Bringing the schoolhouse to life: Methodologies of living history education demonstrated in a living history program for San Timoteo Schoolhouse, Riverside County, California

Mark L. Shanks
BRINGING THE SCHOOLHOUSE TO LIFE:
METHODOLOGIES OF LIVING HISTORY EDUCATION DEMONSTRATED
IN A LIVING HISTORY PROGRAM FOR SAN TIMOTEO SCHOOLHOUSE,
RIVERSIDE COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

A Project
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in
Interdisciplinary Studies:
Public History Education

by
Mark L. Shanks
December 1994
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ABSTRACT

This project begins by examining living history; defining its scope, uses, and relationship to other fields. It further defines and articulates a second-person methodology for construction of living history educational projects, grounding it in historical, educational, and dramatic theory. Finally, it demonstrates this methodology by proposing a such a program at the San Timoteo Schoolhouse, in Riverside County, California. This demonstration includes definitions of educational objectives, historical background, notes on program presentation, and a model lesson plan including sample student materials.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

"We few, we happy few, we band of brothers. . ."

Henry V, 4:2

A number of wonderful people have assisted me in the creation of this project. It is, therefore, my heartfelt duty to acknowledge those special people and organizations that have assisted me in this endeavor.

My thanks go out to the faculty and staff of California State University at San Bernardino, for their commitment to Graduate Interdisciplinary Studies program, which allowed me to pursue studies that push at the ragged edge of a number of academic departments. Especially important have been my graduate committee, whose patient advice, insightful criticism, and helpful guidance have aided me in my work immeasurably.

Thanks, in addition, must go out to members of the living history community who have worked to develop the ideas which I can only in some small way build upon.

Living History Center’s Education Department and their head, Linda Underhill, deserve great recognition for many years of help, allowing me the luxury of learning the craft both of teaching and first-person living history. (Hobbit, I count myself as blessed to have you as a friend and mentor.)

My admiration goes out to the amazing ladies of Washburn-Norlands Living History Center: Billie Gammon, Norma Boothby, and Willie Irish. Your example has shown the countless members of the “Norlands Family” that hard work, honesty and devotion to history are not merely ideals, but daily practice for those who would succeed in our field. I hope that your programs will be seen by many more admirers over the years, and your methods will help transform the practice of both history and living history.
I'd like to thank Riverside County Department of Parks Historian Diane Seider, who in spite of a doubling of workload from budget cuts and recurring illness still found time to assist me whenever I needed it.

Special gratitude goes to the many San Bernardino area local historians and historical archives who assisted the researching of this project: Arda Haenszel who generously gave me access to her extensive personal collection of notes, books and material, the product of a lifetime of collection; Mary Lewis, whose genealogical notes on the area's families were a precious resource to my research; San Bernardino Public Library's California Room and its Librarian Chris Shovey, as well as San Bernardino County Archives and its Archivist Jim Hoffer (and his tireless assistant Anne), both of which provided valuable assistance and advice on their holdings, and useful directions for this research.

And of course, my eternal indebtedness to my parents, who have put up with years of oddness and crisis from their wandering son. Mom and Dad, this one's for you.
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INTRODUCTION

"Into the Time-warp with History's Lunatic Fringe"

Jay Anderson

The idea for this project began in the remote woods of Central Maine. I had gone to the Washburn-Norlands Living History Center as a summer intern to study their living history live-in programs and broaden my experience in museum studies through hands on work. In the course of my summer there, I learned a great deal about the practical and day to day work of a small museum. This experience worked to broaden my horizons to new and different methods of history education.

Central to the site's activities was a program they had established over 20 years ago. Entitled "Journey I: A Typical Day in School, 1850's," it consisted of a living history program based in the site's restored school house. The program attempted to re-create a typical school day for the students through the actual teaching, work, gossip, and play that would have been experienced by a historic student. Not only did their teacher-interpreter bring to life Miss Eunice P. Chenery (the district's schoolmarm in 1853), but in addition the life and times of nineteenth-century Livermore, Maine, though the venue of its district number seven school.

I was very much excited by the program idea. In the months that I was present at Norlands, the positive response to the program, most especially from school-age children

1 Why Norlands and their live-in program? I had read the article on the program by Tracy Linton Craig, "Retreat into History" History News, (June, 1983); and was very much impressed by his first-person account and description of the background of the program. My work in other historical museums had suggested the possibilities of doing such work, but I wished to see a practical demonstration of it.
was striking. They were fascinated by the notion that history might include schoolchildren like themselves, and issues and concerns similar to their own. In my teaching experience, contemporary students seem to have great difficulty relating to history, and even less enthusiasm for it. Any program that can focus their interest and attention on history in a positive manner is worthy of examination. It seemed that the Norlands program was history which school kids could relate to and be excited by.

Two features of this program specifically impressed me. First, the choice to actively involve the students in the interpretation, not as passive observers or distant modern participants, but rather by using them to personify and actively portray students who attended the school, making them a part of the interpretive “story.” This form of historical interpretation, pioneered by the site’s founder, Billie Gammon, seemed novel, distinctive, and worthy of emulation as an enormously powerful tool to help students identify with and understand the reality of history. This choice to use active learning principles to teach local and school history was all the more stunning given that none of the staff of Norlands had significant formal grounding in educational theory, and the rural Maine area of its founding was not a center of educational innovation. Yet they had implemented this program that fit squarely within the current direction and goals of progressive history educators.2

Second, the attention paid to portray accurately both site and local history was truly impressive. While I had seen many programs that interpreted historic schoolhouses, I believed the Norlands program one of the definitive programs in living history and

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2 Ibid.; Billie Gammon, Conversation, 18 January, 1994
schoolhouse interpretation. Norland's use of primary source materials to detail the material culture of schoolhouse, furnishings, supplies, and even area was impressive. The inclusion of local family histories, folkways and speech patterns in the re-creation set it far apart from run-of-the-mill school program. Most importantly, this program worked very hard to provide a seamless and historically accurate picture of the site's schoolhouse. This would be impressive in any historical interpretative medium, but it is doubly so for being implemented both as a school and living history program, fields too often painted as the home of poorly researched and presented historical work.4

Having seen the program, I could not help but be impressed. Having been trained to present the program to incredibly appreciative students and teachers, I could not help but want to emulate its successes. Being a Southern California native far from my home region, I could only wish that the folks back home might have an opportunity to be involved with such living history and present it in such an effective manner to students of our state. As a student whose chosen field of study involves non-traditional methods of history education, I wanted to share the methods I had seen with a broader academic and

3 In addition to the Norlands schoolhouse program mentioned, the author has seen and examined programs at Sacramento, Irvine, San Diego, Bakersfield, El Monte, Novato, San Francisco, and Buena Park, California; Grand Island, Nebraska; Des Moines, Iowa; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Sturbridge, Massachusetts. While many of them have elements worth emulating, none seem as accurate, in-depth, specific, educationally useful, or stimulating for the students as the Norlands program.

professional community. Clearly the stage was set to recreate and elaborate upon such an interpretive program upon my return, as my master’s project.

However, certain difficulties raised immediate concerns. While a sketchy summary of the Norlands’ program exists in their interpreter’s guide, it provides no more than an unadorned outline of the program as presented. Interpreters are trained in this program and its methods mostly through oral instruction and modeling on the program’s presentation by others. The methods used to create and implement this program have not been significantly documented in any public way. Finally, the educational and historic choices made in its creation, while implicit, are not well defined.

Therefore, to demonstrate this style of program, a comprehensive examination of methods and choices would need to be undertaken. This would then need to be applied to a local site in which this program might be replicated. Without a documented model to compare against, care would have to be taken that the analysis and descriptions were clear enough to help develop a program which would achieve the same high standards and positive public response.

The choice of a historical school site and specific date to interpret are key to creating such a program. In making this choice, it would be preferable to choose a local site that had been preserved and restored, and whose managing agency would be open to such a program being demonstrated in their venue. Unfortunately for this project, Southern California is not well noted for its historic preservation activities as compared to many other areas of the country. Some preservationists might in fact refer to this area as a

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5 Wilma Boothby Irish, ed. "Norlands Living History Center Interpreter’s Guide" (Livermore, Maine: Washburn-Norlands, 1991)
"bulldozer" culture, where yesterday's buildings make way for today's construction at a furious pace.

While extant nineteenth-century schools are not completely unknown in Southern California, preserved and restored schools are a scarce commodity. In fact, in the consideration of over a score of sites within a 100 mile radius, no site was found to be available which precisely fit the previously mentioned needs. Therefore I was forced to fall back on the idea of demonstrating the program as a prospectus and paper proposal rather than as a fully mounted and demonstrated activity.

Given these circumstances, I simply went forward by choosing the closest extant nineteenth-century schoolhouse where I might get moderate cooperation from its administrators as a basis for this project. This turned out to be the schoolhouse in San Timoteo Canyon, lying roughly 25 highway miles from California State University, San Bernardino, and just across the county border in Riverside County. It is administered by

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6 Sites considered include schools in San Bernardino, Riverside, San Diego, Los Angeles, Orange, and Santa Barbara Counties. The three primary reasons for rejecting these other sites were some combination of lack of restoration, lack of cooperation of the owner or administrating agency, and/or lack of available historical resource material on the site. Rarest among these in the opinion of this author were restored schools, closely followed by cooperative site administrators.

7 A somewhat more formal description of the location, abstracted from the title deed would be: lying at the south-west corner of section 20, Township 2 South, Range 2 West, San Bernardino Baseline and Meridian. See: San Bernardino County, County Recorder, "Register of Deeds", Book 30, p.578-79, San Bernardino County Archives
the Riverside County Department of Parks, who have as a long term goal the preservation, restoration, and historical interpretation of the site.

The school, dating from 1883, is a wood structure of vernacular architecture lying on the south side of the upper canyon amid a small stand of subsequently planted pepper trees. It appears (based upon the readings of the author) to be the oldest extant school structure in either Riverside or San Bernardino counties. It had seen continued use as some combination of school, Sunday school, community meeting house, and polling place for over 100 years until its incorporation into the Riverside County Parks system in 1985. Since then, it has sat idle and vacant, awaiting restoration and historical interpretation.

It is my belief that this project will work to satisfy two different goals. First, I will endeavor to propose a well defined living history program of interpretation for San Timoteo Schoolhouse's specific context, as a way of spurring further interest and activity involving this site. Second, by documenting the choices and methods used in creating this program, I believe I can offer insight into the methods of creating such programs and a sample program for others. If my efforts can act as a model, starting point, or even

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8 Unfortunately for the purpose of this project, the restoration is only haltingly started, grudgingly funded, and has no firmly foreseeable completion date. The site (prior to the start of this project) had little firm or accurate historical documentation beyond the shockingly incomplete and misleading preliminary historic structure report, and no county staff or budget to remedy this situation. While great enthusiasm for the project was shown by the Park Department historian, Diane Seider, site administrator for this location, little to no material help was provided beyond references. This project has primarily a labor of love and learning on the author's part.

cautionary tale for those considering interpreting nineteenth-century educational sites or Southern California historical structures using living history, then I feel it will be time well spent.
BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS

"The pure and simple truth is rarely pure and never simple."

Oscar Wilde
What is Living History?

"It is the historian's business to make himself at home in other times and places besides his own in order to bring those times and places alive for his contemporaries."

Arnold Toynbee

Key to understanding this project is arriving at some clear definition of terms. Perhaps the first unfamiliar term to an academic reader is living history itself. While it is likely that well-read persons will have heard the term used in relationship to some museum, activity, or project, it is equally likely that they will not have a clear and encompassing understanding of what this term means. This is not very surprising, given the diverse nature of the activities that fall under the heading of living history.

Living history is used by some museums to describe costumed tours, or craftsmen working in a historic fashion. Others might use it to refer to museums full of costumed actors interpreting historical characters to the public. Social scientists regularly use the term in describing active anthropological or ethnographic research in subjects as diverse as stone-age living, seventeenth century foodways, or early twentieth century farming. Popular culture, by contrast, employs the term to describe folklore gatherings, battle re-enactments, historic market fairs, black-powder shooting, and even antique vehicle rallies.

Living history covers a wide variety of popular or "public" history, and includes such varied proponents and supporters as Henry Ford, Alvin Toffler, Thor Heyerdahl, John D. Rockefeller, Larry Niven, and John Davidson. However, the field itself is so wide (and in
some senses so ill-defined) that even its many advocates and chroniclers are often at a loss to describe it.\textsuperscript{10}

Typical of the descriptions are Anderson’s comments that, “Living history can be defined as an attempt by people to simulate life in another time.”\textsuperscript{11} While valid, I believe that Fortier may be more to the point when he suggests:

“Living history is not an end to itself. It is a way to communicate.” \textsuperscript{12}

Accepting for the moment that living history is a medium of communication, we may note that like all media, its action is the transmission of messages. The message content of living history is history, the interpretation of the historical record of text, objects and folkways to an audience.

Living history is not in that sense unique; all history is itself interpretation. The historic record is a complex tangle of texts, artifacts, opinions, and observations; often

\textsuperscript{10} For a broad introduction to the field, two works are of interest to the reader, both by Jay Anderson, \textit{Time Machines: The World of Living History} (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1984); and \textit{The Living History Reader} (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1991).

\textsuperscript{11} Jay Anderson, “Living History” \textit{American Quarterly} (Fall, 1982); for comparison see also James Deetz, “The Historic House Museum: Can It Live?” \textit{Historic Preservation} (Jan-Mar, 1967); or Dawin P. Kelsey, “Historical Farms as Models of the Past” \textit{ALHFAM Annual} (1975) p. 33-38

\textsuperscript{12} John Fortier, “Thoughts on the Re-creation and Interpretation of Historical Environments” \textit{Schedule and Papers of the Third International Congress of Maritime Museums} (1978)
both confusing and conflicting. It is the task of the historian to sort out this mass of information and make some understandable sense of it to an audience.\textsuperscript{13}

Most traditional academic history relies on the interpreter's use of words to condense and symbolize the historic record. The academic communicates his knowledge of history primarily through written or spoken language, occasionally adorned with representational illustrations. This can be viewed as a method of presenting history through \textit{abstraction}.

Living history by contrast, uses human presence or action on the part of the interpreter combined with real objects to present a material and tangible interpretation of history, sometimes combined with speech or textual matter. Living historians choose to present or understand history through concrete physical activity, or \textit{physicalization}. I therefore suggest that living history may be defined as \textit{the interpretation of history through its physical embodiment by the interpreter,} and will treat it as thus defined within this text.

In analyzing the field, those familiar with living history have proposed three broad divisions of the practitioners. Quoting Anderson:

One group is primarily interested in using simulation as a mode of interpreting [demonstrating/explaining] the realities of life in the past more effectively, generally at living museums and historic sites. These interpreters "animate" a restored fort, farm, or village, and invite the visitor to involve themselves in the daily activities of the time it represents. . . . The purpose of this group is essentially educational, and these interpreters often consider themselves master teachers.

\textsuperscript{13} For the purpose of this discussion, even the act of analyzing the historical record for personal satisfaction or understanding would qualify. While some might argue whether this is the act of a historian or antiquarian, it still provides the essential audience, albeit an audience of one. (See the following discussion of "experimenters" and "buffs.")
A second group uses simulation as a research tool. Most of these are scholars, come from archaeology and the social sciences, and they have tried to develop archaeological and historic sites as outdoor laboratories — settings for testing ethnological theories or generating new data about material culture. Many of these scientists and their projects are well publicized — Thor Heyerdahl and his voyages on Kon Tiki or Ra I and Ra II — But there are scores of other, lesser-known but comparable projects.

The third and most colorful group is made up of “history buffs” — people who . . . use living history, . . . for personal reasons, often for play and the joy of getting away. Many of these enthusiasts identify with particular, real, or composite individuals of the past . . . Buffs [often] are sticklers for “authenticity”, especially with regard to clothing, grooming styles and idiosyncrasies of speech. . . .

These three divisions within the field may be referred to loosely as living history interpreters, experimenters, and buffs. While the activities, goals and needs of each of these groups can be substantially different, this text will primarily focus on only the first of these groups, that of the living history interpreter. Given the nature of this project, to create a demonstration living history education program, our primary concern will be the interpretive uses of living history.

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14 Anderson, Time Machines p.12-13


16 For some idea of the range of buffs, see Anderson, Time Machines, Chp. 8-End
**Living History Interpretation**

"You are called upon to remake history."

Bertrand Barère

But merely noting what living history is does not sufficiently explain its use in this project. Certain issues of living history interpretation should be considered by the readers before directly approaching the project, lest they fail to understand the methodologies involved.

First, certain significant divisions lie within the realm of living history interpretation. One of the most important distinctions is the method of interpretation. The two primarily used are referred to as first-person and third-person interpretation. This parlance derives from the interpretive use of the respective first and third person pronouns, "I" and "they" by the interpreter in speech.

A third person interpreter, while dressing and/or performing activities appropriate to the historical period, refers to the subjects of the period in the third-person form. Such an interpreter would refer to how "they" lived, or what "they" did or said. The original form of living history in this country, it allows the interpreter to both blend into the site, yet act to bridge the gap between past and present. The interpreter can be viewed as an animated portion of the material culture of the exhibit, allowing the visitor visualize the appearance of people in the historical environment. However, by speaking directly to the audience from a modern point of view, the interpreter can maintain an omniscient and dispassionate distance to consider the period interpreted, and relate it to the present.¹⁷

First person living history interpretation, by contrast, is a relatively newer form of interpreting history to the museum and historical community. Its origins in this context apparently stem from its implementation at the Plimoth Plantation historic site in the mid-1960's. First-person interpreters phrase their utterances from the point of view of a specific historical or composite role, thus speaking "as" a historical person, rather than a modern one. The interpreter's actions are therefore intended to simulate the real or composite historical subject as closely as possible. The interpreter endeavors to present this characterization through careful use of dramatic techniques demonstrating the results of historical research and understanding.

In essence, they attempt to create in their actions and persona a model of historical reality for their audience to examine, in the same way that traditional museums might build a diorama or paint a mural to re-create a physical landscape. This presentational method in many ways changes the role of the audience of history from passive acceptor of information to interpreter of the "historical" acts and utterances of this person. Some in

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18 While certain civic and corporate myths have long been dramatized, the careful attention to historical accuracy has rarely been of real concern to the producers of such work. While no definitive study of the origins of first-person interpretation is known by this author, it has been extensively studied in relation to the Plimoth site. See: Steven Eddy Snow, "Theater of the Pilgrims: Documentation and Analysis of a 'Living History' Performance in Plymouth, Massachusetts" (Ph.D. Dissertation: New York University, 1987.) Based upon a cursory literature search, Snow suggests that this site is the originator of the form.

19 The use of composite roles to represent ordinary or nondescript characters is an established practice within the living history community. Used in cases where specific characterizations are lacking, these interpretations can articulate points of view common to their society, class, or period. Properly done, they represent a social history use of living history methodology.
the field, noting this change, have chosen to refer to the first-person living historian as an "informant," rather than "interpreter" to note this change in relationship.  

Each of these two methods have particular strengths and weaknesses. First person living history, presents an involving and detailed picture of cultural and social landscapes, and tends to make recognizable sense out of vast amounts of disparate information. It is one of the most effective tools in a historian’s repertory for stimulating interest on the part of the audience, and is almost universally popular. Further, it involves its audience by allowing it to choose its own interaction, and create its own interpretation from the historical material offered.

However, the limitation of interpretation through historical persona can distort the transmission of history. An interpreter portraying a historical character can not say, "I don’t know" to a question their historical character would know, even if the historian does not. As well, it creates an interpretation very limited by the context of characters selected.

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21 Leon and Piatt, “Living History Museums”, p.89-92

22 There are a variety of methods of dealing with this issue. Most revolve around redirecting the conversation, and maintaining control of the interpretation on the part of the interpreter, to keep within subject that the historians do understand. As well, such interpretation should not be attempted without a sufficient knowledge base and preplanning to have anticipated a method to deal with those questions that can be anticipated.
It is rare that historical characters understand their own cultural and historic milieu, or have a clear grasp of the larger societal issues that they are involved in. Further, there is no way they can relate the interpretation to the observer's time and culture, forcing the historian/interpreter to abstain from any comparison or commentary on the relationship between the modern and historic.

First person programs also are difficult and expensive to set up, calling for significant resources in both research and interpreter training, including both historical and presentational skills. Administration is a major undertaking, as keeping the presentation accurate, fresh, and lively is a constant and ongoing task.

Third person living history on the other hand, is much more useful and time/resource efficient to convey directed, comparative, and specific abstract points of history. It allows for both historical and cultural omniscience on the part of the interpreter, and direct comparisons between past and present. As previously noted, it does provide some measure of visual integration with the historical site on the part of the interpreter.

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23 A general trend of living history criticism holds that the presentation of history is inevitably skewed by the choice of roles interpreted. The trend to avoid interpretation of controversial or unpleasant material seems in the eyes of some critics to be a fatal flaw of the living history movement. Others suggest that the practitioners of living history are no more or less willing to take such risks than the bulk of museum organizations, and in a few cases have proved much more so. (See: Leon and Piatt, “Living History Museums”, Chp. 3).

24 Ibid., p. 89

25 Ibid., p.80-86
However, it too often devolves down to little more than a quaint gimmick of putting a tour guide in costume. In addition, the jarring action of hearing modern words and ideas coming from a figure portraying the past destroy much of the suspension of disbelief on the part of the audience that creates the illusion of the historic landscape. It acts to further abstract the experience presented to the audience. Rather than “seeing” the historical landscape, the audience is simply provided tools to “imagine” it, an action which distances them from more direct experience. In many ways, it is merely an augmentation of the traditional “lecture” method with costumes and props.26

Having defined the two basic modes of living history interpretation, there is however a third mode that needs be discussed. While not as formally accepted or widely known as the preceding two modes, I believe it has great promise, and will form the basis of this project.

This is a form of living history I refer to as “second-person” living history. Again, it refers to the interpretive use of a common English pronoun, in this case the second person pronoun, “you.” It is an extension of ordinary first-person living history, that acts to destroy the division between actor and audience by including the audience within the interpretation.

In traditional types of historical interpretation, the audience of treated by the interpreters as unseen and passive observers, or interact with the interpreters as modern character to historic. In second-person interpretation however, the audience is personified and characterized within the historical milieu by the interpreter. The audience is thus

26 Ibid., p.90
assigned a “role” within the historical interpretation, and participates in the interpretive action, as a method to learn about the period through their own actions.  

I first learned about this method of interpretation at Norlands. A large variety of their programs use such second-person techniques of inclusion, comprising both adult and children’s programs interpreting a wide range of historical subjects. Perhaps the only unifying factor of this programming is the underlying assumption of their primarily educational purpose, rather than mere entertainment value. All these programs offer the participant the chance to portray a historic character, rather than simply observe them. This is very much in line with the site’s overall goal, “To help students identify with the past.” This, I believe is the proper goal of any historical interpretation, living history or otherwise.

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27 This could be considered an emulation of the principles of the modern environmental theater movement, and its dissolution of the “fourth wall” between actor and audience. Snow suggests that such first-person interpretation corresponds closely to such conceptions, and extends them as a new form. (“Theater of the Pilgrims” p. 366-90) I would suggest rather that while first-person interpretation thins the “wall” between audience and actor allowing some limited communication, second-person interpretation destroys most of this barrier. It is perhaps the extreme but furthest logical extension of such techniques.

28 I heard this exact phrase used dozens of times during my summer at Norlands. It is as well inscribed on the first page of the “Interpreter’s Guide”, and at least a half-dozen other places inside. The phrase, further, appears in almost every publication issued by the site. While living history, and even second-person interpretation may have significant potential entertainment value, it is not the primary intent of the Norlands programs, nor this proposal. It is simply an added bonus.

29 Collingwood, in his book The Idea of History, advances the concept that the true job of the historian is not mere assemblage of these facts, but rather interpretation through the mental “re-enactment of past experience.” He holds this technique is based upon the use of “historical imagination,” a process which he describes thus:
The method of getting the audience to “assume the role” differs by program. For in-depth and multi-day programs, the students will often be assigned roles that they research and define with the aid of the program staff and packets of previously prepared primary and secondary research materials. Shorter programs have their audience participants initiated into the program often by nothing more than the interpreter speaking and acting upon the assumption that this person “is” the historic character. Having been told once or twice and being led by the interpreter’s clues to the “proper” actions, it is amazing to note that most people pickup on and participate within the historical interpretation without a qualm, so long as the person interpreting maintains and sustains the historical illusion.

Second-person interpretation brings with it all the advantages of first-person, as well as a few particularly its own. It is much more active on the part of the audience and, therefore, a more generally interesting form of interpretation. By participating within the historical context, the audience gains a much greater identification with the material being taught, and retains the experience both through sensory and abstract memory. Finally, it is incredibly stimulating on the part of the audience, encouraging the active participation of all.

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...To construct a picture which is partially a narrative of events, partly a description of situations, exhibition of motives, analysis of characters. ...[the historian] aims at making his picture a coherent whole, where every character. ... act[s] this way, and we can not imagine him acting otherwise. ... the history must make sense; nothing is admissible...except what is necessary...

It does carry with it most of the same drawbacks of first-person interpretation, in addition to increasing the scope and necessity of program research, material preparation, and interpreter training, as well as their corresponding costs. It takes extensive institutional and program staff commitment to make such an undertaking succeed, and a willingness for both groups to commit fully to the underlying methods. Finally, it is perhaps not appropriate for audiences with very limited background in the area of the historical presentation, special needs audiences who may have limits on their abilities to participate actively, or areas of history too complex for unschooled participants to involve themselves in.  

