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The Creation of the American Playground Movement by Reform Women, 1885-1930: A Feminist Analysis of Materialized Ideological Transformations in Gender Identities and Power Dynamics

By Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood¹ and Renée M. Blackburn²

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR:

Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood

Address: 2955 Heidelberg Ct., Rochester Hills, MI 48309-2302

Phone: 248-375-3036

Email: spencerw@oakland.edu

(for proof review)

2nd author

Renee Blackburn

MIT

77 Massachusetts Ave.

E51-163

Cambridge, MA 02139

Email: rblack@mit.edu

Suggested Running Head: Creation of the American Playground Movement, 1885-1930: A Feminist Analysis

¹Department of Sociology, Anthropology, Social Work and Criminal Justice, Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan; and Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

² History, Anthropology, and Science, Technology and Society Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Abstract

Feminist research rediscovers the full scope of leadership by reform women and their organizations in initiating the American playground movement by creating playgrounds across the country. The multiple meanings of play and playground landscapes developed from interrelated ideological conceptions of motherhood and childhood that evolved over 200 years. Traditional domestic feminine identity was masculinized to authorize women to create public-sphere playgrounds. Team games merged feminine and masculine values to create new intersectional identities by teaching boys a feminized masculinity and girls a masculinized femininity. Reconnaissance surveys of historic playgrounds in Boston and Detroit found that playgrounds declined after 1950.

Keywords: playgrounds, childhood, public cooperative mothering, gender ideology

Why research the American playground movement?

Feminist research on the American playground movement is needed to correct histories that androcentrically focus on men's important contributions and leadership of the playground movement while overlooking or downplaying women's leadership roles and important contributions (cf Rainwater 1922 versus Cavallo 1981, pp. 23, 29-30, 125; Frost 2010, pp. 94-97, 103; Macleod 1998, p. 66). The playground movement initially developed among reform women and their organizations, which created playgrounds across America (Rainwater 1922). The playground movement provides timeless lessons in ideologies and methods developed by subordinated middle-class reform women to become social agents in creating cultural change. Middle-class reform women did not initiate the playground movement in America out of thin air. Nor was it natural or inevitable, as it may seem to us now, that mothers would initiate the playground movement in America in 1885 (Rainwater 1922, p. 22).

The playground movement initiated by reform women created new kinds of cultural landscapes that expressed transformations in the hegemonic ideologies that culturally conceptualized motherhood and childhood. Women were authorized to create public playgrounds and initiate a national public playground movement by 200 years of cultural evolution in the dominant Western gender ideology, including transformations in gender ideals, identities, power

dynamics, and practices. Traditional gender distinctions and power dynamics between dominant public masculinity and subordinate private domestic femininity were inverted and subverted in some ways through the transformative social agency of women and their male allies, including Enlightenment philosophers, Protestant ministers since the late seventeenth century, and government officials in the nineteenth century (Cott 1977, pp.46,84-89; Spencer-Wood 2013, p.179).

Before women could be culturally authorized to create public playgrounds, mothers first had to be recognized as the innately morally superior child-rearers. Women came to be associated with Christian values of love, piety, higher morality, fairness and cooperation as women became 75% of church congregations by 1690. Ministers further transformed the belief that the pain in childbirth was punishment for Eve's original sin, into the belief that it was a blessing that made women more pious and moral than men. Mothers were legitimated by John Locke (1693) and by ministers as the superior moral child-rearers who shaped the character of children for life, inverting and subverting the 17th-century and earlier patriarchal belief that fathers were the morally superior child-rearers. Men left churches due to the conflict between Christian moral values and capitalist values valorizing individual competitiveness and the biblical sins of usury, price gouging, and exploitation of labor. Women came to be considered the moral guardians of their families, communities and, societies (Cott 1977, pp.46,84-89,127-129; Spencer-Wood 2013, pp.179-181).

New gender ideologies valorizing the superior morality of motherhood have been named by historians as the Cult of Republican Motherhood that developed after the American Revolution (Kerber 1976, pp.202-203) and Evangelical moral motherhood that developed in the 1830s Evangelical Protestant revival (Bloch 1978). Starting in the late 19th century the

traditional domestic feminine identity was masculinized in the sense of being transformed by reform women into new “respectable” middle-class female public professions and public cooperative mothering institutions and landscapes, including playgrounds, in what was considered men’s public sphere (Spencer-Wood 2013).

Reformers developed multiple meanings for playgrounds to express new hegemonic conceptions of childhood as a series of developmental stages, expressed in different playground landscapes for young children, and gender-segregated playgrounds separating older boys and men, from older girls and women (Curtis 1915a, pp. 42-43, 60-62; Rainwater 1922). Gender-segregated playgrounds for team games have continued for more than 100 years. Reformers intended group and team games to materially teach children, especially boys, a reformed hegemonic gender ideology that blurred the boundaries between the traditionally opposed binary gender spheres by synergistically combining them in one intersectional ideal gender identity (Gulick 1920, pp. 97-98) that feminized traditional masculinity and masculinized traditional femininity. Most reformers argued that team games taught boys to counterbalance the dominant masculine capitalist values of aggressive, self-centered, individual competition by emphasizing what the hegemonic gender ideology labeled as feminine moral-social values and practices, such as democratic cooperation, fairness in upholding the social order of game rules, and sacrificing individual self-interest for loyalty to the common good of the team as a community. Reformers argued that teaching these feminine republican values in playgrounds was essential for citizens to maintain a democracy against the countervailing forces of men’s laissez-faire capitalism (Cavallo 1981, pp. 3-4, 9-10, 37, 92, 110-114). Play leader Luther Gulick (1920, p. 97) also thought the team game lessons of balanced cooperation and competition would be useful training for girls planning to become professional “new women” working in men’s capitalist economy. It

is quite doubtful that children understood the gendered meanings of playgrounds, although team games are still considered to teach cooperation as a social unit, called teamwork. The materialization of this gender bending and merging in group and team games provides insights into modern sports and some ideas for reforming them to decrease injuries and scandals resulting from excessive competitiveness.

This article traces the material development of the playground movement among reform women and their organizations as they created and spread supervised playgrounds first within Boston, followed by the East Coast, the Midwest and the West Coast. Reform women, followed by men, in many public voluntary organizations and social settlements, first privately created and funded playgrounds and then lobbied successfully in many cities for municipal playgrounds in schoolyards, vacant lots, and parks (Beard 1915, p. 134; Cavallo 1981, pp. 1-2, 24, 111-112). Most progressive reformers lobbied to gain governmental support and adoption of social reforms, including playgrounds. In charitable public cooperative mothering institutions and landscapes, such as playgrounds, kindergartens, day nurseries, and social settlements, reform women demonstrated their ability to act as democratic citizens contributing to the public good, long before gaining suffrage (Spencer-Wood 1994, pp.180, 191).

The historical archaeology of women's reform activities and institutions from the mid-nineteenth century into the early twentieth century has been growing since the 1980s reconnaissance survey of women's domestic reform institutional sites in Boston and Cambridge between 1865 and 1905 (Spencer-Wood 1987, 1991, 1994a, 1996, 1999a, 2002, 2013). Expanding research on domestic reform has included Swedish cooperative laundries (Arwill-Nordbladh 2013), American dress reform (Nickolai 2013, Spencer-Wood 2013 pp. 187-193), playgrounds in Boston (Spencer-Wood 1994b, 2003), kindergartens around San Francisco Bay

(Praetzellis 2013), overseas missions (Middleton 2013), and domestic sites of reform women (Christensen 2013; Rotman 2013; Yentsch 2013). Research has also been conducted on sites of female religious reformers (Nickolai 2003), and the materializations of reform concepts of masculinity and femininity (Kruczek-Aaron 2013). Some research has shown that reform women changed programs in social settlements, missions, kindergartens and playgrounds, in response to reactions by program participants, which were recorded by reformers and are some of the few surviving records of working-class and immigrant voices (Middleton 2013, Praetzellis 2013, Spencer-Wood 1994a,b, 1996, 2002, 2003).

Some recent research has shown how domestic reformers in companies attempted to internally colonize working-class immigrant women to middle-class Anglo-American standards of housekeeping (Camp 2013; Komara 2012). In analogy to colonial exploitation of indigenous groups by an external invader, internal colonialism is a term initially used by Lenin, Gramsci, and their followers to discuss the economic exploitation and social and political exclusion of subordinated groups within a polity through stigmatization and discrimination legitimated by “race,” ethnicity or religion. As in external colonialism, subordinated minorities within polities are pressured through internal colonialism in institutions such as schools, churches, and companies, to adopt the lifeways of the dominant colonizing white social group. Feminists extended the concept of internal colonialism to the economic exploitation of minority women and dominant group pressure to adopt foodways and other domestic practices of dominant white women (Spencer-Wood 2016).

The variety of playground landscapes that proliferated in urban areas starting in the late nineteenth century created new types of archaeological sites. Playgrounds can be defined as cultural landscapes that provide features and equipment facilitating physical activities and games

that are considered forms of play because they are fun and not economically productive. There were different kinds of playgrounds in the development of the playground movement, starting with sand gardens for small children, which included large sand boxes, equipment for playing with sand, and sometimes seesaws, swings, and craft items called “occupation work.” Model playgrounds usually included sand garden equipment and added gymnastics equipment and areas for older children’s games. Park-playgrounds added a greater variety of equipment and athletic fields and tracks for adults as well as teenagers (Rainwater 1922).

Although purposely-constructed playgrounds have not been excavated, a few of Boston’s historic playgrounds have been located and their survival assessed through reconnaissance survey (Spencer-Wood 1994b, 2003). Play artifacts have sometimes been excavated from the yards of domestic sites, school sites, and orphanages. House yard excavations, including those of working-class whites, African-American tenant farmers, and African captives, have sometimes recovered marbles, doll parts and parts of miniature tea sets (Battle-Baptiste 2011, pp. 3-5; Baxter 2005; Brandon 2013, p. 44; De Cunzo 2004, pp. 176, 187, 280-1; Fessler 2004, p. 201; Yamin 2002; Wilkie 2000, pp. 103-4), and occasionally even cast iron toys and musical instruments (Battle-Baptiste 2011 p. 104; De Cunzo 2004, pp. 210, 221, 262, 277, 280-1). Schoolyard excavations have recovered predominantly architectural remains of schools, outbuildings and play structures, but not many toys, probably due to curation and recovery of lost toys by children (Beisaw 2009, pp. 50-64). Play artifacts such as marbles, predominantly used by boys, and jacks, used by girls, occasionally have been excavated in yards of schools (Beisaw 2009, p. 54). At a couple of school sites sewing and clothing paraphernalia associated an activity area and a privy with females, in contrast to boys’ toys and artifacts in another privy (Rotman 2009, pp. 80-82). At the Phoenix Indian School site marbles, dolls and other toys were

excavated, as well as the manufacture of forbidden traditional cultural items in resistance to reformers' attempts to westernize the children (Lindauer 2009 pp. 95-96). Excavations at two New England orphanages found some gender segregation between girls' play near buildings with dolls and miniature tea sets, while boys played further away from buildings with toys such as marbles, toy soldiers, and a pocketknife (Feister 2009, pp. 105-6, 113; Morenon 2003). Although girls also sometimes played with marbles, the fact that they were exclusively associated with boys' toys at these orphanages and schools suggests that the adults who controlled play at these institutions were limiting marbles to boys through gender segregation of toys that reinforced the dominant cultural practice of gender segregation. Marbles (boys and girls), jacks (girls) and dominoes (adults or children) were even excavated from the Boston Common (Pendery 1990), which was historically used by children as a playground (Rainwater 1922, pp. 13-14).

This article researches the cultural significance of women's contributions to the American playground movement as the context for mapping its geographical diffusion across America, followed by a reconnaissance survey of historical playgrounds in Boston and Detroit to determine their location, degree of survival, current condition, and archaeological potential. It may be possible to use the historical gendering of play artifacts to analyze the extent of influence of the reform ideal of a single intersectional gender identity. To what extent are traditional girls' and boys' play artifacts segregated or mixed at play sites? Despite mixed-gender group games organized by adults, gender segregation in toys can be expected because boys would not risk being called sissies by playing with girls' dolls, miniature teaset, jacks, or items used in playing house, hopscotch or jump-rope. Girls seldom played with some boys' toys, particularly military items. But boys and girls both played with marbles (unless gambling was involved, which cultural ideology would lead girls and religious kids to avoid) and girls sometimes had

jackknives used in games such as mumblepeg. Increasingly through time both genders played most games in gender segregated teams, although girls did not play tackle football, wrestling, vaulting, or war (Frost 2010, pp. 97, 107, 147, 153-154, 178). Although playgrounds were slowly opened for girls, many adults did not encourage girls' play due to common concerns about its appropriateness, especially team competition, until the late twentieth century, after Title IX in 1972 required equal opportunity for girls and boys in sports at schools receiving federal funding (Frost 2010, p. 107; Thomas 2011; Verbrugge 1988, pp. 158-159, 187-191).

