contextual buildings. Two of these are completely built over the water, extending approximately 100 feet or so from the southern shoreline. Two others are attached to the shoreline and then extend out over the water. Only one is constructed completely on an upland site. However, this lone construct would likely have extended over the water if the original shoreline had not been altered and extended seaward. While it is possible that some earlier, settlement and contextual growth periods fisheries contextual buildings were attached to the

shoreline, archival photographs reveal that they were mostly built over the water in order to accommodate direct transference of fish hauls at the deepest water feasible. The differences in the construct marked by 1921 represent a changed form, and an altered construct that responded to different technologies, a recaptured insider waterfront, and the changed process for delivering fish by water to over land.

Chiarappa (2003) discussed the addition of new forms in the fisheries landscape based on various advances in technology and adaptations to new processes. In a way, the revised fisheries contextual buildings became effects themselves, rather than simple structures to be looked at for their shapes and placement along the shore (Jameson, 1981). The effects of the forms created along the waterfront peculiar to its fisheries contextual form is then one expressed by the more localized culture now in better control of the Cortez waterfront (Rapoport, 1986). If forms were created from early traditional processes and limitations that were appurtenant to fisheries contextual buildings such as large expanses of fish and roe drying racks, or storage buildings for associated supplies such as lumber for watercraft and wood for fuel, salt, lime, or even equipment, then the same would have held true for the newer storage needs of gasoline, motor parts, and now trailers that could by the 1930s haul watercraft behind automobiles. The change in the waterfront fisheries contextual fostered changes to the spatial configuration of other areas such as the fishers' private yards, where some of the equipment such as the trailers, motors, and heavier parts were now being stored along with the unchanged, traditional equipment.

The fisheries contextual buildings did not appear to follow a preprogrammed or consistent form of construction. Each of the five buildings from 1946 incorporated a

gable roof; the difference was in how each greeted the open water. Three revealed gable fronts that faced the bay, while two incorporated side gable characteristics. No two are exactly alike, each reflecting differences in shape, size, and placement. The lack of commonality, or as Heath (2009) referred to as consistency, reflected a changed, or changing vernacular that exhibited a lesser stability, or entrenched form based on a cultural tradition. The increasing dilution of kinship in Cortez after the 1921 storm could have altered this dynamic of the entrenched form that was partly evident and in place in Cortez up to 1921.

All buildings, except the two-story uplands building were elevated on pilings above the water. Ironically, the latter building did not seem to be elevated at all, built at ground level, suggesting either a hardening of its frame to withstand the harsh environment, or an acceptance of it through the wide opening facing the waterfront that could have been left open to allow water to enter and recede—a sort of adapted application of flood control. Because it was constructed on a filled upland area, it may have been thought to have been more secure, though most all other upland buildings dating to the earliest structures were elevated somewhat. The construction practice of facing gables toward the strongest winds in fishing villages, as suggested by Muir (2007) did not appear in the mixed placement of 1946 Cortez, or the earliest constructs either. The fact that the building placement, as part of siting the entire waterfront construct as a traditional practice in some TFVs, was predominantly determined by the coastal topography, as suggested by Muir, was not reflected in the Cortez roofline formation. However, other placement factors could have existed that did provide this underpinning. In Cortez, it appeared to be more socially ordained.

Extended vernacular form indicator set

Physical manifestations-fisheries camps. All of the fisheries camps were destroyed by the 1921 storm surge. The reconstruction of the camps did not take the feverish activity it did when the first camps were constructed between 1887 and 1921, resulting in a smaller indicator set of perhaps five or so that were part of the waterfront conglomeration by 1946, mostly attributed to the adjacent landowners. This resulted in a depleted indicator set and a different establishment of the camp structure. Up to 1921, the camps were placed above the adjacent tidal flats and above the shallow areas of the southern shoreline as the original settlers arrived and recruited familiar fishers hailing from their personal ranks. Some camps were also placed along the west shoreline, but were limited to the individual property owners who controlled that shoreline.

Prior to the 1921 storm, there were no dealers living in Cortez as true insider dealers, though the two or so that were there appeared to have insider connections, such as through marriage. The fish dealer constructs that were there were constructed by outside dealers; it is possible that some very early fishers from outside of Cortez, with no record of land ownership in the village, such as George Hatsel, also established fish houses under a dealer scenario. This middleman structure up to 1921 may have affected an increased number of fisheries camps along the shore areas. One rising query lies in why there seemed to be less of them rather than more after 1921. It may have been that after 1921, the predominance of Cortez fishers, as being kinship based, could rely on the personal connections with the insider dealers who began to control the Cortez marketing structure for harvest processing; the requirement for building individualized fisheries camps may no longer have been necessary, instead, fishers

could focus on constructing net spreads and investing in their watercraft and equipment, without considering the additional expense of an enclosed. The fisher structure, as an overall relationship changed along with the reconstruction after 1921 as part of the elapsed experiential form construct. Also, the original fisher settlers were also aging by now, and a changing of the guard, so to speak was reflected in the waterfront construct.

Therefore, up to 1921, the Cortez fishers, who were also living in the village, were fishing and managing their fish harvest systems, rather than focusing on the marketing aspects of the trade. While they did establish market connections, they could either preserve their daily fish catches on ice when available, in salt barrels, or time their catches according to the schedules of run-boats that could take the fish directly to dealers in Braidentown, St. Petersburg, or Tampa for placement on the railroad for delivery to larger markets. Because of these particular dynamics of insider/outsider dealers, the number of fisheries camps swelled to accommodate the fishers who all seemed to be working together as fishers aiming for a common goal of a successful fish harvest. While land ownership was still relegated to many of the original settlers up to 1921, the proliferation of camps, especially as part of the kinship growth of the village, was a normal activity by 1921. Based on historic records, it appeared that some of the waterfront property owners, such as the Fulfords and the Guthries orchestrated provisions for access amongst fishers, as part of an overall access system. These two families controlled a large extent of the waterfront where the contextual fishing activity took place, especially after 1900, during the contextual growth form period ending 1921. The question of remuneration is not clear though.

This all changed after the 1921 storm. All of the camps were destroyed leaving no dealers and no infrastructure and equipment for many fishers. The high losses of investment, most, if not all, without any type of insurance, and the inability of many fishers to reinvest, caused a default of many fishers who had constructed camps. Many did not return. The sudden depletion of fisheries camps certainly affected the waterfront. The question again goes back to whether it was changed or the degree of change. A few were rebuilt so some of the original form existing prior to 1921 was recaptured in a sense. Since the fisheries camps were such an important character-defining indicator set of the extended vernacular, the disappearance of the original set in its entirety suggests a change to the landscape, even though a reconstructed set using similar forms occurred.

The lack of direct dealers to process the fish for delivery after the 1921 storm started a trend toward individual, insider dealerships. This created a more tightly administered waterfront area regarding use by the fisher community at large. What may have resulted was a collection of fisheries camps and net systems further from shore, resulting in the u-shaped pattern visible in the 1947 aerial photograph. If this construct resulted after the storm, then a significant change to the vernacular form was changed in how it extended the vernacular fishing village by extending it seaward. There are no photographs prior to 1921 that directly reveal the use of camps and net spreads in this extended area. Instead, historic photographs seem to indicate a dense conglomeration extending nearer to the waterfront, as part of the interconnected form discussed earlier, which was an extension of the fisher's communal, intangible experiential. The increased privatization of the waterfront may have therefore limited new constructions in the

historic waterfront and tidal boundary, resulting in tandem, in a 1946 fisheries camps indicator set that was a much-changed form from its pre-1921 version.

Physical manifestations-net works. The net works were also destroyed in their entirety by the wind and surge effects from the 1921 storm. Along with the earlier fisheries camps, they appeared as an assortment of interconnected constructs placed closer to the shoreline. Despite their importance to the vernacular landscape form, there is simply not much written about them. These basic structures, consisting of a primary net spread and associated wood plank platforms moving haphazardly above the waterline took on a horizontal configuration that spread out across the water plane. The post-1921 net works extended further from shore than their historic counterparts, and were part of the u-shaped pattern referenced in the previous subsection, and also highly discernible in the 1947 aerial photograph. This appeared to be the most common net drying system used in Cortez beginning from the earliest settlement forms from 1887. The net reel, another popular net management device, was evident along the Cortez waterfront; however, it did not appear to be the primary type of structure used. The historic record suggested that its use was the predominant form of its type at or near the Cortez waterfront during presettlement. Historic photographs reveal only one net reel attached to a platform existing by 1946, taking up approximately 400 square feet of the bay area. This can be compared to the complexes of net spreads that took up several acres of surface area. The difference is quite remarkable when considering that net reels were fairly inexpensive to construct, and precisely because they took up so much less space and materials.

The net works in place by the end of 1946 were perhaps the most characteristic forms of the extended vernacular landscape, made even more pronounced due to the competing watercraft forms that were already in full swing of changing beginning much earlier. Though the net works structural system was a rather bland as a construct, consisting of horizontal lengths of wood referred to as stretchers attached to vertical studs and pilings, the vastness of their footprint on the landscape was more fixed, and more pronounced than all of the other form indicators.

It is highly likely that part of the net works form in place by the end of 1946 consisted of some materials salvaged from the 1921 storm debris, which would have increased their historic significance at that time, and certainly if any were still extant. The placement of lengthy nets on them created a significant, oscillating plane of whitish waves that mimicked the movement of the water on which the fishers worked. The application of netting on the net spreads, as a distinct maritime form, also complemented both horizontally and vertically, the earlier shapes of the sails that were nearly diminished as forms by 1946, perhaps eliciting a certain elapsed experiential in some of the fishers' minds who at one time had learned how to use them as a handed-down tradition.

In essence, the post-1921 net works became a sort of subdivided, over-the-water development controlled by the fishers who used them to also store equipment and moor watercraft. Since there did not appear to be a strict regulatory structure in place to control them, in spite of an evolving land use legal structure, they proliferated in an organic manner. However, by 1946, the more vernacular net works did begin to fade

somewhat as critical and necessary constructs due to the technological advances of netting materials from natural fibers to synthetics, though it was not blatant.

The differences of the synthetic nets themselves, whether constructed as gill nets or seine nets, or for other purposes, had varying stitching and mesh configurations, but were essentially similar in their overall appearance to the natural fiber nets in the landscape, except for the materials they were made of. So, the basic and recognizable shape of the nets did not change. Because the newer materials did not require the extent of drying, and were less susceptible to rot, there was no further need for spreading them out after each use. Thusly, the net works reached their peak as a distinct vernacular form at the end of the contextual recovery form period. Its subsequent decline is not part of my study, though it would nearly completely disappear during the following decades as the technological advance of synthetic materials became more prevalent in the net materials used, eliminating the time needed for maintaining nets, and also the spatial construct that was part of that maintenance.

The meaning of the net spreads to the fishers and those residing in Cortez during their use may have held significance since some of the historical record includes laments about their disappearance. The vernacular net spread constructed out of simple pieces of wood was virtually accessible to all fishers and exemplified their daily toil and hardships as fishers. Fishers could gather about them as places of social connectivity and business. The net spread served as an extension of both the fisheries processing facility and the camps, away from the upland areas of the village. The net spreads were, in essence, virtual representations of the fisher that extended from his nets and his watercraft. Together, they all became a seamless physical construct of the life of the

fisher-a separated component from the fisher's nuclear family life that was by the end of 1946, less part of the shore crowd from which it had formed during the previous periods.

The net spread and the nets placed upon them also measured a fisher's ability and success as an artisanal or small-scale fisher amidst an eroding way of life that was noticeable much earlier with the diminished use of sail. The handcraft of fishing, as seen in the extent of net spreads across the landscape, was also diminished since the knowledge and working of the nets, though basically similar during the act of fishing, was now becoming a differently applied form, with more time spent performing it. With the knowledge of using sails and maintaining vast amounts of net materials now becoming fixtures of the past, as part of other generations, the measure of the loss of the net spread was likely amplified by the elder fishers who experienced both as a strong part of their traditional methods, and as an important contributor to a recollected part of fishing that was indeed intangible.

Physical manifestations-dock system. Based on historic photographs of the 1921 storm's aftermath, the horizontal platforms of the Cortez docks appeared to have been completely ruined. However, the photographs reveal the remains of the pilings, which could have helped the fishers in reestablishing many of the dock footprints, as they had existed prior to the storm. However, the resulting construct of docks did not appear to follow in a similar manner. By 1946, the dock system appeared much differently in how it extended outward from the shoreline. Some docks were reduced in size and scale, while others grew individually, representing the divisions in the fishing enterprise that appeared to become established at the beginning of the contextual recovery form period. The change to individualized commercial fishing grew out of the

restructuring of local insider fish houses that were established after the storm to replace the outsider systems that did not return, and thusly, were not rebuilt or reestablished.

The most recognizable change was perhaps the minimization of the dock associated with the Albion Inn. Whereas, by 1921 it had become the largest, and perhaps most active dock and wharf system along the waterfront, it was obviously reduced in length and use by 1946. This may be accounted for by the change in focus of the Albion Inn complex from a fisher's facility to one that was more tourist-oriented. With the need for accommodating large run-boats eliminated because of the automobile, and the addition of insider fish dealers, the overall commercial fishing enterprise along the waterfront shifted accordingly.

At least 12 dock systems extended from the waterfront by 1946, not dissimilar in number to how the waterfront had developed by 1921. However, the configuration was changed, representing a like-change in the extended landscape form. The congestion of docks still gathered around the most active commercial area represented by the southern shoreline between 124th Street Court to the west, extending to just east of 123rd Street. The presence of docks running parallel to the shoreline, providing connection points between those extending from the shoreline appeared to be minimized. This suggests a tandem minimization of the communal enterprise, and the increased separation of commercial workspaces between established operations. By 1931, the right to use these waterfront areas, some of which had distinct rights of access and use distinguished by deed instruments and Florida statutes, were being challenged in court, as evidenced from a court decision between one fish house operator and the adjacent land owner's estate.

An interesting feature noticeable of the 1946 dock configuration is the lack of extended docks from the eastern shoreline properties. While they revealed the existence of net spreads and watercraft closer to the shore, docks extending into the water appeared scarce dating even to when the properties were originally settled. There are a couple of possible reasons for this. One is that the presence of deeper water may have precluded the need for extending docks. Another reason lies in contrast, i.e., the presence of shallow water and tidal flats, or sandbars, may have limited access, and therefore limited the construction of costly docks. The location of the properties, though just up-shore, were still somewhat isolated from the north/south street system that led to the south waterfront, and also began to merge with the mangrove fringe lining the eastern shore area. While the parcels there did have riparian rights, the easternmost boundaries did not have direct waterfront access without requiring substantial clearing of the mangrove forest, or what the fishers commonly referred to as “the woods” (Frederikson, 1995, p. 122). In any event, these properties remained large and undivided, with individual property owners who constructed net spreads close to their shorelines.

Dock construction in Cortez had not yet fully incorporated concrete components in the construct, since it was still much costlier than wood. While the few available main docks were still used for unloading fish hauls and fishing equipment, and in some cases, for transporting passengers, they were used much less for loading and unloading the general goods and supplies, including construction materials, watercraft, and perhaps sections of buildings and structures that were constantly being relocated. Figure 4-22 provides a comparison of the 1921 and 1946 waterfronts to reveal the

differences between configurations. The reduction in scale sand size of the Bratton's dock is clearly noticeable. Also, the distinct u-shape of the net spreads and camps extending from the main dock area is clearly delineated, as is the later, individualized system of docks that reveal a changed configuration from the pre-1921 configuration.

Newer waterfront development creep along the western shoreline that was not yet evident in 1921 began to take place as individual fish operators in close synchronization began to expand their operations through land subdivision and the addition of commercial dock infrastructure, albeit at the waterfront rather than a distance beyond it. Some of the individualized dock infrastructure appeared to have been replaced in situ after the destruction caused by the 1921 storm. Because of tidal currents and the addition of the 1922 bridge road bed at the northwest corner of the village, the western shoreline of Cortez actually served as a repository for debris from that storm; the new road bed of the bridge extending into the bay, now creating an unintended jetty effect, stuttering the previous natural flow of water between the Sarasota Bay and Palma Sola Bay systems. The development of the original settlement parcels 5 and 6 into a trailer park that made up much of the western shoreline may actually have limited its overdevelopment into a larger dock and wharf-oriented, commercial fishing site through 1946; however, it would become more intensely developed after the contextual recovery form period, and of course, well after my study period ends.

Physical manifestations-nets. The fishing net, as an extended vernacular form, had not necessarily changed its form by the end of the contextual recovery form period. The basic construction and application of nets as devices used for ensnaring fish

continued to be a long-standing tradition in Cortez and many other TFVs. However, the process involving their use and application in the appearance of changing fishing methods responding to motorized watercraft were already evident by the 1920s, with improvements for maximizing time and production occurring with each decade after World War I. Certain motorized methods for net retrieval dramatically changed the speed in which nets were handled, which is more of a technological change to watercraft rather than as a form change attributable to the fishing net.

While gill nets and cast nets, and perhaps some seine nets were still widely used during the period, the use of stop nets as a practice that still had a long history by that time, but developed along the Florida Gulf Coast quickly after 1921, created one of the most divisive periods in Cortez' history prior to 1946. Though stop netting was rather short-lived in Cortez, being outlawed in Florida by 1953, the catch-all method it employed, as well as, the placement of the nets that were considered more fixed and less mobile than gill nets, were deemed by many as too harsh and overbearing on the ecological system in which the gillnetters fished. However, various studies of the stop net presented mixed results as to their ultimate ecological effects when compared to other forms of net fishing.

Nevertheless, the use of the two different net systems during this time had become the topic of much acrimony and even violence during the period, resulting in the bombing of one Cortez gillnetter's residence in 1928. The ferociousness of this difference of opinion seems to reveal the first indications of the breaking away of the communal fishery into one of factions and groups, in spite of the earlier kinship cultural formation. Some of the historical record suggests a preponderance of the native Florida

fisher as preferring the stop net over the gill net, though any study of this relationship is not readily available. There are certain considerations to examine though. The biggest increase in fishers to Cortez occurred between 1900 and 1910, when the number nearly tripled. Additional fishers arrived after that, steadily increasing the total number of fishers to about 90 by 1946; however, some had also left the scene after the 1921 storm and through mortality. The dilution of the North Carolina fishers in Cortez by this time was already noted, whereas, in 1910, approximately 60% were North Carolina natives, and only 32%, or so, were natives by 1930. Of course, much of the reduction can be attributed to the number of descendants of the North Carolina natives who were born in Florida. Regardless, disagreements among fishers were probably quite common during the first 30 years after settlement, but this later, more pronounced trend appeared to have gotten its start as part of the restructuring and rebuilding of Cortez after the 1921 storm. Though the fishers appeared to congeal as a community in response to the disastrous effects of the storm, ironically, they also began to separate, which was evident just by looking at this particular schism involving net type.

The main difference between the two groups was derived from how fish were targeted. The gillnetters used nets that were constructed to target certain fish at certain sizes. There was little by-catch, or unwanted species entangled in the nets, which were typically placed and retrieved in a few hours. In many cases, gill nets were used as schools of fish were scouted, or spotted, and then pursued and caught. The stop net assumed a catch-all stance, whereby the net, often in up to 100-yard shots, was typically placed across an inlet or small bay from shore to shore, where the outgoing tide, and the fish travelling with it would be forced into the waiting net structure. Unlike

the gill net, the stop net did not discriminate in the types of fish caught since it caught everything that swam in its path. Of course, so did the gill net, but apparently to a lesser degree.

The use of stop nets as fixed entities that, in essence, resulted in stopping off of a water course or water body, seemed to veer away from the traditional use of nets regarded by the traditional Cortez fishers, though the message of which type of net is more akin to a sustainable practice has variables that question the effect of any form change simply based on which nets were used. Their increased use in tandem with motorized watercraft and motorized gear, such as the onboard donkey mechanical device, separated them even further from the gill net method. Still, the effect of the net as a contributing factor to separating a long-standing cultural process is part of the quickening of the landscape form change that ushered in the post-World War II changes to the landscape.

Rather than a physical effect, the form change appears more noticeable in the ethic that derives from the two uses. The obvious dilemma here suggests, or assumes one that is then framed by a traditional fishing ethic that espoused an ecological knowledge that differentiated between the two, rendering one as detrimental, and the other as less so. While my study does not attempt to get into the complex ethical dimensions between various fishers, for which there is already a robust literature, the evident change of form that results in an intangible effect from the physical use of nets, though somewhat similar in basic shape, overlaps into the act of fishing, a different form indicator.

The common ecological perception reference to fishers by some as being in an esoteric alignment with nature somehow, also fed into this emerging fisher ethic, and was made more pronounced by the net wars, perhaps more so than the other changing forms and factors occurring in tandem. The taking of more resources than needed has been a long-standing debate between fisher groups, and between fishers and non-fishers. Successful hauls using nets generated debates about how many fish taken should equal enough fish per fisher. The sharing of fishing grounds meant a single resource that provided for all, so the impact of one fisher's haul could impact another's. Yet, the lines between appropriating catch sizes were often seen as a fisher's ethic that was to be implied as a balancing act both beneficial to the fisher and to the environment, since he managed the resource in various ways that were part of the traditional knowledge. One of these was in targeting fish and fish sizes and complying with the regulatory environment at the time, according to the net's constructed form. This was a way in which some fishers reconciled the give and take of fishing, often orchestrated by the type of net used. Obviously, the stopnetter arriving on the scene and taking in a wider variety was looked at as ecologically, and perhaps, traditionally by other fishers as unsound, and moving away from a certain ethics tradition that may have been shared by more fishers at one time earlier. The stopnetters' main justification against the argument was that most of the by-catch consisted of unwanted trash fish, nonedible, and therefore their elimination was not so bad. However, the form of taking in large, record-breaking hauls of fish by either group during individual events seems to stretch any ecological underpinning.

Fishers, in general, have long histories of complaints against them in that replenishment was rarely a major concern until the law required it. There are countless records documenting the depletion of fisheries going back to the eighteenth century. This analysis is not an indictment of Cortez or other fishers, and it should not be construed as such. The record also reveals the ecological leaning of fishers, as well. In fact, the Federal Writers Project (1930) cited a wide avoidance by fishers of certain nets such as pound nets due to the destruction of non-targeted fish. However, the mere idea of a single fisher team hauling in 80,000 pounds of mullet during a single fishing trip does not even come close, at first blush, to suggesting a sustainable, ecologically sound practice. Yet, most, if not all of the early and later fishers fished for this type of success, as dictated by the nets and gear they employed. As already referenced earlier in my study, the thought of leaving fish for another day was not always promoted as a universal fisher concept, or ethic (Anderson, 1984).

The historical facts of caustic occurrences between the two groups such as nets and gear that were purposely destroyed as acts of vandalism, active and marked fishing spots being invaded, and of course, the bombing as the ultimate threat and message, reveal the strains of being a fisher in a difficult occupation that became even more difficult during what were often lean times. In the case of the bombing, the effects of the Great Depression were probably beginning to bear down on the fishers as fish prices dropped, and markets dissolved. Many fishers had to return to subsistence fishing in order to feed their families, as the per capita income in Florida fell from just over \$500 in 1929, to only \$289 by 1933. The oft-cited “disappearance” of mullet in the area surely made matters worse, along with a rapidly changing technology that created even more

schisms between fisher groups as some adapted to the changes readily, while others did not.

The thinly apparent tradition of using gill nets as part of an ecological form for harvesting fish blends into the intangible form. This “specialized knowledge” as part of the long-standing fishing tradition of North Carolina fishers, was weakened over time as the native culture diminished, thereby reducing its strength as a culture (Johannes, 1981). In Cortez, based upon Johannes’ cue, this was increasingly manifested into the culture as certain of its younger generations, and perhaps fisher outsiders, found stop netting to be more helpful in their pursuit to earn a living. So, while gill netting continued as the mainstay for fishing in Cortez until well after the end of the historic study period, the fluctuations of net types and their use in TFV’s can affect the physical and intangible forms in the vernacular landscape.

Physical manifestations-watercraft. The changes to watercraft during the contextual recovery form period represented significant adaptations to traditional watercraft, and the slow emergence of new vessels by those few fishers able to purchase them. Many watercraft were destroyed, or at least damaged by the 1921 storm. Of course, some of the still viable watercraft were used during that storm’s tidal surge to transport people to higher ground. The fishing watercraft became a life-saving watercraft. The use of watercraft during the pre-1921 form periods was not restricted to just fishing; instead, the fisher’s personal vessel, or vessels represented a multiple functional artifact that could be used for transport, recreation, and as a symbol of the fisher. This symbolization of the fisher’s personal vessel, as a visual documentary of the commercial fishing way of life he nurtured through a commitment of family life, financial

investment, social relations, and time could be seen in some of the photographs that were taken beginning with the contextual growth form period from the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Watercraft, like fishing nets, reserved at least some element of basic forms in Cortez that overlapped from period to period. While distinct and significant changes occurred, the subtleties of most of the changes were not clearly noticeable without close visual scrutiny and an understanding of watercraft function and use. The early use and dependence on sail presented a clearly distinguishable form in the shape of the cloth sail patterning with its vertical masts and diagonal rigging structure. The fishing vessel was different in appearance without the benefit of this additional form, leaving either an empty mast and rigging with their own forms that, without the added sail, opened up the sweep of the sky.

Now, the hull of the watercraft became its dominant form. It is not difficult to agree that watercraft, in general, hold to a fairly standard form of a raking bow and wide stern. The nuances of these features and the subtleties of what are between them vary depending on function and purpose. Of course, the generally perceived difference in form between a schooner and spritsail skiff, though they retain a commonality of this basic form, is quite different, especially to those who are experts in watercraft. The differences between a sailing vessel and a steam also represented a perceivable difference of forms, though there was an overlap of commonness in basic shapes. These were identified as part of the earlier period graphic tiles.

The physical, structural form of the fishing net itself was common for the purposes of evaluating landscape change. The detail or high resolution that had to be

examined was unnecessary. Significant form change occurred more with the nets function and the activity such as between an encircling net versus an entrapment net. This is where the watercraft separates from the fishing net as an artifact, since the degree of form is more noticeable in watercraft as they evolved. Granted, some watercraft changes were also too microscopic for considering landscape change for the purposes of my study, but others were very appropriate, and are included herein. For example, the addition and application of two different outboard motors was not a typical consideration for significant change, though each device may have looked and functioned differently. However, significance could have occurred and been measured based on the effects each caused in different ways. The use of a particular type of motor for a specific fishing method would be an example of this.

Also questionable, is the significance, or not, between the inboard, or built-in motor, usually encased internally and unseen in the hull's mid-section and exiting in the stern, and the outboard, generally visible, and added to the stern of the vessel. Both of these motors were being used in Cortez by the end of the earlier contextual growth form period, with broader use occurring during the contextual recovery form period. The significance of a form change between types of motors, as relevant to the wider landscape form and its measurable change is not easily distinguished in this type of example.

There is a clearer difference between the uses of sail and steam and motor that is examined based on their physical forms and appearance, activity, function, etc. Each also draws different notions of the intangible experience regarding perception and experience. In 1985, Ben Green, a descendant of Cortez fishers, wrote that sail had still

been a persistent form of watercraft in Cortez during the 1930s. In fact, sail, as a working form of watercraft power, persisted even through the end of my study period, never really ending, and still a fully functioning form along waterfronts as recreational watercraft, and as functional fisher uses around the world in the twenty-first century. Steam power, on the other hand, has not been so persistent or pervasive. In fact, sail is regarded today as a sustainable approach to how fishing is accomplished, and has experienced a resurgence in its use.

According to a 2012 display in the Apalachicola, Maritime Museum in Apalachicola, Florida, some watercraft there retained the sail form as 24 to 30-foot auxiliary powered craft influenced by the form of the Tampa Bay sharpie. Historic photographs from the 1940s showing waterfronts from a variety of ports located along Florida's Gulf Coast reveal the existence of the distinct mast and sail forms still functioning as part of the watercraft form. These examples suggest that motorization, though an extremely significant technological improvement did not have an immediate, widespread impact as the dominant use in the changing vernacular landscape. Instead, it occurred over time as it was slowly phased out as part of fishing use, but continued as part of traditional recreation uses. The importance of the motorized vessel, of course should not be understated, since it did result in the elimination of the sail form from the Cortez vernacular landscape involving traditional fishing, as a vernacular form of watercraft power-if sail is considered as being more vernacular than the motor. Though, for the purposes of my study, the motor device is non-vernacular in its mass-produced construction, here, another conundrum exists that results in a discussion of the motor as a new form of vernacular as it enters into a widespread, common use form that centers

on the vernacular act of fishing and the adaptations that fishers employed in its use on their vernacular watercraft hulls. What appears to happen is an evolution of vernacular diminution of the watercraft in the response to an ever-increasing technology, while some of the vernacular forms would continue virtually unchanged.

The sail-less fishing skiff, navigated by long poles remained a constant form in Cortez by the end of the contextual recovery form period. The pole-skiff would remain a standard for the Cortez throughout the contextual recovery form period and beyond. In fact, because of encroaching development and the complaints generated by the new residents of fishers coming into “their” freshly dredged canals, fishers often depended on the manually driven pole skiff for pursuing their traditional fishing under the quiet of night, and without mechanization. This separation between the commercial fisher and the new Florida resident, a relatively new relationship that mostly began during the 1920s Florida land boom, allowed a fisher to either rekindle or retain the more traditional fishing method once manifested in the area.

Locally designed skiffs for poling were still being constructed by Cortez builders using locally found materials of cypress trees and naturally curved mangroves into the 1930s alongside with vee-hull launches to be equipped with motors (Hunt, 2003). These could accommodate motorized devices for hauling in fish-laden nets, which in essence, changed the act of fishing, but not necessarily the distinct form of the watercraft. Again, the addition of the motor was an addition of form on the landscape, but it did not necessarily change the watercraft form to the degree warranted for consideration of a significant vernacular landscape change.

Now, having said this, the close scrutiny required for noticing the addition of a motor, notwithstanding the loss of the sail form, would have been negligible to some, but the introduction of noise, smoke, and gasoline stations as a new structural element along the waterfront would have been at least new indicators that did affect the landscape scene, enough perhaps to establish a new overall perception affecting the traditionally thought-of vernacular scene. The experience of the waterfront would have been different for the fisher, the laborer, the business owner, and the resident in the village because of this new introduction. In fact, the fishers from Cortez could have affected other landscape settings with the introduction and use of the motor, as referenced earlier when one local watercraft builder heard the new sounds of the motorized in the distance, and predicted its effect on sail watercraft. Because of these types of nuances of form and their effects, the researcher has to be careful when considering the effects of seemingly subtle additions and inclusion into the wider landscape. Here, the thicker description is useful to the researcher, and sometimes necessary, where the level of resolution is more precise, and reveals significant landscape form changes.

The attraction of motorized watercraft certainly caught on quickly, though its effect on the vernacular landscape was slower, since the conversion would happen only sporadically based on each fisher's ability to make new investments. Certainly, significant form change of the watercraft based on motor technology would eventually result in their increasing sophistication and expanding use of technology to all the components of commercial fishing. However, this did not occur so rapidly by the end of the contextual recovery form period. The relative slowness for embracing technology is

nothing new, though it is interesting. The persistence of sail as a preferred use decades after motors became available reveals the reluctance or inability of adaptation much different than changes effected from handcraft responses often do. An extreme example would be the use of aerial fish spotting. Though not known to be used as a method for fish finding in Cortez by 1946, it was first experimented for use in 1919 by the U.S. Navy. The crafting of the spritsail watercraft and North Carolina sharpie to localized conditions reflected slow changes, as well, but allowed fishers to use their own handcraft abilities to modify their vessels, as needed. Certain technological advances did not afford such opportunities all of the time. In these cases, some fishers would have no choice but to wait to catch up to what would become mainstream, while others were simply reluctant based on attitude and a choice leaning toward a learned tradition. In Cortez, the most successful fishers and landowners were able to adapt quicker, and according to the historic record, led the way for others to eventually follow. However, in some cases, the meaning of success also varied between fishers.

The first applications of motors into sail watercraft included clumsy, noisy motors placed inside of the vessel. Some of these were removed from automobiles and rigged into watercraft, suggesting a homegrown vernacular adaptation to the watercraft. Early on, the only real form change on the landscape would have been the elimination of the sail form, rather than the appearance of a highly distinguishable visible form in the motor. The watercraft shape form remained basically unchanged, though variations did occur with the addition of enclosures and relocations of platforms for net storage, etc. The regional expression of the watercraft on the landscape, i.e., the familiarized white sails in large numbers rising vertically from the horizontal nature of the open water

horizon was in the process of a steady diminution. The romanticism of the sail on the horizon, would, perhaps become even stronger as part of the elapsed experiential, but not only to fishers. The effect of the sail, though subtle as part of its change process, also affected the intangible forms of many non-fishers. Though its effect on landscape form for the purposes of my study is important, it also held an importance to wider society's experiences with it, perhaps more than any of the other indicators such as my reference to the net spread as most important. The following early quote by Robie (1921) provides just one example, Here, Robie suggested that

Cortez with its many sailboats, piers and interminable nets might be a fishing village in Spain. It belongs to old Florida, fast disappearing under the march of civilization which even in the sunny South moves swiftly. (p. 20)

Here, the fisher's watercraft, imprinted on the general public's perception of the watery landscape, held its own meaning of significance (Glassie, 1988). The persistence of the sail in use today, is a testament to this meaning, its resilience, and versatility through the ages.

By the end of the contextual growth form period, or somewhere around 1920, Webb and Carrick (1967) documented that at least 45 companies were offering, or had offered outboard motors. By the end of the first decade of the contextual recovery form period, in spite of the economic downturn, the authors documented 13 more companies that came into operation. By 1934, the outboard motor was being produced and marketed more efficiently allowing its mass entrance into the mainstream culture of the United States by 1939. Though production of the outboard was temporarily halted by law during World War II, it quickly regained its ground by 1946 with supplies unable to keep up with heavy demands perpetuated by the war reductions, even with the addition of yet more companies manufacturing the product.

A different form of watercraft did appear in Cortez by the late 1920s and lasting to the end of the contextual recovery form period and beyond. Sailing watercraft were being retrofitted with enclosures that covered motors for powerboat conversions into launches, storing ice and the fish hauls, and amenities for sleeping and cooking. This modification of former sailing vessels was obviously the first priority over newly constructed launches that could cost \$350 by the early 1930s (Hunt, 2003), an virtual fortune for most fishers at the time. The modified appearance of the outline of vessels and the superstructures on them resulted in a new addition to the watercraft form as an indicator. By this time, local builders willing to accommodate the newer technologies were already converting their shops to the changing forms. By the end of World War II, cheaply available large motors, now being adapted to watercraft use from automobiles, along with relative cheap fuel costs, caused a widening and flattening of watercraft form. The use of highly technical devices using radar and sonar, were not yet perfected for use in Cortez. However, the improvement of the motorized watercraft did impact the fisher, who now became less dependent on weather and tides for determining fishing patterns, spent more time fishing, and was able to return to port quicker (Whittier, 1957).

The appearance of the cabin superstructure also appeared as a distinct form that earlier held its place on watercraft rigged with sails. The revised superstructure began to house adapted motor components. By 1946, as watercraft were fully converted and new motorized designs were being crafted commercially, the superstructure was used for icing and storing fish, sleeping, cooking, and general storage. A strange similarity existed between the icing of fish as preservation manifested in the physical construct of

the watercraft, and how the much earlier fishing smacks were also retrofitted with live wells for a similar purpose. Though two different methods of preservation, they were separated by decades of time.

In Cortez, the modern fishing trawler, as a distinct watercraft form did not yet show up in full by 1946, though it first appeared as a fishing method adapted to watercraft in the Gulf Coast by 1912 (Cato & McCullough, 1976). Some trawling devices were apparent on Cortez watercraft by the 1920s, and can be seen in historic photographs from that time. The obvious addition of this particular form that punctured the horizon, seemed to represent a modernized form of the sailing mast in their similarity, yet each reserved completely different functions. Cato and McCullough also suggested that the trawling operation did effectively cause a reduction in beach seining as a fishing activity by the 1940s.

The final effect on form pursuant to watercraft, was that by 1940, fish were no longer delivered by water transport in Cortez, now being sent over land by all fisheries dealers, representing the completion of the port-to-port run-boat by this time as a form on its landscape, as fish were packed in ice and delivered by trucks to the railroad stations or to Southern markets. Perhaps some water transport was still part of the fishing trade as the older generation commercial fisher ebbed out of the localized landscape scene. The growth of the tourism and fishing guide industry as a backdrop to the still viable vernacular TFV would begin its creation at commercial working waterfront, sharing space and attracting a different kind of fisher, with the hand-line as gear, and the powerboat as the watercraft.

Intangible manifestations-fishing grounds. In a way, the fishing grounds that were attached to Cortez as an extension of its vernacular landscape, expanded and contracted in physical and intangible ways. Cortez remained mostly an inshore fishery for most of its tenure after settlement, and for the entire timeframe of the historic study span. Therefore, the fishing grounds were not a continuously or extensively changing form during this time. Now, the use of technological advances could have allowed fishers to extend their reach further out in the Gulf if they needed to. Certainly, some did choose to fish commercially for longer range species. Simultaneously, and in contrast, the encroachment of land development and the increased populations that occurred and brought to bear down on the fishing grounds served to shrink it physically, but also in ways that were not so physically evident.

At the beginning of the contextual recovery form period, and in spite of mass motor production efforts developed by the 1930s, not all Cortez fishers were able to make a complete transition from watercraft using sail or manual power to the more costly motorized models. However, the improvements and availability of the motorized watercraft after World War II would allow more fishers to reach the extent of the traditional fishing grounds from Tampa Bay south to Charlotte Harbor quicker, and with more predictability. With regard to Cortez fishers, the fishing grounds were not necessarily modified by 1946; instead, their ability to access them, as well as, their experiences while pursuing the catch they did represent an altered set of conditions. By the end of 1946, mullet was still the desired fish caught and harvested. The hand-poled skiff was still used, which suggests that the fishing bounty and the local waters were still quite viable for the targeted mullet.

The fishing grounds revealed their own mysterious character as a changing construct. The lack of mullet during the 1930s remains a mystery, though some theories have been produced about the decade-long disappearance over the years since. As soon as the economic boom of the 1920s gained full speed at the beginning of the contextual recovery form period, and fishing was plentiful, the years of the Great Depression limited the amount of fish that could be harvested. The fishing grounds remained intact as local harvest areas by 1946, and even until the 1970s according to Frederikson (1995). Activity during the disappearance years was certainly decreased as regular fishers transitioned into other means of earning a living. In this sense, the fishing grounds became stabilized due to the decrease of activity. The few commercial fishers that continued to fish the traditional fishing grounds had less competition, and there was no need to expand beyond the known grounds, even with motorized watercraft. In a way, and at first, the motorization of watercraft offered convenience over the ability to extend the fishing grounds, though the ability to reach beyond the traditional fishing grounds would become increasingly common beginning in the 1950s.

Some early fishers suggested that the disappearance of the mullet during the 1930s could have been attributed to a naturally occurring deep water cavern into which they may have descended (Frederikson, 1995). Such conjecture, though appearing somewhat far-fetched, was a critical part of the fisher's knack for attempting to know as much about the fishing grounds as possible. Based on this knowledge, or traditional ecological knowledge, referenced earlier in my study, the opportunities for constructing such hypotheticals were often viewed similarly to how an educated scientist established them.

In looking at the fishing grounds more closely, some changes in their physical scope are revealed. With the construction of the Cortez Bridge in 1922, and the development of the upland areas, the fishing grounds began to change physically early on. The change from a more rural and natural environment to one becoming increasingly developed was one of increased built intrusions that would begin to decrease the original isolation and remoteness of the fishing grounds. The fishing grounds became more connected to the uplands through this development, and also with the larger group of society living there. Whereas, early after Cortez' settlement, access to any mainstream contingent of non-fishers, non-farmer folks was sporadic at best, the linkages created during the contextual recovery form period began to open up the fishing grounds to the improved technologies available, and to those who could afford to use them there. The extension of Cortez to include the fishing grounds as part of its unique identity would begin to be diluted. The fishing grounds were becoming more open to all, as an increasingly shared spatial construct.