Having defined these differences in interpretation, let me reiterate that this proposal is to establish a second-person living history program at the San Timoteo site. It is the consideration of this author that the educational reasons following will justify this decision.  

None of these last three are absolutes, however. All museum interpretation hopes that the audience will learn more that they knew upon arrival. The problem is to structure the experience to the level of starting knowledge. Special needs may be fulfilled by special programming, limited only by the talents and creativity of the program staff. Finally, creative simplification is always the task of the historical interpreter; the root question of all history is, “What are the most important facts about this subject?”
Living History and Education

“Experience is the best of schoolmasters.”

Thomas Carlyle

The reasons for linking living history and education are based in orthodox educational thought. Almost all modern educational theory make the assumption that active student experience, grounded in a sensory rich environment should serve as a basis for instruction. From the writings of Pestalozzi, Dewey, and Piaget, three key educational theorists, a common theme of active involvement of the student in learning is articulated and developed.

Pestalozzi placed the basis of learning in sensory impression (Anschauung), and suggested its use is key in forming more universal concepts in the student’s mind. Dewey further argued for an “organic connection between education and personal experience.” He suggested an experiential model for education, a “learning by doing.” As well, he argued passionately for quality in educational experiences, based upon interaction within a complex and educationally rich environment.

Piaget brought such theories into the current age by showing the linkage with sociological and psychological theory. While better known for his discussions of the psychological age differentials of learning levels, he has as well written strongly in favor of “active methods” which stimulate the learner. He notes the “primacy of spontaneous
activity and of personal or autonomous investigation of the truth" and documents this in scientific studies of teaching.31

Clearly active learning methods are held to be superior to passive ones by accepted educational theory. Yet most of current instruction in history still relies on readings and lecture for the vast majority of its instruction, activities in which the student passively accepts information with little to no active involvement. Even ventures into participatory discussions, films, or student projects rely far too much on limited sensory experience and abstraction of the subject to simply verbal cues.

Living history by contrast engages all of the student’s senses in very complex interactions. The student does not merely hear history propounded as an abstract, he sees, touches, hears, and even occasionally tastes it in forms designed to reconstruct the underlying primary sources. Living history satisfies Dewey’s notion of experiential education, allowing the student to forge a link between his historical knowledge and personal sense memory.32

First- and second-person living history especially fits the criteria of active learning. Certainly the tangible multi-sensory approach of such presentations creates richer student


32 Billie Gammon, developer of the Norlands program relates the near apocryphal story of the students discovering the joys [sic] of the school outhouse during a Maine winter. From the sound of the wind whistling around it, to the feeling of the cold wooden seat on one’s bottom, it is an exercise in identification with the historic student experience. In Piaget’s terms, it is a completely unprompted and self-directing experience. (Billie Gammon, conversation, 5 September, 1992)
experiences. The implicitly self-actualizing\textsuperscript{33} interpretation defined by the informant-audience relationship creates a level of student activity far beyond that experienced by mere reading or lecture. As well, such interpretation, by its very nature, both implies significant involvement on the student's part and creates a mechanism for Piaget’s “...personal or autonomous investigation of the truth.”\textsuperscript{34} Finally, it seems to this author that second-person methods, based upon this technique's underlying reliance upon the student personal experience as a part of the interpretive act, supply the ultimate embodiment of Piaget's suggestion when applied to history.

Looking to current trends in education, living history fits well within the ideals of the “authentic instruction” movement. Authentic instruction is based upon the goal of achievement and learning that is significant and meaningful to the student, versus that which is trivial or useless. Newman and Wehlage, of the Center on Organization and Restructuring Schools, suggest that education may be assessed as authentic instruction by five primary traits:

1. Student use of higher order thinking
2. Increase in student depth of knowledge
3. Connected to world beyond the classroom
4. Substantive conversation between teacher and student

\textsuperscript{33} Self-actualizing in the sense that the driving force behind the act of historical interpretation is the personal desire of the student to investigate the historical construct, rather than the goal of external entities to propound specific points-of-view.

\textsuperscript{34} Piaget, Science of Education, p.74
5. Social support for student achievement

The first criteria has been clearly satisfied by the previously discussed shifting of interpretive activities to the student, as such interpretation is based on such higher order thought patterns as synthesis, hypothesis, and generalization. The second standard is fulfilled by the greater range of information content on the subject presented. By combining elements of material, social, personal, and local history across the totality of the student's senses, the student is allowed the opportunity of gaining a much deeper appreciation of the subject in the equivalent instructional time.

The connection of living history to the world outside the classroom is both obvious and profound. Rather than academic abstractions, living history presents the student with tangible representations of a specific historic environment. This representation is a reality to the student, finite and distinct from the abstract classroom knowledge it represents, limited only by the resources and research of the historians involved.

Finally, the last two points, substantive conversation and social support, while implicit to some degree in the structure of these interpretive forms, are dependent upon the personnel and program implementation. This however is the same for ordinary history instruction, and thus is not a real critique of the living history methodologies, but rather a more general observation on educational practice and methodologies.

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The Schoolhouse Program

“The most significant fact in the world today is, that in nearly every village under the American flag, the schoolhouse is larger than the church.”

R. G. Ingersoll (1886)

We have seen some reasons for the use of living history, especially in its second-person form as an educational tool. However, there still remainsthe questions, why use it to interpret school and local history, and why use it at this site?

The answer to the first question lies in both in its ability to stimulate students and to convey relevant and useful information. We have noted the current desire for instruction grounded in the real world experience. Yet the most common experience of typical students is the hours they spend in school each day. Further, this student experience is not in any means new, being just as true a statement for students who attended the historic school in the late nineteenth century as it is for those of the twentieth who might visit. In the past century, people have spent much of their youth involved in school, despite the many changes that have taken place in their larger society. This makes the historic school a particularly apt setting for living history programs, providing the backdrop for an active investigation on the students’ part, which is grounded in their own knowledge.

A living history program at such a site provides a venue to explore the realities of an environment which has become more of a civic myth or cultural icon than mere historical fact. Current culture harks back to the one-room schoolhouse, not simply as a method of education rooted in an individual locale, but rather as a romanticized and nostalgic archetype. Most students’ only exposure to historical education comes by way of such nostalgic and fictionalized accounts as the works of Laura Engals Wilder and television
programming. Allowing students (and their teachers) to examine a single schoolhouse and its cultural context is to give them the opportunity to examine both the specifics of its local place in history and the broader issues of the educational methods of the times through their application at this site.  

The reason for the particular value of the program at this specific site derives partly from the rarity of such programs and sites in the area it would serve. No comparable school program in early education and local history to the one being proposed here is

36 The romanticizing of early education is not merely limited to the students; witness such articles as: Dr. H. Parker Blount, “The One-room Schoolhouse: Remembering and Re-inventing” Reading Improvement 29:2 (Fall 1992) p.178-82; Lynne V. Cheney, “American Memory”, History News 43:1 (Jan./Feb. 1988) p.6-8; Arthur Jeffries, “Temple of Learning: The One Room Schoolhouse” Journal of Teacher Training 9:4 (Fall 1972) p.324-38; or Sam Redding, “Common Experience” The School Community Journal, 2:2 (Fall/Win. 1992). Current educators and society in general are fascinated by the notion of the one-room schoolhouse and “traditional education” as nostalgic symbols to contrast with modern frustrations, often with little clear knowledge of their practical reality.
extant locally. In the two local counties, only one nineteenth-century school site has been preserved for the purpose of historical interpretation.

This is the school at Calico, a distinctly out-of-the-way location for the mass of population of the two counties' urban areas, being more than 75 miles away, and realistically accessible only to the high desert communities near Barstow and Victorville. Further, the interpretation of the site is historically haphazard, having been originally restored more as an amusement and recreation area, rather than a historical, interpretive, or museum site. Finally, Calico currently does not actively serve the needs of school

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37 The situation does not materially improve looking beyond the Riverside and San Bernardino County boundaries to the greater Southern California area. The nearest sites currently interpreting historical schools, with student programs of any significance are Heritage Park, Irvine (~55 mi.); Old Town, San Diego (~100 mi.); and Pioneer Park, Bakersfield. (~180 mi. distant from Riverside). These programs are little known outside their very local areas, and cannot serve more than an infinitesimal fraction of the Southern California population, even within their respective areas.

38 The school site nearly straddles the border between San Bernardino and Riverside counties. Originally built in the former, it became a part of the latter when the two counties separated in 1892. It lies roughly equidistant from the population centers of both counties and a program founded at this site could reasonably expect visitation from both.

39 A few other sites, of 20th century origins, are in the beginning stages of preservation by community groups. However their intentions at this point are far from clear, and most likely involve mixed use more importantly featuring community activities, public meeting space, and other non-historical functions with any attempts at historical interpretation.

40 For purposes of discussion, I do not expect that schools will look favorably on programs at historical sites greater than a 45 minute bus trip. While exceptions may exist to this assumption, I believe the bulk of schools would confirm this statement.
programs being primarily aimed at satisfying the needs of the visitor from the general public.

By comparison, the San Timoteo site is less than 25 miles from either downtown Riverside or San Bernardino. Certainly, a reasonable predicted audience area would include at least a dozen communities with a total population in excess of a half million people. Yet despite its central location, the site remains comparatively isolated from major urban intrusion and retains a very rural character, much the same as when it was actively used as a school. Its current development plan emphasizes the historic nature of the site, and the current intent of preservation and development focuses on the historical relevance of the building, its use, and its significance to the local area.

The site's history is especially rich in relation to the early history of the Inland Empire. Unlike other restored schoolhouses currently being interpreted, its ties to the local community speak to broader themes in area and regional history. Its location places it on a major historic travel route, now all but forgotten. The school's construction during the boom years of the 1880's and the local effects of that boom provide interesting asides to Southern California history. Finally, ties to the early area settlement make it a particularly potent site for student programs tied to local history programs and the state curriculum framework.
BUILDING A LIVING HISTORY PROGRAM

“We are thus of that ancient and honorable company of wise men of the tribe, of bards and story-tellers and minstrels, of soothsayers and priests, to whom in successive ages has been entrusted the keeping of useful myths.”

Carl Becker
Interdisciplinary Synthesis

“Only an inventor knows how to borrow, and every man is, or should be an inventor”

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Having considered some of the reasons for undertaking this project, we come to the question: “How does one build a living history educational program?” This is certainly not obvious, as there is little practical or methodological literature in the field of living history to consult.41

Perhaps part of the problem is the essentially schizophrenic nature of interpretive living history. Rather than fitting neatly within one field of academic endeavor, such work lies at the crux between at least three different areas of endeavor: history and the related social sciences, education, and theater.

Why these three fields? Perhaps the best way to explain is through the following analogy. The process of creating interpretive living history may be compared to that of erecting a building. Both are activities that draw on a variety of levels of planning, as well as a multitude of types of skills on the part of those doing the work.

In erecting a building, the first step must be to determine the objectives which motivate its construction. Is this building to be a house, office, or a factory; is it intended for the builder’s use, a specific customer, or general resale? The builder must know the

41 No text has been directly published as any sort of “how-to” manual of living history. A large number of critical articles, a few general surveys, some theoretical musings, a smattering of professional papers on minutiae of the craft, and an unofficial oral tradition seem to make up the working literature of living history. It is the hope of this author that at some point in the future he will be able to undertake such a study.
intended use of the structure to be built, or a great amount of time and effort will be wasted to no useful purpose. This area of planning is mostly confined to the subject architecture and cost analysis, yet it is an essential part of the building.

However, mere objectives will not build a structure. The builder must have the means and methods to accomplish his task. This, of course, includes a set of working plans, a practical knowledge of methods of construction, and the necessary skilled craftsmen able to convert raw materials and a site into a structure. This activity can be looked at as an application of engineering and craftsmanship.

Finally, the builder must have the materials needed to construct the chosen structure. These must be based upon his plans and methods, and in sufficient quantity and quality to accomplish the task at hand. This is an area where each of the preceding fields have an interest.

This divided view of the process holds just as true for “building” an interpretive living history program as it does for a physical structure. The difference lies in the areas of the skills needed to assign the objectives, accomplish the methods and means, and obtain the materials.

The living historian’s objectives lie in the realm of education. We have previously noted that the goal of interpretive living history is the transmission of historical knowledge. It is an exercise in applied pedagogy. The task of establishing objectives for such a project must examine what is to be taught, to whom, and by what methods.

However, the means and methods of living history interpretation are accomplished through the physicalized presentation or performance, which is almost a classic definition of theater. Certainly all current studies of living history acknowledge that it draws heavily upon theatrical techniques of creation of character, scene, action, and plot. Some in the field may quibble and suggest that this is not “theater,” per se, but rather that it merely
resembles some aspects of the discipline. However, if it is not indeed a subset of theater, then at least the practical methods of living history largely overlap that of the actor and the dramatist.

Finally the raw **materials** from which the living historian must create his work is history, which is to say the accumulated records of the past. These records encompass a wide variety of historical sources. They may include original documents, photographs, oral histories, artifacts, or secondary source histories; or might be as obscure as folklore, anthropological, or material culture studies relevant to the subject of the interpretation. These sources are assembled, weighed, sifted, and interpreted to form the basis for the living historian's presentation. This is the traditional job of the historian, save that the work which might have been traditionally presented in a scholarly monograph, will instead be shown through a more physically tangible presentation.

Analysis of living history through this multi-stage view is especially important, because living history is not a long established field with great historical precedents and wide societal understanding. Rather, it is a relatively recent creation whose existence is not generally thought about. Having not had time to create its own unique and widely

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42 Schechner and Snow both explicitly suggest that first-person living history is a form of theatrical performance; while Roth counters, “they have overstepped the mark" and that the bulk of such work is not theater. It may be significant to note that the majority of sources cited in favor of the notion of living history as theater have extensively studied or been trained in the field, while those opposed to the notion seem largely come from an exclusively social science background; lacking grounding in theater. (Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) p.79-92; Snow, “Theater of the Pilgrims”, passim; Stacy F. Roth, “Perspectives on Interpreter-Visitor Communications in First-Person Interpretation as Practices at Living History Museums” (M.A. Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1992) p.54-59
understood philosophies and methodologies, living history must draw upon other fields to define itself.

The problem is that while each of these fields is vital to the living history presentation, each uses a strikingly different language to structure its knowledge and practice. Worse, in the experience of this author, there is little crossover or common understanding among all three disciplines and their practitioners.

For example, educators too often look at history as simply “objective lessons” to be presented through forms of “participatory active learning.” The dramatist sees the historical content simply as a “background” for “semi-scripted improvisational theater” and educational objectives as “performance sub-text.” The historians, by contrast, often simply lump the roles of the other two disciplines as mere “historiographic concerns” to be considered as an afterthought to the serious questions of historical interpretation.

Yet for the living historian to focus solely on any single specialization’s viewpoint is to condemn the interpretation to failure. Just as builders with no objectives can not construct buildings useful to specific purposes, living historians without clear and achievable educational objectives will fail to communicate history to their chosen audience, producing self-aggrandizing pedantry. Next, it should be clear that no one can build either a useful structure or interpretation without both skilled workers and knowledge of appropriate techniques in the field, be it construction or living history. Failure of a living historian to understand the methods of theatrical presentation is to handicap the transmission of the historical message, perhaps fatally. And just as a dwelling built of shoddy or incorrect materials will not serve the intended purpose, so too a living history presentation built without sufficient, correct, or relevant historical facts will fail its purpose as history. Such work may be entertaining or stimulating, but will exist only as fantasy, rather than history.
It behooves anyone who would consider creating a living history education program to look at the way each of these fields contribute to the total process of living history. Further, some thought must be given both as to how they integrate, and how each will affect the others.

**Defining the Educational Goals**

"I have always considered the actions of men the best interpreters of their thoughts."

John Locke

In building an educational project of any sort, the first question that must be asked is, "What is to be taught?" Clearly, if we assume that the primary methodology used to teach will be living history, then it is obvious that, in the broad sense that it concerns history and the questions will relate to the past.

We must remember, however, that not all media are appropriate for all historical messages. Reproductions of old photographs may convey a sense of a historical landscape better than text, but be a poor choice compared to text for explaining the intricacies of legal history. Many tools serve differing functions in history instruction, and are appropriate and inappropriate in different contexts. If living history is to be used well, the educator must ask, "What sorts of information about the past can living history be used to communicate?"

In his survey of the field, Anderson suggests there is general consensus that there are at least four specific areas which forms of living history can be useful in teaching about a historic site. He observes that these are:
...a historic site's context, processes, folklife, and cultural differences from [and similarities to] the world of today.43

However, this quote calls for some explanation of terms. Anderson defines context as the almost "ecological" relationship between artifacts and people at the historic site that builds to represent the totality of the historic landscape. He uses the term processes to mean "the logic underlying work, the seasonal significance of custom, and the temporal dimension of everyday life." Folklife, he defines as the everyday life of ordinary people, or more poetically as "grassroots history on a human scale."44

Finally, the comparison of cultural differences and similarities is fairly obvious as a facet of historical interpretation, although it may encompass almost any part of both modern culture and the historic site's past culture. However, explicit and directed use of such contrasts are solely the province of third-person living history. First and second-person methodologies can only indirectly suggest such comparisons for the audience to (hopefully) grasp, where the third-person interpreter may explicitly suggest, stimulate, and explore such ideas with the audience.

As well, it is important to consider those things which living history should not and/or can not teach. Living history is a poor tool to use in interpreting change. This is especially true of changes that took place over wide areas, over long periods of time, or involving large political, social or economic movements, given the narrow focus of the "single site, single time" nature of most living history interpretation. It is, as well, not useful where there is a lack of a clearly understood and accepted historical information on

43 Anderson, Time Machines, p.75

44 Ibid, p.75-77
the subject to be interpreted. While some forms of museums may adequately interpret historiographic questions and conflict, living history is a poor tool to accomplish this complex task.45

These limitations can to some extent be modified by the combination of living history with other methods of instruction. For example, rather than relying on “pure” first-person living interpretation to explain a site, a student might be “prepared” to critically understand the living history experience through reading or lecture prior to their visit. Alternatively, they could be “clued” to the significance of their experiences through the same techniques after their visit to the site. Another technique would be the use of limited amounts of third person explanation as a portion of the on-site program that might not be able to be conveyed through any other method. However, such material should supplement and reinforce the goals of the first-person interpretation (as the obvious highlight of the program), rather than being used to supplant its focus and reduce the interpretive experience to a mere entertaining aside.

Certainly an in-depth second-person program with ambitious objectives (such as this program proposal), would need some prior preparation before the students arrive at the site if they are to receive maximal benefit form the experience. Pre-visit preparation is certainly in-line with current museum theory and practice, and allows a natural method to transmit information and ideas beyond the limits of the living history format. Follow-up materials could convey some of this information as well, and structure the experience into

an integrated part of a school curriculum, rather than keeping it merely as an isolated aside to the student’s ordinary lessons.

**Translating History into Theater**

“Should the historian be an artist? Certainly a conscious art should be a part of his equipment. . . . I think of myself as a storyteller . . . who deals in true stories.”

Barbara Tuchman

The gulf between theater and history looms large in the minds of many modern students of history and drama. A large portion of this may stem from the academic distance inherent in the categorization of history with the social sciences and theater with the arts. Yet, since the days of the Greeks, theater has been used to interpret history through ritual, pageants, and plays. If we are to use theatrical techniques to interpret history, we should first consider what theatrical methodologies are currently being used within living history, especially by those who are knowledgeable in drama.

The first and perhaps most obvious type of theatrical living history would be the well-known stage performances of significant historical figures. One notable example would be Hal Holbrook and his characterization of Samuel Clemens, but this is merely the most widely known of this particular genera of traditionally staged dramatic presentations

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While some historians might argue for history being numbered as a member of the humanities, certainly the trend of the last hundred years of history has been towards alliance more with the sciences than the arts. This is especially true among those historians allied with museological activities, who usually find themselves working side-by-side with anthropologists, archaeologists, and others in the gray areas between science and history.
of famous individuals or events. However, while this form of work may have some marginal technical interest, it has little immediate bearing on historical site educational interpretation. The traditional formally-staged and fully-scripted theater works only within the rigidly controlled and isolated environment of the theater, and demands highly trained and rehearsed practitioners. By contrast, education is almost always an interactive, rather than isolated process. No substantive conversation between teacher and student can occur if the instructor acts in isolation, as the actor does beyond the proscenium arch.

Perhaps more important to any living history education project, it appears, is the work already being done in the field by such organizations. Most living historians acknowledge the connection to theatrical technique, but are poorly versed in its technical language. Snow is perhaps the only-performance-oriented commentator on the subject, and he suggests that it takes the form of "improvisational, naturalistic acting."47 While Roth lacks his credentials in theater and disputes the notion of "living history as drama," suggesting that it incorporates different audience interaction, she specifically notes this criticism does not apply to "improvisational theater."48 These two living history commentators provide us an approach to the subject that we should explore in greater depth.

Those unversed in theatrical idiom, especially historians, may wonder about the idea of improvisation in historical interpretation. The question may be asked, "How can one

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47 Snow, "Theater of the Pilgrims", p.294

48 Roth, "First-Person Interpretation", p.56
improvise history? Doesn’t the need to create a rigorous interpretation preclude off-the-cuff improvisation?"

The answer to this line of questioning is that it reveals a fundamental lack of understanding of improvisational theater. To put it simply, improvisation does not mean a hastiness or lack of preparation on the part of the performer, except as a mark of general incompetence. To quote Jacques Copeau, one of the fathers of modern improvisation:

Improvisation is an art that has to be learned. . . . The art of improvising is not just a gift. It is acquired and perfected by study.49

But the preparation for improvisation is more than merely the acts of acquiring basic performance skills. Such preliminary work usually includes defining the specific character(s) to be played, the points to be covered, the scene to be set and a host of other details which make up a complete theatrical presentation. Frost and Yarrow, modern improvisational theorists, note the existence of such structure within improvisation, and state:

‘Improvisation’ does not exclude the devising of pattern- or movement or words. It may be. . . . a group working on an idea, or individuals contributing different ([often] thoroughly researched) parts to a communal effort. As such, it can form the part of a working method for groups in education. . . .50

By contrast, director and theorist Clive Barker goes further than the previous authors to suggest that improvisation is not spontaneous at all, but rather an exhibition of conscious “programming” by the actor, worked upon themself. This programming allows


50 Frost and Yarrow, Improvisation in Drama, p.42
them to instinctually respond both physically and mentally within the dramatic context.

He maintains:

If [the improvisation] has not been programmed with a mass of material about the play, the situations, the characters and their interrelationships, [then] it will only produce the material which it has, which will naturally relate to the here and now, the situation which the actor is actually present, along with a mass of cliché responses he has learned from other situations. This is not improvisation. It is 'mugging' [or] 'fooling around,' [and] a totally self-indulgent activity.\(^5\)

Further examining improvisation, most who have practiced it have held that it should maintain an internal consistency. In one of improvisation's most classic forms, *commedia del' arte*, dating from fifteenth-century Italy, rigidly defined archetypal characters interacted in outlined scenes, predefined plots, and stock lines and actions.

When analyzing this form of improvisation, Andrea Perrucci wrote in 1699:

The actors must, above all, be careful not to make a mistake with regard to the country where the action is to take place; they should realize whence they come, and for what purpose; the proper names must be kept well in mind... Moreover, the actor must pay attention to [the theatrical environment he inhabits].\(^5\)

This should suggest an internal rigor and consistency quite at odds with the common idea of improvisation as slap-dash theater; in fact, the critic James Fenton notes,

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51 Clive Barker, *Theater Games: A New Approach to Drama Training* (London: Methuen, 1977) p.89-90; It should be noted, Mr. Barker's viewpoint is somewhat controversial; other teachers of improvisation suggest that there is some role for the spontaneous within this form of drama.

“the tendency with improvised plays appears to be towards a much higher degree of accuracy in characterization than with the average pre-conceived authorial script.”

Rather than considering improvisation as something less prepared than scripted work, which it is not, we should by preference regard the real differences between the two forms. Perhaps the two most important of these differences are the question of who communicates through the drama and the methods of preparation used by the actor. The first of these differences between the scripted and improvisational forms of theater is the act of conversation, or two-way communication between audience and performer. In scripted theater, the actor remains simply a vehicle, a one way channel to communicate the message of the playwright and director to the audience. Improvisation, by contrast, allows the actor to communicate directly with the audience and/or other performers, and receive feedback that can shape the performance. It is the actor’s freedom to communicate without a completely predefined message that allows this interactive communication to happen. As has been previously noted, the importance of participatory, substantive, and interactive communication in education can hardly be overstressed. It would seem that improvisation more naturally fulfills these goals than does fully scripted drama.

As to the differences of preparation, they are profound. The preparation of a scripted performer is simply to memorize, physicalize, and internalize (to the best of their abilities) someone else’s words, movements, and messages conveyed through script or direction through a process akin to rote learning. By contrast, the improvisational actor prepares a message by choosing the material of character, scene, and plot to be portrayed.

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In this sense, the early preparation for improvisation parallels more closely the creative process of scriptwriting than rote learning. As well, the nature of improvisation forces the actor to confront the essential character of theater more directly, rather than blandly accept another’s conceptions. Rather than merely rationalizing a character’s actions, the performer must come to grips with why and how the character portrayed will act, to allow for the range of inherent possibilities made possible by the freedoms of the form.

