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Reconstructing the Past, Partnering for the Future: An Administrative History of Fort Stanwix National Monument

Contract No. P1760-02-0001
June 2004

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October 14, 2004

Della Hansen
Contracting Officer
Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National
Historic Sites
4097 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, New York 12538

Dear Della:

Enclosed for contract file P1760-02-0001 is the final report under the contract entitled *Reconstructing the Past, Partnering for the Future: An Administrative History of Fort Stanwix National Monument,* by Joan M. Zenzen, Ph.D., June 2004. Copies of the report are also being provided to the National Park Service Bureau Historian, Washington Office, the Denver Service Center Technical Information Center, and NPS Historian Paul Weinbaum, Northeast Region. The report is also available on the park's web page at www.nps.gov/fost.

Please contact me directly if you require additional information concerning this report (315-336-3033).

Sincerely,

Craig W. Davis
Contracting Officer's Technical Representative

cc: Janet McDonnell. Bureau Historian
Paul Weinbaum, Historian, NER
DSC-TIC

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Introduction

Purpose of and Sources for the Administrative History

This administrative history of Fort Stanwix National Monument serves to inform park managers about the origin and evolution of this site. Park Service personnel and interested readers will gain an understanding of the significance of this site, the process undertaken to set it aside as a national monument, the forces involved in reconstructing the fort, and the steps taken by the first four superintendents and their staffs to oversee, interpret, and maintain the park for the public. By describing and analyzing these events, this history gives park managers the ability to make informed decisions about recurring issues and have greater awareness to handle new situations.

The author completed a thorough search of park records and related information held in various locations in New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Colorado, and Washington, DC. The types of documents used in this history have included official reports, planning documents, correspondence, memoranda, newsclippings, photographs, drawings, and maps. Oral history interviews with nineteen individuals who have either served at the park or were involved in planning, interpretation, or visitor services have also been conducted, and the interviews transcribed. The author has toured the fort and talked informally with park rangers, reenactors, and residents of Rome about the fort and its history.

The overall organization for this history is chronological, with sections in each chapter arranged around a theme or issue. The author put greatest emphasis on official Park Service sources in recounting the story of Fort Stanwix. For non-Park Service documents and the oral history interviews, the author sought multiple sources and perspectives to ensure accuracy and balance. The overall goal for this history has been to produce a well-researched and comprehensive history of this site, which provides a balanced review of different events and perspectives.

Park Significance and Description

Statement of Significance: Fort Stanwix National Monument is significant because it commemorates the broader contest of nations for economic and political control of the rich resources within the Mohawk Valley region of New York State during the eighteen and early nineteenth centuries.

In particular, it derives its primary significance because:

- During the American Revolution, the successful defense of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany in 1777 undermined British strategy and helped to win European allies for the United States. The outcome of the siege of Fort Stanwix and the battle at Oriskany are of great importance in American history, and contributed to the American victory at the Battle of Saratoga.
- The combatants involved in the fighting at and around Fort Stanwix illustrate the human complexities of the American Revolution.

- Beginning with the earliest contacts at The Great Carrying Place (near Fort Stanwix), continuing through the influential years of Sir William Johnson, and culminating in the

Treaties of 1790 negotiated at Fort Stanwix, a controversial pattern of European-American Indian relations evolved through the negotiation and signing of various treaties. These treaties served as a basis for contemporary legislative policy at both the state and national levels pertaining to Indian relations.

- The monument, as part of the Mohawk Valley, preserves and interprets the historical record of critical events related to the Six Nations (or Iroquois) experience, the military chronicles, the cultural diversity, and the geographic opportunity which characterized the development of both the colonies and the United States.
- Fort Stanwix reflects eighteenth-century military architecture, building materials, and armaments, and provides a place to study the interaction of geography with military strategy and tactics.
- Daily life in an isolated outpost like Fort Stanwix is a testament to sacrifices our forefathers and mothers made for us today.

Mission Statement: The mission of Fort Stanwix National Monument is to preserve the location and objects associated with the military, political, and cultural events that occurred at the site of Fort Stanwix and to provide opportunities for visitor understanding and appreciation of these events.

Park Description: Fort Stanwix National Monument is a reconstructed Revolutionary War-era fort, with related outworks, located in downtown Rome, New York. The fort is owned and managed by the National Park Service. The reconstructed fort was built on the site of the original Fort Stanwix. The National Monument site occupies approximately 16 acres and is bordered by main thoroughfares surrounded by a mixture of commercial, residential, light industrial, and institutional land uses. The site of the fort, but not the reconstructed structure, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and is a National Historic Landmark, significant for the events that transpired there and its role in the American Revolution.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the enabling legislation for the national monument into law on 21 August 1935. Fort reconstruction began in the mid-1960s in tandem with an urban renewal program in downtown Rome to build two large city blocks anchored by a pedestrian mall. The National Park Service completed a master plan for Fort Stanwix in 1967. This plan recommended full reconstruction of the fort, the ruins of which lay beneath the City of Rome's downtown. In 1970, the Park Service began a three-year archeological investigation of the site of Fort Stanwix. In 1974, reconstruction of the fort began. In 1976, the partially completed reconstructed fort opened to the public in time for the nation's celebration of the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. In 1977-78, further reconstruction work was done.

The reconstructed fort currently consists of an earth and timber-clad, reinforced concrete structure that surrounds three freestanding buildings. One remaining original feature, the foundation of a brick fireplace, is located within the reconstructed fort. Some original buildings and features of the fort remain unreconstructed, including the Northwest Bombproof, the Northeast Bombproof, the Headquarters, the Guard House, the Ravelin, the Bake House in the Southeast Bombproof, the Necessary, and the Sallyport and its Redoubt. (See Appendix 2 for a diagram of the reconstructed fort)

Community Context: Fort Stanwix is located in Rome, Oneida County, New York. Rome is located in the 24th Congressional District along the main east-west corridor of upstate New York. Nearly 22.5 million people live within a 200-mile radius of the fort. Twenty-five percent of the US and Canadian population are within a day's drive of the fort. Rome's climate offers four distinct seasons. Rome averages 43.28 inches of rainfall and 153 inches of snow each year.

Executive Summary

Park managers of Fort Stanwix National Monument need to understand the history of the development of this site to respond positively and effectively to future opportunities and challenges. The reconstructed fort stands today as a testament to the pride and commitment of the people of Rome, New York. Fostering continued collaborations with the city, area organizations, Indian tribes, and others will benefit the park's interpretive program and overall management.

This administrative history has uncovered several research findings and makes several recommendations to help guide park managers in making decisions for the park.

Research Findings

Many people in the City of Rome are proud of their past and often try to use this past to foster opportunities for the future. Rome was built over the ruins of the wood and sod fort that had played important roles in treaty negotiations with Indian tribes and defending the nascent United States against a British siege in 1777. Rome is the home of the Erie Canal. One of its residents in the nineteenth century developed the process used today for large-scale cheese manufacturing. Rome's second name as the Copper City derives from its extensive metal manufacturing business extending into the twentieth century. During World War II and into the Cold War, Rome served as a major Air Force Base command center and source of significant technological innovations in the computer industries. Rome's commitment to its history spawned its support for reconstruction of Fort Stanwix, creation of the Erie Canal Village, establishment of a cheese museum at the village, and development of a technology park at Griffiss AFB following its realignment.

Rome's political leadership, both within the city itself and in the United States Congress, has historically provided unconditional support for Fort Stanwix. This degree of commitment can be found in the effort to designate the site as a national monument in 1935 and in the period of the fort reconstruction in the 1960s-1970s. Strong congressional support brought funding for the reconstruction, maintenance needs, and most recently for the construction of the Willett Center. Fort Stanwix would not be standing as it is today without this commitment.

The Park Service reluctantly agreed to full reconstruction of the Revolutionary War fort. Political pressure from Sen. Robert Kennedy (D-NY) exerted on Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall forced the Park Service to produce a master plan for Fort Stanwix National Monument before any lands had been identified and donated to the federal government. Kennedy, wanting to gain political support in upstate New York, championed the fort reconstruction in response to his conversations with Rome Mayor William Valentine, *Rome Sentinel* newspaper editor Fritz Updike, and Democratic leaders in Rome. Valentine and others wanted the fort reconstruction project and an urban renewal program in downtown Rome to bring economic vitality to the failing city. Economic studies done for the city had predicted that the reconstructed fort would bring hundreds of thousands of tourists. Park Service planners specifically recommended full reconstruction to try to meet the tourist expectations of Rome's leaders.

Once the Park Service agreed to full reconstruction, the agency accomplished this task following the highest professional standards. The Park Service conducted an extensive three-year archeological dig of the site, identifying the location, orientation, and size of the major features of the original eighteenth-century fort. The Service also uncovered a significant

representative sample of the material life of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Rome. Architectural drawings for the reconstruction use this archeological data, along with careful review of documentary sources and comparisons to similar fortifications of the period, to ensure accuracy. Attention to detail in rebuilding the fort guided decisions regarding the type of wood chosen, its cut marks, hardware pieces, layout of rooms, and their historic furnishings. The decision to keep the lead archeologist on the site throughout reconstruction and as the park's first superintendent made certain that the research findings saw realization in an authentic representation of the 1777 fort.

Living history has been accepted by the community as a major interpretive tool for bringing Fort Stanwix to life. The Fort Stanwix Garrison, which operated as the living-history program until 1995, allowed enthusiasts from surrounding communities to share their love and fascination of the fort with park visitors. Since 1995, a dedicated group of volunteers have continued to provide living-history demonstrations. Weekend encampments by various Revolutionary War groups from the United States, Canada, and the Oneida Indian Nation have supplemented this effort.

The Park Service's positive image in the community is directly tied to its active and extensive involvement with a wide range of people and organizations. In developing programming, the Park Service succeeds when it seeks input and collaboration from related groups. These groups include historical and tourist attractions, historical societies, and state and federal agencies. A cooperative agreement with Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site has set the stage for the sharing of resources and interpretive efforts while also coordinating promotional work. Involvement with Indian groups has aided understanding of treaties and the contributions of American Indians in the outcome of the 1777 siege. Developing partnerships with entities beyond Rome is important, but the Park Service in the 1990s found its local support erode when the superintendent focused more time on developing the Erie Canalway than ensuring a consistent presence and leadership direction at the fort.

Interpretive programming at Fort Stanwix has steadily extended the park's story of significance. At the fort's opening in 1976, the Fort Stanwix Garrison operated as if the siege had just been lifted, and life stood at 1777-78. This first-person interpretive approach put an emphasis on the life and times of a military fort during the American Revolution. In 1984, the park commemorated the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1784. Through a special conference and ceremony, the park addressed seriously for the first time the role of the fort in negotiating as many as six treaties with American Indians. By the mid-1990s, first-person interpretation had been replaced by a third-person approach, which allowed living-history demonstrators to straddle both the present and past in answering visitor questions. Encampments in the twenty-first century have begun to include the French and Indian War beginnings of Fort Stanwix as a British fort. Other Revolutionary War encampments have incorporated Loyalists and Indians. The Willett Center provides the opportunity to make Fort Stanwix a center for studying these and other aspects of the larger history of the site.

Maintenance of the fort and grounds has required vigilance and commitment. Despite the best efforts to extend the life of the structure by using a concrete foundation and treated wood to reconstruct Fort Stanwix, the fort has suffered continuous problems with water seepage, rotting wood, and foundation cracks. These problems, when left unaddressed due to funding shortages, have resulted in extensive mold, mildew, and mushroom growth; insect and animal infestations; and safety concerns. The archeological collection and historic fireplace have suffered deterioration as a result of these conditions.

Recommendations

One of the uses of administrative histories is to provide park managers with opportunities for addressing present issues and concerns with a firm understanding of a park's past. Knowing how previous National Park Service personnel handled different issues prepares subsequent superintendents in managing the site. The following recommendations highlight the significant issues and relationships that have characterized past management of Fort Stanwix. The recommendations result from a careful review and analysis of documentary sources and oral history interviews gathered in the process of writing this administrative history.

The Park Service needs to remain distant from direct attempts to tie park visitation to economic development. Hard feelings in Rome have existed since the end of the 1970s urban renewal period when it became clear that the fort reconstruction and outdoor shopping mall would not attract the hundreds of thousands of tourists and shoppers once predicted by planners contracted by the City of Rome.[1] The Park Service in its 1967 master plan and in statements to the local press repeated these predictions, directly linking the fort to the promise of economic development. In the 1990s, the Park Service again quoted rosy predictions of how a revitalized Fort Stanwix with new visitor center would strengthen Rome's economic growth. Such statements put the Park Service in the precarious position of spearheading economic development, going beyond the mission and mandate of the agency. Such statements also leave people with the expectation that the Park Service will deliver these predicted numbers of tourists, an expectation that cannot be fulfilled.

The Park Service should work in collaboration with area attractions and organizations to coordinate activities and promote programming. Partnerships help each organization share resources, address the needs and interests of visitors, and foster a sense of commitment and participation in the life of the community. Fort Stanwix has developed beneficial partnerships with a range of organizations, including the Rome Historical Society, Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site, the Mohawk Valley State Heritage Corridor, the Northern Frontier Project, the Oneida Indian Nation, the Rome Chamber of Commerce, various public schools, and other entities. The Park Service benefits from the opportunity to share its mission and goals with a varied audience while also ensuring that its programming attracts people.

Many Romans still remember and cherish their former downtown with its many architecturally striking structures. It is the task of the Rome Historical Society and the people of Rome to remember and honor the history and architecture of Rome. The task of the Park Service is to provide information about the archeology of the fort site, which includes an extensive artifact collection related to the post-Revolutionary War period and the development of Rome. However, the Park Service needs to keep in mind its role in the fort reconstruction project, which was linked to the city's urban renewal efforts, and that some hard feelings persist about the loss of the downtown and its many architecturally striking buildings. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, in an honest attempt to accommodate interest in some of these buildings, including the Rome Club and the Stryker House, the Park Service stated that it would try to save and reuse these structures. Subsequent investigation precluded such action, and the buildings came down. Rome's mayor and the editor of the local paper at the time supported this action in the name of moving forward on the reconstruction and urban renewal. But, other people in

[1] See Chapter Two, section urban renewal and full reconstruction.

Rome felt great loss and possibly even betrayal. Oral history interviews and informal conversations with some Romans confirm that many people still remember and hold dear these and other downtown structures. In designing exhibits or developing programming, the Park Service needs to exercise caution in exhibiting photographs of these structures or discussing the urban renewal period, always keeping in mind these lingering thoughts. However, the Park Service should continue to serve as a caretaker and interpreter of its extensive archeological collection tracing the development of the land from a British fort to an American fort to a developed urban downtown.

The Park Service needs to honor the flag tradition held by many Romans. This belief holds that the first Stars and Stripes was raised in battle at Fort Stanwix. Research by a former president of the Rome Historical Society holds that this tradition is fact while research by the Park Service and other historians has brought doubts to this claim. The Park Service, being held to a high standard of historical integrity, believes that there is not enough evidence to definitively state whether the flag tradition is true or not. There have been explosive reactions in the past to the Park Service's denial of the tradition. All four superintendents have had to address the flag tradition. To maintain good relations with the community, it is important that the Park Service take seriously this deeply held belief. However, the Park Service, in diplomatically handling this tradition, must also be careful not to bind the federal government to the tradition.

In the twenty-first century, the National Park Service has made partnerships and good community relations a tool for preserving and protecting its resources. At Fort Stanwix, past superintendents have had fair success in fostering this sense of connection between the fort and nearby communities. Developing relationships with as many different organizations and people as possible will help further the mission of the fort. Some groups in particular require special attention and understanding due to their past involvement in the history of Fort Stanwix. These groups include Rome's political and business leaders, supporters of the Rome Historical Society, living-history enthusiasts, and educators and students at the local schools.

*Fort Stanwix as a reconstructed fort in its present location would not exist without the unconditional support given it by Rome's political leaders and the local newspaper during the 1960s. By continuing a positive dialogue with Rome's current and future political leaders about the needs and priorities of the fort, park managers will successfully educate the city and foster the kinds of development and planning that will strengthen the city and the fort.

*In the case of the Rome Historical Society, managers at the fort have fostered varying levels of interaction over the years. This administrative history has shown that the closer the ties of involvement and sharing of activities, the greater level of cooperation has been obtained. The end result has been that both the historical society and the fort gain immeasurably in strengthened community support and integrated programming that appeals to a wide audience.

*Until 1995, members of the local community shared their enthusiasm for and interest in the history of the fort by becoming members of the Fort Stanwix Garrison. Since the dissolution of this organization, volunteerism at the fort has continued to provide needed assistance in living-history demonstrations and other aspects of fort interpretation. Visitors respond well to these demonstrations and the recurrent weekend encampments, justifying the continued use of this interpretive tool. However, park managers should also acknowledge the good community relations fostered through the living-history volunteer program. Thousands of people over the past thirty years, young and old and from different backgrounds and interests, have made Fort Stanwix live. Poor relations with this volunteer group has led to reduced volunteer support for

the fort and reduced participation of reenactment groups. Park Service managers would do well to cultivate a continued healthy relationship with these living-history enthusiasts.

*Developing productive relationships with schools has made the fort relevant to current teaching strategies and has built a base of people who will remember and hopefully support the fort through visitation and volunteer time in the future.