According to Bausinger (1990), the temporal aspect of the Cortez fishing grounds, i.e., as a place where people had always done fishing historically, was now indeed a more spatially centered aspect, since the fishing identifier was no longer the only activity. Obviously, the historic fishing grounds of Cortez up to 1921 had changed by 1946 on paper, if the local upland areas that served as its land/water interstice were considered to be part of the fishing grounds. This is especially noticeable due to a committed, but not fully implemented development thrust of designed plans that were presented during the early 1920s, but delayed in coming to build-out fruition. However, during the Florida land boom of the 1920s, much of the physical, land development did

eventually take place that would begin to affect the fishing grounds environmentally. Its overall effect was short-lived though, being hampered by the Great Depression and World War II. It would not be until after 1946 then, that the most significant changes would actually serve to alter the fishing grounds of Cortez that affected the vernacular landscape in a significant manner, though it can be stated that the beginning of the effects were already in place during the contextual growth form (1898-1921) and contextual recovery form (1921-1946) periods. So, while the fishing grounds appeared to change significantly during the later period, they had already begun to do so during the earlier periods.

By 1946, the fishers in Cortez had an established fisheries lexicon of the fishing grounds. As part of the learned tradition of understanding the grounds, each fisher held a wealth of knowledge about fishing holes scattered within the 150-square mile fishing grounds area, assuming an area of approximately 70 miles of coast at approximately two miles wide. With the increasing upland development occurring on the barrier islands and the waterfront areas, many fishers sensed a decreased fishing grounds due to a cordoning off of once frequented areas where fishing was done. While the frequent storms, including the 1921 storm changed the physical structure of the fishing grounds to a degree, so did new upland development. The construction of bridges and canals changed water flow and flushing, adding a modicum of pollution runoff into the near shore waters. While historic agricultural uses certainly added their share of nutrient loading from the earliest settlement days, fisheries spawning areas located within the mangrove fringes and estuaries could have affected the productivity of the traditional fishing grounds by the 1930s, resulting in the blackout of mullet.

Seventeen years after the end of my historic study span, Varney (1963) cited four main reasons for diminished landings along the Florida Gulf Coast that included regulations, pollution from natural events such as red tide and storms, increasing costs of transporting fish and unstable wholesale prices, and the personal choices of fishers. Curiously, Varney did not specifically mention upland development, whereas, other authors did. For example, Eidse (2006), in evaluating the cultural life of Apalachicola, Florida in the Panhandle area, noted development as the number one negative effect to fishing. Eidse then cited the fishers' views as also citing development, but breaking the activity into categories of effects to include rearrangement of the upland areas and wetland destruction. Certainly, many earlier authors had predicted land development's impacts.

The fishers also cited the changes from traditional watercraft to motorized production watercraft as another major effect to the fishing grounds. The reduction of the water column available to fishers from development and other activities dating back to the first decade of the twentieth century was noticeable as a result of some of these effects. However, the severe reductions of mullet harvests of the 1930s were almost suddenly replaced with record-breaking harvests during World War II. The effects on the fishing grounds is not precise, as well, since documentation of its size and fluctuations over time, in relation to fishing communities has not been undertaken to my knowledge.

The relative stability of the traditional Cortez fishing grounds, in spite of the encroachment of hardscape development and increased human occupance, did not require an equalized extending of them. The knowledge of the fishers, learned from experience on the water during bountiful times, and also as traditional knowledge

passed on by forebears, served as an esoteric tool in keeping the traditional fishing grounds intact as it was since settlement. In the case of Cortez, the type of fish sought aided in this restriction to an immeasurable degree. Gilmore (1996) wrote about this knowledge as part of a fisher's lexicon, referenced above, interpreted by the fishers as part of memorizing and mentally configuring upland landmarks and underwater terrain features, and positioning between them.

Changes to the quality, and in some respects, the quantity of the fishing grounds did occur, which reflect a somewhat changed fishing grounds, but it becomes a less than significant change for the purposes on my study. The greater significance would actually occur after the contextual recovery form period when upland development would again boom, schisms between fishers and non-fishers would be exacerbated, and the regulatory environment would affect the fishing grounds through certain enactments. The effects from technological improvements such as the motorized watercraft would then represent a significant change to the fishing grounds, as the technological advances would be needed for extending the grounds, and became naturalized over time (Bausinger, 1990). The ability of the fishing grounds as part of the natural environment, but defined by humans, to express its own natural forms was being replaced in part by human expression, even as major natural events such as windstorms and floods produced significant impacts (adapted from Litton & Tetlow, 1974).

Finally, the notion of territoriality did not seem to affect the Cortez fishers, as it did to other fishing communities along the Florida Gulf Coast. This was perhaps due, again, to the localized structure of kinship in Cortez that was still maintained to at least

some degree by 1946, though it was quickly waning as a tradition to be handed down. The industrialized, or corporate form of a fishery, if such a descriptor can be applied, was not yet fully evident in Cortez, though there were different dealers. In Punta Gorda, for example, the corporate-oriented structure of fishing enterprise there by the 1920s established territories between fish companies (Taylor & Cook, 1990). This territoriality could have affected Cortez fishers; however, little information can be found to date to expound on the concept.

Intangible manifestations-act of fishing. Many accounts of the act of fishing in Cortez suggest that it had remained relatively unchanged over its history until sometime during the second half of the twentieth century. Some accounts, such as by Green (1985) viewed the 1940s and 1950s as the heyday of Cortez fishing, while others have suggested that it remained mostly unchanged even into the twenty-first century. Regardless of the various opinions about Cortez fishing, an examination of the vernacular landscape in Cortez, for the purposes of my study, reveals a changed act of fishing from the pre-1921 storm and end of the contextual growth form period, to the end of the contextual recovery form period in 1946. Therefore, based on a review of the historical record, the act of fishing was modified most during the period by technology that made obsolete the use of handcraft, learned skills, and manual labor. Knowing where and when to fish, reaching the fishing grounds, and returning with a haul for processing, all parts of the overall act of fishing, while still a basic model of its historical character, was changed significantly as a mix of clinging vernacular know-how and modified methods. However, even at the time of my study, Cortez still reserves a unique

character and sense of place in spite of the changes to its traditional fishing landscape scene noticeable through the interpretive analytics of my study.

The understanding of Cortez' historic character and traditional act of fishing that defined it becomes complicated since any first blush of the act of fishing seems to reveal the same historic pattern of a fisher locating a school of fish, setting the nets, hauling in the catch, and returning to the docks for unloading and processing. The subtleties of the act, made up of various elements that combine to create the overall form, results in the change. The traditional fisher's knowledge in place prior to 1921 would become muted by a changed knowledge set embraced by the more adaptable generations of fishers that followed in light of the array of technology changes. The reading of the act of fishing in this way, as a contributor to the vernacular landscape, helps to uncover or reveal these clues and thusly, the changed form. Now, with advances in technology, the reduction of the available fishing grounds, the separation of fishers and fishing methods, and a tightening fishing regulatory structure, an important query hovers around as to how these impacts affected the fisher and the act of fishing.

The enhancements of many of the physical constructs by technological advances contributed somewhat to how fishing was accomplished, but the more significant changes really occurred as part of the fisher's handed-down traditions that began to diminish under the influences of the wider mainstream cultural backdrop. This occurred over time as the third and fourth generations began to separate from their heritage, and as Cortez unwittingly relinquished its rural character and fostered physical, political, and social connections to other communities. These types of connections appeared to trump the long-standing economic connection for generating outside community influences,

since the trade and marketing of the fishery was an exclusive task of the fisher who dominated the earlier scenes. Early accessibility to outside connections was also dominated by the fishers, usually the male heads of household, who also dominated control of watercraft and the few automobiles in Cortez up to the 1930s.

The act of fishing in Cortez until 1946 basically centered around fishing for mullet, the primary species stalked off the Florida Gulf Coast since presettlement times. Because mullet do not typically respond to hook and line techniques, most fishing for them was done using gill nets, followed by stop nets, and seines. Cast nets were a fisher's more personal tool and most fishers owned at least one, but they were not used widely for commercial purposes. The basic act involved reaching the schools of mullet somewhere within the fishing grounds, setting the nets, and hauling in the catch for processing. This basic, overall act did not change, but the physical requirements and hauls between the two common acts of gill netting and stop netting did change in both physical and intangible ways.

The growth of stop netting after 1921 appeared to affect the act of fishing significantly, though the gill net continued to represent the most common net used for mullet fishing, not only in Cortez, but also along the Florida Gulf Coast. As already referenced, the act of fishing with a stop net differed from using the gill net. Several types of gill net were used, each incorporating a different method, so the confinement to Cortez of a single type is unclear. However, its overall popularity and use is somewhat ironic in that the gill net was considered to be one of the least efficient types of gear to use, originally requiring crews of four to six fishers in up to four skiffs and a power launch. Though it appeared have taken less time to complete the catch cycle, the

overall process was more complex and involved the time-consuming release of the individual fishes from the nets. The gill net continued to be considered a more mobile type of gear, but did not incorporate the use of motorized power for hauling in nets as much as the stop net.

In contrast and often using miles of net material, the stop net stretched across lagoons, bays, tributaries, and inlets for lengths of time up to 24 hours, though most Cortez fishers accomplished the cycle within 15 hours (Idyll, 1949). Considered much more efficient than gill netting, the stop net typically caught a large assortment of fish, and incorporated the motorized device, referred to as a donkey motor or engine for hauling the heavy, loaded net full of marine life. Most of the complaints against fishing gear were aimed at the stop net since it was perceived as an over-producer, and blocked off large areas to other fishers. Several ecological concerns were also attributed to the use of stop nets, though the early scientific findings could not justify any major impact from their use.

The stop net would become legally prohibited from use by 1949; however it continued to be employed due to the difficulties of enforcing the law against it, and the vagueness of the provisions of the law. It is difficult to assess the ethical differences between these two fishing groups, since both strove to produce successful fish harvests. Whether one group was considered more ethical than the other, or if a diminution in the ethical character of the Cortez fisher occurred as part of the act of fishing form, is left open for future study. There is some evidence in the literature regarding the apparent disregard of using up a large area of the spatial grounds demanded by the setting of stop nets in relation to disallowing access to other fishers.

This sometimes caused certain fishers to purposely overlay a stop net strike area with their own gear, revealing a sense of the “diminished reciprocities” that was deemed to be a fading ethical dimension among certain fishers after World War II (Anderson, 1984, p. 794).

The fact that so many complaints arose against stop netting, and that it was eventually outlawed just after the end of the contextual recovery form period suggests a loosened ethic of the local fishers that evolved up to 1946 and beyond in Cortez, and it makes for an interesting future query. However, this cannot be confirmed as part of an analysis on vernacular landscape form due to the limited available context that surrounded it in Cortez. Also, my study cannot presume to make such an argument against stopnetters as having any degree of unethical behavior, especially since the science of the time reported ecological problems with several kinds of netting depending on the tact and approach of their applications (Idyll, 1949). The ethical conundrum devolves to the personal choices made by fishers, rather than being attributable to a type of gear simply by association, though the notion of a changing ethical framework as part of the generational flux is quite interesting.

It is not too difficult to understand how the introduction of motorized watercraft and mechanical devices influenced changes to the basic act of fishing between 1921 and 1946. It responded by moving away from a purer vernacular handcraft to one that became mixed with handcraft and mechanized systems. Even fish processing methods had changed during the timeframe of my overall study span. Influences from outsiders also began to be introduced as the traditional kinship complex fostered the introduction of different methods and fish targets such as locally designed shell fishing devices by

1927 (Eaker, 1994). Additional points of vernacularism in the act of fishing were also changing as the more vernacular impart on fishing that used the artisanal knowledge and skills of the fisher for sailing and the placement and retrieval of the netting, combined with a localized tradition for learning the ecosystem in which they fished were steadily being replaced. The latter included an inherent, instinctual vernacular applied to the local environmental elements that only fishers could learn through tradition, observation, and experience; these were already fading by 1921, becoming even more so by 1946.

However, influential events, which many fishers account their notions of memory to, such as the 1921 storm, the Florida Land Boom, the Great Depression, the sudden disappearance of mullet, and World War II affected Cortez for long durations between 1921 and 1946. In some cases, the events opened up opportunities for fishing and the arrival of new methods away from the vernacular in a kind of wholesale approach as the traditional fishers sought to increase the output of their trade, or as outsiders joined the ranks of the kinship community, bringing in newer technologies and methods with them.

The opposite effect of events also affected the act of fishing in allowing it to hold its traditional sets at bay along the time continuum of the period. In other words, some stabilization, or perhaps the word delaying is better, of the act of fishing may have occurred as the elder fishers minimized their craft or reduced their investments in fishing, and the newer ones would not invest in newer fishing technologies because of being forced, economically, to do other things. The feast and famine circumstances forced many fishers to abandon fishing in order to pursue other activities for earning an income. The effect of no ready market buying fish harvests went with these types of

events, causing many fishers to fall back to subsistence fishing, a part of the commercial fishers overall skillset that other trades did not have available, or were not able to retain during such times. These events may also have delayed more rapid changes to the built construct of Cortez, and also may have held intact, the traditional act of fishing in spite of technological advances. Some of the newer technologies in Cortez, such as motors that required gasoline, and appliances and tools that required electricity were abandoned during difficult economies and replaced with the manual artifacts still kept on-hand in order to save money. The historic record is replete with evidence of fishers reducing the act of fishing to a subsistence level activity, whereby the fallback to more traditional methods, was certainly elemental in allowing Cortez to retain its small-scale character when compared to other TFVs.

However, there are disparities when considering notions of stability. The act of fishing, as a traditional occupation continued to be listed as the primary occupation by Cortez residents in increasing numbers to 1940, though the war and retirement reduced the number of fishers in Cortez by 1946. The success of the insider fish dealer affected the relationships between Cortez fishers that was not prevalent as part of the internal hierarchy of fishers prior to 1921. At least one author suggested that the relationships were more favorable in Cortez due to the kinship base, but there is no evidence to support this. Recollections of individual attitudes, strikes against dealers, and deeply divided arguments between gillnetters and stopnetters suggested conflict and tension. Certainly, some degree of these is expected in any village.

The emergence of strikes due to fish price reductions, the myriad unionization efforts that resulted from them, as well as, the schisms between the different netters

also continued throughout the period. Frederikson (1995) cited these kinds of problems as restricting a fisher's freedom, a value that is indelibly attached to the typical fisher's way of thinking. However, the availability of local occupational opportunities as career choices seemed to denude the meaning of fishing as a handed-down tradition to certain descendants who chose other career paths as more stable and secure than fishing. For example, the new bridge required a bridge tender, the post office required a postmaster, local fish dealers required labor help, local builders required carpenters, etc. The increased opportunities from the Cortez village's increased linkages to the mainstream cultural confluences of Manatee County and the larger region changed the focus on fishing as a handed-down full time career. A fisher could still be passionate about fishing and obtain meaning from it, but not as a vocation that centered around fishing as a lifeworld. The corporatization of the village of Cortez, amidst a rapidly changing cultural mainstream affected the earlier traditional village structures.

The political regulation of fishing and fishing gear affecting the Cortez fishers since settlement continued to stress the vernacular landscape during the contextual recovery form period. Some authors, such as Lippard (1997) and Price (2004) suggested that the waning of the traditional fishing enterprise is attributable to strong regulatory environments; however, unlike more recent restrictions to which they were likely referring, this does not seem to have had a major effect on the act of fishing through 1946. The restriction of gear and the legal timing of open fishing did not necessarily affect the act of fishing either, since the nets used in Cortez were still allowed in most areas through 1946. If anything, it reduced the available areas for fishers (water column reduction), which, in turn reduced the available fishing grounds,

and the sense of freedom gained from fishing. While the form, or act of fishing, was affected, it was not yet significantly changed as a purposeful act merely through legislation by that time.

The apparent reduction of insider fishers and their replacement with outsiders in Cortez during World War II added to a steady dilution of the kinship base during that time. The fisher shore crowd that once characterized Cortez at least up to 1921 did seem to be reduced by 1946 as the wider cultural mainstream became more pronounced, allowing them to be less isolated and more independent. In a way, Cortez seemed to slowly veer away from what Gilmore (1996) described as its artisanal, folk-like beginning as lands were sold, land intrusions increased, and the shared community feelings and values revolving around the center of fishing, business, politics and bureaucracy diverged. Because of the change in the local corporate structure that began after the 1921 storm, the corporate fisher mentality may have also begun to replace the self-sufficient, passionate fisher. Perhaps the infighting between net fishers that ensued provides a glimpse of the changing value sets in this regard. Sometime after 1921, the act of fishing did not appear to represent the one common denominator that congealed the fishing community of Cortez. It can be said for additional study purposes that these latent incremental effects could have resulted in a cumulative change over time in Cortez that somehow compromised the integrity of the historically significant act of fishing as it accreted up to 1921 in both physical and intangible ways.

Intangible manifestations-elapsed experiential. The contextual recovery form period that marks the end of the historic study span finds the vernacular landscape form in Cortez to have recovered from the severe destruction of the waterfront caused by the

1921 storm. Up to 1920, or so, the Cortez fishing village identified its most common cultural roots to the maritime communities along the Atlantic Coast of North Carolina. The second-generation of fishers were now at or near retirement age, and the fourth generation was emerging. The population and the number of fishers continued to expand up to 1946; however, the majority of fishers native to North Carolina, which was at its post-settlement peak of approximately 60% by 1910, and then beginning a slow reduction to approximately 51% by 1920. Admittedly, some of the reduction resulted from offspring of North Carolina natives born in Cortez, who had become fishers but were not native to North Carolina.

The elapsed experiential, as a researcher's compendium of memory, perception, and experience, developed in a robust manner during this period due in large part to the 1921 storm and its effects on the community. It seems that the fishers and their families, whether because of their connection to the environment, or as part of some recognized cultural trait, recognized major events such as the windstorms as dividing lines in their individual and collective memory forms, or patterns (Tebeau, 1976). For example, some fishers would look at the history of Cortez, not necessarily according to what happened in any given year or decade, but according to what happened before or after an event. In a 1959 interview with one of original settler fishers in Cortez, one local newspaper contains a recounting by the fisher that associates some fisher's memories being associated with whether a year was good or bad, and major events that defined an entire year (Bradenton Herald, May 10, 1959 edition). In Cortez, this manner of perceiving the past as an elapsed experiential form would look at Cortez before and after the 1921 storm, the time the mullet disappeared, during the war, etc. It is known

that storms are a common part of the elapsed experiential for most maritime communities, since they are the most vulnerable to the brutal effects from them. Nearly every historic TFV can cite a major storm as having affected their community in their recollected past. The suddenness of the event, and the almost instantaneous, widespread destruction caused by it places a permanent scar as a memory on the elapsed experiential for most. The severity of the windstorm, it seems, has a much different impact on the elapsed experiential than the creep of other impacts that may occur over a longer, less precise term.

The structuring of time as part of memory is adapted for other longer term events, as well, such as the alleged disappearance of mullet from 1929 when the desired fish were first noticed as missing from the scene to 1939, when they suddenly reappeared. In this case, one of the most pertinent memories revolved around not hearing the familiar distant rumbles of mullet slapping back into the water as large schools of them jumped together. The historic record refers to this as akin to a distant thunder heard in the background that helped to form the sense of the places near Cortez around commercial fishing and the natural elements. The continuous rumble of jumping mullet represented a plentiful bounty, not yet disturbed, nor affected by external influences that bolstered the fishers' way of life, and perhaps even gave some meaning to it, though these are just conjectures, highly dependent on the personalized notions of the fishers themselves. Yet, the references to this one characteristic memory of the plentiful bounty do reveal a changeable, hidden, or intangible form that was part of the visible and audible landscape. The change or diminution of this form that was experienced by the fishers affected their notions of a previously occurring landscape,

that, in a way that could be at least minimally understood and interpreted, and also somewhat measurable for the purposes of my study.

The research of my study then, appears to reveal an enhanced elapsed experiential by 1946 that can be interpreted through what I have already described as a lost cultural flux and a continued sense of loss. These are indicators of an intangible set of forms present in the now historic vernacular landscape that can be evaluated for change. The disappearance of mullet and the sense of place procured from it according to the experience of the fishers, are consistent with the continued sense of loss, and provide one example. The impact of the 1921 storm referenced earlier, certainly adds to the elapsed experiential, but it may have a more far-reaching effect as an enhancer of the elapsed experiential in the minds of the fishers and their families. This is because the storm did not necessarily diminish the culture, or cause it to permanently change in unfamiliar ways-at least not immediately. It affected the village landscape by changing it physically to be sure, but the culture, and therefore the cultural flux remained as they set about their business to continue fishing. The emergence of the insider corporate structure established a different experiential more suited to a discussion regarding the act of fishing, though it was part of the creeping lost cultural flux.

The sense of loss was also physical, though it could be argued that a sense of innocence to nature could have been lost as part of the cultural exposure to it. The main point here is that the TFV culture itself did not appear to significantly change or be reduced because of that major event, in spite of the changed waterfront, rebuilding methods, or views about waterfront living, since no evidence can be found to support such change as a collective response. However, it did affect the ways in how many of

them organized and viewed the history of the place. In this sense, and as Hoskins (1955) might have agreed, the landscape was more than just physically changing.

The contextual recovery form period was replete with other major events that may have affected the elapsed experiential. The significant land boom of the early 1920s that was followed almost immediately by the Great Depression, the mullet disappearance, and then the overseas war may have inculcated the beginnings of a changing cultural flux that also effected a continued sense of loss within the older Cortez generations. Notwithstanding the 1921 storm and its enormous physical impact on the entire community of Cortez, the economic doldrums that lasted for part of an entire generation toward the end of the contextual recovery form period could have created a significant, “non-recapturable” gap in the localized culture.

Foote (1994) recognized this type of effect on landscapes after World War II as a comparison to what he read as the more stabilized “old” or folk landscape character, though it seems to have had its roots in the occurrences prior to that time (p. 142). This was then reflected in the revised perspectives and forward traditions of the later generations. The lost cultural flux would have been more recognizable to the older generations who were still coping with the newer technologies, but in retrospect, could realize only later, the cumulative effects of the processes that were placed on the now historic cultural landscape of their past. The commercial component of the wider TFV landscape in Cortez had always been a seamless attachment to the residential component. Only later, as the cultural flux changed, was its importance, or to use a better term, its prominence recognized as it began to fade out of the scene as part of cultural changes, rather than through sudden acts of nature, for example.

Rapoport (1992) suggested that vernacular landscapes are less vulnerable to sudden change since they reflect the values and ideas of the group. The impact of the 1921 hurricane failed to corrupt the intangible vernacular integrity of the localized physical landscape even though the latter was virtually erased from the familiar scene, and then rebuilt, whereas, the effects of the later economic downturn impacting the newer generations probably began to change it, albeit more slowly, based on the opportunities and constraints presented to them. However, the later changes were not necessarily purposefully designed, since they were orchestrated in part due to those opportunities and constraints that were different than what the earlier generations experienced. Such change pursuant to the lost cultural flux appears as more reactionary over time, whereas, recognition of the continued sense of loss becomes part of a proactive pursuit to limit future losses. This often happens later rather than sooner since the effect of cultural loss is rarely apparent until an undefined amount of time has elapsed.

Perhaps the earliest sense of loss in Cortez was reflected around 1910 when comments were already being made about how the motorized vessel would literally take the sails from the watery landscape of commercial fishing (referenced earlier). The continued sense of loss was also reflected by third generation descendants in the extended vernacular constructs of both physical and intangible manifestations. Through 1946, the physical impact of the net spreads and the remaining fisheries camps that were part of the waterfront conglomeration were still mostly intact and not yet recognized for their significance to the culture by those who were part of it at the time. Their physical form was certainly captured visually and recorded mentally, but the effect

to the wider array of senses through experiencing them, was not firmly placed, as often happens (Upton, 1991). Recognizable losses to the building mosaic and the other erected constructs may not have yet been realized by the culture living in and experiencing them by the end of 1946, in spite of some scholars acknowledging the late 1940s as the beginning of strident character-defining vernacular losses in some maritime settings (Mellin, 2003). This leads to yet another outstanding query regarding how much loss actually took place prior to this time.

The relative importance of vernacular as meaningful to the historic landscape appeared to be noticeable after the end of the historic study span. Now, because of its slow disappearance or at least partial loss, those realizing some measurable loss began to opine about it, establishing a recollection on behalf of the community that could embrace the knowledge of having been exposed to it in the past as part of the now lost traditional elements. These grassroots participants began to document how artifacts were once used, or appeared in the landscape, or how the lay of the land formerly existed. This creeping normalcy, discussed by Diamond (2005), reveals how cultures may always be in the process of losing aspects of their culture without full realization of it occurring until well after the effect. This is one reason that the elapsed experiential is difficult to assess regarding surpassed generations' views of their landscapes. They were almost always being lived in, and not necessarily being looked at with an external, disconnected view and perspective. When the landscape begins to be looked inward from the outside, its fading or lost material components become part of the lost cultural flux now deemed important (in reference to Glassie, 1968).

In Cortez, the changed waterfront was noticeable in what went missing as part of this elapsed experiential. Not only in what was visibly lost, which according to Upton (1997) is a misleading recognition, but also in what had been lost through symbolic activities and actions and an emerging placeless-ness (Holdsworth, 1997). A third generation fisher had recalled the loss of the boats and docks loaded daily with fish, along with the visible scene of nets occupying so many spaces, but also recounted the intangible experience of walking to the docks with a daily lunch bucket to embrace another day of a vocation characterized by independence and freedom (Jepson & Florida Humanities Council, 2006). He also recalled a sense of camaraderie that was no longer part of the present culture. Though there is no doubt that a certain community bond was present in Cortez, the historical record reveals many disputes among fishers and the local residents that may not be accurately be reflected in trying to recapture the elapsed experiential by recent historians.

To those who could remember, the natural promise of fishing afforded to the original settlers who performed the difficult tasks associated with it, did not seem to vanish from the 1921 storm, but did during the 1930s mullet disappearance. The affordances of nature, suddenly reversed through this decline, may reveal a demarcation point in the experiential of the later generation fishers as a struggle compounded by the added challenges from World War II, postwar encroachment, regulations, and other environmental impacts such as red tides not encountered by the first generations in such a series of events. The elapsed experiential becomes a moving concept along with each generation. The self-reliance and isolation of Cortez, as part of some older vernacular, had certainly changed enough to begin effecting an elapsed

experiential. The record-breaking mullet catches after the long disappearance of the fish rekindled the natural promise, but it continued to wax and wane over time.

The heyday of commercial fishing in Cortez, to the later generations, therefore may have ended precisely at the end of the contextual recovery form period. Coincidentally, it would not be long before the nylon net also transformed the work out of fishing, another serious, form changing occurrence that becomes part of the triumvirate of work reduction-sail to motor, hand to motor, and cotton to synthetic. The elapsed experiential by 1946 represented an already changed Cortez, but one whose recognition would be delayed and mainly recounted by the aging generations, as part of their elapsed experiential through a predictive and recalled elegiac. This was due to the lack of early culture's "conscious search" for their past, instead opting to transmit as much tradition to their descendants as they could, while working through the wider cultural and natural influences occurring at the same time (Bausinger, 1990).

Discussion of the contextual recovery period form

The final form period of my study revealed important changes to the vernacular landscape form of Cortez as it recovered from the effects caused by hurricane winds and tidal surge, and confronted a succession of changing technologies upon the commercial fishing scene. It also revealed itself as perhaps the most active and changing period resulting from external forces linked to economic successes and failures, a dilution of its original kinship orientation, and a diminution of the traditional handed-down knowledge related to commercial fishing. Table 4-4 provides a positive or negligible change determination finding of each form indicator during the contextual growth form period as compared to the previous historic study period.

Additional activity occurred that affected the built structure of the landscape form; however, a fairly stable equilibrium was also achieved by the end of the period, in spite of, and perhaps due to a series of major events occurring locally and nationally. Of course, a stabilization of form can sometimes result from other types of activity, affecting for example, production and economics. While growth and additional vernacular elements continued to be built into the form construct such as occurred with the major redevelopment of the western shore with a trailer park, the stabilizing effect of non-activity from the Great Depression and the disappearance of the mullet for nearly a decade, further exacerbated by stabilizing effects of World War II and the first appearance of red tide (not until 1947), significant changes to the overall vernacular landscape appeared to have been kept at bay.

Regarding the village layout, the boundary was expanded significantly due to an extension of a large percentage of the shoreline beginning in 1921, which is a significant change, since the historic perspective of the working waterfront also changes because of that. A person standing at the water's edge in 1910 may not have recognized the waterfront from that same vantage point in 1946.

The changes in the vernacular landscape were surprisingly insignificant regarding architectural form, since most buildings by the end of the period exhibited a common shape that included a predominance of one-story, gabled forms. Some deviated from this pattern, but represented an insignificance based on their individuality and disconnectedness from the culture as a whole. For example, no trends that contributed to the cultural flux and flow occurred from many of these constructs that were usually constructed as part of individual taste or outsider intrusions, though later

occurrences may have been more pronounced and influential on the vernacular landscape.

The adaptation of some forms into other uses reveals this cultural value set in how a form is then treated into the future. As long as a form could be used by the community at large, whether consistently as part of an original use or as one that was altered through an adaptive reuse, then its value increased to the community, and its stability on the scene also increased (Kropf, 1993). For example, the reuse of the net spread into a mooring facility may have increased its value over other objects that became immediately derelict as the technology changed its necessity. However, in TFVs, another value emerged in the materials themselves. While the use of a vernacular form may have diminished, the materials were rarely left to degenerate, instead, almost always reused for other forms. So, the value was not always placed in regard to a continued use, but also in the reconstitution potential of its materials into different forms.

As fishing became toil for some, and a run of only minimal productivity for others, the more opportunistic fishers were able to sustain a modicum of a living and adapt to changes. Some left the fishing vocation briefly to find buried treasure in the nearby shell mound; such opportunities attracted even the most ardent fishers, most likely as a whim when productive fishing declined. Treasure hunting is a traditional fisher folklore shared among fishing cultures across a wide geographic pattern. Mullen (1978) found the same to be true for Texas Gulf Coast fishers who included these types of legends as a major part of their own folklore. The constant indicator among fishers in Cortez is that it often became a calling as a vocation, rather than just pay for work. It was recognized as both

difficult and dangerous by most fishers-an inherent aspect of the trade that allowed them to create an inherent bond as a group. However, there were also many disagreements on issues such as fishing gear and methods, use of land and water areas, and dealer-fisher relationships. These were all related directly to commercial fishing. However, there did not seem to be any recall, or major discussion regarding the conversion of a large waterfront area to a trailer park. This is especially curious since the impact, and the intrusion from such a use, once fully developed, would invite a significant amount of change and influence to the village. Yet, the elegiac that developed seemed to only recall fishing specific memories and losses unrelated to land development-at least until well after the end of the period.

The final result was a Cortez that reached a climax of its historic vernacular form by 1946, or so, not only from what was built on the ground and over the water, or used as tools of their trade, but also as it was constructed as part of its intangible constructs such as the act of fishing and its elapsed experiential. The cultural flux and its loss would later be recalled in some of the seemingly insignificant things such as the occurrence of nets across the water and in yards, the daily walk to the docks, the open waterfront, and the lunch bucket. Changes to these indicators, some of them being intangible were the most noticeable.

It seems that the lesson gained from the contextual recovery form period is that it is easy to overanalyze forms when attempting to evaluate the landscape of long periods punctuated by multiple events and influences. While form change evaluation was still manageable using the form indicator sets, there were too many influences to uncover and provide sufficient details under my study. A number of future studies could be

generated from these findings. What can end up missing is the effect on a form deriving from the value placed on it by the community that at one time considered its importance, constructed it, used it, and nurtured it.

Transition Statement

The contextual recovery form period from 1921 to 1946 represented the final historic period for analyzing form and revealing change determinants in the vernacular landscape of Cortez. The period proved to be the most active regarding influences on form, yet not all form indicators changed as a result. This revealed an entrenchment or a stability of certain forms to a certain crescendo toward the end of the period as they were excoriated for review and consideration. It also revealed breakdowns in the traditional fishing culture resulting from changes that were both physical and intangible.

In order to understand something as fluid and constantly changing as a lived in landscape, the indicator sets and graphic tiles used for breaking the landscape down into measurable size, as Geertz might have suggested, worked extremely well. However, the landscape, as a study entity, is extremely complex, and still highly subjective. Reading it and attempting to understand the forces that act upon it can take virtually any direction depending on the researcher's personal and professional perspectives. All of the historic periods, and the findings from each are narrated in the next chapter.

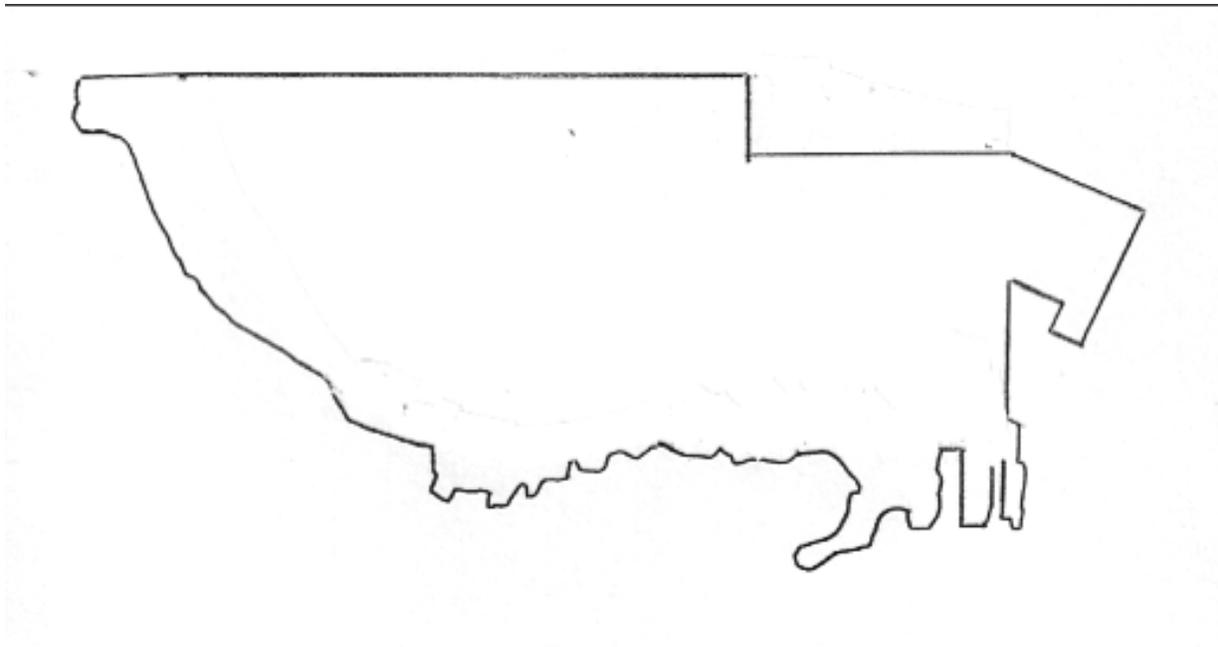


Figure 4-1. Cortez historic study area. The Cortez historic study area includes the original 1887 plat and the expansion areas of the village until 2013. Source: L. Frey, 2013, based on deed and historic mapping analysis.



Figure 4-2. Cortez aerial view. The fishing village is highlighted in the cross-shaded area. Cortez is part of the larger Cortez peninsula located between Sarasota Bay and Palm Sola Bay. Source: Google earth & Terra Metrics, 2013; map manipulation by L. Frey, 2013.

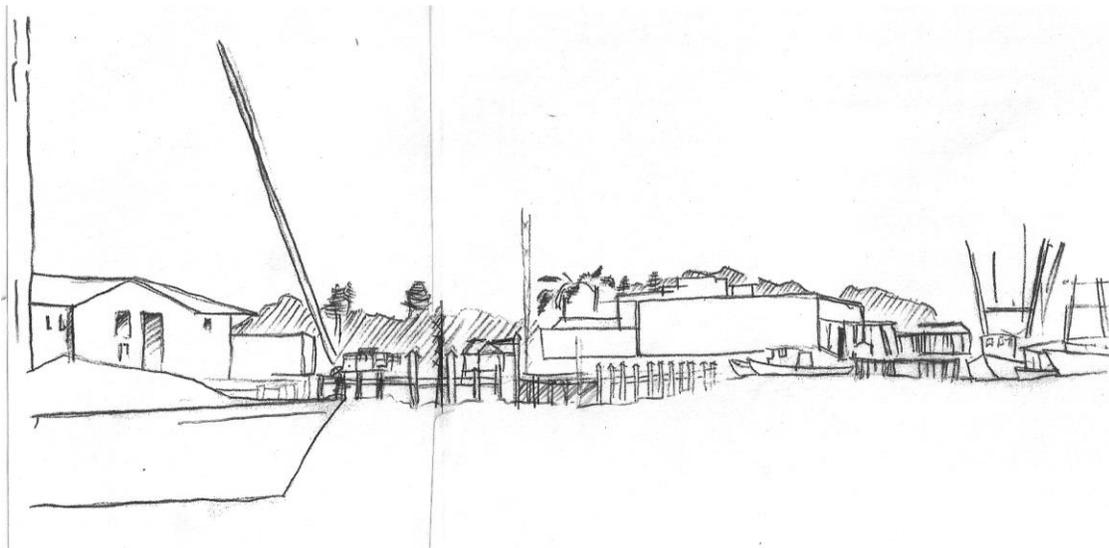


Figure 4-3. The 2013 waterfront conglomeration of Cortez. Source: Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

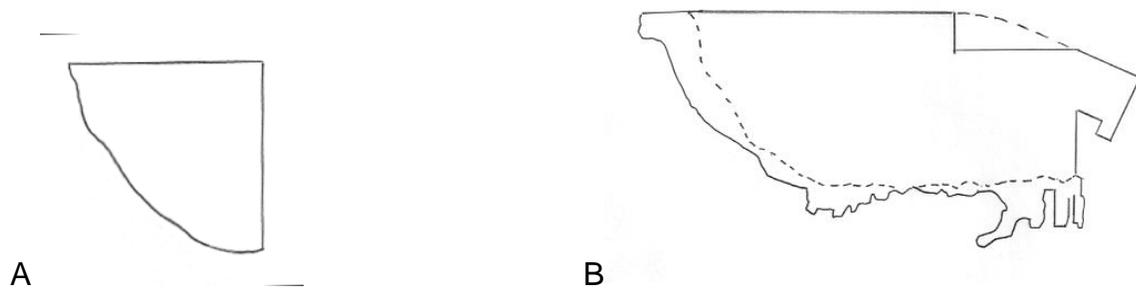


Figure 4-4. Comparison of historic Cortez boundaries. A) 1887 plat boundary. B) 2013 boundary with historic shoreline shown with the dashed line along west and south areas. Dashed line along north area is area of boundary contraction by 1909. Source: L. Frey, 2013, based on deed and historic mapping analysis.

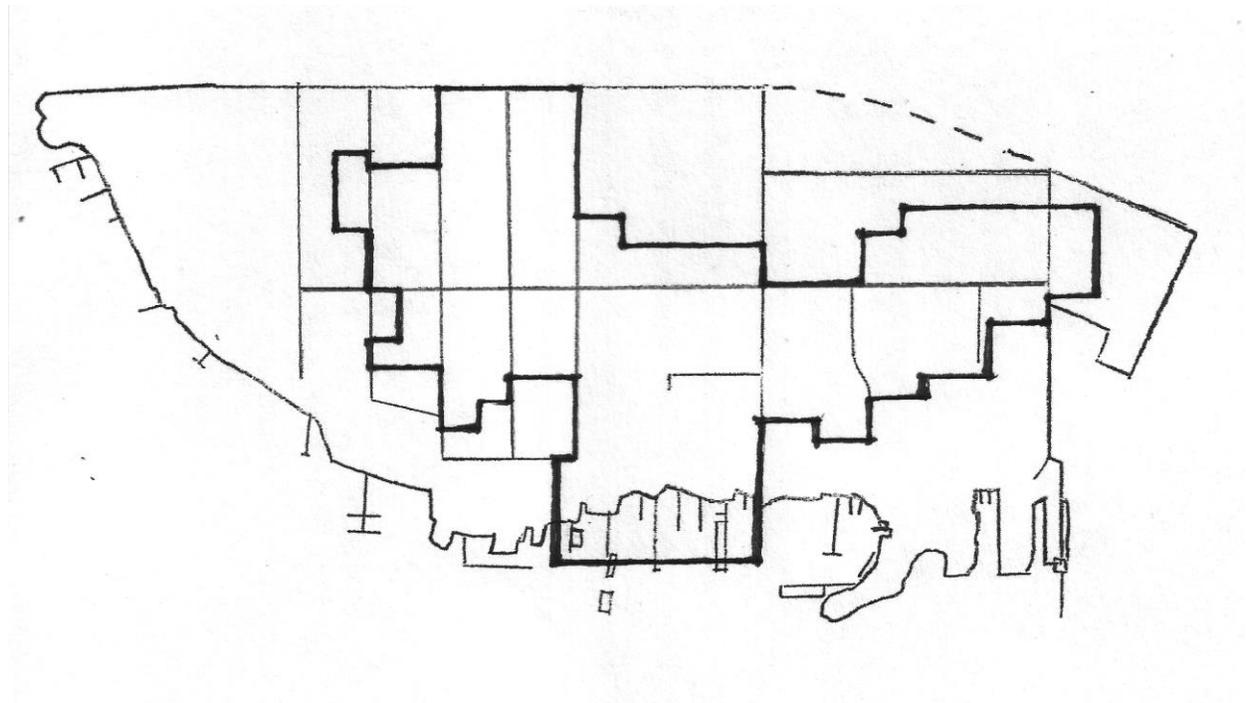


Figure 4-5. 1995 Cortez historic district boundary. The subject area is within the thick line. The boundary tends to meander through the village including only a small portion of its total waterfront. Source: Drawn by L. Frey, 2013; data from the 1995 Cortez National Register Nomination by Fulford-Green & Piland.