Although play organizers advocated about a half-acre for young mixed-gender children's playgrounds, with swings, seesaws (aka teeters), teeter ladders (ladders set up like high seesaws that children held onto underneath), sandboxes, a wading pool, and games, older children were predominantly segregated by gender in games and playground areas. Still, much of the play equipment was the same, including basketball, volleyball, and tennis courts and equipment. However, the girls' playground ideally was about a quarter acre with a small track, swings, possibly some gymnastics equipment, a giant stride (a pole topped by a wheel with attached ropes with knots or handles at the end so children could swing around the pole), and an indoor baseball court. In contrast, the boys' playground ideally was an acre, with a giant stride, large outdoor gymnasium, tennis and handball courts, a larger track for boys' longer races, and full size ballfields beyond. The boys' playground ideally included a shop, while the girls' playground ideally included facilities for sewing and cooking because they enjoyed having tea parties, sometimes inviting the boys. Ideally, playgrounds had trees planted around the edges to provide shade, and were fenced to facilitate discipline by preventing children from running in and out of the playground, and preventing rowdy or unruly children from entering and disrupting play for orderly children. In keeping with the gender ideology that women were more fragile and closest

to God's sacred natural world, shade trees were considered more important for women's and children's playgrounds than for boys' and men's playgrounds (DeGroot 1914, pp. 274-275). It was most important for the small children's and girls' playground to have many shade trees and be surrounded by a high solid hedge or fence to provide privacy for girls wearing skirts while using swings, seesaws, the giant stride, and other equipment (Curtis 1915a, pp. 42-43, 60-62; Curtis 1915b, pp. 131-132; Curtis 1917, p. 64).

The historical archaeology of playground landscapes, features and equipment can research the extent to which ideals of age and gender segregation were actually implemented through time. Although since 1972 Title IX has legally required schools receiving federal funds to provide equal facilities for girls and boys sports, girls continue to suffer from discriminations such as being scheduled to play in the off season and at off times for attendance, and counts of female team members have been falsified to create the appearance of equality (Thomas 2011).

Goals and Purposes of Playground Organizers

Several feminist research questions are important to address so this article can shed light on the ways gender, class, race and ethnicity intersected with the playground movement. First, what were the purposes of the playground movement initiated by middle-class reform women, and why was this important? Reform women and men were not a monolithic group, but created playgrounds and the playground movement for many different reasons. Most often they first created privately funded playgrounds in vacant lots in congested city neighborhoods where poor, primarily immigrant, children were deprived of legal places to play, in contrast to rural and wealthy children (Frost 2010, p. 95). Reform women's earliest playgrounds (sand gardens) were created in poor working-class immigrant neighborhoods in Boston, Providence, New York,

Philadelphia and Baltimore (Figure 1; Rainwater 1922, p. 54). However, in Detroit the first playground was created by philanthropist Clara Arthur for her own children, due to lack of play space in the neighborhood (Reinicker 2000, p. 19). Play movement leader Luther Gulick (1920, p. 226) discusses the problem of rich children lacking backyard playgrounds. Most reformers worked for the adoption of playgrounds in public school systems that served all classes, races and ethnic groups (Cavallo 1981, p. 39). In most cities there were more playgrounds relative to population size in wealthier areas compared to poor neighborhoods. For instance, in Chicago in 1898 affluent wards had an acre of park and playground area for every 234 residents, while in the poorest 23 wards there were 4,720 residents per acre of park and playground (Zueblin 1898, pp. 147-154).

Reformers argued that playgrounds promoted community spirit, family unity, and increased joy in living (Beard 1915 p. 132). “Wholesome” supervised play was intended to improve physical fitness, decrease the high rate of vice and juvenile delinquency in immigrant neighborhoods, morally educate children, and morally reform society by replacing activities at dance halls, theaters, pool rooms, and saloons, which often allowed illegal and immoral behaviors such as prostitution and gambling, as well as underage drinking (Beard 1915, pp. 131-2, 139-141, 147, 152; Cavallo 1981, pp. 3-5, 17, 19, 22-23, 31, 37-40, 48, 83 86, 93, 105; Frost 2010, pp. 95, 107; Haynes 1913, pp. 12-13). Organized play on playgrounds was intended to remove working-class children from the health hazards of overcrowded unsanitary housing, and illegal street play that was noisy, dirty, unhealthy, caused physical injuries, and was considered morally dangerous because it involved learning to respect bullies and gangs and to disrespect and circumvent the law to avoid arrest and possible conviction to a reformatory (Beard 1915 p. 131; Cavallo 1981, pp. 3, 25, 40, 85, 93, 98, 104; Frost 2010, pp. 66-67; Rainwater 1922 pp. 53-55).

Most play organizers aimed to socially control working class and immigrant children, who they felt were a source of social disorder because they were running loose in street gangs, playing, gambling, sometimes stealing, and were not controlled by their parents (Cavallo 1981, pp. 6-8, 16, 91-92, 98; Frost 2010, pp. 63-66, 84-89). Some reformers felt that moral “anarchy” in which might triumphed over fairness prevailed both in unsupervised street play and often also in unregulated capitalism. It was argued that playgrounds would counteract poverty, vice, and corruption (Cavallo 1981, pp. 37, 93). However, many poor children could not play during the day because they had to work in factories, in outwork at home, or in the streets (Cavallo 1981, p. 46; Frost 2010, p. 65). Reformers advocated and practiced disciplining working-class children to bourgeois genteel standards of polite behavior by excluding children from playgrounds for cursing, smoking, teasing and fighting, (Curtis 1913, p. 303; Arthur 1909, p. 2), thus preparing them to be polite, docile workers.

While middle-class reformers mostly agreed on the above goals, they disagreed on some reasons for creating playgrounds. Reformers such as Henry Curtis, Joseph Lee, Robert Woods, and Charles Zueblin created playgrounds for social control and Americanization, while many reform women felt playgrounds helped create a pluralistic society (Cavallo 1981, pp. 29, 31, 35, 109-110). However, play began at most playgrounds with patriotic songs and flag ceremonies and marches that implemented middle-class Americanization (Cavallo 1981 pp. 41, 43-44, 124) of immigrant working classes, whose culture and values were considered by the middle-class and elite to be the source of delinquent boys, and immoral factory girls (Stansell 1980 pp. 50, 53-54, 126).

Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, and other reform women and men, including Henry Curtis, viewed playgrounds as developing a pluralistic society through multi- ethnic organized games

(Cavallo 1981, p. 124). Immigrant ethnic groups such as Irish, Italians, and Jews were considered separate races inferior to the Protestant Anglo-Saxon race (Orser 2007, Spencer-Wood 1999). Photographs of some reform women's playgrounds show that they conducted organized games that were both racially and ethnically integrated (see Negotiations section). However, racially integrated games were the exception - most playgrounds were racially segregated until after the Great Depression (Frost 2010, p. 179). In addition, playgrounds ideally segregated children by age, and older children by sex, including gender-segregated team games, a practice that continues today (Frost 2010, pp. 95-97, 107, 178-179; Rainwater 1922).

Although reformers usually initially privately funded and organized playgrounds, their goal was for municipal governments to create and support city playgrounds (Cavallo 1981, p. 30). Most reform women and men worked for the adoption of playgrounds by city school systems, including playground leaders Henry Curtis and Luther Gulick. However, many reformers felt that the emphasis on masculine competition and winning in school sports that led to only the most talented students playing on school teams worked against the goals of play organizers to instill supposedly feminine moral values of orderly, cooperative, self-sacrificing team play in all children, especially boys. Most cities built *both* school *and* municipal playgrounds, since these were not mutually exclusive options. After 1920 most city playgrounds were in school yards (Cavallo 1981, pp. 47-48, 84-87).

Gendering Power Dynamics: Research questions and heterarchical framework

A second set of feminist questions to be addressed are concerned with the gendered power dynamics involved in the development of the American playground movement. What were the power dynamics between middle-class men and women that resulted in the

transformation of the dominant gender ideology in ways that authorized women, through an intersectional masculinized-feminine identity, to create public social reform movements, including playgrounds? What were the gender power dynamics involved in the spread of playgrounds across the United States to become a national social reform movement? What were the gender power dynamics in the playground movement, both among adult reformers and between reformers and children using playgrounds? The fact that participation in playgrounds was voluntary means that children had, and some used, their power to resist using playgrounds as intended, and negotiated for conditions that they wanted. Archaeology may reveal evidence of circumvention of bourgeois playground rules and gender segregation. Power dynamics have seldom been researched in social reform (Ginzberg 1990; Scott 1991, p. 153).

Questions of power dynamics are analyzed using Spencer-Wood's (1999b, p. 172; 2010, pp. 501-506) feminist both/and inclusive framework of a heterarchy of plural interacting powers of social agency. This framework builds on Levy's (1999, pp. 62-63) application of Crumley's (1979, pp. 144-145, 1987, pp. 158-159) heterarchy of power dynamics among landscapes to recognize that human forms of power are variable and flexible, including hierarchies, lack of ranking, and multiple rankings. This framework incorporates the full spectrum of diverse and complex intersecting power dynamics in human relationships, including *both* hierarchical *and* non-hierarchical powers (Spencer-Wood 2010), the Marxist domination and resistance model of power dynamics (Paynter and McGuire 1991), and Benton's (1981) framework of "power over" others used to maintain the status quo in contrast to "power to" create change (see also Miller and Tilley 1984, pp. 5-6; Shanks and Tilley 1987, pp. 129-130).

Spencer-Wood's (2010) heterarchical framework of multiple, and hence plural, interacting powers in social relations began as a feminist critique of the masculinist model of

power only as domination, which descended from Weber (1947, p.152) to Wolf (1990). In Spencer-Wood's (2010 pp. 501-506) heterarchical framework, dominating "powers over" others can be ranked on a continuum from the most force involved in the use of physical violence to enforce subordination, to the least force involved in psychological coercion. The Marxist domination and resistance framework is applied to analyze the power dynamics between "powers over" and "powers under", which range on a continuum from foot dragging and insubordination to overt rebellion. In addition to coining these plural parallel terms that linguistically express the multiple interacting nature of powers in social relationships, Spencer-Wood (1999b p. 172) introduced a third distinctive set of "powers with" others, ranging on a continuum from inspiration and empowerment to cooperation and collective action. This awareness of "powers with" others developed first from the feminist movement and then during research on power dynamics in historic women's domestic reform movements. All the powers in the heterarchy, including "powers over," "powers under," and "powers with," can be "powers to" maintain the status quo or "powers to" create socio-cultural change (Spencer-Wood 2010 pp. 501-506). The playground movement was developed by reform women exerting "powers with" men to create playgrounds for children. Children exerted "powers with" reformers to gain benefits from playgrounds, and some exerted resistant "powers under" reformers to negotiate for desired conditions in playgrounds.

The Origin of the American Playground Movement: The Sand Garden Stage 1885 -1895

Modern androcentric histories such as those by Dominick Cavallo (1981) and David MacLeod (1998) argue that women's early playgrounds created for young children since 1885

were “irrelevant” to the American playground movement, which developed later from boys’ sports (Cavallo 1981, p. 23). These histories construct a primarily male lineage for the development of the American playground movement by relying on accounts of male leaders such as Henry S. Curtis (1915b, pp. 11-12), although Frost (2010, pp. 92-94) includes some of women’s early playgrounds and notes that at the time they were considered to be the beginning of the playground movement despite some earlier short-lived outdoor gymnasiums, which only supplied gymnastics equipment. Cavallo (1981, pp. 2, 28-30, 36, 125) admits to focusing on boys’ sports and only mentions three women as leaders in the playground movement: Lillian Wald, Mary McDowell and Jane Addams, whose life he summarizes in a chapter, while excluding her creation of the first playground for older boys. Cavallo also provides a picture of unnamed female delegates to the Playground Association of America. The presidents of the Association were all men because in the dominant Victorian gender ideology it was not considered appropriate for “respectable” women to be public figures and give speeches, so reform women did a lot of the work but men usually took the top public leadership positions in nineteenth-century mixed-gender organizations. Women’s organizations such as mothers’ clubs and civic clubs often initiated the playground movement at the city level (Curtis 1915a, p.8), but Henry S. Curtis and Luther Gulick founded the Playground Association of America in 1906, inviting Jane Addams to be a vice president (Cavallo 1981, p. 36).