The Park Service needs to pay special attention to its relationship with residents and leaders of Rome. The case of East Rome serves as an illustration. During the urban renewal and fort reconstruction period, the East Rome neighborhood felt itself being physically cut off from the rest of the downtown. The people in this largely working-class ethnic neighborhood had worked and shopped downtown, but the city closed part of the major thoroughfare, East Dominick Street, and the fort itself acted like a barrier to the rest of downtown. Soon, many East Rome residents found it easier to drive east 10 miles to Utica than to negotiate around the fort. In addition, other urban areas offered attractive malls that people from all over Rome sought as opposed to the outdoor pedestrian mall and other shopping centers being developed in Rome. Partly in reaction to this sense of dislocation from Rome's downtown, Common Council members representing east Rome political wards proposed more than once in the 1980s and 1990s to reconnect Dominick Street through the fort's grounds. These proposals represent lost opportunities by the fort's managers to establish positive relationships with these residents and share common concerns and interests. Fort Stanwix superintendents must continue to reach out to the entire city and build strong connections.

The Park Service needs to continue ongoing communication and interaction with associated American Indian tribes and groups, including but not exclusively the Oneida Indian Nation. The eighteenth-century history of Fort Stanwix is intimately tied to British, French, and American relations with different Indian tribes, resulting in the signing of six known treaties at the fort. The fort's location is based on a well-traveled route first used by Indians and significant for its short portage between two water routes that could carry people from the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Lakes. The British built Fort Stanwix after obtaining explicit permission from the Oneidas and tacit permission from the Six Nations for using their ancestral lands. The siege at Fort Stanwix benefited in part from information shared by Indian scouts with the American patriots. Descendants of these Indians continue to live in New York. They have made valuable contributions to the life of the area, most recently as a result of the success of the Oneida Indian's Turning Stone Casino Resort venture, which is a major employer and has allowed the Oneidas to donate hundreds of thousands of dollars into area concerns. Successful communication and partnerships with local Indians has resulted in improved educational experiences at Fort Stanwix. In the past, when park managers have honestly and consistently approached the Oneida Indian Nation and other tribes, these Indians have responded warmly and wholeheartedly, sharing their perspectives and talents.

Rome is a city with a vibrant and impressive past and an optimistic future that park managers should remember when interacting with this community. The City of Rome's decision to combine urban renewal (building something new) with the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix (reviving the past) epitomizes an important dual personality in Rome. Rome has flourished because many of its past civic and political leaders have a deep commitment to the city's history and their eyes always open for new opportunities and ventures. It is truly amazing to think that this small city over the course of its relatively short history hosted the start of the Erie Canal, developed a process for cheese manufacture that continues to this day worldwide, had a diverse manufacturing base with copper as a specialty, was home to Pledge of Allegiance

author Francis Bellamy, and had a large Air Force Base command center that also supported significant technological innovations. These past achievements do not even take into account the nationally significant role of Fort Stanwix in the history of American Indian treaties or in helping to determine the outcome of the American Revolution. The fact that Romans chose to demolish their downtown and bank their future on urban renewal and Fort Stanwix should give pause to any Park Service employee at the fort. The City of Rome believes in Fort Stanwix and expects the Park Service to do the same.

In preparing to move to the Willett Center, the Park Service needs to continue the work of organizing and preserving the documentary history of the site. Collections Manager Craig Davis has sought out, copied, reboxed, and relocated many of the park's administrative records that have proved invaluable in researching and writing this history. These documents, some of which have become moldy and damaged as a result of poor storage, are often the only known copies and must continue to receive attention and care to ensure their longevity. The park needs to complete the work of Davis by organizing the documents, placing them into labeled boxes, and writing a finding aid for quick retrieval of these materials. This park's archival collection, including the records from this administrative history, need to have designated space in the Willett Center for safe storage.

Chapter One
Commemoration

Flying over a scaled-down model of Fort Stanwix, six Army Air Service planes broke their triangular formation and sped in two squadrons across the skies, holding the collective breath of the 75,000 onlookers. The small, fast planes dove and looped with an acrobat's ease, performing stunts that defied both earth and sky. Necks and bodies on the ground at Mohawk Acres craned to see more. In decided contrast to the modern machines in the air, 700 men, women, and children who dressed as British and colonial soldiers, militia men, Indians, farmers, and family members took their places by a one-third sized fort to re-stage on 6 August 1927 the dramatic American Revolutionary War story of Fort Stanwix and Oriskany.[1]

Fort Stanwix had an exciting story to tell. Known as "the fort that never surrendered," Fort Stanwix, under the command of Col. Peter Gansevoort, successfully repelled in August 1777 a prolonged siege led by British Gen. Barry St. Leger. This attack was part of a coordinated effort by the British, under the leadership of Gen. John Burgoyne, to take the northern colonies. At the beginning of the siege in early August, American troops hoisted a Continental flag, which tradition has since celebrated as the first Stars and Stripes raised in battle. Six miles away at Oriskany, Gen. Nicholas Herkimer and his relief force valiantly tried to fight off a Loyalist and American Indian ambush on 6 August in what would become one of the most desperate and bloodiest battles of the Revolution. The Americans eventually retreated, and Herkimer later died of wounds to his leg. During the Battle of Oriskany, Gansevoort's second-in-command, Col. Marinus Willett, raided nearby Loyalist and Indian encampments and stocked the besieged fort with additional arms and much needed supplies. The combined effects of the losses at Oriskany, the raid by Willett's men, and rumors circulated later in August by Gen. Benedict Arnold exaggerating the numbers of his men coming to Gansevoort's aid convinced Indians allied to the British to leave. Without these Indian reinforcements, St. Leger quickly retreated to Canada. Gen. John Burgoyne and his troops, left alone, surrendered at Saratoga two months later. This decisive victory paved the way for crucial alliances with the French and Dutch governments, ultimately leading to American independence.

One hundred fifty years later in 1927, the lands around Fort Stanwix had developed into a promising metropolis known as Rome, New York. The city attracted many new immigrants from places like Italy, Ireland, and the Slavic countries. These newcomers, along with longtime residents, stayed in Rome for its work opportunities in several manufacturing and transportation enterprises. Many of the city's residents and business and political leaders took honest pride and interest in the role of Fort Stanwix during the Revolutionary War story, and they regularly celebrated its anniversary. Old linked with new as the 1927 pageant combined portrayals of eighteenth-century bravery and resilience with examples of twentieth-century technological innovation and optimism. This steadfast commitment to the past while always having a vision for a fruitful future uniquely describes the outlook of many of Rome's residents. This outlook also helps to explain why Rome's leaders invited the National Park Service to rebuild Fort Stanwix in time for the nation's Bicentennial in 1976.

This book describes the people and events that contributed first to the establishment of the national monument, as described in this chapter, and then reconstruction of Fort Stanwix,

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[1] "Airplanes Provide Thrills for Throng in War Maneuvers" and "Pageant Holds Attention of Vast Throng Gathered at Reproduction Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 August 1927, 1.

explained in subsequent chapters. This book also describes how Park Service personnel have administered the fort and worked with the City of Rome, its residents, area governments, and regional businesses over the years. This story deserves telling beyond Rome, New York, and the National Park Service. There are many lessons to be examined and learned from in such areas as urban renewal, historic preservation, community development, history education, and tourism. Fort Stanwix stands today thanks to the intersection of all these factors and more.

Never surrendered

The eighteenth-century story of Fort Stanwix is important for park managers to understand for four reasons. First, the design and location of the fort relied upon the military tactics of European-American armies of the mid-1700s and the geographic importance of the Oneida Carry. Fort Stanwix, to visitors of the twenty-first century, looks different from popular culture images of forts provided in westerns and on television. Second, the fact that Gansevoort had a flag made and flown over the fort has led to the creation of a local tradition that Fort Stanwix was the first place where the Stars and Stripes flew in battle. This story would be remembered and become an important point of pride for people in Rome. Third, park managers benefit from understanding the important historical link between Fort Stanwix and Oriskany Battlefield, a state historic site. The two sites have intertwining and complementary pasts. Fourth, American Indians have a long history associated with the fort, both with respect to the outcome of the siege and with regard to treaty negotiations. These four factors continue to have importance to Fort Stanwix National Monument.

Geography determined the placement, design, and success of Fort Stanwix. Built by British Gen. John Stanwix in 1758, the fort sat on high ground overlooking the Mohawk River. Its strategic importance lay in its command of the short and level portage route between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, linking by water New York City and the Great Lakes. Indians had used the portage for centuries. The English called it the Oneida Carrying Place, or the Great Carry, in recognition of its location in the territory of the Oneida Nation of the Six Nations. In 1755, during the French and Indian Wars, Capt. William Williams of the British forces in America built a series of small forts around the Oneida Carrying Place to prevent its taking by the French. Two years later, the British replaced these smaller forts with the larger Fort Stanwix.[2]

[2] John F. Luzader, Louis Torres, and Orville W. Carroll, *Fort Stanwix: History, Historic Furnishing, and Historic Structure Reports* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1976), 3-14.

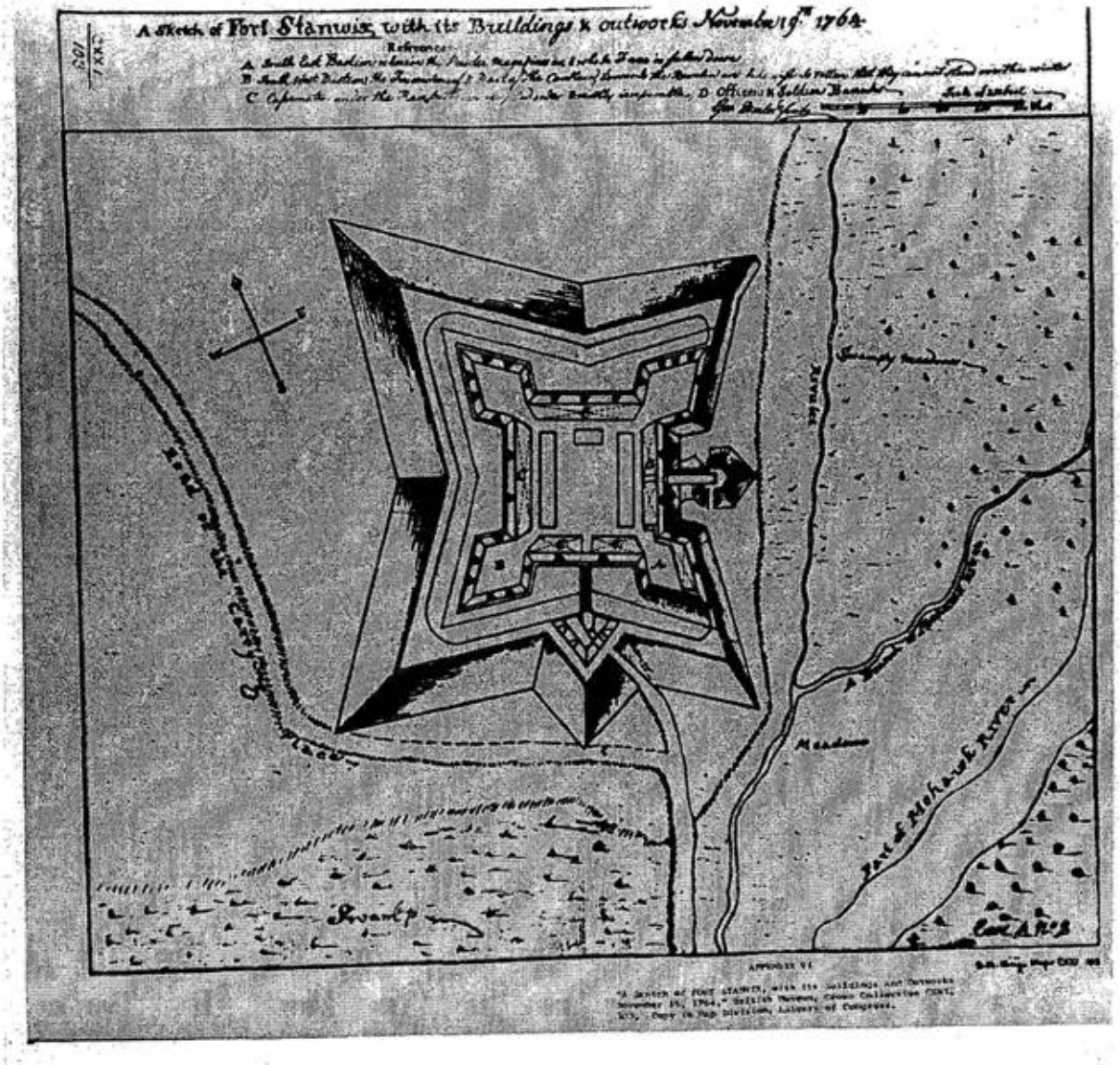


Fig. 1 This 1764 sketch shows the orientation and design of Fort Stanwix as a British fort. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.

The British never saw action at this new fort during the French and Indian conflict and abandoned it as a military outpost in 1763 after their conquest of Canada. But, Fort Stanwix did play an important role in Indian affairs and trading in subsequent years. In 1768, the British colonial government negotiated and signed at the fort a far-reaching treaty with the Six Nations, comprised of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. This Property Line or Boundary Line Treaty, also known as the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768, ceded a vast Indian territory east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers to the colonies and allowed for

a surge in western settlement. From the Indians' perspective, this treaty was meant to set limits on colonial expansion, especially in Canada.[3]

By the start of the American Revolution in 1775, the abandoned Fort Stanwix was in near ruins. American Gen. Philip Schuyler, recognizing the strategic importance of the fort in protecting the Mohawk Valley from British occupation, urged its reconstruction.[4] By spring 1777, Gansevoort and his Third New York Regiment had taken over the defensible but still incomplete fort. Supplies and a total of 750 men continued to arrive to strengthen the fort, although by August the need remained for more cannon. Oneida and Mohawk, from Akwesasne, Indians helped keep the Americans informed of the movements of the British army. Burgoyne was advancing south out of Canada along the Lake Champlain-Hudson River corridor, while St. Leger sought to join him by advancing east from Lake Ontario to Oneida Lake and down the Mohawk River to the Hudson. When St. Leger reached Fort Stanwix on 2 August, he had a force of some 1,200 men, mostly Indians composed of Mohawks, Senecas, and a small contingent of western or Great Lakes Indians. St. Leger found the fort too strong to assault with the smaller cannon he had brought with him. Instead, he laid siege.[5]

Fort Stanwix held a commanding and imposing position. In the quarter-mile area around the fort lay a clear-cut area which formed an effective field of fire. The fort's artillery had a one-mile range, so anyone in the cleared area was in point-blank range. The fort itself hugged the land, with even the chimneys built low so as not to become easy targets. Despite its low profile, Fort Stanwix commanded the Oneida Carrying Place and the road giving access to the landings on the Mohawk River. St. Leger could not try to bypass the fort and have the American enemy remain in command of the western lands and control communications. St. Leger and his troops set up camp for a siege and, on that same day, sent Gansevoort a proclamation demanding surrender. Gansevoort coldly refused the proclamation, and by nightfall, the fort was surrounded. In defiance to the British demand for surrender and to rally the American troops, Gansevoort had ordered a flag made and raised it on 3 August. Local tradition has since identified this flag as the first Stars and Stripes raised in battle.[6]

The siege went on for 21 days, from 3 August to the morning of 23 August, with both sides firing artillery at each other and some casualties resulting. In response to the siege, Brig. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer mustered his Tryon County militia at Fort Dayton and began marching with some 800 troops and 60 allied Oneidas to aid Gansevoort's men. Learning of Herkimer's advance, Loyalist troops with Mohawk and Seneca forces set an ambush in a boggy ravine west

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[3] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 17-20; Joy A. Bilharz, *A Place of Great Sadness: Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography* (Barrow, AK: SJS Archaeological Services, Inc., 1998), 12, Fort Stanwix National Monument (FOST) Archives. It should be noted that only Six Nations representatives signed the treaty, doing so on behalf of the Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo, and dependent tribes who thought of themselves as independent of the Six Nations. The treay ceded land "belonging" to Cherokee, Choctaw, Shawnee, Delaware, and other Indians. This treaty led to threats from Indian nations to the south and west to cut off trade, start a war with the Six Nations, and commit violence against frontier settlers. Colonial leaders expressed concern about the treaty cutting off trade and causing Indian violence. They also complained that some people greatly increased their personal wealth by acquiring large tracts of previously speculated lands. The author thanks Mike Kusch for his explanation of the ramifications of this treaty.

[4] During the American Revolution, Fort Stanwix was also known as Fort Schuyler, in honor of the American general who ordered the reconstruction effort.

[5] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 33-37; Pancake, *1777: The Year of the Hangman* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 140-41. My thanks to Craig Davis and Mike Kusch for clarifying this part of the history.