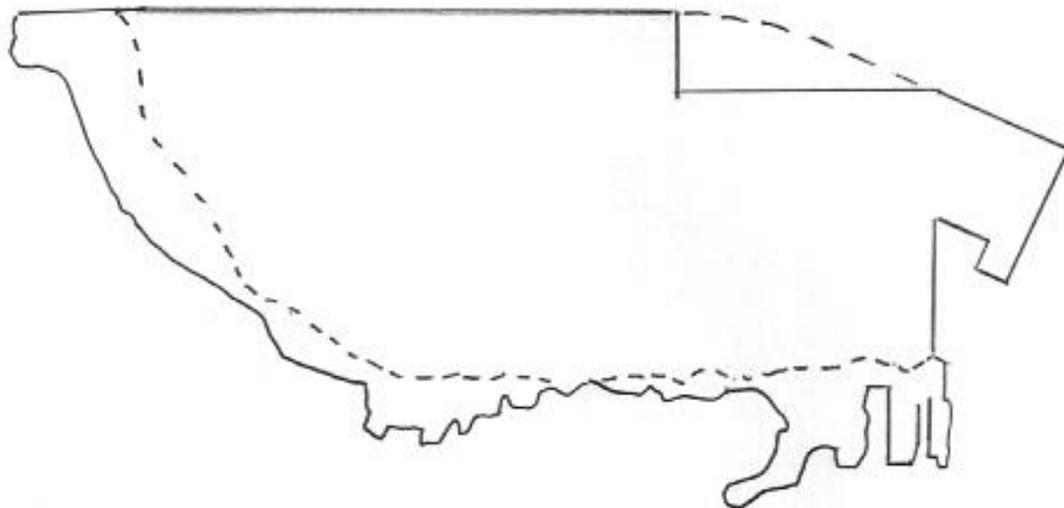


Figure 4-6. Historic shoreline of Cortez. The original, historic shoreline is shown as a dotted line that begins at the northwest corner extending southward along the south shoreline toward the eastern boundary extent. The dotted line occurring in the northwest area is Cortez Road, representing the former historic boundary. This approximate five-acre area was taken under corporate ownership by 1909. Source: Drawn by L. Frey, 2013, based on deed and historic mapping analysis.



Figure 4-7. 2013 parcel configuration. There are approximately 250 parcels, however, the 1912 school parcel, and the individual sites of the Cortez Trailer Park are excluded. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013, based on deed and historic mapping analysis.

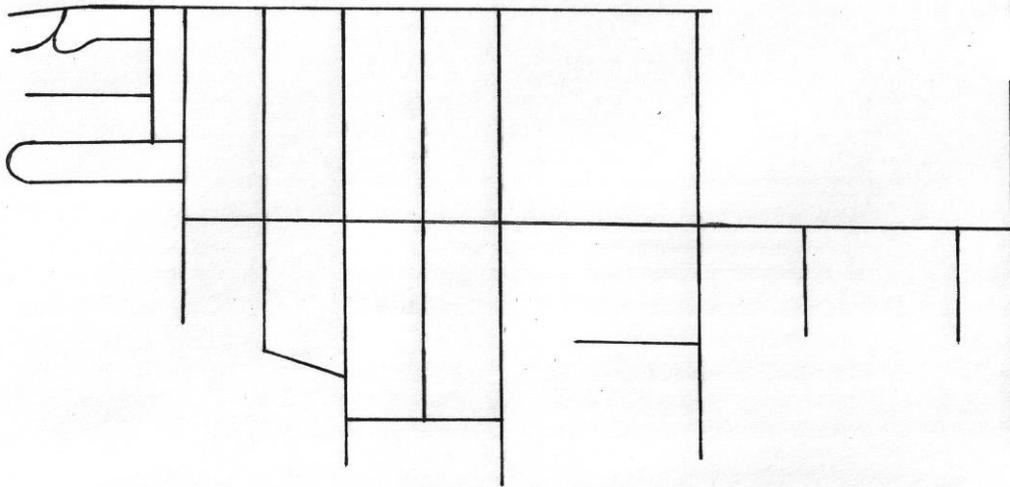


Figure 4-8. 2013 Cortez circulation pattern. There is still a north/south orientation with a long east/west central axis. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013, based on existing public street system.

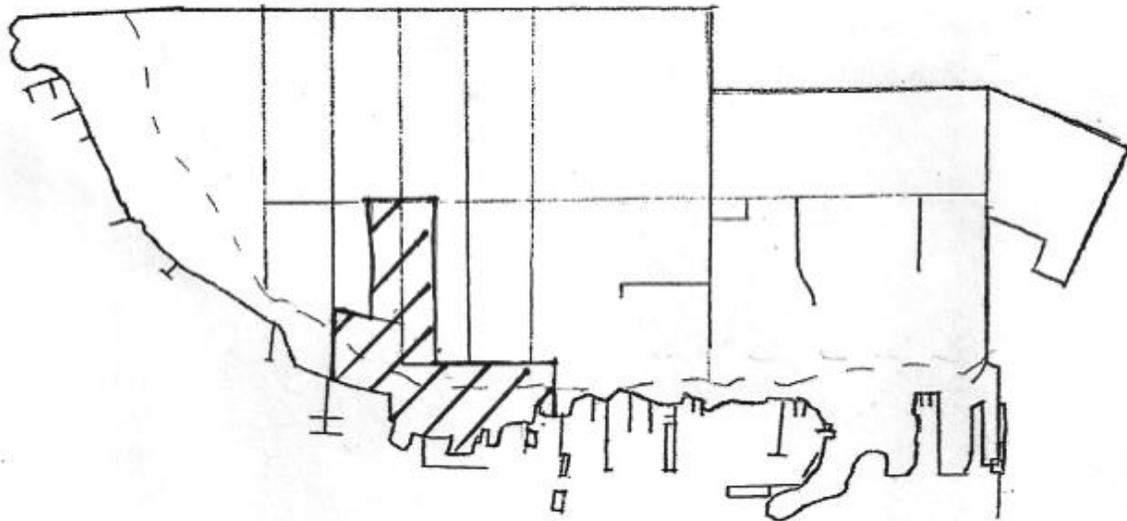


Figure 4-9. Historic activity center. The subject area is shown as the cross-shaded area. Since the first decade of settlement, the primary fisheries activity center of Cortez has been located along the waterfront between 124th Street Court and 123rd Street. The main commercial street extended to the north up to 46th Avenue. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013, based on historic records and physical constructs.

Table 4-1. Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1947 to 2013.

Waterfront Conglomeration	Village Layout Form	Building Mosaic	Extended Vernacular
Yes	Yes-Boundary	Yes-Residential Buildings	Physical Yes-Fisheries Camps Yes-Net-Works
	No-Parcel Configuration	Yes-Non-Residential/Non-Fisheries Buildings	Yes-Dock System Yes-Nets
	Yes-Circulation	Yes-Fisheries Contextual Buildings	Yes-Watercraft Intangible Yes-Fishing Grounds Yes-Act of Fishing Yes-Elapsed Experiential

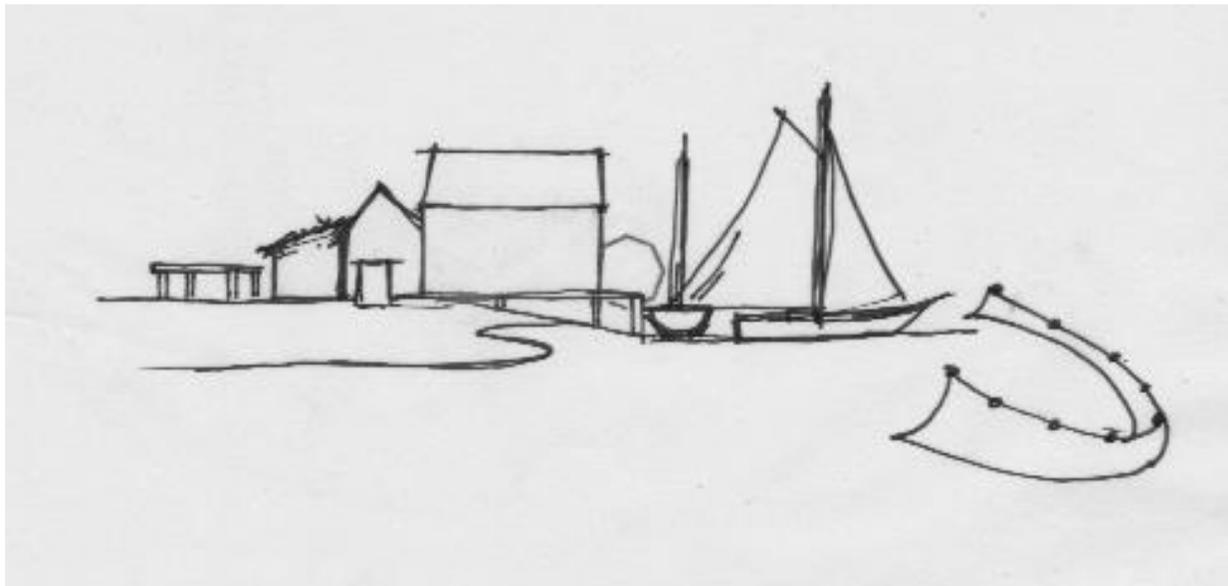
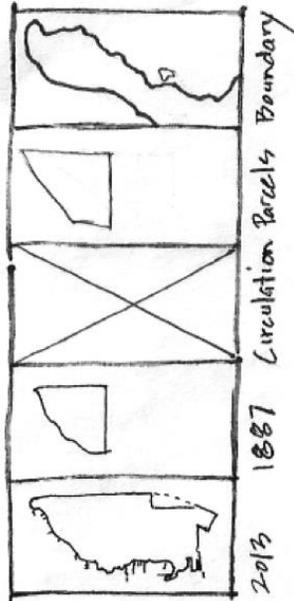


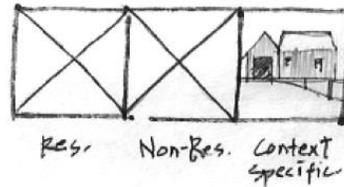
Figure 4-10. Presettlement form depiction of the waterfront conglomeration. Drawing by L. Frey, 2012.

Presettlement Form Period: Prior to 1887

VILLAGE LAYOUT



BUILDING MOSAIC



EXTENDED VERNACULAR

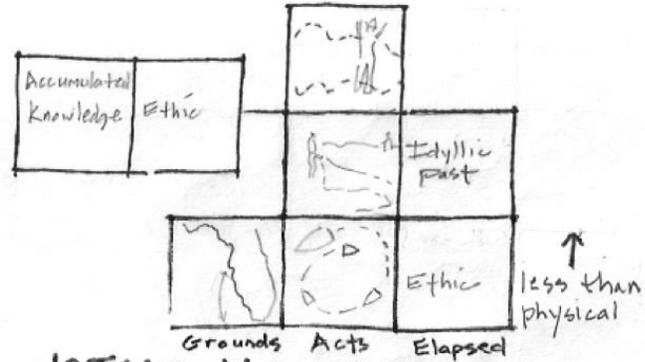
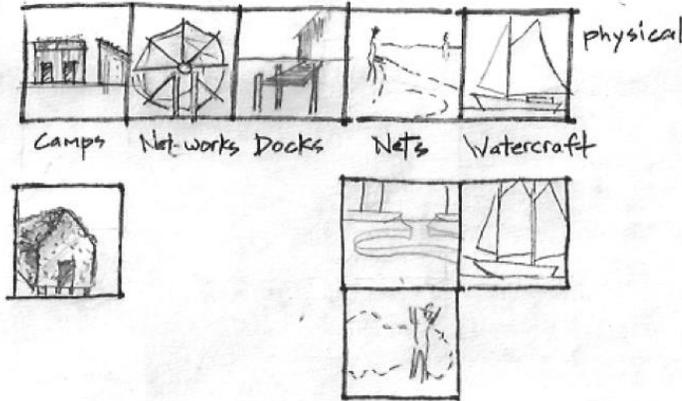


Figure 4-11. Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the presettlement form period occurring prior to 1887. Drawing by L. Frey, 2012.

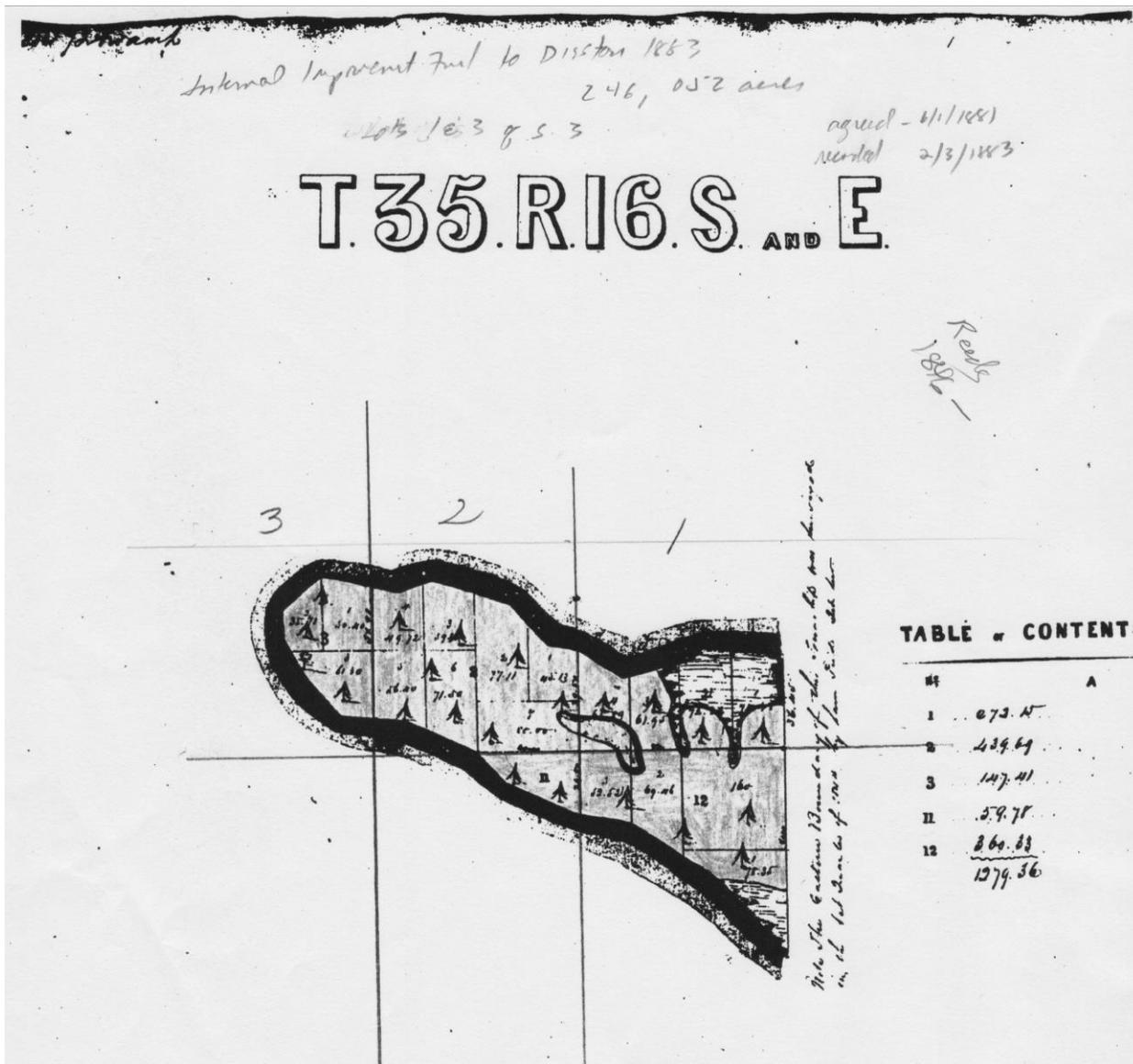


Figure 4-12. 1846 Survey of Hunter's Point peninsula. Survey taken by Lieutenant Samuel Reid showing first actual subdivision of Hunter's Point as U. S. Government Lot 3. Source: Manatee County Historical Records Library.

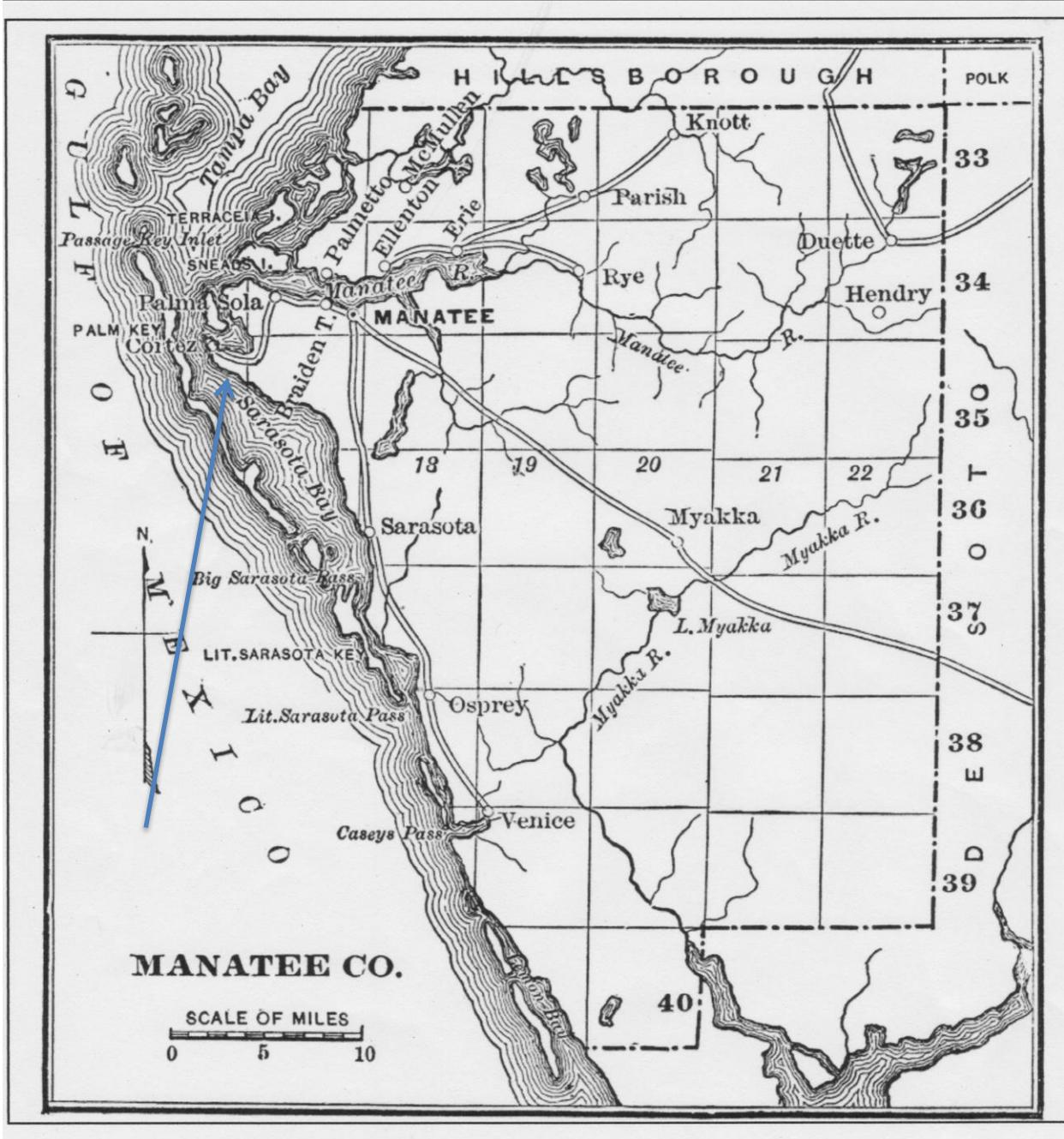


Figure 4-13. 1890 map with the name “Cortez” first appearing. The arrow points to the Cortez south waterfront. It is shaped like a thumb with the historic village located where the thumbnail would be. Source: Manatee County Historical Records Library, Longmans and Green, 1890.

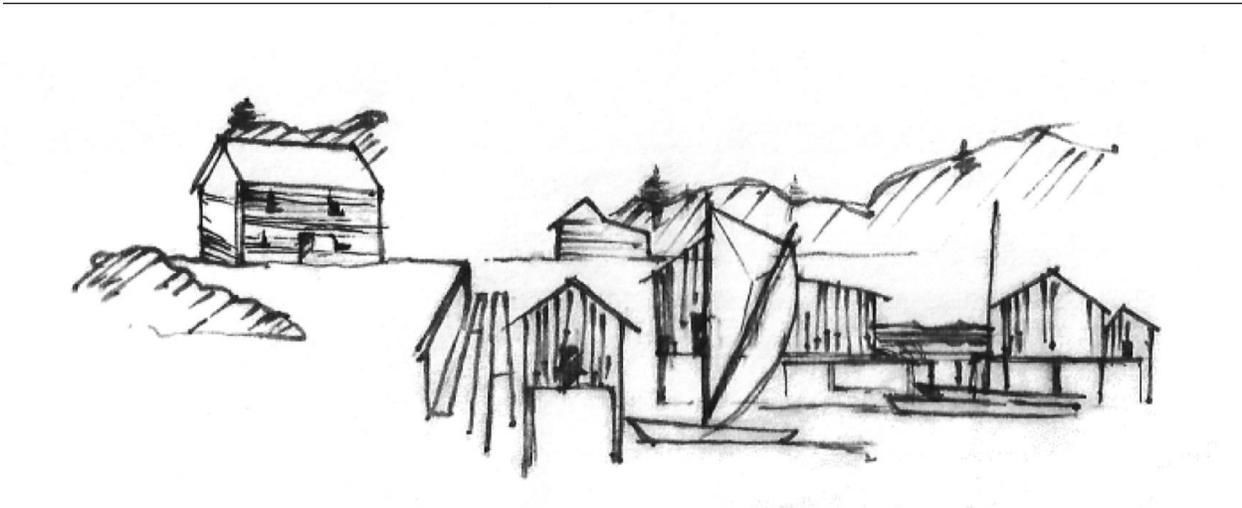


Figure 4-14. Settlement form period (1887-1897) waterfront conglomeration sketch. It reveals a thinly developed upland construct and a denser tidal area construct due to the number of fishers exceeding the number of landowners. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

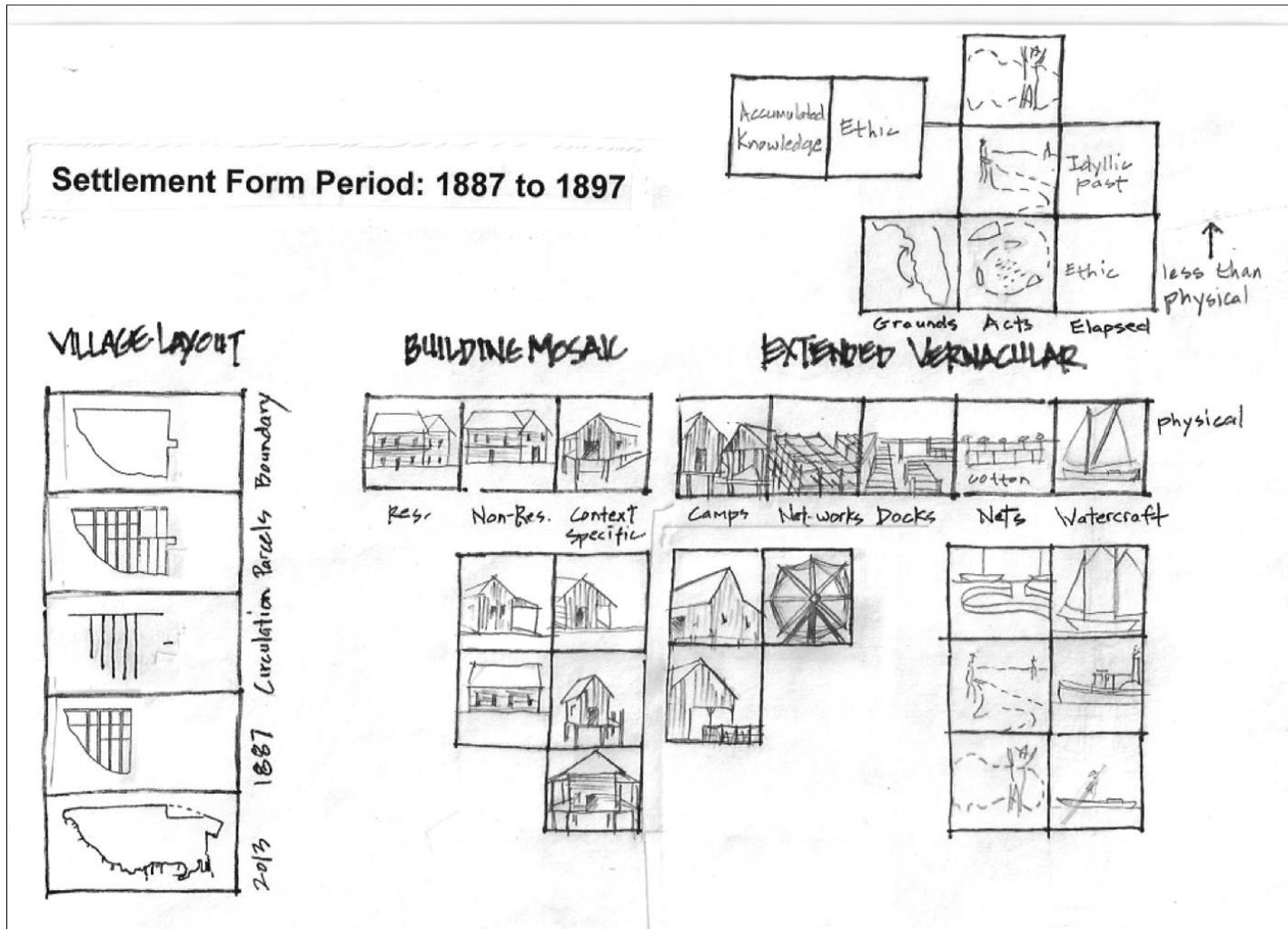


Figure 4-16. Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the settlement form period occurring 1887 to 1897. Drawing by L. Frey, 2012.

Table 4-2. Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1887 to 1897.

Waterfront Conglomeration	Village Layout Form	Building Mosaic	Extended Vernacular
Yes	Yes-Boundary	Yes-Residential Buildings	Physical No-Fisheries Camps Yes-Net-Works
	Yes-Parcel Configuration	Yes-Non-Residential/Non-Fisheries Buildings	No-Dock System No-Nets
	Yes-Circulation	No-Fisheries Contextual Buildings	Yes-Watercraft Intangible Yes-Fishing Grounds Yes-Act of Fishing Yes-Elapsed Experiential

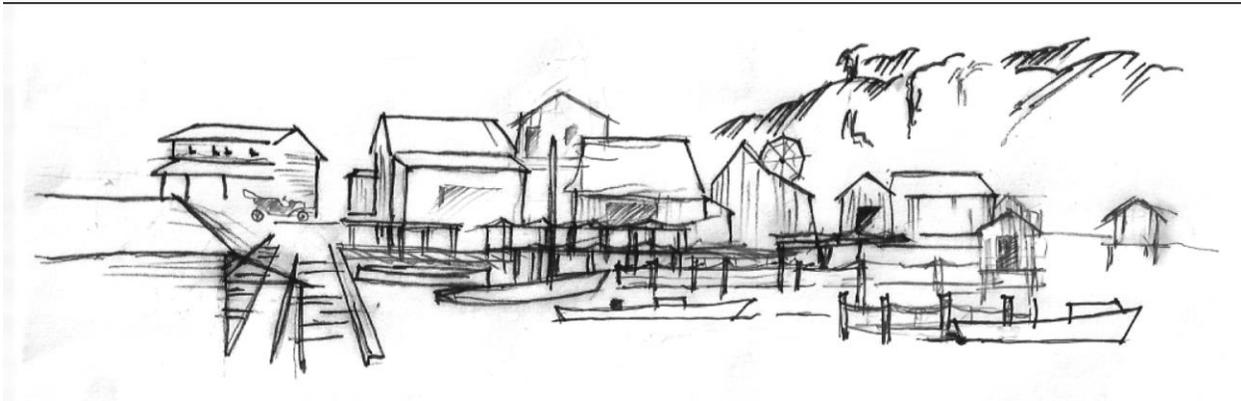


Figure 4-17. Waterfront conglomeration illustration of the contextual growth form period occurring 1898 to 1921 reveals a denser waterfront as new fishers increased the commercial fishing activity in Cortez. The waterfront was developed close to shore according to a close-knit program of fostering and accommodating fishing in the community. The bridge to the barrier island is not shown as part of the landscape form since it occurs away from the Cortez center of activity. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

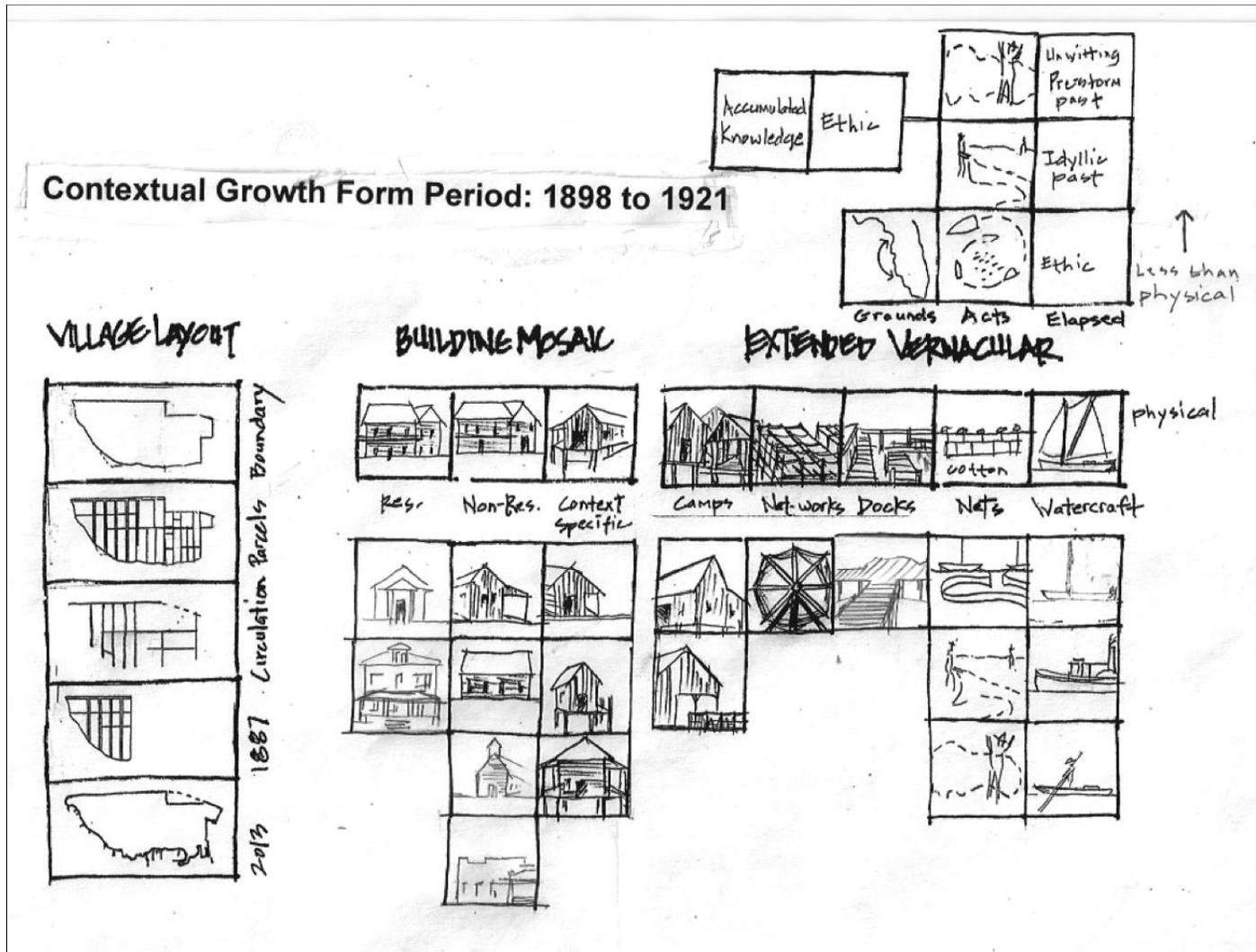


Figure 4-18. Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the contextual growth form period occurring 1898 to 1921. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

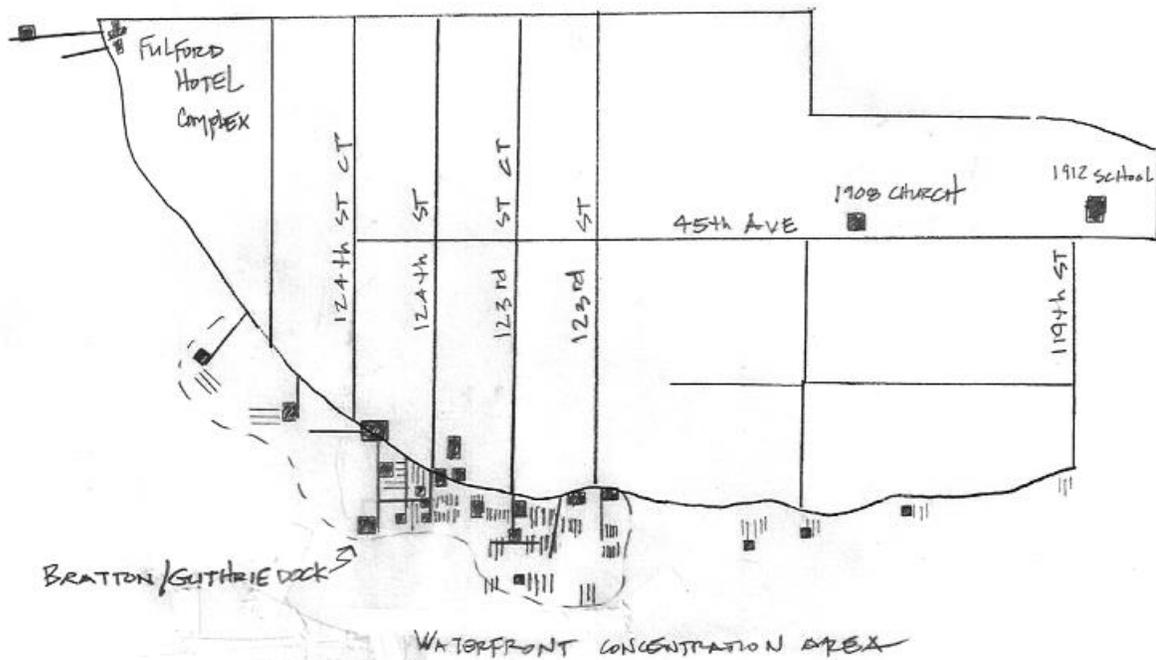


Figure 4-19. The 1921 waterfront and bay construct. Toward the end of 1921, this construct was concentrated as an extension from the shore, mostly between the five primary north/south streets in Cortez. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

Table 4-3. Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1898 to 1921.

Waterfront Conglomeration	Village Layout Form	Building Mosaic	Extended Vernacular
No	Yes-Boundary	Yes-Residential Buildings	Physical No-Fisheries Camps
	Yes-Parcel Configuration	Yes-Non-Residential/Non-Fisheries Buildings	No-Net-Works
	Yes-Circulation	No-Fisheries Contextual Buildings	No-Dock System No-Nets Yes-Watercraft
			Intangible Yes-Fishing Grounds Yes-Act of Fishing Yes-Elapsed Experiential

Table 4-4. Significant affect to form per indicator sets from 1921 to 1946.

Waterfront Conglomeration	Village Layout Form	Building Mosaic	Extended Vernacular
Yes	Yes-Boundary	Yes-Residential Buildings	Physical Yes-Fisheries Camps
	Yes-Parcel Configuration	No-Non-Residential/Non-Fisheries Buildings	No-Net-Works
	Yes-Circulation	No-Fisheries Contextual Buildings	No-Dock System No-Nets Yes-Watercraft
			Intangible Yes-Fishing Grounds Yes-Act of Fishing Yes-Elapsed Experiential

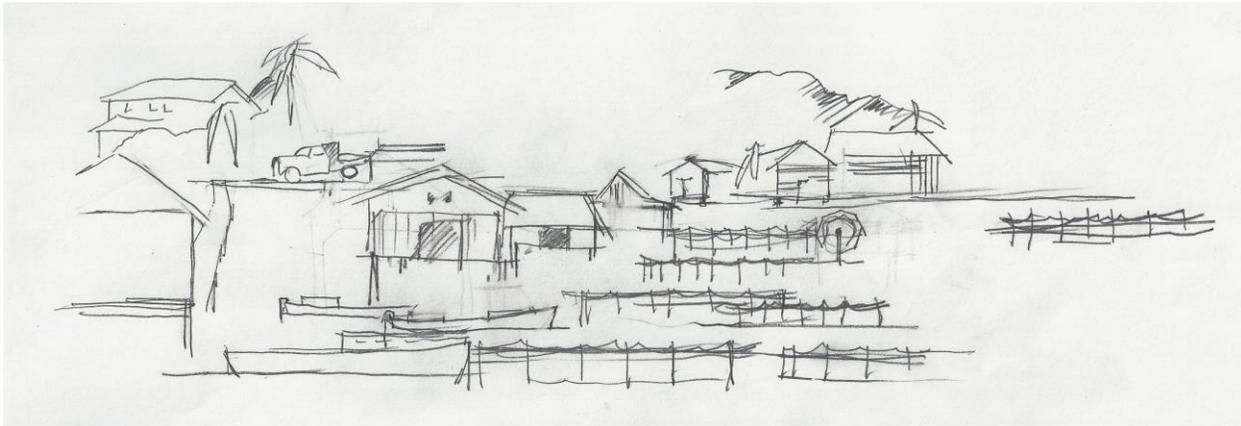


Figure 4-20. 1946 waterfront conglomeration. By 1946, the waterfront had been almost totally reconstructed, yet was reaching 25 years of age. The overall construct extends further from shore in a looser configuration dominated more by a horizontal spread of net spreads separated from the buildings that are less connected to the waterfront than their predecessors. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.