In checking the source for Cavallo’s claim that women’s early playgrounds for young children were “irrelevant” to the development of the American playground movement, Spencer-Wood (1994b, 2003) found a historic book by a professor at the University of Chicago that argued early playgrounds established by women led to the development of the American playground movement (Rainwater 1922). This book provided evidence that following a few

short-lived gymnastics playgrounds created by men for boys, reform women's organizations created not only the earliest American playgrounds for young children, but also the first model playgrounds for older boys, and instigated the first park-playground for adults as well as children. Rainwater (1922) traced how the social reform of establishing playgrounds spread among American women's organizations, from the Eastern cities to the Midwest and the Far West. Historian Mary Beard (1915) provided further evidence of women's activities in creating urban playgrounds. These books and other primary and secondary sources provided examples of ways reform women exerted "powers with" men, who they asked to assist in creating playground landscapes and installing equipment. Some sources provided examples of reform women's "powers with" children who attended playgrounds, by methods such as organizing games.

The playground movement developed from the spread of playgrounds first established in Boston, which had a long tradition of women's benevolent and social reform organizations, from the Boston Female Orphan Asylum founded in 1800, to anti-slavery, temperance, and moral reform (Boylan 2002; Ginzberg 1990 pp. 14, 28, 38, 45, 47-49, 55). Reform women in the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association (MEHA) were inspired to found the first supervised American playground by German immigrant Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska's 1885 visit to a Berlin sand garden, which was a large sand box for small children, under a thatched roof for sun protection. The women of MEHA created two summer sand gardens in 1885: a popular one in Boston's North End Parmenter Chapel yard, and one at the West End Day Nursery, where they discovered that children under two years old did not like sand gardens (Rainwater 1922, p. 22). In 1886 sand gardens were added at the Children's Mission and the Warrenton Street Chapel, both in the South End (Figure 1: A, B, M, N). In 1887 matrons were first hired as supervisors. In the following years sand gardens were established in the yards of tenements,

missions, a church, and a school (Rainwater 1922, p. 23). Rainwater (1922, p. 46) designates this Sand Garden Stage of playgrounds for children up to 12 years old as lasting from 1885 to 1895. However, playgrounds for this age group that often included swings, seesaws, slides, and sometimes gymnastics apparatus, were operated into the twentieth century, including at women's and men's social settlements (Figure 1: C, D, G, H, I, L, O, Q, R). In 1893 a superintendent of all sand gardens and supervisory kindergarten teachers were employed. Children were supplied with sand pails and shovels, building blocks, "occupation work" (crafts), and organized games (Rainwater 1922, p. 23). Later sand gardens also sometimes included swings and seesaws (Rainwater 1922, p. 46). In 1899, 21 playgrounds were opened in public schoolyards by Boston's School Committee, which hired the women of MEHA as supervisors. From 1885, length of playground operation increased from three to six days per week and from 18 to 60 days in July and August. Total average attendance increased from 15 per day at one playground in 1885, to 205 per playground per day, totaling 4,300 for 21 playgrounds in 1899, supervised by 66 paid women kindergarten teachers under the woman superintendent of all of Boston's playgrounds (Rainwater 1922, pp. 24-26).

Reform women of MEHA persuaded male government officials to make playgrounds permanent aspects of education and healthy recreation in Boston. In 1901, Boston's School Committee successfully took over operation of four vacation schools that women voluntarily ran in the summer, and three schoolyard playgrounds supervised by kindergarten teachers. Still, in the summer of 1901, MEHA ran 12 playgrounds attended on average by 3,479 children per day, supported by \$2,462 in donations (Rainwater 1922, p. 32). In 1902, seven schools and five playgrounds were managed by the school committee for \$7500 (Rainwater 1922, p. 32). The Boston City Park Department was also inspired by MEHA sand gardens to establish some in city

parks (Buxton 1899, quoted in Mero 1908, pp. 243-52), including a sand garden created in 1902 in the Public Garden, run by the playground committee of the Massachusetts Civic League, which was founded by philanthropist Joseph Lee (Cavallo 1981, pp. 35, Figure 1:K). In 1907 this playground became supervised by a kindergarten teacher at the Ellis Memorial and Eldredge Home (1908, pp. 6-7, 14; Figure 1:L), a settlement founded by Miss Ida Eldredge (Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 113). This is one example of the frequent cooperation among reform organizations in creating and supervising playgrounds.

The reform women used their “powers with” of moral suasion to convince men who owned tenements and headed missions and controlled schools and parks that creating playgrounds were in their interests. It was claimed that playgrounds were responsible for subsequent decreases in rates of urban juvenile delinquency (Beard 1915, p. 131).

How Reform Women Created the Earliest Playgrounds for older boys and adults: The Model Playground Stage (1895-1900)

Despite Cavallo’s (1981, p. 30) claim that the first model playground for older boys was organized by Joseph Lee in 1900 in Boston’s North End Park (Figure 1: F), in reality, the earliest playgrounds for teenaged boys’ sports, as well as for older girls, were an outgrowth of the MEHA women’s earlier sand gardens for young children. In 1889, the reform women of MEHA used their moral suasion as “powers with” the male Boston City Park Department to obtain the first public appropriation of \$1,000 to grade and grass a vacant lot as a playground, to be managed by the MEHA playground committee, which was created in 1887 and chaired by Ellen H. Tower. The MEHA playground committee also convinced the Boston Park Department to

create the first park-playgrounds for older boys, girls, and adults (Rainwater 1922, pp. 27-28, 34).

The creation of free park-playgrounds for older children and adults in cities across the country were inspired by the first prototype park-playground, the Charlesbank Outdoor Gymnasium, located on a long narrow strip of land along the Charles River in Boston's West End (Figure 1: J). The MEHA playground committee successfully appealed to the Boston Park Department to create the Charlesbank – the first Boston Park Department facility dedicated primarily to playgrounds. The Charlesbank was also the first American playground to be professionally landscaped; it was designed by the Olmstead brothers, who were also responsible for the plans of Boston's Emerald Necklace of parks as well as Central Park in New York City (Rainwater 1922, pp. 27-28). Victorian gender segregation was materialized by locating the male and female playgrounds at opposite ends of the park, and making the opposite sexes invisible to each other by curving walks through trees and shrubbery. The Charlesbank first opened its playground for older boys and men in 1889. It included a large track, outdoor gymnasium (jungle gym), ballfield, gymnastic rings, and giant stride. The smaller playground for women and girls opened in 1891, supervised by the MEHA playground committee. It included a smaller track, a giant stride, swings, seesaws and sand gardens for young children. The Charlesbank park-playground was copied in a number of other cities (Rainwater 1922, p. 28) and still exists as a park without playgrounds.

The MEHA's neighborhood playgrounds inspired the 1892 plan by Charles Elliot of the Metropolitan Park Commission of Boston to provide numerous small squares, playgrounds, and parks in densely populated areas of 11 cities and 25 towns. Rainwater (1922, p. 70) dates this Small Park Stage of the playground movement from 1900 to 1905. Small parks with playgrounds

in densely settled areas were established for poor, often immigrant or minority children who could not make the long trip to a large park-playground (CBPD 1893, pp. 67-81; Rainwater 1922, pp. 29-30). In one example, the small park movement slogan was “Take the parks to the people, if they can not come to the parks” (Rainwater 1922, pp. 18-19). In the small park landscape designed for the congested city of Charlestown, Massachusetts, the men’s area was still a bit larger than the women’s area, and although adjacent to each other they were fenced with separate entrances for gender segregation (City of Boston Park Department 1893). Small park playgrounds were often fenced, and were usually equipped with outdoor gymnastics apparatus, athletic fields, baseball diamonds, gender segregated comfort stations and promenades among trees (Rainwater 1922, pp. 70-79). In 1894, Boston’s Park Commission bought the huge Franklin Field in Dorchester, south of Boston, where team games and athletic fields occupied 40 unfenced acres (Rainwater 1922, p. 35). The locations of playgrounds spread from predominantly mission, settlement, and tenement yards to schoolyards, public parks, and a few indoor facilities (Rainwater 1922, pp. 21-28).

Rainwater (1922, p. 46) dates the Model Playground Stage to 1895-1900. The earliest "model playground" to admit older boys for team sports was created in 1894 by Jane Addams’ Hull House social settlement in Chicago, on land donated by William Kent. This playground provided space for adolescent boys’ team sports as well as swings, a giant stride, and a sand garden with building blocks for small children. In 1896 a similar larger playground was established by the Northwestern University Settlement, followed in 1898 by a playground established by the University of Chicago. Each of these playgrounds was supervised by a kindergarten teacher and a policeman, who directed the older boys’ games. The Committee of Women’s Clubs added six schoolyard playgrounds and the city first appropriated funds for

playgrounds in 1898. In Philadelphia a “model playground” was opened in 1898 by the Culture Extension League, with \$5,000 granted by the city for a male and a female supervisor and equipment including sand gardens, swings, parallel bars, swinging rings, tennis courts, a bike path, skating rink, a music stand, two pavilions at opposite ends of the park, a promenade for mothers with baby carriages, and shade trees. In 1897, after investigating the playgrounds in Boston, the women of the Providence Free Kindergarten Association opened two playgrounds for older boys, one with gymnastic apparatus (Rainwater 1922, pp. 56-60).

In 1899 the MEHA playground committee created Boston’s first three playgrounds for boys aged 12-15, including gymnastic apparatus and young male physical education instructors to supervise the boys’ games (Tower 1902). The male supervisors working for reform women inverted the normal gender hierarchy of men supervising women. The success of this experiment was apparent from its repetition the following year and subsequent adoption by the Boston School Committee. The Massachusetts Civic League, which was founded by playground leader Joseph Lee, created a “model playground” in 1900 in Boston’s North End Park that included a “big boy’s playground” with gymnastic apparatus, as well as an area for older girls’ games including baseball, and a “children’s corner” with two sand gardens, swings, teeter ladders, carts, and kindergarten materials. This playground was modelled after playgrounds established by the playground committee of MEHA, and with their advice concerning apparatus (Rainwater 1922, pp. 34-36, 56, 59, 65-66), thus disproving Cavallo’s (1981, p. 23) claim that Lee’s playground was the earliest for older boys.

How Reform Women’s Organizational Networks Spread the Playground Movement

Historic documents record that the pioneering women of MEHA not only initiated the playground movement in Boston, but also inspired the creation of sand gardens and park-playgrounds in other cities across the country. Rainwater (1922, pp. 42-44) points out as evidence of inspiration from Boston that 13 cities followed MEHA's path of first establishing philanthropic sand gardens, followed by playgrounds for older children and adults, and then municipal government support and control. MEHA's playground committee was directly consulted by women's organizations that initiated playgrounds in 11 cities, including Montreal (Canada) and Manchester (England), while Boston's playgrounds were noted as the inspiration for women's playground movements in three more US cities (Figure 2; Beard 1915, p. 136; Byington 1931, p. 177; Rainwater 1922, pp. 34, 40-43, 59; Reinicker 2000, p. 19; Wilkinson 1949). Mapping the years when women's organizations initiated playgrounds in different cities reveals that women's playground movement first spread from Boston to New York City, where in 1889 two philanthropic women established a playground with sand gardens. In 1891 the New York Society for Parks and Playgrounds added another playground with a sand garden, swings, and seesaws. A similar playground was established in the backyard of the Nurses' Settlement on Henry Street that was headed by Lillian Wald, and in the backyard of the Union Settlement in 1896. By 1895 sand gardens were common in schoolyards and women's social settlement houses across the country, usually supervised by female kindergarten teachers (Arthur 1909, p. 2; Beard 1915, pp. 136-138; Byington 1931, p. 177; Rainwater 1922, pp. 48-51).

Women's national organizational networks spread playgrounds from the largest to smaller cities from the East and Midwest to the Far West. Information about playgrounds sometimes diffused from women's organizations in more than one city. For instance, Clara Arthur led the playground movement in Detroit after learning about playgrounds from women's

organizations that founded playgrounds in Chicago and Boston (Reinicker 2000, p. 19). The playground committee of the Local Council of Women of Detroit sent information on playgrounds requested by women's organizations throughout Michigan, resulting in well-conducted and very popular school playgrounds established in Grand Rapids (Arthur 1909, p. 7). San Francisco women learned about playgrounds from women's organizations in Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, and Boston (Temple 1910).

Reform ideas that resulted in playground landscapes were communicated among women's organizations at national conferences of groups such as the Congress of Mothers, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Council, and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, whose members founded several social settlement houses where playgrounds were constructed. (Arthur 1909, p. 2; Rainwater 1922, pp. 297-299; Scott 1991, pp. 142). Settlement workers were major leaders in the playground movement (Cavallo 1981, p. 27).