[6] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 23-29, 36-37, 42-43; Brian Mannion, "Fortress New York," *The (Syracuse, NY) Post-Standard*, 9 July 2002, B-2.

of Oriskany Creek. The Loyalists and Indians attacked as the militia marched across the swampland. Brutal hand-to-hand combat resulted, pitting neighbor against neighbor, even family member against family member. Despite heavy losses, the militia managed to force a retreat of the Loyalists and their Indian allies. Herkimer died ten days later from a wound to his leg. The Battle of Oriskany stands as a reminder of the tenacious spirit of patriots in fighting to preserve freedom. The site also serves as a bitter reminder to Six Nations descendants of the time when warriors violated the Great Law. The Great Law, handed down to the Six Nations by the Peacemaker, had enjoined its people from taking up weapons against each other. For the men at Fort Stanwix, the Battle of Oriskany allowed Col. Willett to raid Loyalist and Indian camps that afternoon, bringing much needed blankets, weapons, ammunition, and other supplies back to the fort to aid in lasting through the siege.[7]

At no time did St. Leger order his men to storm the fort. Piercing the fort's defenses and invading presented deadly consequences. Fort Stanwix was designed using the then-popular and highly effective French design that kept enemies out and punished any forces that tried to enter the elaborate defenses. If a soldier did try to enter, he would first have to run across the cleared area and up a grassy embankment known as the glacis. At the top of this slippery hill, the soldier would be even with musketmen lining the fort's walls. If he survived the musket firings, he would have to navigate a sharp drop and then try to scale a palisade fence. The fence posts had sharp points that threatened impalement or at least left the soldier open to further shootings. Further obstacles remained if the soldier survived. A deep ditch on the other side of the fence provided more opportunity for being shot at, and any escape required mounting the banks of the ditch and hurtling over the sharp points of the palisade again. Continuing on, the soldier would have to climb up the inner embankment of the ditch and face the fraise, a palisade of strong, pointed wooden stakes pointing horizontally on the outward slope of the rampart. Getting past these stakes required chopping down a section of the fraise and putting up a ladder at point-blank range. Success at this almost certainly deadly endeavor offered the final challenge of hand-to-hand combat inside the fort. St. Leger understood that a siege was his only viable alternative.[8]

Yet, such a siege did not promise a swift conclusion. Gansevoort had loaded the fort with fresh supplies within moments of St. Leger's arrival, leaving the British commander with the disappointing knowledge that starving the patriots into surrender would be at least six weeks away. St. Leger also came quickly to understand that his artillery could not breach the walls of the fort. His 6-pound cannons made no dent to the fort's grass embankments. He needed his men to dig trenches or "saps" to bring his guns within range. This messy and back-breaking work took time and demoralized his troops and Indian allies, especially after the bloody battle at Oriskany. St. Leger faced a steady stream of deserters that slowly depleted his force.[9]

Gansevoort was not in as comfortable a position as St. Leger might have believed. Despite additional supplies gained from Willett's raid of the Indian camps, the Patriots had a shortage of black powder. On 10 August under cover of night, he sent Willett and a companion out to meet with Schuyler at Northern Command headquarters. Schuyler already understood the desperate situation at Fort Stanwix, but he had trouble convincing all but one of his officers to provide relief. That one was Benedict Arnold, who used a clever stratagem to fool the British and their Indian allies into thinking that swarms of Patriot troops were descending upon St. Leger. False reports, manufactured by Arnold and delivered to St. Leger's troops by a white

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[7] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 43-45; Bilharz, *A Place of Great Sadness*, 1.
[8] Mannion, "Fortress New York," B-2.
[9] Pancake, *1777*, 144.

man known to the Indians, helped give the Indians allied to the British the push they wanted to abandon the British siege. St. Leger had no choice but to lift the siege and retreat. Fort Stanwix continued to be garrisoned until 1781. By then, extensive fires had destroyed the guardhouse and barracks, and heavy rains had severely damaged the fort's walls, rendering the fort essentially indefensible. In the 1790s, an emergency blockhouse was built on the ruins, but by the early 1800s, the fort had largely disappeared. Fort Stanwix is remembered today as "the fort that never surrendered."[10]

Fort Stanwix also holds the distinction of being the place where a significant treaty with American Indians was negotiated and signed. Representatives from Britain, the American colonies, and France had negotiated and signed the 1783 Treaty of Paris, ending formal warfare between these forces, but representatives from the powerful Six Nations had not been invited to join in the negotiations. Deadly raids by Indians still allied to Britain continued until US Congressional commissioners, with assistance from Revolutionary War hero the Marquis de Lafayette, sealed an agreement. Signed on 22 October 1784, this Treaty of Fort Stanwix returned American prisoners, reconfirmed the borderline of the 1768 Boundary Line Treaty from Fort Stanwix to the Ohio River, and created a western boundary line to Six Nation lands. The 1784 treaty is significant for three reasons. First, the Six Nations ceded its land claims to Ohio and other lands north and west of the 1768 Boundary Line, thus opening the land to white settlement. Second, the 1784 treaty established an Indian reservation, using the 1768 Boundary Line as the eastern and southern border. Finally, the 1784 treaty indicates the American attitude toward Indians, in that both American Indian allies and enemies received the same poor treatment. This treaty thus signals the motivation of American negotiators with Indians, with land settlement by whites being of primary interest.[11]

"An emporium of commerce"[12]

What happened to Fort Stanwix after the American Revolution is also an important story for park managers. One of the striking aspects of this post-Revolutionary story is that people clung to this past while also seeking opportunities for the future. Many amazing people and businesses settled in Rome, New York. Their combined history would make Rome notable without also having a Revolutionary War fort buried beneath the city's downtown. The juxtaposition of past and future defines Rome and helps to explain the eventual decision to rebuild the fort. Leaders in Rome sought ways to use the city's past to provide for the future. Managers at Fort Stanwix would also build on the city's interest in its past to forge new relationships for interpretation and education.

After the signing of the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1784, Indian attacks diminished. With this threat removed, the State of New York aggressively began disposing of its public lands. Dominick Lynch, a wealthy New York City land speculator originally from Galway, Ireland, appreciated the favorable geographic location of the Oneida Carrying Place for settlement and trade, and in 1786 he bought at auction 697 acres of this land. This would be the seed for a slowly growing but promising community. Others bought lands, including many former

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[10] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 47-55; Pancake, *1777*, 144-45.

[11] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 55; NPS Press Release, Bicentennial of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix to be Commemorated October 20-22, 1984, no date, FOST Archives, File K3415 Press Release; Tom Merz, "You Can See National Treasure on Display at Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 October 1984.

[12] Elkanah Watson journal, in G. Martin Sleeman, ed., *Early Histories and Descriptions of Oneida County, New York* (Utica, NY: North County Books, Inc., 1990), 29.

Continental soldiers, who had served in the Mohawk Valley during the war. They moved their families from Connecticut and other parts of New England to settle the newly available fertile lands.[13] Yet, people in the area remembered with pride the story of the fort withstanding the British attack. DeWitt Clinton, traveling through the area in 1810, noted in his journal that "this [Fort Stanwix] and the battle of Oriskany are talked of all over the country. . . ."[14]

Canals encouraged the initial growth of this area. Prior to the signing of the Treaty of Paris, Gen. George Washington had visited Fort Stanwix and discussed the idea of eliminating the portage between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek. This idea came to fruition in 1796 when the Western Inland Lock and Navigation Company opened a two-mile long ditch, navigable by flat-bottomed boats. The company, with assistance from New York State, eventually constructed four locks in Wood Creek and straightened many of its difficult bends. These efforts, along with building locks around the Little Falls of the Mohawk, allowed a steady stream of settlers to pass through the emerging town where Fort Stanwix stood. Their need for supplies helped to ensure the growth of the area.[15]

By 1800, Lynch had accumulated 2,000 acres, which he planned to lease, not sell. Many settlers, preferring to buy, chose lands west or north of these holdings, but others chose to lease in Lynchville, and a tidy town took shape. Lynch laid out the two main thoroughfares of Lynchville, Dominick Street running east-west and James Street, after his son, running north-south. These streets anchored the town. He hired the engineer from the Western Inland Lock Company to lay out building lots, linking them with broad streets in a grid pattern. Lynch, a director of the Western Inland Lock Company,[16] also encouraged the building of the original canal. Lynch provided a gristmill and woolen mill to ensure further the prosperity and attractiveness of his settlement, but many people remained opposed to his leasing of lands. When the time came in 1819 to incorporate the village, residents chose the name of Rome, which had been the name of the township. This choice mirrored the preferences of Americans of the federal period, who fancied classical names for their cities and towns and classical architecture for their government buildings and homes.[17]

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[13] John Albert Scott, *Rome, New York: A Short History* (Rome: Rome Historical Society, 1983), 8, 22; Parker F. Scripture, "Than Which, No Finer Site Exists," in *Rome, New York: Centennial History 1870-1970* (Rome: Rome Historical Society, 1970), 1.

[14] DeWitt Clinton, 1810 journal entry in Sleeman, ed., *Early Histories*, 69.

[15] Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 12.

[16] Philip Schuyler, former American General of the Northern Command, was president and director of the Western Inland Lock Company. Marinus Willett, second-in-command at Fort Stanwix, joined Lynch in serving as a director. See Daniel E. Wager, ed., *Our City and Its People: A Descriptive Work on the City of Rome, New York*, rev. ed. (Deansboro, NY: Berry Hill Press, 1997), 23.

[17] E. Stevens Wright, "Rome," in Oneida County, *The History of Oneida County* (Utica, NY: Oneida County, 1977), 225-26; Scripture, "Than Which, No Finer Site Exists," 1; Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 9-11.

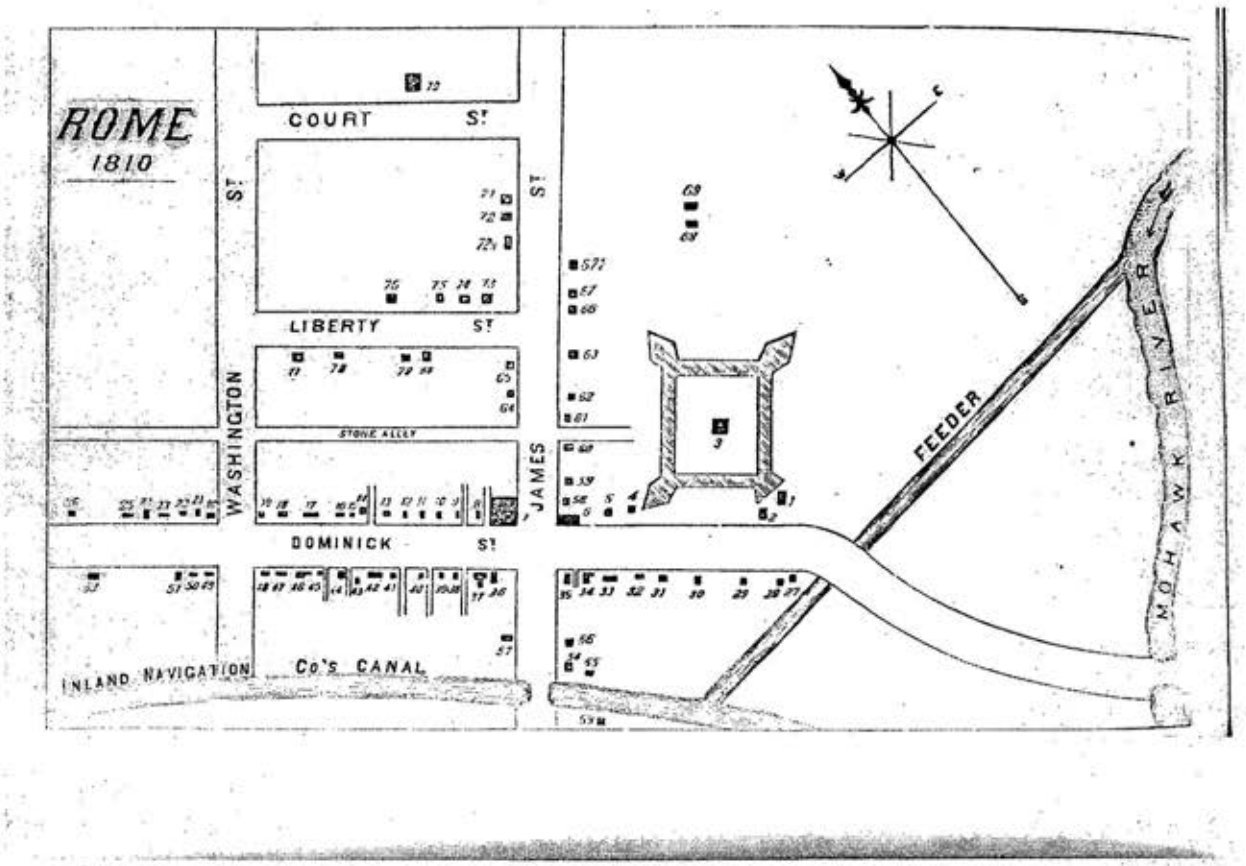


Fig. 2 This 1810 map of Rome shows where the remains of Fort Stanwix stood in relation to the streets of buildings of the new village. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.

The new village of Rome, resting on the remains of Fort Stanwix, continued to make its mark, taking advantage of its geographic proximity. Rome provided the site of the first digging of the Erie Canal, on 4 July 1817, in the swampland roughly parallel to and south of the Western Inland Lock Canal. Rome's townsman Benjamin Wright, known as the "Father of Civil Engineering," served as the chief engineer of the eastern construction of the canal. Improvements to the canal in 1844 brought it back to the former Inland Lock location, closer to Rome and thus more beneficial to furthering trade in the village. These steady improvements, including railroad service in 1839, helped to make Rome a thriving commercial center. Oneida County, with Rome at the geographical center, gained the distinction of being the largest manufacturing district in the state. An extensive cotton factory, a woolen mill, fourteen sawmills, three gristmills, and four tanneries joined 21 stores and an assortment of residential

buildings to make Rome the "emporium of commerce" that one traveler in the late eighteenth century had predicted.[18]

More opportunities for economic achievement and making history came as the nineteenth century progressed. Rome dairyman Jesse Williams, with help from his wife Amanda and their children, developed a factory system for producing cheese of high quality and taste that made Rome in 1864 the leading cheese market in the world. New York cheddar became world famous, and Williams's method served as the basis for all subsequent ways of making cheese in America. In November 1936, the National Cheese Institute presented the city of Rome with a bronze memorial commemorating Williams's innovations.[19]

With the Industrial Revolution, Rome expanded its economic base from transportation and agriculture to several different manufacturing endeavors while also incorporating as a city in 1870. Rome Iron Works started in 1866 with the visionary thinking of Addison Day. Day, then-superintendent of the Rome, Watertown, and Ogdensburg Railroad, brought the main line of the New York Central into Rome. He then encouraged other potential businesses to settle in Rome. Engineer John B. Jervis, who built the first steam railroads in New York State and devised other innovations to help expand railroads, started the Rome Merchant Iron Mill, later known as the longstanding Rome Iron Mills. Day's Rome Iron Works had its own success when it evolved into the Rome Brass and Copper Company to take advantage of new markets. An offshoot of this new company became the Rome Manufacturing Company, which in 1936 developed the first copper-bottomed steel utensils for its Revere Ware. These combined achievements made Rome the Copper City, by 1920 manufacturing one-tenth of all copper used in the United States.[20]

Other companies in Rome thrived by mass-producing such items as boots and shoes, textiles, and revolvers. The Electric Wire Works, founded by Nicholas Spargo and William J. Doyle, first brought the wire industry to Rome. The Fort Stanwix Canning Company led dozens of small canneries and food processing centers in Rome. When the National Canners' Association formed in 1907, the membership chose George C. Bailey of Fort Stanwix Canning to be its first president. Rome even received the touch of the Wizard of Oz, emphasizing the sense of magic and promise in Rome at the turn of the twentieth century. Baum's Castorine Company, moved from Syracuse to Rome in 1903. L. Frank Baum's father had founded the company, and Baum the son had worked selling the firm's line of oils and lubricants. Eventually, Baum and his brothers became owners, but the company failed. Baum, which the town of Chittenango, New York, claims as his home, went on to greater fame writing the *Wizard of Oz*. More ventures opened in Rome in the early twentieth century, most notably Long-Turney Radiator Company, which made itself famous in the automotive radiator business. Varflex Corporation, started in Rome in 1924, addressed the insulation and fiberglass needs of the new aircraft industry. And, in 1926, Rome Strip Steel Company opened in Rome and soon became New York State's largest producer of cold strip steel.[21]

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[18] Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 12-13; Wright, "Rome," 226; Scripture, "Than Which, No Finer Site Exists," 1-2; National Park Service, Fort Stanwix National Monument: A Master Plan, 1967, 10, File FOST 01-101, Rome, NY Urban Renewal, FOST Archives.

[19] Frederick A. Rahmer, "Eighty Cows and a Loving Wife," in *Rome Centennial History*, 17-18; Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 18; Wright, "Rome," 227.

[20] "Copper and Brass," in *Rome Centennial History*, 53-56; Wright, "Rome," 228; Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 31; Wager, *The City of Rome*, 158-59.

[21] "Hometown Initiative," in *Rome Centennial History*, 60-64; Wright, "Rome," 227-228; Wager, *The City of Rome*, 160-63.

Remembering and Celebrating

Rome's growth, with new factories and residences covering up the remains of Fort Stanwix, did not dampen memories of the city's Revolutionary War roots. The Marquis de Lafayette, who had assisted in the 1784 Treaty signing, made a special effort to visit the site on his heroic return to the United States in 1824-1825.[22] In 1857, in Rome's first directory, leading citizen Jay Hatheway noted with wistful regret that "the ruthless march of 'improvement' had not been stayed when it laid its destroying hands upon the noble old Fort [Stanwix] and razed it to the ground." Hatheway went on to express a recurring sentiment within Rome that would eventually become reality with the 1970s reconstruction of the fort: "If that noble relic of 1758 and 1777 had been spared, then so long as the Stars and Stripes float over a nation of free men . . . so long each succeeding year would have increased the interest in a spot so rich in revolutionary lore."[23] Such increased interest might one day translate into increased dollars for Rome in the way of tourism, as later advocates would say.