The key for living historians who use improvisation is that as performers they must be firmly grounded in the history that provides the outlines of scene, character, plot, and action, as well as fixed upon the educational goals of the interpretation. This is most commonly accomplished through the creation and use of an interpretive framework, which can be used to provide a structure to the actor’s performance. While those who have chosen to comment on living history have used a variety of terms to describe such frameworks, it is the preference of this author to draw analogies based upon the more widespread usage of the theater and education to avoid semantic confusion.

Having already introduced one of the classic forms of improvisation, *commedia del’arte*, it might profit us to compare this well defined form to the process of historical interpretation. Within this historic comedy theater format, the actors perform archetypal roles within pre-set plots. Each scene which comprises the play is blocked out as to the characters involved, the actions to be performed, and the resolution of the scene.

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54 For example, Roth bandies about such categories as: “free-form interpretation,” “re-enactment,” “role acting,” “scenarios,” and “ghost performance.” She notes their idiosyncratic usage at various historic sites but fails to reduce them to essential definitions or methods. While her approaches are interesting, they seem largely limited to documenting the semantic confusion of social scientists ignorant of and “reinventing” the language of theater.
While certain key phrases, stock lines and movements, and other details may be directly incorporated in the script, the majority of the play is not pre-scripted. The exact words and movements to be performed are largely left to the actor. Rather, their choice must be drawn from the actor's own training and evaluation of the play, and the responses of both other performers and the audience. The actor must create his performance within these guidelines to advance the play to its eventual known and planned conclusion.

Another point of interest to the living historian should be *commedia*’s use of *lazzi*, short unscripted filler material between the main scenes. Usually performed by minor characters, *lazzi*, can be mere physical humor, jokes, games songs, or asides; none of which advance the plot, but rather help to establish the mood, place, or time. Most *commedia* actors acquire through practice a repertory of such material, which is used as a part of performance to bridge scenes, relieve audience tension, and provide additional interest to the performance.

Compare this to teaching a history lesson in the classroom. When the conventional history educator prepares, the starting point typically is an educational objective and a set of historical facts. This is ordered for presentation to a class in the form of a lesson plan, a detailed outline of the points to be covered, with occasional quotes and citations. This plan should follow a logical order and arrive at a sensible conclusion. This plan, however, is not a complete description of the class that will be taught. Rather, it will leave the exact words up to the teacher presenting the lesson, save for potentially key points which are central to this lesson and are noted in the plan. When such prepared plans are used, they form merely the basis for a lesson, which is often augmented by asides appropriately drawn from the educator’s knowledge of the subject (*lazzi*) and in response to the questions and actions of the students.
I would suggest that both methodologies are similar to each other and to the job of the living history educator. The living historian starts with an educational objective and a set of known facts of character, place, time, and action, which commonly may be referred to either as history or a scene; there is still the task of assembling this data into a presentable form. This is accomplished by linking them into a coherent series of thoughts reaching a conclusion. This, I suggest, is simply another way of looking at the theatrical notion of plot, or educational use of a well structured lesson plan. Interest may be added by the use of additional material tailored to the audience, and the program varied based on the perception of the interpreter as to what will convey the historical detail of character, place, time and action in the best and most useful way.

Living history’s difference from more mainstream genre of theater lies in the explicitly educational basis of the objectives and the source of the material presented. These force the interpreter to adopt certain methodologies such as improvisation that, while outside the norm of theater, still lie well within the bounds of accepted theory and practice.

Establishing the Historical Framework

“What is History? . . .it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.”

Edward Hallett Carr

It is important that we now consider the historical sources needed by the first-person living historian building an educational program. Such an interpreter must build their work on the basis carefully done historical research in two specific areas. The first is
material which documents the central focus of the educational program of interpretation. The second line of research to create this framework is composed of those items needed to understand, portray, and communicate to an audience the physical representation of historical character within the context of the place, time, and method of interpretation.

The first of these will not be difficult to understand within the traditional realm of historical scholarship. Put simply, the lessons of social history taught within the program, (Anderson’s context, processes, folklife, or culture) must be found upon solid research. This means well documented primary and secondary source research material assembled to form the basis of understanding for the interpreter. The conclusion of research should be exceptionally clear on those subjects which are central to the interpretive “plot.” It should, however, extend beyond the mere basics of the interpretation, so as to provide the richness of detail that will allow an understanding of context, rather than the mere detail of facts. While this is a major undertaking, it is in some sense the easier part of the task of assembling the historical framework, as its product can be viewed within the conventions of a social historical monograph on some focus topic. This work will both form the basis for deciding the appropriate educational objectives for the program to undertake to teach as well as provide a starting point for the interpreter’s research.

The second area of research, that needed to physically present history, needs a rather different approach to the methods of historical research. Where the previous work must be focused to provide the core of the interpretation, the needs of the latter are much more widely spread so as to fill in the details of a tangible historical reality.

Central, of course, to this reality are the characters used to interpret and inhabit it, and this provides a most important element to consider. Harking back to the discussions of theatrical methods, we will recall that the creation of an improvisational character requires an almost instinctual understanding of the character, time, and place to be
portrayed on the part of the performer (Barker's "programming"). While it is obvious a modern person can not truly know everything which the historic person they represented knew, some lesser but significant amount of knowledge is required to convincingly portray this person to the modern audience.

What defines this knowledge? I suggest that there are two elements to it. First are those items needed to portray the immediate situation of action. Second are those items of knowledge that delimit the character's inner and outer reality.

The first of these are the direct items which must be known to accomplish the action which the interpreter will undertake. First-person interpretation is founded upon the use of human action to represent historic action. If interpreters are to plow a field, sew a shirt, fire a cannon, or perform some other historically significant action as a part of the interpretation, then they must have an understanding of how the portrayed individuals of the historical period performed accomplished this task. It is not enough to merely understand the process from their own modern prospective, the interpreters must understand how it was done by the people of the period, and be able to personally replicate this action.

But merely accomplishing historical tasks does not recreate a historical character. People are not merely functional automatons, but rather complex individuals endowed with personalities. Ordinary people do not merely act, they perceive their acts within a wider framework of their existence.

Why? Because it took the historic person a lifetime, within a culture that no longer exists to learn, and internalize this knowledge. The best that history can do is offer our best understanding of a limited but representative portion of that knowledge.
Perhaps the best way for the interpreter to define this perceptual framework is the term, "worldview." A commonly accepted short-hand among living historians, it represents the way that historical characters view their environment (in the broadest sense) and choose their acts within it. Perhaps a more encompassing definition comes from Ken Yellis, noted living historian at Plimoth Plantation:

Worldview is the intellectual, emotional, moral, spiritual, perceptual context in which the story is told, the sense the actors [historical persons] made of themselves and their universe in which they acted. Worldview is the almost-totally-taken-for-granted way of seeing, understanding, speaking, thinking, processing information, adapting to change, and interacting with the physical world, that uniquely characterizes each culture.

The question remains, of course, how to research and incorporate the worldview of the society interpreted. This problem has been address in variety of ways by living historians using first-person methodologies.

Some take an approach based upon acting methodologies, by the traditional "technique acting" methods of learning the idiom of language, movement, and costume appropriate to the characterization through the study of iconography, literature, and contemporary reportage. More recently schooled performers may use the "method acting" techniques of immersion in personal activities parallel to that of the character, to gain a sense-memory and emotional connection that may be drawn on to construct the character.

56 Probably derived from the German school of anthropology’s, "weltanschauung," literally translated as “worldview,” but with the implication that this observation is based strictly upon the relative viewpoint of the observer.

Historically oriented researchers may immerse themselves in material of the person to be portrayed from primary sources such as journals, letters, and photographs, to more secondary cultural ephemera from newspapers and periodicals. Others of a more social science bent may look to social, material, or intellectual culture to understand a character’s worldview, and draw from the wider (but more generalized) secondary sources that analyze the culture to be portrayed. All of these approaches have some merit and should be considered by the living historian. On the other hand, rather than simply choosing the one most familiar, the conscientious interpreter should be prepared to explore most if not all of these approaches for promising material to build a historical characterization.

What sort of information is needed to define a character’s worldview? Roth suggests that this information can be classified into three cognitive spheres, which she lists as follows:

“Personal Sphere.” These are things a character would probably know about himself: Place of birth, birthdate, immediate family, and household relationships, genealogy, residences, their own education, income, personal habits, personal belongings, sexual habits, personal health, travel and personal events (e.g. marriage, crossing the Atlantic, first job, etc.)

“Local Sphere.” This is knowledge that a character would share with others of his or her region: Local geography, local events past and present, knowledge of domestic and utilitarian skills, child-rearing, occupation, social class (perception of place in the social order), ethnicity, religion and religious customs, neighbors and friends, local people of importance, basic knowledge of daily and seasonal tasks, local economy (how trade and business occur), communications (how one gets one’s news), health and illness (perceptions of, superstitions about, treatment and maintenance of, etc.), speechways, customs of dress, local customs, weights and measures, foodways, deathways, local agriculture, flora and fauna, local weather, local material culture.

“Wider Sphere.” These are things that a particular character may or may not know, depending on education and station, but this information is available to an unlimited community of people: world events, well-known figures, world geography, arts,
literature, history, science, other religions, other ethnic groups, world economy, trade and occupations, material culture, etc.\textsuperscript{58}

While her listings are not exhaustive, they certainly give some idea of the breath of information which has bearing upon a historical character's worldview, as well as some form of organizing it.

Having thus noted some of the areas of historical research necessary to building the interpretive persona, the question remains, "how does one use this research?" Two methods suggest themselves to this author.

The first of these is in the construction of the basic characterization.\textsuperscript{59} Personal and local sphere information will be combined to provide a basis for the speech, movements, dress, and actions of the historical character. The interpreter must need collect stock phrases, modes of speech, and patterns of behavior common to the person portrayed and the historical context represented. Further, the interpreter must be dressed appropriately and move naturally within the historical environment, lest the physical actions give lie to their historical character.\textsuperscript{60} In addition, some understanding of the psychological life of

\textsuperscript{58} Roth, "First-Person Interpretation", p.48-49

\textsuperscript{59} While it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the methodologies of acting used to integrate this information into characterization, the following information is necessary to construct an adequate portrayal regardless of whether the actor follows the method, technique, or some other school of acting.

\textsuperscript{60} For example: military troops on ceremonial duty do not slouch and lean against walls, pig farmers are not squeamish about getting into wallows to check the pigs, and ladies used to hoop skirts do not allow them to bounce and sway wildly when they walk. Each of these acts on the part of interpreters, witnessed by the author, destroyed the illusion of a historical reality, and suggested that the historical movement of their character was not understood.
the character will allow the interpreter to choose those acts and utterances appropriate for
the situation.

The second use of this of this information is to provide the interpreter answers to
questions outside the direct focus of the program, and material for the interpretive lazzì. It
seems inevitable that within living history programs (and teaching) that the audience's
interest and questions will inevitably wander from the point the interpreter and program
chooses to focus upon. Yet within the first-person format, an interpreter is unable to
answer, "I don't know," to items the character reasonably should without destroying the
illusion of the historical persona. Therefore a broad knowledge base on the part of the
interpreter is essential.

To some extent this problem can be compounded by audience skepticism of the
interpreter as representation of a historical character. The audience sometimes refuses to
allow the suspension of disbelief, often because they view the interpreter as little more
than a costumed lecturer on a single subject. This can be, to a great measure, remedied by
widening the focus of the interpretation to allow the perception of a more diverse choice
of historical information. Rather than presenting the historical character as a one-
dimensional person, the interpreter should allow the audience to see a wider cross section
of the historical persona.

This is a major function of the historical lazzì. Just as the asides, comedy, and pranks
of commedia's lazzì allow the audience to break up the actions into reasonable divisions, a
method of providing character depth through additional information, and a chance to
digest the plot they have seen previously; so too living history's lazzì allows the same
opportunities to the audience. In addition, the historian is provided a method to provide
information not directly relevant to the program focus but interesting to the audience in
the guise of expanding the focus of the characterization.
These historical *lazzi* can take various forms: from mere reference asides to people, places, things or events to stories, discussions, or scenes between multiple interpreters on topics off the direct program focus. Some *lazzi* will be based upon little more than a historical reference, while others will require extensive research and pre-planning on the part of the interpreter, and include multiple points of information and a desired plot progression and conclusion.

On a more practical note, it is the consensus of those in the field that the research done to provide the basis for living history interpretation ought to be compiled in an organized fashion into an interpreter's notebook. This reference work should provide detailed summaries of all documentation and references upon which the character interpretation is based. It ought to include a character study, acting/costume/speech notes, *lazzi* (both documentation and usage), and any other research the interpreter would find useful for building his historical portrayal. This matter should be documented with bibliographic references, to act as a springboard to further interpreter research, which then should be written up and included in the notebook. This text should never be viewed as a finished document, but rather as an ongoing research project which will act as a source of material and documentation of the status of the work in progress.
A LIVING HISTORY PROGRAM FOR SAN TIMOTEO

"Amor est magis cognitivus quam cognito."

[Love is a better teacher than reason.]

St. Thomas Aquinas
**What is this Proposal?**

"'The time has come,' the walrus said,  
'To speak of many things:  
Of shoes— and ships— and sealing wax,  
Of cabbages— and kings—'

Lewis Caroll

Having laid out what living history is and explored some of its theoretical foundations, it is time to turn to the more practical portion of this work. The intent of this paper is not to be merely a study of the philosophic underpinnings of living history educational projects, but rather to demonstrate an approach to the problem of creating such a project and to exemplify the methods involved on a practical level. As discussed in the introduction, the site chosen for the purpose of this demonstration is the San Timoteo Schoolhouse, located in Riverside County. The latter portion of this paper will detail many of the important elements needed for creating a second-person living history program for this site. It should be noted, however, that this is by no means everything needed to create a fully developed living history educational program.

This plan, just like all plans within the presentational arts whether called a script, score, outline, or lesson plan, can only be the barest approximation of the finished product. It represents the research, background, and decisions made prior to the undertaking of the task, not the actual task itself. It must ignore the influence of the performer, the audience, and their relationship upon the result, because the nature of these are mere conjecture during the planning stage. Rather than a finished product, this
project should be viewed as the starting point for a skilled interpreter to create an individualized performance of living history.

What can be examined within this work are those boundaries within which the presentation will operate. These of course, are the educational goals of the interpretation, the historical background of the site and its environs, and pre-established realities of performance that will dictate how the history can be presented to achieve the educational goals.

This author will therefore, approach each of these elements separately, hoping to give the reader some appreciation for the nature of the work to be undertaken. The educational goals will consist of a discussion of those items which are both reasonable and appropriate for this program to teach. The historical background will include several sections devoted to specifics of San Timoteo and educational history, and an introduction to historical laffiti for the San Timoteo program, including both samples and suggested sources. Finally the section on presentational concerns will deal with the practical details of program presentation. Finally, the appendix materials provided with this paper will offer select historical documents significant to the program, a prospective schoolday lesson-plan, and sample pre- and post-presentation materials.

The specifics of this demonstration project will consist of a historical interpretation of the San Timoteo Schoolhouse site, made through the use of a second-person living history educational program designed for school children. It will detail the outline of a field trip program designed to teach state, local, and educational history to school children. The practical methodology involved in building this specific program will be explored, and its foundations in both history and education will be noted.

The central core of the program for San Timoteo is envisioned as a full school-day visit to the site, with lessons and activities guided by a costumed interpreter/educator. The
interpreter will portray a historically accurate and specific school teacher and teaching methods from the period contemporary to the opening of the school. The students will be guided through a process of active discovery involving the history to be presented.

The range of the students served by this project is foreseen as being between grades four and twelve, with lessons varied by grade level and appropriateness for this diverse audience range. Pre- and post-field-trip materials should provide the students with a context for understanding the schoolhouse experience, a tie-in to their curriculum, and lesson continuity to expand upon the visit. This material will be designed for presentation by ordinary classroom teachers.

Also important, much of the material developed for this program should be an appropriate starting point for other special programs tailored to the interest of community and post-secondary groups, as well as educators with an interest in local history and nineteenth-century education.

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61 This would be the school year 1883-84. This year has been chosen, as noted in the introduction, both because of the comparative accessibility of useful historical materials; its historical significance relative to the school, area, and state; the significantly large historical class size (more useful to a visitation program) and the availability of key historical school reproductions needed to implement such a program.
**Educational Goals**

"Try not to have a good time...
... This is supposed to be educational."

Gary B. Trudeau

What should be the educational goals of a living history program at San Timoteo Schoolhouse? First, as with all living history educational programs, it should help the students to directly identify with and relate to the past through a tangible and multisensory presentation. Further, as a part of the broader aims described in the California History – Social Science Framework, it should help the student to develop “a keen sense of historical empathy,” “recognize history as common memory,” and begin to “understand the complex nature of a given culture:” specifically that of the local area in the 1880’s.

Having made these general observations of intent, it is perhaps more important to the undertaking that these be further refined as specific goals to be addressed by the program staff. The program should help the student to understand:

- Life in rural California in the late nineteenth century
- The differences and similarities between historic and modern education and childhood
- That history is the collective stories of real individuals
- How the historian uses primary sources to understand historic people

These four goals will be accomplished through a program of pre-visit classroom preparation on the part of the students, culminating in a full-day program visiting the

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historicschoolhouse. The teaching of the first three of these elements will be balanced between the preparation and the visit, with the last element almost wholly being covered by the pre-program preparation.

While all presentations of this living history program at San Timoteo will include elements covering these four items, the expectations of program focus and student achievement can be varied, based upon the participating group’s relative grade-level and previous overall history preparation. Given the differing historical focuses mandated for specific grades by the California History – Social Science Framework, it is expected that students of certain grade levels will provide the bulk of the students attending the program. Understanding this, the San Timoteo program should attempt to stress more heavily the following grade-level-appropriate aspects with the designated class level:

- Fourth Grade: California, local, and regional history
- Fifth Grade: American history: especially the westward expansion
- Eighth Grade: American history: including westward expansion, early industrialism, and California growth; Historical methods
- Eleventh Grade: American history: especially early industrialism and the late nineteenth century as beginning of the “modern era”; Historical methods

Program variation should be evidenced in moderate changes in emphasis on the part of teachers in pre-visit preparation and post-visit program integration, as well as minor variations in interpreter dialog with the students through asides and lazzis.


Historical Background

San Timoteo Canyon

"In country, as in people, a plain exterior often conceals hidden riches, to perceive which requires much living in and with."

Aldo Leopold

The mouth of San Timoteo Canyon lies at the south-eastern edge of the San Bernardino Valley, and winds east-southeastward towards San Gorgonio Pass about 8 miles away. It forms a path between modern Loma Linda and Banning, and is the natural low gradient (if not straightest) path between the two. San Timoteo Creek, a tributary of the Santa Anna river winds its way along the canyon bottom varying between roughly 250 yards and one-half mile in width. Currently, the environs could be referred to as a mixture of desert scrub and dry riparian bottom land, modified heavily by both local and regional human settlement and irrigation. Note should be made however, of the extreme change in the ecology of the canyon from its historic state, evidenced by this description of the changes:

Appearance of the canyon has greatly changed of late years. The center of the valley along the creek was formerly a dense forest of huge willow and cottonwood trees, many covered with a growth of wild grape vines. And there were occasional meadows along the creek which remained green all summer...

wild fowl abounded during the winter months, and quail were so thick in the brushy canyons and thickets that their number would now seem incredible. Deer were plentiful in the hills and mountain lions were very destructive to sheep and the young stock...

The present dry and barren appearance of the canyon contrasts greatly with the green fields and growing crops of the former days. Not only has the soil been drained of much of its moisture...[by] creek caving during the winter floods, but much of the
underground water is being pumped out and piped away to other places outside its natural watershed.  

The canyon has been occupied since pre-historic times, hosting seasonal bands of the Cahuilla Indians. It lies upon what was one of the significant Indian trade routes between the coast and the inland desert tribes in scattered locations from the Palm Springs area to the Colorado River. Several important pre-historic and historic Indian villages, camps, and grave sites are known to exist in the canyon, including a very significant historic gravesite near the extant San Timoteo Schoolhouse.  

Historic use of the canyon begins with the passage of overland expeditions of Spanish missionaries. These passages most importantly included Father Jose Sanchez's in 1821 and Captain Jose Romero's in 1823. These expeditions were examining routes between coastal California and the inland regions of Northern Mexico. This route later became a part of "The Road to La Paz," a principal overland trade route between Southern California and Mexico. The canyon also appears to have been part of the Mission San Gabriel's rancho grazing lands, but apparently did not see regular or permanent settlement until the mid 1840's.  

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63 Frink, "Early Days"


During this later period Jose Bermudez and Maria Armenta settled in the lower end of the canyon and put significant acreage under cultivation. Both were ex-employees of the Lugos (Landholders of the San Bernardino Rancho), and brought with them significant experience in the local area. Over the next decade they were the center of a growing community, building a store, mill, and irrigated fields, and ranching cattle in the lower third of the canyon. In the upper canyon, Santiago Johnson was confirmed in 1843 to a tract of ranch land of more than one square mile. This tract, referred to as the “Land between San Jacinto and San Gorgonio,” he used for grazing large numbers of sheep. This property he later sold to Louis Rubidoux in 1845. As well, Paulino Weaver, whose San Gorgonio holdings adjoined the canyon, claimed significant tracts in the upper canyon, along with his brother Duff who built an adobe in the upper canyon. Finally, during the late 40’s, Zina Ayers joined Duff Weaver building a dwelling and herding sheep in the upper canyon.

With the arrival of the Mormons in San Bernardino in 1851, settlement in the canyon accelerated, within the next three years including the Pine, Humphry, Frink, St. Clair, and Van Derventer households. While the preceding group of families would go on to play a significant role both in the canyon and San Bernardino history, many other of the

66 For map of this land, see: John Goldsworthy, Jr., “Plat of the Tract of Land between San Jacinto and San Gorgonio” (1871), in the San Bernardino County Archives.

67 The Weaver tracts in San Timoteo largely overlapped the Rubidoux claims, and were never confirmed by the U.S. government. This provided the basis of significant contention and litigation over the next 30 years.

68 Johnson, “Comment on the C.R.S.”; Frink, “Early Days”;
these early pioneers would however eventually lose their land claims and improvements due to problems securing title and irregularities in claims to their properties.\textsuperscript{69}

Also, the Mormons' purchase of the San Bernardino Rancho from the Lugos forced the relocation of their Indian allies and employees. Juan Antonio and his band of Cahuilla Indians had worked for the Lugos in San Bernardino for many years, ranching and protecting against raids by Piutes. With the Mormons having no need for their service, Juan Antonio relocated his people to a village in upper San Timoteo canyon. There they settled, with a number working as ranch hands and domestics for several local landowners as they had previously with the Lugos in San Bernardino. They planted small crops of corn, beans, and squash for their own use, and hunted the local hills for game. However, their lifestyle amounted to little more than a precarious subsistence living, and later encroachment by whites would all but eliminate their way of life.

This village, called Sahatapa, was home to his band from 1851 to 1863. Its location appears to have been in the upper reaches of the canyon, on the lands claimed by Louis Rubidoux.\textsuperscript{70} During the early 1850's, Juan Antonio and his band maintained fairly cordial relations with most of their white neighbors, participating in the local affairs and economy, acting as a posse to capture bandits, and even assisting in the putting down of the Garra Rebellion (by fellow Indians, in 1851) by the capture of Garra and other ringleaders. This

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{69} Johnson, "Comment on the C.R.S."; Dr. R. Bruce Harley, "San Timoteo Chapel in the Canyon", Valley Quarterly (San Bernardino Valley Genealogical Society) 29:3-4 (Nov.-Dec. 1992), p.47-48, 57-59; Frink, "Early Days"; Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, p. 59
\item \textsuperscript{70} Goldsworthy, "Plat"; San Bernardino, County Surveyor, "Township No. 2 South, Range No. 2 West, San Bernardino Meridian" (1871)
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
cooperation happened despite increasing hostility towards Indians shown by new settlers. However, ongoing encroachment by whites on lands claimed by the Cahuilla soured Community-Indian relations as the decade progressed. Allegations of land squatting, rustling, raiding and destruction of farms by both sides, and diversion of water by whites, and long term failure of the government to ratify or honor the treaties they signed in 1852 significantly strained the relations between Indians and whites.

Finally a series of disasters struck the Cahuillas. The winter of 1862 brought massive flooding to Southern California and the canyon, and destroyed many of the daub-and-wattle and adobe structures in Sahatapa. Next, in 1863, a widespread and devastating smallpox epidemic swept much of California. Particularly hard hit was the Indian population, due to lack of natural immunity, poor medical treatment, and malnutrition. During this epidemic, Juan Antonio and a vast majority of the tribe died, and most of the scant remainder fled to villages further east. Many of the victims were apparently hastily buried in the grave site previously mentioned near the school.

A great deal of the early (post-Mormon emigration) settlement in this relatively out of the way area apparently is attributable to problematic relations between the Mormon and non-Mormon communities. These included both native Californios, Indians, and later Anglo migrants alike. As previously noted, the Indian settlement of San Timoteo was

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71 While there were many offenders in this, one of the greatest series of problems was between the Indians and the Weaver brothers. This despite both side's claims to be friendly with the other.

72 Smith, "Juan Antonio", passim; Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, Chp. 2-3, 7

73 Ibid.
largely caused by the elimination of the need for Indian labor and protection on the lands of the San Bernardino valley bought by the Mormons.