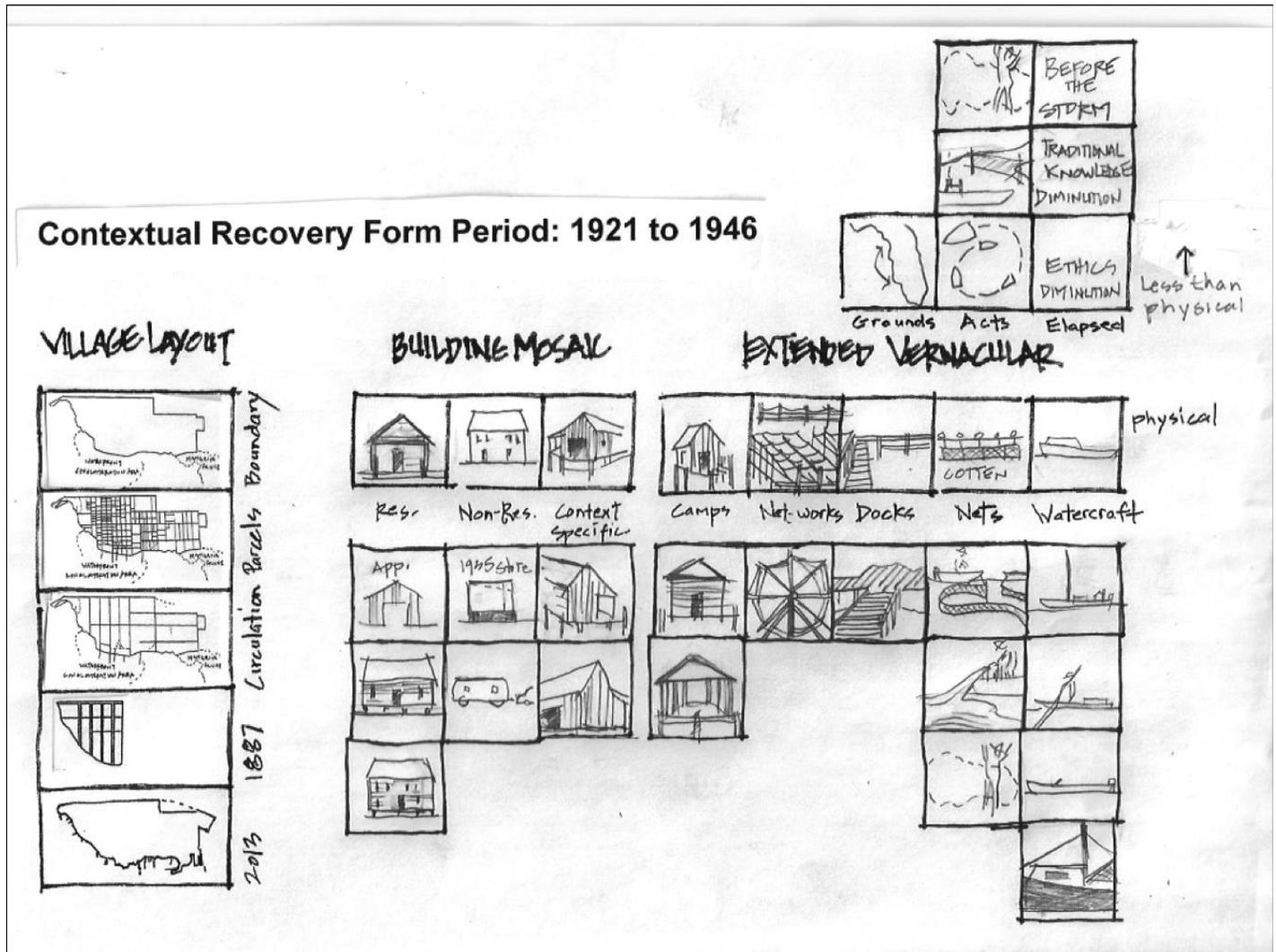
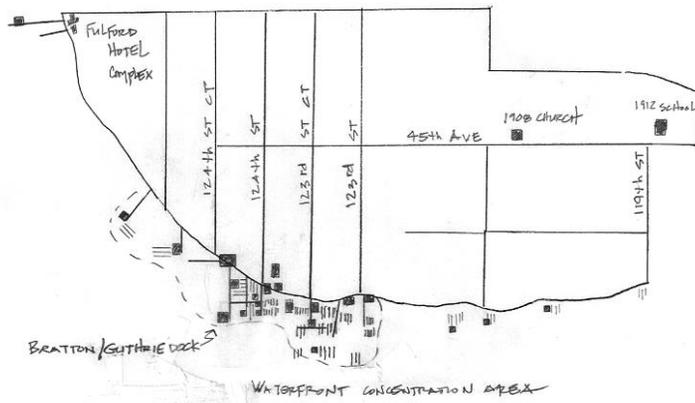
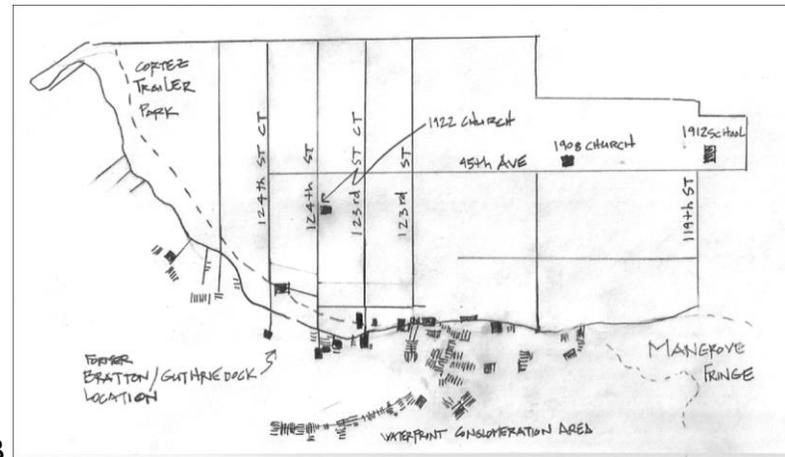


Figure 4-21. Graphic tiles illustration form indicator sets for the contextual recovery form period occurring 1921 to 1946. Drawing by L. Frey, 2013.



A



B

Figure 4-22. Comparison of waterfront constructs between two period ends. A) 1921 contextual growth form period. B) 1946 contextual recovery form period. Drawings by L. Frey, 2013.

CHAPTER 5 RESULTS OF STUDY

Study Summary

The main purpose of my study was to identify, or at least account for determinations of landscape form change. I found a commonality with other scholars that an enquiry into notions of form across a broad spectrum as a landscape was multiplex. My research required forays into various areas that appeared to affect cultural landscapes in order to make the study manageable. First, I had to set up a framework that narrowed down the applicable structures of cultural landscape and vernacular, as historic entities, and as they applied to traditional fishing villages (TFVs). Part of this required that I explore the uses and applications of form from a landscape perspective since it is such a nebulous term used differently across fields of study and professional practice; it then required my articulation of it to meet the needs of my study within the world of the landscape dialogue. I used an interpretive approach, based on a hybrid examination that looked across the various disciplinary diffusions for assistance.

Admittedly, the results of my findings are bolstered by a list of contextual indicators that may be construed by some as subjectively chosen or handpicked for convenience. This may be true, since my own interpretation of what is contextual in the TFV is conditioned by my experiences, role as an observer only, aesthetic tastes, etc. However, the indicators I chose to include were based on research programs outside of my typical realm of architectural and landscape history studies, and are already accepted in academia, such as urban morphology, historical ecology, and land use planning. While the specific paradigms or programs of these outside disciplines are not highly detailed herein, they do reveal themselves as part of a thicker analysis. The

thicker analysis presented a conundrum itself, in that it often lacks definable limits of depth, requiring the researcher to stop somewhere during the inquiry in order to manage the study. My study then, ends up providing one way of looking into form in the landscape that could be used as is, or modified by others for examining significance and integrity in the historic landscape. For my study, using context as part of the form, rather than as background fodder was critical.

One understanding of historic vernacular landscapes is that they are a type of cultural landscape that reveal an array of human activities, or agency, occurring within a natural setting over time. The word landscape itself, is historically based on a human notion of it, which is then often modified by the term cultural, which is arguably redundant. The additional modifiers of historic and vernacular help to narrow them down, yet remain broad sets of landscape studies. While the human or cultural activities take place, causing continual effects to them, they are sometimes affected by natural occurrences that also affect them; these are highly unpredictable as effects, suggesting a dilemma of sorts for how they are to be viewed as effects on this human-made landscape scene. The evolution of form in the landscape, what form in it consists of, and how it can be measured with regard to change, remains a distinctly unclear and unobligated study program that requires scholarly nurturing.

While the physical aspects of landscapes have long been studied visually, their intangible aspects, as a portfolio of study criteria have a more recent, but less robust emergence in academia. In professional practice, these intangible aspects have been examined even less. This is primarily due to the inherent problems associated with analyzing a concept artifact that is inherently so fluid and complex, made even more

complex by the subjective interpretation that must go into how each landscape is perceived, observed, and experienced. When vernacular landscapes, or all landscapes for that matter, are looked at only for their most visibly dominant form features and content, much remains missing as far as understanding how and why they began and then evolved over time. While there are many examples of excellence in describing the contextual background of landscapes ranging from the local to the country-wide, there are also many that fail to include the fullness of understanding the mix of physical and intangible indicators, often causing historic landscapes, in general to be misinterpreted, resulting in either understating or overstating their historical significance.

My study assembled a method for examining the evolution of form in the historic vernacular landscape by highlighting a series of human constructs that fed into the context of the community and its constructs studied by me as a referential case study. Using only historical documentation and existing data “already on the books”, as some might say, I purposely avoided creating new oral histories and interviews, since I wanted to focus on the existing record. Part of my study goal was to determine if a fairly accountable form analysis could be achieved without the benefit of newly devised interviews and recollections, which many researchers would not have the benefit of obtaining anyway, due to time and accessibility constraints. In real world practice, these constraints are often part of the project completion limitations.

My study was formatted into five chapters that allowed me to articulate and organize my manner of thinking about the complicated concepts of form, vernacular, and landscape research. I set the stage for my study in the Chapter 1 preliminaries that, among other things, explains why my study is important, how the research was

constructed, and clarified the language used. A robust literature review covering a wide variety of topics in form, vernacular studies, landscapes, visual analysis, etc., fulfilled the Chapter 2 requirements for a scholarly examination of the major topic of vernacular form as it appears in both architecture and the wider landscape formats. Seminal readings regarding the common landscape date back at least to the 1950s, and were slowly built upon from there. While the physicality of buildings and the lesser artifacts have been extensively studied since then, more recent inquiries examine a plethora of influences according to their non-physical, non-visual attributes that appear from use and function, and through human perception and cognition. However, as of the date of my study, very little work has been performed regarding the latter toward the concept of landscape form and its evolution in the milieu of regional fishing villages occurring along the Florida Gulf Coast.

The hybrid research design detailed in Chapter 3 included a four-phase, qualitative research methodology that blends historical, descriptive, and interpretive approaches. My early aesthetic interests in historic form as it occurred within working waterfront settings led me to the historic vernacular landscape of Cortez, located in Manatee County, Florida as a referential study. Cortez is commonly referred to as a traditional fishing village. Its tightly bound context seemed perfect for studying landscape form. Here I, I focused on finding indicators that identified vernacular landscape form and change as definable and measurable entities. This led me to uncovering identifiable periods of time that revealed themselves because of their significance to the physical form upon the village landscape that was produced. Rather than using a purposefully defined parameter of decadal periods, these time periods over

an approximately 59-year span stood out because of initial settlement dynamics, rapid growth, individual events, or slower contextualized growth and development. Therefore, the individual study periods are not necessarily equal in time span, but represent critical junctures or events that stood out. Of course, these timeframes could have been broken down further, yet they were rather self-evident in presenting themselves.

The bulk of my research exploration of the individualized periods from the 1887 to 1946 historic study timeframe is located in Chapter 4. Here, the historic vernacular landscape was broken down into distinct periods of time where its form indicators could be based on mixed methods of analysis that move across various disciplines in order to render a more full inventory of landscape form. The format I chose provided useful narrative and graphics tools for interpreting the landscape forms between periods. In fact, the tools chosen allowed me to examine the wider vernacular landscape of village geography and primary buildings, while also considering as equally important, an extension of the usual objects of study to include industry-dependent structures such as fish camps, fishing nets, watercraft, and certain other form constructs I refer to as being intangible, such as the act of fishing and fishing grounds. This also included the additional extension of memory and changing traditional know-how, referred to as an elapsed experiential form.

In this final Chapter 5, I review the information and research findings from Chapter 4 and present my conclusions regarding the evolution of, and changes to the landscape form I studied, along with possible implications for past, present, and future studies. I acknowledge that the various forms in the landscape are quite inexhaustible and the results that worked for my study were subject to my own views, and that is an

inescapable characteristic of landscapes as a human construct; the researcher encounters an infinite number of perspectives from which the landscape could be observed and studied. Therefore, I unabashedly critique my method in order to confirm the problems I encountered during my study, and offer a few ways for how it could have been improved. While I was not able to fully answer many questions of landscape form, I am positive that my approach can be improved upon by others, and adapted to future research, whether in whole or in part.

Statement of Findings

Many influences affect the landscape form. The landscape form, in general, is always changing, requiring the researcher to travel down several interconnecting avenues of context as they intersect with other avenues of form. These two statements cannot easily be refuted and have been robustly studied. Yet, articulating form of any cultural landscape presents a nearly untenable proposition or dilemma. The imprint of human endeavor on it goes well beyond any superficial understanding of how the natural topography of a place is shaped.

What remains less studied is how to look at the form of the landscape over time, which remains as an incomplete, uncommonly defined human construct not yet spanning disciplines under a single rubric. My study provides an example for how it can be examined over time, and understood through its compartmentalization based on this context. The revelations of how it is created and what determines changes to it, while still affected by multiple effects, can be delivered through this process. The degree to which these are then studied equates to the type and depth of information sought. At some point during any study, relevance becomes a friendly guide. For understanding

the basic integrity and significance of the landscape between periods of time, my study works well.

The historic vernacular landscape in Cortez beginning at settlement in 1887 and ending in 1946 revealed distinct changes between the three form periods studied during that span of time. Some arguable stability of certain forms was also noticeable. Figure 5-1, provides a convenient comparison tool that indicates a determination of yes or no for significant change according to each indicator as occurring during each historic study period. The form period from 1947 to 2013 is also included in the tool, since it was examined to build context.

When reviewing the historic study span in its entirety, all but three of the 14 indicators changed or remained stable similarly across the spectrum. The non-residential construct did not reflect a significant change by the end of the contextual recovery form period, whereas, it did for the earlier two periods. In this case, the physical forms of the indicator achieved some stability during the last period, while changes in traditional vernacular shapes and locations, were modified by the introduction of new ones as part of earlier growth and expansion. The fisheries camp structures changed significantly for the later period, but did not do so for the earlier periods, partly due to the changes in land ownership, waterfront control, and the 1921 storm that destroyed all of them. The third remarkable indicator difference was in how the net works changed during the settlement period from the presettlement period, but did not change during the later periods. The indicators that were the most changing, no matter which study period was considered, were all of the intangible indicators. It seems then, that the intangible constructs attributable to the contextual vernacular landscape

form are the least stable, changing to at least some significant degree consistently through time. While the village layout indicators also changed across all historic study span form periods, the changes were more circumstantial rather than inherent to the traditional fishing culture.

When adding the twenty-first century study period of 1946 to 2013 to the historic study span review, there is significant form change across all of the intangible forms, as well. Overall, all indicators, except for the village layout parcels changed significantly from the earlier period end of 1946. All of these changed forms responded to growth and expansion in the village, as well as, a steeped changing cultural flux. The watercraft appeared as a more stable form at first blush in spite of motorization; however, it must be noted that a closer resolution of watercraft reveals significant change. Only the boundary, circulation, residential, and the intangible extended vernacular indicators significantly changed across all periods, though the parcel configuration was a stable indicator only after the end of the historic study span. Conversely, the forms of the fisheries contextual buildings, dock systems, and the nets indicators did not change significantly across any of the historic study span periods, though they all changed significantly after 1946.

The findings of my study reveal two types of landscape observances that underscore my study focus. The first includes the practical evaluations of the changing character effected in Cortez over time, and how the integrity and significance of Cortez also was affected. These discussions, based on the determinations of landscape form change that revealed themselves through the indicators in Chapter 4, lead into the secondary discussion of form change determinants as clues that influence cultural

fluxes across the narrowness of contextual forms. Contextual forms can become narrow since they feed into the context of the study program more pertinently than those that reflect wider, mainstream adaptations or inculcations. However, the wider influence sometimes establishes itself into the local culture either as a continued, unaffected form, or as one manifested in ways according to the localized needs.

Form Change in the Vernacular Landscape of Cortez

A continuously changing character

In essence, the historic cultural landscape of Cortez changed significantly from its settlement form period to the end of its contextual recovery form period--a span of roughly 60 years. While the 2013 Cortez village remnant is still characterized as being fishing-related, the second iteration of the vernacular construct of docks and interconnected wooden fisheries camps, fisheries houses, and net spreads that were still in place by 1946, along with the miles of nets as an integral character-defining adornment that also served as its primary function indicator, are no longer extant.

What occurred between the settlement and contextual recovery period brackets in Cortez was a continually evolving landscape form that embraced both temporary and permanent physical constructs. In spite of advancing technologies, some highly contextual forms, such as nets and dock systems generally appeared to change less frequently than those that were not as highly contextual. This seems ironic in that other contextually involved forms were affected to various degrees by the changes to watercraft, i.e., from sail, to steam, to motorization. This suggests a persistent retention of certain very basic forms as part of culture and tradition that are indeed universal; it is perhaps these forms, like others in the world of vernacular constructs that are inherently human or cultural, often appearing without the benefit of geographical diffusion or

transference. Character definition of a place often changes in its medium and subtle nuances even though larger form constructs remain.

The waterfront images, or forms may not have appeared too differently to the casual observer between the historic periods since the forms most associated with the fishing village remained. Perhaps the most noticeable change would simply have been the increased density of the place as it grew from a few settlers to several hundred. Internally, to those who lived in Cortez, the form changes were obviously more apparent for each indicator set since they were most intimate with them; however, this did not seem to occur instantly, or as soon as a new modification to a tradition arrived, but rather as a recollection, or as a later memory. Interestingly, some of the more astute traditionalists of the local culture did recognize eventual change coming as the result of appearances of distinguishable new forms, even though they might have just arrived on the local scene.

The normalization, or complacent formulation of cultural agency as the driver of most of the changes on landscapes over time, though, is what typically happens in historic communities, even in spite of the traditions seemingly held close by them as a group. Geographical isolation of a community aids in a modicum of stabilization of the cultural landscape sometimes, but other factors often converge or align to speed up the process of change to important contextual forms. In 2013, there is confusion regarding the appearance of Cortez as either being an unchanged fishing village or one that has been seriously diminished by the typical effects of over-commercialization, overdevelopment, dilution through the investment of non-fishers, and loss of its historic fabric. While much fabric was lost during the historic study span, those losses were

actually part of the traditional fishing complex and cultural flux that made due according to the constantly occurring influences. Some forms were purposely temporary, while others were noticeably permanent. If the fishers were unimpeded from the beginning in their traditional practice either by isolation, a never-ending resource, or other outside influences, the vernacular character of Cortez would certainly have reflected a different scenario than it did during its early history, and as of 2013. However, this is really only a temporal consideration that may have led to a longer stability of certain forms, though not likely based on its geographical location and the timing of its import. Though there do appear to be some historic landscapes that have congealed as stable overall landscapes, William Morris captured the essence of the changing architectural construct in a letter from 1877, which can be considered for landscapes, as well, as follows:

The conditions and surroundings of every period are different, so that the motives which act on men of one age cannot govern the production of genuine work conceived in the spirit and embodied in the forms of another.
(As quoted in Larkham, 1996, p. 37)

In looking at the 2013 Cortez, it has obviously changed physically, socially, and culturally since it was originally settled. Changes are obvious in its physical layout, which has expanded historically to accommodate additional residential units. Yet, in a way, the cohesive traditional fishing character of Cortez has conversely shrunk due to what many will blame as the onslaught of detriments such as regulatory and environmental policies, mainly the 1995 net fishing ban that make commercial fishing more difficult to bear as an individual occupation. If Cortez at one time consisted of small groups of individual owner-operators, the current fishing enterprise may represent a cultural shift that has also affected the physical characteristic of Cortez.

Since the end of my historic study span, the most obvious physical change in Cortez has been its waterfront, or waterfront conglomeration as the contextual hotspot. Even though it was destroyed almost entirely by 1921, only a small portion of what was reconstructed after this time, and could still have been historically significant, is contained within the National Register Historic District. Yet, a much larger shoreline area is where most of the contextual activity occurred throughout its nineteenth and twentieth century historic periods. The former waterfront is characterized as resembling a self-supporting “shanty town” of wood structures built adjacent to, and over Sarasota Bay (Green, 1985; Green, n.d; Fulford-Green & Molto, 1997). The shantytown reference, while not at all derogatory, allows an understanding of its early vernacular flair, which, in turn, captures a notion of change. At one time in Cortez, a system of wharves, docks, fisheries houses and camps, and other water-dependent uses and structures served as the heart of the commercial fishing enterprise. Only a small number of those structures remain in 2013, though there were several still extant in 1946. In fact, as of 2013, most of the waterfront is dedicated to two or three commercial fishing facilities, with the remaining areas served by restaurants, incompatible residential development, private marinas, tourist retail, and government uses.

The social characteristics of Cortez appear to have undergone an evolution of change, as well. To outside visitors, the previously mentioned small owner-operator enterprise that used to be the norm by 1946 appears to have been replaced by a corporate feel, in spite of historic ownership, mainly due to the vista-blocking industrialization of the waterfront. This is to be expected of course, since the tradition is commercial fishing, which became more corporate and increasingly larger on the

landscape. While the integrity of the former vernacular buildings has mostly been lost, the integrity of the enterprise is still somewhat intact. Cortez has not necessarily changed to one that is marked by rampant tourism, as happened in many other former fishing villages, though some current uses foster a daily influx of outsiders for retail purposes. Tourism is also being generated through increased heritage interpretation. There is still a feeling of its essence as a small-scale fishing village in spite of these changes, and in spite of the diminution of its vernacular waterfront, which is bolstered by a strong vernacular residential component.

When looking at cultural traditions, one always has to be careful not to disregard a community for being what it is, versus what it should be. In reading *Finest Kind* by Ben Green (1985), one may come to understand that the social dynamics of Cortez often mimicked the national social infrastructure and landscape of the time, which is probably true today as part of its overall cultural landscape (Lewis, 1979). The appeal of Cortez to non-fisher families and outsiders, such as part time residents and artists who become part of separate, usurping culture who suddenly “found the place”, certainly denudes the traditional social character in a way very similar to the effects of gentrification occurring in Cortez. While Cortez always had its share of outsiders frequenting it as a relatively minor group, the wholesale transition to a certain critical mass of the group is where the proverbial rubber met the road with regard to character change rather than a distinct form change.

The history of Cortez, in tune with its landscape and original kinship base, evoke a sense of place in many people, insiders and outsiders alike. While much of the historic physical and social constructs are missing or changed in the contemporary setting, this

sense of place remains for many. For some it is physical, for others it is intangible, or both. Most people visiting Cortez will recognize it as a place where fishing is still seen as its dominant enterprise, though its related historic vernacular context requires interpretation through artificial programs and devices, that most observers would not have been able to succinctly grasp based on what is there now, in spite of any sense of place Cortez still conjures up in them.

Integrity and significance

The changing character and loss of the historic vernacular form in Cortez occurred as part of slow and sudden effects over time. This changed character of the historic vernacular landscape in Cortez is, therefore, an affected landscape revealed through an examination of its contextual indicators over recognizable and distinct form periods. The determination of a largely changed character then suggests an affect to its historic integrity and significance of the historic constructs that do, or did remain extant up to certain measurable time periods. Of course, the understanding of what significance comes to mean upon the landscape is not precise and is indeed part of an ongoing debate and evolution of the notion (Longstreth, 1999). For the purposes of my study, significance relies on an importance to the historic vernacular landscape, whether through its contextual contribution or as a character defining whole. Age and extancy matter to some degree. Nevertheless, there is no need to finely present its meaning any further here, and it is somewhat self-evident that present day Cortez is much different than it appeared in 1946. Of course, 1946 Cortez was much different than its 1921 and 1897 versions. Some changes are significant and easily discernible, while others are much more subtle. There are several reports of how Cortez has changed from its historic past that provide peripheral support to my more intrinsic notions of it.

Ironically, there are many other reports that cite Cortez as being wholly historical and relatively unchanged during its more than 120-year history (Antonini et al., 2002; Fulford-Green & Molto, 1997). Eaker (1994) referred to Cortez as “historically a relatively stable and closed community” that made close analysis of certain aspect of its cultural construct easier than less stable communities (p. 23). During its historic study span, however, several threats and actual intrusions stand out early on. These include, for example, the 1890s development of the western shoreline as part of D. S. Fulford’s enterprises; the 1909 development plat abutting the eastern boundary of the historic study area by the Georgia-Florida Land Company; the 1921 hurricane; and the early 1930s trailer park development, again on D. S. Fulford’s western waterfront property. There are more pronounced intrusions and encroachments occurring after 1946.

Within more recent times, many things vernacular have changed and threatened the assumed TFV character of Cortez, as well. This mainly includes: the 1974 conversion of the historic Albion Inn waterfront to a government use and subsequent demolition of the historic fabric there; the 1960s conversions of the historic fish houses to large, masonry constructs; the privatization of marina developments at the waterfront; and the development of residences that are considered too large and out of scale with the traditional vernacular construct. Though some of these are as tall as historic precedents, their mass, scale, and modernized styling as village inserts are much different. Only some of the residents in Cortez continue to fish full time as a tradition handed down, and the modern, corporate fishing investment is more noticeable. There is no community of fishers walking to the dock constructs and assembling, as their once was. However, there is another irony in the fact that the first incursions of dealers in

Cortez were early examples of a more corporate structure in that they brokered harvests, rather than fished for them, and lived elsewhere. This left a true fisher enterprise in early Cortez that would not change significantly until after 1921. In other words, it seemed that those living in Cortez fished and created a lifeworld around that pursuit, rather than spending time marketing their harvests, though that would happen later for some.

While many of the communities that surround Cortez are deed restricted, so too is Cortez now in a way, which likely represents a significant cultural shift. Modern zoning ordinances and the Cortez Fishing Village Design Guidelines are tools of Cortez culture now, an effort to preserve a piece of history, prescribed as those years in the National Register Historic District between 1889 and 1944, inclusive. This compares to my slightly expanded historic study span occurring between 1887 and 1946. The need for such controls often suggests that some noticeable change has already occurred. However, change that is often the most suspect usually occurs over time, such as the abandonment of a group of buildings or use changes, or is instantly noticeable such as the demolition of familiar buildings, or the construction of out of scale buildings. The 1921 storm certainly changed the immediate appearance of the waterfront.

In the short term, in a way, change in the cultural landscape is a process of heightened sensitivity to recent and current events and stimuli. In the longer term, significant change across the wider landscape is usually less noticeable until an analysis of it is performed; the study of its context provides meaningful input as part of this analysis. While the physical aesthetic of a TFV vernacular setting might be saved through latent rules and guidelines, its intangible aspects have probably already

changed, and are less likely candidates for saving because of their dynamic social and wider cultural complexities. Hence, the cultural landscape may reshape itself over and over until social controls formally recognize the scope of the changes, and attempt to reoccupy one of several iterations of former forms, none of which can be bridled easily, if at all.

In spite of a loss of integrity and significance, Cortez is still comparatively rich in this regard compared to its peers. Kinship cultural buildup in the village setting tied to commercial fishing in Cortez allowed it to remain more stable for a time than its regional counterparts. Key West, Punta Gorda, Apalachicola, and the Cedar Keys (as it was known historically) were at different times significant markets for commercial fishing, yet were overlapped with other industries that were even more pronounced, causing their historic fishing enterprises to become opaque in the scheme of their histories. In some cases, they became victims of transportation decisions, market choices, basic physical decline, or land development schemes. Rarely did technological advances cause them to fade as a major contributing factor, unless it affected other communities that seemed to take better advantage of it. The historic integrity and significance of these types of fishing communities waned with these changes, as they became historic fodder for newer ones that overtook them.

Therefore, based on the above discussion, and the analysis of vernacular form indicators, the integrity of Cortez' historic village layout is still significant with the exception of its waterfront area, which was still significant by 1946, even though they both represented a set of constructs that were only 25 years in age, but the latter being too diminished by 2013 for a determination of positive historic significance. The

waterfront conglomeration, though still highly contextual in some contemporary respects, simply does not reflect a significance of the small fishing village in 2013, in comparison to its historic context. This leaves its residential layout and street pattern mostly intact and significant.

The residential building mosaic presents a significant collection of vernacular buildings from the historic study span. It often appears in groupings, but there are excellent examples of isolated dwellings. This creates problems for delineating a historic boundary that sufficiently links to the commercial waterfront, as well as, one that creates sufficient edges when considering the historic boundary evolution. Many of the residential buildings are altered with additions and extensions; however, these are acceptable in most cases for retaining historic integrity since the fabric is often still in place. By 1946, the historic integrity and significance of the residential construct was denser, though many alterations to them were already in place. Many residential buildings were destroyed by fires and a tornado prior to 1946. By this time, many residential buildings were also fairly new in Cortez, so their significance by then was a moot consideration.

In 2013, the non-residential and fisheries contextual constructs are simply too diminished, or have been removed from their original locations to sustain their former integrity. This renders them as a fairly empty set for consideration. Even by the end of 1946, many of these buildings were still fairly new as a result of recovery from the 1921 storm, so their integrity never appeared to amount to a historical significance as an intact group or important collection of buildings. Several of the non-contextual buildings are still intact as of 2013, as well as, by 1946, but most of those represented institutional

uses that did not necessarily build upon the local context by themselves through their physical integrity. However, their significance is generally still positive.

The historic extended vernacular constructs are also a virtual empty set by 2013. There are simply no sufficient instances of fisheries camps, net works, docks, nets, or watercraft from 1946 or earlier, except what has been artificially preserved for interpretation. Their forms were persistent throughout the historic study span, albeit in two distinctly different iterations. Again, this overall indicator set was affected by the 1921 storm, and their significance in 1946 would also have been marginal because of their newness at the time. The highly contextual and intact constructs appearing along the waterfront by 1921, would have been extremely significant in 1946, had they been unaffected by this storm, though this assumes an uninterrupted trajectory of the form to that later time.

The integrity of the fishing grounds was affected in 1995 by governmental regulation, though the physical aspects of the grounds are similar to its 1946 and earlier periods. The reduction of the water column had begun to occur during the 1920s. However, there is no real or complete change to the fishing grounds from a spatial perspective, as much as there has been to their intangible aspect. Reductions to the physical and available fishing grounds were not so severe that they departed significantly from historic precedents, though many areas have been closed off physically, or made detrimental due to pollution or degraded habitats. The Sarasota Bay and Gulf Coast areas continue to be fairly intact geographical entities that have not changed in the overall scheme of their enormity. Instead, their unavailability due to closures of small areas cumulatively, elimination of the water column through

development, change in fish sought, motorization, and regulation has caused a negative effect to their integrity. Their significance remains, and can fluctuate over time as a constantly changing vernacular indicator that is considered more as an intangible construct than it is as one that has physicality only.

The act of fishing is revealed as a mixed set of integrity and significance. The basic act of fishing, for mullet by traditional fishers in the case of historic Cortez, is no longer performed as the dominant commercial activity. So, this lack of integrity as a fairly missing indicator creates an element of insignificance for what remains in 2013. The use of technology would certainly alter the historic act in 2013 compared with its form by the end of 1946. In fact, the act had already been in a state of change by 1921. So, the end result is that the changing character of the commercial act of fishing in Cortez was stable until about 1921, and then began to change in such a way by 1946 that its integrity was fairly diminished though still somewhat extant.

Finally, the elapsed experiential is not an indicator of significance in and of itself, as much as it indicates a diminished feeling of significance. The experiential of those living in Cortez was a constantly changing form revealed through a continued sense of loss and a changing cultural flux. These were often based on the two factors of a declining kinship tradition and dynamics that saw a diminution of the learned methods that failed to follow with each subsequent generation. By 1946, this dynamic was active and already affecting the elapsed experiential of Cortez, but became much more pronounced, almost exponentially so afterwards. By 2013, the historic culture in Cortez is no longer significant, not because of its quality, but because of its diminution over

time and having been replaced by the effects of physical and intangible changes that also diminished the historic context of the Cortez setting.

Determinants of Vernacular Landscape Form Change by Study Period

While several determinants of landscape form can be evaluated based on the findings of my study, I have chosen to discuss four here. These include technology, encroachment, historic precedents as a group such as major storms or financial collapse, and individual decision-making. When it comes to the historic vernacular landscape, my findings revealed that individual decision making leaned toward trumping all other determinants, even those that were natural forces.

Technology

Garrity-Blake (1994) discussed the most dramatic change to traditional fishing as occurring due to the advanced technologies related to production after World War II. Garrity-Blake discussed that, whereas, whole fish were once used, new technologies allowed fish to be separated into several commodities such as fish oil, fishmeal, and other similar products. While this is certainly a major shift that affected small-scale operations and the villages that supported them, it is but a single facet of technology.

Thayer (1994) considered the result of technology's impact, or manifestations on the landscape somewhat differently. In supporting the notion of vernacular loss and application by cultures, he suggested that contemporary humans "transact" with the landscape rather than interact with it (p. 202). This loss of physical involvement creates a distance between the landscape and its human agents, where the actual, physical environment, its setting, and the connection to its human agent are much lessened. In many ways, the landscape has become unreal and once again forbidden, too

vulnerable, too sensitive, so technology helps to maintain this distance from it in order to render a more sustainable imprint on it.

My findings reveal a more historic occurrence of technology that had been slowly but steadily shifting from a long-standing traditional fishing enterprise in the United States, most dramatically from the late-nineteenth century. This is perhaps more pronounced in Cortez and its regional counterparts.

It is easy to suggest that technology serves as the quintessential landscape form changer since the incorporation of it almost always translated into a distinctly new form, or the disappearance of another form that was part of the former. Technological advances were often slowly incorporated into the landscape, however. This is evidenced in Cortez, for example, in the arrival of the gasoline powered motor. While it was embraced by some early on, the persistence of sail in Cortez dragged on into the 1920s and 1930s. The effect was dramatic, but not sudden and immediate, though some would argue that its first appearance on the scene as loud and smelly significantly changed the landscape. However, my arguments lingers in that it did not induce a significant form effect until much later as part of that slow transition. Sail is still part of landscape as of 2013, not as part of fishing, but as part of recreational use, though it is still widely used as part of traditional commercial fishing watercraft throughout the world. It is clear that the form by 1946 was changed with the reduction of sail in Cortez. However, the technology of motorization did not change the form as much as the ability of the fisher to afford it,

Another aspect of motorization is that it did change how a fisher could expand his fishing grounds and alter his act of fishing along with it. With motorization, he could go

further to sea, far removed from the traditional in-shore fishery that was part of Cortez landscape form from its early historical perspective. It also allowed him to change, if he made the decision to do so, how he pulled in the harvest. While fish were still caught in nets, and dragged into a vessel or onto shore using manually intensive labor, the motor replaced the manpower. There was a noticeable change in the form, of course.

The earlier advance of steam as a technological advance, however, did not seem to significantly affect the landscape form, especially in the long term. Now, there was a distinction of the form indicator that added to the consideration of the landscape form. It was a transitional effect that did change how markets of some fisheries changed local form, but not in Cortez. The occurrence of the steamship form as a watercraft created an initial form that was different, but it was short-lived and perhaps restricted to corporate interests rather than individual fishers. The individual fisher did not build his enterprise around a steam powered watercraft, only around his delivery to it, and in some instances his dependency upon it to transport his catch, which he was somewhat removed from since it was part of the dealer enterprise-often an outside circumstance regarding Cortez. The infrastructure needed to accommodate the steam watercraft form did not appear to manifest itself significantly in Cortez, though enhancements were made such as a single dock construction.

Again, the decision by the fisher was not always predicated on the arrival of such technologies as much as it was on the decision to make use of the technology, or the ability for incorporating it into the landscape so that it became distinct and significant. Technological occurrence, in and of itself was not a determinant as much as a catalyst

that was more dependent on other factors such as benefit, affordability, access, acceptance, perception, etc.

Encroachment

In the discussion that follows, I lump together elements of transportation and encroachment. In reality, it becomes a subset of the technology discussion, above, proving somewhat the pervasive effect of technological advances. While land development was never dependent on the automobile, it is no academic secret that transportation advancements since the turn of the twentieth century have influenced and changed the layout of our lived-in environments and the erected forms we place in them (Jakle, 1990; Kunstler, 1993; Thayer, 1994). Even the expectations of most cultures now dominated by these effects have changed. The questions of how and why they have benefitted are still being debated, but many will argue that the negative effects of sprawl, pollution, and overdevelopment seem to outweigh the positive ones of getting from point A to point B in less time.

The meteoric rise in the U.S. of these German-invented moving contraptions from about 300 in 1895 near the beginning of my study period, to nearly eight million by the middle of my study period, provides strong evidence for an impact on the TFV in the United States, irrespective of location and circumstances. The very first streets in Cortez were “designed” into the first subdivision of the lands there by 1887 for use by surreys and wagons. They would easily accommodate automobiles later. However, it is the arrival of intense land development schemes in the vicinity that fostered changes in Cortez. In fact, while the original street pattern circulation in Cortez is still extant, though expanded by 2013, other street patterns were added and altered in nearly all of the surrounding lands of the peninsula. The bridge to Anna Maria Island, which touches

Cortez' northwest corner brought additional lands development and encroachment that required crossing of the fishing grounds with permanent infrastructure. The isolation of Cortez was much reduced by this newly added infrastructure as an example. The improvement of roadways, including the highway that touched Cortez' northern boundary were a result of land development schemes.

While planned developments came and went, depending on the economic condition of the time, the permanence of Cortez' layout remained unaffected. Certainly it too became increasingly developed through internal subdivisions over time, resulting in a significant change of the form indicator, yet this was mostly based on the kinship orientation, and as part of fisher-oriented living. Encroachment would later define itself upon the Cortez landscape form as part of a social and political imprint that often had little to do with the purposeful decisions of the fishers or their inherent cultural confine. The influence as a determinant of form change was tangible, yet mostly hidden in its intangible form as part of an outsider agenda that looked to restrict the fisher and his activities as part of newly formed investment backed expectations and alternative recreational pursuits that did not seem to align with the realities of commercial fishing and the working waterfront it required and was steeped in historically. However, most of the encroachment determinants would not be noticed until much later, we after the end of my historic study span.

Yet, there is one part of the encroachment effect, if it is to be considered a determinant of form that must be discussed. This is the apparent and early manifestation of the western waterfront as a recreational land use since settlement. While fishing was accomplished from the large property since its initial purchase in

1887, and then again as a repurchase in 1889, it is the latter year that saw its development into business that was not oriented to commercial fish harvesting. While the early establishment of the Albion Inn set another early precedent with its retail orientation, it at least became part of the commercial fishing enterprise. What made the western waterfront different is its chain of use from that of a couple individual fishers, to a hotel complex, to vacant, to trailer park as its final incarnation.

The obvious impact, or effect, is that early encroachment as a form determinant on the land is part of its settlement history. Such an early form on the landscape then cannot really be considered encroachment. After all, who is to say that the 13 original parcels that made up Cortez had to orient to fishing? While most of the first settlers were indeed fishers, including the owner of the western waterfront parcel, the incorporation of the property for recreation purposes becomes part of Cortez' inherent and characteristic history, without having to regard the issue of encroachment in 1935 by the trailer park. This is another instance of individual decision-making, a hardly controllable influence as part of a collective that trumps other determinants.

There can be no doubt that one of the earliest and most important changes on the vernacular form in Cortez was the addition of this over three-acre trailer park at its western shore. The advance of the personal automobile and the sheer numbers of the new ownership, which began even before the economic upswing following World War II, was already changing the layouts of towns and villages, albeit on a temporary basis for its use, but on a more permanent basis of form for the lands it would continue to occupy and mold. With the advent of the automobile, this became a national trend as part of something referred to as the "tin can tourist" (Schofield, 1975). According to Schofield,

thousands of these trailer-pulling adventure seekers continually came to Manatee County during the 1930s. The availability of moving temporary households in such an efficient manner gave rise to its import in Cortez, especially on lands that were already less used for commercial fishing than for soliciting tourism, as the early hotels of Sanders Fulford attest. The slightly thicker descriptive analysis of this impact reveals that Bradenton, by 1936, was on its way to becoming home to the world's largest mobile home park.

From a historic standpoint, the practitioner cannot reasonably separate the western shore from the historic character attributable to a stricter sense of commercial fishing. In other words, one cannot pick and choose which individual parts do or do not belong in the original historic landscape, even though they may be different in context, form, or usage. This is in spite of debating the obvious form differences between a vernacular hotel construct and a trailer park. What basically matters here, is that encroachment has had a significant effect on the Cortez landscape form in mostly intangible ways, but is not an easily attributable determinant for what appears at first blush, to be the most significant departure from traditional fishing constructs in Cortez.

Influence of major historical events on landscape form in Cortez

Several events affected the form of the vernacular landscape in Cortez. Notwithstanding technological innovations that were quite influential, over the course of the historic study span, Cortez also experienced epidemics, the impacts from major wars, economic depressions, and land booms. These wider affectations do not account for the more localized effects such as the hazards of the commercial fishing occupation and occasions of death from fishing, destructive fires, tornadoes, or schisms among individuals and groups. All of these events had some effect on Cortez.