When the time came to celebrate the centennial of the siege in 1877, history-minded people in Rome did as many American communities did in commemorating the American Revolution. Local history sites served as places to remind Americans of the past. But, as cultural historians John Bodnar and Michael Kammen have demonstrated, the revolutionary aspects of the American Revolution were necessarily diminished in public speeches and writings. Instead, these commemorative activities sought to strengthen people's dedication to the existing institutions and social order that had resulted from the revolution. At one of the largest of these celebrations, the opening of the 1876 centennial exposition in Philadelphia, more than four thousand military personnel escorted President Ulysses S. Grant onto the grounds. On Independence Day at the exposition, Civil War veterans paraded against a backdrop of patriotic oratory and a nine-foot working model of George Washington rising from his tomb, presumably reminding Americans of the first president's dedication to the principles of the new government.[24] People in Rome and the surrounding area expressed this same commitment to the stability of the country's social and political orders. In military companies and civil societies, attendees gathered in full ranks on 6 August 1877 at the Oriskany battlefield to honor the sacrifices men had made one hundred years earlier. On the evening of 22 August, in commemoration of the lifting of the siege, Rome itself had a general illumination. A citizens committee, dedicated to remembering the events of the Fort Stanwix siege and battle at Oriskany, reminded fellow attendees that "we this day are enjoying the boon which the men of that day, in their patriotic and heroic struggle, gave to their posterity—a free government. . . ."[25]

Tangible memories of Fort Stanwix continued to surface. In 1897, Roman jack-of-all-trades Peter Hugunine completed a huge painting of Fort Stanwix, based on historical plans and descriptions of the fort. The painting depicts the 6 August raid commanded by Willett, resulting in the capture of five wagonloads of supplies and the destruction of Loyalist and Indian encampments. Hugunine prominently displays the American flag flying above the fort,

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[22] Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 26.

[23] Hatheway, as quoted in Fritz S. Updike, "A Dream Come True," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, Bicentennial ed., 21 May 1976.

[24] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 19, 29-30; Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 63, 65.

[25] Citizen committee resolution, as quoted in "Report of a Preliminary Meeting of Citizens and Naming of Committee; To Judicate Romans on Oriskany Grounds," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 31 July 1877, as reprinted in *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 August 1927.

following local tradition that Fort Stanwix first flew the Stars and Stripes on battle. The painting soon disappeared after a viewing at the Oneida County Historical Society in Utica, New York, but lithographs did produce postcards, which kept the painting's image within memory.[22] In 1901 the federal government further memorialized Fort Stanwix by marking the approximate locations of the four bastions with four Civil War-era Parrott guns. Each cannon had an inscribed carriage to remind viewers of the historic significance of the fort site.[23]



Fig. 3 By Peter Hargrave, this 1897 painting depicts Willett's Sortie on 6 August 1777 and prominently shows the Stars and Stripes flying from one of Fort Stanwix's bastions. From the Rome Historical Society's Photographic Collection.

In the aftermath of World War I, communities throughout the United States, but especially in the Northeast and Midwest, hosted huge pageants and civic ceremonies to commemorate the victories of past patriots and ancestors. These events echoed the efforts by

[22] Bessie Pabst, "Flag Painting Found in Cheesecloth," Rome Daily Sentinel, 19 October 1918. An antique dealer found the painting in 1918 in the home of a Cheesecloth woman. The Rome Historical Society bought the painting, had it refurbished, and now proudly displays it in its museum.

[23] "Rome Remembers Old Fort! Heroic Title and Civic Glories Seem Once to Live in Government Will from Washington," Rome Daily Sentinel, 1932, FORT Southwest Bastion, FOHS Newspapers, 1944, 1972, 1981-1982. In 1942, in response to the metal shortage during World War II, the cannons' gun barrels were melted down. The carriages remained.

President Woodrow Wilson during the war to arouse feelings of loyalty in the nation. Hundreds of local citizens dressed in historic costumes and retold the story of a historic event associated with the hosting town or area. These dramatizations usually interpreted history from an evolutionary viewpoint, describing the progressive rise of American civilization from the simple lifestyle of the American Indians, through the steadfast determination and loyalty of the pioneer phase, to the technological success of the day's modern towns and promise of democratic government. For the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in December 1920, officials organized a pageant known as "The Pilgrim Spirit." Its historical scenes and lighting effects captured the imagination of the more than 100,000 spectators. In 1926, Philadelphia staged a celebration of the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. A range of activities, from patriotic gatherings to carnivals, stretched over many months. The federal government joined state and local authorities in the patriotic fervor by funding a large re-enactment and pageant at Yorktown in 1931.[28]

Rome's sesquicentennial celebration of the siege of Fort Stanwix fit within a larger effort funded by the State of New York to remember the 150th anniversary of Burgoyne's ill-fated campaign in New York to slice the colonies in half and demoralize the American troops into surrendering. Planning began as early as 1923 when the state legislature provided an initial $5,000 appropriation to secure the research and writing of a historical report outlining where Revolutionary War sites were located. William Pierrepont White, president of the Mohawk Valley Historical Association, urged for additional expenditures over a ten-year period. He wanted these to be used to mark and preserve sites relating to the colonial, Revolutionary, and early state settlement years. White reasoned that these sites should be commemorated "not to re-awaken historic prejudices against Great Britain, but because they signalize the stunning, epochal incidents preceding the birth of our great Republic."[29]

For Rome, White had even bigger plans. With the enthusiastic support of 100 citizens and Rome Kiwanis Club members, White entered a resolution that called for the acquisition of the Fort Stanwix site, reconstruction of the fort, and erection of a museum building.[30] The resolution does not specify what type of reconstruction White envisioned. Did he consider rebuilding the entire fort in its complete size? Did he consider a scaled-down version for the reconstruction, or possibly just part of the fort, such as a bastion? Chapter Two will explore the many ways in which planners in Rome would later envision a reconstruction of Fort Stanwix and where to put such a project. For White, he believed that some kind of reconstruction was justified because, "This carry between these two streams is surpassed by no other spot on the North American continent in the national importance of the historic events that have taken place since the discovery of the continent by Columbus."[31] Editors of the Rome daily newspaper, the *Sentinel*, used White's proposal to promote larger dreams. The paper declared in the same pages it reported on White's resolution that the state's farmers might obtain up to $90 million from tourists as they toured the state and visited the newly established historic markers and sites.[32]

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[28] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 171-73; Kammen, *Season of Youth*, 244.
[29] "Wm. Pierrepont White Tells the Rome Kiwanis about Plans for Financing Many Celebrations," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 16 October 1923, FOST Archives.
[30] "Rome Kiwanis Club and Guests Start Extensive Program to Mark Historic Spots Here," and "Wm. Pierrepont White Tells the Rome Kiwanis," both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 16 October 1923.
[31] White, quoted in "Rome Kiwanis Club and Guests."
[32] "A Chance for Farmers to Get a Good Share of $90,000,000 Annually from Tourists," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 16 October 1923.

White paired with the publisher of the *Rome Daily Sentinel*, Albert Remington Kessinger, to build support for the proposed project of marking historic sites throughout New York and building an endowment. Together, they served on the advisory committee for the New York American Revolution Sesquicentennial Commission and recommended that the entire site of Fort Stanwix be acquired through gift or purchase. Such an idea seemed remote. At the time, the 16 acres of downtown Rome where Fort Stanwix had stood were covered by numerous commercial establishments, homes, hotels, clubs, and even the newspaper plant for the *Sentinel*. But, Kessinger apparently believed that sacrificing his newspaper plant and other downtown businesses was worth the cost. The potential $90 million tourist dollars with a reconstructed Fort Stanwix and other marked historic sites seemed too enticing. And so, Kessinger encouraged John A. Scott, the *Sentinel's* editorial writer, to publish regular scholarly articles about Fort Stanwix and write the official sesquicentennial history of Fort Stanwix and Oriskany for the newspaper. The Rome Chamber of Commerce, which had been formed in 1910, also enthusiastically supported the project; its secretary E. D. Bevitt served as the executive officer for the campaign. Clearly, White's proposal struck a chord in many influential Romans.[33]

White, Kessinger, Bevitt, and others do not state specifically why they would support having a reconstructed fort and museum built on the original site in downtown Rome. This sacrifice of residences and businesses seems extravagant in light of the mere promise of tourism dollars. Different reasons probably motivated each supporter. White's vision for honoring the state's heroic past may have guided his thinking. For Kessinger and Rome's business leaders, the realization that Rome's economic promise was turning downward might have made them receptive to White's proposal. Between World War I and 1950, the Rome-Utica area experienced a steady economic decline. This decline would have been in its initial stages by the 1920s, but owners of local businesses would certainly have realized that times were changing. They might have wanted to chart another course for the city, and tourism offered one possibility. In addition, most of Rome's manufacturing businesses did not sit directly on the original Fort Stanwix site. They would not be sacrificed for such a development. Instead, some grand houses and the *Sentinel* plant would be lost. For $90 million in tourism dollars, such a sacrifice seemed possible for these business leaders.[34]

The combined efforts of White and his supporters in Rome and elsewhere achieved modest results. The State legislature responded in 1927 and approved $150,000 for the celebration of sesquicentennial events in New York, with no less than half that amount to be used for historic markers and monuments. One marker went into the yard of the Rome Club to memorialize Fort Stanwix. The Rome Club, a men's organization, had its meeting space in the grand Barnes-Mudge House that stood where people believed the fort's southwest bastion had been. The state believed that the 150th celebration would recognize the "most conspicuous and important part" New York played in the turning point in the American Revolution and that such celebrations would promote the "patriotic education of our citizens. . . ."[35] In addition to Fort Stanwix, commemorative celebrations occurred in Bennington, Vermont; Saratoga; and at Oriskany. In another step toward recognizing the lands associated with Fort Stanwix, the state

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[33] Updike, "A Dream Come True."

[34] V. C. Crisafulli, "Economic Development Efforts in the Utica-Rome, New York Area," in *Community Economic Development Efforts: Five Case Studies,* Supplementary Paper No. 18 (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1964), 117.

[35] Laws of New York, 1927, Chapter 522, "An Act to Provide for the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Defense of Fort Stanwix, . . ." 31 March 1927. My thanks to Senior Librarian Margaret Harris at the New York State Library for finding this law.

purchased in 1926 eight acres at the Lower Landing Place on the Mohawk River and a small tract at Spring and Willett Streets, where the southeast bastion of the fort had once stood. These lands served to give official notice to the federal government of the state's support.[36]

For the 1927 sesquicentennial, White and others recognized that a reconstruction of Fort Stanwix on the original site was not feasible. Homes and businesses resided there. But, the idea of some kind of reconstruction appealed to the sesquicentennial planners. They chose open farmland at Mohawk Acres to house a one-third-size fort reconstruction. This site offered room for the fort and the expected crowds.

Commander Richard E. Byrd opened Rome's 6 August 1927 sesquicentennial ceremonies with a dramatic fly-over in a mammoth tri-motor airplane. Byrd had recently completed his world-famous aerial trips to the North Pole and across the Atlantic and was readying for his trip to Antarctica. Under bright sunny skies, Byrd's plane and another carrying more dignitaries circled and landed in a nearby field. Three observation and three pursuit planes displayed the technological prowess of their machinery with stunt dives, loops, cross-overs, and turns. After more than half an hour of these impressive displays of aerial acrobatics, the six smaller planes landed, and the historical pageant began at Mohawk Acres. Using the progressive view of history popular at the time, the story opened with a view of Indian life before the arrival of Europeans. Episode two introduced Dutch traders to the Indian village, and the third scene brought the British, intent on building forts in the Oneida Carry. When time came for Fort Stanwix to appear, the estimated 100,000 onlookers had a treat seeing the smaller replica with earth embankments, log bastions, rough-hewn flag staff, moats, and palisades.[37] Constructed under the guidance of Donald White, this replica "created a piece of imagery excelling the best work used in the movie drama."[38]

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[36] L1927, Ch 522; Updike, "A Dream Come True." 10 April 1927, Book 871, page 339, Oneida County Clerk's Office.

[37] "Pageant Holds Attention of Vast Throng Gathered at Reproduction of Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, sesqui ed., 6 August 1927; "Romans Welcome Commander Byrd," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 8 August 1927, both in Museum Collection, FOST Archives. The site of the sesquicentennial event was on Ivar Ringdahl's property, upriver of Chestnut Street, later to become part of Mohawk Acres shopping center, Rome Hospital, and the Mohawk and Rose Gardens apartments. See Fritz S. Updike, "1927 Sesquicentennial: Largest Crowd in History of this City," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 August 1970, A-9; Museum Collection, FOST Archives.

[38] "Pageant Holds Attention of Vast Throng," *Rome Daily Sentinel*.



Fig. 4 At the 1927 sesquicentennial celebration, reenactors wait their turn to stage the drama of the siege of the one-third sized fort replica. From the Rome Historical Society's Photographic Collection.

Neither Carrie Seal (either the 700 estimated participants on their various rides. Some children dressed as young Indians and played with crude toys outside tepees. Others represented the three young girls who had gone berry picking outside Fort Stanwix at the start of the 1777 siege and were attacked by Indians allied to the British. Women played roles of Indian women preparing meals for their families or as women married to soldiers at the fort. Men dressed as Indian braves, Dutch trappers and traders, Loyalist soldiers, and American troops. The reenactment included capturing the Stars and Stripes amidst cheers and drum beating from the garrison. It re-staging of the Battle of Oriskany and the Mohawk Scots celebrations to an earlier one that same day at Oriskany, which had included music and speeches.[9] Col. Hyrd expressed the feelings of many people who viewed the pageant. In the closing ceremonies, he stated, "I considered it not only my duty but a very great privilege to make a pilgrimage to this sacred spot. The colonel in charge of the fort commanding only about 550 men repulsed an enemy twice as large. The course of history was changed here."[10]

The *Sentinel* enthusiastically recorded the sesquicentennial in a special edition 102-page paper produced that very same evening. Included with articles and photographs on the pageant and Hyrd's appearance was editorial writer Lilia Secor's historical retelling of the siege and the Battle of Oriskany. The paper's full complement of reporters, including a young Fort St. Updike who would go on to be editor, covered the event. The paper noted not only the special events of the day but also the uplift look of the city of Rome. "A day of days in the Oneida Country

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[9] "Pageant Helps Memories of Past Thrive," "Thousands to Participate in Pilgrimage to Oriskany," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 August 1927.

[10] "Commander Portrayed [illegible] is praised by Col. Hyrd as Pageant Ends Successful," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 8 August 1927. F. Monahan Collection (FMC), Archives.

Place. Past, present and future rolled into the compass of a few hours. All roads lead to Rome. The city, spic and span in new paint and freshly washed buildings; decked with flags and bunting in great profusion. Bands playing, streets alive with automobiles and pedestrians."[41] This fresh and welcoming appearance of the city was echoed in the large banner strung across the masthead of the newspaper: "Welcome Friends! Welcome Strangers! On this Greatest of Great Days Fort Stanwix and Oriskany Come Forth from the Distant Past, Reincarnate! May the Memory of this Event be Cherished by You, as Will Your Presence Always be to Our People, a Charming Recollection."[42]

The *Sentinel* enthusiastically welcomed visitors and covered the grand sesquicentennial event in large part to promote tourism to Rome and the state. The paper's owner, A. R. Kessinger, had worked doggedly with William Pierrepont White to gain appropriations and legislative mandates from the state to have New York's historical sites shine to the world. In an illuminating passage hidden within follow-up coverage on Byrd, the paper answers a frequently asked question about running a 102-page special edition and selling it for only 10 cents a copy. "Profit was not the object" behind this immediate publication. Instead, the paper admitted that "The developments of Rome's historical richness means much more for the future of Rome, and the way to develop it is to advertise it." And, promotion was what the *Sentinel* intended in its sesqui edition. "If Rome can be made a Mecca for visitors by the marking and advertising of its historical places all the people here will profit." The newspaper emphasized that its vision for tourism was one shared by and for all, "Everybody who helped to make this great celebration a success was assisting toward that end, as well as cultivating a valuable patriotic spirit."[43] This commitment to use the newspaper to promote Rome's tourism potential, and spread its patriotic spirit, would carry through the twentieth century.

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[41] "Rome Honors Heroes of Revolution with Stirring Spectacle," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 August 1927.
[42] Front-page banner, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 August 1927.
[43] All quotes in "Interesting Echoes of Great Sesqui," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 8 August 1927.

A national monument

Before turning their attention to obtaining federal recognition of Fort Stanwix, Kessinger and others built on the state's support of the sesquicentennial celebration to try to expand the state's commitment to honoring its history. State monies had funded the events in Rome, Oriskany, and other places. Since the state already owned a small parcel of land where the fort had stood, it seemed logical to pursue further the idea of developing their historical past with state support. To this end, the Rome Chamber of Commerce, under E. D. Bevitt, and the *Sentinel's* A. R. Kessinger sought and won support within the state legislature to consider building a state museum in Rome in commemoration of the siege of Fort Stanwix. A committee, with Kessinger serving as one of the appointees, was formed to investigate the feasibility of such an idea. Not surprisingly, finding a suitable location for such a museum building proved difficult. Houses and businesses sat on top of the remains of the famous historic site. One possibility, however, existed at the American Legion Post headquarters building, located next to the state parcel at the fort's presumed southeast bastion. This building had originally been the Virgil Draper House. Members of the Legion, expressing their patriotic fervor and commitment to the city's historical past, offered their property to the state for a museum, with the caveat that the Legion could continue meeting under the same roof. The proposed site measured about 100 by 200 feet on high ground, and, as the *Sentinel* noted, would be an eye-catching location for visitors entering the city from the east.[44]

[44] New York State Senate Clerk to H. D. Williams, 18 March 1929; and Henry D. Williams to John A. Scott, 20 March 1929, both in Rome Historical Society, Vertical Files, File Tourism, Fort Stanwix Museum 1953-59. "Senate Votes for Proposed Museum Here," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 March 1929.