The vast majority of the Anglo settlers in the canyon during the early 1850's belonged to one of two allied groups. The first were so-called "Independents"\textsuperscript{74}, non-
Mormons who objected to the Mormon church's heavy handed domination of secular life in San Bernardino and refusal to sell land or allow settlement by non-Mormons on any but their own terms. The second were apostate Mormons, who had left or been expelled from the church for a variety of reasons ranging from misconduct to disagreement with the church elders. They tended to settle in the middle and upper reaches of the canyon, and formed a distinct community, which however did have significant relations with the other groups in the canyon.

Finally, Hispanic occupation continued in the lower and middle portion of the canyon pioneered by Maria Armenta, with some new settlement brought on by the expanding opportunities of the San Bernardino region. However, as previously discussed for other groups, they were forced to the fringes of the San Bernardino valley by the refusal of the Mormons to sell land or cooperate.

On-going incidents as well served to alienate much of the population of San Timoteo Canyon from the Mormon majority of the San Bernardino Valley, and it

\textsuperscript{74} A few of these significantly predate the Mormon emigration to San Bernardino and may well be viewed as Californios by some observers. This would include such noted San Timoteo figures as Louis Roubideux, the Weaver brothers, and Zina Ayers.
probably was with some relief to the residents of the canyon that the Mormons were called home to Utah from San Bernardino in 1857.\textsuperscript{75}

The 1850's saw the canyon begin to develop as a significant community of its own. A rural store sprang up near the canyon's junction with Live Oak canyon and the Yucaipa road in 1854. Originally owned by Manuel Diaz and run by his wife Bernuedas, it was later transferred to and operated by Juan Torres.\textsuperscript{76} Its location was moved a few hundred feet to allow for the construction of the railroad in 1875, but store continued to serve the canyon, well into the 1890's.\textsuperscript{77}

The use of the canyon as a wagon route to the Colorado River continued through the period, via both Warner's Pass and the historic "Route to La Paz" or Bradshaw trail. The Frink Brothers (residents of the canyon) helped blaze portions of these routes.

\footnotesize{These incidents range include coerced baptisms and suggestions of incitements to rebel by the Mormon Bishop Tenney to Juan Antonio's band, manipulation of the courts and political offices, and land, water right, and property disputes between Mormons and non-Mormon or Apostate. For extensive discussion of the problems of this period from a slightly romanticized and pro-Mormon viewpoint, see: George William Beattie and Helen Pruitt Beattie, _Heritage of the Valley_ (Oakland, CA: Biobooks, 1951), Chp. 12-15 passim, as well, for discussion of the problems involving Indians, see Phillips, _Chiefs and Challengers_, Chp. 7.}

\footnotesize{It is not altogether clear when exactly the transfer took place. By 1873 however, Juan Torres is taxed upon the store's merchandise, and one acre of land adjacent to the Diaz place.}

\footnotesize{Garfield M. Quimby, _History of the Potrero Ranch_ (Fresno, CA: California History Books, 1975) p.88-89; San Bernardino County, County Assessor, "County Assessor's Book", broken series from 1855-1890, various extant volumes of series located in San Bernardino County Archives, San Bernardino City Library California Room, and San Bernardino County Historical Society.}
including an alternate cut-off named for them. In addition, they operated a wagon freighting business to Arizona for two decades until the completion of the railroad to Indio in the late 1870's. Many canyon residents put up travelers in their homes, and sold them provisions and fodder as well. Significant to the canyon's growing prosperity, some of the farm and ranch produce of the valley was starting to be shipped out to Yuma and Arizona by these routes. This trade would greatly accelerate in the next decade, with the increasing mining and settlement in Arizona.

Serious consideration was given to routing the Butterfield Stage route through the canyon in the late 1850's and early 60's, spurred on by boosterism in the San Bernardino valley. However, a more southerly route through Temecula eventually won out in 1862 due to the difficulty of obtaining water in the further eastern regions of the Bradshaw trail.78

During the 1860's, the Arizona gold rush brought increased prominence to the canyon, as the beginning stretches of the Bradshaw Trail, which became the major western trail to the Arizona mines. The freighting business grew in scope and became quite lucrative, with mile long wagon trains winding their way up canyon on an increasingly regular basis. As well, this period saw significant development of farms, with increasing numbers of orchards, irrigation ditches and fencing being put in, as well as other significant improvements.79

Regular stagecoach and mail service through the canyon began on a haphazard basis in 1863, being handled by the Brice and Knight line of Los Angeles. However, due to the

78 McAdams, "San Gorgonio Pass", Chp. 5

79 Ibid., chp. 5
failure of this and a number of subsequent lines, reliable service was not instituted until
Newton Noble and Byron Waters' endeavors in 1868. A stage stop and post office was
instituted at the Noble ranch, and subsequently moved to the Frink ranch with a re-
awarding of the mail contract in 1870 to the Grant stageline. This line's service continued
until railroad construction through the canyon in 1875 made such transport obsolete.\footnote{Ibid., chp. 6}

The railroad's arrival in 1875 had been preceded by years of survey and speculation.
Consideration of a San Gorgonio pass route had begun as early as 1855. However, the
intervening Civil War and subsequent adoption of the more Northerly transcontinental
route had delayed building upon this route. While the intervening years saw interest from
the Atlantic and Pacific [Santa Fe], Eastern Division Union Pacific [Kansas Pacific], and
Texas Pacific railroads; it was the Southern Pacific that eventually gained control of the
route and built the line through San Timoteo during the summer of 1875. While daily
freight service started in late 1875, scheduled passenger service did not begin until May 29,
1876 between Colton and Seven Palms\footnote{A temporary station roughly two miles south of the present town of Garnet.}. Within a few years, a flag station was
established at El Casco. Located across from the Frink ranch, it would grow to include the
local telegraph and post office. The terminus of the line would reach Indio in May of
1877, and the Colorado river at Yuma in 1878. Finally, in 1883, the Southern Pacific
railroad would complete its links along this route to the Texas Pacific railroad, becoming
the second complete transcontinental route.\footnote{Ibid., chp. 7}
The arrival of the railroad was to bring to new ethnic groups into San Timoteo canyon. Chinese labors were the primary workforce for the Southern Pacific, and were mostly responsible for the physical construction of the line. They would remain in the canyon for many years thereafter as maintenance crewmen, living in little shanties adjacent to the right-of-way at El Casco. Further, a certain number of employees of the railroad were ethnic Irish, hired primarily for more skilled railroad positions, such as foremen and station agents.\(^3\)

The easier access brought on by the railroad helped swell the valley’s opportunities and population. Many farmers and ranchers took on additional hand, and increased stock. This had several effects on the community.

First, the rise in the numbers of school age children brought a call for a second school district. As will be discussed later, Railroad School District was formed out of portions of San Timoteo and Mission districts, and came to serve the lowest portion of the canyon, with the older San Timoteo district serving the central and upper canyon.\(^4\)

The increase in farm and ranch population, primarily Chicano, prompted the local Catholic population in cooperation with Father Stockman of San Bernardino to construct a chapel in 1875. The land for the Catholic church was donated by Manuel Diaz, and was located near the store at the junction of San Timoteo and Live Oak canyons. Previously,

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\(^3\) Quimby, *Potrero Ranch*, p. 90; United States, Department of the Census, *Manuscript Returns of the 1880 Census*, San Bernardino County, San Timoteo Precinct

\(^4\) San Bernardino County, Superintendent of Schools, “Book B: School Superintendent: San Bernardino County: 1872- [1893]”, July 6th and October 11th, 1875; San Bernardino County, “Maps prepared for the County Assessor of San Bernardino”, W.P. Cave, Draughtsman [1880-1896]”, in collection of San Bernardino County Archives

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the local Catholics had met in various private homes to hold mass and celebrate occasions such as holidays, christenings, and nuptials. Local Protestant denominations shared the use of the schoolhouse for Sunday services by a variety of circuit preachers, and a non-denominational Sunday school was taught there on a regular basis.\textsuperscript{85}

By the 1880's, the change of travel methods from road to railroad had oddly made San Timoteo canyon somewhat more isolated. Where wagon trains and travelers had passed in a regular parade to Arizona and points east, now only the few daily trains and the local traffic moved through the canyon. No longer did the ranches of the canyon serve as rest stops for travelers; in fact, the passing trains only stopped in the canyon if they were signaled. While much of Southern California boomed with new towns and settlers from all over to fill them, the close confines of the already settled canyon did not boast any room for such development.

This is not to suggest that the canyon suffered economic hardship for its isolation. The railroad provided amazingly expanded markets for the dairy, cattle and produce raised in the canyon, converting more and more of the residents solely to market based agriculture, rather than a mixed market and subsistence farming. This led to increased prosperity for many of the residents, who found that single crops might bring bigger returns for less work.

However, for all that San Timoteo did well, her neighbors fared better. The Southern Pacific and Southern California Railroad's junction at Colton turned that small village into a boomtown. Land promoters and speculators, offering little more than dreams in the late 1870's and early 80's, were selling the new "communities" of Moore

\textsuperscript{85} Harley, "San Timoteo Chapel", p.47-48
City [Banning] (1877), Mound City [Loma Linda] (1878), Redlands (1882), and Etiwanda (1883). San Bernardino was growing unchecked, with a feeling of civic pride which by 1883 could indulge itself in all the modern amenities of a real "city": two newspapers (The Times and the Index), a street railway, a steam fire-engine, gas street lights, and even a nascent telephone service.86

The San Timoteo School District

"In the first place God made idiots; this was for practice; then he made school boards."

Samuel Clemens

San Timoteo School District was created November 5th, 1855 by the request of local citizens, prominently headed by Duff Weaver. The district when formed composed everything south and east of "a line drawn from the mouth of Mill Creek Canyon to that of Maria Armenta [sic] Canyon."87 For practical purposes this description encompassed San Timoteo canyon, Yucaipa, and San Gorgonio Pass areas, but by its mandate however,


87 Roughly from one mile south of modern downtown Redlands to the mouth of San Timoteo Canyon (referred to in this document by the name of Maria Armenta, its most prominent resident at that time) roughly one half of a mile south of the Assistensia of San Bernardino. See: San Bernardino County, Board of Supervisors, "Minutes of the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors", 1855, November 5th, #3
it qualifies as the only school serving the area between San Bernardino and Yuma, Arizona for at least the next 20 years. 

Its founding is apparently related to the political agitation of the time between Mormon and non-Mormon populations previously mentioned in the discussion of local history. The first teacher and elected school board members were all prominent Independents. All of these individuals were well involved in the wider political disputes disturbing the residents of the San Bernardino Valley.

Details of the early years are sketchy. Dr. A. S. St. Clair was the first teacher, and it is suggested that school was first taught in the then vacant Ayer’s Adobe behind the Doctor’s house, on the South side of the upper canyon (roughly where Fisherman’s Retreat stands today). Shortly thereafter, it apparently moved slightly up canyon (about one half mile east) to an old adobe shack, apparently either the Weaver place or one of its outbuildings. Anecdotal accounts note that the early accommodations in this adobe structure were terrible, with a dirt floor, rickety benches apt to spill the pupil to the ground, and a

88 Ibid.; Frink, “Early Days”

89 The first teacher was Dr. A.S. St. Clair, the board was composed of D. [Duff] Weaver, J. [John] Brown, and J.W. Smith as reported in (California) The Journal of the Assembly and Senate, Seventh Session, 1856, Appendix, Document 4, p. 6; for its founding, see: “Minutes of the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors”, 1855, November 5th, #3; or, Hazel Miller Croy, “A History of Public Education in San Bernardino During the Mormon Period”, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1955) p. 79. Of particular note is that in 1856, his first year of teaching, Dr. St. Clair was involved in a shooting incident in San Bernardino. (see Benjamin Hayes, “Pioneer Notes”, vol. 3, in the collection of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA)
lack of nearly all amenities. Early teachers may have included Dick Curtis, but no
definitive or official records apparently still exist.°°

It is only with the beginning of the state requirement of a county statistical
"Common Schools Report" in 1862-63, that some official documentation of the workings
of the San Timoteo school district begins to exist. From the early part of this series of
reports we see that the San Timoteo district was rather small in the 1860's, averaging a
total enrollment of under 20 students. The school term was irregularly maintained during
this period, varying both in start and end date. As well, term was rather short, ranging
between only 3 to 6 months per year.°1

While not all of the teachers of this period are identifiable from the records, two
who do appear are Mr. James Jackson in 1863-66, and William Clark in 1866-67. Mr.
Clark would, after his term in San Timoteo, leave to become County Superintendent of
Schools in 1867-68, a post to which he had previously been appointed to fill for the
remainder of the term in 1864-65 due to the death of the incumbent. Apparently a strong
willed and highly outspoken man, his pointed opinions on matters of school law, the
county teachers' institutes, and textbooks ("McGuffey's !") make interesting marginal
reading for the Common Schools Reports of his tenure.°2

90 Frink, "Early Days"

91 California, Superintendent of Public Schools, "Common Schools Report" (San
Bernardino County) microfilm MF2:10 (11-16) in the California State Archives; or titled
"County Superintendent's Reports" vol. 1866-84 and 1885-93, in the collection of the San
Bernardino County Superintendent of Schools, Instructional Resources Division

92 California, "Common Schools Reports" (1862-70); Gerald Arthur Smith, A History of
the County School Administration of San Bernardino County, California (San
In the 1870's, the districts school age population began to significantly increase. Also, after suffering a slump in the late 60's, the percentage of children attending public school began to rise, and by mid-decade the total yearly enrollment exceeded half of the school age children determined by district census counts. While the corresponding daily school attendance lagged behind the enrollment (given the rural farm needs for occasional child labor), it too showed a similar rise, suggesting a greater interest in education on the part of parents in the district. While the school term was still irregular, its length had grown from the preceding decade, ranging from five to nine months.

By the 1870's, the school in the Weaver adobe had become even more decrepit. The mild mannered and understated County School Superintendent, John Brown Jr., writing of a visit in his diary March 29th, 1872 noted:

Visited San Timoteo Dist. School, taught by Miss L. Dodd. Schoolhouse uncomfortable; no conveniences for teaching. .

By the next year, Brown adds to the report of his visit on the last day of the quarter the following expanded description of the facilities:

The Schoolhouse is entirely open on the North side, but then Mr. H[ughes] has a very convenient shade, — a covering of brush which makes his school room at the base of the hill look quite romantic.94

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94 Ibid., November 27th, 1873
The following year's visit by the newly elected superintendent, Henry Goodcell Jr., took a rather more jaundiced view of this rather novel form of schoolroom ventilation, saying:

Visited the school in San Timoteo District taught by Miss Lydia Dodd. Found a broken shell of a schoolhouse, but a live teacher, and flourishing school of over twenty pupils. . . . saw the trustees and urged the necessity of a new schoolhouse. Gave [them] instruction as to the steps to be taken to have a schoolhouse built.95

By 1875 the district and the surrounding region had enormously grown in population. This had in large part been spurred on by the influx of people with the Southern Pacific railroad construction through the canyon and the easier access that the railroad provided. Local parents from the lower canyon petitioned to split the district, and Railroad District was formed from a small section of San Timoteo District, and a greater portion of its neighbor to the northwest, Mission District.

Since the majority of new settlement in the San Timoteo district had taken place in the far western end of the canyon, the construction site of a new school was moved to a more central location down canyon. From the Weaver adobe, the site was shifted nearly 5 miles down canyon, to a site near the Baca and Horton places. (Near the current intersection of Allesandro and San Timoteo roads.)96

Little definite is known of the physical structure of this third schoolhouse, other than its rough location. Apparently all obvious physical traces of this site have long since

95 Ibid., October 8th, 1874

96 California, "Common Schools Reports", 1875-81; San Bernardino County, Surveyors Office, "Township No. 2 South, Range No. 3 West, San Bernardino Meridian" (1880)
disappeared, and its location is only fixed within a quarter section. Yet the material conditions of the school seemingly improved with the change in location. The common school reports note that conditions (equipment, size, improvements, ventilation, etc.) were mostly now judged "middling" as opposed to their former "poor" state.

The next few years would see the start of the land boom of the Inland Empire. School history would reflect this in the establishment of a number of schools close to San Timoteo District. San Gorgonio District would be founded in Banning (1877), Crafton in West (or old) Yucaipa (1879), and Pass in the Eastern Yucaipa area (1882). Each would tend to hem San Timoteo in a little more, as each would draw pupils from newly-opened and irrigated territories better suited to an expanding rural populations. These new schools would soon eclipse San Timoteo, and leave it as a somewhat backwater district.

Teachers at the Allesandro road location included Mr. William Wozencraft (1875-1876), Mr. Howard Bledsoe (1876-1878), Mr. John Stephens, E.D.(1878-1881), and Miss Nancy (Nannie) Winn. All were older seasoned teachers, with the men all involved in other skilled professions besides pedagogy. The choice of mostly older male

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97 A square area of one half of a mile on a side or 160 acres, located formally as the Northwest quarter, Section 10, Township 2 South, Range 2 West. (Ibid.) It might however prove fruitful to conduct a more detailed archeological field study to locate this early school site, and identify it for cultural resource site assessment.

98 Ibid.

99 California, “Common Schools Reports”, 1877-83; San Bernardino, County Board of Supervisors, “Minutes of the County Supervisors”, Book C (1879-83), passim

100 Stephens was a Civil Engineer, Bledsoe a law clerk who would turn lawyer after his teaching career, and Wozencraft a plumber. (See: United States, Census of Population, 1870-80; )
teachers during this period is worthy of note, as young female teachers were rather common elsewhere. It is likely this reflects the historic population trend in this district towards more male students, and the popular belief that discipline and order could be better maintained by male teachers, especially with the older boys. Apparently, all lived moderately close to the schoolhouse in the Old San Bernardino area. This apparently meant they did not need to board with a local family near to the school, but rather each maintained their own residence.  

The school remained at the third site until 1882. However, the population growth in the area of Old San Bernardino and points east prompted the creation of Lugonia District out portions of Mission and Railroad Districts. This apparently resulted in a shift

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101 Ibid.; U.S. Dept. of Census, *Manuscript Census of Population, 1870* (The one exception to this maintenance of private residence seems to be Nannie Winn, who lived with her brother and sister-in-law. However, this presumably was still preferable to “boarding with strangers,” which had particularly negative connotations to the late nineteenth century schoolteacher.)
west of the preceding districts, and in the location of both Railroad and San Timoteo districts further up San Timoteo Canyon.\textsuperscript{102}

In fact, it appears the center of Railroad’s population came to occupy a location on or near the previous San Timoteo site. Further, San Timoteo district’s center returned to the upper canyon, and with the move, a new schoolhouse was built at El Casco. This of course was within one-quarter mile of where the district started, on the adjacent St. Clair property. This is the building still extant, more than 100 years later.

It seems likely that this structure was constructed by the local residents, led by the current school district secretary, Eugene Van Derventer.\textsuperscript{103} This saved the local residents

\textsuperscript{102} This line of reasoning is somewhat conjecture on my part, as there exist no specific documents which show the exact date of the move or boundary shift for San Timoteo District. The County Supervisor’s minutes while noting the new districts boundaries are mute on its effects on other districts. The Common Schools Report [despite an obvious transcription error] indicates that the school was at the third site until the term 1879-80 when the report ceases to include locations. On February 21st, 1882, the deed for the El Casco school site is recorded. (San Bernardino County, “Register of Deeds”, Book 30, p.578-79) Notably no building is mentioned on the site, implying it is yet to be built. The shift in boundaries, not spelled out in the creation documents, is however implied by the difference in School District assessments against the Southern Pacific Railroad (Supervisors, “Minutes”, June 13th, 1880 & October 4th 1883), and the change from the traditional district boundaries to those shown in the undated Assessor’s Map Book which seems to be a working document from the 1880’s to 90’s. (San Bernardino County, “Maps prepared for the County Assessor of San Bernardino”).

\textsuperscript{103} This is based on the anecdotal evidence contained in the Historic Structures Report, and the fact that neither the “Register of School Warrants”, “Common Schools Report”, nor County Supervisor’s records note any major expenditure of funds for building expenses or passage of a bond/tax measure for the district. The only even related expenses noted are minor repairs (amounting to $4.90) and those related to installing a well. (For the latter, see: San Bernardino County, Board of Supervisors, “School Register of Warrants: 1880-1883”, p.179-81, in the San Bernardino County Archives)
the necessity of passing a bond issue for school construction as many other schools did, and the concomitant increase in local property taxes. Most materials were probably obtained locally, and plans seen likely to be based on local adaptations of one of the many books of common school architecture popular in the late nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{104}

It is apparent that with the location shift, San Timoteo had become somewhat of a hardship teaching post. It was far from the growing amenities of the population centers at Colton and San Bernardino, or even those at smaller Old San Bernardino or Lugonia. As well, the lack of teacher accommodations forced the out-of-area teacher to board with a local family. While this was a venerable tradition with rural schools, the rural teacher envied the comparative independence of their town dwelling compatriots. As well, town life offered diversions, contacts, and society that could not be matched in the remote canyon. This is the probably accounts for the high turnover rate, emphasized by the fact that had no teacher spent more than one consecutive term at San Timoteo for the next decade.

The first term in the new schoolhouse was taught by Miss Anna (Annie) S. Anderson, a young and relatively inexperienced schoolmarm from San Bernardino.\textsuperscript{105} She

\textsuperscript{104} A profitable line of investigation, unexplored by this author, may be to compare the actual ground plan of the school to such architectural rendering books to determine to origin of this plan. I believe it highly likely that a common planbook exists, given the similar style of a number of the early county schoolhouses of this period including Railroad, Crafton, and Calico. (For a discussion of school vernacular architecture see: Andrew Gulliford, America's Country Schools (Washington D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1991) p.164-71)

\textsuperscript{105} Only 20 years old, she had obtained her credential the previous school year. She spent that term teaching at San Gorgonio School, an even more remote site than San Timoteo. (see: California, “Common Schools Reports”, 1882–84)
was followed there by Mrs. Mary Stephens, wife to Mr. John Stephens. Although she had previously taught in the district some four years previous, assisting her husband, this term she would apparently be sole teacher for its entire duration. An unrecorded female teacher maintained school for the 1885-86 term, and then moved on, succeeded in following years by Belle Moore, Flora Covington, and Lucy Breckenridge. Of these, only Flora Covington was relatively local to the area, and she like the rest would only teach at the El Casco School for one year.

Little is known of the political workings of the district. Districts were required to have both appointed trustees and a clerk. Their duties included selecting school census marshals, locating the school in accord with the popular will, supervision of construction & repair of the schoolhouse, and the supervision of the clerical work of the district. Hiring and fixing the salary of teachers, suspending and expelling pupils, and even

106 It is unclear from the evidence why Mrs. Stephens returned to teaching at this time. While she had obtained a credential as early as 1880 (renewed in 1883), she had apparently not taught as sole teacher prior to the 84-85 term. While not unheard of for married women to teach, it was most unusual, especially for those with children under twelve, such as Mrs. Stephens. Conjecture on the part of this author suggests a compelling reason, such as the protracted illness of her much older husband (she was in her 40's, he in his 60's), or serious financial difficulties. (See: United States, Census of 1880)

107 Miss Flora Woods had taught at Railroad school for many years. During her tenure there (in 1885), she married into the down canyon branch of the locally numerous Covington Family. As was customary, she changed her name to her husband’s following marriage. She would return to Railroad school following her one year sojourn at El Casco, and teach there for several more years.

108 California, “Common Schools Reports”, 1880-90
examination of the educational attainment of both pupils and teachers were also included among the duties of the trustees and clerk.

Only scattered references to the school district officers exist, save for an annual listing of the District Clerk in the Common Schools Report. Apparently, this was given as the person responsible for compiling the individual district's yearly contribution to the larger official reports. Based on this very sketchy information however, it does seem that control of the district remained in the hands of a relatively select group. The political basis of the district for the entire early period seemed centered entirely with the ranchers in the upper canyon. They were all well-to-do men, and many had held other minor political offices.

Clearly based upon their actions (or lack thereof), these men were frugal in their expenditures, if not downright penurious. The poor early schoolhouses and their equipage certainly stand as testament to their financial policies. However, early teacher pay ranked well above the county average until the 1880's, when it failed to advance with other pay increases. This may well be accounted for by the transition from male teachers to female teachers. Certainly, the young and less experienced female teachers available to

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109 Chiefly in the Superintendent visits documented in "Book B", which only cover the years 1872-75.

110 Known trustees include: Duff Weaver, John Brown, J.W. Smith, W. Humphrey, A.S. St. Clair, John Frink, and Berry Roberts. District Clerks include: A.S. St. Clair, Berry Roberts, and Eugene Van Derventer (See: California, "Common Schools Reports"; County Schools Superintendent, "Book B")

111 California, "Common School Reports"; Smith, County School Administration, p.82-3; Swett, History, p. 29-30
be hired by the district in the 1880's and '90's would have held little sway against their older male counterparts on the school board. This contrasts strongly with the better educated, older, and mostly male teachers hired in previous decades.112

Certainly this follows the trend in the district (and nationally) in the latter part of the century towards teaching, not so much as a profession, but as a genteel paid interlude for educated middle class women before (hopefully) marriage. While it may seem unusual to modern sensibilities, one must remember that it was not until after the Civil War that the school term had lengthened to the point where a single school teaching position might qualify as a full time job. Drawing a local example, one should note that the San Timoteo district's term did not exceed six months until 1871. Further, it did not settle to its regular eight to nine month schedule for five more years. On such low wages and abbreviated schedules, one could not support any but the most meager of living while employed solely as a teacher.113

Thus the job often fell to men with other, irregular occupations such as those noted in the 1870's, educated widows and spinsters, young women needing to support themselves prior to marriage, and a finally a certain class of neer-do-wells and itinerants of education. In the words of one of the early County Superintendents:

Peripatetic quacks, broken-down politicians, white gloved gents, mountebanks, shoulder strikers, horse-thieves, white-washed black legs, [and] gamblers ....often seize upon the idea of teaching a [term], as a makeshift, to replenish their empty purse....