The inquiry stands as to the effect or effects any single one of these events had on the vernacular landscape form of the fishing village constructs. The death of a fisher may have resulted in a parcel of land being sold and never fully developed such as with L. F. Kelley in the 1890s. In this case the parcel of land appeared to claim one half of what would become the Cortez Road bridge approach. The occasions of two world wars in Cortez did not appear to have direct effects on Cortez, except in slowing things down in the village, fostering a stability of sorts. The same seemed to hold true for economic downturns. There did not appear to be any significant and direct effects on the indicator sets, rather, they seemed to freeze in time. This is unusual since some of the largest mullet catches occurred during World War II, when fishing had been at a lull, and many fishers were overseas. It certainly can be said that wartime periods slowed the evolution of the Cortez vernacular form, while post-wartime periods often saw the introduction of new technologies such as the uses of aluminum and synthetics.

Perhaps the most noticeable and direct effect upon the vernacular landscape points to the 1921 hurricane and storm surge. This event, which helped to define a collective memory regarding time in Cortez, resulted in the nearly complete loss of physical fabric at the waterfront, destroying most of the contextual character. Rather than occurring slowly over time, this rapid change, i.e., the destruction of the waterfront construct, which had evolved over a 30-year period, occurred in a matter of a few hours. There just does not seem to be any other precedent in Cortez' history that can match the measurable effect of that type of change. However, the appearance of the inquiry as part of my study was not completely resolved.

To be sure, the contextual form expressed through the extended vernacular construct in Cortez was destroyed, erased as a set of indicators of form that characterized the place as a TFV. The jumble of pieces and materials that the storm disassembled and deposited into a formless mass had no contextuality other than its prior form that could no longer be articulated. Other forms in Cortez, such as the village layout and its erected residential construct across the upland areas were not so affected, revealing their more permanent nature across the landscape. Perhaps significance in Cortez would have held a higher esteem had the waterfront construct withstood the storm's effects, and it was allowed to evolve into subsequent decades. Yet, waterfront areas have historically been destroyed by such events, creating an expectation of inevitability or fatalistic design on behalf of the fisher. The effect in this case becomes one of a partial impermanence to the overall village construct, reflected in a minimum investment into the construct, even though they were extremely important to the fisher. It can be said that this impermanence was a distinct part of the form of the TFV, but it did not really reveal a distinction of form unless the resolution of looking at the form was tightened to a craftsmanship scale. This increased resolution, commented on by Kropf (1993) earlier, veers away from viewing the landscape form, but does suggest good material for later study.

In getting back to the matter of storms effects, while certain contextual forms were erased, replacement forms did occur. However, the replacement form itself had a markedly different imprint on the landscape in spite of its still being vernacular. Some forms were still represented similarly, yet the configuration of form, especially the placement of the dock system and net works changed significantly. Some internal

linkages related to the control of the fishery's market also changed as a result of the storm event. If the storm was a natural occurrence then, the question is open regarding the determinant of the change. It can be agreed that humans, or culture, created the form structure that was to be destroyed, and made the decisions to place them in vulnerable areas. Based on their experiences with prior storms, there must have been an inherent knowledge of vulnerability that was reflected in the design of the waterfront construct, and this form actually remains stable, pending new technologies that could have shored them up better, which did not really come until after the historic study span.

This was not revealed as part of my study, except that some buildings appear to have been elevated a foot or so after the storm. At least one waterfront residential building's living area had been elevated approximately 12 feet above ground, with a work area below. In retrospect, this response seems like an isolated occurrence that did not transfer to other properties, existing or new between 1921 and 1946. This is uncanny in that it speaks to a continuing reactive measures that could be tied closely to the waterfront form of the TFV, suggestive of what Souza (1998) was referring to as part of the fatalistic attitudes of fishers as a group (Souza, 1998). While not studied thoroughly here, the notion of impermanent and permanent forms juxtaposition in TFVs is an interesting concept that warrants additional study.

The effect of major wind events is an obvious landscape form changer. However, it may be one that is too obvious, too removed from the control of humans to prevent their occurrence. With this in mind, the effect is natural, not cultural, unless one looks at the decisions that go into the placement of human constructs in vulnerable location, when an inherent knowledge is already an established part of the culture. Cultural

groups can surely prepare and plan for some of the potential effects from such natural occurrences, yet the destruction, or change in the landscape form appears as not being determined by them--it is determined by nature, though modified by the culture whose decisions have at least some bearing on it. It must be noted that I am not suggesting that environmental determinism is part of the TFV culture for dealing with storm surge. In fact, the lack of a distinguishable anti-storm form complex across the Cortez vernacular landscape seems to support the opposite in this regard of syncretic behavior. If a predominant village system was constructed as part of some "localized response" to historical events, as Heath (2006/2007) suggested was an inherent part of the vernacular, then it might more aptly apply here.

Individual decision-making

Just as landscapes are interpreted according to varied perceptions and perspectives (Muir, 1999), they can also be created by them. The role of individual decisions placed upon the landscape appears as the strongest determinant of vernacular form in Cortez during my historic study span. To be sure, there are many insulated cultures where the landscape does indeed form as part of a collective; however, the Cortez vernacular landscape did not appear to be one of them. What seems to have resulted in Cortez was a localized response that was more resilient than adaptive. While a collective organization that resulted in common forms of fishing and certain built constructs, including gear and equipment may have started initially, it was short-lived and not necessarily found as part of the later evolving history. Individual freedom and decision-making seemed to go together as a localized value brought in as part of other cultural conditioning. Vernacular forms resulted from individual decisions,

carried out in response to a fisher's skill set, determination, temperament, economic resources, and values, among other things.

Commercial fishing, though a passion for many, was always a speculative process guided by the abundance of nature, weather, economic conditions, and other factors. This resulted in the impermanent character of the waterfront conglomeration. The record reveals several instances of more permanence added to this same construct by those who were non-fishers (e.g., the Brattons' retail and Millard Brown retail). The fishers could afford a flexibility of the buildings over the water, whereas, they became more fixed over time in the uplands. Though the overall forms were similar, i.e., gable roofs, single and two stories, shed additions, etc., there were distinctions represented by individual decisions that mimicked other available forms, rather than copying based on a localized vernacular agreement. In Cortez, there just did not seem to be strong localized vernacular occurring after the settlement period.

Across the spectrum of vernacular form indicator sets, there is no commonality of any one indicator, except for early spritsail watercraft that most likely transferred from the Atlantic Coast earlier than the settlers. Of course, the gill net fishing technique was a common act, but not exclusive to Cortez, and certainly not restricted as the only method by the collective there. At the resolution of my study, the basic construction principles in Cortez do not reveal anything about the culture, except that there was an olio of residential constructs that changed between periods. One examination does lead to the form of the net spread as one of the most contextualized constructs along the waterfront that was highly common, and highly distinguishable as a common form. As part of the net works, the net spread was a basic construct, growing larger according to individuals

adding to it. It appeared as a mosaic, with individual pieces added by individual fishers over time. This may have resulted in a combination of individual decision-making and a collective organization that responded to placement in the open water areas. There must have been agreements regarding keeping certain channels clear, and implied or discussed considerations for building the constructs next to others already in place by other fishers. This collective helped to establish the basic form that spread across the water, and was common to other TFVs.

However, though the basic construct of very impermanent vertical pilings and wood planks defined the collective form, it was the individual fisher or group of fishers, guided by individualized decisions based on the factors mentioned previously, that caused it to happen. The form was not preplanned, or predesigned by the larger group; instead, it accreted over time by individuals as they were able to build upon those already in place. The addition of superstructures such as net reels or wooden caps to this form, were also individual decisions that came about from the same factors. In this case, the technology of the time certainly influenced the forms of the net spread and the watercraft. However, it was through individual decision-making that included choice and preference, modified by what Rapoport (1986) described as an overall blueprint established by the wider culture, then controlled by what was “in their heads and within the constraints of their situation” that they presented themselves onto the vernacular landscape (p. 162).

Conclusion

There are many examples of vernacular form additions, subtractions, and changes in the historic landscape of Cortez. Not all of these can be managed easily under a single study, since the sheer number of them also reflects variations of degree

and resolution. The thrust of formulating a final analysis regarding vernacular landscape form in the setting of a traditional fishing village (TFV) leads back to my primary research that queried the determinants of changes to the wider landscape form. However, the question was not easily answered because of the broad character of, and seemingly limitless types of form that establish the landscape construct. My exploration of form in this manner required using prior examples of study from a broad array of disciplines. This resulted in the development of my own process for looking at form based on its contextual relationship to the setting I chose. While certainly not complete, it does reveal certain determinants of vernacular form change, but also opens up discussions about how the forms changed over periods of time so that an improved understanding of their historicity, and/or significance from a historic preservation viewpoint, can be more accurately described.

My study revealed both physical and intangible forms in the landscape that are not necessarily new findings, since scholars have been researching these separate types of indicators for decades now. However, it is somewhat surprising to find from my study how, unlike the physical incarnations of the landscape, the intangible forms, based on the three indicators I studied in the landscape, always appeared to change from study period to study period. Only a few physical forms appeared more stable, or more entrenched than others; however, most were continually changing. The stability of any of the form indicators is almost a conundrum in itself, since they are often part of a flux that occurs as part of continually shifting contexts (Ley, 1988). The extended vernacular form, contrary to my early pre-study assumptions, actually revealed themselves as the most stable.

In order to extend the reach of my contextual understanding, I included an examination of form from the end of my study to the present that revealed all but one of the 14 forms having changed significantly during that period. Perhaps even more interesting are the dramatic changes occurring in the TFV setting after its rather long history of stabilization; the challenges to this stability was borne out of a series of technology changes that came to fruition during the mid to late nineteenth century.

Over hundreds and even thousands of years, not much had changed in the basic pursuit of an unseen prey using fiber netting, watercraft made of wood and cloth sail, and technique. Over this long standing history, the most dramatic changes to the process of commercial fishing did happen to come to fruition during my historic study span of 1887 to 1946, which also represented a significant shift in the stability of the industry and the historic enclaves that have been created during the transition. The long-standing stability of commercial fishing and the process of change through latent human innovation that fostered the changes are not dissimilar to the process of change that occurs under Thomas Kuhn's theory of science change.

In using Wallace's (1978) breakdown of Kuhn's thinking in the early 1960s, scientific process was not simply a gradual increase and accumulation of knowledge guided by subsequent practice. Instead, it moves along steadily under a commonly accepted paradigm, or way of doing and processing what guides the field of study over a period of time. Innovations of the procedures and new findings cause others within the field of study to also embrace the innovations encouraging a solidified internalized testing and growth period, while those outside, as well as, some inside the given community, are reluctant to change. This is then followed by wider acceptance and

application of the innovation outside of the community or field of study, which in its wider applications, newer challenges and problems emerge. The wider acceptance also causes a steady friction among the various fields of study as they establish themselves within the new paradigm. The cycle then repeats itself.

As already stated, for millennia, commercial fishing was performed using gear and equipment whose physical forms did not begin to change significantly until the late nineteenth century. This normalcy of using similar forms provided stability to the fishing process that occurred over many regions, though the lack of interconnectedness between groups that Wallace (1978) discussed related to the different forms of fishing technique, for example. While certain techniques and processes were improved upon during this rather entrenched practice of commercial fishing, such as in the size and speed of watercraft, the vernacular composition of the gear and equipment, when compared side by side, could not reveal a significant enough change in their physical forms. The intangible forms were also stable in a sense that was manifested in regionalistic measures, but with varied perceptions between insiders and outsiders to the trade and industry. However, this earlier set requires additional study.

The development of this long-standing paradigm of commercial fishing did allow for a diffusion of constructed artifacts such as the entire commercial fishing vernacular to the New World, and of course, certain physical forms of watercraft from the U.S. Northeast coast southward to the Mid-Atlantic, and then to the Gulf Coast. However, diffusion of gear, equipment, and method did not necessarily signify changes to form as much as they did changes in location. Once the diffusion did occur, however, subtle

changes in physical forms did occur locally as communities and cultural enclaves adapted them to local needs and conditions.

Now, when the innovations of the mid and late nineteenth century began, the prospects for revolutionary change in commercial fishing were at hand. Perhaps the first inkling of these changes, or paradigm shifts if I am to stick with Kuhn here, occurred with the development of steam power during the eighteenth century. While the application and use of steam toward commercial fishing ends did not come about until at least the mid nineteenth century, it did represent a significant change to how fish products were caught and the speed at which they were then transported. This, in turn improved the condition of the product regarding quality and freshness. The use of steam-powered sail handling eliminated an assortment of manual handling. There were also significant changes to the physical forms created for steam in how waterfront docking systems were constructed to accommodate the steamboat's particular loading and unloading conduits. Notwithstanding the significant shift represented by the steam innovation, however, it is doubtful that such a revolutionary change had an impact on the how form changed in Cortez, since its docks were being accommodated by steam from its first decade.

The next paradigm shift involves the development of artificial ice making. Though its discovery occurred during the mid-nineteenth century, well before Hunter's Point was settled, it too held a delayed response for its application to commercial fishing. Certainly, ice was already being transported from colder climates to southern ports early on via schooners. The availability of ice to isolated communities was not as frequent and required different preservation methods. Historically, in warm climates, freshly

caught fish harvests were either kench-cured or sold live, each method dictating different forms for processing, storage, and presentation. Ice, when available, extended the reach and sale-ability of organic products never available before. As the new technology for making artificial ice developed, new forms along the waterfront conglomeration also developed as large warehouses built to a construction specification that exceeded basic single-wall, and even double-wall constructions at that time. The development of ice and ice-making and its laying out as physical form in the TFV also resulted in extensions of commerce, as predicted by John Gorrie in 1844 (Becker, 1972). However, while ice manufacturing began to be developed in several villages during the 1880s, including nearby Palma Sola, its establishment in the distant village of Cortez took longer. Even when the ice-making infrastructure became part of the physical form, it had little impact on the vernacular landscape form from a significance standpoint.

The third paradigm shift experienced by Cortez fishers that affected the form of the vernacular landscape occurred as steam and fuel power replaced the form of sail power from wind. It is easy to argue that the form of the sail mechanism, as geometric shapes dotting the open water and fishing grounds, has now become extinct as a commercial fishing form in Cortez. Within the waterfront conglomeration, open sails became billowing sheets when unfurled, while the vertical and diagonal masts, sprits, and gaffs punctured the skies. The loss of this dominating form in the landscape to motorized power represents a significant loss of the form as an essential component of the first decades of the Cortez vernacular landscape becoming virtually extinct by the 1920s. The significance of the new motorized form is debatable, but at first blush,

appears formless due precisely to its compactness. The dominating character of the historic sail rig and the space it utilized seems to have represented fuller physical and intangible forms on the landscape. The motorized vessel retains a similar basic hull shape as the sail rig, but its power source is more compact, eliminating the expansive area above the watercraft itself. This sameness may contribute to the feeling of formlessness, though the new forms created from motorized vessels may actually reveal a long and wide string of new forms both physical and intangible that reflect the new paradigm's natural source issues (oil exploration and recovery), storage (large tanks and filling stations), economics (trucking and market reach), and of course ethics (pollution and extraction).

A fourth paradigm shift occurred that really began after the end of my study period, but is certainly significant to changes to the extended vernacular indicators of my historic study periods. This is marked by the change from fiber net materials to synthetics that, in turn, caused a landscape-wide form change, or more precisely, an elimination of the older form on the landscape. Since the resulting form was produced by a cultural effect, the subtraction of the form can be positively considered as a changed form.

While fishing nets, no matter what they are made of, require ongoing maintenance, the natural fibers of the long established fishing net materials required daily treatments and drying to slow down their decay. Of course, net mending was part of this maintenance, but the mending of nets did not represent any significant change, and did not add an effect to the visual landscape in the way the natural materials did. For example, a dominant feature of the early vernacular TFV landscape was the

elimination of large net works that included net spreads, net reels, and the docks that connected them. The constant attention to nets, and the net works to which they were often related, established a distinctly large and characteristic form across the landscape, perhaps equal to or greater than the watercraft with its forms of hull and sail. However, fishing in the vernacular during the historic study periods required the use and individual ownership of the net as the first tool of the fisher, more so than the watercraft.

Implications of Study Results

Future Research

There is plenty of room for additional research regarding my study findings. In fact, my study, as an initial foray into a sparsely researched subject matter set, really sets the stage for further enquiry into other areas. This includes focusing on matters of landscape as they affect Cortez, but also in regard to matters that affect other landscapes that are different than Cortez, and in the general matters of significance and historicity that are often guided by personal perceptions, degrees of impact and occurrence, and relevance. I agree somewhat with those who feel that the forms of architecture and the wider landscape that are being studied and analyzed from the past are not as important as how they should be considered for their future applications on human built form. Certainly, spending time and resources on understanding the past simply because we are curious about it, appears to take a lesser stage to understanding it in order to benefit society. Yet, it is only from the critical analysis and understanding of those past forms that humans can learn into the future about how to better build the environments around them.

Several scholars such as Kropf (2001) continue to correctly question the efficacy of studying the types of changes I have just put forward and at first blush, even I might

agree with his sentiment. However, there is importance in such study if we, as scholars and purveyors of the constructed world, can work together to accept the differences of opinion as valid across the varied spectrums of perspectives and application of information and use of that information. Because the cultural landscape is a concept of such vast proportion, it would be foolish of me to recommend that we strive for a single common method for studying it. In this case, and in the rapidly changing, instantly connected cultural landscapes that now include global influences and incursions, the generalized method may itself be passé. Instead, the use of context may be a better arbiter for deciding how the study of a lived-in landscape should move forward.

Though academia is long familiar with the use of context, the use of indicators is a good tool for, as Geertz suggested, cutting down to a manageable size, the enormity of the human forms that make up the landscape so that we can better understand its nuances, and its enormity as it moves through time. Improving upon my study is certainly one way to better this understanding. This may include looking at different form indicators, applying my method to other contextual landscapes, or further examining what is meant by a highly contextual landscape, and what it is based on. I feel that it is important for historians to concentrate on what is really significant in our historic past when it comes to labeling, or demarking those elements that make up the landscape such as buildings, structures, and objects. Though highly important information and items of significance will continue to pop out of history, and many researchers will keep the past as a well-studied field, future research is obliged to narrow down this significance as it applies to the distant past, so that the more recent past can be given its proper focus for study. This is a challenge in itself since significance, as a criterion

for what is the best of our past, seems to be rarer for the recently manifested landscape and its elements as they occurred after the end of my historic span of 1946. The continued myth of a landscape seen, as is, and looking old or historic, reveals little until it is researched. Unfortunately, these types of landscapes, as they have either been revised through modern applications, or interpreted through postmodern versions, do not do enough to portray the most accurate history of a setting, with many of its viewers or readers going forward with only a superficial understanding of a place based on what they see.

I cannot help to be swayed by a feeling that there is a future linkage between vernacular architecture and an evolving heritage focus that also must be part of future research on historic form, its significance, and how it has changed. According to Lowenthal (1992), there is evidence that “millions of Americans cherish a wide range of vernacular buildings and familiar locales” as part of their common heritage (p. 159). However, the vernacular composite has been the victim of unscrupulous and insensitive public policy such as urban renewal and slum clearing initiatives that continue to this day. Gentrification and redevelopment schemes have played directly into qualitative and quantitative losses, whether by sheer numbers of vernacular structures lost, or through diminution of quality of life. The creation of a pseudo-vernacular in its place has become more of a bane than a boon (Larkham, 1996). When the historic vernacular is revived, it is often by a non-vernacular, poorly built construct that creates a muddled vernacular form, akin to a “pollution” of the overall historic context, as described by Hunter and Green (1995, p. 27). The subsequent loss of historic vernacular fabric also witnesses the losses of embedded senses of heritage, and the ability to capture a present and

sustaining feeling of historicity. Future study is required that contributes to measures that limit or prevent this changing of the vernacular, since, it is unnecessary, and unlike the ancient past, is based on much of the information society has good access to.

The relevance here, as according to Orbasli (2000), is that many small, historic towns resulted from a “synthesis and overlap of style” that remained virtually unaffected by change until they became “frozen as ‘heritage’ in the present” gaze of tourism and its constituency of desire (p. 9). Chapman (1992) emphasized that the preservation of vernacular architecture appeals to those wanting a “deeper cultural experience,” thereby nurturing an attitude of preservation of remaining fabric and local culture and heritage (p. 61). Heritage in vernacular architecture exists in everything that is built, “experienced” by those who use it “in the present,” and waiting for future generations (p. 13).

As an integral part of vernacular architecture programming, Wheeler (1992) suggested that historic preservation retains a unique importance to the overall concept of heritage tourism, and conversely that, “Heritage tourism will be an important component of future directions” for historic preservation (p. 162). Wheeler’s favored approach endorsed interdisciplinarianism in “building bridges with others who are stewards of the past” (p. 163), which my study emphasized, and future studies should embrace even further. For example, a small fishing village is “connected” to distant resources through geography, ethnic backgrounds, or economics (Ashworth & Turnbridge, 2000), politics, technology, the list goes on.

The draw of the small, historic town may represent a partial solution with universal appeal for dealing with widespread destruction of historic vernacular

resources due to natural disasters. The effects of nature on entire communities are well known, yet there is little information that analyzes the effects on the landscape form and what the effects mean to the cultural landscape and its historic vernacular subtype. Sometimes, through serendipitous occurrence, vernacular architecture “can forge a link between present and past” (Ruggles, 2008, p.10), that may lessen the traumatic effects of rampant community-wide destruction of a setting, even when the visitor is not totally familiar with what is replacing their just present form. After hurricane Katrina in 2005, and despite authenticity issues, New Orleans now sees re-establishment of its vernacular heritage as a “foundation for recovery” in many abandoned neighborhoods (Edwards, 2009). Certainly, there is plenty of room here for future study of how vernacular fits into societal response and recovery efforts that is just beginning to be revealed.

However, much work is still required for understanding how the vernacular fits in with the larger aspect of American culture. In considering my study of the working waterfront of a fishing village, one example is provided by Griffith (1999), who, in referring to visitors’ interactions with working fishermen, its industry clutter, and the raw fragrances of the sea that are part of that culture, suggested early on that the reality of certain vernacular settings is not for everyone, since it may be too much and too real for those whose limited perceptions of it, though favorable, could be altered negatively by it

As a professional land use planner, I understand the importance of understanding the past in providing insights into future decision-making. As Amos Rapoport and M. R. G. Conzen, who closely analyzed built form also understood how the past helped to align future decision-making, future research must present our

American history better, and perhaps even sooner, and certainly before substantial losses occur; but therein, lays an even more substantial challenge.

Perspectives on Later Form Periods

Some brief comments on the vernacular landscape form from time periods occurring after my historic study span are worth adding here. While several changes to the vernacular landscape were noticeable between the historic study periods used for my study, the literature and historic records contained a plethora of insight pertaining to later effects. At least two additional periods are worthy of future study and blend with the wider cultural landscape of the times. Granted, certain individual dynamics of these time periods warrant microscopic examinations depending on the research to be undertaken.

The 1950s and 1960s, in retrospect, appear to have embraced an initial decline period. While changes to the physical and intangible forms were already underway prior to these decades, more dramatic effects of encroachment, generational flux, and the influence of a wider cultural milieu were in full force. Widespread cultural reactions and responses to the environment and historic resources were becoming national values. In spite of this, changes to the vernacular landscape that seemed to go against this national grain were beginning to be implemented on a wider scale of normalcy. Many of the changes were then becoming the standard across the landscape as the newer technologies were themselves becoming entrenched, and the vernacular fishing traditions were now distant memories with only a few still clinging to what would have been by this time a far-removed traditional vernacular landscape form. The new normalcy was in full swing in its replacement of those early traditions. The resilience of Cortez, though still affected by during these decades, created some shielding with regard to its physical forms, but its intangible forms were certainly undergoing deep

transitions carried on by the third and fourth generation descendants of the original fishers that were still there.

The long period from the 1970s to 2013 could certainly be broken down according to the myriad events and cultural occurrences that took place over such a lengthy time span. However, for the purposes and brief linkage of my study's consideration of later forms, it can be treated as a single time period. The overall period could be viewed as a post-contextual recovery form period. The effects are marked into the fading vernacular landscape by this time as part of programmatic environmental regulations and preservation efforts. The effects often grew out of, and based on grass-roots efforts, that in way, resembled a vernacular, or common assemblage of shared vision for what was, or used to be in Cortez. Efforts to preserve or recapture physical and intangible traditions are an aside to be displayed, rather than reverting back to. Modernized culture sometimes recognizes the limitations of these types of programming efforts, but presents them anyway as a documentation of the rich vernacular history that the early generations were not concerned with as they unwittingly constructed what is now considered historic by the wider culture itself. The history of Cortez, viewed from this latent time period becomes a single surface feature of the larger mosaic.

When considering the wider cultural landscape, a significant cultural dilution is also keenly in place as the above effects are implemented upon the historic vernacular landscape of Cortez. While some would disagree, the original settlers of Cortez would probably still recognize it today. However, they would certainly be able to make a clearer distinction between how it looked, let's say up to 1897, and its current look, or physicality. The physical forms have obviously changed, yet the essence of the overall

form of fishing does still remain. Perhaps even more important is how they would feel in the setting, and with regard to what are the intangible forms. My presumption without studying it further, is that these forms would be vastly different and unrecognizable, substantiating why the less than physical forms in the vernacular landscape appeared to be constantly changing during my historic study span. Hence, the sense or spirit of place that made up the context of Cortez over a period of time may in fact have noticeable change too for the individuals and collective groups that experienced it previously, though it is still there as both a frozen form, and as one that is constantly being reinvented by later participants.

Critique of Method Used

My examination of vernacular landscape form using a modified descriptive/interpretive approach worked well for explaining the complicated process involved in uncovering and explaining a primary landscape setting that occurred over a span of 120 years. Since landscape over time is itself a process of human endeavor mixed with natural occurrences, it makes sense that my analysis of it also required a structured process rather than just a description of things.

The four-phase method proved extremely useful for organizing my data and the process itself, in that the landscape is clearly distinguishable through an interpretive analysis that can be understood by large audiences, yet it remains vague since it takes on many forms. These forms are both physical and intangible, and the form indicators I used by no means represent an exhaustive list as I have included them herein. While I do not wholeheartedly agree with other researchers who suggest that the landscape is not meant to be read, there is a modicum of reality in that they must be lived in and experienced first-hand in order to be nearer to a complete an analysis of them. Just like

the constantly evolving landscape, the analysis of any landscape, historic or current can never really be complete. In my opinion, a researcher cannot simply “go native” into a landscape latently, live there for a while, and dare to suggest a full understanding of it, even though the act of immersion somehow added to their overall understanding of it. Obviously, the patina of history is there and identifiable to a degree, but the experience of the early, evolving layers is not. The immersion becomes a contrivance of the researcher. I chose not to do this, and I do not have second thoughts about it since I wanted to see what could be revealed based on what was available through archived and historic literature and documentation.

The wider landscape study of my research simply could not have proceeded without first analyzing the structure of it first, if not simply to clarify the confusing array of terms and approaches for my own study, but for others who would otherwise find it difficult to follow my rather complicated approach to understanding the missing landscape forms that I thought were significant. Since I could not find any one previous study that fit the needs of my own examination, this all required my finding the best examples from a variety of other studies among various disciplines since the ones that I gravitated to seemed the most pertinent to my focus. I am not convinced, as a result of my study that such hybridization advances the study of landscape to a great degree, though I do feel some progress was made for at least how to approach the study of the wider landscape when attempting to understand the significance of its forms as part of recognized historic studies and documentation. This resulted from my initial concerns and queries related to how significance of my study landscape appeared to be reflected by focusing on a limited indicator set of dwellings that were still extant. This then

became part of the thicker analysis I experimented with during my study. In thickly describing a form, event, or other occurrence that appeared richly contextual and deserving of a deeper understanding, the process certainly works well as long as it is used consistently and for those landscape elements that require clarification or, in the opinion of the researcher, rise to the top of landscape form analysis.

Still, the process for choosing to thickly analyze a form or its relationships to other landscape questions is time-consuming, and often subjective with a leaning to the researcher's point of view. I did find that it is very easy to veer down various paths of discourse that the landscape is made of I often found myself veering sideways down paths of information that were quite interesting, but not precisely related to my focus for understanding the determinants of landscape form change. Much of the sideways information had intrinsic qualities to be sure, yet the use of thick analysis must be managed when working on a palette that attempts to reveal pertinent forms across the wider landscape. I do find that thick analysis works best when the subject is constrained, or limited, since the context of it is better controlled by the limitation of it. Examining a piece of fishing equipment, a tool, or a single building is more easily done as part of a single study, than when adding everything else around it; the addition of the intangible complicates the latter task even more.

The thick analysis helped me to understand certain aspects of Cortez that were virtually silent in the available literature. For example, understanding the chronological form of parcel ownership in Cortez certainly helped me to understand the evolving form based on the individuals who settled it, and ultimately its growth, or evolution into its now recognized boundary. Though mapping is available to obtain a basic understanding

of this chronology, there was little understanding of the players in a precise order. The findings did reveal interesting facts of ownership. However, while I suggest a factual basis for this kind of finding, I am admittedly reluctant to suggest an absolute finding of fact for my entire portfolio of forms, since the thicker analysis of my study stopped at a relatively shallow point. It seems that the thicker analysis must go further in order to label a finding as clearly factual and absolute. This kind of finding, in my opinion, is rare in examining histories of the landscape, since there are often elements of undertaking that are now non-recoverable.

However, in using context as a basis for identifying form, my task certainly seemed easier than it would have been for other landscapes that may not be indicative of such rich contextual underpinnings. Context allowed me to zero in on particular forms as they brought themselves to the forefront of my analysis. In other words, I did not struggle in my search for them, since many were self-evident, and others appeared as part of a rich tradition that moves across geographical boundaries. The traditional fishing village, especially one whose landscape setting has not changed as quickly as other similar settings, was an easy mark for my study because of its richness. The peculiarities of the physical form were identified fairly easily from its inception as a settled village. Even its presettlement physical forms were well documented, allowing a further look into the physical character of the geographical area.

However, I doubt that other, less richly contextual landscape settings, where the setting is fairly weak and non-descript, even if its documented history is abundant, can be as easily examined using my approach. The ability to establish the rhythm of the landscape through its forms may simply not be available, at least not readily so, to the

researcher. The problem is pronounced by a lack of information that may be permanently lost and unable to reveal itself years later. I certainly ran into this problem as part of my study, as many documented instances of history remain vague or unanswerable, or require further research. This fosters additional questions of my study in its adaptability to all landscapes. For example, where does one begin examining the landscape form that is multiplex and based on multiple iterations of context? What would the contextual form indicators consist of for an average city block of historic buildings that developed over different time periods, with no identifiable cultural tradition? I think it is too easy to label landscapes with the views of researcher. Or, am I presuming too much here? Perhaps every place, every landscape already has context built-in, waiting for it to be revealed through the analysis of it, whether thickly described or not, and through the researcher's perception of it. After all, landscape is cultural, often evoking wide variations of feelings and emotions in individualized formats that often take on a role of a wider, yet still limited group expression over time, and not easily pinned down to a precise description that works for everyone as a universal solution to our understanding of it.

My study does yield one perspective for understanding the wider landscape form. In my case, I chose the vernacular form of expression and buildup in order to separate historically significant forms from those that were not historic, nor significant. I feel that improvements can be made regarding my approach, but this depends on the information or conclusions the researcher desires. A voluminous study of historic form and significance could be undertaken just by focusing on any of the individual indicators

I presented herein. However, my goal was to reveal how this could be done across the wider landscape, and I feel that goal was achieved.

Form Period	Significant Affect To Form Between Periods														
	Wf Congl	Village Layout			Building Mosaic			Extended Vernacular							
		Bdry	Parcels	Circu	Res	Non-Res	Fish Context	Physical					Less Than Physical		
							Camps	Net work	Dock	Net	Wcraft	Fish Grds	Act	Exper	
1867-1897	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
1898-1921	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
1921-1946	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
1947-2013	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Figure 5-1. Significant affect to form tool. This tool is used for comparing determinations of significant affect to form indicators between the historic study periods improves understanding of form change. Table based on study analysis.

APPENDIX A
DISSERTATION RESEARCH CHART

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	
What determines form change?	
LpF	<p>-Form may be determined by industry and equipment used, infrastructure needed: snapper, oysters, shrimp, sponge, clam, grouper, etc.</p> <p>-Every TFV cites a hurricane as destroying the place-so at least, form has been erased as a result of natural determinants; however, the new form does not necessarily represent a change in form.</p> <p>-The size of watercraft may determine form or new forms.</p> <p>-Do newer squared pilings = a form change from the round?</p> <p>Hierarchy from readings and observations:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1)industry, inc the act of fishing, the equipment used 2)Markets-which comes first? 3)the natural availability or sudden decline of seafood type-is this a determinant or cause-natural vs human <p>-Many similar communities were only accessible by watercraft at the beginning. Does this represent a type of form with form change occurring after connection to mainland?</p> <p>-W.G. Hoskins (1955) said that LSs are “various social & economic arrangements existing in particular places & times.” (Robertson & Richards)-more than just physical-constantly changing</p> <p>-Robertson & Richards (2003) also said that there is no objective reading of LS. Ingold (1993) said LSs are “never built...is perpetually under construction.” It is never complete. Seymour (2000) said LS should not be read as an “end product.” Cannavo (2008) said LSs are always changing, always unfinished.</p> <p>-Many authors have written about change after WWI, esp from the 1970s and on due to regulations & rec fishers (Price, 2004)</p> <p>-Yet, many of us fail to recognize or acknowledge our LSs changing, until much has been lost or concealed.</p> <p>-Hoskins interestingly noted that most planned towns have the root of a single owner.</p> <p>-The importance of more localized sawmills-and sawmills in general—they were almost like neighborhood facilities-part of the immediate landscape. A sense of form takes shape as one draws a picture of what facilities were common during each time period, e.g., sawmills, icehouses, etc. The landscape changed as these changed and became obsolete.</p> <p>-I am not so sure that Cortez instilled the love and commitment to fishing as portrayed. At least not as a collective whole. There seems to have been a constant brainstorming of moving into a better life—i.e., shell mound treasure, subdivisions, tourism, drugs, netting, etc. Maybe only a few individuals who were not the real passionate fishers??</p>
(1952/Savage) The Making of Our Towns	<p>-Cortez ifs true to fishing-no other historical basis for other trade/industry.—Did this change along the way?</p> <p>-Altering the environment changes form-e.g., shoreline, canals, roads, rail, etc.</p> <p>-In 18th century England there were 3 main form changers to sea ports: 1) industrial revolution; 2) methods of transport; 3) rivalry</p> <p>-We can look at towns “as living organisms”-they must keep pace with other towns or they will “slip back...struggle for existence” (p.164)</p> <p>-Political upheavals/events affected town growth & trade; floods & storms obliterated entire villages</p>
(1959/Duprey) Old Houses on Nantucket	<p>-Always something diminishing fishing industries-e.g., whaling industry on Nantucket declined due to crude oil replacing whale oil for lights after 1855. This is technology and markets!!!!</p>

(1963/Varney) Geographic & Economic History of the Gulf Coast of FL	-Four reasons for diminished landings and perhaps form change: 1) regulations; 2) Biotic pollution, red tide, storms, silt; 3) economics-transportation + costs, markets, prices; 4) personal choice
(1969/Lewcock & Brans) Shelter, Sign and Symbol?????, in Oliver???	-Oliver points to the influence of boats in determining the shape of buildings in the reuse of boat timber (recycling) causing curved shapes, esp. the roofs
(1969/Rapoport) House Form and Culture	-Many factors determine form.
(1970/Hoskins) The Making of the Engl LS	-As Kay has said, transportation changed the form of places. Hoskins said that "Railways manipulated the LS on a grand scale." (p. 256). The same can be applied to TFVs in the context of RRs and navigation, and the impacts on the built forms.
(1976/Tebeau) The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country	-1890s: R/R brought ice and a "revolutionary change in fishing operations." P.40. created biz for fish transport via run boats, which took fish to transport hubs (opened up new markets). -1920s: Tamiami Trail opened up new markets-caused significant changes; dredging also changed markets. -Fishing is a precarious source of livelihood." P. 41 due to low prices, market glut, weather, ice failure.
(1979/JBJ) The Order of the LS: Reason/ Religion in Newton Amer, (Meinig1979)	-LSs are always changing because they are political and cultural entities, just as much, if not more than scenic or ecological ones.
(1980/Upton) PhD Dissertation	-"...the effects of change within the vernacular architecture of Virginia were cumulative, not successive." (p. 389)
(1985/Green) Finest Kind	-Cites 1967 as the beginning of the Modern era for FL fishers-that was when the proposed 1700 yard ban started. According to Green, environmental laws actually helped to stabilize commercial fishing by regulating development. For ex: stopnetting was outlawed in 1950. Also in 1967, local developments such as San Remo & Coral Shores got law passed which outlawed fishing in their canals.
(1986/Smardon, et al) Foundations....Visual Impact Analysis	-Schauman said "Visual changes are often the least understood and yet most controversial aspect of land use change." (p. 104)
(1986/Rapoport-Saile,ed.) Architecture in Culture Change	-Rapoport said form is modified by various factor including "site, climate, materials, technology, economy and the like." (p.159) -Rapoport said "Culture is ultimately translated into form through what people do as a result of what is in their heads and within the constraints of their situation." (p.162) Culture creates the blueprint for what and how to build. So---culture is NOT translated into built form, "Rather, culture is translated, through human actions, through a series of intermediate steps, into built form." (p.162); Preference and choice are important here.
(1987/Rapoport) On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture	-Rapoport is not clear re: which aspects of culture are most impt to the built env.
(1987/Shiver) The Historic Architecture of Key West	-Shiver says "economic stagnation" helped preserve ±3,000 pre-1912 buildings though many structures destroyed by military in 1826 due to diseases (mosquitos (p. 42); Dees & Dees also said Cedar Keys & Jax were the two most destroyed-but booming afterward. -Shiver said ethnic role (poor people) was insignificant or nonexistent (p.175) in determining arch character-not sure if I agree—states that though half the pop of Key West in 1890 was Spanish, there was no influence on arch form. He says it could be from the temp nature of buildings, hurricanes, or climate but does not explain his conclusion -form often determined by temporary industries such as cigars which built factories and housing -many structures built immediately adjacent to the wharves to ensure harbor access ("oriented toward the water" with no explanation of how they were oriented)(p.24) -Various L/S form determinants included improved NAV AIDS, steam intro, & R/R (less wrecks) defaulted wrecking industry; ethnic changes between 1870-1890 (rapid expansion of built env, then exodus by Cubans to Tampa-Greeks left for Tarpon Spgs (1904) though blacks stayed behind); -Minor intensity of hurricanes from 1846-1908 failed to encourage protective changes to bldgs.