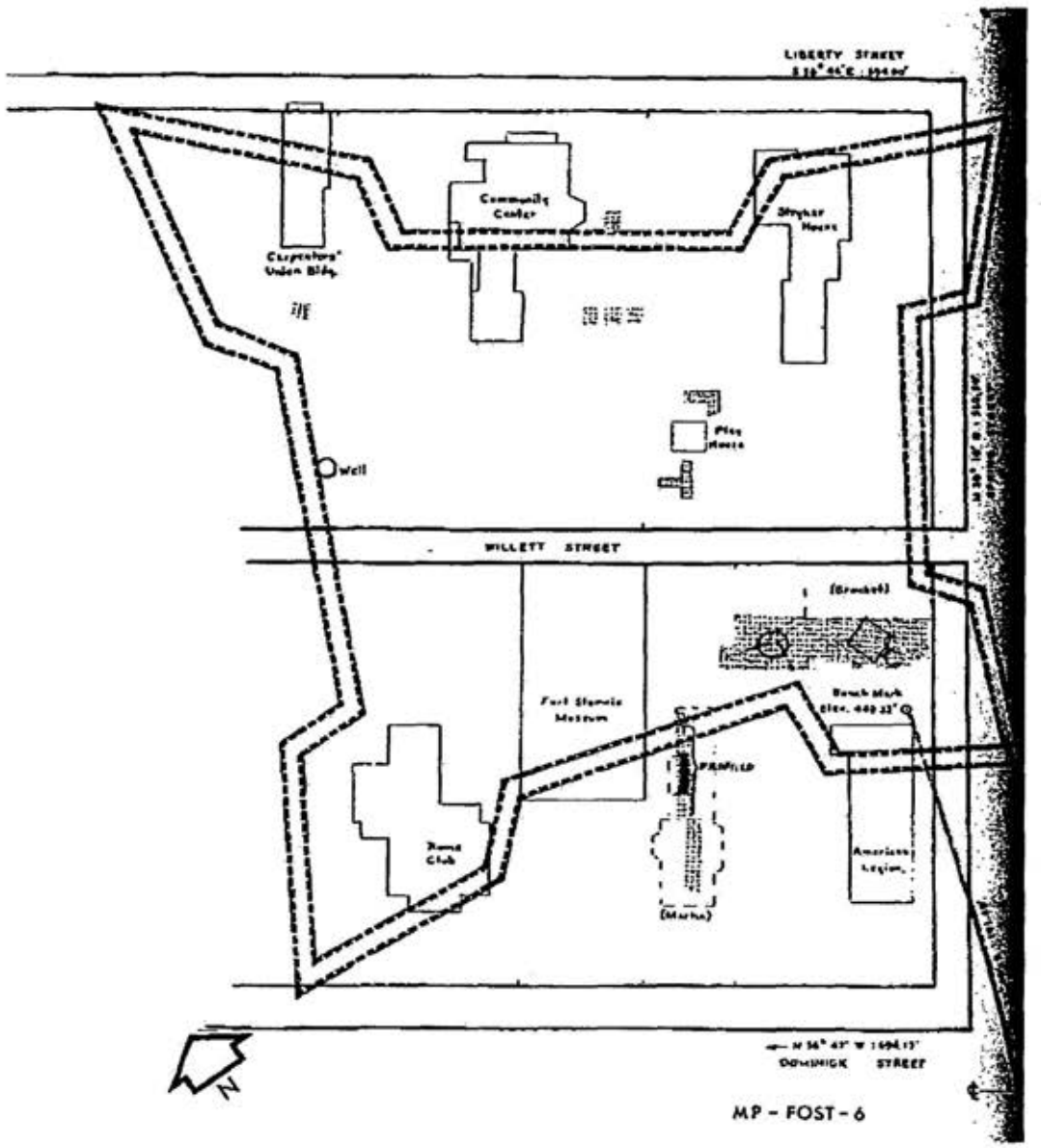


Fig. 5 This sketch of Fort Stanwix theorizes where the fort stood in relation to the buildings found on the site in the early 1960s. From the National Park Service 1967 Fort Stanwix Master Plan.

As the plans with the state stalled, grander ideas unfolded. By February 1934, the Rome Chamber of Commerce had spearheaded an effort to have the federal government establish a park or memorial on the site of Fort Stanwix. The National Park Service, in response to this local interest, promised to send an investigator to report on this suggestion. By summer, Sen. Robert F. Wagner (D-NY) and Rep. Frederick J. Sisson (D-NY) had each submitted bills to the US Congress for establishing Fort Stanwix National Monument.[45] Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes reported favorably on both bills, noting that the proposed legislation protected a

[45] Arno B. Cammerer to Royal Copeland, 21 February 1934, File H3417 FOST National Historic Landmark (NHL) File and copy National Register, History and Education (NRHE) File, NPS Washington, DC [hereafter NRHE File], FOST Archives.

battlefield of great importance to American history and was worthy of federal protection. Realizing that concerns over appropriations might hamper such designation, Ickes also stated that the bill "would be in accord with the financial program of the President."[46] The Senate acted favorably on the bill, but it stalled in the House.[47]

Exactly how the state museum idea grew into a bill for national monument status is unclear, but Kessinger may have been an important leader in this decision. The *Sentinel* was a strongly Democratic newspaper since the 1830s, Rome itself had Democratic leanings, and Kessinger's family had been proud Democrats. His granddaughter Shirley Waters, who later inherited the paper and helped her husband George Waters run it, remembered as a little girl that her grandfather often hosted Franklin Delano Roosevelt when he passed through Rome. In these social gatherings, talk of the historic events associated with Fort Stanwix would certainly have surfaced, Roosevelt having a strong personal interest in history. Conversations could easily have turned into discussions about federal preservation. Roosevelt, aware of the historic value of the proposal, also recognized the political value of supporting the ideas of the Democrat Kessinger and the city that shared his political leanings. Rome could also find two Democrats among its representatives in Congress, with Wagner in the Senate and Utica lawyer Sisson in the House. This combination of support eventually brought success.[48]

In early 1935, Wagner and Sisson submitted new bills of similar language for a Fort Stanwix National Monument. Ickes declared his support once again. On 29 July, the Senate, with little debate, passed Wagner's S. 739, and it went to the House. There, the House Committee on the Public Lands referred the bill to the whole House.[49] Two areas of concern surfaced in the House debate on 14 August. First, some Representatives worried that passing the Fort Stanwix bill would open the Congress to additional requests by states to have the federal government take over the care and maintenance of other historic properties. Rep. Robert Rich (R-PA) argued that in the difficult economic times of the Great Depression facing the nation, many states wanted some relief from bearing the expense of upkeep of their monuments and sites. Passing that burden to the federal government would be more attractive as bills like the Fort Stanwix one were passed.[50] Rep. Bertrand Snell (R-NY) echoed Rich's concerns, stating that "we are adopting a policy here which may be detrimental in the future. . . . It may be all right to do that [pass bills for national monuments] at some time, but at the present time when we are trying so hard to get money enough to pay our expenses it seems to me that it is a poor policy. . . ."[51]

Sisson responded to this first set of concerns by reminding his colleagues that S. 739 simply designated national monument status on Fort Stanwix; it did not include an appropriation "of a single penny." He admitted that at some point in the future, Congress might call for an

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[46] Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, *For the Establishment of a National Monument on the Site of Fort Stanwix, N.Y.*, 73d Cong., 2d sess., 1934, S. Rept. 1401.

[47] *Congressional Record*, 73d Cong., 2d sess., 1934, 11310.

[48] Frank A. Glasso, "Paper, Type and Ink," *Rome Centennial History*, 28; Fritz S. Updike, *Potato Hill and Other Recollections* (Utica, NY: North Country Books, Inc., 1988), 116; Shirley and George Waters, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 31 January 2003, 2.

[49] *Congressional Record*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 11995, 12532; Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, *Establishment of a National Monument on the Site Fort Stanwix, N. Y.*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, S. Rept. 1068; House Committee on the Public Lands, *Fort Stanwix National Monument*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, H. Rept. 1713, 1-2.

[50] *Congressional Record*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 13180.

[51] Ibid., 13181.

appropriation, but such action first required that the lands held by the state and private individuals be donated to the federal government. According to the language of the bill, national monument status would be granted only after those lands, together with any buildings and other property, had been donated or bought through donated funds. In the meantime, the site would have the federal recognition without the federal protection and costs associated with such protection.[52] For Romans, such recognition seemed sufficient for the time. They wanted national designation "in order fittingly to observe the anniversary of the battle of Fort Stanwix."[53] And, Romans believed that their chances were good for having the necessary lands donated. Sisson noted that the people owning land where the fort had stood had gone on record informally through the Rome Chamber of Commerce that they would donate their lands.[54]

The second concern voiced in the 14 August floor debate involved the connection of the Fort Stanwix bill to the Maverick bill passed earlier that same day. The Maverick bill became the Historic Sites Act of 1935, a wide-ranging law that directed the Secretary of the Interior to survey historic properties for determining which ones had exceptional value in commemorating or illustrating the history of the nation. The Secretary and the National Park Service were authorized to conduct research, restore or maintain historic properties directly or through cooperative agreements, and engage in interpretive activities to educate the public about the historic sites. The law also established the Secretary's Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, composed of outside experts in cultural and natural resources, to review selected properties and to recommend those found nationally significant for designation. One provision of the law allowed for acquisition of historic properties, but with the important restriction that no federal funds could be obligated in advance of congressional appropriations.[55]

Some representatives, when reviewing the Fort Stanwix bill, wondered if they needed to decide on S. 739 in light of the recent passage of the Maverick bill. Verne Chatelain, the first chief of the Park Service's Historical Division, admitted similar ambivalence when pressed by Rep. James Mead (D-NY) on the day of the floor debate. Chatelain admitted that "the place of Fort Stanwix . . . is highly significant"[56] when considered in connection with the entire Burgoyne Campaign of 1777. Yet, when push came to shove, Chatelain told Mead that "in view of the Historic Sites bill, it would not be necessary to obtain passage of the Fort Stanwix bill, but that the Saratoga bill is important."[57] Members of Congress were not quite sure how to handle such bills as the Fort Stanwix one in light of the Historic Sites Act. Was it necessary to designate areas separately or should that recognition come from the Secretary of the Interior? Sisson believed that places like Fort Stanwix were "shrines, and we want to forever have them enshrined in the hearts of the American people as national monuments."[58] Obtaining that designation immediately from Congress was preferable to waiting. Rep. James Mott (R-OR) finally swayed the House. Mott admitted that the Maverick bill was "a very, very bad bill"

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[52] *Congressional Record*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 11995, 13180.
[53] Ibid., 13180.
[54] Ibid., 13182.
[55] Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, DC: NPS Division of Publications, 1985), 48.
[56] Memorandum, Verne E. Chatelain, date cut off, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.
[57] Memorandum, Chatelaine to Director, 14 August 1935, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.
[58] *Congressional Record*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 13181.

because, in Mott's mind, it gave the Interior Secretary "legislative, autocratic power to use the people's money in almost any way he pleases" for historic sites. But, Mott steadfastly believed that the Fort Stanwix bill was "a meritorious measure, and I would much rather acquire the land through enactment of this bill than have the Secretary of the Interior acquire it under the blanket authority which the Maverick bill gives him."[59] S. 739 passed the House with 209 yeas, 73 nays, and 147 not voting. President Roosevelt signed the bill into law on 21 August 1935, the same day he signed the Historic Sites Act.

The Fort Stanwix Act, Public Law No. 291 (see Appendix 1), provides little indication from Congress about how it wanted the National Park Service to manage the site. The Act states that the lands "shall be designated and set apart by proclamation of the President for preservation as a national monument for the benefit and inspiration of the people. . . ." Such language mirrors the language in the 1872 Act establishing Yellowstone as the nation's first national park "for the benefit and enjoyment" of the people. Clearly, Congress believed that Fort Stanwix was an inspiring place, resonating with patriotic associations. Sisson emphasized this aspect when he urged recognition so that Romans could celebrate the anniversary of the siege in tandem with the federal designation. Other representatives may have worried about eventual appropriations for running the site once the lands were donated, but even Rep. Rich had admitted that some of the bills under consideration for national monument status that day were worthwhile, just not necessarily during the difficult financial times of the mid-1930s. Ultimately, patriotism won over fiscal conservatism.[60]

For Fort Stanwix, the true hindrance was the land itself. In its official press release following approval of the law, the Department of the Interior made painfully clear that "when the title to the site . . . shall be vested in the United States, either by donation or otherwise, the area shall be set apart by proclamation of the President as a national monument."[61] Such designation came only upon receipt of the land. Until that point, the land remained in private hands and federal jurisdiction did not apply. The National Park Service did send George Palmer, then superintendent of Statue of Liberty National Monument, to report on the situation. Palmer estimated that $300,000 would be needed to buy the land where the fort had stood. "Such a price as that would make a restoration impractical and just as well," Palmer wrote. "A reconstructed 18th century fort in the heart of Rome would look out of place, to say the least."[62] In response to an inquiry from the Department of War concerning whether a memorial would be built for Fort Stanwix, Chatelain responded in October 1935 that "There will be no immediate construction or development at Fort Stanwix. . . ."[63]

Not to be undone by the realities of the land situation, the Rome Chamber of Commerce under Bevitt pursued a second approach in its quest for full national monument status. Why not

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[59] All Mott quotes in Ibid., 13182.

[60] Ibid., 13181. See also the Yellowstone Act of 1872 in Lary M. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994), 28.

[61] Press release, Department of the Interior, 15 September 1935, 1, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

[62] Palmer, as quoted by Updike, "Museum on Site of Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 18 May 1962, reproducing in full the conclusions of the 1935 Palmer report. After searching in various archival collections in New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Washington, DC, the author has been unable to locate an original copy of the Palmer report. This quote from the report agrees with the author's telephone conversation with David Kimball, 11 March 2003. Kimball wrote the 1967 master plan for FOST and reviewed the Palmer report.

[63] Chatelain to Louis E. Jallades, 31 October 1935, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

establish a museum on or near the grounds of the fort, run by the National Park Service?[64] Palmer had also suggested such an approach, arguing in his 1935 report that "The solution to the problem of site treatment at Fort Stanwix will probably have to be found in a museum."[65] To obtain the broadest possible support for such a venture, the Chamber recruited the various patriotic societies within Rome and encouraged their organization into the Rome Historical Society in 1936. As Bevitt wrote to Chatelain in March 1936, "One feature which I think is unique [to a historical society] is that each of the leading Patriotic Societies, the Legion, DAR, GAR, etc. are to be represented on the Board of Directors by a person of their own choosing." Bevitt also noted that plans continued to be made for securing land to turn over to the federal government, but they remained "nebulous and involve a number of alternatives" which Bevitt hoped would take shape with the establishment of the historical society.[66]

Ideas flourished over the course of the next few years. Bevitt suggested the idea of a museum in the Jervis Public Library building. Chatelain agreed to send Palmer to "assist in whatever way possible in formulating the necessary plans." Yet, as Chatelain reminded Bevitt, "this Service can do no more than render technical advice and assistance. . . ."[67] Then in 1937, Bevitt, now acting as secretary of the Rome Historical Society, offered two approaches: the federal government could accept a donation of land from the Mohawk Valley Historical Association for 48 acres associated with the Battle of Oriskany. At the same time, an old Post Office building in Rome had recently been abandoned and could be used as a museum about Fort Stanwix. No further correspondence has been found addressing the Oriskany proposal, but the Park Service did vigorously pursue the idea of turning the old Post Office into a museum and administration building for the national monument. Palmer had identified the Post Office building in 1935 as a possible museum building for Fort Stanwix, noting that it was available and already owned by the federal government. In April 1937, Ronald F. Lee, as acting assistant director of the Park Service, acted on these ideas and recommended inclusion of the Post Office building into the minimum boundaries of the national monument and that the Service should approve the taking of the structure.[68] However, by the next month, Acting Director Arthur Demaray reported to Rep. Fred J. Douglas (R-NY) that this idea had been rejected. Demaray wrote that "the building is not of sufficient historical significance nationally" to justify its inclusion in the national monument.[69]

By the end of 1938, the National Park Service had stepped away from any attempts to establish a national monument through donation of lands at Fort Stanwix. Instead, the Service pursued placing historical markers on the site. Francis Ronalds, acting supervisor of Historic Sites, recommended that, "Inasmuch as the fort site is in the heart of Rome, New York, and is for the most part covered by expensive buildings no attempt should be made to establish an historical park." A handwritten note by NPS Director Arno Cammerer on this memorandum

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[64] Chatelain to Bevitt, 27 February 1936, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.
[65] Palmer, as quoted in Updike, "Museum on Site."
[66] Bevitt to Chatelain, 2 March 1936, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.
[67] Chatelain to Bevitt, 27 February 1936.
[68] Bevitt to Melvin J. Weig, 12 February 1937; Arno B. Cammerer to Sen. Robert Wagner, 13 March 1937; Memorandum, Ronald F. Lee, 24 March 1937; Lee to Director, 5 April 1937, all in File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives. Palmer report, as reproduced in Updike, "Museum on Site." The sources do not specify the location of this post office building, although most likely it was the one located at the corner of James and Liberty Streets.
[69] A. E. Demaray to Fred J. Douglas, 13 May 1937, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

agrees that this suggestion may be the best way of handling the situation, although Cammerer wanted approval of the Advisory Board. Below Cammerer's note, Demaray argued in writing that using historical markers in lieu of a national monument park site was not in compliance with the act of Congress.[70] And so, Cammerer went to Rome's congressional representative, Fred Douglas, and inquired as to the reaction of such a proposed action within Rome. Supporters of the national monument hung on to the designation despite not having the land to establish a full-fledged park site. A. R. Kessinger, who had been an important force in getting the 1935 Act, died in 1941. World War II consumed the thoughts and plans of these supporters along with the rest of the nation, and Fort Stanwix National Monument waited until more propitious times appeared.[71]

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[70] Francis S. Ronalds to Director, 21 December 1938, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

[71] The Advisory Board noted in its minutes for its 10th meeting, 22-28 February 1939, that "the establishment of a national monument was impractical" due to the location of the modern town of Rome, NY, on top of fort site. See the 10th Advisory Board Meeting Minutes, 2, NRHE Files. Cammerer to Douglas, 27 April 1939; and Cammerer to Douglas, 12 October 1939, both in File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives. Updike, "A Dream Come True."