MEHA's playground committee also inspired the spread of playgrounds in the Boston area, starting with the adoption of playgrounds in the Boston schools in 1898, followed by the 1901 "model playground" founded by Joseph Lee of the Massachusetts Civic League. In 1908 Lee proposed the Massachusetts Playground Referendum that voters passed to mandate public playgrounds in towns of 10,000 or more people (Mothers Club of Cambridge 1908, pp. 1-2; Rainwater 1922, p. 29). In 1902 the Mothers' Club of Cambridge (MCC) founded that city's first playground for small children on Pine Street, which increased in 1909 to summer playgrounds in four public parks and seven schoolyards, with sandboxes supplied by the city (Almy 1903, 1905; MCC 1902, 1909, p. 304; Brooks 1910). The success of these playgrounds and the Charlesbank led in 1911 to the design by Ernst Hermann and creation of a number of park-playgrounds by the

City of Cambridge Playground Commission, which was also persuaded by the Mother's Club to take over their 13 playgrounds (Brooks 1911).

The value of reform women's initiatives in creating and privately funding playgrounds was recognized by some male government officials, who appointed reform women to playground commissions and as superintendents of all the playgrounds in many cities, from Providence to Detroit (Beard 1915, pp. 136-138; Rainwater 1922, p. 59). Beard stated that "...in this great battle for adequate recreation in cities, it is of course the associations of women that have been most powerful and determined." "Women have everywhere been largely instrumental in initiating the playground work, they have followed it in many cases by service on appointed commissions and as paid city playground employees, and in other cases they have held positions on state recreation commissions" (Beard 1915, p. 134). Male governmental officials exerted "powers with" reform women by appointing them to playground commissions in cities across the country (Byington 1931, p. 177). There were nearly as many women as men serving as presidents and secretaries of recreation commissions and associations (Beard 1915, p. 138). Some reform women were leaders in the playground movement at local, regional, and national levels. In one example, it has already been mentioned that Lillian Wald created a playground in the yard of the Henry Street settlement that she headed in New York. At the regional level, she was the secretary of the Parks and Playground Association of New York, and at the national level she was one of the settlement leaders who founded the Playground Association of America (Cavallo 1981, p. 136). Some reform women also created city-wide playground plans. For instance, in 1914 in Hartford, Connecticut, the head worker of the North Street Settlement, Mary Graham Jones, created a city-wide playground plan that was implemented through "powers with" male government officials. First, the juvenile commission leased about 12 vacant lots from

the city at nominal rent. Then the superintendent of parks supervised preparing the lots and equipping them as playgrounds (Beard 1914, p. 133). In Chicago a set of park-playgrounds were created through the initiative of women's organizations (Tuason 1999).

Negotiations

Playgrounds were created by the combined "powers with" each other of women's organizations, men's organizations, and mixed-gender organizations such as school boards. The standard practice of women's and men's reform organizations was to first use "powers under" to initiate and privately fund reforms on their own such as playgrounds, to demonstrate their public usefulness, followed by using "powers with" to persuade men in municipal governments to fund and adopt the reform permanently, and state laws to spread the reform to all municipalities (Beard 1915, pp. 5-10, 134; Cavallo 1981, p. 30). Women's organizations, such as social settlements, used "moral suasion" to persuade men to donate vacant lots and equipment for playgrounds, and convinced male municipal officials to use government equipment to level land and plant trees and shrubs to create verdant playground landscapes that brought the morally reforming power of God's sacred natural world into contact with children (Beard 1915, pp. 306-307; Denison House 1912, p. 9). Women's organizations also often planted flowers, shrubs, and trees in playgrounds and parks (Beard 1915, pp. 37, 307).

In New York City, reformers and local residents negotiated with officials for a "model playground" with a gymnasium, kindergarten area, and baths. It was not constructed until 1903 due to resistance from the city government, which favored small parks with unwelcoming signs saying "Keep Off the Grass!" Eventually the playground was constructed at Seward Park for a cost of over \$2 million. Pressure on the city to create a playground was required from

neighborhood residents, who wanted the continuation of an experimental playground established in 1899 by the Outdoor Recreation League, which was founded in 1898 by Charles Stover, assisted by Lillian Wald (Cavallo 1981, pp. 27-28; Rainwater 1922, pp. 62-64).

From the viewpoint of children the playgrounds were desirable spaces because they would not be arrested for playing there, as they were for playing in the streets (Cavallo 1981, p. 170 n55; Frost 2010, pp. 67, 86). Children also enjoyed the equipment and games organized by adults, although control by adults was a negative for some adolescent boys who continued to prefer free play in the streets (Elizabeth Peabody House 1911, pp. 19-20). Playground supervisors sought to indoctrinate working-class children to bourgeois genteel standards of propriety by socially controlling behaviors that were considered undesirable or immoral by middle-class reform women. Swearing, smoking, teasing, interruptions, blows and fighting were all grounds for temporarily excluding children from playgrounds (Curtis 1913, p. 303; Arthur 1909, pp. 3-4). Playgrounds were often fenced to keep out “undesirable elements,” inculcate habits of orderliness, and create a safe environment for “respectable” people (Brooks 1911, p. 44; Curtis 1915b, p. 130).

However, since use of playgrounds was entirely voluntary, many children were not passive recipients of adult-controlled playgrounds, but instead used resistant “powers under” to continue playing in the streets. It became clear to reformers that playgrounds did not replace the freedom of street play. In New York City, Boston in 1910, and other cities, reform women and men exerted “powers with” local children and policemen to allow play on some streets by blocking off traffic during certain hours (Beard 1914, p. 139; Frost 2010, pp. 103, 170; Norton 1937). Reform women at the Elizabeth Peabody House settlement in Boston noted with regard

to laws against street play that they “do not take into account the child’s world” or the child’s point of view (Elizabeth Peabody House 1911, pp. 19-20).

In contrast to the children preferring the freedom of interaction in street play, most children abandoned playgrounds when they were not supervised by reformers who organized games, provided discipline, protected children from bullies, and prevented fighting. In 1898 Boston’s mayor created 20 school playgrounds that were deserted within two weeks due to lack of supervision. One boy complained “there was nothin’ to do and no discipline” (Rainwater 1922, p. 31). In order to get children to use the playgrounds male government officials had to follow the MEHA practice of hiring kindergarten teachers as playground supervisors (Rainwater 1922, pp. 31-32). Reform women noted that most children appreciated some discipline in playgrounds.

Although separate playgrounds were created for young children and teens, older children often used “powers with” reform women to negotiate for admittance to playgrounds for younger children. Playgrounds in yards of women’s social settlements and in nearby vacant lots were attractive to children not just for play equipment, but for the flowers, bushes and trees that were so rare in cities. In sand gardens and playgrounds for young children older siblings called “little mothers” and “little fathers” were admitted to tend babies they brought, which might be a sibling or any young child in the neighborhood (Wald 1915, pp. 83-84). These older children who were admitted to assist matron supervisors could engage in quiet activities such as sewing, reading and checkers (Rainwater 1922, p. 36). At Lillian Wald’s Henry Street settlement in New York City, one girl negotiated around the priority of admitting children with “little mothers,” by pleading “Yes, teacher, but can’t I get in? I ain’t got no mother” (Wald 1915, pp. 83-84). In the Pine Street Playground, opened for young children in 1902 by the Mother’s Club of Cambridge,

Massachusetts, older children successfully negotiated for entrance to “mind baby in the sand” (MCC 1903, p. 4). When older boys in the playground disrupted play for the younger children, the MCC created baseball diamonds in larger parks and hired men to supervise the older boys, inverting the normal gender hierarchy in which male directors of schools and playgrounds hired women to work under them (MCC 1903, p. 4, 1904, p. 2, 1907, pp. 2-6, 1908, p. 5).

Most playground organizers argued that supervised games with teams composed of different immigrant ethnic groups increased social integration, either for the goal of Americanization as argued by Henry Curtis, Joseph Lee and Robert Woods, or to create a pluralistic society, as argued by Jane Addams, Lillian Wald and other reform women (Cavallo 1981, pp. 38, 100, 104-105, 109-110; Curtis 1915b, pp. 81-82, 129-130). Although different immigrant ethnic groups were commonly integrated on playgrounds, African-American playgrounds were usually segregated from white playgrounds until after the Depression (Frost 2010, p. 179). Thus it is extraordinary that photos show racial integration in some reform women’s playgrounds. Photos of the Pine Street playground in Cambridge, Massachusetts, show that playground games supervised by women were racially integrated, but in unorganized play the whites monopolized the equipment, and African-Americans were relegated to tree stumps on the periphery of the playground (Figures 3 A, B, C). Photos also show that playgrounds were racially integrated at Boston’s Frances E. Willard Settlement established in 1898 by Caroline M. Caswell (Frances E. Willard Settlement 1912, pp.15-16; Figure 1, G), and at Lillian Wald’s Henry Street Settlement in New York City (Wald 1915, pp.82-83). In contrast, photos of playgrounds founded by reform men in New York City and by women in 1895 at the McKinney Avenue Dallas Free Kindergarten playground show only white children. These photos conform

to the norm of racially segregated playgrounds (Cavallo 1981, pp. 26-27, 42, 79; Dallas Free Kindergarten 1903; Frost 2010, p. 179).

The location of the historic Cambridge playground on Pine Street is now a parking lot, although there is a playground across the street. The success of the Mother's Club led to male design and implementation of a number of park-playgrounds for the City of Cambridge Playground Commission, which included some reform women. These parks are in Rainwater's Small Park Stage of playgrounds from 1900 to 1905, and included shade trees, shrubs, age-segregated playgrounds, and gender segregated sports for older children (Brooks 1911, p. 30; Rainwater 1922, p. 17).

Women's Political Agency in the Development of Playgrounds in Detroit

The development of playgrounds in Detroit illustrates how reform women and their organizations learned to become political agents of change in the process of creating playgrounds. Women cooperatively organized "powers with" each other to convince male officials to create city playgrounds and appoint a woman to supervise them (Martindale 1909, p. 10).

In the late nineteenth century, Mayor Hazen Pingree led the city through major social reforms, and called Detroit the first and most exemplary reform city in the United States. He, along with other reform-minded mayors in the United States, sought to lessen the control of corrupt businesses over the cities and gain more municipal power. With this new power, municipal leaders were able to establish free public baths and to expand parks, schools, and public aid (Buenker and Kantowicz 1988, pp. 444-445).

Detroit's parks were built along four general plans: squares, picnic/scenic parks, permit play field parks, and neighborhood parks. Squares, like Grand Circus, were not meant for active recreation. Picnic/scenic parks included Belle Isle and Palmer Park. Permit play fields required little to no supervision and had facilities that could be used for outdoor games and activities. Finally, neighborhood parks could be developed as local supervised recreation centers used to meet the needs of a community. Many of the permit and neighborhood parks were located in areas with high population congestion in the cities, providing much needed open space for the community to gather and for children to have structured play (Haynes 1913, p. 17).

The most notable person in playground development in Detroit was Clara Arthur, known as the "Mother of the Playground Movement" (Michigan n.d.). Arthur was a suffragist who used her wealth for philanthropic enterprises, including establishing playgrounds and shower-baths in public schools, as well as public baths and fighting tuberculosis. She clearly articulated municipal housekeeping ideology by saying "we cannot enter kitchens without coming in contact with the political side of domestic concern. The water supply and our garbage pails remind us that something is managed for us, not by us" (Crathern 1953, pp. 123-124). The municipal housekeeping movement justified women's participation in men's political sphere because politics affected and even determined major aspects of domestic life. This municipal housekeeping movement ideology legitimated women such as Clara Arthur and Detroit women's groups in their political actions, including creating playgrounds in men's public sphere.

From 1899 to 1929, Arthur's work led to a system of 138 playgrounds in Detroit, working with a budget of more than \$1,000,000 (Michigan N.d.). Arthur worked toward a better life for children, stating:

There has been incorporated into the body politic of the entire country a new national standard, a higher regard for the sacredness of childhood: a seat for every child in school; a supervised playground for every school house, and a larger responsibility for education. A wider appreciation of the value of holding open the door of opportunity to the child of the poor as well as that of the rich – a true equality – will depend upon each individual man and woman, upon you and me and upon the extent to which knowledge of the facts is passed on from one to another by all who hear the voice of the down-trodden child.

[Reinicker 2000, pp. 86-87]

Arthur's statement reveals ideological changes in the conception of childhood as sacred to the educational and moral development that she viewed as foundational to creating equal opportunity – a very progressive viewpoint at the time. Arthur linked childhood development and education to equal opportunity as a moral issue that empowered her to motivate “powers with” other women's organizations to convince male governmental leaders to change their view of children and play. Arthur reached her goal through perseverance and dedication to making the playground movement in Detroit happen.