	-Renewal of bldgs. Versus new development highly evident; most common determinants of change to physical character of bldgs. Is decay, taste, tech., but also lists storms, fires, demolitions, urban renewal
(1989/Bourne) The View From Front Street	-Different fish = different lives, different form
(1990/Dees&Dees) Off the Beaten Path (Cedar Keys)	-Decline from mid 1890s caused by depletion of timber resources; failure to maintain R/R terminus; depletion of marine life; 1896 tidal surge; HOWEVER, in 1899, "the fishing industry's commercial orders were going full blast" "Cedar Key was running the biggest seafood business on the whole Gulf of Mexico." (p. 80)
(1991/Edwards) The Evolution of a Vernacular Tradition	-Cites widespread catastrophic influences such as hurricanes as major arbiter of destroying form-but does not say it changed it necessarily.
(1994/Foote, ed.) Re-Reading Cultural Geography	-"The American LS has changed much since WWII." (p. 139) Said the recent LS has experienced rapid change vs. the "old" LS, which, as part of a more pronounced folk culture, was large, and more homogenous-as revealed thru spatial patterns. Therefore, stability is less due to forms, uses, & control. (p. 142). -Foote said commercial LS has taken more prominence in LS since 1950s/60s. (p. 143)
(1992/Rapoport) On CLs	-Vernacular LSs "change slowly" as they are group specific. (p. 3?) Change may vary according to opportunities and constraints.
2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW Florida Waterways V1	-Cites Cortez as having "changed little in the past 100 years." (p 9); however, refers to propeller scarring of seagrass beds as dramatic change of that system-does this environmental effect affect form---as a change? However, page 70 reads that "Cortez and its waterfront today are only a shadow of their former selves." -Also cites Venice, FL as one of the most altered land/water interstices due to dredging, filling, canals, upland development, etc. -However, page 28 suggests "A striking difference is apparent between the predevelopment waterfront use of 1890 and that of the bayside and barrier islands of the 1990s." this change is mostly due to urban development. -the navigable waterway (ICW) in the Sarasota Bay area encouraged waterfront development and alterations w/ a 45-mile long ICW arterial and "180 miles of residential canals and basins." (p 69?) -"Development pressure increased populations targeting fixed stocks of fish and legislative changes in fishing techniques have created major changes in the working waterfront." (p 70) -Suggests that the Sarasota Bay system lost approx. 39% mangroves between 1880s-1990; and a 22% seagrass loss since 1893, though there has also been a substantial recovery of seagrasses since 1988.
(1997/Smith, et al) An Atlas of Maritime FL	Navigational aids, steam, R/R, development of ice
(1997/Schein) The Place of LS: A conceptual framework for interpreting....	-Schein said most LS change occurs in residential settings—I don't really agree. (p 664). The CL per Schein is the medium of multiple discourses that "naturalize social relations." (p. 66?). LS is a material object to be sure—what Lewis calls the "tangible, visible scene." (1979). Sauer earlier described it as forming thru "culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result." (1925). -The challenge with the American LS is that its is created within such a ranging "cultural milieu." It becomes a collection of individualist landscapes, whereas my view may see TFVs as collectively created?????? The CL then, is a "historic LS...that includes ideas, ideals, institutions, regulations, and preservation....." etc...(p 672).
(1998/Chacko) Artisanal Fishing Along the Alleppey Coast: SW India	-Competition recently (just prior to 1998) forced change of watercraft from primitive vessels and gear, made locally by hand, local materials, for fishing a few miles from shore to more expensive, motorized vessels to go further out that represent a new type of boat (adaptation)
2000/Glassie) Vern Arch	-Glassie points to env determinism in that two completely different and isolated communities can build the same arch. (p.91) -Glassie also notes that "architectural change provides the clearest evidence of a cultural change..."(p107), e.g., from sacred to profit-oriented. Sometimes change results from infill in small, irregular urban parcels.

(2001/Peace) A World of Fine Difference...	-In Inveresk, Ireland, vessel size limited to silt accumulation. Additions to generational dwellings due to offspring have developed over time.
(2003/Mellin) Tilting...	-The C/L is no purposeful plan-it is influenced by "family structure, social conventions, and work" (p.67) -Houses designed by occupants, or copied or modified their neighbor's design -built for mobility (p.110), often "rebuilt two or three times on one's lifetime"(p.110); however, when concrete foundations were placed, this symbolized a commitment to the site (p.87) -People leave when fishing slows, then return with new influences, e.g. first bungalow not until 1961 -Big difference between old/new by recognizing local materials from those bought at Home Depot
(2003/Smith & Jepson) After the FL Net Ban	-"Though commercial fishing families are still actively fishing, the communities around them have shifted in orientation" due to the 1994 FL net ban. (p. 57) Many have transformed to services-tourism, recreational fishing. -Absence of local, community support infrastructure due to net ban has "hastened the transition of coastal communities so that this once important part of Florida's cultural heritage has been lost." (p. 57) -Net ban caused change of gear and altering of "operations to fish for other species." (p. 42)-specifically talking of Cortez. -The net ban reallocated "resources from commercial to recreational uses." (p. 56)
(2003/Booker et al) Sea Captain's Houses...	-Authors say that "the essential quality (i.e., the sweep of sky and rush of tide) remains untouched" of Nantucket in spite of increases in tourism, structures, visitors, traffic... -On Nantucket, there is evidence of shipbuilding techniques on architecture there such as the use of ship's knees found in homes; sleeping lofts used for tiny spaces similar to how "below-decks" on a ship were configured; echoes of rope railings and narrow stairs leading to lookouts; quarter boards above doors and garages; porthole windows-elements transferred (adapted) from ship to shore use---Is there evidence of this in Cortez?? -in 1920s, some locals found increased bungalow construction as "ruining the landscape" Many bungalows imported from catalogs of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Alladin, Radford Architectural Co., Lewis Mfg Co (Bay City, MI), Gordon-Van Tine, Kenyon Take-Down Houses (WI). -Often, one distinct project, usually representing a size or form departure, causes new legislation or restrictions on future form departures. The historic or known prior form up to then becomes the acceptable form, which may not reflect authentic or original form.
(2005/Chiarappa) Great Lakes Commercial Fishing Architecture:...	-Vernacular landscape in Great Lakes area produced from "pound-net and gill-net fisheries" (p.217) -Says the L/S of the pound net fishery was always visually connected to the shore, whereas, more distant gill-net fishers' "shore sites, boats, and harvesting grounds were a widely scattered vernacular building arrangement" (p.220) and were more "animated" due to the constant maintenance activities required (p.226) -Chiarappa said that this vern L/S "gauged" the fluctuating economic, environmental, cultural, and political life of the region." (p.217) -Native Americans influenced design of the later industrial commercial fishery (p.220) -Talks about how the architecture and L/S changed to accommodate tech changes, such as the addition of boatyards into the gill-net vernacular L/S for servicing fish tugs -Also suggests that all fish economies consist of architectural dynamics that are transient/itinerant (p.224) -new tech or distribution methods causing introductions of new boats, e.g., transformed the vernacular landscape wharf areas and harvesting grounds; nylon netting eliminated the need for expansive reel yards; some fishermen modified their wharves to accommodate direct unloading/loading onto trucks. -The reel yard changed during the 1950s with intro of nylon -Even small subtleties like smokehouses required new architecture in the form of fuel storage -"the majority of the fish sheds are adaptively reused" and the towns are now more "postmodern expressions in which the occupants are selling history as much as they are harvesting and selling fish." (p.229)
(2006/FL Humanities Council, Jepson)	-Red tide outbreaks caused reductions in size, number of boats in Gulf Coast fishing villages

Settlers by the Sea	-Sports fishermen had antipathy toward commercial fishermen as “takers”, though the fishermen looked at themselves as farmers tending their fields.
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	Eidse identifies major negatives to fishing communities: 1) development; 2) dams/flows/river levels affect marine life; 3)dredging/sediment; 4) navigation....Fishermen identifies 1) rearrangement of uplands; 2) destruction of wetlands; 3) change from old wood/fiberglass boats to larger power boats.
(2007/Chiarappa) NYC’s Oyster Barges	-steamship technology made waterfront property more valuable and forced oyster barges out due to “financial scale” (p.94) -the role of politics (e.g., master planning on the waterfront) changed the vernacular form...and public opinion
(2007/Muir) How to Read a Village	-“railway...assisted development of fishing more than any other single factor.” (p.188); -“layout and siting of fishing villages was greatly affected by the coastal topography.” (p.196); gable ends toward the gales (p. 196) -form also changed by economics, disaster, politics, topo, erosion, etc. (p. 201) -storms and floods greatly changed the shape and form of fishing villages. -first ask why the place was put there-why this location???
(2007/Noble) Traditional Dwellings...	-“the form of the structure persists even when the materials change.” (p. <8)
(2009/Chiarappa&Szylyvian) Heeding LS’s Usable Past...	-shipbuilding at the onset of WWII dramatically changed the waterfront of many wkg waterfronts.
(2011/Beatley) On the Waterfront, in Planning, Nov/Dec	-“traditional fishing villages are losing the infrastructure needed to support local fishers. Dock space has been converted into waterfront housing, restaurants, and other uses and processing facilities are disappearing.” “boats and harvesting technologies must be scaled to the local marine environment.” (Dorry, p.39)
<p>What is vernacular arch/landscape form? Feeding the context..... 10/2012-form is cultural as physical, spatial, extended, social, political, economic...The form of Cortez is tied to 1) economy; 2) technical; 3) resources; 4) transportation—form is characterized (identified) by events or time periods such as 1) settlement; 2) by decade; 3) by events-1921 storm; 4) booms and busts, etc. In perusing the 1912 FL Gazetteer & Business Directory, it is interesting to note the number of ice dealers/manufacturing businesses,--some were combined with power companies suggesting ice as a form of utility common to many. Lumber & sawmill operations were also popular and in large number. Interesting to also note the closest principal harbors cited as Tampa & Charlotte Harbor & Key West. Even Carrabelle was mentioned over Apalachicola. Suggested Cortez having pop of 100 by 1910 with daily stage to Bradentown and a steamboat connection to TPA. Form of a TFV may be characterized by its economic cycles such as boom/bust, resume as TFV, off shoots, modernization, tourism, encroachment, politics, still a TFV</p> <p>-Santayana (1955) in Sense of Beauty said that form is “the perceived aggregation of elements in which there is a consciousness of the distinction & relation of a whole to its parts.” In a manageable sense, and based upon various readings, it becomes apparent that landscape form consists of those elements in the landscape that tend to define the landscape contextually, and that are often consistently found among similar contexts within a locale or region. However, there is sometimes a confusing fine line between understanding something either as an indicator of form, or as a determinant of it. In some cases, indicators may be common throughout a larger scale. E.g., in a TFV, the primary form element in my research to date is found to be the:</p> <p>WATER/LAND CONGLOMERATION. “The waterfront today would not be recognized by the first residents of the 1890s. Gone are all the net spreads, the gill nets, the large launches, the small trucks, and open spaces along the shore.” (p. 53/Fulford/Molto). From Green (1992), “Large net spreads were built over the water so they could be pulled from the skiffs each day to dry and be mended.” (p. 9). The camps were replaced by large fish houses. Several camps over water moved inland.</p> <p>There is a perceived form by outsiders-of endless fishing, beautiful scenery, bathing for health, sea breezes-by 902 tourism was already deeply entrenched in Cortez-there are stories of miraculous health recoveries. People didn’t really want to live near mangrove coasts due to bugs, smells, low dynamics of water; it was later that almost all waterfronts became valuable---thicker description?</p>	
LPF	-Landscape form is derived from those constructs that “feed the context.” It seems context is a rich element, without which there is little to base theory on. Geertz knew this and it is appropriate here. -Built form is separate from the natural form-it can take almost any shape. This differentiation is what defines built form,

	<p>whether it mimics the natural surroundings or not.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -There is a common aspect to the three components of built form: vertical (wall), horizontal (base), diagonal (roof). -Archaeologists can describe and perhaps explain form to a degree, but that is limited to a basic form that is rarely, if ever absolute and complete. -Do leases of underwater areas alter form????? -FORM comes (appears) in many constructs-physical and non-physical: ownership, tourism (form of), mixed, layout, equipment (extended), industry (type of), the water/land interface, -Is form a “cultured origin/derivation? From other areas? -Stories and legend are form. -Look into “elapsed form” – the memory, tradition of a culture that was at one time prominent-is it still extant –in the mind and through celebration??? -Per Chokoloskee author? Events are dated in SW FL by storms-hurricanes. This may be a representation of form. Did I say this or did author? -Perhaps a single business creates the LS form in a given community?? For example-Burnham Clam Factory 1904-1929 . What followed it? The gable front of wood is the most outspoken form-mimicked by sails early on. -There is individual, as well as, industrialized –or big-commercial form. -As soon as we notice natural elements in a setting, it becomes a cultural LS. -Just as Peirce Lewis said LSs can be read, but they are not meant to be read, so did JBJ state that LSs are meant to be lived in in, not to be viewed from outside (JBJ one of his five key features of LS (1979). -What does the form say about US culture? Per Hoskins and why the English LS appeared as a result of industrial revolution with constructs from steam power, land enclosure, etc. -The TFV is in itself a regional vernacular form. -What role does the location have in determining form? Does the form “preexist” in fishers mind as they choose an area, or does the area better define the subsequent form? For example, fishers look for small, safe, sheltered harbors, alee from the coastal influence, barrier islands, etc.
Ecological	
2000/Glassie) Vern Arch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -“The meanings that lie in the selection of materials are social and economic as well as environmental.” “But the environment sets the stakes.” (p29) -“Living wisely in a tight place, people learn the environment.” (p.29)
(2003/Mellin) Tilting...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The house “melting into the L/S over time” (p.66); the use of wooden downspouts that exposed water flow as it collected into puncheons; no cuts or marks in the L/S keep it virtually unchanged (Leave No Trace) -Tilting is characterized by low-impact tech, subsistence farming
(2005/Chiarappa) Great Lakes Commercial Fishing Architecture:...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -“the integrated use of buildings, boats, and netting fostered each family’s intimate understanding of its local fish habitat” known anthropologically as “traditional ecological knowledge” (p.221)---this was part of a “spatial relationship” understood by each family. -Fishing villages, and other similar names, resulted from “architectural arrangements” that evolved through family or ethnically linked growth & traditions
Many Interpretations/Views	
From Apalach visit	-Buddy Ward said the form of the waterfront changed into a “boardwalk for tourists.” ??
(1952/Savage) The Making of Our Towns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -there are “many stories” in the L/S-never just a single explanation (p.vii) -“...small ports are places of unending interest.” (p.164)
(1963/Varney) Geographic & Economic History of the Gulf Coast of FL	-the “majority in a small settlement that usually determines the character of the place.” i.e., lazy or hard-working. (p. 173)

(1968/Glassie) Pattern in the Material Folk Culture...	-“Culture...cannot be material, but material can be cultural.” (p.2) -“The Yankee barn and temple form house are found from the fishing villages of the Connecticut coast to the level country around the Great Lakes.” (p.160)
(1982/Stilgoe) Common LSs of America, 1580-1845	-There are natural forms in the LS of topo, water frontage, soil types, etc, where the built human form broke away from it with the grid. -The waterfront was typically the first view-the first experience.
(1984/BJJ) Discovering the Vern LS	-LS is “a synthetic space” NOT a “natural feature of the environment.” (p. 8)
(1986/Saile,ed.) Architecture in Culture Change	- <u>Seamon</u> says people of vern. envs “must more often deal with their world directly because they are not insulated as we are today from topography, climate, distance, resource procurement and so forth of layers of technological, economic and societal infrastructure.” (p.19) - <u>Rapoport</u> said that “built environments are group(ital.) specific (ital.) and culturally variable.” Also, that “Differences among groups are also greater than the similarities of humans across groups”...“in the shaping of built form.”(sentence ital.) (p.158). -Rapoport said Glassie suggested that one must first read the geography-topography to understand the built environment.
(1987/Shiver) The Historic Architecture of Key West	-the form in Key West is “most noted for its consistency in the use of materials and its limitation of plans and details to a very narrow range.” (p.24) -the focus of the inhabitants was on the harbor and NOT the public squares like in other communities
(1989/Bourne) The View From Front Street	-trash makes a place more curious (p.27) -It is not wise to consider material objects as “palimpsests of history” – it is better to research the “mind of the community” per Percy Miller, Harvard Univ., (p.46)—therefore, FORM is what is in the mind
1990/Pred) Lost Words and Lost Worlds	-“Every place is a composite of simultaneous diversity & successive variation, of unfolding processes and historical sedimentation, of locally coexisting and interpreting structures processes wherein practices & institutionally embedded power relations emerge out of and into each other.” (p. 198-verify) -Places and regions are always in the process of becoming
(1990/MacKinnon) VA in the Codroy Valley: Local and external influences on the development of a bldg. tradition-DISS	-VA is “a blending of local features with the wider mainstream architectural pattern, & to ignore the impt outside influences....is to distort the reality of a region’s physical LS.” (p. 434) -The built env is altered to suit needs of owners-it is still vern because it translates from “local needs and wants.” (p. 434)
(1991/Upton) Arch History of LS History?	-Humans experience “the material world”, i.e., arch and the surrounding LS as “a complex, multisensory, constantly changing tangle of relationships.” (p. 197). -“study of the vernacular is built on the positivistic analysis of discreet examples and well-defined collection of buildings”---which tends to make it elitist according to Upton! Upton says that trying to understand vern arch by typologizing it, placing it into patterns, or due to some “expressed intentions” is “untenable” (p. 197?). Instead-it must be placed within its context by relating it to the intention with its typological characteristics.
(1993/Ingold) The Temporality of the LS	-LS as a concept, emphasizes form, rather than function—e.g., the word body is form related, rather than function. -LS form is “a pattern of activities ‘collapsed’ into an array of features” (per GH Mead, 1938) (p. 162)
(1997/Groth) Discovering Ordinary LSs	-Said BJJ used visual form first to get at meaning of the LS, but went further toward a final analysis of it with cultural/political input as a collective social constructs-NOT individual designs. -Also said aesthetic criticism is out of place when evaluating LS, saying it was not a work of art. (p. 20)
(1999/McClelland, Keller at al) Guidelines for Evaluating & Documenting Rural Historic LSs	-Authors suggest that the fishing village is reflected by “rural, traditional work” that has “evolved in response to both the forces of nature and the pragmatic need to make a living.” (p. ???)

(1999/Groth) Making New Connections in VA	-Groth refers to Upton who suggested that Vern is simply what is ordinary, community sanctioned with intense social representation, that can even be designed but not as individual expression. -Groth recognized that scholars had finally “linked professional and vern design.” (p. ???)
(2000/Alanen & Melnick) Considering the Ordinary: Vern LSs in small towns and rural areas	-British scholars began to define countryside as Vern in 1830s. -Per Stilgoe, the term landscape developed around late 1500s as landschaft thru Dutch paintings
(2000/Glassie) Vern Arch	-While Glassie usually concentrates on arch form in the field, he seems to find that the local cultures classify them by materials, “esp by roofing.” (p.25); Also, by pitch, flat, or by walls that are stucco, bamboo, etc. -Glassie points to Britain’s study of L/S as the primary text.(p.91), by first building from a geographical base. However, he identifies other cultures as forcing their plans into the land, making them work.
(2003/Mellin) Tilting...	-Views the arch as “fragile” “malleable and expansive” made of wood, recycled materials, built for mobility (p.110), relocation, & reuse, “carefully balanced over a rugged terrain that left no traces” (p.66)often “rebuilt two or three times on one’s lifetime”(p.110) -Similar in form/layout to 19 th cent homes & Irish rural houses, & English, & Chesapeake Bay (Tidewater) with more recent resembling New England small houses -houses are small because culture wanted to be outdoors NOT indoors (p.82) -“Proportions of materials, windows & doors, and trim played a major role in appearance and scale of Tilting’s older houses” (p.107)
(2006/2007/Heath) Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change: The role of Vern studies	-Vern is “a localized response to broad cultural systems, historical events, and environmentally determined regional forces.” (p. 83)
(2007/Chiarappa) NYC’s Oyster Barges	-Oyster barges as “commercial architectural idioms with traditional watercraft technology and naval architecture.” -Barges influenced “public insight into the ecological web of NYC’s oyster trade” and as a “conspicuous fisheries-related landscape.” (p.91)
(2007/Muir) How to Read a Village	-must read the geography/topo to understand the built environment. -Muir said TFVs are gazed upon by outsiders as “undisciplined and spontaneous” due to varying heights, colors. (p. 201)
Perception	
Lpf	Regarding aesthetics of he CL of TFVs, Jane Jacobs said the everyday grittiness of reality should not be stricken from view because it adds interest to ordinary people-more so than the waterfront park, which often goes unused-so the notion that working waterfronts as CLs should not be considered aesthetically per Groth (1997). Lowenthal said “Neglect may lend a scene visual character.” Robertson (2003) admitted LSs as never completely aesthetic, but also ideological-he seems to think they are at least aesthetic to a degree. Meinig (1979) said that aesthetics does not define the LS-it is only part of it, if at all. (p. 2)
(1982/Zube, Sell, & Taylor) LS Perception: Research, application and Theory	-There are many facets of LS perception. One adaptation Zube uses from Ittelson (1973) is that they are confusing and ambiguous in that they confound the senses with too much info. Another is that they cannot be passively observed-one must always involve some sort of action. A third is that they are “multimodal-they provide info rec’d through multiple senses.” (p. 22)
(1986/Andelson, in Saile, ed.) Three Faces of Amana: Architectural change...	-The built env can symbolize a community’s values as well as conflicts because it is “malleable and could be changed to express new meanings.” (p. 58)

(1986/Saile,ed.) Architecture in Culture Change	-Phenomenology: “critical, descriptive science, which seeks to present things, experiences and events as thoughtfully and thoroughly as possible.” (p.18). For vernacular, it can be used as an approach to “shed light on built form and culture, especially underlying qualities and interrelationships relating to the vernacular world.” (p. 19)
1987/Rapoport) On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture	-Rapoport suggests that culture is the application of rule sets in settings that become normative expressions. The same could be said for form, which is cultural.
(1991/Upton) Arch History of LS History?	-“...meaning of a building is determined primarily by its viewers and users” due to “confusing patterns of human perception, imagination, and use.” (p. 197) -says arch focuses on eye while LS is experienced and focuses on all senses. -The CL has no “normative perception.” “It cannot be universalized, canonized, or even unified.” (p. 198) Do I agree??? Is this a limitation? -The CL is the “fusion” of the physical with the imaginative.
(1992/Rapoport) On CLs	-CL form results from many decisions involving multiple players applying both formal and informal rule systems. What Rapoport wants to know is how do these processes all “add up”. They are a system of settings. (p. 37) -Rapoport’s model: CL—Filters (personal, group, etc.)—Perception—Evaluation—Preference --CLs are experienced through their extended vernacular of sights, smells, sounds, temperature, etc.-all of these influence perceptions of the CL and wax and wane in their influence-e.g., on a freezing, dreary day, my perception of a place would be different than on a warm, sunny day. -Good theory for analyzing CLs does not look at likes/dislikes, though a study re why one likes a CL over another may be an important topic of study. Instead, they should be “analyzed for how they can be conceptualized, their components, why they evolved the way they did, the processes used to create their form, and how they are subject to change.” (p. 39)
1997/Schein) The Place of LS: A conceptual framework for interpreting....	LS is a material object to be sure—what Lewis calls the “tangible, visible scene.” (1979). Sauer earlier described it as forming thru “culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result.” (1925). -The challenge with the American LS is that its is created within such a ranging “cultural milieu.” It becomes a collection of individualist landscapes, whereas my view may see TFVs as collectively created?????? The CL then, is a “historic LS...that includes ideas, ideals, institutions, regulations, and preservation.....” etc... (p 672).
(1999/Muir) Approaches to LS	-LSs are interpreted according to varied perceptions/perspectives. (p. 182)
(2006/Schein) CL Studies: Reception and the Mediation of Meaning	-Bldgs do not stand alone in the CL. They rare inlaid w/ social, economic, political, and cultural meanings. The uses and understandings, and meanings of a bldg (as integral to the LS) that are unintended and uncontrolled by the “author” and ultimately link architecture and the CL to social processes that are already more generally understood.” (p 17-18). The actors in a TFV make do with what is locally available.
(2007/Chiarappa) NYC’s Oyster Barges	-Author “aestheticized” NYC oyster barges (p.93); the oyster barge as “picturesque” (p.99) tells the story of “social conflict, govt oversight, scientific curiosity, and artistic commentary.” (p.99)
(2009/Ames & Wagner, eds.) Design & HP	-Postmod borrowed from a bldg’s surroundings and a place’s past and “borrowed from existing fabric” (p.137) -Design challenges are represented by preservation standards, adaptive use, additions, new buildings, etc.
Unit of Analysis	
(1968/Glassie) Pattern in the Material Folk Culture...	-A “cultural region” is NOT an isolated pocket somewhere. It is “a section of a geographical while established by an analysis of comparable material found throughout the whole.” (p.34); Regions are “syncretistic”—there are always “fuzzy” borders (p.34)
(1974/Litton & Tetlow) Water & LS	-In studying LS form, how does one pick out the most imp’t elements-is there such a thing as a neutral background, or is the background equally imp’t? LSs are complex and difficult to classify. -A LS is human expression on the natural form replaces the LS’s ability to express itself
(1986/Smardon, et al)	-Schauman said that to understand change, one needs to understand the context, the client/user values, and the

Foundations....Visual Impact Analysis (1990/Williams & Lavalley) Coastal LS Evaluation & Photograph	landscape unit. -Eckbo (1967) described four forms of LS: 1) social; 2) physical; 3) economic; cultural. -The camera (74 degrees wide angle) cannot replace the human field of vision (145 degrees).
(1991/Upton) Arch History of LS History?	-says the cultural LS is the best unit of analysis since it focuses on “the human experience of its own LS” vs the “relationship of maker and object.” (p. 198) AND encompasses many modes of perception as possible. -The CL includes the context and may be the “new architectural history” as the unit of analysis. (p. 197)
(1992/Rapoport) On CLs	-While author uses it for environmental behavior relationship studies, he implies its importance for understanding context; there is no real benefit to studying a thing in isolation from its context. -A main reason for studying CLs vernacular LSs is that their settings can be seen more clearly than those that consist of an olio of influences. They have lots of “tension, coexistence, different orders at work. This is especially true of US CLs with a few exceptions such as Nantucket, Charleston, TFVs, etc. However, CLs in general have identifiable attributes, each of which can be studied.
(1999/McClelland, Keller, et al) Guidelines for Evaluating & Documenting Rural Historic LSs	-Use context as a guide for what to look at-measure, from various perspectives-travel all paths, access as much as possible.
2007/Chiarappa) NYC’s Oyster Barges	-Barges as “individual and collective units of a working landscape.” (p.84).
How can vernacular form change be measured?	
LPF.....	-Must look at NC origins for influences in vernacular. Represent changes or similarities from that. -Look at census data for home ownership changes. -LS is never a simple, solid, universal scene. -Robertson & Richards (2003) said that Richard Muir fixed on material product vs. LS as a process. -Gottschalk (1950) LSs are pluralistic in nature with their social, cultural, political & economic developed histories. Add thick description to these for the best read. “Lpf-“The image no longer, really tells a true story, nor does it reveal truth in an ethical manner.” -I need to ask what is unseen? -Almost anyone can become familiar with a LS w/o even visiting it. So, what is the point of going there? -There must be stages of change in TFVs. Per Jay Edwards’ The Evol of Vern Arch in the West Caribbean. -My approach is not dissimilar to Historical Ecology in that I want “to understand the human environmental dynamic in a particular LS over time, influenced as it will be by local environmental conditions, large scale environmental change (esp climate change), local human actions and the larger human systems that impinge on the local group and its activities.” (Thomas Deetz, reviewing W. Balée’s “Advances in Hist Ecol. That is, “historical events” not evolutionary, “are responsible for the principle changes in relationships between human societies and their immediate environments.” -Now, compare this to Heath (2009) who “reconsiders regionalism from the point of view of the social process of place making, the multiplicity of cultural identities, issues of climatic response, and the effects of social change.” (p. xii) -Sauer (1925) said early on the reading the LS is an inherent talent-the reader must have a “morphologic eye”...“a sense of significant form”; however, Peirce Lewis, who cited this suggested that anyone can be trained to read it by first answering the question of what is it? Rather than if I like it or not. Begin analysis by first: 1) look at one house, building, boat, etc; 2) describe it; 3) expand to include space around it, yard, work space, etc; 3) what about village layout?; 4) now, look at the extended vernacular.
(1980/Clay) How To Read the American City	-Clay suggested that the LS has available “patterns & clues waiting to be organized.” (p. 11)
(1982/Schlereth) Material Culture Studies in America	-Identify (factually describe authenticity, attributes); 2) Evaluate (judgments compare to other objects, contexts, etc.); 3) Cultural analysis (relate to its culture and function); 4) Interpret (meaning and significance)-not factual, just one of many

	<p>“correct interpretations” (p. 164)</p> <p>-said we need to consider buildings as “effects”, not as “objects”.</p>
(1982/Jameson) The Political Unconsciousness	
(1986/Seamon, in Saile, ed.) Vernacular Lifeworlds...	<p>-Significance can be measured or accounted for as it “emerges thru repetition of pattern, including bldg form” that “evoke corresponding experiential & symbolic qualities.” (p. 22)----clue: do they somehow relate to natural form?</p> <p>-Seamon looks at this as distinctive of “vernacular lifeworlds”- the “everyday world of taken-for-granted-ness” that “includes surroundings, artifacts, gestures, behaviors, events, meanings and so forth” (p. 20)</p>
(1986/Andelson in Saile, ed.) Three Faces of Amana: Architectural change...	<p>-looked for things that were ubiquitous such as bldgs., paths, fences. What is ubiquitous in Cortez? Waterfront conglomeration? Traps, nets, yards???</p>
(1986/Rapoport, in Saile, ed.) Culture & Built Form-A reconsideration	<p>-Viewed culture as the anchor of built form. It cannot be seen or observed-“only its effects and products.” (p. 159) Like Geertz, Rapoport argued for the “dismantling” of “the concept of culture” (p. 160) such as “groups, institutions, social networks, status relations and many others” as manageable for examining and understanding built form. (p. 160)—some aspects of culture is expressed into built form because it is part of the generative concept existing in the mind “and within the constraints of their situation.” (p. 162)</p>
(1986/Lawrence in Saile, ed.) Redefining Cultural and Historical Studies of Built Environments	<p>-Writes that Rapoport used an interpretive approach to show how materials and socio-economic factors determined built form. (above)</p> <p>-Lawrence said thick description is “intense analyses that defines the context dependent parameters operative in specific contexts and also the reciprocal relations between them.” (p. 63)</p>
1987/Rapoport) On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture	<p>-Rapoport suggests that we cannot understand buildings in isolation-they are part of the system of settings that people (culture) live in.</p> <p>-These settings are many and include rooms, buildings, blocks, ngbhds, towns, etc. (p. 11)</p>
(1988/Ley) From Urban Structure to Urban LS	<p>-Asks what is the culture behind the material, which can be deduced by using thick description.</p> <p>-Peirce Lewis argued that the thinner descriptions of vernacular studies simply present a face value approach that restricts theorizing about that culture behind the material. Thick description includes an interpretive approach that looks at LSs as the cultural construct “with all of the flux, dynamism, discontinuity, and local nuances which this view implies.” (p. 99)</p> <p>-“places are “simultaneously stable and unstable as, for example, economic contexts shift and political priorities evolve.” (p. 99)-This is supported by Schein (1997) who said that attempting to interpret “the LS-as-text is unstable and requires constant reinterpretation.” (p. 676) , esp in the US with it individualism, capitalism, property rights, etc.</p>
(1990/Saile) Understanding the development of pueblo architecture, in Markovich, 1990	<p>-Scolds architectural historians and calls for “a broader framework that includes environmental and sociocultural contexts.” (p. 59)...and to embrace interdisciplinary input.</p>
(1991/Upton) Arch History of LS History?	<p>-the “process of creation goes on long after the crew leaves the site; it never stops.” (p. 197)</p>
(1993/Lewis) Common LSs as Historic Documents	<p>-To read a small town, first look at it from afar; then look at its printed depictions of maps, photos, etc.; then determine what provides evidence of its cultural eras & functions – this is akin to feeding the context by LpF</p> <p>-Lewis reminds that large parts of the CL are missing, esp. the older parts since our modern cultures are constantly “altering it, erasing it, redesigning it.” (p. 116)</p>
(1993/Vlach) Back of the Big House	<p>-Captured physical form of plantations by referencing 1) Federal Writer’s Project (1930s-40s) re: slavery-maybe they wrote about trad fishing; 2) also referred to Olmstead travel memoirs; 3) 18th-19th century travel accounts of writers looking at vernacular by extending it to yards, kitchens, outbuildings, machinery.</p> <p>-“Planters manipulated the built env – to convince themselves symbolically/physically above slaves and lesser whites” who were at the margins versus the center. (? Quote accuracy?).</p>

(1997/Lippard) The Lure of the Local	-Lippard suggested that the constantly changing LS defies a thick description of it. (p. 11) Nature, no matter how culture changes or affects it, is simply never fully controlled by it. -“Most places...are more layered and diverse from the inside, and understanding the local history, economics, and politics is a complex, fascinating, and contradictory business...” (p. 292)
(1997/Hayden) Urban LS History: Sense of place & politics of..., in Groth 1997	-Space is shaped for economic production (piers, factory, etc.), then social production (hag, store, church, etc.)
(1997/Holdsworth) LS & Archives as Texts, in Groth, 1997	-Field observation of extant resources is invalid; Upton, (p.175) also said there is more to the LS than what is visible; visualism is deceptive. -Visual readings fall short-now improved by considering capitalism, urbanization, economy, symbolism, philosophy-placelessness, etc. -Cosgrove (1997 in Groth) said the mind is more “trustworthy” than the eye., which he called “The struggle between visual & textual truth.” (p. 100)
(1997/Lanier & Herman) Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings & LSs	-Used interpretive approach to study arch through the broader context as bldgs. “cannot be studied in isolation.” (p. 7)
(1999/Berman-DISS) Assessing Urban Design: Historical ambience on the waterfront	-forms can be better measured by understanding what Berman call “aesthetic intrusions” (p. 35), for example “a dilapidated shack amidst a block of elegant mansions.” –OR- in Cortez, a row of vernacular structures interrupted by the mobile home park, or the Coast Guard building.
(1999/Groth) Making New Connections in VA	-See Hubka’s example for Visual Analysis...page 448
(2000/Emmison & Smith) Researching the Visual	-Fishing villages are typically “legible” to the ordinary person since they include requisite elements – boats, equipment, harbor, nets, etc. that do not take too much for the observer to understand them as distinct places. This legibility is from Lynch who suggested that legibility allows for decoding of a place by ordinary people.
(2001/Heath) Patina of Place	-Investigating changes to the physical fabric, along with local dynamics that caused them, requires a look into the culture and “a shift in the lens through which we view the evidence.” –since bldgs don’t define place-people do, when they interact with the natural env. (p. 184)
(2003/Black) (Re)Reading Architectural LSs	-Adapts a version of thick description as: 1) outline layers of social/economic context; 2) include changing spatial structure; 3) closely read the signs/symbols encoded w/l the LS; 4) study the aesthetics (icons); 5) link the deep descriptions of arch to the wider social, cultural, economic processes. -He uses thick description as a constant dialogue between “text and context.”
(2005/Lavoie) Sketching the LS: Exploring a sense of place	-Suggests sketching to better understand LS setting, its structure through experiencing it; -When using ink, there is a more pure “commitment” and precision of perception and interpretation (p. 27). Lavoie’s model: Perception----Interpretation-----Reflection
(2007/Muir) How To Read a Village	-Compare TFVs with inland layouts-design to determine why the fishermen put their houses and buildings where they did. When did they learn and armor the foreshore or become defensive? - first ask why the place was put there-why this location??? -use arch survey to determine form between dates of constr.---compare w/ inland houses/village settings. -when was the foreshore armored? -Is the fishing village now a combined place? That is, fishing, recreation, tourism, retail, shipping, etc.?
2008/Mitchell) New Axioms for Reading the LS	-“It is really not possible to directly ‘read’ the LS in any satisfying sense.” (p. ???) though we can analyze it, understand its history.
(2009/Heath) Vernacular Arch & Regional Design	-I can use Heath’s example of using regionalism, a geographic territory with “specific identifiable characteristics,” as part of my approach to understanding the vern LS and its contextual forces of production in Cortez and the Gulf Coast of FL.

	<p>-I cannot think that vernacular for is static; it is ever-changing based on the changing culture. (p. xiv). It is always evolving.</p> <p>-Notions like “authenticity, sense of place, genius loci” assume a LS is fixed. (p. 3)</p> <p>-Heath uses “cultural weathering” as a term (from 2001, Patina of Place) to describe a blending of preexisting and imported elements.” (p. 6) or “layers of collective change over time.” (p. 6)</p> <p>-“Culturally syncretic” is “when representative numbers of people within a region embrace aspects of a unique building response in a collective and consistent manner.” (p. 12)</p>
(2012/Smith) Viewpoint: Building Stories, in Buildings and LSs	<p>-Smith uses narrative of a docker’s daily path to convey character/setting of the place-“the researcher’s journey” (p.?)</p> <p>This breaks away from an elitist control of knowledge.</p>
What is vernacular?	
Definitions	
(1968/Glassie) Pattern in the Material Folk Culture...	<p>-Folk is “culturally determined know-how” (p.5); it “cannot be part of the popular”</p> <p>-To Glassie, an object = form, function, use, where form is the most persistent, least changing; however, we must be concerned with Form-Material-Process, since function and use often change.</p>
(1986/Saile,ed.) Architecture in Culture Change	<p>-Seamon says vernacular is “places and buildings constructed by relatively unspecialized builders who themselves typically live in or use these places and buildings.” (p.17)</p>
(1990/Rapoport) On Regions & Regionalism, in Markovich	<p>-Similar to Heath and Meir&Roaf, as vernacular as “belonging to, developed by, and used by people of a particular locality or region.” (p. 274). This is regionalism-it implies “a combination of local and traditional.” (p. 274).</p>
(1991/Upton) Arch History of LS History?	<p>-Vernacular as the “low”-local knowledge (“ordinary, humble, regional”) (p. 196) VS “high”- as “timeless and universal” or monumental, elite, professional. (p. 196)</p>
(1997/Lippard) The Lure of the Local	<p>-Lippard aligns with JBJ in considering VERN as the “connections between land & people and what people do there.” (p. 8)</p>
(1999/Schlereth) Architectural History & the Practice of HP in the US	<p>-“To make matters worse, vernacular architecture is often treated as a style category, which presents a fundamentally mis-leading framework for the task at hand.” (p. 328)</p> <p>- “architecture represents a continuum interpreted according to some immutable (albeit never explicitly stated) canon, devoid of historical context, and that the physical dimension does not contribute to history, but only illustrates it. Moreover, the resources with which preservationists routinely work argue for a more holistic perspective. Often, physical characteristics-be they of a or be understood building, structure, landscape--cannot fully without careful examination of related economic, political, social, or technical factors.” (p. 329)</p>
2000/Glassie) Vern Arch	<p>-Vern involves “local materials and the touch of the hand” VS. “industrial systems of production”(e.g., imports, complex machinery, economic imbalance, political oversight of infrastructure, etc.); the community has “direct connections...direct access to materials...direct connections among suppliers, producers, and consumers who simultaneously shape the LS” (p.31)</p> <p>-Glassie said there is “no memory” of where a material is from “in sheets of metal and slick plastic surfaces” (p.31)</p> <p>-Glassie said that plans on paper represent an unneeded “cultural distance” that supplant local memory and tradition.(p.45). For example, the FL Highwaymen used memory of the places they were familiar with to create paintings.</p>
(2006/Meir&Roaf) The Future of Vern...., in Asquith, 2006	<p>-Similar understanding of the term as Heath (2009) as 1) “Primitive-simplest form; 2) Folk-ethnographic premise; 3) Indigenous-original to a definable geographic setting; 4) Anonymous-no determinable authorship.” (p. 2??)</p>
(2009/Heath) Vernacular Arch & Regional Design	<p>-Vern, trad, regional, indigenous often the same thing</p> <p>-Vern focuses “on broad goals of utility, social accommodation, environmental appropriateness.” (p. 40) Again link to Balée!</p>
Extended Vernacular	
(1968/Glassie) Pattern in the Material	<p>DIFFUSION: -“The sharpie, a flat-bottomed skiff, began to replace the dugout canoes of the Connecticut shore for use</p>

Folk Culture...	in oyster tonging in the 1840's."; It's distribution & modification was documented "as far south as the Florida Keys by the close of the nineteenth century." (p. 177); This shows how communication among regions resulted in quick diffusion.
(1988/Ley) From Urban Structure to Urban LS	-House, barn, fence, etc. are all "artifacts of material culture." (p. 99).
(1989/Bourne) The View From Front Street	-see pic of extended vernacular (p.36)
1992/Rapoport) On CLs	-CLs are experienced through their extended vernacular of sights, smells, sounds, temperature, etc.-all of these influence perceptions of the CL and wax and wane in their influence-e.g., on a freezing, dreary day, my perception of a place would be different than on a warm, sunny day.
(2005/Chiarappa) Great Lakes Commercial Fishing Architecture:...	-Recognizes that the material culture contributes to the local interstice of land and water based landscapes -Says the L/S of the pound net fishery was visually connected to the shore, whereas, more distant fishers' "shore sites, boats, and harvesting grounds were a widely scattered vernacular building arrangement" (p.220)---therefore, the pound net system can be viewed as "extending the more readily recognizable vernacular setting into the waterborne realm."(p.220) -Now, the gill-net fishery was more diffuse in that their vernacular L/S ("boats, buildings, fishing grounds" -p.223) extended further out in distance and included "fish houses, twine sheds, reel yards, boats" (p.223)
(2007/Chiarappa) NYC's Oyster Barges	-bushel baskets, barrels, shell piles, horse-drawn wagons reflect 1908 extended L/S -the "everyday working aesthetic" of sounds, sights, smells, oyster shell piles (p.99)...
(2007/Muir) How to Read a Village	-"Fishing quarters...as the seaward extensions" (p.188); "...settlement gradually advanced seaward by building over the existing quays." -always a place devoted to the trade: lean-tos, basements, courtyards, etc.
(2009/Chiarappa&Szylyan) Heeding LS's Usable Past...	-many object to the reality of the w wkg waterfront as "noisy, smelly, and dirty" (p.45), yet EV Walter (1988) attributes these characteristics as the elements that give meaning to "Place".
(2012/Smith) Viewpoint: Building Stories, in Buildings and LSs	-"the yard lost many of its work-associated functions." (p. vi)
Form or Process?	
(1987/Shiver) The Historic Architecture of Key West	-Key West carpenters learned skills from family members (traditional knowledge); "The built env appears almost untouched by the influence of professional architects" (p.172) -history of resilience/adaptation
(1993/Ingold) The Temporality of the LS	-LS form results from a process of interrelations between humans and the env.
(1999/Longstreth) Architectural History & the Practice of HP in the US	-Vern is a process and NOT a style; said the "style" approach is NOT effective against a wider LS perspective. (p. 378); said arch historians often look at style under a too rigid formula thereby missing meaning. (p. 327) -Okay to look at buildings, but also need to look at industrial practices, "econ dev, & the persistence of certain cultural patterns." (p. 329)
(2005/Breisch & Hoagland) Intro/Building Environments...	"Vernacular architecture is less a kind of a building than an approach to looking at buildings" (p.xv)...also see Upton and Wells
(2006/Lewcock) Generative Concepts in Vern Arch (in Asquith)	-Says the concept of vernacular must exist in the mind before being built in reality. The strong emotion of particular memory can "form the basis of an architectural...expression" that is either humanly common or societal (culturally) common. (p. ?)
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	-"See back then everthin' was done by hand." (p. 126) -Mid 20th century?? Apalachicola boats were built of cypress frame-55'-keel always of hardwood (heart pine), decks of pine.