112 California, “Common School Reports”

This is not a fancy sketch. Some of these worst epithets have applied to persons who have palmed themselves upon people and trustees in this county as teachers.\textsuperscript{114}

While we have no evidence to suggest that any of the early teachers (of either sex) in the San Timoteo District fit into this latter category, one must acknowledge the possibility exists. Surely not all teachers were paragons, and the lack of any real hiring criteria on the part of the trustees left the process open to question and abuse.

**Teaching in the Schoolhouse**

"In the country school, the teacher combines the functions of assistant, principal, examiner, and superintendent. He is an autocrat, limited only by custom, precedent, and text-books."

John Swett

No detailed accounts or first-person records of the teaching in the El Casco Schoolhouse during the nineteenth century are available to the modern historian. However, a fair amount of what must have happened may be understood from both the common teaching practices of the period and a few scattered specific references drawn from the reminiscences of William Frink, a student during the 1870's and 80's.

It is currently accepted wisdom that the historic school environment relied more heavily on text bound learning than current practice. Lessons were based on individual study and oral recitation direct from the textbook. With a teacher supervising from four to eight grades and 15 to 30 pupils, there simply wasn't enough time to prepare

individualized lessons. Most teaching took the form of rote progressive lessons memorized straight from the text. While progressive educators might rail against this method, it continued more by necessity than choice.115

Further, the state, through directives from the State Superintendent of Common Schools, county teachers' institutes, and state sponsored teachers' journals such as The California Teacher and Home Journal or The Pacific School Journal advanced a significant amounts of advice and suggestions as to how school was to be conducted. School day length and organization, methods of examination, class conduct and governance all came under discussion and review by these sources, who then propounded advice or rules for most of these items.116

Therefore, while we may not know the teacher's exact words, if we know the texts used, we will gain a fairly clear notion of the shape of the curriculum. In this the living historian is very lucky, because the state of California had long mandated a statewide standard for textbooks. While currently that is taken to mean that a school district is offered a list of acceptable texts by subjects, in the nineteenth-century that was not the case. A single text series for each of the mandated subjects was approved, and state funding could be denied for the failure to follow the state guidelines. While the District


was not expected to provide the texts, the lessons were mandated to come from these sources.\textsuperscript{117}

The San Timoteo District, based on the Common Schools Reports, seems to have closely followed this standard. It is with some certainty we can say that during the early 1880's\textsuperscript{118} when the El Casco Schoolhouse opened the following were the texts used:

- McGuffey's Series of Readers
- Robinson's Series of Arithmetics
- Monteith's Series of Geographies
- Brown's Series of Grammars
- Willson's Spellers
- Cutter's Physiologies
- Payson and Dunton's Penmanship
- Swinton's History of the United States
- Swinton's Word Analysis \textsuperscript{119}

This conforms fairly well with the state school law, which mandated instruction in the following areas: arithmetic, geography, reading, spelling, writing, grammar, physiology,

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid; William C. Bagley and George C. Kyte, \textit{The California Curriculum Study} (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1926) p.61

\textsuperscript{118} The later portion of that decade (School Law of 1885) saw the key introduction of a state government textbook publishing scheme that would extend well into the 1930's. It is therefore desirable to set the interpretation of this site prior to the introduction of these texts (1886), as such books are unavailable in reproduction and difficult to obtain, even to observe sample copies of the originals.

\textsuperscript{119} Swett, \textit{History}, p.203-04; State of California, Superintendent of Schools, \textit{The State School Law of 1870}
U.S. history, bookkeeping, "industrial drawing", and vocal music. Of course, optional texts were allowed at the discretion of the teacher and school district. This proviso probably covered the final two requirements, which would not have been dealt with by any of the required texts.120

These mandated books, while required by law, were not purchased by the district but rather by the individual student's parents. All school materials, such as books, slates, pens and paper, were to be provided by the pupil. "Free" public textbooks, while a perennial topic in education journals, would not be provided to all California students until after the turn of the century. The district would by law be required to provide books and supplies to those deemed "indigent." But evidence suggests that a parent in a rural area like San Timoteo unable to afford school supplies would hold their children at home to work, rather than sending them for "unproductive" schooling.121

Although not at that time legally mandated, some form of science122 and "morals and manners" were probably part of the school curriculum. Instruction in these subjects would tend to depend largely on the skills and interests of the local teacher. While

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120 State of California, Superintendent of Schools, The State School Law of 1880; Bagley and Kyte, California Curriculum Study, p.38-40

121 Swett, History, p.208-9; Superintendent of Schools, "Book B", passim

122 Referred to variously as natural philosophy, natural history, natural science, or nature study. One of the most common nineteenth-century texts was Comstock's Natural Philosophy. Sold nationwide for decades, it is known to have used in both Los Angeles and San Diego previously and during this time. (J.L. Comstock, M.D. Natural Philosophy (New York: Pratt, Woodford, Farmer, and Brace, Various Editions))
probably a part of the curriculum, it is uncertain what exactly both of these entailed at El Casco.\textsuperscript{123}

One note can be made about moral instruction however. It most likely \textit{DID NOT} include any instruction from the Bible, or anything which even vaguely involved sectarian religion. It is a commonly held conception of the early schoolhouse experience that it included daily readings from the Bible. In California however, law and custom had worked to eliminate this practice very early. The State School Law of 1854 had specifically forbidden teaching material of a sectarian nature from the classroom. Over time, local custom further extended this to include any explicitly “religious” material. By the mid-1870’s, Bible instruction had disappeared from the curriculum of all but the most isolated districts.\textsuperscript{124}

This is not to suggest, however, that instruction was not strongly flavored by Christian and Protestant themes. Most assuredly an examination of the texts will prove numerous examples of these tendencies. McGuffey’s readers, while having dispensed with most of the direct interpretation of biblical quotes of their earliest editions, still included a few choice selections.\textsuperscript{125} Perhaps more important, these texts includes many examples of the Calvinist ethics of diligence, thrift and hard work as a religious and moral duty. In the

\textsuperscript{123} Swett, \textit{History}, p.39-41

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid., Chp. 1-2 passim

\textsuperscript{125} For an example of this remainder, see McGuffey’s Alternate Sixth Reader ((New York: Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., 1889) p.254-55 & 424-25.
words of Mosier, "McGuffey readers... so thoroughly integrated Christian and middle-class ideals that they can hardly be distinguished."126

Even a text as ostensibly "scientific" as Montieth's Geography would exhibit these tendencies towards religio-cultural linkage. Various passages attempt to reconcile biblical creationism with "modern" progressive science, while others include pointed comments about foreign religions as "idolatry." Perhaps this is understandable when one considers the general cultural and religious narrowness of American society during this period, often expressed in anti-Catholic or nativist writings.127

But most important, underlying all of this curriculum is a smug middle-class sensibility. The unstated assumption is that a common school education will provide its holder with the tools to integrate as a productive member of their own society. Common schools such as San Timoteo were intended to produce tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers with enough education to succeed in business and participate in the idealized American republican government, as well as their prospective wives prepared to pass on these teachings to future generations.128


127 James Monteith, Monteith's physical and political geography (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1875) p.6-7, 94-95

128 For a lengthy discussion of this idea, see: John Swett, Methods of Teaching, (New York: Harper & Bro., 1885) Chp 7
These lessons, both practical and moral were enforced by a strict regimen of physical discipline. Laws restricting or banning corporal punishment were still far in the future, and the biblical maxim of "spare the rod, and spoil the child" held wide public credence. While authorities on pedagogy had been historically split on the usefulness of physical discipline, it is widely understood that during the late nineteenth century such punishment was widely and regularly used.

In the specific case of San Timoteo school, we have the commentary of William Frink as regards physical discipline:

I well remember the old Irishman who was teacher when I first started school. He kept a large strap draped across his desk and he used it on any pretext that would furnish him the slightest excuse. He often started the first class in the morning, and if one of them did not answer correctly, the whole class got a strapping from the head to the foot. He was better qualified as a "mule skinner." The innocent had to suffer.

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129 Writers as far back as Roger Ascham in the sixteenth century had written against physical punishment in education. In the 1880's, one might contrast the adherence of Kiddle, Harrison, and Calkin's towards such methods in their How to Teach, with John Swett's endorsement of specific forms of such punishment in his Methods of Teaching. (Swett, Methods of Teaching; Henery Kiddle, Thomas F. Harrison, N. A. Calkins How to Teach (Cincinnati, OH: Van Antwerp, Brag, & Co., 1877))

130 Theobald, "Curriculum and Governance", p.123-24; Swett, Methods of Teaching, Chp. 5; Kiddle, How to Teach, p.257-62

131 Based upon the later comment that he was seven years old, it would appear that this account describes the actions of William Hughes, who was the sole male teacher employed during the period 1872-75. (See: "Common Schools Report"; Census of Population 1880) In the interests of fairness, it should be noted that Mr. Hughes received a rather more favorable review from County Superintendent of Schools Brown, who felt "the harmony of children, teacher, parents, and trustees" upon his visit, and as well commented upon the fairness of the examinations. ("Book B", 27 June 1873)
with the guilty. I certainly was not favorably impressed with school life, although being but seven years old, I escaped most of the punishment.\textsuperscript{132}

This account clearly represents a memorably extreme case. However, the fact that Frink views the \textit{unjustness} and \textit{severity} of the punishment as the noteworthy item, rather than the mere existence of corporal punishment, can be taken to suggest that San Timoteo School followed the general trend of using and accepting such discipline as a normal part of the curriculum.

Of further significance in this account is Frink's suggestion that his age played a role in the punishment or lack thereof. Certainly a noted problem of the era was the classic struggle to control the classroom on the part of the teacher. While this may be thought of as a modern problem, it was in fact MUCH more significant to the rural-teacher of the nineteenth century. Having no appeal to other teachers, administrators, or outside authorities, classroom teachers had to resolve all disciplinary problems by themselves.

Classroom disobedience and outright violence by older students was considered fairly common in the face of weak or hesitant teachers.\textsuperscript{133} Personal accounts of nineteenth-century teachers are rife with anecdotes of student misbehavior and their methods of

\textsuperscript{132} Frink, "Early Days"

\textsuperscript{133} The troublemakers were usually male, but accounts of female transgressions do exist within the literature reviewed. One must remember, that there were age limits neither for teachers or pupils. Examples of students aged 19-22 are not uncommon. These students were socially more advanced than is common in today's students, having a wide variety of real world experience to draw upon. Contrasted with the extreme youth of many of the teachers of the period one sets the stage for struggles for classroom dominance. (San Bernardino County had one teacher as young as 16!; by way of contrast, Annie Anderson at San Timoteo seems positively ancient at the advanced age of 20)
dealing with this problem. Often, experienced teachers would resort to extreme measures on the first day of school (such as attributed to Hughes by Frink) as a method to forestall such problems, while others turned to moral suasion or fled the teaching post, never to return.\(^\text{134}\)

One result of such acts was that school officials often chose male over female candidates for teaching positions. This was largely because of their presumed ability to deal with these problems. This may hold some relevance to the hiring in San Timoteo, which had a much greater percentage of male teachers than females for the period 1860-80 than the schools in the more urban San Bernardino.\(^\text{135}\)

Discipline was usually administered swiftly, with implements ranging from the open hand to thimbles, switches, rulers, straps, and ferrules.\(^\text{136}\) While some schools with long-term teachers relied on elaborate schedules of punishment of their own devising, most discipline was based upon the teacher's conflicting levels of frustration and compassion.

Another major aspect of classroom discipline to be considered is the regimentation of student behavior. In comparison with modern schools, expectations of student of


\(\text{135}\) Ibid.; “Common Schools Report”

\(\text{136}\) These may sound harsh, but are by no means extreme. There are (luckily) no examples in San Timoteo district of the problems shown in certain districts in California, Nevada, or Nebraska. In these other districts, order was maintained through the display or discharge of a pistol. See: Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, p.64; Freedman, *Children*, p.69
student behavior were significantly different. Respectful speech was expected of all students' utterances, including speaking only when spoken to, using complete sentences, and ending all comments to the teacher with "sir" or "ma'am." While traditions of classroom silence may have been more of a fond hope than an actuality, certainly the classroom was more orderly than most current public school examples.

In addition, physical expression in the classroom was strictly regulated. Recitations were given ordinarily from a fixed location, standing either at the front of the classroom or beside the teacher's or student's desk. Leaving one's desk was only done with the permission of the teacher, and was usually accompanied by the formal commands to "turn, rise, and pass." These were shorthand for the student to turn to face the aisle, stand up, and pass the teacher's desk before departing the classroom. As well, males and females did not intermingle in school. They lined up, entered the classroom, and sat separately on opposite sides of the classroom, keeping in sexual isolation nearly as strict as a Hindu's purdah.137

While the above are stereotypical of nineteenth-century school behavior, there is significant evidence to suggest that San Timoteo fit this pattern. Social remnants of these behaviors evidently carried over well into the twentieth-century, based upon the descriptions of H. H. "Tuby" [sic] Brannon, who attended San Timoteo school in the 1920's. He recalled:

The teacher would blow a whistle and everyone would line up, the boys on one side, the girls on the other. When we were told to proceed, we would bring our [outer] clothes into the little ante room.

137 Gulliford, America's Country Schools, p.48-77 passim; Kennedy, Schoolmaster of Yesterday, passim
At the end of the day, you didn’t just walk out. The teacher would say, “Put away your books. Rise. Pass.”

This, when taken with the Frink statements, seems to imply a basis for the belief that discipline and behavior in the San Timoteo school followed typical patterns for late nineteenth-century rural schools.

When we come to the issue of the organization of the school day, however, we are less in a position to speak with certainty. While state law mandated the length of the school day and its periods, it had little to say about the specific amount of time the teacher was to spend upon specific materials or subjects. The law stated that the school day should extend from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M., with a one hour period from noon to 1 P.M. being devoted to lunch. As well, breaks of twenty minutes were required in the “fore-noon” and afternoon sessions starting respectively at 10:40 and 2:40. All students, “save those detained for punishment,” were required to “pass out of the classroom at recess, unless it would occasion an exposure of health.”

As to the time actually spent on the curriculum, we are left with little information as to the arrangement of the day. We have no extant quotes from either teachers or students at San Timoteo on the subject, and manuals of pedagogy from the time suggest a variety of methods. Course work could be generally be divided into three specific forms, individual

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138 Chuck Palmer, “19th Century Schoolhouse Weathered the Test of Time”, San Bernardino Sun, 28 April 1985

139 “...Unless other provisions are made by the local school board of trustees.” We have no evidence of such for San Timoteo District, as no primary record of the actions of the trustees remains extant.

140 Swett, History, p.207
study of texts, desk work involving written exercises on slates or paper, and oral recitation either to the teacher or the whole class. Occasional lessons read to the whole class by the teacher with following question and answer sessions rounded out the usual forms of instruction.\textsuperscript{141}

Typical was the division of the school day into a number of overlapping or simultaneous classes based upon division of the class into different levels of student progress. Most teachers tended to keep all the groups working on the same broad subject, rotating the groups between activities requiring teacher attention and those they might perform themselves. Older well-behaved students would often be detailed to assist younger ones by checking or correcting their work, or giving remedial instruction while the teacher worked with others.

Important, however, was the common perception that lessons ought to be comparatively short, with no more than 30 to 45 minutes spent on any one subject. Pedagogical texts of this era also noted the need to vary the type of lessons, mixing desk work, recitation, and reading such that no student spent extended periods of time doing the same sorts of tasks. This mixing of lessons was hailed as a way to increase learning and avoid restiveness on the part of the students.

Teachers were instructed by state law to look after their students' physical development as well. No method was explicitly set forth, so teachers had to depend on their own ideas on the subject. Directed exercise activity did have its adherents during this time (although mostly in the more progressive urban schools), but most teachers apparently

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{141} Swett, \textit{Methods of Teaching}, Chp. 7; \textit{History}, passim; Kennedy, \textit{Schoolmaster of Yesterday}, passim
\end{footnotesize}
relied on the natural exuberance of youth during recess and lunch periods to provide for
the physical needs of the students. This is not to suggest that teachers did not play a hand
in such activities. It appears to be a common practice that teachers often actively
participated in the students' sports and games.\textsuperscript{142}

Along with their schoolbooks, boys often brought baseball equipment, marbles, tops,
or knives (for mumbledy-peg) from home, for group or individual entertainment. Girls
might bring jacks, jump-ropes or even dolls. But not all student play required elaborate
equipment; such games as tag, hide and seek, ducks and drakes, or red rover might involve
little more than choosing up sides. San Timoteo students were involved in a few activities
that were more specific to their rural western location; impromptu horse races were
organized between students who traveled to school mounted, and might be conducted on
the road in front of the schoolhouse; rabbit, squirrel, or quail hunts might occupy a lunch
hour.

\textbf{Asides for the San Timoteo Interpreter}

``I have never let my schooling interfere with my getting an education.''

\textit{Mark Twain}

The previous three sections will provide the central historical focus of the living
history interpretation of San Timoteo Schoolhouse. However, the question of rounding
out the interpreter's worldview and creating the basis for interpretive \textit{lazzi} should be
examined.

\textsuperscript{142} Swett, \textit{History}, p.211-13; Kennedy, \textit{Schoolmaster of Yesterday}, passim
While it is certainly impossible to list all the potential sources of information relevant to crafting an interpretive worldview, a few specific sources are perceived by this author as having special merit, and should be mentioned. Also, suggestions will be made as to the uses of these materials to round out the interpretive “story.” These suggestions should not be viewed as exhaustive, but rather merely as a starting point for the interpreter’s own investigations and innovations. In many ways, the only method to create and refine the interpreter’s understanding of the worldview of his character is by immersion in the sources. While this can be made easier by gathering the most useful of them together to point out useful avenues of research, it is still the act of interpretation that creates the living history out of the welter of historical facts.

First among the sources that the interpreter should consider are those primary documents still extant from people who lived in the canyon during the late nineteenth century. While relatively few still exist, they should be considered among the most important of sources for detail, based upon their specific applicability to the local and the site. It goes without saying that Frink’s “Early Days of San Timoteo Valley” should be a starting point for every interpreter’s reading in preparation for crafting a presentation.

However, even those items by San Timoteo residents not directly written about San Timoteo may shed light upon facets of the canyon’s history. Witness the following passage from a historical reminiscence by Frink, ostensibly devoted to a family owned property in Arizona, which wanders into a discussion of the famous Earp-Clanton feud which made Tombstone (in)famous. Having finished discussing his understanding and suppositions on the causes of the dispute, he digresses to note:

My brother, George M. Frink, was driving one of the stages carrying passengers from Tombstone to Benson on the Railroad at the time. He knew the Clantons well, as they once lived in San Timoteo Canyon as tenant farmers and he had gone to school
with Ike, their leader; and he would, no doubt, have recognized some of them if they were among the robbers who were holding up the stages on the roads.143

This rather innocuous aside provides a fascinating historical tie between San Timoteo and the widely known O.K. Corral shoot-out. While not significant to the central theme of the site’s interpretation, it is interesting in its own right as an anecdote. Knowing this item, the interpreter may choose to introduce it as an *lazzi* when a student misbehaves or disrupts the class. Prompted by such an event, the interpreter can launch into a discussion of the Clanton’s connection to San Timoteo, casting it as an arch-Victorian moral lesson of “what comes of ill-mannered boys who misbehave in school.”144 Alternatively, it could serve as the comic answer to a classic student question, “Has anyone famous attended school in San Timoteo?” As the teacher tries to frame the answer in the historically proper moral disapproval, yet gush with the equally historical boosterish pride for the “local anti-hero,” the students are apt to learn a fascinating aside to the school’s history. Such short stories can often provide a key “humanizing” element to the interpretation, making it all the more memorable to the audience than mere dull facts.

Beyond the scarce local first-person accounts, the interpreter will find other primary historical resources a key tool in coming to understand the worldview of the San Timoteo teacher. In understanding the attitudes of teaching, both pedagogical journals and teaching manuals of the period provide a window into the attitudes and concerns of those who taught during the time. John Swett’s *Methods of Teaching* ranks as a particularly valuable resource. As an early California teacher, his writings and concerns will provide a

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144 “...they wind up dead in a street in that lawless, God-forsaken Arizona territory!”
number of insights into the similarities and differences of the historical teacher to the modern. Close attention should be paid to chapter seven of this work, "The Management of Ungraded Country Schools," as his comments are pointed almost directly at one-room schoolhouses like the San Timoteo site. Not only does Swett provide insight as to the teaching itself, he also discusses facets of the relation of schoolteachers to their pupils and to the local community that can help to build an understanding of the historic teacher's worldview.

However, primary resources can provide much more information than merely the detail of teaching. Properly chosen, they can describe much of society beyond the schoolroom door. One of the most important tools for acquiring this understanding can be the newspapers of the time.

For the nineteenth-century resident of Southern California, newspapers provided a vital window on the world. Prior to the creation of modern mass media, the local newspaper provided nearly the only universal source of news and information to rural people. While the news and feature articles can tell what were the important and current issues on everyone's lips (including the local teacher), the advertisements are even more important to the interpreter. This is because they describe not the intellectual, political, or social events which were mostly distant to the dwellers in San Timoteo canyon, but rather represent the commercial advertiser's attempts to bridge the gap between themselves and their often distant customers. As most of Southern California in the 1880's was in the same situation as San Timoteo — distant, rural, and agrarian — these appeals can help to place in context the needs and desires of local inhabitants. This is simply because the advertisers hoped to exploit these needs and desires for their profit.

The interpreter should carefully review a number of the remaining copies of such local papers as the San Bernardino Valley Index, the Colton Semi-Tropic, the Riverside
Press and Horticulturist. Even the more distant Los Angeles papers, the Daily Herald, Daily Times, and Evening Express contain useful and relevant information which can profitably add to the interpretation. 145

Even the most mundane of newspaper information can become the basis of an interpretive aside. A typical example can be drawn from the Los Angeles Daily Herald. In the issue of 9 February 1883, within the classified page between a dull discussion of the foreign exchanges and the trumpeting boosterism of advertisements for land in Pomona and Ontario is a simple column titled “The Markets.” (See Appendix 1 for a transcription of this column) This daily feature lists the current market price of a variety of retail goods. Apparently a daily column in the Herald, the choice goods recorded, both retail and wholesale, seems to have relied largely upon the whim of the editor. This observation is based upon the fact that the goods listed do not remain constant from issue to issue, nor follow any discernible pattern across a significant run of issues. However, the interpreter scanning a collection of several of these columns can gain a broad sense of the price of goods.

Such an understanding of the historic prices will allow the interpreter to add the texture of specific detail to the living history presentation, creating a richer historical impression. A few sample uses of this information would include the ability to state

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145 Of course, the difficulty with consulting historical newspapers of this period is their relative scarcity. Only a limited number of papers have survived to the present, and even those can only be consulted in a limited number of microform copies. While the California Newspaper Project at University of California at Riverside is currently in the process of indexing and cataloging these historic resources, the best method presently of seeking a wide variety of California newspaper sources is through University of California’s on-line library catalog, MELVYL. (Telnet: 192.35.222.222)
mathematics problems in terms of real prices of goods instead of generalities, discussions of “household economy” including specific examples, and comments about student families focused around news of a specific change in price of goods they use or produce. While there are, of course, many other way to incorporate this material, these examples should serve to prompt the interpreter to discover their own methods to expand the presentation to include a more rounded worldview.

One should remember that the above method of plucking out details applies to almost everything in the newspaper. A useful exercise for the interpreter might be to copy out a complete issue proximate to the interpretive date chosen, and simply go through the entire issue on a line by line basis. If the interpreter simply asks the question, “What would this mean to the residents of San Timoteo?”, insights as to the interpretive uses of the material will leap out from many of the items read.

Another important primary source of interpretive details are local directories and “mug book” histories. While somewhat questionable in their historic interpretations due to excessive boosterism, they provide a useful way of examining people of the local area. Because the sales of such volumes were largely to locals of the area portrayed, the details recorded, if not wholly accurate, tended towards how they desired to think of themselves.