Clara Arthur spread the playground movement to Detroit after researching it and contacting and visiting women's organizations that created the first playgrounds in Boston and Chicago. First Arthur created a playground in 1899 to keep her children and their friends from playing in the streets of Detroit. She exerted “powers with” male property owners and government officials by obtaining permission from the city to use a vacant lot near her home as a playground for the children. Soon, this playground became popular, gathering children from around the neighborhood (Reinicker 2000, p. 19).

Next Arthur developed “powers with” Detroit women’s organizations by convincing them that establishing city playgrounds was a needed reform that required the support of reform women’s organizations. In 1899, Arthur spoke to the women’s Twentieth Century Club, where she was a charter member, about the idea of opening public playgrounds for children in Detroit. Drawing attention to the number of dirty, noisy children who only had the streets to play in, Arthur discussed the benefits of having specific play areas for children, citing examples from cities like Boston where sand gardens and summer vacation schools had been established by the MEHA to address this problem (Crathern 1953, p. 124). The Twentieth Century Club appointed a committee to ask the Detroit Board of Education to establish a playground in the summer of 1900, but the request was refused (Arthur 1909, p. 2).

After completing further research on playgrounds, Arthur attempted to convince other local and national groups of the need for playgrounds in Detroit. She wrote a report that she presented to social clubs and reform organizations in the city and county in an effort to get the support she needed, stating:

The summer vacation is a period of dread and anxiety for the mother who is unable to send or take her children to nature’s school, the country, and who is intelligent enough to appreciate the danger of idleness. And to that mother also whose only fear is that her boys, in loitering about alleys, may fall under the suspicion of the police, the school vacation is an unwelcome period, devoutly to be wished over and gone. And for the children themselves, deprived of something definite to do, there is little recouping of health or true enjoyment. Public playgrounds, where after school hours our children can have a game of baseball or other innocent amusement, there are none... It is a shame that some of our best equipped schools have no play yard. [Reinicker 2000, p. 19]

Arthur's arguments for establishing playgrounds were supported only by Detroit's Twentieth Century Club. Other women's clubs and citizens concerned with public reform stated that because Detroit already had an amusement park on Belle Isle, and was so "tree shaded," with "such wide streets, so clean, so American" that it didn't need playgrounds (Reinicker 2000, p. 20). Most of Detroit's reform groups, including elite and middle-class women in clubs, seem to have felt that Belle Isle and municipal housekeeping of clean streets provided adequate play space.

In 1901 Arthur met with the newly-formed Local Council of Women of Detroit, who agreed to form a playground committee with Arthur as chairperson. That same year, Arthur and her committee chose the first site for a playground, writing:

This site was at that time a nightmare of civic neglect, and was a dumping ground of unparalleled hideousness. The vanished bustles and hoopskirts of the previous decade tangled the feet of geese and goats which paddled among the rubbish puddles or browsed on the weeds and rags of the most forlorn city square I have ever beheld. [Reinicker 2000, p. 20]

Although Arthur now had support of two women's organizations, the city's Common Council refused permission to implement her plan. The Council members did not think the women knew how to effectively manage playgrounds for boys. One council alderman derisively stated "vat you vimmens know 'bout boys' play – no!" (Arthur 1909, p. 2). Clearly the male Council members, and no doubt many other Detroiters, did not support women's cooperative mothering in playgrounds, particularly for boys.

Arthur did not give up her determination to institute playgrounds in the city of Detroit. After being denied by the Common Council, she went to the Board of Education for the Detroit

Public Schools to request the use of the Russell School, one of the largest in the city and a site close to her original playground location (Arthur 1909, p. 2; Reinicker 2000, p. 20). Schoolyards had the advantage of already having been leveled by male government officials, and often the yards close to buildings were paved. The Board granted Arthur's request and the playground was opened for the months of July and August, 1901, with daily hours from 8:00 AM to 8:00 PM (Martindale 1901, p. 8). However, the Board granted no money for the playground, so the women on the playground committee of the Local Council of Women of Detroit appealed to friends and businesses to obtain the money needed to pay for equipment and playground supervisors (Arthur 1909, p. 2; Reinicker 2000, p. 20).

The first playground at Russell School was a success, under the paid supervision of two males and one female. It contained playground equipment including hammocks for babies, sand gardens, basketball courts, seesaws, swings, rocking horses, small toys, ropes, tugs of war, croquet sets, ring toss, quoits (a game similar to horseshoes), other small games, picture books, magazines, and craft materials. A woman volunteered every day from the Local Council of Women to lead the children in an activity program of her choice, ranging from teaching games to millinery, sewing, book-binding or singing (Arthur 1909, p. 2).

Arthur noted that the supervisors had "full authority in the yard." They allowed children that were "too young or wild" to play on their own (Reinicker 2000, p. 21). However, they used their "powers over" the children to end the "teasing, interruptions, rude blows, and fights" that were "at first frequent" (Arthur 1909 p. 2). Supervisors taught children to adhere to their civility code through short expulsions from the playground for children "indulging" in such behaviors. This policy "soon purified the physical and moral atmosphere of the playground" (Arthur 1909 p. 2). Arthur was typical of reform women in connecting behaviors considered immoral, such as

smoking, with physical dirtiness and pollution. Beyond punishment, the playground supervisors exerted “powers with” the children when “such manual training as the committee furnished diverted aimless mischief-makers into eager learners and helpers” (Reinicker 2000, p. 21). Children also exerted “powers with” each other to learn crafts, exemplified by a girl around 10 years old teaching younger boys to make coarse lace from red thread (Arthur 1909, p. 2).

In 1902 male government agencies continued to exert their “powers over” women’s organizations to deny their requests for funding of playgrounds. After the first successful summer playground at the Russell School was closed for the school year, the Playground Committee of the Local Council of women of Detroit asked the Board of Education for \$1,200 for three playgrounds. The board included the item in its budget estimate for 1902 with the note “by the request of women” (Arthur 1909 p. 4). Arthur noted that since women were nobody’s constituents, the Board of Estimates voted the request down, despite the support by the Detroit Federation of Labor and other organizations rallied by the Playground Committee. According to Arthur (1909, p. 4) “the estimators and many others considered that Detroit, with its lawns, fields, and unoccupied lots, along with Belle Isle Park, furnished ample play space for children’s recreation and enjoyment, having the one-sided view that the benefits of play are almost wholly physical.” The non-physical benefits of playgrounds that Arthur implied with this statement and said more explicitly above, along with Beard (1915, pp. 306-307), included the moral, civil, respectful, polite and cooperative behaviors and beliefs that children learned in sharing toys and equipment and playing supervised games.

In the winter of 1903 the Playground Committee of the Local Council of Women of Detroit, led by Arthur, exerted “powers with” the parents of children and the Department of Education to successfully pressure the Common Council to fund school playgrounds. The Board

of Education exerted “powers with” the women of the Playground Committee by advising them to circulate petitions to show the Board of Estimators and the Common Council how much support the committee had from the community. Signatures of taxpayers and organizations, totaling 14,000 individuals, were gathered in support of city funding for more school playgrounds (Arthur 1909 pp. 4-5). The Playground Committee held public meetings to advocate playgrounds, including several in schools, churches, Sunday schools, women’s clubs, other societies of all kinds, and one meeting in City Hall invited by Mayor Maybury, who had encouraged and contributed funds to the Playground Committee from the outset. Despite the “indifference” of many male government officials, the opposition of school janitors, the “constant cry that the school premises were being ruined by turbulent children,” “hostile press notices,” and editorials that ridiculed playgrounds as a sentimental fad, the Playground Committee used its “powers with” of moral suasion to successfully petition and pressure City officials to approve the Board of Education’s request for \$1,200 for three playgrounds at the Russell, Bishop, and Cass schools (Arthur 1909, pp. 4-5; Martindale 1909, p. 8). Children under the age of 15 had to enroll on July 1-3 to attend the playgrounds for six weeks starting July 6, on weekdays from 9:00 am to 5:30 pm.

Every year until playgrounds became well established in 1908, Clara Arthur appeared before the all-male Common Council, Board of Estimators, and other governmental bodies to plead for the appropriation request for playgrounds by the Board of Education (Arthur 1909:7). School superintendent Wales Martindale (1908, pp. 10, 12-13) did not note Arthur’s major role, stating only that over the years the Board of Education successfully requested more funds for more equipment and to open more playgrounds: \$2,000 in 1904 and 1905 for six playgrounds, including the first large playground not in a schoolyard in 1905; \$3,109 in 1906; \$4,500 in 1907

for seven playgrounds; and \$10,225 in 1908 for nine playgrounds. In 1909 \$37,000 was requested for 15 schoolyard vacation playgrounds, six of which were new (Arthur 1909, p. 5). A Playground Committee was created in the Board of Commerce and conducted a large well-equipped playground for older children in a crowded part of the city (Arthur 1909, p. 7). Nearly all the aldermen and estimators who were elected in 1908 included support of the “extension of playgrounds and public baths” in their election platforms (Arthur 1909, p. 5). Without the persistence of Arthur and the other women on the playground committee of the Local Council of Women, Detroit would have remained without adequate play areas in the city.

The privately funded equipment in the Russell playground was donated to the Board of Education. These kinds of equipment were installed at school playgrounds that were built over time. Additional play equipment supplied between 1903 and 1908 included gymnastics apparatus, “Indian” clubs, dumb bells, wands, climbing and sliding poles, an inclined ladder, and a vaulting horse. In 1908 deteriorating wooden equipment was replaced with steel equipment (Martindale 1909, pp. 8, 13).

Manual training was increasingly carried on in the playgrounds. In an initial expression of “powers over” others in refusing playgrounds in 1902, “A prominent city official asked the chairman of the Playground Committee [Clara Arthur] if a work ground for children would not be of greater benefit to the city than would a playground – the thought conveyed being a striking proof of the rate we are making toward utilizing even the little children for commercial ends.” (Arthur 1909, p. 4). Arthur (1909, p. 7) responded by arguing that “included in the playground can be the workground where manual training clasps hands with amusement.” Character building through manual training became part of the argument for playgrounds, in negotiation with some prominent male governmental officials. This argument was congruent with the fact that the

children were very interested in learning crafts and negotiated with playground supervisors for instruction in crafts, probably due to the expectation of working-class children that they needed to work or produce goods for sale to help support themselves and their families. This is shown, as mentioned earlier, in the case of the first year of the Russell school playground, in which a group of small boys were seen voluntarily learning to make coarse lace from an older girl (Arthur 1909, p. 2). In response to great interest expressed by the children, the Playground Committee supplied some sewing equipment and materials. However, in 1903 when this sewing “outfit” was recommended to the Board of Education for conducting the Russell playground, the board declined and stated that it would only provide facilities for play (Arthur 1909, p. 5). However, the pressure of interest in manual training by the children, their parents, and some government officials, led in 1905 to the introduction of sewing and basketry to the playgrounds, along with chair caning and the establishment of centers with several teachers of traditional Swedish sloyd carpentry and ironwork. At the end of the season the children’s work was shown in an exhibition (Martindale 1909, pp. 10, 12).

By including manual training, playgrounds were preparing working-class children for hand manufacturing outwork at home, such as sewing garments with their mothers. Household production maintained a fictional middle-class respectable domesticity because wives and children did not visibly work in men’s public sphere and remained properly in the domestic sphere, appearing to conform to the hegemonic separate spheres gender ideology, and saving the husband’s pride in appearing to conform to the hegemonic masculine role of sole family breadwinner working in the public sphere (Matthei 1982 pp. 122-123, 126-127).

Arthur also successfully exerted persuasive “powers with” the Common Council to create “winter playgrounds” – empty lots flooded and frozen to create ice ponds for skating. Initially all

the male government officials, including the Fire Marshall and the Mayor, stated that it was against city by-laws to open a fire hydrant in winter except in cases of fire. However, the following winter the idea grew immensely in popularity, and one of the aldermen proposed a resolution that was passed by the Common Council to appropriate \$1,000 for the flooding of at least one lot in every ward of the city, work that would be done by the fire department. These extremely popular “winter playgrounds” were created each year, although Arthur complained they were supervised only by the police (Arthur 1909, p. 7).

Women relinquished their supervisory “powers over” the Russell school playground when it was funded by the city, starting in 1903. Wales Martindale, the Superintendent of Public Schools, created a male-dominated hierarchy of playground supervision, with a man hired as superintendent of all the playgrounds over two young men as playground directors and two young women as assistants. From 1903 to 1909 men were appointed as supervisors over all of Detroit’s municipal playgrounds, *except for 1906*, when a woman was appointed as the overall supervisor (Martindale 1909, pp. 8, 10, 12).