	-During lumber boom, Apalach had shallow-draft schooners or “lighters” sailing to Carrabelle. -Net makers “build” nets, they construct them.
(2008/Mitchell) New Axioms for Reading the LS	-Mitchell makes a good point in his Axiom #1 that the LS is produced; actively made and that it is more about production than meaning. LSs are fashioned out of the various modes of production occurring at different stages. LSs do not make as much sense if studied only in relation to their nearby surroundings.
2009/Heath) Vernacular Arch & Regional Design	-Heath clearly views the vernacular construct or regionalism as a process
Is vernacular a bygone production?	
(1968/Glassie) Pattern in the Material Folk Culture...	“Many of the practical problems for which they were built no longer exist.” The material traditions for which a modern need can be found are few.” (p. 237)
Stable Vernacular?	
(1982/Stilgoe) Common LSs of America, 1580-1845	-Said LSs in America as a “synthesis of agr & artificial spaces & structures...began to erode from being stable around 1845” due to tech, steam power, etc. (p. 341)
(1986/Saile,ed.) Architecture in Culture Change	-Andelson said the vern layout of Amana is “unchanged for 90 years.” (p.47); They used “spatial symbolism” by placing churches in the center of each village.(p.47) -Hardie (Continuity & Change in Expressive Space) said there is not “static or stable” expression and values in society since it is too negotiable and dynamic.
(1993/Ingold) The Temporality of the LS	-“the LS is never complete” ---“it is perpetually under construction” (p. 162)
(2003/Mellin) The Destruction of Urban & Architectural Character in St. John’s, Newfoundland	-Old vernacular began to decline/disappear in late 1940s. -Noticed loss of piers as first to go. -Cites critical regionalism as basing “designs on concepts that relate the constr traditions, architectural precedents, & environmental requirements of a region w/o overtly copying the forms of the past.” (p. 57)
(2004/Price) Fishing in FL: Culture. Community..., Thesis	-Wrote that during 1940s, many Floridians still made own nets & fished in traditional ways, i.e., poles, cast nets, etc.
2006/2007/Heath) Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change: The role of Vern studies	-Heath sees Vern as rarely static, often depicting a condition of ongoing env & cult change; however, he seems to find evidence in some cases of a stable vern that becomes “entrenched” yet still evolving according to the opportunities/constraints exposed to---this represents an “unspoken familiarity” that is representative of folk patterns. (p. 83). He has termed this “collective response to regional conditions (cultural weathering).” (p. 88)-see How Measured, above) -Further, he stated that while a form may be stabilized (arch), the LS rarely is.
2009/Heath) Vernacular Arch & Regional Design	-A stable vernacular is deeply entrenched with a slow rate of change and much repetition. Folk is more likely to be stable than vernacular, which is culturally syncretic. (p. 15)
HISTORY	
Arch/LandScape Descriptions	
(1952/Savage) The Making of Our Towns	-1735: Pope saw Bristol, England and saw “a quay along the old wall with houses on both sides and in the middle of the street, as far as the eye can see, hundreds of ships their masts as thick as they can stand one another...”
(1959/Duprey) Old Houses on Nantucket	-Saw Greek Revival Period of 1820-50 affecting many seaport villages.
(1970/Hoskins) The Making of the English LS	-Fishing villages were often the original “landing place” for current cities. (pp. 124-125). They grew from a few cottages to villages as result of “marked development in the offshore fishing industry which enabled whole villages to gain a livelihood from it.” (p.125)

	-The presence of docks and buildings represented “economic viability” for the builders of that infrastructure. (p. 125)
(1976/Tebeau) The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country	-The Burnham Clam Cannery at Caxambas near Marco Island reflects typical TFV vernacular form: 1) the compact conglomeration of local artifact meeting the water’s edge- by pointing gable peaks, rising vertical lines of masts’ rigs, and spars, the mix of mid-view pilings stuck in a vertical placement mid-picture as if slats cut out of the view, horizontal flow of dock boards , all moving toward a grouping of mismatched vessels.
(1987/Shiver) The Historic Architecture of Key West	-“...most striking characteristic...is its homogeneity” but no explanation of this; development occurred thru “a series of speculative business ventures...” and are temporary looking (p.172) -mostly “small wood-frame buildings” = vernacular (p.42) (sheds, warehouses, dwellings) based on “residential patterns” (p. 126); many are shotguns from company hsg 1889-1900; commercial bldgs similar to residential but with false-front facades -1829: two wharves -1838: three warehouses, 80 houses -1850: 11 wharves, 11 warehouses, 650 houses, four churches -Few houses had cupolas, many had dormers, most had front gables & porches/verandas -Most wood frame houses in Key West on piers; lack of chimneys from Bahamian influence (Shiver) does not research this adequately); some have widow’s walks, while most have porches (location of most detailing) -258 acres, blocks along shoreline smaller & more irregular than internal blocks, streets oriented NW/SE & NE/SW; Front St along harbor -1870s: Resurgence of sponging saw 140 vessels, 1,200 hands.
(1989/Bourne) The View From Front Street	-slatted ramps, unpainted shacks, gaff-rigged smacks, the shorefront complex no more than 50 yards in extent, looks as if built out of matchsticks, piled up lobster pots, nets draped over barrels, spars, floats, cribs, sheds built lightly to all storms to take them away, intense encampment, hammered together by hand, gradually collapsing shanties, mackerel jigs (p.38) -there is a flexibility of the buildings
(1990/Dees&Dees) Off the Beaten Path (Cedar Keys)	-1880s = immense piles of cedar timbers 10-30’ high stacked in mill yards and along the beach. -4 or 5 sawmills, general store, bakery, newspaper, several commercial fish houses, 3 pencil companies.
(2001/Peace) A World of Fine Difference...	-“...distinctiveness of the pier is undeniably pronounced, and this is the product of two major factors: its locali[s]ed economy is dominated by fishing, and its productive relations, domestic relations and leisure activities are concentrated within a narrowly constructed space.” (p.23). -The pier has a “cultural distinctiveness” from the rest of the larger community-it is “place-specific” (p.28).
2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW Florida Waterways V1	-Land in Cortez was mostly pine uplands w/ understory scrub, framed by sea oats and mangroves at the water’s edge.
(2003/Steen, Steen, & Komatsu) Built By Hand	-Vernacular floating houses of Vietnam; elevated houses of Indonesia (Sulawesi), Myanmar, New Guinea. Houses attached to tall side poles like floating docks that allow houses to rise with the tide/surge. -Norwegian fishing village looks similar to Nova Scotian village-many gabled roofs of 1 & 2 stories-similar to Cortez. -Authors talk of “community form” as 1) organic = patterns that repeat themselves & create a whole-but not monotonous and 2) chaotic -“The forces that define a community form are often the same ones influencing its placement.” (p. 341) i.e., 1) defense; 2) symbolic shape; 3) social interaction; 4) lay of land; 5) local building materials.
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	-1830-40: The Irish must have built 40 cotton warehouses at 3 stories high. -About 1920: Apalach consisted of a lot of brick warehouses. Oyster shells used to build streets.
(2007/McCarthy) Cedar Key, Florida: A History	-By 1910 seven fish houses along train trestle. -The 1920s saw electric lines, which can alter the form????

(2007/Muir) How To Read a Village	--Muir suggests that gable ends of fishing villages usually faced toward the gale winds.
Fisheries/Commerce	
(1837/Williams) ebook The Territory of FL: Sketches....	-Evidence of Spanish fisheries at Carlos Bay (p. 50).
(1876/Hallock) ebook Camp Life in Florida...	-Many oyster bars and flats near Cedar Keys=shallow water difficult to navigate -Fishing ranch near Lacosta Island -Large fishing operation at Punta Rassa where they also shipped cattle to Key West & Cuba. -Big cattle industry in FTM too -Said Tampa not really good for fishing
(1884/Henshall, J. A.) ebook Camping and cruising in FL	-Fishing smacks in Key West. -Key West chief industries are cigars, sponges (by Conchs & negroes), fishing, turtling, wrecking. -Punta Rassa-"3 or 4 buildings and a wharf" (p.198-9)... "important as a shipping point for cattle to Key West and Havana" -La Costa island (Gasparilla)-Spanish fishing ranch. -Cedar key as a "city"-saw mills, fish houses, fishing, turtling, shipping.
(1924/Schroeder) Spanish Fisheries of Charlotte Harbor	
(1928/Matthews) Fisheries of the South Atlantic/Gulf States	-St. Augustine as oldest fishery in US/Old Spanish cast netting still used in 1928. NOTE: Gulf and Atlantic fisheries much different -haul-seine most "characteristic use of capture in the Gulf region" in 1928 (p.329) -gill net more popular in FL than other Gulf states -no big change in equipment/methods of distribution between 1878 and 1928. Hook & line main type of fishing. No real retail outlets-Fish sold mostly from pushcarts, at wharves live or in boat wells and live cars. Much stock shipped to Cuba and Mainland US -FL tends to use more northern-built vessels (mostly schooners w/deep keels for Snapper...those with center-board for oysters are "sharpies" (built regionally)—many crafts 40 years old though there was a mix of sail and gas power all about 20-75 feet length -steam not yet prevalent in 1928
(1939/Federal Writers Project) FL: A Guide to the Southernmost State	1831: Cigars most important in Key West (proximity to Cuba) until fire sent industry to Ybor 1849: Sponges big in Key West, then to Tampa in 1905 ("virgin beds")(p.91)
(1947/Dodd) Captain Bunce's Tampa Bay Fisheries, 1835-40.	
(1963/Varney) Geographic & Economic History of the Gulf Coast of FL	-Beginning of Territorial Period: Four settlements of note: St. Marks, St. Aug, Pensacola, Key West-Later Apalach, St Joe, Magnolia, & Tallahassee -St. Marks & Cedar Keys as prominent ports early on. Cedar Keys primary biz was timber, however, began shipping oysters as early as 1842. Sponge industry in Cedar Keys big until turn of century when it went to Tarpon Springs; Cedar Keys had "as many as 200 schooners" at its docks (p. 155), and some steamers-many ships constructed at Cedar Keys. -Varney suggests no importance of Big Bend fishing villages. Little input to FL economic growth. -1896-1950: Cedar Keys to St Marks struggled mainly due to R/R building elsewhere. -Not uncommon for only one or two fishermen in small villages to produce large % of catch. -1898-1909: oystering & canning at Cedar Keys major biz.

	-WWII and after-live bait industry big biz from Cedar Keys to Naples.
(1968/Glassie) Pattern in the Material Folk Culture...	-Glassie (1968) mentions the sharpie as diffusing quickly from CT to the FL Keys. Matthews (1928) mentions sharpie. -Glassie suggests that the South stuck with tradition longer and resisted popular influences on its material culture, like Matthews also suggests."
(1973/Hammond) The Spanish Fisheries of Charlotte Harbor	-In 1765, George Gauld (English Admiralty Surveyor) wrote about Boca Grande islands ranchos: "plenty of carp and other fish on hooks, a dressing on the stage [platform or scaffolding for drying fish]. They begin by pressing the fish with a great weight after it is split and salted, then hang it up to dry...the last operation is to pile it up in the huts ready for loading." (p. 356) -In 1830s, William Adee Whitehead, a Key West Collector, wrote: "...composed of a number of dwellings, each structure some fifteen to twenty feet square and, except for a framework of wood, thatched-both walls and ceilings. They were equipped with a few cooking utensils, two or three stools, and perhaps a rude table." (p. 364) -Also found "Permanent or semipermanent camps or "ranchos" in Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, and possibly San Carlos Bay." (p. 357) with about 200-300 Spanish/Indian fishermen. -Coastal area of FL Gulf Coast at Charlotte Harbor had little survey info as of 1820s; -In 1824-25 Isaac Clark saw 3 fisheries in Charlotte Harbor on the small islands with 43 Spaniards plus Indians in rude huts of palmetto; -1831-1838 William Whitehead "described two kinds of commercial fishing along the Gulf coast" 1) small fleet (30 or so) owned by New England masters as seasonal (winter) and sold to Havana market; 2) Spanish who salted/cured fish and lived in ranchos in 4 main establishments with women and children.
(1976/Tebeau) The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country	-Commercial fishing as the "backbone of the economy" since 1920s; turling part of early settlement. -Earlier fisherman salted fish there then sent to Key West & Cuba; salting viable til 1920s due to precarious nature of ice provisions. -1873: Hurricane with surge. 1894: John Savarese of Tampa (fish biz and store) owned sharpies he ran to Charlotte Harbor -No oysters since 1900. -Early sport fishing/cruising-late 19 th /early 20 th centuries. -1904-1945: Clamming and invention of clam dredge, which put small collectors out of biz. -1910: hurricane. -1917: Smallwood Store built; 1924: moved due to storm; 1925: elevated approx.. 8 feet. 1920: four fish boats-two from FTM and two from Punta Rassa -1926: Hurricane with surge. 1948: Hurricane with wind -1950 was considered one of the largest shrimp ports in the U.S. due to discovery of "pink gold" near Dry Tortugas; was still viable in 1976. -1976: Mullet as staple -Two fish houses at Chokoloskee could not compete w/ Everglades fish houses
(1980)/Purdy, ed.) Florida's Maritime Heritage	-US fishing industry now over 390 years old; Florida's first industry per Cato & Sweat; Cubans and Spanish settlers sailed smacks into Charlotte Harbor & Tampa Bay as early as late 1600s/early 1700s and built fish camps or "ranchos" from Boca Grande & south -Ice available in Pensacola before Key West -1800s: fishermen used live wells due to lack of ice and sold locally or salted and shipped to Cuba - Smacks (schooner) of 50-60 tons, 50-100-foot long (Cato&Sweat) of 8-11 men out to sea; Chings of 5-20 tons of 4-5 men along the Gulf coast shore); Cato&Sweat (1980) said the chings were prevalent in TPA, Panama City, Apalachicola, Carrabelle,

	<p>-1890s: Key West largest city in FL=350 vessels, 1,400 men for sponging industry (Cato&Sweat) -early 1900s fishermen mainly used hook-line & netting until about 1950 -Late 1970s: 27 seaports in FL -TIMELINE (Cato&Sweat): 1700s=finfish like mackerel mostly Cuban fishermen, live wells & salting, near Key West; mid 1800s sponges in Key West as largest operation in US, then to Tarpon in 1905 with decline in 1947; 1840s red snapper by New England fishermen and Scandinavian, up to 40 fathoms, with smacks & chings; 1880s to about 1945 (red tide) clams were popular near Marco Islands but did not use artisanal tongs; Late 1800s to about 1947 (depletion) turtles near Cedar Keys & L Keys with small boats of 2-man crews and later with large schooners around Western Gulf; mid 1800s oysters near Apalachicola Bay with hand tongs thru 1980 with small sloops (40'-50') and sail power plus small gas engines-canning was attempted between 1860-90s but failed; 1949/50 shrimping developed in Key west due to decline on east coast, with 300± shrimp boats arriving there, however, Apalachicola developed earlier due to influence from LA, which began in the 1860s; Sport fishing well known as a "mecca" in FL before Civil War, where anglers would take a rigorous trip by land to Cedar Key & embark, however, Gregg (1902) reported that sport fishing declined due to 1) steamboat; 2) R/R; 3) ice factories; 4) men with nets.</p>
	<p>As early as the mid-1600s, Spanish fishing ranchos first appeared along the Florida coast. By 1770, there were at least thirty ships actively engaged in fishing operations off the west coast of Florida. The Cubans settled in villages or ranchos during the fishing season. The ranchos consisted of palmetto huts, where the fishermen slept and ate. They served as processing areas where the fish were cleaned, salted, and dried.</p> <p>The early ranchos generally were not permanent settlements. After each fishing season ended, the fishermen would return to Havana with fish prepared for the Cuban market. The fishermen had frequent contact with the local Indians and often provided them transport to Havana for trade or diplomatic missions.</p> <p>By the 1790s, some fishermen established permanent year-round ranchos and cultivated gardens and citrus groves. The ranchos became home to a diverse group of Cubans, escaped slaves, Seminoles, Creeks, Mikasukis, and other Indians. Many fishermen who settled permanently in the area married Seminole women.</p>
(1985/Green) Finest Kind....	-In Cortez, fall roe season was Sept-April. Then some fishermen returned to NC.
(1987/Shiver) The Historic Architecture of Key West	-Sponging declined due to depletion (need to go further out to sea) & hook-line method still being used; helmet diver in Tarpon Spgs drove Conchs out of biz.
(1990/Dees&Dees) Off the Beaten Path (Cedar Keys)	<p>-Cedar Keys and Jax suffered most physical damage from Civil War yet were booming soon after. -1875-78: Cedar Keys pop at 500-800. -1878: began developing as an imp't trading center—esp lumber. Here was a "rapid increase of the commercial exploitation of oysters, clams, stone crabs and various fish." (p. 71); law passed required owners "to construct oyster shell sidewalks in front of their lots" and "to move houses out of streets." (p. 71). -1883: much seafood, e.g., sponges (Tarpon Spgs), fish (Clearwater) brought to Cedar Keys for shipping. -1880s=timber boom. And a fish boom. -1885: ice plant moved from Tampa to Cedar Key; began decline in 1899 when cedar mills closed; oysters became backbone of economy; oysters gone by 1908. -Late 1800s: 10-15 express cars shipped daily ice brought in from schooners from the north. -1896: 100 sponge boats-20 sunk with storm surge that "destroyed boats, wharves" "small houses were swept from</p>

	<p>their foundations.” (p. 136) “All wharves and six houses were destroyed by fire.” (p. 136)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1929-30 approx 150 white fishermen full time until WWII -1930: Pop=1,060. -1932: R/R terminus discontinued. -1935: Wooden city docks burned-rebuilt by WPA; 1950 destroyed again by Hurr Easy, rebuilt w/ cement. -1950: fish business (not oysters) backbone of the economy.
(1997/Fulford-Green, Molto) Cortez-Then and now	-Authors say Cortez fishermen have harvested from the area from mid 1700s
(1997/Smith, et al) An Atlas of Maritime FL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Early 1800s: Spinging significant —withered by 1830 though popular 1860s from Key West to St. John’s River; -Late 18th –mid 19th centuries: Cuban/Bahamian fishers to FL twice/year-built huts from Charlotte Harbor to Keys -1828: Superior Court gave Key West jurisdiction over all salvage from Port Charlotte to Indian River -1820s-1920s: wrecking industry—as of 1858, 57 licensed on Florida Reef -By 1830: Bahamians in Keys replaced by Yankees & East coasters -1849: Coastal survey of reefs & keys and constr of lighthouses=wrecks decline -1850: Ice machine used by commercial fisheries; Smacks (schooner) of 50-60 tons, 50-100-foot long (Cato&Sweat) of 8-11 men out to sea; Chings of 5-20 tons of 4-5 men along the Gulf coast shore); Cato&Sweat (1980) said the chings were prevalent in TPA, Panama City, Apalachicola, Carrabelle, -1869: Red Snapper at Pensacola (by R/R to NOLA) -Late 1800s: Mullet from Tampa Bay to Charlotte Harbor -1896: FL ranked 10th in nation for commercial fisheries (spinging most valuable), followed by #2=mullet (Tampa Bay to Charlotte Harbor), red snapper, oyster from Apalachicola to Anclote Keys, sea trout -After 1912: shrimp popular (Apalachicola) -1921: Wrecking register closed -1970s-80s: Drug smuggling
2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW Florida Waterways V.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1890: First channel cut occurred just south of Cortez called Longbar Cut-it was 5’ deep/100’ wide -1919: Replaced w/ new channel to west (map) -Early 1900s (first decade): one sloop sailboat in area bringing in weekly supplies -By 1910: Increased to daily runs (sailings) -By 1920, multiple launches produced over 100 runs inc two boat lines, such as the “Phantom” from Tampa-Osprey, plus wkly “gas launches” for fuel -1920-1945: not much dredging -1946-1960s: Most extensive dredging occurred
2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW Florida Waterways V.2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Fishing villages at Punta Blanca, Cayo Costa, Boca Grande, Pine Island -1800s late: Captiva Island fishing station at NE coast -First modern dock facility used by commercial fishermen for US customers -1922: Cuban fishing smacks in Charlotte Harbor -n.d.?: Fish camp at mouth of Naples Bay & Gordon Pass
(2006/FL Humanities Council, Jepson) Settlers by the Sea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1840s: Spinging in Bahamas -1949: Spinging in Key West
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1836: Apalach third largest cotton port on the Gulf until R/R changed commerce points -1890s-1900 sawmill exchange -1930s: ice opened up new markets; used it to stuff guts of fish while away fishing for up to one week; earlier, the Cubans fished the FL middle grounds and North Gulf w/ no refrigeration-they used live wells. -1940s-50s: Lots of oyster tonguing, then shrimping in winter.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1950s: snapper to shrimp -Re weather, early 1900s fishermen only had a compass & barometer; they know how it acted based on the time of year.
(2007/McCarthy) Cedar Key, Florida: A History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1840s: major shipping port of cypress, cedar, turpentine, pine, rosin. -1858: pencil mill (Faber). -1859: Island Hotel made of tabby. -1860: Salt production for packing fish and beef -1861: R/R from Fernandina -1862: Military occupation by US troops-burned R/R stn and destroyed wharf, and a turpentine warehouse -1865: R/R repaired (terminus at Capt Table restaurant) -Plant's R/R to Tampa severely affected economy: peak of population at 2000 in 1885 reduced to 700 by 1900. -1895: Sponge & mullet shipping supplanted pencil slat biz. -1896: Cedar Keys as big port with over 30 ships, schooners, sloops, steamers some over 100-foot length (plus over 100 sponge boats) home ported there (how does this compare with Varney's 200 ships???) -1896: Hurricane with much destruction, Decimated sponge industry; Lumber mills left. -1900-1910: Oystering big biz now w/ six fish houses on pier & 2 canning factories—overharvested by 1910. -1910: By this time, fishers were using gas and able to reach further out to sea & return quicker (form changing again)-the demand for fuel changed the form dramatically encouraging development of fuel supply stations and filling up at the dock. The sail form depletes. -1920: Hurricane -At peak of Cedar Key's fishing economy there were about "100 full-time fishermen" mainly for mullet and redfish. One method used was a pound net approx. 250-feet long tied to pilings near Seahorse Key. -1932: End of Greek sponging in FL -1934: Hurricanes (2) -1940: The Big Dock constr. -1945: First museum & hurricane -1950: 500 feet of Big Dock destroyed by fire along w/ four of the eight fish houses: rebuilt new dock of cement (form change???) ; Another hurricane destroyed most of the remaining fish houses. -Fishing still most imp income for residents-150 boats-market fluctuations created a "dry" (luff) economy at times -The Honeymoon cottage is similar to the remaining net camp in Cortez!!!! -1970s: 40 commercial fishers -1978-1990: drug problems/stings -1994: Net ban—last seafood house closed in 1995
General History of Florida	
(1960s/Kilgore) Old St. Marks in FL	-1539: de Soto sails into Tampa Bay; ordered Maldonado to explore north to Pensacola
(1837/Williams) The Territory of FL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1689: Ft. Aneh??? At Pensacola—Ariola??? -1693: Small village on Santa Rosa Island across bay on? present site by Don Andrea de la Paez -1718: Fort at St. Joseph's Bay -1800s early: St. Marks established after fort -1829: Congress funded improvements to Apalachee River
(1980)/Purdy, ed.) FL's Maritime Heritage	-Main blockade runners' port at Civil War were Apalachicola, St. Marks, Cedar Key, & Tampa (O'Connor)
(1987/Shiver) The Historic Architecture of Key West	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1513: Key West discovered by Ponce de Leon -1870: First public school; by 1892 there were 10; 1876: First City Hall; 1884: First street railway (mules, then electric);

	<p>1885: Ybor leaves;--1886: Fire (did not greatly affect cigar industry) but burned all wharves & warehouses 1911: street paving; series of abandonments by military -1890: First courthouse -1908: First hospital -1909: Hurricane destroyed 7 cigar factories, nearly all docks 1910: hurricane -1912: R/R -1919: hurricane = death blow to cigar industry (only remained as cottage industry by 1930) Industry losses by 1934: loss of cigars, abandonment of military bases, end of steamship services, diminished freight services, destruction of pineapple canning, decline of local market for fish, loss of sponge industry -1935: R/R damaged by hurricane -1938 road to Key West -1930s: increase in tourism -1939: US Navy reopened bases -Post-WWII: some eked out a living from commercial fishing</p>
(1997/Smith, et al) An Atlas of Maritime FL	<p>-1521: First land embarkment at FTM and Naples -1528: Tampa -1559: Pensacola by Spanish</p>
Geographical	
(1939/Federal Writers Project) FL: A Guide to the Southernmost State	-1890: Key West largest city at around 18,000...JAX = 17,201
(2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW FL Waterways V1	<p>-Sarasota Bay system is an approximate 56-mile stretch of coast that includes bays, inlets, estuaries, and islands -The Intracoastal Waterway (ICW) spans from Maine to TX and began in 1890</p>
Navigation	
(1837/Williams) The Territory of FL	<p>-FL Reef 3-7 miles from key -1826: Commodore Porter</p>
(1884/Henshall, J. A.) ebook Camping and cruising in FL	-Cedar Key connected by steamers to Key West, Tampa, Manatee, Havana, Mobile, NOLA, Galveston
(1939/Federal Writers Project) FL: A Guide to the Southernmost State	Prior to 1830s: Most transportation in FL by water
(1980)/Purdy, ed.) Florida's Maritime Heritage	<p>-1888-9: First steamboat in FL -Lasted about a hundred years; declined due to freezes, R/R, & harbor changes; however, work fleets cont'd for several decades (Mueller)</p>
(1997/Smith, et al) An Atlas of Maritime FL	<p>-1820s: Steam propulsion (also improved navigation inland) -1850: Survey of coast by US Coast Survey -1870: Reef lights -Early 20th century = "sweeping changes" in navigation</p>
(2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW Florida Waterways V2	<p>-1880: Caloosahatchee-first waterway to be channelized -1881-88: Earliest dredging linked to Hamilton Disston/Okeechobee Land Co. -1883: Steamboat traveled from FTM to Kissimmee -1896: Intracoastal waterway from Tampa Bay to Sarasota -1902: Steamers ran from FTM to Punta Gorda</p>

	-1902: See "Improvement of Rivers & Harbors on the West Coast of FL..." (p. 17) -1907: Intracoastal waterway from Sarasota to Venice -1945: Congress funded Intracoastal waterway work -1960s: Intracoastal waterway from Venice to Lemon Bay (completion for West coast)
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	-1870s: first steamboat journey
(2007/McCarthy) Cedar Key, Florida: A History	-1922: Steam on Suwannee ended.
People	
(1876/Hallock) Camp Life in Florida...	Mentioned "Cracker" (p. 180±)
(1884/Henshall, J. A.) ebook Camping and cruising in FL	-Conches are descendants from English settlers
Transportation (land)	
(1884/Henshall, J. A.) ebook Camping and cruising in FL	Cedar Key shipping by R/R
(1939/Federal Writers Project) FL: A Guide to the Southernmost State	-R/R made fishing boom and become important -1834: First R/R-Tallahassee to Pt. Leon; Second R/R-Apalachicola to St. Joseph's Bay; Third R/R-St. Joseph's to ?? on Apalachee River??; -1860: FL R/R with Cedar Key (p. 69)
(1963/Varney) Geographic & Economic History of the Gulf Coast of FL	-1860: R/R to Cedar Keys.
(1960s/Kilgore) Old St. Marks in FL	-1834: First R/R from Tallahassee thru St. Marks to Port Leon
(1980)/Purdy, ed.) Florida's Maritime Heritage	-1884: Plant built R/R from JAX to Tampa mainly used for boom of cattle, lumber, then 1888 fro phosphate
(1990/Dees&Dees) Off the Beaten Path (Cedar Keys)	-After Civil War R/R terminus from Fernandina destroyed. Not replaced.
(1997/Smith, et al) An Atlas of Maritime FL	-1837: Tallahassee to St. Marks R/R -1855: R/R land acquisition -1860: R/R Fernandina to Cedar Key -1912: R/R to Key West
(2002/Antonini, et al) A Historical Geography of SW Florida Waterways V2	-1886: R/R reached Punta Gorda
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	-1853: R/R
(2007/McCarthy) Cedar Key, Florida: A History	-1924: First paved road to Cedar Key -By 1932: End of R/R -1930s/40s: Street pavings done by WPA
QUOTES	
(1876/Hallock) Camp Life in Florida...	"I admit that the region is wild and infrequented, but the time is near when the river will be navigated by steamers, and residences, school houses, and churches will rise as if by magic." (p.295)...speaking of the Caloosahatchee
(1879/Farnham) A Day on the Docks	"For this waterfront is the beach of the great sea of humanity." (p. 32) -"the docks are a good panorama of human life, filled with its toils, pleasures, and miseries, and enlivened with the most picturesque aspects of human nature." (p. 34)
(1976/Lowenthal in Appleton Age &	"Decrepitude makes old men, like ruined buildings, increasingly one with the environment, rooted in locale."

Beauty) The Aesthetics of LS	
(1980/Clay) How To Read the American City	-Clay suggested that the LS has available “patterns & clues waiting to be organized.” (p. 11)
(1982/Stilgoe) Common LSs of America, 1580-1845	“Space and structure are knowable; no field is so vast as to preclude visual ???, no barn too high to distort close scrutiny.” (p. 345)
(1985/Green) Finest Kind...	-“when Jesus went looking for disciples...He went down to the seashore and found Him some fishermen.” As quoted by Ben Green from Grey Fulford. P. 6-7 -“They came for the fish-mullet to be exact.” “They came for a better life.” -“Fishing ain’t no easy life.” Earl Guthrie from Finest Kind p 79 -“I’ll tell you, there just aren’t very many real fishermen left.” Gen Fulford, 1981, Finest Kind p 81
(1990/Pred) Lost Words - Lost Worlds	-“No place or region – however defined – stands still.” (p. 198)
(1997/Walker) Political Economist Among Cult Geographers, Groth, 1997	-get great quote at end of p. 172-173.
(1990/Dees&Dees) Off the Beaten Path (Cedar Key)	Re Cortez: “A mind-numbing array of gas stations, fast food outlets, shopping centers, auto dealers...on one side of the highway the village remains much as it has all this century, population 500, white cottages with laundry hanging outside, the old packing houses...with no nod to worldliness except a franchise lobster “shanty” restaurant.” (pp. 113-114)
(1992/Green) Fog’s Comin’ In	-“cry for the fisherman and ourselves, they are fast losing their way of life and a chance to earn a living in the age-old way.” “A once colorful way of life is fast losing all its local color.”—Quoted from Sarasota resident in early 1990s, Sarasota Herald.
(2000/Lovel, et al) Spring Creek Chronicles	-“It’s a tragedy. In many ways. Genocide. The elimination of a culture...Proud, independent, hard working, historical families and communities hung-out to whither, die and disappear from the loss of their livelihood from this amendment.” -“The mullet skiffs have all but disappeared.” (both p.217) -“The old waterfront fish houses and shrimp processors are going broke fast, selling out. Condos and marinas jumping outta the ground like weeds after a rain.” (p.218) -“Look along your coastline. Look all around your lakes and up and down the banks of your rivers. What do you see? Not a commercial fisherman, that’s for sure.” (p.219) -“The traditional commercial fishery in the state of Florida has been denied too much, for almost too long...you better hurry, you chroniclers of history and people. Ten years or so and you’ve lost your chance to study a culture, lifestyle and people that have been here as long as man has been on earth.” (p.232)
(2006/Eidse) Voices of the Apalachicola	“This bay is 210 miles of waterfront property. The commercial fishin’ industry has less than a mile in Eastpoint and less than a mile over here.” (p. 137). “There’s a real loss of the buildings.” (p. 269)

APPENDIX B QUICK STUDY TOOL

Quick Study Tool for Analyzing Regional Considerations: Florida Gulf Coast TFVs								
Fishery Area →	Panhandle Fisheries	Cedar Key Fisheries	Tampa Bay Fisheries	Palma Sola/ Sarasota Bay Fisheries	Charlotte Harbor Fisheries	Key West Fisheries	Carteret County, NC	empty
Fishery Center TFV →	Apalachicola	Cedar Key	St. Pete	Cortez	Punta Gorda	Key West	Beaufort, NC	empty
Attribute ↓↓								
Geography	1.Northern FL & North Gulf & Deep South, geographic center of Apalach is approx. 200 miles from Cedar Key over land. 2.Bay fronted	1.Northern West FL / East Gulf, geographic center of Cedar Key is approx. 150 miles from St. Pete over land. 2.Gulf fronted	1.Mid West FL / East Gulf, geographic center of St. Pete is approx. 35 miles from Cortez over land. 2.Bay fronted	1.Mid West FL / East Gulf, geographic center of Cortez is approx. 70 miles from Punta Gorda over land. 2.Bay fronted	1.South West FL / East Gulf, geographic center of Punta Gorda is approx. 325 miles from Key West over land. 2.Bay fronted	1.South West FL / East Gulf, Caribbean, & Atlantic, geographic center of Key West is approx. 1,025 miles from Cortez over land. 2.Gulf & Atlantic fronted	1.South East Coast Atlantic. 2.Atlantic fronted	

Quick Study Tool for Analyzing Regional Considerations: Florida Gulf Coast TFVs								
Fishery Area →	Panhandle Fisheries	Cedar Key Fisheries	Tampa Bay Fisheries	Palma Sola/ Sarasota Bay Fisheries	Charlotte Harbor Fisheries	Key West Fisheries	Carteret County, NC	empty
Fishery Center TFV →	Apalachicola	Cedar Key	St. Pete	Cortez	Punta Gorda	Key West	Beaufort, NC	empty
Attribute ↓↓								
Topography	1.Protected bay w/ barrier island system most similar to Carteret, NC. 2.Open bay, estuary & riverine systems.	1.Exposed to Gulf. 2.Closed, extensive estuary systems.	1.Protected bay w/ barrier island system. 2.Open, estuary & riverine systems.	1.Protected bay w/ barrier island system. 2.Open, estuary & riverine systems.	1.Protected bay w/ barrier island system. 2.Open, estuary & riverine systems.	1.Exposed to Gulf & Atlantic Ocean. 2.Large reef systems.	1.Protected bay w/ barrier island system. 2.Open, estuary & riverine systems.	
Climate*	1.Warm, humid subtropical, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone high;-	1.Warm, humid subtropical, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone-	1.Hot, humid subtropical, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone medium;-	1.Hot, humid subtropical, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone medium;-	1.Hot, humid subtropical, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone medium;-	1.Hot, humid subtropical, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone high;- direct 1 every	: 1.Warm, moderate, coastal. 2.Hurricane prone high;- direct 1 every	

Quick Study Tool for Analyzing Regional Considerations: Florida Gulf Coast TFVs								
Fishery Area →	Panhandle Fisheries	Cedar Key Fisheries	Tampa Bay Fisheries	Palma Sola/Sarasota Bay Fisheries	Charlotte Harbor Fisheries	Key West Fisheries	Carteret County, NC	empty
Fishery Center TFV →	Apalachicola	Cedar Key	St. Pete	Cortez	Punta Gorda	Key West	Beaufort, NC	empty
Attribute ↓!	direct 1 every 7 yrs; infl 1 every 2.47 yrs; notable related to study period: 1893, 1894, 1898, 1899, 1906, 1915 , 1916, 1926	medium; direct 1 every 14.1 yrs; infl 1 every 2.88 yrs; notable related to study period: 1888, 1896 , 1920, 1934, 1935, 1950	direct 1 every 12.8 yrs; infl 1 every 2.07 yrs; notable related to study period: 1886, 1896, 1921 , 1928, 1935, 1941, 1950	direct 1 every 9.4 yrs; infl 1 every 2.17 yrs; notable related to study period: 1888, 1894, 1910, 1921 , 1925, 1926, 1929, 1935, 1941, 1944, 1950	direct 1 every 8.81 yrs; infl 1 every 2.61 yrs; notable related to study period: 1884, 1896, 1910 , 1921, 1926, 1929, 1935, 1941	5.88 yrs; Infl 1 every 2.71 yrs; notable related to study period: 1906, 1909 , 1910, 1919 , 1933, 1935, 1944, 1948	5.22 yrs; Infl 1 every 1.53 yrs; notable related to study period: 1878, 1879 , 1887, 1899 , 1944	
Materials								

Quick Study Tool for Analyzing Regional Considerations: Florida Gulf Coast TFVs								
Fishery Area →	Panhandle Fisheries	Cedar Key Fisheries	Tampa Bay Fisheries	Palma Sola/Sarasota Bay Fisheries	Charlotte Harbor Fisheries	Key West Fisheries	Carteret County, NC	empty
Fishery Center TFV →	Apalachicola	Cedar Key	St. Pete	Cortez	Punta Gorda	Key West	Beaufort, NC	empty
Attribute ↓!	Trade/Commerce	1860: R/R 1880s: cedar timber til 1899, fishing, sponging til 1900, oystering; several sawmills and fish houses 1896: several hundred vessels w/ ober 100 sponging boats 1900-1910: oystering and 7 fish houses	Early ranchos -Mullet 1899: Hibbs in St Pete and Seavarese in Tpa 1900: Sponging	Early ranchos till 1885 or so -Mullet 1880s Palma Sola largest town 1929: Stock market crash 1930s: "disappearance" of mullet	Early ranchos -Mullet	1830s: cigars til 1886 & wrecking By 1830s: Bahamians replaced by Americans By 1850s had 11 wharves, 11 warehouses, 650 dwellings; sponging impt until 1900 By 1870s had 140 vessels and turtling By 1890s: 350	1800s-1916: whaling -Civil War -Reconstruction	

Quick Study Tool for Analyzing Regional Considerations: Florida Gulf Coast TFVs								
Fishery Area →	Panhandle Fisheries	Cedar Key Fisheries	Tampa Bay Fisheries	Palma Sola/Sarasota Bay Fisheries	Charlotte Harbor Fisheries	Key West Fisheries	Carteret County, NC	empty
Fishery Center TFV →	Apalachicola	Cedar Key	St. Pete	Cortez	Punta Gorda	Key West	Beaufort, NC	empty
Attribute ↓!								
Duration Timeline	Est. 1821	Est. 1843	Est. 1888	Est. 1887	Est. 1882	Est. 1822	Est. 1700s	
*Source: Retrieved from www.hurricanecity.com on November 3, 2012.								

!