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146 For example, the Clough, Singleton and Haskell families raise dairy cattle and produce butter, cheese and milk; while Van Derventer family raises grain almost exclusively. For more information, see U.S., Census of Agriculture: 1880.
Even if not historical truth, this certainly provides a reflection of the common worldview, and thus an important tool for the living historian.\textsuperscript{147}

Specifically useful to interpreting this site are several of these volumes. First among them is Elliot's \textit{History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties}, a key work published in 1884 (the same year portrayed in the proposed schoolhouse program), its descriptions of the local history, environs, and personalities are both wide-ranging and specific. The interpreter should familiarize themself with the regional maps and descriptions of the local community as essential background. As well, the very boosterism that makes the historical assertions questionable, is itself worth study and incorporation into the living history presentation. California of the 1880's was noted for the rabid boosterism of its residents; passing mention of the "newest" growing communities of Southern California can add an important tie to the student's conception of geography, especially if that community is the modern residence of the students.\textsuperscript{148}

A slightly later and larger volume of this type, Guinn's \textit{A History of California} contains another useful view of the same history and local environs of Southern California. Perhaps as important, it also includes short biographical summaries on many of the students' families as well as some individuals involved in the schoolhouse. When

\textsuperscript{147} "Mugbooks," a slang term for local and regional histories published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were so-called because of their heavy reliance on subscribed biographical sketches (which usually included pictures) for funding. Growing out of the American tradition of boosterism described by Boorstien, form an interesting and useful resource for the historian they. For more information on the history of these texts, see: Oscar Lewis, \textit{Mugbooks} [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1934]

\textsuperscript{148} Elliot, \textit{History of San Bernardino}, p.1-145 passim., especially 122-35
combined with the more limited biographical information from Elliot, and Ingersoll’s *Century Annals of San Bernardino* (another prominent local mug-book) one can gain useful insights as to the local and regional area, and its inhabitants.\footnote{Guinn, J. M. *A History of California* (Chicago: Historic Record Co., 1907) vol. I-II passim., especially vol. I p.196-205 for local history; L. A. Ingersoll, *Ingersoll’s Century Annals of San Bernardino: 1769 — 1904* (Los Angeles: L. A. Ingersoll, 1904) passim. (See list in Appendix II for more references to families and individuals involved with the school site)}

Of further interest to the interpreter is the material on the various historical student’s families contained in the pre-program material. By becoming familiar with this material, the interpreter can create numerous lazi around the impression of “knowing” the historic schoolchild (portrayed by the modern student), and use this familiarity to “ask” them about subjects which have interest to the whole group, and which show facets of the San Timoteo society. For example, the Buie article from the *Sun*, discussing the 1888 Cox-Poppett marriage, could be used to ask the student portraying Mary Cox about “her young man,” demonstrating the closeness of San Timoteo society. Just as reasonable would be “questions” about student’s relatives built around knowledge the students will have been exposed to through program preparation. Solicitous inquiries about the health of family members or employees, requests for a purchase or mailing a letter “if your father is going into town to____,” or teacher inquiries on other personal matters help create the very historical impression of a level of intimacy between the teacher and student.\footnote{Buie, Earl. E. “They Tell Me”, San Bernardino *Sun*, 11 November 1958} 

Finally, the interpreter should not overlook the vast number of secondary historical sources for material to help build a worldview. A variety of social history sources, ranging
from general to specific, are available to help familiarize the interpreter with details. For example, the two volumes of the “Everyday life in America Series” dealing with the late nineteenth century, *The Expansion of Everyday Life* and *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life*, each contain significant material of use to the interpreter. The first of these volume’s chapters on “Life at Home”, “Working the Land”, and “Rites of Passage” all contain much general but serviceable information on lifestyle matters, familiarizing the modern interpreter with a home, farm and social life that it is probably much different from their own. Tidbits discussed as “common” or “ordinary” can, with suitable reflection (and comparison with extant local primary sources), provide the basis for a myriad of comments and asides. The second of these volumes provides similar descriptions of common life, but in addition, should be read to provide many indications of what differences existed from modern life. Since the dates of introduction of many “modern” innovations are listed, the interpreters can use these to assure themselves that no unconscious anachronisms creep into presentations. For example, it would not do to discuss the Sears and Roebuck catalog (not founded until 1886) instead of the similar Montgomery Ward catalog (1872). As Rural Free Delivery (RFD) was not introduced until 1896, an interpreter would be better served in discussing letters arriving “down at the post office at Frink’s,” than at one’s home.\footnote{Daniel E. Sutherland, *The Expansion of Everyday Life: 1860-1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989) passim, especially Chp. 3, 5-6; Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life: 1876-1915* (New York: Harper Collins Publishing, 1991) passim, especially p.154-56, 178} Clearly there are a vast number of historical sources that interpreters can consult to assist them in the task of creating and articulating the worldview. The more one knows...
and understands the myriad details of both the local, regional and national history, whether from primary or secondary sources, the better prepared the living historian will be to interpret the world through anecdote, aside or *lazzi*.

**Presentational Concerns**

**Setting The Stage**

"Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting there a grammar-school."

II Henry VI, 4:7

In examining the presentation of this educational project, the first subject logically to discuss is the environmental and material setting of the presentation. This may be looked at as the stage in, and tools with which, the drama of our living history presentation will be played out. While much of the concerns of the schoolhouse and its grounds are well beyond the scope of this paper, being more correctly considered by an architectural historian or preservationist, a few considerations as to the functional uses of the site and its furnishings are in order.

A few over-all comments are in order regarding the material aspects of the presentation. Much of the site and its furnishings will be subjected to prolonged active use

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152 While there are numerous methods of discussing these presentational concerns, this author will often choose to view the problem through the terminology of theater. As previously noted in the theoretical portions of this paper, this is largely due to the widespread understanding of the terms, and not because of any particular choice to exclude the concerns of history, education, or the social sciences.
by any living history program. Therefore, reasonable concern as to the ethical questions of wear-and-tear and consumptive-use of historical artifacts and structures should be given by those in charge of the management of the site. While all items used should be historically appropriate within the presentation, due regard should be given to finding reproductions of artifacts, rather than using originals. While certainly this is not feasible for large objects such as standing structures, it should be equally obvious that such delicate objects as historic texts and clothing should not be subjected to the consumptive wear that living history program use would entail. Care must be taken to come to some appropriate and reasonable policy on artifact use, and steps taken to document and conserve those artifacts (such as building) the use of which is unavoidable within the context of the program.\(^{153}\)

While the above noted use of reproductions is in order for historical artifacts that might be damaged by program wear, this does not mean that items should be casually substituted in a historically haphazard manner. As much as possible, the items used within the program should be in all ways identical to those historically used. That means that care must be taken on part of the program staff to research these items prior to their introduction to the public's view.

Further, the effect of modifications to the site and its contents from the historic period chosen to be portrayed (1884) which are required by either law or prudent management practice should be minimized in impact as much as possible. For example, health and sanitation considerations may require that a pit-dug outhouse not function as a

\(^{153}\) For some discussion of the use of artifacts and reproductions in living history, see: Debra Reid and Ken Yellis, ed ALHFAM Proceedings of the 1990 Annual Meeting (Santa Fe, NM: Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums, 1993) p.226-39
restroom facility for the site as would be historically probable given the location. However, the closest reasonable alternative to the preceding should be substituted, rather than restoring or reconstructing the obviously anachronistic concrete flush toilet structure later added behind the schoolhouse.\textsuperscript{154} Water supplied to the site, if not from a historically appropriate well, should either visually appear to be so supplied or be sufficiently camouflaged so as to not be visibly intrusive to the public.\textsuperscript{155} The same concept of appropriate appearance or camouflage should apply to other "necessary" anachronisms such as electric outlets, fire prevention equipment, or burglar alarms. Legal requirements for handicapped access should be dealt with in the manner which is \textit{least} intrusive to the historic character of the structure and grounds.

Perhaps the only obvious site anachronism which this author can justify ignoring are the enormous pepper trees which surround the schoolhouse. While known to be planted latter than the period portrayed by the program, their removal would constitute an overwhelming expense, remove a significant although later canyon landmark, and make the schoolhouse distinctly more uncomfortable for program use due to loss of shade.\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{154} Possibly a reproduction of the wooden upper structure could be mounted over a pumpable tank, or a composting toilet be used. While potentially "distasteful" to the modern audience, it provides an important aspect of verisimilitude to the program.

\textsuperscript{155} Clues to the subject of a well may be discerned from the listing of expenses paid in: San Bernardino County Supervisors, "Register of Warrants" p. 181

\textsuperscript{156} Riverside County, Parks Department, "Historic Structure Report", passim. but especial note should be taken to the appended photographs.
Looking beyond the physical site to its contents, there are several different sorts of items which will furnish the schoolhouse. These may be divided between items which will serve as large structural elements to define the space of the schoolhouse (furniture props or properties), those items which will see active use by individuals involved in the program (hand props), and those items which mostly are used to establish the local, mood, or environment (set dressing).

The first of these categories of items, furniture props, will include those ordinary items of furnishings common to most early one-room schoolhouses: student desks and benches, a teacher's desk and chair, chalkboards, a stove, and a few separate benches or chairs. While little documentary evidence exists as to the specifics of these items, some information may be garnered from the "Register of Warrants" entries (and their lack) in regards to several of these items. For example, a stove clearly existed based upon the payment for stovepipe noted in 23 December 1881. One can as well conclude from the register entries that the wood and iron student desks inherited by Riverside County Parks with the El Casco site date from a later period than the early 1880's. The records clearly note repeated payments for school desks to local farmer and handyman, Berry Roberts. This suggests that the early desks at this site were of simple vernacular construction using local materials, unlike the manufactured examples still extant. It is likely, given the parsimony of the local school board and community that other furnishings in the schoolhouse were of similar simple local construction, or cast-offs from local families.

It is however the opinion of the author that additional on-site research should be conducted to discern architectural features which might suggest historically appropriate styles of furnishings. Are there floor markings which might indicate the historical patterns of furnishing? Can the type of stove and ducting be determined from structural modifications and remnants? Are there still extant features which might indicate the
installation of real slate boards or cheaper painted alternatives as original school furnishings? These as well as similar questions need to be asked and answered by a careful examination and probing of the school building before an appropriate furnishing plan can be arrived at for the San Timoteo site.

Next, we come to the hand props, those items which will see active program use and handling. The majority of these break down into those objects that are to be used by the students, and those solely for the teacher’s use.

All students involved in the program on site will require a slate, slate pencil, eraser rag, and set of books\(^{157}\) appropriate to their grade level preset at the individual desk. Also required will be a copy page, quill pen, ink bottle,\(^{158}\) and piece of blotter paper which will be distributed during the program. The teacher will require chalk and an eraser rag for the boards, a ferule, hand bell, complete set of student texts, supplementary texts from which

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\(^{157}\) At a minimum, this will include an appropriate level copy of McGuffey’s Reader, as well as copies of Willson’s Speller and Robinson’s Complete Arithmetic. The former will not be greatly difficult, as McGuffey’s are still in print. However, the latter two books will require creating reprint editions for this program. Thought should be given to contacting other school programs who might find these reprints useful to assist in defraying the printing expense.

\(^{158}\) Ink bottles should have a wide base and taper towards the top to prevent spills. The author has found that the best ink to provide students is NOT India ink which will permanently stain clothing, hands, and anything else it is spilled upon. Rather, the students should be provided an ink composed of watercolor black, brown, or blue mixed into a base of liquid dish soap, providing a smooth flowing ink that will not stain. Finally, if using desks that can accommodate two pupils, there only needs to be one ink bottle per desk. This does have the advantage of providing half the chances for spills.
post-nooning readings can be drawn, a personal timepiece,\textsuperscript{159} items to discuss discipline 
strap, switch, thimble, etc.), and class roll sheets (reproduced in a historical format).

A few furnishings are of more general use by both teacher and students. Fire tools and a woodbox should be provided near to the stove. A galvanized bucket, dipper, and several tin cups can provide historic drinking facilities for the classroom. In each cloakroom, there should be a bench, pegs for the hanging of jackets and coats, and a washstand, basin, and towel for cleaning up after recess and nooning. Materials for nooning recreation (bats, balls, gloves, jump-ropes, dolls, etc.) may also be stored in the cloakrooms.

Beyond the mere functional property needs of the program however, there are a great assortment of items which may be added to the school's furnishing to “dress the set,” and add to the atmosphere of the historic environment. Few schools, even in the most austere of circumstances, fail to have personal touches beyond mere functional necessities. For example, framed lithographs of Washington and Lincoln were almost universal icons in schools across the nation during the late nineteenth-century. A feed-store calendar hung on the wall or a farmer's almanac on the teachers desk (surely not unusual in this rural community) can help to set the date and place. A few historic local newspapers (reproduction), pamphlets, journals, or books on the teacher's desk may show the “teacher's outside reading and interests” to those attending the program. A few

\textsuperscript{159} For male teachers, this should be some form of pocket watch, worn on a chain and fob in the instructor's vest. For females, the options include smaller pocket watches, Victorian style brooches or rings with watches, or a clock kept in the teacher's desk. These choices specifically DO NOT include wrist watches, which did not become common until after 1900.
reproduction hats, coats, and wraps hung in the cloakroom can demonstrate what children were wearing to school during the 1880’s.

One major caution should however be made about this “set dressing” furnishing. Only those items which can be reasonable demonstrated to be common and logically placed at San Timoteo should be included. For example, a wall clock was probably not part of the early furnishings of the El Casco Schoolhouse. Such items were relatively expensive, and would be very much out of character for this poorly funded school. A flag, on the other hand, while a vaguely possible furnishing, certainly would not have the same symbolic significance currently attached to its display in the classroom. This is largely because the Pledge of Allegiance directed to a flag, which is now a classroom standard, is an 1892 innovation unheard of in the 1880’s. Thus the flag’s display was an occasional note of patriotism (less common than the lithographs mentioned above) in the late nineteenth-century school, rather than a universal icon as it is today.

Finally, in arriving at what are the right furnishings for the schoolhouse, the living historian should pay particular attention to historic sources for items current and available for purchase. Montgomery Ward and Sears catalogs of the 1880’s, newspapers, teacher’s journals, and even the flyleaf advertisements of school texts will provide useful insight into those items current and available for use in the classroom.

160 Written by James Belemy as part of the Uniform Columbus Day Celebration in 1892, the 400th anniversary of Columbus’s first voyage to America. For further information, see: Mary T. Willaims, “Preparing for the Centennial of the Pledge of Allegiance” Social Studies and the Young Learner 5:1 (Sept./Oct. 1992) p.3-13

161 Gulliford, America’s Country Schools, passim illustrations
Portraying the Teacher

"It is when the Gods hate a man with uncommon abhorrence that they drive him into the profession of a schoolmaster."

Seneca

Having considered the staging context within which our historical program is set, the reader should now examine the principal actor within this presentation. This is, of course, the living historian who is to portray the schoolteacher. There are a variety of items which must be considered in coming to the understand what will be required to portray the historic school teacher. Key to these are the answers to four specific questions:

What historical character is to be portrayed?

What will define this historical character to an audience?

What are the characteristics, background, and experience a suitable living history interpreter undertaking the role must possess as prerequisites?

What materials, knowledge, and training will the chosen interpreter need to combine to build a convincing portrayal of the historic schoolteacher?

These questions, when taken together, provide the basis for the arriving a fundamental dramatic concept, that of the role to be portrayed. In traditional staged theater, these questions would be answered to varying degrees by the producer's, director's, designer's, and actor's reading and interpretation of the authorial script. In the case of our "historical theater," these questions must be answered by those who choose to set up the program, usually in somewhat less explicitly defined roles. There is no single script for these individuals to consult, but rather they must look to the historical documentation gathered for the site. While no definitive statements about the portrayal can be made in the absence of an intimate knowledge of the interpreter(s) and program staff, some general
observations can be made that will assist the reader and those individuals who might build such a program in understanding the process.

The first of these questions, “What historical character is to be portrayed?”, while apparently obvious from a cursory perusal of the historical documents, is less so upon reflection. As we have previously defined that the interpretation will portray the school year 1883–84, just after the building of the schoolhouse, a brief consultation of the school records will reveal that Miss Annie Anderson was the schoolteacher at San Timoteo during that school year.\textsuperscript{162}

While we do know several important facts about her,\textsuperscript{163} (suggesting that the interpreter will not need to solely portray a historical generality representing this schoolteacher), one of these immediately raise certain issues of practicality. Specifically, the fact that Miss Anderson was only 20 years old when she taught school at San Timoteo may well present difficulties to interpretation. As it is unlikely that a qualified interpreter of so young an age could be found and employed for the task, it would therefore require a interpreter who could convincingly portray someone younger than herself.

If this is not feasible within the context of staff availability, then it is the recommendation of this author that a sight interpretive adjustment be made to portray either the teacher employed during the pervious school year (1882–83), or the year after that chosen (1884–85). These open up two additional roles for consideration, Miss Nannie (Nancy) Winn, and Mrs. Mary Stephens. As each of these roles are older, Miss

\textsuperscript{162} California, “Common Schools Report”, 1884 (or see Appendix 1)

\textsuperscript{163} See page 75, footnotes.
Winn being 35 and Mrs. Stephens being 46, the age range of the three possibilities is such that it is likely that a broad cross-section of qualified female interpreters will find one or more of these women that they can convincingly portray. Further, given their differences in background and histories,\textsuperscript{164} they provide in interesting choice for the developers of interpretive programming at San Timoteo.

It should be noted however, that there does not appear to be any reasonable way for a male interpreter to portray a teacher at San Timoteo within the program confines. Obvious from the school records, the teachers used during the period proximate to that interpreted were all female. The closest male teacher to this period, John Stevens, taught three years earlier at the lower canyon schoolhouse location. Further, he would provide a difficult role to portray, being 70 years old and in poor health, an unlikely combination of physical traits for a variety of interpretive reasons. It is not until we reach back 6 or more years that we find any more likely male teachers for interpretation, a span of time incorporating significant changes which this author finds to be too great to reasonably "fudge" over.\textsuperscript{165}

Having arrived at the character (or possible characters) to be interpreted, it then becomes imperative to define what represents the essentials of portraying this person. This

\textsuperscript{164} These would be: Miss Anderson, a young relatively inexperienced schoolteacher teaching in lieu of marriage; Miss Winn, an aging spinster schoolteacher living with her sister and brother-in-law; and Mrs. Stephens, the widow (?) of a previous San Timoteo teacher and Civil Engineer (John Stephens) with a son still in school in San Bernardino. See: California, "Common Schools Reports", passim; Mary L. Lewis, "Family Group Sheets", Aplin, Stephens, in her private collection of genealogical materials, San Jacinto, California.

\textsuperscript{165} California, "Common Schools Reports", passim
I believe can be broken down into a gross physical appearance, and a set of behaviors and mannerisms.

The first of these, the physical appearance, itself breaks down into two elements best described by the theatrical concepts of casting and costuming. The first of these, while we have already touched upon a little, will primarily be dealt with later, in a discussion of what are the essential prerequisites for the interpreter. The issue of costuming, however, we should direct some attention to presently.

In portraying the historic schoolteacher, care must be taken to accurately represent the proper dress (costume) that such an individual would have worn. Clothing represents the first and most immediate difference that students will notice about the interpreter, setting the stage for the remainder of the program. Long before the interpreter even speaks a word, the audience will have made a number of assumptions based solely upon dress and movement. Therefore it is most important that proper choices be made in this area.

The first guide to this subject should be an examination of primary source surviving costume items and photographic representations of teachers and students. Particular notice should be given to the particular garment's silhouette, line, and style as describing more general features than the variable specific details of color, construction, or ornamentation. This pictorial information should then be compared to more general works on historic
costume, to gain an understanding of what it represents and how this may be applied to the specific circumstances.\textsuperscript{166}

As no garments or pictures from San Timoteo school from this period exist to the best of the author’s knowledge, we must therefore expand our search to include local schools of a similar time period. Perhaps most illuminating of the possibilities is the class picture of the students and teacher of San Bernardino’s Fourth Street School in the 1880’s. (see: Appendix 1) The teacher (illustrated at far right), is apparently dressed in an proper middle-class “day dress” of the times.\textsuperscript{167}

While it is beyond the scope of the this paper to fully analyze everything that makes up a proper costume (including garments, accessories, hairstyle, and makeup) it should be apparent, even to the casual observer, that this “look” represents a very specific fashion to be examined and interpreted. It is the author’s observation that many sites mounting

\textsuperscript{166} In examining historic costume for the San Timoteo site, the author would recommend the following texts as being appropriate and useful in specific areas of study; for a general understanding of period: Janet Winter, Victorian Costuming (Oakland, CA: Other Times Productions, 1980); Anne Buck, Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories, Rev. 2nd ed.(Bedford: R. Bean, 1984) To understand regional variations in style: Ernest Lisle Reedstrom, Historic Dress of the old West (New York: Blandford Press, 1986); Betty J. Mills, Calico Chronicle: Texas Women and their Fashions, 1830-1910 (Lubbock, Tx: Texas Tech Press, 1985)

\textsuperscript{167} While possible that this represents better than average dress on the part of the teacher, it should not disqualify our consideration and emulation. Overdressing and slightly more formal costume is easier to justify on the grounds that it represents an intellectually chosen dramatic impression both on the part of the historical persona and the interpreter. As a fundamental element of the interpretation is noting the difference between modern informality and historic formality, this costuming choice, if not backed by absolute historical proof, will still serve to reinforce the significant program elements.
school programs fail to properly costume their interpreters, dressing their staff in slipshod emulation of movie and television costuming, rather than researched reproductions.\textsuperscript{168}

One very specific costume note is however in order, to caution the reader against one of the most common and heinous costume mistakes that can be made by female interpreters portraying late-nineteenth-century characters. All ordinary garments of this era for female interpreters require wearing the historically proper foundation garments under them for them to fit and move properly. Most important of these is the corset. This means that the female interpreter \textbf{MUST} wear a corset to properly portray a schoolteacher of the period. Aside from the fundamental societal conventions involved, the corset functioned physically as the accepted and essential female support garment. A proper female teacher of the era would no more be seen in public without a corset than a modern teacher would appear in class, sans brassiere.\textsuperscript{169}

\textsuperscript{168} An interpreter portraying an 1880’s schoolteacher should neither wear a 1910 style shirtwaist nor an 1810 mobcap because they are “old-fashioned garments like schoolteachers wore.” (Yes, the author has really heard that from well-meaning, but misguided, history professionals!) Rather too many historic sites (for the author’s tastes) feel that after painstakingly restoring a building to its historical configurations based on lengthy research, it is acceptable to people this environment with walking costume clichés, more appropriate for a masquerade than an educational environment.

\textsuperscript{169} . . .largely for the same reasons! However, the garments are \textbf{NOT} interchangeable. The 1880’s female teacher’s costume must be based upon a corset to be at all correct, anything else will not provide the proper look. This does not however mean that the costume must be uncomfortable. Based upon the comments of a number female interpreters who regularly wear the garment, the author has concluded that anyone wearing it should be able to perform any normal action, with the exception of bending over at the waist if the corset is FITTED AND WORN PROPERLY!
It should be clear from the preceding that the historical costume is significantly different than modern dress. However, beyond merely looking different, its shape and restrictions will create a significantly different movement on the part of the interpreter. Sufficient time must be allocated for the interpreter to learn to move naturally in it, and allow it to become, both consciously and subconsciously, “clothes” rather than mere “dress-up.” Almost any physical action that a modern teacher performs had it analog in the historic teacher, and can be performed in the clothing . . . with practice! The teacher should know how to move among desks, walk on the stairs without tripping, and even play games with the children in the costume as worn. Only when the interpreter can do all this will she be able to portray the schoolteacher at San Timoteo.

Beyond representing the mere image of the teacher, we must examine the actions which must be performed to portray the historic schoolteacher in the context of the program. We have already touched upon physical movement, but even more important to the program will be the spoken representation of the schoolteacher. The vast majority of the historical information communicated by the program will be spoken by the teacher. It therefore behooves us to examine this aspect.

The teacher will obviously need to be able to fluently speak in the style and manner of a nineteenth-century schoolteacher. This will require the interpreter to improvisationally speak using the words and phrases common to teachers of this historical period. While we do not have directly recorded audio examples of this speech, we do have some significant tools which the interpreter may study to gain an understanding of this style of discourse.

The teacher should consider the training in elocution which was an integral part of every student’s training at this time. Most “reading” material was composed with the intent and understanding that it would be read aloud. Significantly more formal speech
patterns were used, taught, and accepted by society, and a teacher would tend to epitomize this trend. Historic textbooks were written primarily by teachers, and include numerous examples of what clearly are the very formal, and to the modern ear stilted, phrases of historic educators. Such texts should provide a basis for understanding the verbal style of the teacher. In addition, education journals, pedagogy texts, and the transcripts of county teacher's institutes can all provide additional examples of educator language usage and phrases for the interpreter.  

The speech of the interpreter will also need to be guided not merely in word and phrase choice, but as well by the historic manners, morals, and behaviors of traditional schoolteachers. The preceding texts can aid in discovery of these items, but also the interpreter should look to the autobiographies of historic teachers, historic texts on manners, and the resources discussed in the previous chapters on historical research for the San Timoteo site.

Having briefly considered what the interpreter must accomplish to portray the historic teacher at San Timoteo, we must ask ourselves, "Who should be chosen to perform this role?" Clearly it should be a woman, and ideally someone of very youthful appearance, although adjustments can be made for older looking individuals. She should have some experience in both theater and education, although extensive training in either is not absolutely necessary. The chosen interpreter should have no problem with creating and presenting elaborate staged presentations, and feel comfortable in front of audiences of twenty to thirty people. Especially important is the ability to work with children, and some experience doing so. She should have an aptitude for historical research, and a

170 See previous discussion in "Asides", pg. 124-35
willingness to undertake extensive ongoing research relevant to the program. If she does not already have experience in wearing correct nineteenth-century costume, she must have a willingness to learn to and do so.

Where will such an interpreter be found? This depends largely upon the funding of the program. If sufficient budgetary resources are available, hiring a professional historic interpreter through advertisement in History News Dispatch, Aviso, ALHFAM publications or other professional venues should be considered the ideal course. Lacking such funding, consideration should be given to hiring from one of three carefully screened groups: professional history educators with some theater background, re-enactors with educational or teaching experience, or those with extensive historical theater backgrounds who are comfortable teaching. Training and oversight will be necessary to provide guidance in the setting up of the program, and regular review should be provided by the program sponsor.

The previous have assumed a paid professional staff person acting as interpreter. If this is not possible, and volunteers must be used, extensive training and oversight must be provided by the program sponsor. Such oversight must in addition continue while the program is active to maintain program quality and protect against “program creep” and boredom on the part of the obviously less reliably motivated volunteers.