Cavallo (1981) describes the vision of reformers to teach boys an intersectional dual-gender identity integrating the “masculine” principles of individual initiative and competition with the “feminine” egalitarian principles of fairness and cooperation through team games, such as baseball and basketball. In Detroit, basketball courts were first established in 1901 in the basement of Russell school (Arthur 1909, p. 2). After Miss Katherine B. White was hired in 1906 as supervisor of the seven playgrounds, six of which were in schoolyards, she organized a boys’ baseball league and a girls’ basketball league, with teams from different playgrounds competing against each other in championship games (Martindale 1909, pp. 10-12). The girls’ basketball league was remarkable for its time, as many female physical educators argued that sports

competitions were inappropriate and unhealthy for girls because they taught rivalry and aggressiveness, as well as causing physical strain (Verbrugge 1988, pp. 158-159, 187-191).

In June 1907, Arthur issued the first report of the Detroit Playground Association to the Mayor and the Detroit Common Council. In it, she argued that recreation centers not only prevented “juvenile crime and lawlessness” but further taught civic responsibility and “community spirit which is a prime requisite in the making of desirable citizens” (Reinicker 2000, p. 88). Arthur urged Detroit to follow the advice from the national Playground Association to adopt a public policy on playgrounds, appoint an honorary commission to investigate city conditions and playground needs, and to develop a plan reported to the Mayor and Common Council. The plan would include supervised playgrounds at all primary schools for recess, after-hours, and vacations; reuse of schools for indoor recreation centers and field houses; playgrounds near neighborhoods with older children; athletic fields in parks and suburbs for baseball, tennis, cricket, etc.; and coasting and skating in winter, to encourage those sports among the adult population (Reinicker 2000, p. 88).

After Arthur’s report, Detroit formed the Recreation League, later named the Department of Recreation, to oversee the playgrounds. By 1926, the Department of Recreation supervised 36 parks and playgrounds, servicing over eight million children and adults per year (Reinicker 2000, p. 22). Working with different women’s organizations in the city, Arthur achieved her goals for the community. With persistence, she effectively worked with the local government to establish city improvement plans, particularly the development of playgrounds and shower baths at public schools. Reform women’s development of an intersectional masculinized feminine identity empowered Arthur and other women in political action that was previously considered an exclusively masculine domain.

The Playground Committee of the Local Council of Women of Detroit influenced other women-dominated organizations to create playgrounds in Detroit. The Protestant Orphan Asylum of Detroit consulted with the Playground Committee for its first steps and provided a model playground for its children in 1902. The Franklin Street Settlement House, formerly the Detroit Day Nursery and Kindergarten, also established a playground down the street from their Settlement House location. In addition to establishing the playground, Franklin Street Settlement also established other public amenities, including public baths, a kindergarten, and a day nursery. Their goal was to “help our neighbors become better citizens,” which they did by working with the mostly French-Canadian immigrants in the area, and “to study and serve the needs of the neighborhood and through it the community in a spirit of genuine neighborliness with a strong sense of civic duty” (Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 142). Settlement workers used the development of playgrounds at their sites to give children a place to play besides the dirty streets of the city (Davis 1967, p. 61). Similar to the work of Clara Arthur and the Playground Committee of the Local Council of Women of Detroit, settlements in Detroit worked with their communities to address their needs while also taking action against the social problems plaguing the city’s immigrant population.

Mapping and Assessing the Survival of Detroit’s Playground Landscapes

Reneé Blackburn assessed the current condition of Detroit’s historic playgrounds using aerial views in Google Earth and by visiting and photographing them. She found all but three of the 15 surveyed historic Detroit school and settlement playgrounds have become abandoned and overgrown, or demolished by newer construction. This situation is part of the abandonment of Detroit and its decay, including the abandonment of supervised playgrounds at poor schools due

to budget cuts. The decline of Detroit was initiated by the movement of the auto industry to non-unionized southern states.

To assess the current condition of the playgrounds, Blackburn identified schools from histories (Martindale 1909, Burton 1930), and then located them on Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and on Google Earth aerial and street views before visiting each site. School locations generally fall into five categories: currently in use, reuse as a park/playground, recently abandoned with intact playground, vacant/overgrown lot, or demolished (Figure 4).

Duffield School is the only one that has remained in continuous operation, including the school playground (Figure 5). Hubbard School was rebuilt as Webster School. Though there are other sites that still have active educational facilities on site, they have changed from their intended usage. For instance, the Chaney School building currently operates as an educational facility for young pregnant teens. The Tappan School site (Figure 6) is no longer a school and contains a modern playground and a park with a baseball diamond. According to Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, the modern playground is on top of the former location of the school building. Sidewalks around the playground resemble those that surrounded the original school building. Franklin School was abandoned in 2013 and still has intact playground equipment (Figure 7). The Campau School (Figure 8) is currently a vacant lot. An aerial view of the site (Google Earth circa 2007) shows discolorations and features on the ground where the school and playground were located. The Russell School has been destroyed but possible parts of destroyed playground equipment remain in the rear of what was the school lot (Figure 9). Finally, some of the sites have been completely demolished and are now the locations of parking lots, highways, or industrial, commercial, or residential buildings.

Using Google Earth or another mapping program to assess sites is extremely helpful in determining the condition of a site. Not only does it allow us to determine where the site is and what is present from an aerial perspective, but programs like Google Earth provide easy and free access for researchers to look at historic aerial photos and see how sites have changed through time. For instance, Google Earth Aerial photos from 2002 to 2010 show how vegetation increasingly covers the remains of demolished Russell School and its playground equipment. Recently part of the playground is being used as a pickup soccer field (Figure 10 A, B, C, D).

Archaeological Potential of Playgrounds

This kind of archaeological reconnaissance survey of the conditions at playground sites is important for assessing their archaeological potential. Some of the playgrounds have low potential because they have been largely destroyed by the construction of buildings or roads. The potential is highest at sites that have been abandoned, exemplified by many school playgrounds in Detroit (Figure 3), or continuously used as playgrounds, such as the municipal playgrounds in Boston's North End, West End, and South End (Figure 1). In Detroit, historic photos show some gender-mixed playgrounds, but also a baseball diamond and one school playground where only boys are playing (Arthur 1909, pp. 3, 6,; Martindale 1909, pp. 11, 14). Historical archaeological surveys and excavations can provide information about the process of adoption of different kinds of playgrounds and equipment.

Similar to schoolyards, excavations of playgrounds can be expected to uncover predominantly landscape features and remains of buildings, with few toys. One major potential contribution of historical archaeology is to assess the degree of applicability of Rainwater's (1922, p. 46) stages of development of the playground movement: The Sand Garden Stage 1885-

1895, The Model Playground Stage 1895-1900, the Small Park Stage 1900-1905, and the Recreation Center Stage 1905-1912. Each stage does not replace the previous one but adds more forms of recreation and equipment. Fenced spaces were a common feature of many playgrounds, intended to keep out undisciplined children and teach orderly habits to children in the playground. According to Rainwater, sand gardens initially also included only “occupation work” such as sewing, but later often also included jump ropes, swings, seesaws and pullcarts. Model playgrounds were the first to have some age and gender segregation, with sand gardens for small children of both genders and added spaces for older boys’ team sports, gymnastics equipment, giant strides and sometimes tennis courts, promenades and skating rinks. Small park-playgrounds added fenced gender-segregated play areas with athletic fields, baseball diamonds, comfort stations, and the first wading pool. Archaeology can uncover remains of gender segregated playgrounds and may reveal evidence of differences in equipment and size of fenced areas. Recreation centers added an indoor field house or more use of school spaces for health exhibits, social parties, dances, clubs, dramatics choral singing and lectures, and sometimes swimming pools (Rainwater 1922, pp. 46-48, 56-91). Increased use of school spaces usually involved using gyms for non-sports activities, and auditoriums for social events as well as dramatics and lectures. Historical archaeology can assess whether remains of equipment and buildings represent these developmental stages at individual playgrounds or in towns, cities, or regions. It can be expected that in some cities, exemplified by Boston, the stages may combine or overlap and vary temporally. In addition, archaeology can indicate when some types of equipment were removed from playgrounds due to safety concerns, such as teeter ladders, metal jungle gyms called outdoor gymnasiums, giant strides, merry-go-rounds with open centers where

children could fall into the gears, and replacement of hard wood seats on swings with soft rubber strips.

Excavations of playground cultural landscapes may uncover undocumented locations of equipment, buildings and features such as sand gardens, swings, seesaws and fences.

Comparison of documented equipment with excavations may reveal if idealistic plans for playgrounds, such as fenced gender-segregated play areas, were altered in actual construction.

Excavation may be important in indicating the extent of realization of playground plans and ideals in areas such as gender ideology. In the case of the Charlesbank, photographs show that the plans were implemented, with gender-segregated playgrounds constructed at opposite ends of the park and promenades among the trees in between. However, photographs are not always available showing the extent to which plans were actually constructed. Some photographs of historic playgrounds in Detroit do not specify the school, which archaeology might be able to identify by comparing excavated playground landscape features with unlabeled photographs showing the locations of equipment, fences and buildings.

Excavations may also reveal resistance by children to intended middle-class uses of playgrounds. For instance, distinctive gendered artifacts may indicate if boys or girls strayed into the segregated playground of the other gender in playgrounds for older children that had fenced gender-segregated areas. Privies may contain gender-distinctive artifacts as were excavated at the Wea View School in Indiana (Rotman 2009a, pp. 81-82). Gender-specific activity areas are more difficult to identify in playgrounds because boys sometimes participated in feminine crafts such as sewing and crocheting (Arthur 1909, p. 2). Archaeology may also recover evidence of hidden activities, especially in large park playgrounds, such as underage smoking and drinking of alcoholic beverages, and potentially even evidence of clandestine sexual activities. In the late

nineteenth century the maintenance of some municipal playgrounds was neglected to the extent that they became “known as public assignation places” (Cavallo 1981, p. 30).

Conclusion

Playgrounds materialized major changes in cultural ideologies that transformed Western conceptions of childhood, motherhood, womanhood, and gender power dynamics. Women and their male allies created new gender ideologies that transformed the status of women, mothering, and women’s domestic sphere from inferior and unimportant to morally superior and politically important, empowering women to create public cooperative housekeeping and mothering institutions, including playgrounds, in men’s public urban landscapes. Reform women developed an intersectional masculinized feminine identity that permitted them to create women’s public institutions and professions, and undertake political actions in men’s public sphere without questions being raised about their appropriateness or femininity.

In contrast to playground histories that are ungendered or argue that the playground movement developed out of men’s playgrounds for older boys’ sports (Cavallo 1981, 1988, p. 66), the evidence clearly shows that women established the earliest playgrounds both for young children and for older boys, and exerted “powers with” other women’s and men’s organizations in a network that actively spread playgrounds across the country and created the playground movement. Further, reform women exerted “powers with” progressive men to obtain donated vacant land and level it, install play equipment, and plant bushes and trees for shade. However, some governmental officials, as exemplified by Detroit, initially refused requests of women’s organizations to create playgrounds on public land or in schoolyards. These officials still

conceived of children as little workers and said that a “workground” was needed rather than a playground.

Playgrounds materialized multiple meanings for reformers, children and their parents. Playgrounds were very popular with children and their parents, but they were not concerned with the ideologies and intentions of play organizers to reform society through group and team games. Further, since participation in playgrounds was completely voluntary, children were not powerless, but actively exerted resistant “powers under” reformers to obtain protection of street play, while also exerting “powers with” reformers to negotiate for playground conditions they wanted, such as discipline and protection from bullies, and admission of older children to playgrounds for younger children.

Of major significance, women’s creation of the playground movement demonstrates how subordinate social groups can create cultural change. First reform women and their male allies successfully argued for changes in the dominant gender ideology of separate spheres, changes that created an intersectional masculinized feminine identity that empowered women to create public cooperative mothering professions, institutions, and landscapes, such as playgrounds. Women’s organizations first privately created and funded playgrounds, demonstrating their popularity and utility. Then they exerted their “moral suasion” to persuade male municipal government officials to incorporate playgrounds in public schools. When municipal officials resisted, as in Detroit, women’s organizations lobbied them by exerting “powers with” male allies such as school boards, and “powers with” the public through citizen petitions, press articles and votes to establish and fund public school playgrounds. Reform women exerted grassroots “powers under” male officials to create a cultural change that improved public education by creating school playgrounds.