Chapter Two
Urban Renewal

Fritz Updike slowly edged his car through bumper-to-bumper traffic up North James Street from the Rome *Sentinel's* headquarters to Fort Stanwix Park. Assigned to collect crowd impressions of the 1927 Sesquicentennial celebration, Updike quickly realized that he would have to leave his car at the park and walk the rest of the way to Mohawk Acres and the pageant. It took him an hour to weave through the people crowding the sidewalks and those stalled in cars. Only seven months on the job as a cub reporter, Updike was doing what he loved and would cherish for the next fifty years, writing about the comings and goings of Rome, New York. He would be one of the first to know about major changes in the history of his adopted city, such as when the Air Force decided to open Griffiss Air Force Base (AFB) in the early days of World War II. He would also hang tenaciously onto the promise of the city and its history, ultimately using his editorial space in the *Sentinel* in the 1960s to convince Romans of the idea of rebuilding the fort.[1]

Updike was one of three pivotal men who made the longtime dream of reconstruction of Fort Stanwix a reality. The other two were Mayor William Valentine and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (NY-D). In 1964, Valentine, a tall, lanky former basketball star in college and on semi-pro regional teams, had freshly won election as Republican mayor. Born and raised in Rome, he had worked for 24 years in Rome Cable's central planning department before beginning his unprecedented 16-year term as mayor. He approached his elected position in much the same way he did his former basketball playing, by drawing in capable, talented people to help run the city, regardless of their political persuasion. This team-building approach gave several Democrats key positions in his administration.[2]

Valentine's political astuteness and team approach drew a positive response from Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who won his senatorial campaign in November of 1964 based in large part on support from New York City. Looking to broaden his political base, Kennedy went shopping for an upstate project and found a willing and enthusiastic ear in both Valentine and Updike. The trio would forever change the shape of Rome.

A view of Rome in 1964

Valentine took office on a cold, wet, and windy day in early 1964. He had won by a narrow margin over his Democratic opponent, but his real troubles went beyond partisan politics to the city's economy. Rome was showing signs of trouble. In its central downtown district, where the original Fort Stanwix had once stood, many boarded up businesses and dilapidated buildings covered city blocks. Some of the once stately mansions with architectural charm had been converted into homes for such organizations as the Rome Club for men and an American Legion Post. Additions to the backs of these buildings spoke of their utility for meeting space as opposed to their beauty as homes. Other once elegant buildings had been carved up into ramshackle apartments or abandoned. A few promising structures remained, such as the home office and printing press for the *Rome Daily Sentinel*, but even this edifice needed updating to keep up with more modern and safer printing techniques. There were more bars than any other

[1] Updike, *Potato Hill*, vi, 151, 164-66.
[2] R. Patrick Corbett, "Valentine Leaving Mayoralty with Mixed Emotions," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 December 1979; Dan Murray, "No Question about It, Rome Is Home, Retiring Mayor Says," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 15 December 1979.

commercial enterprise in the area. Yet, Rome still impressed some casual visitors as a neat and tidy town, partly because it had benefited from federal government largesse with the 1942 opening of Griffiss AFB.[3]

This cushion of support was vanishing by 1964. In December 1963, the Defense Department announced its intention to close some 33 military installations, including the Rome Air Materiel Area (ROAMA) at Griffiss. Romans had weathered such threats to Griffiss in the past. Activated as the storage, maintenance, and equipment shipping base for the Air Force's Air Materiel Command, Griffiss was almost closed in 1948 as the military downsized in the post-World War II period. The Korean War placed new demands, and by the end of the 1950s, Rome witnessed an expanded airbase, with six major air commands installed at Griffiss. To support the military electronics work of the base, private firms appeared in Rome, adding to the city's employment opportunities. So long as the base thrived, Rome could point to 8,000 civilian jobs and other economic benefits that the federal government had brought with Griffiss. But, in 1961, the Defense Department again re-evaluated its needs and threatened to deactivate the entire base. Fritz Updike learned of the decision before it became public, and with then-mayor Charles T. Lanigan, launched a spirited campaign to save the base. Through front-page articles in the *Sentinel*, letters to President John F. Kennedy, and support from Congressman Alexander Pirnie (R-NY) and New York's senators, Rome made known its commitment to keeping Griffiss. The Berlin Crisis of the summer of 1961 staved the decision, but in December 1963, ROAMA came under attack again from the budget cutters. Mayor Valentine and the city fought back valiantly, but within months 2,700 jobs left Rome with the closing of ROAMA.[4]

Valentine took such a setback as a challenge. In a statement to the city's Common Council, he said, "It may appear our terms of office will be trying ones, but in actuality, there is no other kind."[5] In truth, city business leaders had known for decades that Rome's economy was troubled. The once-thriving cheese industry and other agricultural pursuits had declined rapidly in the aftermath of World War I. Transportation, which had once relied upon the Erie Canal and railroads passing through Rome, had also dropped significantly in the face of autos, trucks, and airplanes, which easily bypassed the city. Even Rome's world-class copper and other metals industry had seen a major shift in production from such durable goods as agricultural implements, guns, and locomotive works to a more singular, and economically sensitive, focus on electronics machinery. The spectacular growth of plastics, stainless steel, and aluminum would further erode the copper industry. One economic study from 1964 soberly noted that the Rome-Utica area had experienced full employment in only about five years between 1930 and 1964, mostly during World War II and a few months in the mid-1950s. Griffiss AFB had shielded Rome from these hard facts, and so long as Griffiss continued to grow, Rome could

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[3] This characterization of Rome is based on the following sources: William Flinchbaugh, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 1 May 2003, 5-6; David Kimball, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 16 May 2003, 4; Waters, transcript of interview, 4-5; Diana Steck Waite, *History of a Nineteenth Century Urban Complex on the Site of Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York* (Albany, NY: New York State Historic Trust, 1972), 7-9; Joseph Watterson to Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 9 July 1969, 2, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, all in FOST Archives.

[4] Crisafulli, "Economic Development Efforts in the Utica-Rome," 136, 139-45; Updike, *Potato Hill*, 183; "Abolition of ROAMA Recommended in Report," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 March 1961.

[5] Valentine quoted in R. Patrick Corbett, "A Look at Rome History in the Valentine Years," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 December 1979.

plunk along. But, the 1964 loss of ROAMA put an end to complacency. New ideas were needed to save Rome.[6]

Some steps had already been taken to diversify and strengthen Rome's economic base. In 1958, the local Chamber of Commerce conducted an extensive industrial development study and launched a long-range program to expand the industrial base of the community, provide employment, and broaden the tax base. A year later, the chamber organized the Rome Industrial Development Corporation (RIDC) to accomplish these goals and led a successful subscription among Rome's businesses, raising $91,000. This money helped rehabilitate donated properties from General Cable Corporation so that RIDC could lease them to businesses. The Rome Industrial Center brought such new companies to the city as Hess Oil Company and Mohawk Valley Cement Company while also providing room-to-grow for already established firms such as Serway Brothers cabinet makers. Total employment at the new center reached to about 400 people in the early 1960s.[7]

Rome also embarked on its first urban renewal program in 1958 to strengthen its economic prospects. Urban renewal had been the federal government's answer to concerns in the post-World War II period that cities were plagued with substandard and inadequate housing. Wanting to ensure a decent home for every American family, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949, providing federal loans and grants through the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to clear out slums and blighted areas and replace them with new housing. Rome city leaders took advantage of a 1954 amendment to the act, allowing 10 percent of federal capital grant funds to be used for nonresidential projects. By 1959, the act removed the restriction that the project area have a substantial number of substandard dwellings and increased the grant limitation to 20 percent. On the southside of Rome's central business district, the city's urban renewal agency used federal dollars for a 100 percent demolition project. After razing 24 acres of old, worn-out buildings, warehouses, junkyards, and residences, the city encouraged the development of new retail enterprises, including a shopping center, a restaurant, and a motel that sat across the street from the recognized site of the original Fort Stanwix.[8]

Tourism and Rome

On the heels of this urban renewal effort and the RIDC's industrial development plans, history and tourism offered Romans another approach for promoting economic growth. Yet, what exactly should be done to increase tourism in Rome was still a looming question. A look at the range of ideas that history-minded Romans explored since the closing days of World War II explains how Rome went from an economically troubled downtown to a city that invited the National Park Service to reconstruct Fort Stanwix in its central business district. Complete reconstruction of the fort was not fully considered until late in the planning, but once adopted,

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[6] Crisafulli, "Economic Development in Utica-Rome," 114-15, 119; "Hometown Initiative," *Rome Centennial History*, 64.

[7] Crisafulli, "Economic Development in Utica-Rome," 138-39; "Hometown Initiative," *Rome Centennial History*, 64.

[8] Alfred J. Holzman, "Urban Renewal to Restore Historic City Landmarks," *The American City* (June 1968): 98; Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 2; Crisafulli, "Economic Development of Utica-Rome," 173-74; Scott, *Rome: A Short History*, 27; Ashley A. Foard and Hilbert Fefferman, "Federal Urban Renewal Legislation," in *Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy*, edited by James Q. Wilson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966), 109; Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949-1962* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964), 3-4, 16-17.

the City embraced the idea and developed an entire urban renewal strategy for revitalizing the downtown district. Fort reconstruction in many ways drove the entire urban renewal program.

The 1935 legislation authorizing the creation of Fort Stanwix National Monument remained on the books, waiting for the land to be donated to the National Park Service before the park could be officially established. That land continued to be covered by residences and businesses, but some Romans held onto the idea of developing the land for tourism purposes. With the end of World War II, these friends to history compiled their ideas for presentation to local and state authorities in the hopes of obtaining appropriations. Their thoughts were tentative and conjectural, but certain themes appeared which indicate the goals they had for the project. These thoughts would continue to frame plans for a Fort Stanwix museum or memorial into the early 1960s.

Instead of constructing a full-sized reproduction of Fort Stanwix, these post-World War II planners suggested building one "reasonably large and handsome edifice"[9] on a commanding site. A model, possibly made of bronze or some other material to resemble the log and wood fort, would sit inside the memorial building and be surrounded with relief maps and other exhibits to explain the significance of Fort Stanwix in relation to the events of the Revolutionary War. Planners also considered the possibility of building a bronze and stone reproduction of the flag bastion to commemorate the first flying of the Stars and Stripes in battle at the fort, a tradition held closely by many Romans. This memorial to Fort Stanwix might also recognize the heroes of all wars and include a home for Veterans organizations. To address the needs of the modern city of Rome, and as a way to receive needed funding, the planners also considered having a recreation center on the site.[10]

An important aspect of these thoughts was that the memorial had to be on land known to have been included within the site of the fort or its outworks. Planners considered using the old Post Office location just off the site, but preference was strong for staying on the fort site. Situating a museum on an undeveloped site away from the original fort site was not actively considered. Reliance upon obtaining an agreement with the American Legion Post and/or the Rome Club, which had buildings directly over the fort's remains, seemed possible in these thoughts. Finally, these post-World War II planners considered closing off part of Spring Street between Willett and Dominick Streets to maximize the memorial's frontage, and therefore visibility, on Rome's major thoroughfare Dominick Street. At no time did the planners consider dramatically altering the city's street pattern. In one statement, planners wrote that "to rebuild Fort Stanwix on the original plan is out of the question. It was constructed of huge logs, now unavailable, and of earth. It did not survive ten years after abandonment, except in the form of ruin. Besides that, its outworks if reproduced would block Dominick, Spring and Liberty Sts."[11]

Such practical considerations also influenced the post-World War II planners in considering a possible role for the federal government in their thoughts. Opening one statement are the words, "That the federal government can be induced directly to operate a museum in

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[9] "Fort Stanwix Memorial Thoughts," no date or author given, 4, File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum 1953-59, Vertical Files, Rome Historical Society (RHS). The date of this paper can be approximated to around 1945-1946 by such references to the cannon that had once marked the four bastions of the fort being "recently reclaimed by the government" (to be melted down for metal during World War II) and a reference to "laying plans for heavy post-war expenditures," again referring to the end of World War II.

[10] "Fort Stanwix Memorial Thoughts," 1-2, 4; "Thoughts on the Project of a Fort Stanwix Museum, Informally Offered the State's Committee Created to Report on the Same," no date or author given, 1-2, File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum 1953-59, Vertical Files, RHS.

[11] Quote from "Fort Stanwix Memorial Thoughts," 4. See also "Thoughts on the Project," 1-2.

Rome as well as to erect one, seems questionable. There is more likelihood that it would deal through a local incorporated body."[12] The Rome Historical Society was one such local body, which probably influenced these post-war planners. It had set up exhibits in the Jervis Public Library in Rome, but the historical society was always searching for a larger, more prominent venue for telling the history of Rome. Under the inspired leadership of its president Frederick K. Reid and museum director Gilbert W. Hagerty, new life breathed into the dream of having a proper museum. Mrs. Alexander H. Rutherford, in memory of her late husband Dr. W. L. Kingsley, donated to the society a large, former indoor tennis court. Here in late July 1960, on the grounds of the original fort, the Rome Historical Society opened its long-awaited Fort Stanwix Museum. Hagerty, also a teacher at the Rome Free Academy, Rome's public high school, had devised plenty of exhibits to explain and describe the history of Rome from the Ice Age of 100,000 years ago through the Revolutionary War siege of 1777. On the opening day, more than one hundred visitors responded positively, taking chamber of commerce-sponsored bus tours around Rome and enjoying the museum's displays.[13]

National landmarks

Enthusiasm for honoring the history of Rome continued to grow. At the urging of his constituents in Rome, Congressman Alexander Pirnie in early 1961 sent the National Park Service a letter asking that Fort Stanwix and nearby Oriskany be included in the National Registry of Historic Landmarks, an outgrowth of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.[14] The story of how both sites eventually became registered historic landmarks provides an illuminating portrait of the National Park Service, which obstinately argued for more than a year that neither site merited such designation. Political pressure from Pirnie and others did not immediately sway the Park Service. Yet, only two years later, the Park Service would become inexorably involved with Fort Stanwix. The change is telling.

The idea for National Historic Landmark designations had grown out of the 1935 Historic Sites Act and its provision for a National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. In response to the fact that, over time, historic site designations had become closely related to Park Service control of the sites, the agency turned to the idea of landmark status as a way to identify nationally significant sites regardless of who had ownership. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments set the criteria for landmark designation, and in 1960, the Park Service announced its first set of national historic landmarks.[15]

The curious part about both Pirnie's letter and National Park Service (NPS) Director Conrad Wirth's response is that neither man acknowledges the fact that Fort Stanwix had already been designated for national monument status in 1935. Such national monument identification essentially precluded the need for national historic landmark status. But, for some reason, Pirnie and his constituents in Rome felt the need for landmark status. Perhaps, since land had never been donated to the federal government to activate the national monument designation, Pirnie and others felt that further recognition was needed. In addition, perhaps people in Rome wanted to have the extra status of having a national historic landmark within the city. In any case, Pirnie

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[12] "Fort Stanwix Memorial Thoughts," 1.

[13] "Opening of Museum Here Called Beginning of New Era for Rome," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 August 1960.

[14] Pirnie to Conrad Wirth, 23 January 1961, File H3417 Oriskany NHL File, FOST Archives.

[15] Mackintosh, *The National Parks*, 48-49. Note, the following documents relating to the national historic landmark (NHL) designation process for Fort Stanwix and Oriskany were originally copied from NHL records held by the NPS in Washington, DC.

provided Wirth with a full-page listing of historically significant sites in his congressional district in Oneida County, NY, referring to "Fort Stanwix Site," and not to Fort Stanwix National Monument. Wirth, in his reply, notes that the Advisory Board had already reviewed Fort Stanwix (and Oriskany) for national designation and had not found it to be of exceptional value in commemorating or illustrating the history of the country. Wirth does not give the date of this determination by the Advisory Board, but he probably meant the February 1939 judgment in which the board noted that establishment of a national monument was impractical due to the fact that the site sat under the modern town of Rome. The Advisory Board instead recommended placement of a suitable marker on the site. As noted in Chapter One, nothing further came of this idea, as the Park Service recognized that placing a marker at the site, as opposed to pursuing establishment of the national monument, required action by Congress to nullify the 1935 Act.[16]

Discussion on the landmark status of Fort Stanwix and Oriskany grew more fervent in 1962. Pirnie enlisted support from New York's Republican Senators Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keating to put some political pressure on the Park Service. To nudge the Park Service along, Pirnie and the Senators also introduced bills in their respective legislatures to establish Oriskany as a National Historic Site.[17] Yet, the Park Service recommended to the Advisory Board for its May 1962 meeting that Fort Stanwix and Oriskany be considered ineligible for landmark status. Different reasoning influenced the decision for each site. In the case of Fort Stanwix, the Park Service argued that the remains of the fort had been cleared away in the early part of the nineteenth century to make room for the city of Rome. Reports by NPS historians, such as Melvin S. Weig and Charles S. Marshall in 1938 and Charles E. Shedd Jr. in 1958, confirmed that the site had lost its physical integrity.[18] Although the Service agreed that Fort Stanwix had sufficient national significance for landmark designation, authenticating its precise location through archeology appeared "somewhat impractical"[19] due to extensive development on the site. Instead, the Park Service's acting director for Region Five headquarters in Philadelphia labeled Fort Stanwix a "lost site." As reported in March 1962, the acting regional director argued, "To submit this site as one possessing exceptional value would be a sharp departure from the standards we have observed thus far in the National Survey. To date many 'lost' sites have been eliminated from consideration as Landmarks. . . ."[20]

With Oriskany, Region Five headquarters argued against landmark status due to questions concerning national significance. Oriskany battlefield had the physical integrity, but it had secondary importance in comparison to that of Fort Stanwix. Some advantage might be seen in designating Oriskany because it was the only remaining site related to the nationally significant siege at Fort Stanwix, but the region did not want to encourage such a compromise

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[16] Mackintosh, *The National Parks*, 48-49; Wirth to Pirnie, 3 February 1961, File H3417 Oriskany NHL Files, FOST Archives.