The Schoolday as Drama

“History is a pageant and not a philosophy.”

Augustine Birrell

The final presentational aspect to examine is the performance of the program itself. While we have seen that such a program must, by necessity, be significantly an
improvisational creation of the interpreter, a certain amount of this work can be pre-
scripted in the form of a outline, commedia script, or lesson plan. A sample program
created by this author is provided (see: Appendix 3), which includes suggestions as to the
order, organization and manner of presentation of the major lesson elements. Further,
notes are provided as to inclusion of lazzi and other material to round out the living
history presentation.

While the lesson plan provided is by no means either perfect or an absolute, it does
incorporate elements and ideas which the reader should consider. First, it covers, as best
we understand, the central material which would be incorporated in a historic student’s
curriculum. As well, it mixes listening to oral presentations on the part of the interpreter
with a variety of active or participatory exercises on the student’s part to avoid both student
loss of attention and interpreter fatigue. Finally, it uses methods of instruction which the
author has previously used successfully in front of living history audiences, providing some
level of confidence in the results.

There are, however, a few presentational concerns that do not fit neatly into such a
pre-scripted lesson plan. First among these has to do with student behavior. It would be
nice to think that all students will be well-behaved angels who will follow instructions,
cooperate with all, actively participate in the program, and never misbehave.
Unfortunately this is, within the experience of the author presenting living history,
 exceedingly rare. One must be prepared for a variety of student misbehavior ranging from
mere high spirits to outright rebellious disobedience.

This can be handled within the program in a variety of ways. The first, and perhaps
most important method, is the willingness to overlook an limited amount of minor
misbehavior. Often, merely going on in a slightly louder tone will quiet down a restive
class, while failing to notice and re-enforce attention-begging behavior will often stop it.
Minor problems can also be handled directly within the historical character: a raised eyebrow, and a statement like "...young gentlemen do not ________, in MY classroom!", can often quash trouble as it starts.

For slightly more serious occurrences, the interpreter may choose to use misdirection. A 3-5 minute prepared lazzì on contrasting historical punishments for student misbehavior provides a perfect method to refocus attention. This is particularly effective if the teacher, having been using a ferrule or switch as a pointer, suddenly smacks it against a desk (with a loud "crack") to gain student attention, then begins discussing how it would "pain and disappoint" the teacher to have to punish students...in graphic detail as to the methods of punishment. ¹⁷¹ By the time the interpreter has finished, the students are apt to have completely lost interest in misbehavior, as long as the interpreter keeps the tone light, and does not act to challenge students. The interpreter may in addition consider this lazzì as a preventative measure and historically interesting aside, choosing to insert it some time before the nooning, varying it only to the extent that it should be presented only as an observation, with no implication of action.

In serious cases of misbehavior however, it perhaps best to simply physically isolate the student(s) creating the problem. They should be seated in the cloakroom with the group’s adult chaperone until they demonstrate a willingness to rejoin the class and not cause problems. Out of sight of the remainder of the group all pretense of historical

¹⁷¹ While historically accurate, corporal punishment SHOULD NOT be used in this program. The interpreter may allude to, discuss, intimate, or threaten it...but to actually practice it is to place oneself in grave danger of prosecution for child abuse. In practical fact, it is probably best if the interpreter never physically touches the students.
character should be dropped, and the student should be informed of the problem, what is about to happen, and why.\textsuperscript{172}

But student misbehavior is not the only pitfall that may affect the program. The interpreter should as well be prepared to deal with overwhelming cooperation as well. While this does not necessarily seem a problem to the causal reader, it is perhaps a more difficult issue to deal with. Often coming from the most well-prepared students and teachers, the interpreter will be challenged by a variety of questions that will plumb the depths of the interpreter's knowledge of the history of the area, period, customs, and manners.\textsuperscript{173} The interpreter will need a full knowledge of related history, and a good grasp of how to present this information within character to serve such an audience. Occasionally the interpreter will be faced with a question where, "I don't know," seems the only answer. Careful thought should be given to how the interpreter should respond to such questions. The author is personally fond of misdirection, obfuscation, and changing the subject to one that he wants to talk about; but others may decide upon different methods to handle this dilemma.

\textsuperscript{172} Misbehavior provides an excellent example of the need for adult chaperones for students in the program. Merely the presence of such chaperones provides an important moderating influence on student behavior. This is why the author strongly recommends that all student group be \textbf{required} to provide one or more adult chaperones a pre-requisite for attending the program.

\textsuperscript{173} The interpreter should be particularly aware of GATE (Gifted And Talented Education) classes. Filled with students who's level of achievement is usually 1-3 grade levels higher, and IQ's can measure in the 140+ range, these classes can provide a rude shock to an ill-prepared interpreter.
In general, the interpreters will need to be well prepared in the program as they have chosen to present it, the *lazzi* with which they choose to round it out, and the underlying history with which they will improvise. But this preparation can only provide the foundation for their own individual presentations. They must be ready to deal with the vagaries of the individual students and groups to which they present this program to with both improvisation and good humor if they are not to face frustration and burn-out.
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Historical Documentation

Appendix 2: Pre-Visit Program and Materials

Appendix 3: Schoolhouse Lesson Plan

Bibliographies
Appendix 1: Historical Documentation

The following are selected documents important to the San Timoteo Schoolhouse program. These items, referred to in the text, have been compiled and edited from more obscurely archived sources. The author has attempted to keep those documents that might be used as student program materials visually similar to their historical sources.

1. County Superintendent of Schools Reports on San Timoteo School
2. School Register of Warrants: 1881 - 1883
3. San Timoteo Families Attending School at El Casco: 1884
4. Class Picture, Fourth Street School
5. Class Picture, Warm Springs School
6. San Bernardino County Property Tax Assessments, 1874
7. Los Angeles Herald, Friday Morning, Feb. 9, 1883
### County Superintendent of Schools Reports on: San Timeteo School *

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<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>W. Wozencraft &amp; L. Dodd †</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mr. William Wozencraft †</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-77</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6½</td>
<td>Mr. Howard Bledsoe †</td>
<td>$80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877-78</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mr. Howard Bledsoe †</td>
<td>$80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Mr. John Stephens, EdD</td>
<td>$55</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8½</td>
<td>Miss Nannie M. Winn</td>
<td>$50</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
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<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lucy Breckenridge</td>
<td>$60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary S. Stephens</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Josie Jeffries</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mary S. Gower</td>
<td>$60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Information derived from: State Common Schools Reports
(San Bernardino Superintendent of Schools and California State Archives)

With Additional Information derived from:
† Merton E. Hill, *A Century of Public Education in San Bernardino County*
‡ San Bernardino Guardian, 16 September, 1876
## School Register of Warrents: 1881 - 1883

### San Timoteo State School Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Warrent #</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Payee</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>31-Jul 1880</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11-Sep 1880</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$27.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>28-Oct 1880</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$85.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>13-Dec 1881</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$82.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587</td>
<td>14-May 1881</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>722</td>
<td>27-Jun 1881</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>755</td>
<td>2-Jul 1881</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$50.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>31-Jul 1880</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>11-Sep 1880</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$27.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>28-Oct 1880</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
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<td>246</td>
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<td>$82.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>587</td>
<td>14-May 1881</td>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>722</td>
<td>27-Jun 1881</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>755</td>
<td>2-Jul 1881</td>
<td>Mrs. Mary Stevens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$50.00</td>
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</table>

### San Timoteo County School Fund

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Warrent #</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Payee</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3-Jul 1880</td>
<td>Berry Roberts</td>
<td>School Desks</td>
<td>$42.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>28-Oct 1880</td>
<td>John Stephens</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>$6.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>17-Jan 1881</td>
<td>Fort &amp; Candee</td>
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<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td>14-May 1881</td>
<td>J.A. Ranssean</td>
<td>Stationary</td>
<td>$4.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>689</td>
<td>18-Jun 1881</td>
<td>A.S. St. Clair</td>
<td>Taking Census</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
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<td>25-Jun 1881</td>
<td>Allen &amp; Peacock</td>
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<td>School Desks</td>
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<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>23-Dec 1881</td>
<td>Valintine &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Stove Pipe</td>
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<td>23-Dec 1881</td>
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<td>11-Mar 1882</td>
<td>N. Goodcell Jr.</td>
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<td>Taking Census</td>
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<tr>
<td>747</td>
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<td>749</td>
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<td>763</td>
<td>5-Jul 1882</td>
<td>Berry Roberts</td>
<td>School Desks</td>
<td>$55.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>10-Oct 1882</td>
<td>Berry Roberts</td>
<td>(?) Boring Well Bin[e]s</td>
<td>$9.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>10-Oct 1882</td>
<td>S. M. Wall</td>
<td>Recording Deed</td>
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<td>367</td>
<td>13-Feb 1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>12-Mar 1883</td>
<td>Wm. M. Roberts</td>
<td>Boring Well</td>
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<tr>
<td>781</td>
<td>15-Jun 1883</td>
<td>J. A. Casteel</td>
<td>Repairing School House</td>
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<td>758</td>
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<td>741</td>
<td>1-Jun 1883</td>
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</table>

San Bernardino County, Board of Supervisors, "School Register of Warrants", p. 179-81 in the San Bernardino County Archives
MAP SHOWING SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, ITS COLONIES, AND RAILROADS.
Class Picture, Fourth Street School, San Bernardino, California [1880's]
Glass Picture, Warm Springs School, San Bernardino, California - 1880
### From the San Bernardino County Property Tax Assesments, 1874

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>ROAD TAX</th>
<th>POLL TAX</th>
<th>PROPERTY TAX</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noble, Newton</td>
<td>Pan Timemea</td>
<td>2220 Acres land more or less in Pan Timemea, known as the Noble Ranch, Improvements on the same</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Wagons 75, Harness 100, Paddles 20, Farming tools 30, 40 Ann horses 500, 20 halfbreeds 600, 10 cells 400, 250 Stock cattle 1500, 1400 common sheep 1275, 300 lambs 75, 10 mules 250, 20 hogs 25, 1 watch 25, furniture 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$244.58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roberts, Berry</td>
<td>Pan Timemea</td>
<td>Possesory Claim in Pan Timemea Known as the Barry Roberts Place, Improvements on the same</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Niles 150 - Wagon 50 - Carriage 75, Harness 10 - 3 Ann Horses - Stallion 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Cows 60 - 15 Ann Cows - 20 Stock cattle 400 - 11 Hogs 11 - Furniture 20 - 4 Dy. Poultry 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$29.23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cax, P. C.</td>
<td>Pan Bernardo</td>
<td>Possesory Claim bounded on N. by J.B. Baseline = on W. by J.B. Rancho + on E. &amp; N. by Public Domain Improvements on Same</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Wagon 40 = 2 J. Horses 50 = 2 Ann. Cows 30 - 1 Calf 5 = Furniture 15 - 5 Dy. Poultry</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$7.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Covington, W.</td>
<td>Pan Timemea</td>
<td>Possesory Claim in Pan Timemea Improvements on Same</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 J. H. Horse 20 - 4 Ann Cows 45 - 10 Hogs 20 = Furniture 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frink, J.R.</td>
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<td>330 acres of land in Pan Timemea Known as the Frink Place or Ranch, 80 acres of $3 per acre &amp; 250 at $2 per acre Improvements on Same</td>
<td>x</td>
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THE MARKETS
A Daily Resume of the Los Angeles Markets

RETAIL GROCERIES & PROVISIONS
[Corrected Daily by the American Cash Store, 30, 32, and 34 Main Street, Los Angeles]

<table>
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<th>Item</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUGAR</td>
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<tr>
<td>Powdered, 8 lbs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cube, 8% lbs.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dry Granulated, 8%</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extra C., 9% for</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golden C., 10 lbs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D., 10% lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extra Granulated, 8%</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice Costa Rica, 7 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotomoff Costa Rica, 8 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice Rio, 7 lbs.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Rio, 6 lbs.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Grade Rio, 7 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caracillo, choice, 5 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java, choice, 4 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java, good, 4% lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>COFFEE — green</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choice Costa Rica, 7 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotomoff Costa Rica, 8 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice Rio, 7 lbs.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Rio, 6 lbs.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Grade Rio, 7 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caracillo, choice, 5 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java, choice, 4 lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java, good, 4% lbs. for</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEA — Japan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. W. C. &amp; Co. in 1 lb. and Vi lb. papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diamond L.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaspot</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>do., in bulk, per lb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uncolored, basket-fired Japan, choice</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder, strictly choice</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>English Breakfast, good common</td>
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<tr>
<td>English Breakfast, good choice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Formosa Oolong, best</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mixed Teas</td>
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<td>Common</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good, medium</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nectar choice</td>
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<tr>
<td>RICE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Best Island, per lb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLOUR</td>
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<tr>
<td>Best Los Angeles, by cwt.</td>
<td>3.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pioneer</td>
<td>3.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graham</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rye Flour</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn meal, per 100 lbs.</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oat meal, 10 lb. sack — California</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hominy</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farina</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cracked wheat</td>
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<td>Buckwheat flour</td>
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<td>White flour</td>
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<tr>
<td>BUTTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbreath, Point Reyes, per roll</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, best, per roll</td>
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<tr>
<td>EGGS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fresh, per doz.</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHEESE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cwt.</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best California, per lb.</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern cream, per lb.</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swiss, per lb.</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roquefier, per lb.</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Limburg, per lb.</td>
<td>1.35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pineapple, per piece</td>
<td>1.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edam, large, per piece</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sap Sago, per piece</td>
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<tr>
<td>BACON</td>
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<td>Medium, by the side, uncut, per lb.</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extra light breakfast, per lb.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California, supercured, per lb.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Brunswick&quot; brand, canvassed, choicest, per lb.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LARD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foul, Eastern, 3 lbs. for</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;&quot; 5 lbs.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 10 lbs.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTATOES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cwt.</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PINK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per lb.</td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small white</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lime</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANDLES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 oz., 10 for</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 oz., 12 for</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 oz., extra, 8 for</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 oz., extra, 6 for</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise, 6 for</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COAL OIL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[in five gallon cans]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Elite&quot; brand, California oil</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High test, water white, Eastern Electric Light</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Medal</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratt's Astral</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANNED GOODS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes, 25s, best California, per can</td>
<td>12 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn, 25s, best California, per can</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winslow's, per can</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaker, per can</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas, per can</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String beans, per can</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best California table fruits</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaches, Pears, Blackberries, Apricots, etc.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pie fruits</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pie fruits, 1 gal. cans</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressed corn beef, Libby's, 2 lb. can</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oysters — Bluepoint 1s</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blueprint 2s</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light weight 1s</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light weight 2s</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jams and jellies, per can</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condensed milk, Eagle, Aldenm, Pearl, and Crown brands, per can</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. N. L., per box of 20 bars</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, per box of 20 bars</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. K., per box of 20 bars</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear, &quot;Favorite&quot;</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold water bleaching</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas' cold water bleaching</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colgate's, 20 bars</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Pre-Visit Program and Materials

Prior to the visit to San Timoteo Schoolhouse, classes should be significantly prepared for the visit. This preparation will assist the students and teachers to combine the visit into their regular history curriculum, understand and appreciate the material presented in the program, and integrate into the program as participants in second-person living history.

**Teacher Preparation**

Three to Five weeks prior to any class attending the program, the instructor of the class who will be presenting the pre-program material to the class and escorting them as chaperone on the trip should attend a teacher orientation at the schoolhouse. This program should consist of an overview and demonstration of the program, so they will understand in detail what their students will be participating in.

First, the program staff will review the materials the teachers will receive to prepare their classes to attend the schoolhouse program. The teachers will have a chance to see how the students will use these materials by themselves portraying the students in researching a historic school child. The program staff should attempt to act as models for

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174 It is the opinion of the author that this orientation is absolutely necessary to insure student preparation and teacher commitment to the program. While probably requiring the teachers and program staff to commit to a full weekend day worth of time, it is an essential element of this program. In the author's experience, teachers unwilling or unable to commit to such an orientation can not be relied upon to stimulate student involvement, read or present program material, or significantly involve themselves in the program. While this requirement puts a burden on both the presenters and teachers attending, and will discourage some from participating in the program, the advantages in terms of student learning experiences would seem to outweigh these drawbacks.
per-program teaching, and assist in the research process. After all have completed this, they will participate in an abbreviated presentation of the schoolhouse program, with the teachers acting as students to observe what their students will be learning. Upon completion, program staff will discuss with the teachers methods of integrating the program into the classroom curriculum. The idea that the teacher will participate in the program with their class as “parent,” will be introduced and explained, along with the fine points of assigning character roles to the students. Finally, the pre-program materials will be distributed for the teachers to take back to their classrooms.

**Student Preparation**

Roughly two weeks prior to attendance to the schoolhouse, their teacher should pass out a blank copy of the “Student Question Sheet” as a homework assignment. The students should be instructed to complete as much as they can upon themselves and their families as homework, and given a reasonable length of time to accomplish this. (2-3 days). When completed, the sheets should be discussed as a way of looking at students of today.

Next, the teacher should introduce the idea of living history. Key in this introduction should be that “living history is a way that some people present how they believe history happened, and others use to learn about how history was.” The first idea can be compared to local or national museums when interpreters dress up to portray historic people. The second of these concepts is easiest to present by offering the example of Thor Heyerdahl and his voyages on Kon-Tiki or Ra to demonstrate theories of historic migration. The teacher should dwell upon the idea that in both cases, the living historian tries to use the known historical evidence to understand history, by physically doing things as they believe historic people did them. The idea of living history
as "scientific investigation" by anthropologists, historians, sociologists and others should be played up to the students.

The teacher should then talk a little about the school program. The idea of using living history to discover what historical people did should be personalized to the class. The students should be introduced to the idea that people of the late nineteenth century went to school, just as they do. The should be prompted to consider what their daily school experience is like, and how that might differ from how school was. It should be suggested to them that they can to some understanding of the times by physically portraying people of those times and "seeing" what it was like.

The teacher should then assign carefully pre-selected historic student characters to the students involved in the program. Each student should receive a "Student Question Sheet" labeled with the selected historic student's name. The teacher's choice of characters for the students should be prompted by a variety of factors. Among these factors should be the ability of the students to work alone or in groups, need for guidance/supervision, and ability to deal with difficult personal issues in their portraying the historic students. \(^{175}\)

The teacher should as well select the role of "parent" from one of these families, announcing to the class that they as well will participate in the living history program.

\(^{175}\) For example, those students working better on their own should portray W. Frink or E. Black, while those working better in large groups should portray a Haskell, Singleton or Cox. "Problem students" should be assigned to the same group as the parental role being portrayed by a teacher or chaperone, so as to gain the direct assistance and adult oversight implicit in this participation. Finally, the assignments of the roles of certain roles should be carefully considered by the teacher as to the effect on the students portraying them. Andrew Cox is noted as "slow," (may be mentally handicapped), all Haskels have deceased father (living with grandparents), Estelle Black is child in broken home (parents divorce, 1-1885), and Mary Ellen Cox is apt to be teased about a boyfriend.
The possible student roles to be portrayed are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Elizabeth Cox</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>William Cox</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Noble</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>William Henry Frink</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gertrude Clough</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Joseph Noble</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Roberts</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>James Van Derventer</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary C. Covington</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>William J. Covington</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Noble</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Andrew Cox</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annetta Roberts</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>James Haskell</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Van Derventer</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lee Roberts</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Cox</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>William J. Singleton</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie J. Singleton</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Robert Haskell</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estelle Black</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Herbert Clough</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida May Covington</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sterling Roberts</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The students should then be divided up into their “family groups,” and each group be given a file folder of family material to use to use in filling out their sheets. The students should be instructed to fill out these sheets for the assigned historic student in 1884, *as if it were themselves*, just as they had done on the previous sheet. The teacher should give some verbal examples of how this is to be done. In addition, the significance and use of each of the items common to the folders in answering the questions should be explained, and other significant sorts of items which are included in some folders should be touched upon. Adequate class time should be allocated for filling out the sheets, and the work should not be rushed. The teacher should allow the students to work singly or in
groups to fill out the sheets, personally assisting the students in deciphering the historic documents as appropriate.\textsuperscript{176}

When the students have derived as much information as they can from the material provided, and just prior to the field trip, the teacher should set aside class time to allow them to tell the class a little about the historic student that they "are." Give them a few minutes to "tell the essential things everything someone going to school would know about you." This discussion should be in the first person (I am . . .), and probably is best done by family groups. Bigger family groups should be expected to provide more information on "their" family. The teacher should encourage students to learn more by asking questions about each other's characters. The teacher should "break the ice" in this session by telling the class who they will portray on the trip.

Finally, the students should be told that the student sheets will not be collected or graded until after they have attended the San Timoteo program, and any information they glean from the program can be included in the material they turn in. The teacher may as well choose to mention a paper, test, or exercise that will be based upon the student experiences at San Timoteo, to further focus the student's attention on viewing the field trip in a critical light and as a learning tool.

\textsuperscript{176} While average seventh grade and above students can be expected to fill out most of the questions on these sheets from the historical material provided with some minor help, younger students may need more assistance. In the case of younger students, the author suggests the coding of the answer sheet and documents with colored highlighters to show which documents will assist in answering which questions. The teacher may merely stripe the answer blank and the top edge of the document, or go so far as to highlight the specific passage on the document, depending upon the teacher's perception of the level of assistance needed.
The preceding constitute the minimum that must be needed to prepare a class for attending the San Timoteo program. However, much more can be done, at the teacher's option. Selected reading drawn from such novels as Little House on the Prairie or Farmer Boy by Wilder, biographies such as Schoolmaster of Yesterday by Kennedy, or even children's histories such as Children of the Wild West about historic education could add significantly to student understanding prior to attending the schoolhouse.\textsuperscript{177} The teacher might also choose to suggest to the class that they try to dress like historic schoolchildren for their visit, basing their clothing choices upon the pictorial examples provided in the student folders. The teacher might tie the material they are using in the "family folders" into their more general local, regional, state or national historical studies, or use it as a springboard to discuss historical methodologies. All could add significantly to the preparation of the students to understand and appreciate their schoolhouse experience.

Student Materials

Student Question Sheet:

The following is a sample student question sheet. While not definitive, it is intended to provide a framework for the student to consider the similarities and differences between themselves and the historic student. The questions may be varied by the program presenter or teacher in response to the chosen class or grade-level emphasis, or in response to other criteria.

\textsuperscript{177} For examples, see: Laura Ingalls Wilder, Little House on the Prairie or Farmer Boy; Kennedy, Schoolmaster of Yesterday, Chapters 17, 21, 27 or 28; Freedman, Children of the Wild West, passim.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your name?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How old are you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do you live?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does your family own or rent where you live?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the area you live in like?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How far do you travel to school?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you usually get to school?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who are your parents?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are they still alive?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you work nearby?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are they involved in a family business?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you live with them? If not, who do you live with?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you live with other family members? What are their names, ages, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationship to you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Do any non-family members live where you do? Why? What are their names, ages, and occupations?

Do you work or have any chores at home?

What do you study in school?

What text books do you use? What are they like?

What tools and supplies do you use in school?
What is your usual school lunch? (If you eat one)
Do you bring it from home or get it at school?

What do you or other students do during recess or after eating lunch?

Describe your school's building and facilities:
Tell a little about yourself or your family that you have not previously described: 
(include at least 5 facts that you have not previously mentioned)
Family Folders:

Besides being designed so as to provide clues to answer most questions on the Student Question Sheet, the information in the family file is intended to provide the students with an interesting amount of material on the historic student and their family. All student family files will contain:

- Paper copy of relevant microfilm pages of the *Manuscript Census of Population* and *Manuscript Census of Agriculture* for 1880, San Timoteo Precinct.\(^{178}\)

- Copy of William Frink’s “Early Days of San Timoteo Valley”, from the *Redlands Facts*, 18, 19, 21 & 22 December 1936

- Copies of two historic pictures: “4th Street School, Class Picture”; and “Warm Springs School, 1880” (Sch 2)

- Copy of map: “San Timoteo Families Attending School at El Casco: 1884”, from this paper, Appendix I

- Copy of each family’s senior member’s genealogical Family Group Sheet (FGS), showing immediate family and basic ancestry information.\(^{179}\)

- Copy of map: “Map Showing San Bernardino County, Its Colonies, and Railroads” from Elliot’s *History*, p.183

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\(^{178}\) The exception being the Cox Family, who should receive the relevant section of the San Bernardino census information, having moved to the canyon from north San Bernardino in 1882-83.

\(^{179}\) While such material may be available from a variety of sources including local genealogical societies, the Mormon church archives, and local libraries, this author has found that potentially the best source for genealogical history of the San Timoteo Canyon area families are the archives of Mrs. Mary Lewis. A local researcher, also related to several families from the canyon, she has compiled significant resources including FGS’s for each of the canyon’s significant families for this period. (Mrs. Mary Lewis, 444 West Fifth Street, San Jacinto, CA 92583-4002)
As well, each family file will include the following additional items, based upon the currently extant research materials: 180

**Black Family**

Copy of accords between Samuel N. Black and Julia A. Black ("Partition of Joint and Separate Property" and "Indenture of Custody of Minor Children") related to their divorce (1885; San Bernardino County, County Recorder "Agreements" Book E, p.31-32, 44-46)

**Clough Family**

Copy of the probate inventory of Frank S. Clough from the San Bernardino County (1888; San Bernardino County, Superior Court, "Probate Minutes", Book 6, p. 276-77)

**Covington Family**

Copy of family articles from Guin's *History* (Vol. II, p.1477-78, 1926-27)

Copy of "Selected Summaries of the 1874 San Bernardino Tax Assessments" from this paper, Appendix I

**Cox Family**

Copy of family articles and pictures from Elliot's *History* (p.70, 142), Ingersoll's *Century Annals* (p.706-07), and Brown and Boyd's *History* (Vol. III, p.1398)

Copy of Cox article from "Covered Wagon Families" series, San Bernardino *Sun*, 15, January 1939

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180 This listing is not to be considered comprehensive, other items may be included at the whim of the program presenter and the teacher. These items merely provide a basis for discovering the historic student and their family.
Copy of select portions of “Cox, Silas C.” (p. 23-25) from “Pioneer Society Notes” in the San Bernardino Library’s California Room collection.