What lessons can we learn today from the historical archaeology of the playground movement? Most fundamental is the necessity of free play as well as group and team games for the healthy mental and social as well as physical development of children (Frost 2010, pp. 202-207). Education that focuses on high-stakes academic testing has led many schools to discontinue physical education, recess, play, art and music classes (Frost 2010, pp. 230, 232). Play and physical education programs need to be restored because research has shown that the development of children's minds is inseparable from, and dependent on, physical development. Exercise provides several benefits for children's development and education, including increased memory, learning, and ability to carry out tasks that require attention, organization, planning, and creativity (Frost 2010, pp. 203-206). Exercise and play release endorphins in the brain that positively affect the hippocampus, improving memory, brain plasticity, learning, and mood, as well as generating new brain cells (Bassuk, Church and Manson 2013, p. 76; Frost 2010, pp. 205-206). Research also shows that children's mental and academic performance improves and becomes more efficient after exercise. Play is also important for learning to develop good social relationships and empathy (Frost 2010, pp. 204, 208). Exercise is also needed to decrease the obesity problem that is resulting in an epidemic of childhood diabetes and other diseases. The decline in school playgrounds and recess since 1975, and the failure to teach children the benefits of exercise and train them in good exercise habits is a major factor in the current health issues among children and adults in poor neighborhoods (Bassuk, Church and Manson et al 2103, p. 76, 79; Frost 2010, pp. 198).

While physical exercises are boring for some people, play is fun exercise that is more engaging, especially group and team games, which teach social and mental as well as physical skills. Historical research shows that playgrounds need to be supervised in order to stop bullies

from intimidating other children, preventing them from playing and driving them from the playground (Cavallo 1981, p. 93; Rainwater 1922, p. 31; Wood 2015). Further, modern playground supervisors could learn from reformers' historical experience about how to decrease racism and ethnic hostilities by organizing racially and ethnically integrated games and athletic leagues from elementary schools through high schools. Schools and playgrounds need to be racially integrated in order to deter the development of racist youths who perpetrate hate crimes such as the murders in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015. Organized group and team games are needed to teach children social skills, which are being eroded by the internet and computer games that can lead children to become addicted to a virtual world and alienated from the real world (Frost 2010, pp. 219-220, 259). Nature play is also needed, such as gardening, because children need to develop environmental literacy by learning about how humans are changing the planet through global climate change, and over-exploitation and depletion of planetary resources required for the survival of humanity (Frost 2010, p. 261).

Some contemporary citizens have noticed how lack of outdoor play has negatively impacted children's physical, mental, and social development, and have created organizations to revive children's organized play, gardening, nature play, and organized playgrounds in schools, building on these early twentieth-century play movements (Frost 2010, pp. 241-145). By 2009 all of the states and the District of Columbia passed laws requiring physical education and/or physical activity in schools, but only 13 of these laws included any method of enforcement (Frost 2010, pp. 240, 249-253). Teacher training needs to include education in supervising play and leading organized games, which has been lost since the early twentieth century, when teacher training in play was first established in normal schools (teacher-training colleges for women),

because many female play supervisors did not learn, and therefore could not lead, team games such as baseball (Curtis 1915b, pp. 340-341; Frost 2010, pp. 105-106, 269).

Perhaps most important to revive would be the intersectional identity of feminized masculinity taught in team games by emphasizing feminine moral values of fairness, empathy, mutualism, democratic cooperation, following rules, and self-sacrifice for the common good. Team games in schools have come instead to fulfill the reformers' worst fears by over-emphasizing aggressive individual competitiveness and winning at all costs (Cavallo 1981, p. 86), which has resulted in cheating scandals, player injuries such as concussions, and the unhealthy ethic of playing while injured. Youths who learned a team ethic of cheating to win at all costs have become capitalists in global companies that lack any loyalty to America and maximize profits at all costs, including underpaying exploited workers, not paying their share of taxes by establishing headquarters in tax haven countries and other dodges, and illegally polluting the air, water and environment that is needed for human survival. We need to be aware of the moral meanings of play and the social values that currently are being taught in team games and other values they could teach. One example is Japanese baseball, in which the goal is to end with a tie instead of a win. The goal of ending with a tie teaches children that life is not a zero sum game in which you either win or lose, but could instead involve mutual respect, empathy, caring, fairness and cooperating together to make sure that we all win in the game of life.

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Figure Captions:

Figure 1. Map of Locations of some Early Playgrounds in Boston.

A. Parmenter Street Chapel at 24 Parmenter Street. Sand Garden created in 1885 by women of MEHA. Destroyed (Rainwater 1922, p.22; Cole 1902a, p. 288)

B. The West End Day Nursery 1882-1901 at 37 Blossom Street. Sand Garden created in 1885 by women of MEHA. Destroyed (Bromley 1890 Plate 3; Cole 1902b, p. 320; Rainwater 1922, p.22; Spencer-Wood 1987, p. 18)

C. North Bennet Street Industrial School founded in 1880 by Pauline Agassiz Shaw at 37-39 N. Bennet Street in the North End, had a yard playground and roof playground. Now a parking lot behind the extant North Bennet Street Industrial School (Cole 1902a, p. 288)

D. North End Civic Service House, founded in 1901 by Pauline Agassiz Shaw, had a vacant lot children's garden since 1906, and a roof garden at 110-112 Salem Street. The settlement is gone, but a building is extant (Cole 1902a, p. 288; Woods and Kennedy 1911, pp. 108-109, 120)

E. North End playground next to Paul Revere School, near Prince Street. Currently a basketball court (Cole 1902a, p. 288; Chandler 1902, p. 90);

F. North End Park playground established 1900 by Joseph Lee and the Massachusetts Civic League, with sand garden, swings, seesaws, and bathing beach. Now a seashore park without playground (Cavallo 1981, p. 30; Cole 1902a, p. 288; Cole and Miles 1902, pp. 351-352);

G. Frances E. Willard Settlement, founded 1898 by Caroline M. Caswell under the auspices of the YWCTU as an outgrowth of a social center for factory girls, with a playground at 38 Chambers Street, 1908-1951. Destroyed (Bromley 1890, Plate 3; Frances E. Willard Settlement 1911, pp. 15-16; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 132)

H. Elizabeth Peabody House, founded in 1896 and headed by women, 87-89 Poplar Street, West End. Blocked off streets for play, children's garden and use of the Charlesbank girls' and women's playground. Destroyed (Bromley 1902, Plate 3; Elizabeth Peabody House 1910, p. 16; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 112)

I. Elizabeth Peabody House constructed 1912 with gymnasium and across from the Charlesbank. Destroyed (Elizabeth Peabody House 1913, p. 11; Spencer-Wood 1996, p. 428, 440)

J. Charlesbank Park-Playground, instigated by the women of MEHA, designed by the Olmsted Brothers, and created by the Boston Park Dept. in 1889-1891. Playground destroyed, still a park (Cole 1902, p. 320; Rainwater 1922, pp. 28-29, 72-73).

K. The Boston Public Garden playground supervised since 1902 by Ellis Memorial and Eldredge House. Destroyed (Ellis Memorial and Eldredge Home 1908, pp. 6-7, 14; Spencer-Wood 1987, p. 16; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 113).

L. Ellis Memorial and Eldredge House social settlement, founded as a boys' club by Miss Ida Eldredge in 1885, incorporated and moved to 12 Carver Street in 1901. Destroyed (Bromley 1890, Plate 10; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 113)

M. Children's Mission, South End, playground created in 1887. Destroyed (now a Courtyard Marriott) (Rainwater 1922, p. 23; Woods and Cole 1898, p. 176)

N. Warrenton Street Chapel playground created in 1887. Destroyed (Rainwater 1922, p. 23; Woods and Cole 1898, p. 176)

O. Denison House Settlement founded in 1892 by women of the College Settlements Association, including Vida Scudder and Helena Dudley, and expanded to 89-97 Tyler Street. Mostly Destroyed. (Denison House Settlement 1919, pp. 16, 18; Woods and Cole 1898, pp. 176) Denison House gymnasium in Old Colony Chapel, 65 Tyler Street. Destroyed (Woods and Cole 1898, pp. 176; Spencer-Wood 1996, pp. 428, 442 (63)).

P. South End Municipal Playground. Between Randolph and Thayer Streets, extending for half the block starting from Albany Street. Now a soccer field called the Rotch Playground (South End House 1910, p. 4)

Q. Hale House settlement, founded in 1895 by the Tolstoi Club, president Dr. Edward Everett Hale, 6-8 Garland St., destroyed. In 1902 opened the "little playground" with the Hawthorne Club. Destroyed (Woods and Cole 1898, p. 176; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 113)

R. Hawthorn Club settlement, founded in 1899 at 3-4 Garland Street by Lillian v. Robinson and Pauline Ingraham. The Hawthorne Club created the "little playground" with Hale House 1900-1937. Destroyed. (Bromley 1890, Plate 16; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 115)

S. Boston Female Orphan Asylum play yard, 1006 Washington Street, supervised by Hale House settlement. Destroyed (Sanborn 1908; Woods and Cole 1898, p. 176; Woods 1898, p. 254; Woods and Kennedy 1911, p. 114)
Map by Renée Blackburn on Google Earth, caption by Suzanne Spencer-Wood.

Figure 2. Map of the pattern of early diffusion of playgrounds across the United States, showing that women's organizations established playgrounds first in large cities and then in smaller, surrounding cities. All mapped cities initiated playgrounds with sand gardens, indicating inspiration from Boston. Dates and city names with asterisks* indicate where records exist that women's organizations created playgrounds after consulting with Boston's MEHA playground committee (Arthur 1909, p. 7; Beard 1915, pp. 136-138; Byington 1931, p. 177; Enstam 1994;

Rainwater 1922, pp. 34, 40-43, 48-51, 59; Reinicker 2000, p. 19, Temple 1910; Wilkinson 1949). Map by Suzanne Spencer-Wood.

Figure 3. Pine Street Playground, established 1902, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A. Racially integrated high jump organized by reform women. B. Whites only on seesaws. C. African-American girl and baby with tree stump near playground fence. Photographs from Brooks, Folder 211. Courtesy of the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

Figure 4. Map of Locations of some Historic Playgrounds in Detroit.

A. Gillies School, Southeast corner of Junction and Lafayette Streets – demolished for highway development;

B. Hubbard School, East of 25th Street near Porter Street – currently the Covenant Academy Southwest, an alternative charter school founded 1997;

C. Craft School, Northeast corner of Ash and Vinewood Streets – overgrown lot with partial, heavily overgrown sidewalks remaining;

D. Chaney School, East of Lawton, near Linden Street – currently the Catherine Ferguson Academy, a charter school for pregnant and parenting teens;

E. Tappan School, Northwest corner of Vermont and Marantette Streets – now a modern playground and park with a baseball diamond, with walkway remnants from the school visible around the playground;

F. Franklin School, West of Brooklyn, South of Pine, North of Henry Streets – abandoned and privately owned as of December 2014;

G. Houghton School, North of Abbott and Brooklyn Streets – currently the site of a labor union building and park;

H. Clinton School, South of Clinton near Rivard Street – site of a parking lot next to highway;

I. Capron School, Northwest corner of Maple and Riopelle Streets – large apartment complex now on site;

J. Bishop School, North of Wilders, South of Adelaide, West of Rivard Streets – site now occupied by industrial buildings on edge of modern highway;

K. Russell School, Southeast corner of Russell and Eliot – empty lot with pick-up soccer field as of May 2015;

L. Campau School, North of Forest, East of Campau, West of Mitchell Streets– empty lot, sidewalks present and evidence of school’s location visible in aerial view;

M. Scripps School, West of Belvidere, East of Holcomb, near Kercheval Street – now the site of modern condos, remnants of the alleys and surrounding structures are visible in the aerial view;

N. Duffield School, South of Clinton, North of Macomb, near Chene Street – closed in 2010 but still used as a school in the Detroit Public School system, currently called the Bunche

Preparatory Academy;

O. Franklin Street Settlement House, 519 Franklin Street – now the site of industrial buildings;

1. Clark Park;

2. Belle Isle.

(Burton 1930, pp. 781-785; Franklin Street Settlement 1906, p. 3). Map by Renée Blackburn on Google Maps.

Figure 5. Duffield School is still in use and has the only school playground in Detroit that is still used for its original purpose. Note the baseball diamond bottom right and the tennis courts bottom center. Trees planted mostly around the edges as suggested by playground reformers. Google Earth aerial photo, 2010.