[17] Conrad L. Wirth to Legislative Counsel, Office of the Solicitor, 23 May 1962, 1, File H3417 Oriskany NHL, FOST Archives; Editorial, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 29 November 1962.

[18] Charles W. Porter III to Regional Director, Region Five, 6 March 1962, File H3417 Oriskany NHL File, FOST Archives. FOST has a copy of the Summary and Photographic Supplement of the report by Melvin S. Weig and Charles S. Marshall, 1938, but the author has been unable to locate the full report, titled "Historic Sites Connected with the Siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany," 15 August 1938, 21 pp. The report by Shedd is noted in Acting Regional Director to Director Wirth, 16 March 1962, 1, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

[19] Charles E. Shedd Jr., Fort Stanwix National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings report, 14 February 1962, 1, File H32 FOST National Register Nomination, FOST Archives.

[20] Acting Regional Director to Wirth, 16 March 1962, 1.

and allow the door to open for other such sites of secondary importance.[21] The Advisory Board at its 30 April-3 May meeting concurred with the region on both sites. Oriskany had state and local importance, and the Advisory Board encouraged New York to continue its "public-spirited work"[22] in developing and interpreting the site. For Fort Stanwix, the board noted that the fort's remains had "long been obliterated and its historical integrity destroyed."[23] Landmark designation evaded both sites.

Not to be undone in their efforts, Pirnie and the New York senators unleashed further political pressure. In a letter to Secretary of the Interior Udall immediately following the Advisory Board's negative judgment, the three legislators spelled out their surprise at the board's decision. Reminding Udall that Fort Stanwix had been designated by Congress as a national monument in 1935, they wondered "under what authority decisions of the Advisory Board can nullify acts of Congress covering the same sites."[24] Pirnie, Javits, and Keating further argued that many local organizations in Rome actively supported historic landmark designation for both sites, but these organizations did not necessarily insist upon federal financing. Such a position, the legislators argued, might be more palatable to the Interior Department in supporting their designation. In fact, one legislative aide in Pirnie's office had told NPS historian Rogers Young over the phone that the community in Rome was "not necessarily desirous of including both sites within the National Park System."[25] Letters from concerned Romans and their local organizations poured into the offices of the Interior Department and the White House to demonstrate this support. Fritz Updike, who remembered when Fort Stanwix had first been established as a national monument in 1935, provided plenty of visibility to the cause by writing editorials in the *Sentinel*.[26]

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[21] Ibid., 2-3.

[22] Frank E. Masland Jr., to Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, 2 May 1962, Attachment No. 4, p. 6, File 46th Meeting Advisory Board 4/30-5/3/62,NRHE Files.

[23] Ibid., 7.

[24] Javits, Keating, and Pirnie to Udall, 22 May 1962, File H3417 Oriskany NHL File, FOST Archives.

[25] Young to Acting Chief, Division of History and Archeology, 16 May 1962, 1, File H3417 Oriskany NHL, FOST Archives.

[26] Javits, Keating, and Pirnie to Udall, 22 May 1962; John A. Carver, Jr. to Pirnie, 2 July 1962, 2, File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum 1960-69, Vertical Files, RHS; Editorial, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 July 1962.



Fig. 4 Fritz Pfeiffer, as editor of the *Rome Daily Sentinel*, vigorously supported reconstruction of Fort Stanwix. Courtesy *Rome Daily Sentinel*

Still the National Park Service, joined by the Interior Department, stuck to its position that neither site met criteria for national historic landmark designation. Significantly, Udall did not respond to the New York delegation's political pressure. In a July 1962 letter to Pfeiffer, with copies also sent to the senators, the Interior Department argued that the site of Fort Stanwix had been "covered over and destroyed by urban commercial development . . ." Any proposed park establishment was considered impractical due to the "inability of the edifice and site to recreate the original historic setting since its integrity as an original fortification, according to available facts, had been destroyed . . ." With respect to Oriskany, the Interior Department wrote that this "heroic and courageous action of an aroused farmer militia" failed to contribute decisively to Burgoyne's ultimate defeat at Saratoga. The event would be recognized in the new museum and visitor center at Saratoga National Historical Park, but separate landmark status would not be granted. To acknowledge the heightened support of the two men, the Interior Department did offer to present the case one more time to the Advisory Board at its fall meeting.[47]

Pfeiffer, Javits, and Keating sent a bilistering reply to Udall. In support of Fort Stanwix, they wrote, "it appears to be a practice of the [Advisory] Board, established by Congress, to ignore the clearly expressed intent of its creator." And, for Oriskany, they noted that President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "whose knowledge of American history was and . . . unimpeachable, had no doubts as to the national historical importance of the Battle of Oriskany since it was he who selected this name for the newly created U. S. S. Oriskany."[48] The combination of this political pressure and public support from the local community finally swayed the Park Service in its evaluation of Fort Stanwix, leading to a recommendation for landmark designation. Oriskany remained ineligible in the Park Service's view. But, the Advisory Board submitted to the arguments made by the legislators and the local community and recommended full landmark designation for both sites. Oriskany was largely included due to its association with the more

[47] All quotes from Carver to Pfeiffer, 2 July 1962.
[48] Both quotes from Javits, Keating, and Pfeiffer to Udall, 9 August 1962, File D1417 FORT STAN, Hist. and Arch. 600/D, File, FORT Archives.

nationally significant Fort Stanwix and the effects of the siege in contributing to the successful outcome of the Battle of Saratoga.[29]

Planning and digging

During the push to obtain national historic landmark status for Fort Stanwix and Oriskany, an idea slowly developed within Rome to use urban renewal funding to realize the dream of formally establishing a national memorial at the fort site. Mayor Lanigan, who served between 1960 and 1962, first made the proposal in July 1961.[30] Finding the money to obtain the needed land had always been a stumbling block for those Romans who had long wanted a proper memorial to the fort. Urban renewal offered a means to that money. Rome's first foray into the process for the southern business district had brought pleasing results. Why couldn't the same mechanism be used in the central downtown area? By the time the city celebrated its success in winning the landmark designation, Fritz Updike wrote in his editorial page that such designation "should be of assistance if the City of Rome ever goes ahead with the creation of a Fort Stanwix memorial through the urban renewal program."[31]

By connecting urban renewal funding to the dream of building a national memorial to the fort, city leaders and history-minded Romans imagined not just a suitable tribute to the city's past but also a much-needed economic boost through increased tourism. In June 1963 at a special meeting, the Common Council voted to appropriate up to $5,000 to study the feasibility of developing the site of Fort Stanwix as a historic park and tourist attraction.[32] The city established a Fort Stanwix Committee, led by Rome Historical Society President Reid, to have discussions with potential historical and tourism consultants and draw up preliminary plans for such a park. The resulting proposed plans share some similarities with what the post-World War II planners had visualized almost twenty years earlier. In the first place, none of the plans included a full-scale reconstruction of Fort Stanwix. Instead, the committee proposed building a model of up to 50 feet square that would sit inside a museum or other large building. Second, the focal point of the memorial park would be a theater of history, having electric maps and other special effects to impress visitors with the entire history of Rome. Third, the park would include a full-scale reconstruction of the flag bastion where local tradition held that the first Stars and Stripes flew in battle. Fourth, the park would not disrupt major street patterns of the downtown area. Most buildings within the single block bounded by Dominick, Spring, Liberty, and James Streets would be razed, with the streets themselves left open to traffic. Finally, the Rome Club would be saved and serve as a cultural center for the city.[33]

These ideas were collected and presented into a workable plan by architect engineer Charles Stotz, who had extensive experience studying and restoring frontier forts. Another

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[29] Draft Statement on Fort Stanwix and Oriskany Battlefield in New York State," 6 August 1962, 6, 9; and Department of the Interior Press Release, "Park Advisory Board Makes Recommendations to Interior Department," 23 November 1962, both in File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives. Resolution, Fort Stanwix and Oriskany Battlefield, New York, 15-17 October 1962, 47th Meeting Advisory Board, NRHE Files.

[30] Editorial, "Ft. Stanwix Project Can Be Done," 17 July 1961; "State Official Plans Rome Visit To Discuss Ft. Stanwix Proposal," 18 July 1961; "Second Urban Project Considered for Rome," 18 July 1961; and "Consultant, City and Chamber Officials Discuss Timetable," 8 August 1961, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[31] Editorial, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 29 November 1962.

[32] Resolution No. 71, Special Common Council Meeting, 11 June 1963, File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum Historical Center, Vertical Files, RHS.

[33] Meeting Minutes, Fort Stanwix Committee, 14 August 1963 and 14 September 1963; Gilbert Hagerty, Report of Meeting with Col. Frederick Todd, no date; Fort Stanwix Committee Report to Common Council, no date, all in File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum Historical Center, Vertical Files, RHS.

consultant, Colonel Frederick Todd of the West Point Museum, presented a different arrangement for the historical park. Todd suggested having different historical buildings in Rome collected together in one location to give the aura of the many facets of "Old Rome." Living-history activities in each building would reflect the different time periods. Todd's idea, although rejected by the Fort Stanwix Committee for the memorial park, would later see partial realization in Rome's Erie Canal Village, in which the transportation heyday of Rome in the early nineteenth century would be re-created.[34]

By the end of 1963, Rome had a plan for combining history and tourism to bring some economic security to the city. With the departure of ROAMA from Griffiss in 1964, the project gained greater urgency. Newly elected Mayor Valentine sought ways to turn the plans into actual projects. He found some assistance from the Department of Defense. Donald Bradford from the Defense Department's Office of Economic Adjustment provided the strength of his office to push plans for a historical park forward. His office sought ways for other federal agencies and private sources to help Rome and other cities recently losing military installations to develop other economic opportunities. When learning that Rome's Fort Stanwix had recently received national historic landmark designation and that the site was also designated as a national monument, Bradford asked the National Park Service to elaborate on further plans to establish a full-fledged park in Rome. Meeting first at the Pentagon and then in Rome itself in July 1964, the Park Service agreed to help establish a historical park. As a means to this end, Bradford supported using urban renewal funds. In August 1964, John Hurley, as director of the Rome Urban Renewal Agency, submitted an initial application for urban renewal funds through HUD. Significantly, this request came only after the Park Service agreed to cooperate by helping with the development of a historical park in honor of Fort Stanwix. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy personally informed Hurley in March 1965 that the initial urban renewal grant had been approved.[35]

Rome was on its way to its second urban renewal effort, but the exact design of the project remained uncertain. In news articles from the period, the *Sentinel* admitted, "...something shall be done. Exactly what has not been decided."[36] Even in 1976, when a newly reconstructed fort sat in the middle of downtown Rome, Updike wrote in his reminiscences about the entire project that "No one dreamed then of a complete reconstruction, perhaps a bastion. The first lines on a UR [urban renewal] map showed many of the old buildings remaining, clearing away just space sufficient to rebuild the Flag Bastion."[37] What to do in a memorial park built through urban renewal funds depended in part upon knowing what exactly the fort looked

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[34] Charles M. Stotz to Reid, 5 November 1963 and attached Fort Stanwix Historical Center: A Preliminary Report, File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum Historical Center, Vertical Files, RHS; Hagerty, Report of Meeting with Col. Todd, no date; Meeting Minutes, Fort Stanwix Committee, 14 September 1963, 1.

[35] Robert K. Bergman to NPS Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, [17 September 1965], File FOST Establishment Legislation and Committee Reports, FOST Archives. Note: this copy of the memorandum was retyped by a FOST employee from a multigenerational carbon copy. The given date of 1965 is probably inaccurate, in light of the newsclippings cited next which give earlier dates. Editorial, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 July 1964, and "Urban Renewal Planning Grant Gets Federal OK," 12 March 1965, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, both in File Tourism: Fort Stanwix Museum 1960-69, Vertical Files, RHS. Ronald Lee to Director, 18 March 1965, Fort Stanwix and Cooperation with Urban Renewal Agency, File FOST Misc., Box FOST Annual Reports, NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center (HFC), West Virginia. See also Updike's recounting of these events in "A Dream Come True."

[36] Quote from Editorial, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 July 1964. See also "Urban Renewal Planning Gets Federal OK," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 12 March 1965.

[37] Updike, "A Dream Come True,"

like. Even a model of the fort built for display in a museum needed some basis of scholarly knowledge to represent it correctly. And, neither the Park Service nor knowledgeable people in Rome could say for sure what the fort looked like in all its details. Original engineer's drawings from the British period had been located, but very little documentation had been uncovered as to how the Americans rebuilt the fort when they occupied it during the Revolutionary War. When Peter Hugunine began working on his 1897 painting of Fort Stanwix and the flying of the Stars and Stripes, he based his portrayal on extensive research and made the fort square with bastions. Two years later, at the request of Thomas Stryker of Rome, engineer Charles C. Hopkins conducted his own research on the shape of Fort Stanwix and argued that the fort's northeast and southeast bastions had been compressed, leaving the overall shape as more trapezoidal than square. This rendition of Fort Stanwix stuck with the public, and later representations of Fort Stanwix showed the shortened, compressed sides.[38]

Whether to believe Hopkins's skewed view of Fort Stanwix or not ultimately depended upon looking for archeological clues in the ground itself. Yet, many people believed that 200 years of building on top of any remains probably destroyed or severely compromised these remains. When the Park Service had reviewed the eligibility of the fort for historic landmark designation, it had argued that Fort Stanwix was a "lost site." In July 1962, the Park Service had noted that the fort's "integrity as an original fortification, according to available data, had been destroyed as early as the middle of the 19th century."[39] In its May 1962 adverse decision regarding landmark designation, the Advisory Board had noted that the site was in the "category of 'lost' historic sites, the remains of which have long been obliterated and its historical integrity destroyed."[40] To prove or disprove once and for all if the fort's remains had in fact been irretrievably destroyed, the City of Rome used part of the initial urban renewal grant to sponsor an investigative archeological dig.

In May 1965, Colonel J. Duncan Campbell, an expert on military fortifications and a consulting archeologist for the Smithsonian, led a 12-week exploration of the original Fort Stanwix site. With assistance from his associate Robert Ditchburn and a crew of students, Campbell began by excavating the cellar and backyard of the then-razed Martin House next to the Fort Stanwix Museum. This digging resulted in locating the fort ditch and glacis and turned up such artifacts as buttons and a musket ball. In the Monument Lot behind the American Legion Post Home, Campbell's team laid out 10-foot grids and uncovered a well-defined dirt barracks floor, complete with such artifacts as coins, musket balls, gun flints, window glass fragments, salt-glazed ware, and bottle fragments. Further trench work in the Monument Lot turned up a bake house and store house, along with the brick outline of an oval-shaped large bake oven. Most excavations were limited to property under control of the city of Rome or administered by the Rome Historical Society, but a few private owners allowed some digging in their yards during the final week of the project.[41]

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[38] Copies of the original plans are included in Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 16, 56-62. A discussion of the availability of plans and representations of the fort can be found in Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 123, 127-28. See also Orville Carroll, transcription of oral history interview by the author, 31 January 2003, 2, FOST Archives.

[39] Carver to Pirnie, 2 July 1962.

[40] Advisory Board Minutes, 46th meeting, 30 April-3 May 1962, Attachment No. 4, p. 7, NRHE Files.

[41] Press Release, Rome Urban Renewal Agency, 24 May 1965, File H3417 FOST NHL and copy NRHE File. Photo, "Start Ft. Stanwix Exploration." *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 26 May 1965; "UR's Check for $43,758 Is Received," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 17 August 1965; No Title [about Campbell dig], *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 16 August 1965. Collection of Summary Reports by Campbell, 24 May-31 July 1965, Binder FOST Archeology Reports, FOST Archives.



Fig. 7.1. Dennis Campbell excited many people in Rome by uncovering features of old Fort Stanwix during the 1965 exploratory excavation at the site. From the Rome Historical Society's Photographic Collection.

When Dennis Freeman, then superintendent of Saratoga National Historical Park, visited Campbell's excavation in early August, he found excitement throughout the city. He reported to Regional Director Ronald Lee that there was "great interest, cooperation, and civic pride" in the project. The "whole city seem[ed] to be fired with interest in Fort Stanwix," although Freeman believed that most plans were defined above what kind of future development might happen on the site. "there may be more interest than I noted," in the summer of 1965, though. Campbell had become "almost an honorary citizen" and, to the children, he was a "regular Pied Piper with himself." Freeman did find that talk of a full reconstruction had been dropped for the present due to cost and limited interest. Instead, people suggested building a climate-controlled building over a section of the archeological remains and having interpretive exhibits explain the significance of the site. Freeman recommended that the next step in the process would probably be the development of a master plan.[7]

[7] All quotes from Dennis Freeman to Ronald Lee, memorandum, 18 August 1965, Report of Visit to FOST, 16th August, Rome, New York, 1-2, Fort Stanwix Misc., Box FOST Annual Reports 1965 History Collection, SFC.