Copy of “They Tell Me” by Earl. E. Buie, San Bernardino Sun, 11 November 1958

Copy of picture, “Edward Poppett and Mary Ellen Cox on their wedding day”, from Myrtle Johnson, “As I Remember”

Copy of “Selected Summaries of the 1874 San Bernardino Tax Assessments”

Copy of material on El Casco from Bynon’s History and Directory (p.114, 174-75)

Frink Family

Copy of family articles and pictures from Elliot’s History (p.36, 98), Ingersoll’s Century Annals (p.703), and Guin’s History (Vol. II, p.1515)

Copy of William Frink’s “The Old Martinez Ranch”

Copy of “Selected Summaries of the 1874 San Bernardino Tax Assessments”

Copy of material on El Casco and Frink family from Bynon’s History and Directory (p.114, 133-34, 174-75)

Copy of San Timoteo school property deed (1884, San Bernardino County, County Recorder, “Deeds”, Book 30, p.578-79

Haskel/ Singleton Family

Copy of family articles Guin’s History (Vol. II, p.1261)

Copy of “Selected Summaries of the 1874 San Bernardino Tax Assessments”

Copy of material on El Casco from Bynon’s History and Directory (p.114, 174-75)

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181 Children of this family are related through and living with their grand parents (Singleton) and therefore will work from the same material in coming to understand the historic schoolchild they are portraying.
Copy of Nara Haskell’s “Haskell Family”, a paper delivered to the San Gorgonio Pass Historical Society

Copy of “Mrs. Ann Haskell Called by Death” [obituary] in the San Bernardino Sun, 10 February, 1919

**Noble Family**

Copy of family articles from Ingersoll’s *Century Annals* (p.869)

Copy of “Selected Summaries of the 1874 San Bernardino Tax Assessments”

Copy of table of table of county officers from Elliot’s *History* (p.144)

Copy of Weight’s “Noble Pass and the rockhounds”, an article from (Twenty-nine Palms) *The Desert Trail*, 9, 16 February 1984

**Roberts Family:**

Copy of family articles and pictures from Brown and Boyd’s *History* (Vol. III, p.1507-09), Ingersoll’s *Century Annals* (p.436, 667-68, 876), and Guin’s *History* (Vol. II, p.2137, 2143-44)

**Van Derventer Family:**

Copy of family article from Guin’s *History* (Vol. II, p.1478)

Copy of material on El Casco from Bynon’s *History and Directory* (p.114, 174-75)
Appendix 3: Schoolhouse Lesson Plan

Before the Pupils Arrive:

The first thing the program instructor needs to do upon opening the schoolhouse during late-fall to early-spring is to light the stove. If the weather is the least bit cool, the stove should be lit at least one hour before the arrival of students, to heat the room to a reasonable temperature. Remember, one can always cool the room by opening one or more windows or damping the stove, but it takes a considerable time lag to heat the room to a comfortable temperature. Most modern students (especially in Southern California) are completely unused to any significant cold and will not be dressed for the harsher weather one should expect in our historic (drafty) schoolhouse.

Next, one should check the grade level of the students attending today, as well as any special notations on the type of students or duration of the day, and choose lessons appropriately. If the day is to be shortened due to travel distance on the part of the students or other time limitations, select the appropriate portions of the day to be abbreviated or cut. Next, select reasonable reading and arithmetic lessons for the students. These choices should be based upon the rule of thumb that the material covered should be one to three grade levels below the student’s normal level of ability. Lessons for this program are intended to be easy enough that the student can devote their time and attention to the notably different historical environment, not be focused on their difficulty with the subject matter.

Having chosen the lessons, make sure that a set of books appropriate to the lessons are placed at each desk, as well as slate, slate pencil, and eraser rag. Get out copy pages, quills, and ink bottles. Check the quills for good points (sharpen as appropriate) and ink
bottles for sufficient ink. Remember however, the ink should not be filled to excess, but rather just sufficient to use. This will minimize the inevitable spills. Check your own props, including books with page markers, chalk, eraser rag, ferrule, thimble, strap, notes, and watch.

Write the date (Remember, 1883!), your historic teacher's name, and a maxim for the day on the chalk board. If the students for the day are fifth grade or lower, print rather than write in longhand. At your own discretion, it might be wise to write the reading and math lesson(s) on the board, especially when facing a mixed-age group.

Finally, try to meet the bus as it arrives on the site. While it should be the responsibility of the teacher and/or chaperones to assemble the class and get them organized, your calm presence should act as a stabilizing influence. Check with the teacher to make sure that no last minute changes in group size, composition, or travel plans will affect the program. Give the teacher a chance to let their students use the privy if it has been a long bus ride. Check that the students are wearing their historic student name tags, and give spares to any who have lost or forgotten them.

**Orientation:**

Standing on the steps of the schoolhouse (or in the cloakroom in case of inclement weather), give the students a brief introduction to where they are and why they are here. Let them know what they will be doing: historic lessons, recess, and lunch. As well, brief them on the site rules: no horseplay in the buildings, stay within the fenced schoolyard, etc. Quickly allow them the opportunity to ask questions, and answer any they may have in a concise fashion.
Having dealt with the necessary preliminaries, now is the time to go fully into character. Draw yourself up, and introduce yourself to the class:

“*My name is* (historic teacher’s name). I expect that all my scholars will pay strict attention to their duty and to good government. You will raise your hands to be called upon, speak only when spoken to, and comport yourselves as the ladies and gentlemen that I know you are.”

Have the scholars line up in two lines by sex, from youngest to oldest by age (of their student personas). Instruct the students in “making their manners” upon entering and leaving the schoolroom (a curtsey for the girls, a bow from the waist for the boys), placing their lunches and “wraps” in the cloakroom, and seating themselves in the classroom on the proper side. Call in the girls, and after they have all entered and seated themselves, call in the boys.

When all are seated, say: “Good morning class.” Await response. If none is offered (or minimal participation), chide the class for being “sleepyheads,” and prompt them to respond, “Good morning, (teacher’s proper name).” Acknowledge their teacher(s) or chaperone(s) as (local parent(s) of correct sex), note how pleased you are to have them visiting today, and that you are sure that the “scholars” will be on their best behavior.

Suggest that as this is the first day of class “this term,” you will review what is expected of them. Note that school starts promptly at nine, and that they must arrive on time, regardless of their ordinary morning chores. This provides an excellent opportunity to discuss their life as students and add an anecdote or two, under the guise of reminding them to be prompt and dutiful.
Reading Lesson:

Have them get out their slate and slate pencils, and write their name on the top right corner of their slates. Announce the reading lesson(s), and have them write it on their slate. Have each student read a short text selection, and memorize ("Memorization is excellent training for the intellect.") a short piece of poetry for recitation in the afternoon. For younger scholars this may only amount to one or two lines, for older scholars, a verse or two. The lesson should group several scholars working on the same material so that one group’s recitation should complete a poem. (During each of the following lessons, if students appear to have finished early, remind them of their recitation piece and suggest that they work further on memorizing it.) Walk around the room during the reading to make sure that each student has gotten the correct assignment and is working diligently. Do not allow (and make great mention of it) students to lean on their books at the desks, fold pages or write in the flyleaves. ("Books are precious things and cost your parents good money!")

After giving the students some time to read their lessons, have them come to the front of the classroom to read to you. Name the students by name, and have them place their slates safely aside so they are not dropped and broken. Instruct them to, “turn and face the aisle, rise, and pass to the front of the classroom.” Line up the students to read in

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182 The exception to this are the youngest students of the third and fourth grade, who will be reading lessons from the First Reader. There are two reasons for this choice. First, given the difficulty younger children have with memorization, it is unlikely that any but the most advanced third or fourth grader will be able to succeed in memorizing this historic material. Further, the First Reader which they will be working from has little in the way of material suitable for declamation.
front of the teacher's desk, toes on a crack in the floor, heads erect, shoulders back, and with proper posture. ("Remember: an erect posture is the outward sign of an upright person") This regimentation is necessary to demonstrate the formality of nineteenth-century schools and should be repeated for each group. Have the students read from their assigned text. Patiently help them with words they are not familiar with, and discuss the meaning of the selection with them. Especially important is a discussion of the "moral lesson" of the reading, about which each student should be asked something.

Recess:

Have the students put away their books and slates, and then instruct them that you are going to dismiss them for a 15 minute recess. Note that any students that need to should use the "necessary" out back. Make sure that the students know that they are to remain within the schoolyard and are not to climb the trees or get dirty. Explain that you will end recess by ringing the hand bell, and that you expect all scholars to come immediately and line up as they did in the morning. Have the girls "turn, rise, and pass out of the classroom," allowing them a few moments to clear the room. Then repeat the process for the boys. (While the students are at recess, the teacher may find it desirable to copy the written arithmetic lessons to the board to save time.) After recess, ring the bell, and wait for the scholars to form two lines. (Count them to make sure that students are not out back or in the privy.) Have the girls enter, make their manners, put their wraps in the cloakroom, and seat themselves. Repeat the process with the boys.
Arithmetic Lesson:

Start the lesson by introducing the idea of intellectual arithmetic to the scholars. (“...arithmetic done wholly in the mind.”; “You can’t go through your life with a slate tucked under your arm!”) Next, bring up the extreme difference in gender learning expectations by nineteenth-century society. This can be accomplished by introducing the idea that “most believe that girls are not suited to the difficulties of higher mathematics.” You might observe that “some believe women can’t understand arithmetic,” and caution girls against “vapors and faintness.” Counter this with an observation of the uses nineteenth-century women have for arithmetic: keeping track of household accounts, taking care of business in the absence of a husband, an “doubling or trebling your receipts [recipes] in the kitchen.” Contrast this with men’s constant need for mathematics in running a farm, doing business, buying or selling land, or “figuring up your accounts down at Torres’s store or the shops in San Bernardino.” Finish up the gender comparisons by suggesting you’ll start with “easy problems for the girls.” If properly done with enthusiasm and a broad brush, the students will be challenged into a rivalry of the sexes which will spur their attention.¹⁸³

¹⁸³ Problems with negative reactions to this obvious irrational but historical bias, in the experience of the author, come not from the outrageous comments which the interpreter makes in character, but the belief on the part of the audience that the interpreter holds these ideas outside the context of the historical characterization. The remedy to this problem is usually total commitment to the historical role. Total commitment to playing the historical character, portraying these anachronistic ideas with complete belief far beyond the anything a modern person could reasonably believe, is far superior to half-sincere mouthing. If the interpreter fails to fully articulate such beliefs, the audience can become confused as to whether the interpreter “really” believes these outdated doctrines, or is portraying a historical persona to be examined.
Returning to mathematics, read the first problem in Robinson's and ask for a “proper” answer. When the student’s hands go up (...if necessary, carefully ignore shouted answers, and note that this is “not proper or seemly behavior” in a stentorian tone), call upon a student and receive the inevitable “wrong” answer. Thank them for trying, and then explain what is meant by a “proper” answer. Explain that when called upon, students would rise beside their desk, facing the teacher with good posture, and their hands neatly folded. Continue:

A proper answer states the question to be asked, the method of solving the question, and the solution to the question, in full and complete sentences, ending with a respectful, 'Ma'am.' [or Sir] For example, if the question was: ‘If John has three books and Robert has four books, how many books have they both?’ A proper answer to the question would be: ‘SINCE John has three books and Robert has four books, AND SINCE three plus four is equal to seven, THEREFORE they both had seven books, Ma'am. [Dramatic pause] Now you see how easy that is?

Now give the same student another problem, and work through it, guiding the scholar as needed to both solve the problem and work within the form. Proceed to work six to eight problems with randomly chosen scholars, increasing the difficulty mildly with each problem. Remember to choose problems that are clearly within, if not beneath, the student’s ability level. The real lesson is not math, per-se, but rather the teaching style and mental discipline.

End mental arithmetic with “a problem to whet the appetites of the more mathematically minded boys.” Choose one of the advanced word problems out of the back of the book (Business, land, compound or discount problems are only some of the options. The key to the exercise is verbal complexity: three or four step multiple variable problems are just fine.) and recite it to the class. After a suitable pause, “allow” as you did not expect that any of scholars to solve it “right off,” but you are disappointed that none attempted it. Add that you will expect at least some of boys to be able to solve such
problems by the end of a term or two. Use this to expound upon the need to “cipher in your own head... after all, you can’t go through life with a slate tucked under your arm!” (Be forewarned, you should be prepared to solve any problem you offer to the students. This is necessary not only to answer the curiosity of students and teachers taking the program [often during the nooning], but also to assist the occasional gifted student who might undertake to solve your hardest problem.)

Continue on with written arithmetic, worked on the slate. Explain that it is through such practice at the slate that we develop our “powers of mental arithmetic.” Assign each student two or three problems, to be copied neatly onto the slate, and solved. (These problems should be fairly easy, but need not be as far below their actual school level as the oral work.) Explain that normally the more advanced scholars would correct the work of those less advanced, but today, each student will correct their own work. Explain that when they are finished, they are to raise their hand, and you will come and examine them in their work. When they finish and are called upon, have them stand and read their work to you on an individual basis. (The teacher should go to the student’s desk.) Any errors should be erased and redone, then re-examined. Remember, “no lesson is learned until it is mastered.” Make sure in answering that they use proper English, and end with a respectful “ma’am.” (or “sir”)

The Nooning

When all are finished, have them erase their slates, put away their books and other items, and sit quietly. Explain to the scholars that it is time for their nooning. Remind them that they will have to bring their suppers to school most days, except William Frink and the Coxes who might “sometimes” walk home for a hot supper with their family.
Discuss how they bring their supper (tin bucket, lard pail, or basket with the food wrapped in a cloth napkin or waxed paper, perhaps milk in a bottle in cool weather) and what it consists of, and as well note your own supper. (This is an excellent opportunity to venture into discussion of historic foodways by discussing favorite school lunches, or social customs by discussing the food of the family boarding the teacher.) After these lengthy asides, it is time to dismiss the girls and then the boys, telling them to “turn, rise, and pass out of the classroom” to their suppers.

(NOTE: While historically the teacher might have walked home or to their boarding location to fetch their own lunch, this is NOT represented in this program. Given the need to protect and oversee both the historical site and the visitors, the teacher should consider themselves on-duty for the nooning. The instructor should remember to bring a proper period supper in a historical container. After you finish eating, (The steps to the schoolhouse provide a reasonable spot to eat and oversee the students at supper) a brief sojourn into the schoolhouse is in order to prepare for the afternoon session. Erase extraneous matter from the chalkboard. Get out sufficient ink bottles, quills, and copy pages for the class, and place them on your desk ready to distribute for the penmanship lesson. If you have not already, choose a post-nooning reading, and mark your page so you can quickly find the place. The you should go out to supervise the rest of the nooning. If there is sufficient time, you might lead the students or a group thereof in a period game. (Blind man’s bluff, red rover, tag, marbles, jacks, or even townball are all possibilities, limited only by equipment and time available.) Remember, it was considered quite appropriate historically for the teacher (or adults) to play along with the children. . . So have fun!

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After the Nooning

At the end of the noon, ring the bell, allow the scholars to line up, and have them enter as before. To settle them down after the class has been seated, read a short moral story or poem. Any temperance poem against the use of alcohol or tobacco is a good choice (check the library for pre-1880's sources), Chapter 37 from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* about liberty is very appropriate, and finally, if all else fails, "Beware the First Drink" (p.111-13) or "When to say No" (p.144-45) from *McGuffey's Third Reader* are on the mark. Reading should be done slowly, with clear enunciation and good diction. (Practice at home with a tape recorder can help enormously.) After the reading, carefully question the class as to what they have heard, its meaning, and the "moral lesson of the story."

Penmanship Lesson:

Announce that now we will work on penmanship. Make sure that everything is off the students desk and put away. Show them a copypage, explain how it is used and its value. Similarly discuss the quill pen, ink, and blotter paper, and explain how both the pen and ink are prepared. Explain how the pen is used and what the blotter is for. Caution them not to use the blotter for the pen, but only upon the paper. Caution them against spilled ink, and have any students with long sleeves roll them up out of the way. Explain EXACTLY what you what written on the page: their name and the date on the top of the paper, then a copy of the saying written on the page on each of the lines. Remind them to completely fill the page, and not to waste paper. (Younger scholars should have copypages with the lesson in printed rather than cursive letters; while the youngest scholars should merely copy out their ABC's.)
Only after you have fully explained the task should you then ask carefully chosen students to distribute the pens, copy pages, and blotter paper. The teacher should distribute the ink bottles themselves, to try to preclude the possibility of ink spills. Once they are all started, keep an eye that the ink bottles stay where they have been placed, that the students stay on task, and that no untoward accidents occur. The teacher should keep a penknife handy to fix any troublesome quills. As well, the teacher may choose to recite the classic verse on penmanship while the students work:

If in fair writing you would excel,
Regard not how much you write, but how well.
Bear your pen lightly, keep a steady hand,
That is the way, fair writing we command.

When they have been given sufficient time, have them wipe their pens on the rim of the ink bottle, cork their ink bottles, and blot their work. Collect both the ink bottles, and damp copy pages (giving the copy pages to the teacher or chaperone...CAREFULLY!), while the students who distributed them should collect the pens and blotter paper, careful to avoid getting ink all over.

**Spelling Lesson:**

Have the scholars take out their copies of *Willson's Speller*, slates, slate pencils, and eraser rags. Assign an appropriate lesson or lessons for the class. Have the students neatly copy each word onto their slate three times. Give the class 15-20 minutes to complete this assignment. The teacher should wander the classroom to make sure that the class stays on task. When the students have finished, have them erase their slates and put away all materials. If there is sufficient time remaining, one can conduct a full-fledged spelling bee.
However, if time is limited, one may choose to randomly go around the room asking individual students to spell words from the lesson(s).

**Recitation of Poems:**

Remind the students about the poems they have memorized to recite. Allow them a few minutes to review for the recitations, then ask them to put all books or materials away. Ask for groups to volunteer; however, if none do, then choose those you believe have been most diligent in studying. Have the whole group working on a poem “turn, rise, and pass to the front of the classroom,” and recite the poem facing their classmates. (Keep a reader handy to gently prompt students if they should stumble, but do not be too quick to correct them.) If time is short, only use one or two “volunteer groups,” and promise to “expect the rest to recite their lesson tomorrow.”

**Other Lessons (Optional)**

If this is to be a long program, or the students have gotten through the preceding lessons exceptionally quickly, you can include a lesson in history, geography, or natural philosophy by reading a chapter aloud from the respective text. The chapter should be recited line by line by the teacher, and recited back by the class. When you finish the chosen section, ask questions drawn from the reading to randomly selected students to review the lesson.
End of the School Day

At the close of the school day, ask the students to put away their slates, books, slate pencils, and eraser rags in their desks. Remind them to make sure nothing of theirs is left in or under the desk. Admonish them that they are to go straight home, and not get into trouble or mischief on the way. (You might choose to point out specific historic ways of young people getting into trouble, addressed as advice to specific students.) As well, instruct them to “make their manners’ to you upon leaving, their parents upon arriving home, and any respectable people of the community they should meet, “especially any members of the school committee or other men of importance.” Finally, remind them that school will start tomorrow at nine promptly, and they are to be on time.

Dismiss the students by sex, having them “turn, rise, and pass out of the classroom, making their manners on the way out.” When all students have exited, make a sweep to see that they have not left any personal items either in the classroom or the two cloakrooms. It is then best to act as back-up and assist the teacher in overseeing that all students stay out of trouble and get on their bus.

After the Scholars have Departed:

Collect, sort and put away all books, slates, and other materials. If there is any fire left in the stove, pull it apart, and extinguish it by smothering the coals and closing the vent and damper. One should next sweep the floor, wipe down the desk tops, and pickup any trash that might have been left in the schoolhouse. Close and lock all windows and the classroom doors.
# Suggested Lessons for Schoolhouse Program

## Reading:

Drawn from McGuffey's first [sixth] eclectic reader's:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Lesson(s)</th>
<th>Page #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Grade</td>
<td>First Reader</td>
<td>XLI</td>
<td>54-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td>64-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Grade</td>
<td>First Reader</td>
<td>LIV</td>
<td>76-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>LVI</td>
<td>79-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>LVII</td>
<td>81-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Grade</td>
<td>Second Reader</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>24-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Grade</td>
<td>Second Reader</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>35-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>51-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Grade</td>
<td>Second Reader</td>
<td>XXXV &amp; VI</td>
<td>74-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>LVII</td>
<td>124-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Grade</td>
<td>Second Reader</td>
<td>LXIV</td>
<td>140-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>LXV</td>
<td>144-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Grade</td>
<td>Third Reader</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>34-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>62-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Grade</td>
<td>Third Reader &quot;</td>
<td>XL</td>
<td>104-107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td>123-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th Grade</td>
<td>Fourth Reader</td>
<td>XXVII</td>
<td>79-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and above</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>LVII</td>
<td>153-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>LXXIV</td>
<td>221-223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declamations:

Student should be assigned declamations from the same reader they will read from. It is best to make sure that there is one student assigned to each verse of a poem chosen, so that a single group of students may be called upon to recite the whole piece. The following are suggested as declamations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reader</th>
<th>Declamation Title</th>
<th>Page #(#s)</th>
<th># of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second Reader</td>
<td>&quot;The Little Star&quot;</td>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Kitty and Mousie&quot;</td>
<td>26-27</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Evening Hymn&quot;</td>
<td>43-44</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Kitchen Clock&quot;</td>
<td>79-81</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Cheerfulness&quot;</td>
<td>158-59</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Reader</td>
<td>&quot;The Shepherd Boy&quot;</td>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The White Kitten&quot;</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;A Moment Too Late&quot;</td>
<td>56-57</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Speak Gently&quot;</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Young Soldiers&quot;</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Reader</td>
<td>&quot;To-morrow&quot;</td>
<td>45-46</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Tempest&quot;</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Snow Man&quot;</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Wreck of the Hesperus&quot;</td>
<td>190-92</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intellectual Arithmetic:

Problems for this lesson should be selected from Robinson’s Progressive Intellectual Arithmetic, based upon the following suggestions as to the abilities of the students. Remember, that the work, with the exception of the last problem should clearly be well within the student’s ability, rather than intellectually challenging as mathematics. Further, the problems should increase in difficulty during the lesson, so these suggestions should be
taken as the most difficult problems to be selected for a given grade, not the average. It is expected that the teacher will work through questions at lower grade levels before arriving at the student's highest ability. In addition to the problems the students are intended to solve, the teacher needs one problem to complete the lesson which is clearly beyond the abilities of the class to demonstrate the difficult of advanced intellectual arithmetic.

Suggestions for such problems are noted under the Advanced column below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Types of Problems</th>
<th>Page #’s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third &amp; Fourth</td>
<td>Simple Addition and Subtraction</td>
<td>5, 16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth &amp; Sixth</td>
<td>Advanced Addition and Subtraction</td>
<td>7-9, 20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh-Eighth</td>
<td>Multiplication</td>
<td>28-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth and above</td>
<td>Division</td>
<td>36-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Multi-Variable, Time/Money, Interest, etc.</td>
<td>117, 148-49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Written Arithmetic**

The same principle of choosing problems slightly below the student’s normal level of ability applies. However, since they will not be required to work out the problem under the pressure of public display, it can be a bit closer to their normal level of schoolwork. However, err on the side of caution at the higher levels, only those classes containing advanced students should ever be assigned the highest two categories of problems.

Three or four carefully selected problems should be copied on the board (during recess), for the students to copy out and solve on their slates. The following table details suggested problem’s from *Robinson's Complete Arithmetic* for differing grade levels:
### Grade Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Types of Problems</th>
<th>Page #’s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third &amp; Fourth</td>
<td>Simple Addition and Subtraction</td>
<td>15, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth &amp; Sixth</td>
<td>Advanced Addition and Subtraction</td>
<td>20-21, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh-Eighth</td>
<td>Multiplication and Division</td>
<td>43, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth and Tenth</td>
<td>Addition and Subtraction of Fractions</td>
<td>111, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh and above</td>
<td>Multiplication of Fractions, Percentage, Simple Interest, Ratio, Proportion, etc.</td>
<td>160, 268, 296, 390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Penmanship Lesson:**

A sample copy page to demonstrate the style is included on the next page. While the maxim used is a classic for school use, dozens of others can be obtained from historic school books, Poor Richard’s Almanac, or books of quotations.

**Spelling Lesson:**

Students should be assigned to copy each word from the assigned lesson three times onto their slate. Lessons will be drawn from Willson’s primary speller, with the following being considered appropriate for the various grade levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Lesson(s)</th>
<th>Page #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Grade</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Grade</td>
<td>40-41</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Grade</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Grade</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Grade</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>74-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Grade</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>140-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Grade</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>34-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Grade and above</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>104-107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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