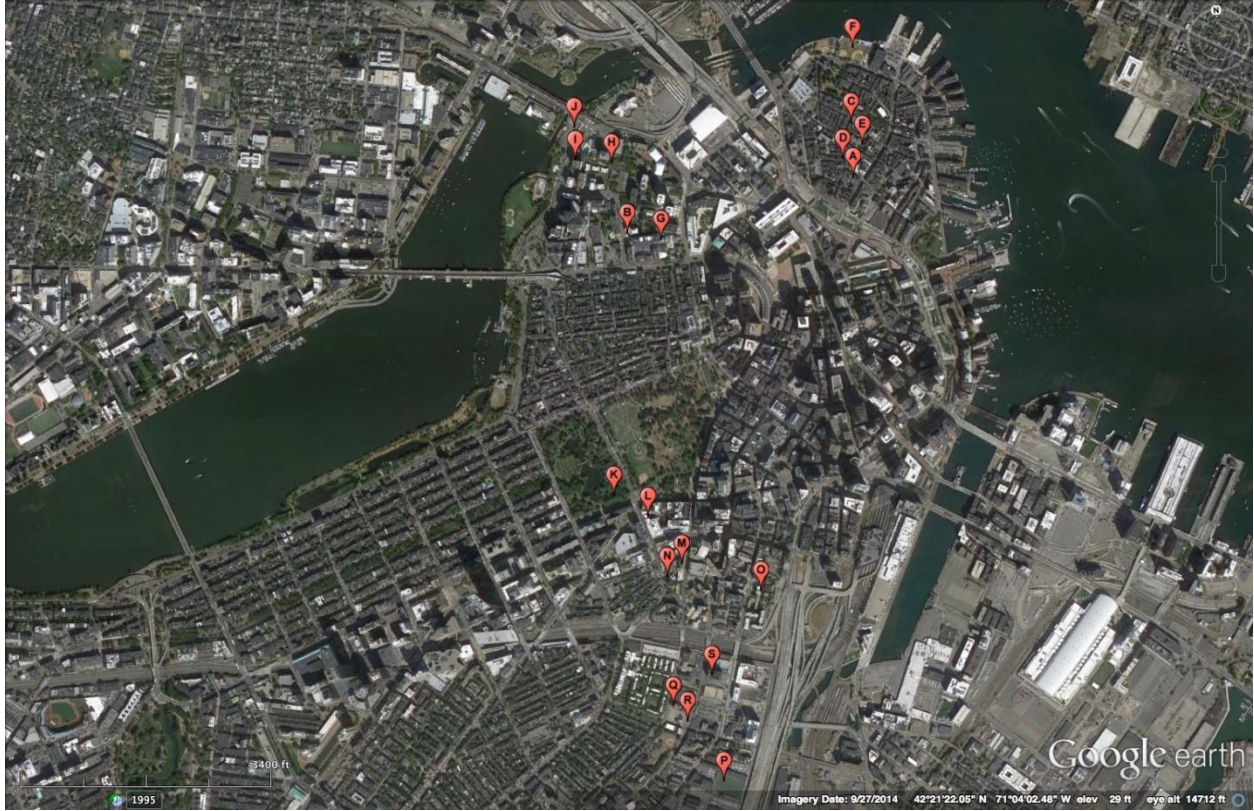
Figure 6. The Tappan School site is no longer a school, but contains a modern playground and a park with a baseball diamond. Google Earth street view photo, 2013.

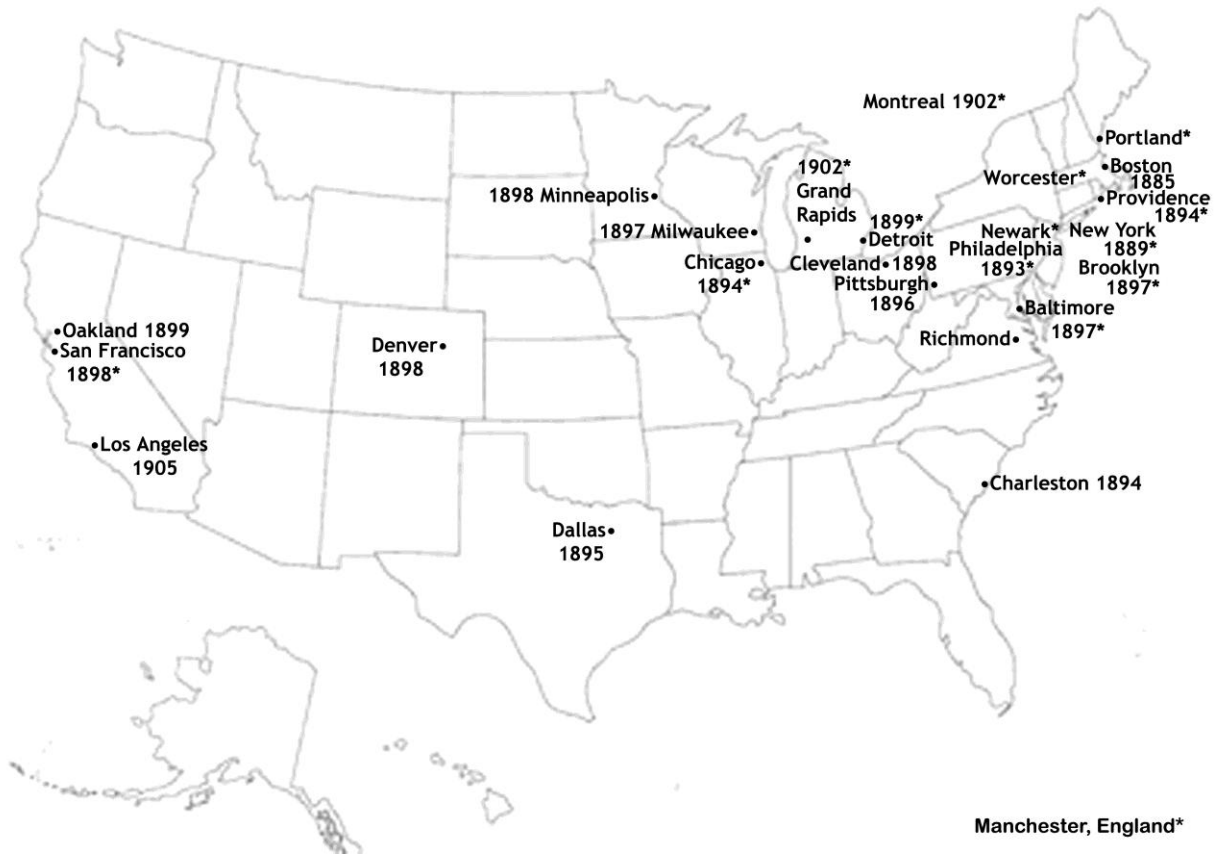
Figure 7. Franklin School was abandoned in 2013 and still has intact playground equipment. Google Earth street view photo, 2013.

Figure 8. Campau School is an example of a former playground that is now a vacant lot. Google Earth aerial photo, 2007.

Figure 9. The abandoned Russell School playground showing possible parts of destroyed playground equipment in what was the rear of the school lot. Photo by Renée Blackburn, 2009

Figure 10. Google Earth aerial photos showing Russell School foundation being overgrown. A. 2001; B. 2010; C. 2015 with area of cement blocks in Figure 9 outlined in red with blue marker; D. May 2015 Google Earth street view of school site made into a pickup soccer field.

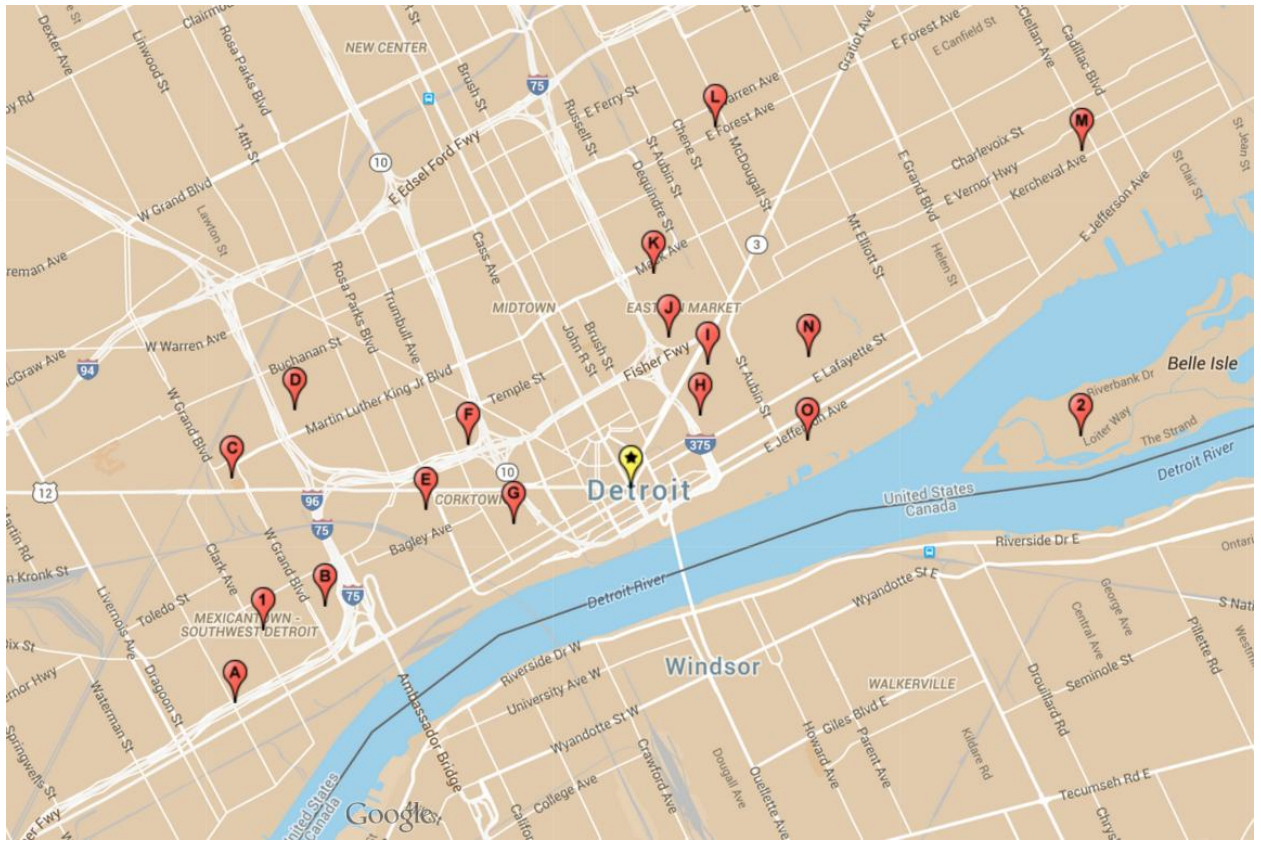


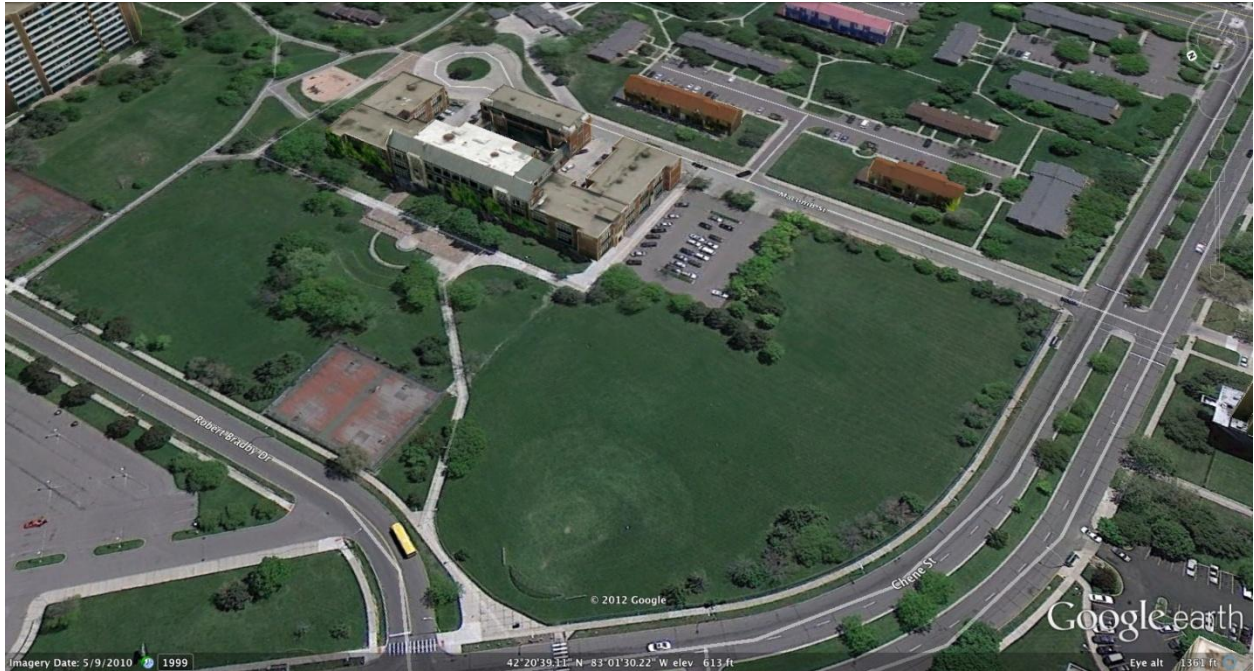














2058 Vermont St

2058 Vermont St

Detroit, Michigan

Street View - Sep 2013

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