Quick Study Tool for Analyzing Regional Considerations: Florida Gulf Coast TFVs								
Fishery Area →	Panhandle Fisheries	Cedar Key Fisheries	Tampa Bay Fisheries	Palma Sola/Sarasota Bay Fisheries	Charlotte Harbor Fisheries	Key West Fisheries	Carteret County, NC	empty
Fishery Center TFV →	Apalachicola	Cedar Key	St. Pete	Cortez	Punta Gorda	Key West	Beaufort, NC	empty
Attribute ↓!								
	1940s-50s: oystering & shrimping	1920-45: 150 fishers 1950: fishing most imp't economy				vessels, FL largest city 1912: R/R 1930s: move toward tourism 1940s/50s: shrimping boom		
Growth Patterns	3.City 4.Population 1890=+2000 1900=+3000 1920=3066 1950=+3000 2010=2242	3.City 4.Population 1890=+800 1900=960 1920=759 1950=1056 2010=702	3.Metro 4.Population 1890=273 1900=1475 1920=+14k 1950=+34k 2010=244k	3.Village 4.Population 1890= 1900= 1920= 1950= 2010=	3.City 4.Population 1890=262 1900=660 1920=1295 1950=+2000 2010=+16k	3.City 4.Population 1890=+18k 1900=+17k 1920=18749 1950=+30k 2010=+24k	3.City 4.Population 1890= 1900= 1920=2968 1950= 2010=4094	

APPENDIX C
FINAL DEFENSE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY PRESENTATION

**LANDSCAPE FORM CHANGE USING THE CONTEXT OF A TRADITIONAL FISHING
VILLAGE**

Executive Summary/Final Presentation

Larry Frey

My task wasn't to find the maximum amount of content in the landscape or to squeeze out more than might already be there. Instead, as other scholars led me and probably countless others to understand, it was to cut back the content, disassemble it, in order to see it at all (paraphrasing Susan Sontag).

I did this by focusing on historic context.

Preliminaries and Research Questions

My study is an exploration of historic significance and change of form in the vernacular landscape setting using a contextual focus. I began my 700-page plus study journey from inspirations received after a visit to a dirty, smelly, ragged dock of a working waterfront in Portland, Maine during the early 2000s. I thought to myself, this waterfront construct and everything on it must be old. Yet, it was a mixed bag of new and old that made me ask questions regarding how the forms I was noticing were affected by cultural determinants over time. Closer to my place of residence, a similar fishing village environment also intrigued me at Cortez in Manatee County, so I began to calibrate my main core and elective doctoral program studies toward it.

Once I began doctoral study of historic preservation with a focus on the vernacular, my research path was set. However, like many scholars, it was the individual building that became my initial study element. After reading Amos Rapoport and his exploration of form and culture with regard to the dwelling, and the vernacular landscape studies of Michael Chiarappa, my dissertation emerged, but with a shift in focus from Rapoport's. I wanted to adapt his exploration of the dwelling to the wider landscape, because I wanted to understand how historic significance in the wider perspective changed over time. I also wanted to better understand what I was really looking at with regard to the constructs that made up the historic landscape. So, Cortez became my referential study community since it is commonly known as a long-standing commercial fishing village, I noticed gaps in the literature regarding its historic character, and was easily accessible for my research.

With a nod to Rapoport, I developed my primary research question related to landscape form. This initial inquiry asks the following:

- What determined the landscape form changes at Cortez?

Further inquiries revealed deep sets of additional, but related questions that also asked where were the old docks, fish and net camps, and acres of net spreads from the 10 or so decades that preceded its 1995 historic district nomination? These lesser constructs, or as I like to refer to them as, the “extended vernacular,” seemed more important to me than the dwellings that make up most of Cortez’ historic district today. Vernacular dwellings could be found in lots of non-fishing areas, so their existence as Cortez’ most revered historic structures did not seem to reveal a significance to the context of a historic fishing village. They did not appear to hold any kind of distinctive maritime quality or pattern, and did not appear to feed the context of my study of the historic landscape. Visually, based on a comparison of archival photographs and the Cortez of 2013, the fishing village is not an “unchanged” place at all. In fact it appeared to me to be quite changed, missing most of what should make it truly significant based on the context of its history.

In wondering about the landscape in these ways, another important inquiry was prompted, resulting in my second primary question that then asks the following:

- What is historically significant about Cortez?

As a study, I looked at the entire village as a landscape form over time so that I could understand how the array of certain forms, especially those that extended from beyond just dwellings occurred and changed, and the determinants that made them so, but with regard to how they “fed the context.” This is important as a way of looking at,

understanding, and corralling something as complex as the landscape with regard to its form.

But, even when prepared with such pertinent questions, where does one begin to document and interpret the form of a landscape? Dell Upton wrote that the landscape is “a complex, multisensory, constantly changing tangle of relationships” (1991, p. 197). And my inquiries and research found his analysis to be very accurate. It is difficult enough to read a single building, let alone something as complicated as a landscape. The landscape is “affected” by an enormity of cultural “effects,” hence the title of my dissertation. There are some programs of analyses already out there in practice, such as the Cultural Landscape Report, which help us to understand these constructs to be sure. However, these tools, as great as they are, tend to be more chronological than thick discussions, often due to budgetary or time constraints.

This initial dilemma of facing such complexity fostered additional research questions involving basic usage, definition, and application of terms and concepts, that at first blush appeared to be already answered. As my research unfolded, I found problems associated with the application and meanings of what I had thought were the most basic and simplest terms such as vernacular, cultural landscape, and landscape form defined. Yet, I simply could not get a handle on seemingly simple terms like form. How could I evaluate the wider landscape if I could not even pass the starting line beyond form, and then handle the problems it presented? There was little, if any consensus across disciplines that was immediately available for my own study. I began my literature review focusing on a wide variety of subjects that radiated outward and inward from my two primary research questions, and the lack of clarity of terms. Chapter

2 of my study underscores this interdisciplinary focus that contributed to my methodology approach.

Rapoport provided some guidance, as did Chiarappa, and Kingston Heath, who would serve me the most, while many others, such as Karl Kropf provided a patchwork of discourse that resulted in my hybrid methodology approach. For example, while I depended on numerous fields of study, I received helpful clues from urban morphology where, like a camera lens, I could change the resolution of what I was looking at to make it a more manageable study product. Land use planning helped me to understand how the village grew spatially and politically. Geography also guided me in the manner of spatial consideration, but its focus on culture helped me to properly frame my understanding of the intangible aspects of the landscape. Historical ecology allowed me to frame the effects of the longer-standing human/cultural imprint on the landscape I was studying. Preservation enhanced my understanding for evaluating historic significance. Last but not least, the benefits of architecture and landscape architecture contributed to my visual and cognitive analysis sets.

While many terms and concepts had to be reconciled, perhaps none were as important as form and vernacular as main starting points. In my case, I adapted existing definitions for my exploration, while I created some new ones. For example, the term “form” is defined in my study of the historic vernacular landscape is “the physical and intangible shapes that give structure and character to it.” The term “vernacular landscape” refers to a “non-literary form of design of a place or setting evolved through use and activities by the people who have occupied it, manifested in physical and less-than physical features that tend to characterize the traditional setting.” Other terms were

also adapted including, but not limited to “elapsed experiential,” critical juncture,” “extended vernacular,” and differentiating between “affect” and “effect.”

Methodology

My methodology is a qualitative exploration of landscape form to document, and evaluate the changes in Cortez over time so that I could interpret my findings accordingly. The qualitative approach avoids examination of a single, specific unit of analysis per se, in order to grind out statistical analyses from it. Instead, I was able to study patterns of form and cultural behavior on it in order to interpret the effects on the landscape form. Because of the breadth of the research involving culture, it began to move in multiple directions and started to overwhelm my initial visual approach. My way of thinking and my strategic planning background required that I have a system for organizing the information. That’s when I developed the research chart system. I employed several different versions of it in my research, and one example is shown herein as Appendix A.

In order to properly apply my method, I developed a historic study span, which basically chose itself as the recognized settlement date of 1887 for its beginning, and 1946 for its end. Within this span, I noticed distinct periods that culminated with an event or a remarkable circumstance, in some cases what I referred to as a critical juncture. This analysis allowed me to define three distinct “form periods” indicated in bold, below. To be more thorough, and contextually accurate, I included two additional form periods and the critical juncture of a storm surge from 1921, as follows:

- Prior to 1887: Presettlement
- **1887-1897: Settlement Form Period**

- **1898-1921: Contextual Growth Form Period**
 - 1921: Diminution of Form Event
- **1921-1946: Contextual Recovery Form Period.**
 - 1947-2013: Twenty-First Century Form

I was initially interested in the water/land interstice where I found the most highly contextual form indicators. This area represented a “waterfront conglomeration” that is similarly found in many commercial fishing waterfronts throughout Florida and the U.S. I created a graphic pictorial of the Cortez waterfront conglomeration according to each form period in order to evaluate overall form, which spoke more to a visual analysis comparison, but that also led me to the extended vernacular artifacts. These pictorials are found in the overview analyses for each form period in my study

Therefore, based on my initial research, studies of the waterfront conglomeration, distinct time periods and critical junctures, and context, I developed 11 initial “contextual indicators” within three main sets of the “village layout,” “building mosaic,” and “extended vernacular.” Later, the third set of the extended vernacular was broken down into two subsets of the physical and intangible indicators. This extended vernacular set becomes a less random choice for evaluating vernacular indicators, and aligns with Rapoport (1986) who later reconsidered these form types from his earlier studies. Now, I had a total of 14 contextual indicators for proceeding with my study analyses.

I arranged these sets using a basic, hand-drawn graphic in order to determine if I could evaluate physical changes to their forms in a comparative manner, as well as, get clues about any determinants. This resulted in the “graphic tile sets” for each landscape form period. This basic graphic tool was not meant to be a high standard of artistic

representation, but rather a means for visually assessing contextual forms. The three main sets and the 14 individual contextual indicators are expressed as follows:

Village Layout Set

Boundary, Parcel Configuration, Circulation Pattern

Building Mosaic Set

Residential, Non-Residential, Fisheries Contextual

Extended Vernacular Set

Physical Subset: Fisheries Camps, Net Works, Dock Systems, Nets, Watercraft

Intangible Subset: Fishing Grounds, Act of Fishing, Elapsed Experiential

By looking at the same information sets for the different periods, I determined that I could recognize changes whether through shapes, size, additions, or subtractions to the overall and individual vernacular forms. Based on any changes, I could then perform additional research of them through a “thicker analysis,” so that I could improve my understanding of why and how a change might have occurred. I revealed a couple of important revelations from this initial analysis.

First, I confirmed that certain elements of the landscape remained fairly stable, while others had not. Stability of course, has varying degrees, to which I am not going to discuss here, but Heath (2009) suggested a more stable vernacular occurring that can become entrenched. My interpretation of Heath’s consideration is that long-standing cultural reflection creates a form that has undergone a cultural weathering on the landscape.

Second, I noticed that another form of the landscape existed that was not completely physical. It was both less and more than physical, or for lack of a better term

at this point, “intangible.” This is due to the high amount of references to the fishing grounds, the act of fishing, and the memory of how things were previously regarding fishing methods, fishing values and ethics, familial generations, etc. The latter form involving memory associations is termed by me as an elapsed experiential, as referenced earlier.

Attempting to understand the physical cultural landscape by looking at what can be seen visually and then describing is only a partial effort toward the understanding of it. The personalized nature of it calls for, but constrains a thicker understanding of what is being described. Other questions emerge from the basic perception. A fisheries camp may be described as being square, isolated, and flimsy, but why does it appear in those ways? Why is it used in a particular way?

As a historian, my first view of a landscape begins with finding cues or clues in its physicality. The deeper, thicker understanding then unfolds per my willingness or desire to lay it out as part of my study. The seemingly less than visual construct then opens up as more appropriately one of being intangible, instead. The historic landscape often includes an assortment of these types of constructs that have become hidden, have disappeared, or are now part of a human-endeavored construct formulated through memory, cognition, and perception.

Now, this intangible construct is itself fraught with distraction and peril when linking it to the landscape form. It can be read as being less than physical, or even more than physical, depending on the construct. For example, the memory of one generation’s work ethic may be completely diminished and reflected upon by a subsequent generation that may still view it as part of the cultural flux, even though it is

no longer fully present by all in the group, such as, e.g., long working hours, ethical behavior, or not steering watercraft between areas that are being fished. These are constructs of form on the landscape that are held within the fishers' mind mostly, but with a loose, undefinable physical aspect. In contrast, the fishing grounds could be physically defined by an area measurement, e.g., as an entire bay, or a section of river between two points. However, the meaning of the fishing grounds might extend beyond these physical aspects, and become special or even sacred to certain fishers, whereby their physicality now becomes more than just physical.

The sense of a place, or the ability of a place to conjure personal emotions and images more esoteric in nature than not, is an intangible form that is directly linked to a physical setting. In the case of place, the physical form could be real or imagined, or have elements of both. Similar to the cultural landscape, Cannavo (2007) defined place as something that is a human construct of various human and natural interactions that is not static and is always changing. Place can also be a process in how it comes to the mind as a derivation of experience and consideration. However, Cannavo also noted that like the vernacular construct that becomes entrenched (Heath), or the village layout that has more permanence than a building (M. P. Conzen, 2001), place could exhibit degrees of stability.

During an interview, a third generation Cortez fisher was revealing a sense of place long lost, similar to what I refer to in subsequent chapters as an elapsed experiential, when he opined about modern Cortez where the watercraft and docks loaded with fish, the fishers with their lunch buckets on the way to the docks, and even nets hanging a yard had mostly disappeared (Jepson & Florida Humanities Council

citing Blue Fulford, 2006). In this case, a place became less of a place to some, losing its sheen of personalized identity and character. Because of the connection to the water, the relative quaintness of the village setting set apart from the adjacent highway, and the activities reminiscent of maritime culture, it is not difficult that Cortez extols a sense of place to any number of individuals and groups. The keen definition of the images and feelings it evokes among them, however, is less clear.

Pursuant to my research, Walter (1988) discussed new ways for looking at how places derive and change, as well as, how their meanings and significance could be explained. However, the challenge of visually documenting a sense of place is daunting and not addressed by Walter.

Some aspects or forms of the landscape are physical, non-physical, and intangible at the same time. While it exemplifies a particular setting that is typically constant or fixed, it becomes more physical than other settings that may change, be in a state of constant flux, or move constantly. Of course, this is not dependent on any absolute theory or formula, and certainly, the constantly fluxing landscape renders myriad cognitive nets that capture sense of place too. The notion of the intangible is used herein as a convenience in exploring the possibilities of looking at contextual vernacular landscapes and certain forms within these landscapes that have the essence of physicality yet are not necessarily fixed. The landscape is never a simple, solid, universal scene. Its inherent mixture of physical and intangible elements leans more toward a place set up by the mind, but with a reference to a place, or an act, or a physical structure.

For example, the act of fishing is an intangible form in the contextual vernacular landscape of Cortez. It is a physical activity that includes manual dexterity and stamina, to be sure. Yet, it is incomplete without its direct link to components operated by the human mind, such as learned knowledge and experience. Since the act of fishing is really more of a process, no single image frame really captures its complete form. The same could be said for nearly everything that has form, of course. The intangible manifestation is really my narrowing down of Eckbo's (1967) four forms of the landscape, which he described as physical, social, economic, and cultural.

Admittedly, and as indicated earlier in my study, this concept of being somehow intangible lacks preciseness, and may cause confusion, since its elements can be considered as physical acts or structures that are then created or then applied within the human cognitive sense or cultural mindset somehow.

Findings

The historic vernacular landscape in Cortez revealed distinct changes between the three form periods studied. The period from 1947 to 2013 reveal the most significant changes, however, my study focused mostly on the historic vernacular, so that I could determine what was missing from the present construct, and therefore, understand integrity and significance as is typically done under historic preservation programming. Generally, I found that the form of the landscape may be more contextual, and perhaps even more significant when extant, as it rolls outward from the dwelling area to the waterfront conglomeration where the most highly contextual constructs are often more dense. As explained already, I found as part of my early research that the historic landscape form also included intangible forms that were expressed across the

landscape. Figure 5-1 is a tabular tool that provides a clear comparison of the contextual form indicators between form periods.

More specifically, I found that when reviewing the historic study span in its entirety:

- All but three of the 14 indicators changed or remained stable similarly across the spectrum. Eight changed significantly across all form periods, while three remained fairly stable. The following specifics are notable:
 - The non-residential construct did not reflect a significant change by the end of the contextual recovery form period (1946), whereas, it did for the earlier two periods (1897 and 1921). In this case, the physical forms of the indicator achieved some stability during the last period, while changes in traditional vernacular shapes and locations, were modified by the introduction of new ones as part of earlier growth and expansion.
 - The fisheries camp structures changed significantly for the later period, but did not do so for the earlier periods, partly due to the changes in land ownership, waterfront control, and the 1921 storm that destroyed all of them.
 - The third remarkable indicator difference was in how the net works changed during the settlement period from its pre-settlement period, but did not change during the later periods.
- The indicators that were the most changing were all of the intangible indicators. It seems then, that the intangible constructs attributable to the contextual vernacular landscape form are the least stable, changing to at least some significant degree consistently over time. While the village layout indicators also

changed across all historic study span periods, the changes appeared to be more circumstantial and influenced by outsiders rather than inherent to the traditional fishing culture.

The findings of my study also revealed two types of landscape observances that underscore my study focus:

- The first includes the practical evaluations of the changing character effected in Cortez over time, and how the integrity and significance of Cortez was affected. Based on the determinations of landscape form change that revealed themselves through the indicators in Chapter 4, a secondary observance is also noticeable.
- Landscape form change determinants can be used as clues for understanding influential cultural fluxes across the narrower spectrum of contextual forms. Contextual forms are narrow since they feed into the context of the study program more pertinently than those that reflect wider, mainstream adaptations or inculcations, such as dwellings. However, the wider influence sometimes establishes itself into the local culture either as a continued, unaffected form, or as one manifested in ways according to the localized needs, such as nets and watercraft.

Form change in the vernacular landscape of Cortez

Overall, the vernacular landscape of Cortez changed significantly from its settlement form period (1887-1897) to the end of its contextual recovery form period (1946)--a span of roughly 60 years. The most obvious physical change in Cortez has been its waterfront conglomeration as the contextual hotspot. While the 2013 Cortez village remnant is still characterized as being fishing-related, the second iteration (after

1921) of the vernacular construct of docks and interconnected wooden fisheries camps, fisheries houses, and net spreads that were still in place by 1946 are no longer extant.

What occurred between these periods in Cortez was a continually evolving landscape form that embraced both temporary and permanent physical constructs. Some forms were purposefully temporary, while others were noticeably permanent. In spite of advancing technologies, some highly contextual forms, such as nets and docks generally appeared to change less frequently than those that were not as highly contextual. This suggests a persistent retention of certain very basic forms as part of culture and tradition but that are indeed universal; it is perhaps these forms, like others in the world of vernacular constructs that are inherently human or cultural that appear without the benefit of geographical diffusion or transference.

Geographical isolation of a community aids in a modicum of stabilization of the vernacular landscape sometimes, but other factors often converge or align to speed up the process of change to important contextual forms. In 2013, there is confusion regarding the appearance of Cortez as either being an unchanged fishing village or one that has been seriously diminished from the often typical effects of over-commercialization, over-development, dilution through non-fisher investments, and general loss of historic fabric. While much of the historic fabric was lost during the historic study span, those losses were actually part of the traditional fishing complex and cultural flux that made due according to the constantly occurring influences.

Perhaps the most pressing inquiry that remains fully unanswered is how to consider the effects from the 1921 storm that completely destroyed the waterfront vernacular construct. When considering what was along and over the water just prior to

the storm, which may have represented a peak vernacular, such rampant destruction created a de facto new period of significance beginning in 1921 for much of its contextually historic landscape form. So the significance of the village construct here was now lost, erased, and a *tabula rasa* effect newly created. Because a natural event caused the destruction of the form, was it changed by human decision-making as a determinant who might have built better structures, or was impermanence simply part of the culture, and eventual change part of the landscape form? Elimination of form does not necessarily equate to change, or does it?

The human construct, or much of it destroyed by the storm revealed little physically, yet did retain some forms in memory of the physical, and in in the intangible resilience of the village. Certainly, the landscape silhouette of form became different after rebuilding since a new footprint appeared to replace the old, yet similar, but not identical forms were constructed. The history of Cortez, in tune with its fisheries contextual landscape and original kinship base, evokes a sense of place in many people, insiders and outsiders alike.

Integrity and significance

The changed character of the historic vernacular landscape in Cortez is therefore, an affected landscape revealed through an examination of its contextual indicators over time. For the purposes of my study, significance relies on integrity as a construct's importance to the historic vernacular landscape, whether through its contextual contribution or as a character-defining whole. Age and extancy matter to some degree. Additional findings reveal the following:

- Cortez is much different in 2013 than it appeared in 1897, 1921 and 1946.

- In spite of a loss of integrity and significance, early kinship cultural build-up in the village setting tied to commercial fishing allowed it to remain more stable for a time than its regional counterparts. Key West, Punta Gorda, Apalachicola, and the Cedar Keys (as it was known historically) were at different times significant fishing villages, yet were overlapped with other industries that were even more pronounced, causing their historic fishing enterprises to become opaque in the wider scheme of their histories.
- The integrity of Cortez' village layout and setting in 2013 is still historically significant with the exception of its waterfront area, which changed significantly after 1921, and again after 1946. Intrusions have of course, decreased the historic significance.
- The residential layout and street pattern are mostly intact from the historic study span.
- The residential building mosaic presents a significant collection of vernacular buildings from the historic study span, but not in a highly contextual manner.
- In 2013, the non-residential and fisheries contextual constructs are simply too diminished, or have been removed from their original locations to sustain their former integrity, which renders them as a fairly empty set for positive consideration.
- The historic physical extended vernacular constructs are also a virtual empty set by 2013. There are simply no sufficient instances of fisheries camps, net works, docks, nets, or watercraft from 1946 or earlier, except what has been artificially preserved for interpretation.

- The integrity of the fishing grounds was affected with a reduction of the water column that began during the 1920s; however, it is the intangible aspect of this indicator that is mostly affected and changed.
- The act of fishing is revealed as a mixed set of integrity and significance. The basic act of fishing, for mullet in the case of historic Cortez, is no longer performed commercially to any major extent. In fact, the act had already been in a state of change by 1921. So, the end result is that the changing character of the commercial act of fishing in Cortez was stable until about 1921, and then began to change in such a way by 1946 that its integrity was fairly diminished though still somewhat extant.
- The experiential of those living in Cortez historically was a constantly changing form revealed through a continued sense of loss and a changing cultural flux. These were often based on the two factors of a declining kinship tradition and dynamics that saw a diminution of the learned methods that failed to follow with each subsequent generation.
- There is a continued sense of place for many living in and visiting Cortez today, which should be studied further, especially as a 20-year follow up to the 1995 Florida Net Ban.
- During its historic study span, however, several threats and actual intrusions stand out early on, whereby they became historic activities themselves, and are inclusive of
 - the 1890s development of the western shoreline as part of D. S. Fulford's enterprises;

- the 1909 development plat abutting the eastern boundary of the historic study area by the Georgia-Florida Land Company;
- the early 1930s trailer park development, again on D. S. Fulford's western waterfront property;
- the more pronounced intrusions and encroachments occurring after 1946; and
- the changing corporate structure that began with outsiders and changed to insider development.

Determinants of vernacular landscape form change by study period

There are four major determinants of landscape form change based on the findings of my study. These include

- technology;
- encroachment;
- historic precedents; and
- individual decision-making.

Technology

Garrity-Blake (1994) discussed the most dramatic change to traditional fishing as occurring due to the advanced technologies related to production after World War II.

Robert Thayer (1994) saw technology as displacing human interaction with the landscape. My findings reveal a more historic occurrence of technology that had been slowly but steadily shifting from a long-standing traditional fishing enterprise in the U.S., most dramatically from the late nineteenth century.

It is easy to suggest that technology serves as the quintessential landscape form changer since the incorporation of it almost always translated into a distinctly new form, or the disappearance of another form. However, technological advances were often only slowly incorporated into the landscape. This is evidenced in Cortez, for example, with the arrival of the gasoline powered motor around 1905 or so. While it was embraced by some early on, the persistence of sail usage dragged on into the 1920s and 1930s. In this case, it seems that the technology of motorization did not change the form as much as the ability of the fisher to afford it. It is clear that the form by 1946 was changed with the reduction of sail. Sail is still part of landscape as of 2013, not as part of fishing, but as part of recreational use. It is clear that this landscape form by 1946 was changed with the reduction of sail.

The earlier advance of steam as a technological advance, however, did not seem to significantly affect the landscape form, especially in the long term, though there was a distinction of the form indicator that added to the consideration of the landscape form as a consideration for change and effect. It was a transitional effect that resulted in significant physical changes of the watercraft, of course, but also regarding non-residential constructs and infrastructure additions at some working waterfronts.

The marketing of fish hauls changed some local form, but not in Cortez, except for this addition of the steam watercraft as a form, and the strengthening of one dock to accommodate it. The occurrence of the steamship form as a watercraft created an initial form that was different, but it was short-lived and perhaps restricted to corporate interests rather than individual fishers. Overall, technology had a significant influence on landscape form in most lived-in places. Its effect on some cultural constructs must be

measured according to its transition into the culture being studied. Overall, technology had a significant influence on landscape form in most lived-in places. Its effect on some cultural constructs must be measured according to its transition into the culture being studied

Encroachment

I lump together elements of transportation and encroachment. In reality, it becomes a subset of the technology discussion, above, proving somewhat the pervasive effect from technological advances. While land development was never dependent on the automobile, it is no academic secret that transportation advancements since the turn of the twentieth century have influenced and changed the layout of our lived-in environments and the erected forms we place in them.

The very first streets in Cortez were “designed” into the first subdivision of the lands there by 1887 for use by surreys and wagons. They would easily accommodate automobiles later. It is the arrival of intense land development schemes in the vicinity that fostered changes in Cortez. In fact, while the original street pattern circulation in Cortez is still extant, though expanded by 2013, other street patterns were added and altered in nearly all of the surrounding lands of the peninsula. The bridge to Anna Maria Island, which touches Cortez’ northwest corner brought additional lands development and encroachment that required crossing of the fishing grounds with permanent infrastructure. The isolation of Cortez was much reduced by this newly added infrastructure. The improvement of roadways, including the highway that touched Cortez’ northern boundary, were a result of land development schemes.

While planned developments came and went, depending on the economic condition of the time, the permanence of Cortez' layout remained unaffected. Certainly it too became increasingly developed through internal subdivisions over time, resulting in a significant change of the form indicator, yet this was mostly based on the kinship orientation, and as part of fisher-oriented living. Encroachment would later define itself upon the Cortez landscape form as part of a social and political imprint that often had little to do with the purposeful decisions of the fishers or their inherent cultural confine. The influence as a determinant of form change was tangible, yet mostly hidden in its intangible form as part of an outsider agenda that looked to restrict the fisher and his activities as part of newly formed investment backed expectations and alternative recreational pursuits that did not seem to align with the realities of commercial fishing and the working waterfront it required and was steeped in historically. However, most of the encroachment determinants would not be noticed until much later, well after the end of my historic study span.

Yet, there is one part of the encroachment effect, if it is to be considered a determinant of form that must be discussed. This is the apparent and early encroachment or manifestation of the western waterfront as a recreational land use since settlement. While fishing was accomplished from the large property since its initial purchase in 1887, and then again as a repurchase in 1889, it is the latter year that saw its development into business that was not oriented to commercial fish harvesting. While the early establishment of the Albion Inn set another early precedent with its retail orientation, it at least became part of the commercial fishing enterprise. What made the

western waterfront different is its chain of use from that of a couple individual fishers, to a hotel complex, to vacant, to trailer park as its final incarnation.

The obvious impact, or effect, is that early encroachment as a form determinant on the land is part of its settlement history. Such an early form on the landscape then cannot really be considered encroachment. After all, who is to say that the 13 original parcels that made up Cortez had to orient to fishing? While most of the first settlers were indeed fishers, including the owner of the western waterfront parcel, the incorporation of the property for recreation purposes becomes part of Cortez' inherent and characteristic history, without having to regard the issue of encroachment in 1935 by the trailer park. This is another instance of individual decision-making, a hardly controllable influence as part of a collective that trumps other determinants.

There can be no doubt that one of the earliest and most important changes on the vernacular form in Cortez was the addition of this over three-acre trailer park at its western shore. The advance of the personal automobile and the sheer numbers of the new ownership, which began even before the economic upswing following World War II, was already changing the layouts of towns and villages, albeit on a temporary basis for its use, but on a more permanent basis of form for the lands it would continue to occupy and mold. With the advent of the automobile, this became a national trend as part of something referred to as the "tin can tourist" (Schofield, 1975). According to Schofield, thousands of these trailer-pulling adventure seekers continually came to Manatee County during the 1930s. The availability of moving temporary households in such an efficient manner gave rise to its import in Cortez, especially on lands that were already less used for commercial fishing than for soliciting tourism, as the early hotels of

Sanders Fulford attest. The slightly thicker descriptive analysis of this impact reveals that Bradenton, by 1936, was on its way to becoming home to the world's largest mobile home park.

From a historic standpoint, the practitioner cannot reasonably separate the western shore from the historic character attributable to a stricter sense of commercial fishing. In other words, one cannot pick and choose which individual parts do or do not belong in the original historic landscape, even though they may be different in context, form, or usage. This is in spite of debating the obvious form differences between a vernacular hotel construct and a trailer park. What basically matters here, is that encroachment has had a significant effect on the Cortez landscape form in mostly intangible ways, but is not an easily attributable determinant for what appears at first blush, to be the most significant departure from traditional fishing constructs in Cortez.

Influence of major historical events on landscape form in Cortez

Several events affected the form of the vernacular landscape in Cortez. Notwithstanding technological innovations that were quite influential, over the course of the historic study span, Cortez also experienced epidemics, the impacts from major wars, economic depressions, and land booms. These wider affectations do not account for the more localized effects such as the hazards of the commercial fishing occupation and occasions of death from fishing, destructive fires, tornadoes, or schisms among individuals and groups.

The inquiry stands as to the effect or effects any single one of these events had on the vernacular landscape form of the fishing village constructs. For example, the death of a fisher may have resulted in a parcel of land being sold and never fully

developed, such as with L. F. Kelley in the 1890s. In this case the parcel of land appeared to claim one half of what would become the Cortez Road bridge approach. The occasions of two world wars in Cortez did not appear to have direct effects on Cortez, except in slowing things down in the village, fostering a stability of sorts. The same seemed to hold true for economic downturns. There did not appear to be any significant and direct effects on the indicator sets, rather, they seemed to freeze in time. This is unusual since some of the largest mullet catches occurred during World War II, when fishing had been at a lull, and many fishers were overseas. It certainly can be said that wartime periods slowed the evolution of the Cortez vernacular form, while post-wartime periods often saw the introduction of new technologies such as the uses of aluminum and synthetics.

Revisiting the influence again, perhaps the most noticeable and direct effect upon the vernacular landscape points to the 1921 hurricane and storm surge. This event, which helped to define a collective memory regarding time in Cortez, resulted in the nearly complete loss of physical fabric at the waterfront, destroying most of the contextual character. Rather than occurring slowly over time, this rapid change, i.e., the destruction of the waterfront construct, which had evolved over a 30-year period, occurred in a matter of a few hours. There just does not seem to be any other precedent in Cortez' history that can match the measurable effect of that type of change.

Yet, waterfront areas have historically been destroyed by such events, creating an expectation of inevitability or fatalistic design on behalf of the fisher. The effect in this case becomes one of a partial impermanence to the overall village construct, reflected in a minimum investment into the construct, even though they were extremely important

to the fisher. It can be said that this impermanence was a distinct part of the form of the TFV, but it did not really reveal a distinction of form unless the resolution of looking at the form was tightened to a craftsmanship scale. This increased resolution, commented on by Kropf (1993) earlier, veers away from viewing the landscape form, but does suggest good material for later study.

It must be noted that I am not suggesting that environmental determinism is part of the TFV culture for dealing with storm surge. In fact, the lack of a distinguishable anti-storm form complex across the Cortez vernacular landscape seems to support the opposite in this regard of syncretic behavior. If a predominance, or village system was constructed as part of some “localized response” to historical events, as Heath (2006/2007) suggested was an inherent part of the vernacular, then it might more aptly apply here.

Individual decision-making

Richard Muir (1999) wrote that just as landscapes are interpreted according to varied perceptions and perspectives they can also be created by them. Individual decisions placed upon the landscape appear as the strongest determinants of vernacular form change in Cortez during my historic study span. To be sure, there are many insulated cultures where the landscape does indeed form as part of a collective; however, the Cortez vernacular landscape did not appear to be one of them. What seems to have resulted was a localized response that was more resilient than adaptive. While a collective organization that resulted in common forms of fishing and certain built constructs, including gear and equipment may have started initially, it was short-lived and not necessarily found as part of the later evolving history. Individual freedom and

decision-making seemed to go together as a localized value. Vernacular forms resulted from individual decisions, carried out in response to a fisher's skill set, determination, temperament, economic resources, and values, among other things.

Commercial fishing, though a passion for many, was always a speculative process guided by the abundance of nature, weather, economic conditions, and other factors. This resulted in the impermanent character of the waterfront conglomeration and fishing as a trade, though subsistence as a fallback was a value-added benefit. . The record reveals several instances of more permanence added to this same construct by those who were non-fishers (e.g., the Brattons' retail and Millard Brown retail). The fishers could afford a flexibility of the buildings over the water, whereas, they became more fixed over time in the uplands. Though the overall forms were similar, i.e., gable roofs, single and two stories, shed additions, etc., there were distinctions represented by individual decisions that mimicked other available forms, rather than copying based on a localized vernacular agreement. In Cortez, there just did not seem to be strong localized vernacular occurring after the settlement period.

Across the spectrum of vernacular form indicator sets, there is no distinctly Cortezian commonality of any one indicator, except for early spritsail watercraft that most likely transferred from the Atlantic Coast earlier than the settlers. Of course, the gill net fishing technique was a common act among the fishers, but certainly not exclusive to Cortez, and certainly not restricted as the only method by the collective there. At the resolution of my study, the basic construction principles in Cortez do not reveal anything about the culture, except that there was an olio of residential constructs that changed between periods. One examination does lead to the form of the net spread as one of the

most contextualized constructs along the waterfront that was highly common, and highly distinguishable as a common form.

As part of the net works, the net spread was a basic construct, growing larger as a mosaic over time. This may have resulted in a combination of individual decision-making and a collective organization that responded to placement in the open water areas. There must have been agreements regarding keeping certain channels clear, and implied or discussed considerations for building the constructs next to others already in place by other fishers. This collective helped to establish the basic form that spread across the water, and was common to other TFVs.

However, though the basic construct of very impermanent vertical pilings and wood planks defined the collective form, it was the individual fisher or group of fishers, guided by individualized decisions based on the factors mentioned previously, that caused it to happen. The form was not preplanned, or pre-designed by the larger group; instead, it accreted over time by individuals as they were able to build upon those already in place. The addition of superstructures to this form such as net reels or camps, were also individual decisions that came about from the same factors. In this case, the technology of the time certainly influenced the forms of the net spread and the watercraft. However, it was through individual decision-making that included choice and preference, modified by what Rapoport (1986) described as an overall blueprint established by the wider culture, then controlled by what was “in their heads and within the constraints of their situation” that they presented themselves onto the vernacular landscape (p. 162), which, of course, bolsters my argument for the importance of individual decision-making.

Conclusion and Future Research

There are many examples of vernacular form additions, subtractions, and changes in the historic landscape of Cortez. Not all of these can be managed easily under a single study, since the sheer number of them also reflects variations of degree and resolution. The question of landscape form determinants was not easily answered because of the broad character of and seemingly limitless types of form that establish the landscape construct overall. The results of my study, while certainly not complete, do reveal certain determinants of vernacular form change, but also open up discussions about how the forms changed over periods of time so that a better understanding of their historicity, and/or significance from a historic preservation viewpoint is better articulated.

The most dramatic changes to the process of commercial fishing did happen to come to fruition during my historic study span of 1887 to 1946, which also represented a significant shift in the stability of the industry and the historic enclaves that were created during the transition. But these changes did not necessarily affect Cortez immediately or completely. By the end of 1946, the prospects for revolutionary change in commercial fishing had been taking place in Cortez for over 50 years, and are perhaps comparable to “Kuhnian” paradigm shifts.

The first paradigm shift occurred with the development of steam power during the eighteenth century. It represented a significant change to how fish products were transported and the condition of them regarding quality and freshness.

The next paradigm shift involves the development of artificial ice making. This resulted in extensions of commerce, as predicted by John Gorrie in 1844 (Becker, 1972). However, while ice manufacturing began to be developed in several villages

during the 1880s, including nearby Palma Sola, its establishment in the distant village of Cortez took longer. Even when the ice-making infrastructure became part of the physical form, it had little impact on the vernacular landscape form from a significance standpoint.

The third paradigm shift occurred as fuel power replaced the long-standing form of sail power. It is easy to argue that the form of the sail mechanism, as geometric shapes dotting the open water and fishing grounds, has now become extinct as a commercial fishing form in Cortez. The significance of the new motorized form is debatable, but at first blush, appears rather formless in comparison. The dominating character of the sail rig, the space it utilized, and the human interaction it required seems to have represented fuller physical and intangible forms on the landscape. The motorized vessel retains a similar basic hull shape as the sail rig, but its power source is more compact, eliminating the expansive area above the boat itself. This sameness may contribute to the feeling of formlessness, though the new forms created from motorized vessels may actually reveal a long and wide string of forms both physical and intangible that reflect the new paradigm's natural source issues (oil exploration and recovery), storage (large tanks and filling stations), economics (trucking and market reach), and of course ethics (pollution and extraction).

A fourth paradigm shift occurred that really began after the end of my study period is marked by the change from fiber net materials to synthetics that, in turn, caused a landscape-wide form change. While fishing nets, no matter what they are made of, require ongoing maintenance, the natural fibers of the long established fishing net materials required daily treatments and drying to slow down their decay. Of course,

net mending was part of this maintenance, but the mending of nets did not represent any significant change, and did not alter the visual landscape in the way the materials did. For example, a dominant feature of the early vernacular TFV landscape was the elimination of large net works that included net spreads, net reels, and the docks that connected them. The constant attention to nets, and the net works to which they were often related, established a distinctly large and characteristic form across the landscape, perhaps equal to or greater than the watercraft with its forms of hull and sail. However, fishing in the vernacular during the historic study periods required the use and individual ownership of the net as the first tool of the fisher, more so than the watercraft.

In the final analysis, my study reflects my own point of view and preferences for looking at form in the historic vernacular landscape based on my perceptions of it, as guided by how it has been considered in the past, and from the available knowledge dedicated to it to date. I am simply adding another brick to this structure of knowledge.

However, as an initial foray into a sparsely researched subject matter set, it sets the stage for further enquiry into other areas. These include

- applying my method to landscapes different than Corte;
- bettering the understanding of the usefulness of context in delivering useful information about landscapes and in making the landscape artifact more manageable by using different form indicators that cut the enormity of the human forms that render it;
- providing the necessary linkage between vernacular architecture and an evolving heritage focus as part of redevelopment and revitalization of neighborhoods and business districts; and

- learning from what historic vernacular constructs can teach us about contemporary challenges. Robert Thayer (1994) asked whether humans would ever revert to simplistic lifestyles, or will we have to constantly tread new water. After hurricane Katrina in 2005, and despite authenticity issues, New Orleans now sees re-establishment of its vernacular heritage as a “foundation for recovery” in many abandoned neighborhoods (Edwards, 2009). Certainly, there is plenty of room here for future study of how vernacular fits into societal response and recovery efforts just beginning to be revealed.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Larry Paul Frey received his Master of Arts in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Florida in 1996. He holds certifications from the American Institute of Certified Planners and the Association of State Floodplain Managers, and has contributed to several land use planning and development teams throughout Florida, Michigan, Vermont, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, and South Carolina with a focus on historic preservation, coastal zone management, economic development, environmental review, and brownfields redevelopment. Since 2005, Mr. Frey has focused specifically on historic and cultural resource management, and has developed an expertise in floodplain management and the effects of sea level rise and other disasters on historic resources. He served as a historic preservation consultant to post-disaster recovery teams in New Orleans, Louisiana and Galveston, Texas, and received the Interdisciplinary Concentration and Certificate in Historic Preservation from the University of Florida. In 2013, he was selected as the Preservation Intern for Frank Lloyd Wright's architectural masterpiece Fallingwater at Mill Run, Pennsylvania, and currently works under a special, temporary appointment as a Historian for the U.S. National Park Service in Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park.