In his final report of August 1965, Campbell confidently stated that "much of the original fort, in the form of buildings and other features, can be exposed through careful site excavation."[43] He noted that because private residences with large empty yards covered a large share of the land where the fort once stood, the fort's remains had mostly been covered over and not obliterated as once feared. Cellars had done the most damage to the fort, but they were limited in number. Based on his excavations and an assessment of the terrain and later use of the land, Campbell boldly argued that more than 60 percent of the original fort features were still recoverable, leaving open the door for further archeological work. With regard to the fort's shape, Campbell agreed with Charles Hopkins that two sides of the fort had been compressed. Campbell noted that the British in 1758 had shortened the east side due to the need to hasten construction before winter hit. The east edge sat on a natural plateau that had to be filled, and time, Campbell argued, prevented such filling.[44]

Campbell also had some "strong opinions,"[45] his own words, about what should be done about possible redevelopment of the site. Primarily, he wanted the site preserved from any further encroachments until careful and complete archeological digging could be done. Expressing the surprise and relief of many from his discoveries, which confirmed remains of the fort, Campbell wrote, "It is only by the Grace of God the area has not been destroyed in the course of two centuries. . . . the present generation, willingly or not, has become the trustee to guarantee the preservation of the site. . . ."[46] Campbell envisioned a gradual redevelopment of the site over the course of a decade, culminating in 1976 for the nation's Bicentennial. What that redevelopment would look like, Campbell left to Romans to decide, but he favored keeping the space as an open park during the intervening years. He does not mention in his report any suggestions of fully reconstructing the fort. His only comment about roads is that Willett Street between James and Spring Streets should be closed and returned to grass.[47]

Bringing in the National Park Service

Between the period of Campbell's August 1965 final report on his excavation and a June 1967 meeting in Rome to discuss the National Park Service's proposal for a fully reconstructed Fort Stanwix, the Park Service went from a grudging companion to a full-fledged partner. The exact date for when this transformation occurred is unknown, and correspondence from this period remains scant. The available information gathered in newsclippings, reports, and oral history interviews makes clear, though, that by June 1967 Rome and the National Park Service shared the common goal of reconstructing the fort so as to bring an economic boost through tourism to the city. Fort reconstruction and urban renewal became intimately connected, with the former largely determining the extent of the latter. Three people behind this story are *Sentinel* editor and general manager Fritz Updike, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, and Mayor William Valentine.

As Updike remembered in his 1976 chronology of events leading to the opening of the fort, he had met with Kennedy in his Virginia home at a reception for state newspaper editors. Updike somehow mentioned Fort Stanwix and Rome's dream of developing the site into a tourist attraction to help the sagging local economy, and Kennedy, according to Updike, was "most

[43] J. Duncan Campbell, Final Report, 20 August 1965, 16, Binder FOST Archeology Reports, FOST Archives.
[44] Campbell, Final Report, 3, 16-17.
[45] Ibid., 17.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 17-18.

interested, insisting upon details."[48] Through Rome's local Democratic leaders, such as lawyer James O'Shea,[49] Mayor Valentine and Kennedy hooked up and cemented a relationship. Kennedy had been through Rome during his brother's presidential campaign, and he visited more than once as a Senator and then a presidential candidate himself.[50] During a September 1965 visit to Rome, Kennedy pledged his support in accomplishing what he termed the "unfinished business ahead of all of us" in developing the historical heritage of the area.[51] His interest, according to later sources in the newspaper and oral histories, came from wanting an upstate New York project to strengthen his political base.[52] What can be verified through documentation is that Valentine worked directly with Gerald Bruno, chief of Kennedy's Syracuse office. The papers from this office remain closed to research,[53] but Bruno is at the top of the list in attendance for the June 1967 meeting in Rome about the fort.[54] David Kimball, who wrote much of the Fort Stanwix master plan that served as the basis of discussion at the meeting, remembers Bruno being there. As Kimball later recalled, Bruno asked Valentine to make sure to give the senator some credit. Valentine "sort of patted Gerry on the shoulder and said, 'Don't worry, I'll take care of the senator.'"[55] Valentine ended up giving full credit to Kennedy for arranging the meeting.

Interestingly, New York's other senator, Jacob Javits, and Rome's congressional representative Alexander Pirnie did not play a visible role between 1965 and 1967 with regard to Fort Stanwix and its proposed reconstruction. Kimball did not recall Pirnie's name being brought up at all, and neither Pirnie nor Javits attended the June 1967 meeting in Rome. However, as Congressman Sherwood Boehlert would later remember, Pirnie did have a crucial role in securing funding for the fort reconstruction. Pirnie also had his own ideas about what the tourist site should look like, as described in the next chapter, but Boehlert, who had served as Pirnie's chief of staff, could not remember much involvement from New York's senators.[56] The long, drawn-out argument in 1962 between Pirnie, Javits, and Keating and the National Park Service over the national historic landmark designation for Fort Stanwix indicates that these three men did not have sufficient political clout to exert immediate power over the Park Service. Instead, Kennedy did have that clout through his close relationship with Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall. As an example of this clout, Kimball later noted that Kennedy probably worked through Udall to make sure a high-level Park Service person would be at the June 1967 meeting in Rome. Mayor Valentine had wanted someone from the Service's Washington office who could provide definitive information about the project, but Kimball's boss in Philadelphia

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[48] Updike, "A Dream Come True."

[49] William Flinchbaugh mentions the possibility that O'Shea may have been important in the Kennedy connection. See Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 5. This name is substantiated in Updike, "A Dream Come True."

[50] Updike, *Potato Hill*, 113.

[51] Editorial, "This Area Has Not Been Asleep," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 September 1965.

[52] See, for example, Updike, "A Dream Come True;" Kimball, transcript of interview, 2; Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 4; Dick Ping Hsu, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 18 March 2003, 4, 9, FOST Archives.

[53] Conversation with archivist Steve Plotkin, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, 27 May 2003. According to Plotkin, the Syracuse office papers of Robert Kennedy are closed to research. Review of Kennedy's Washington office files turned up nothing on Fort Stanwix or Rome.

[54] See, for example, Kimball and Murray H. Nelligan to Associate Director, 28 June 1967; and Howard W. Baker to Director, 11 July 1967, both in File FOST Correspondence/Misc. 1967-, NPS Planning Office, Washington.

[55] Kimball, transcript of interview, 5.

[56] Sherwood L. Boehlert, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 8 April 2003, 2.

could not commit anyone. Valentine "sort of chuckled and said, 'Well, let me try.'"[57] Within a few hours, Associate Director Howard Baker had been pulled for the assignment. Kimball suspects that only Udall, with Kennedy's prodding, could have accomplished such a feat so quickly.[58]

The combination of political support from Mayor Valentine and Sen. Kennedy ensured that the Fort Stanwix planning and development process proceeded expeditiously. By November 1965, the Park Service had sent representatives from its Northeast Regional Office and its Eastern Office of Design and Construction to gather pertinent data in Rome for a preliminary boundary and development study. In this March 1966 report, the Park Service recommended clearing "all of the unattractive structures" from the core area bounded by Black River Boulevard, North James, East Dominick, and East Liberty Streets and realigning East Liberty to allow for parking and visitor facilities. The report left open the idea of full reconstruction, stating that "the matter of whether or not the Fort would eventually be completely restored will have to be resolved." Further archeological investigations and research, along with considerations of cost would help determine this issue. With the preliminary boundary and development plan done, the Park Service moved ahead with master planning.[59]

Kimball later recalled that not much more than a year, and probably less, elapsed between the time he started the project with a site visit to the March 1967 approval and printing of the plan. As the only historian in the regional planning office, he had the task of completing the writing and thus developed its overall tenor. Other Park Service personnel provided their expertise in such areas as design, construction, and landscape architecture. During the drafting stage, Kimball remembers staying in Rome with other members of the master plan team. They toured places like the Rome Historical Society's Fort Stanwix Museum and noted what buildings stood on the grounds of the original fort. Kimball admitted that NPS planning in the mid-1960s was largely insular. He would ask for help when needed, but he did not actively seek public participation or input as now done. But, Kimball always remained aware of the political pressures from people like Sen. Kennedy and Interior Secretary Udall. These forces largely shaped Kimball's vision of the development of the national monument site. Once the draft plan was completed in late 1966, the team readied for the Washington, DC, review meeting in January 1967. NPS Director George Hartzog was absent during that review, but all the other available high-level officials met with Kimball to discuss the draft master plan.[60]

This draft master plan advocated full reconstruction of Fort Stanwix. Kimball later justified this proposal by saying, "If we were going to do it, we might as well develop something that had a chance of attracting tourists, because that was one of the principal reasons for having resurrected the old legislation."[61] And, a February 1966 economic feasibility report by the Los Angeles-based firm Economic Research Associates projected a windfall for the city if it fully developed Rome's tourism industry, both by reconstructing Fort Stanwix and tying this site to other restored historical attractions in the area. Economic Research Associates recommended focusing on a continuous history of the Oneida Carry, from the Revolutionary War period through the Erie Canal Days, and into the early growth of Rome with cheese manufacture and

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[57] Kimball, transcript of interview, 7.
[58] Ibid.
[59] National Park Service, Preliminary Boundary and Development Study Report, Fort Stanwix National Monument, March 1966, 1, 3, 5, No File, Box FOST Annual Reports, NPS History Collection, HFC. Quote from page 3.
[60] Kimball, transcript of interview, 5-7; Draft Master Plan, Fort Stanwix National Monument, no date [late 1966], FOST-8, NPS History Collection, HFC.
[61] Kimball, transcript of interview, 4.

railroad development. If such steps were taken, ERA predicted that the combination of historical attractions could potentially bring up to 800,000 visitors to the area on an annual basis.[62] Kimball had read this report when drafting the Fort Stanwix master plan. He knew that the Park Service was "not particularly enthusiastic" about the idea of reconstruction, but if the agency was tasked to do something to attract tourists, "there wasn't any stopping place. You reconstructed the fort." Besides, Kimball thought a little mischievously, "Wouldn't it be fun just to see what the darned thing would look like if we did reconstruct?" He "wondered what the place would look like plunked down in a modern city."[63]

Ernest Allen Connally, a former history professor from the University of Illinois who had recently become director of the Park Service's Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, was not so easily taken by Kimball's reasoning. At the lively January 1967 master plan review meeting, Connally "took pains to point out that the Park Service policy was not to reconstruct," a policy with which Kimball was more than familiar. Kimball responded by noting that they were "under pressure" from the unstated but well-understood office of Sen. Kennedy to develop a plan to help tourism in Rome, and the only thing he could think of was full reconstruction.[64] NPS Historian Ross Holland further substantiates Kimball's sense of urgency for the project, noting in his summary of the meeting, "There is some pressure to get the show on the road. . . ."[65] As Kimball later recalled, Connally looked at the plan some more and then offered, "Why don't we just reconstruct one bastion?" Kimball dryly remarked, "In other words, we should get just a little bit pregnant?" After more agonizing and more discussion, Connally swore a little and agreed to the full reconstruction. Associate Director Howard Baker tasked Kimball with editing the document so that it read more clearly. Baker approved the revised plan in March 1967.[66]

Connally's reluctance to support full reconstruction reflected a long-running debate within the National Park Service. Historically, many Park Service personnel have strictly held to the preservation goals of the agency, set in its 1916 Organic Act, to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[67] From the point-of-view of anti-reconstructionists, such language put primary emphasis on preserving the historic scene and original remains. Reconstruction, in their minds, meant creating a new resource with a limited historical and archeological basis. Such new buildings, along this line of thinking, may be accurate, but they are not authentic, and they often reflect the values and perceptions of the time in which they were rebuilt as opposed to the historic times. Many opponents believe that the money and resources put into reconstructions would be better justified to preserve the site and objects of the original. Reconstructions on top of the original site also destroyed a lot of the archeology. "You're essentially replacing what is real, that is, the archeology, with what is false, that is, the reconstruction."[68] Ultimately, some

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[62] Economic Research Associates, *Analysis of Economic and Urban Renewal Potentials of Rome, New York*, 28 February 1966, Section I, pp. I-1, I-4-7, III-2, Jervis Public Library. Also referenced in 1967 Master Plan, 6.
[63] All quotes from Kimball, transcript of interview, 4-5.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ross Holland to Acting Chief Historian, 23 January 1967, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.
[66] All quotes from Kimball, transcript of interview, 5-6. Holland to Acting Chief Historian, 23 January 1967; FOST-8, Fort Stanwix National Monument: 1966 Draft Master Plan; 1967 Fort Stanwix Master Plan.
[67] Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System*, 46.
[68] Denis Galvin, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 13 March 2003, 6.

anti-reconstructionists argue that the truly unique and original resources of the park system become watered down and less significant by adding so many reconstructions.[69]

Yet, anti-reconstructionists have had little in terms of defined and upheld policy to support their beliefs. The Historic Sites Act of 1935, passed the same day as the Fort Stanwix legislation, authorizes the National Park Service to "restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical or archeological significance. . . ."[70] In addition, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 defines "historic preservation" to include reconstruction. Two years later, the Park Service published a general policy on historic structure treatment that guided Bicentennial planning. Reconstructions could be authorized only under limited conditions: that almost all traces of the original structure had disappeared and its re-creation was essential for public understanding and appreciation of the site; that sufficient historical, archeological, and architectural information existed; and that the structure could be erected on the original site or in an appropriate setting.[71]

Within the United States, for-profit entities had combined reconstructions with other types of restorations to provide historic entertainment to paying visitors. These efforts effectively blurred the lines between full-fledged reconstructions and other forms of re-creation, making the case against reconstruction less definable. John D. Rockefeller Jr. had used his inheritance from his father's Standard Oil fortune to fund the huge reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg. Carmaker Henry Ford had collected and restored farmhouses and other buildings to populate his Greenfield Village near Detroit. These and other historical reconstructions and restorations drew steady crowds of visitors interested in seeing a living slice of the past, as each re-created village included people dressed in period clothing performing tasks peculiar to their day. People suspicious of such re-creations pointed to the fact that only a small sampling of buildings had actually been rebuilt in Williamsburg or that Greenfield Village included a vast assortment of buildings from different places and times artificially brought together as a coherent historical village. No matter the level of research done on style and furnishings of the buildings and attire of the costumed interpreters, gaps remained. And, the fact that Colonial Williamsburg and other places put a premium on entertaining their audiences in addition to instructing them raised eyebrows among the purists. History could and should be entertaining, as the Park Service's first chief historian Verne Chatelain had repeated to his charges beginning in the 1930s, but some balance was needed to ensure accuracy. For anti-reconstructionists, the Park Service should be the keeper of that balance.[72]

The Park Service's record at balancing the demands of history with the desire to interpret and inform using reconstructions has gone to both extremes. At Appomattox Courthouse where Robert E. Lee had surrendered in 1865 to Ulysses S. Grant, most people would agree today as to the appropriateness and effectiveness of the rebuilt McLean House and courthouse. Strong local opinion and support from the area superintendent had countered in 1939 the reservations of then-chief historian Ronald F. Lee, who had favored using exhibits and display of the building

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[69] Richard Sellars and Dwight Pitcaithley, "Reconstructions: Expensive Life-Size Toys?" *CRM Bulletin* (December 1979).

[70] Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System*, 133.

[71] Ibid., 303; Barry Mackintosh, "To Reconstruct or Not to Reconstruct: An Overview of NPS Policy and Practice," *CRM Bulletin* 13:1 (1990): 7.

[72] Cary Carson, "Colonial Williamsburg and the Practice of Interpretive Planning in American History Museums," *The Public Historian* 20 (Summer 1998): 13-15, 21; see also Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981).

foundations.[73] On the opposite end of the reconstruction spectrum stands Fort Caroline, a sixteenth-century French settlement. Located on the banks of the St. Johns River near present-day Jacksonville, Florida, the fort's physical remains had long been swept away. Thanks to the persistence of the local congressman, the Park Service agreed to re-create the fort, but inadequate documentation left the reconstruction void of any real connection to its past. The rebuilt fort is significantly smaller than the original. It sits empty of the buildings known to have existed. Modern construction techniques, such as the use of cinder block for the parapet's walls, can be seen plainly by visitors. Such inconsistencies perhaps have a positive light. As former NPS Bureau Historian Barry Mackintosh wrote, "No one could mistake it for the original—perhaps its only virtue."[74]

Decisions on Fort Stanwix continued to support the master plan's reconstruction proposal. Though no one in the Park Service "ever jumped up and down with joy at the idea of reconstructing that fort,"[75] no one could think of another alternative that would accomplish the same goal of helping the city economically. And, so, with the political influence of Sen. Kennedy always present, the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments in April 1967 approved the master plan and strongly favored activation of the national monument.[76] Yet, Kimball continued to feel ambivalent about the reconstruction idea. He wondered even after NPS approval of the plan if the city's leaders would support it when they saw how full fort reconstruction would upset the streets and buildings in Rome. In maps and in an aerial view of the city, the master plan superimposes the layout of Fort Stanwix onto the existing landscape. Kimball figured that "the city would take a look at this and decide that it didn't really want to go that far for the fort." Sources do not reveal if other NPS planners and officials intentionally placed these maps to discourage or sway city officials against reconstruction. But, certainly people knew that politically, the city would need the backing of a majority of the property owners on the site, including the owners of the *Sentinel* whose plant would have to be torn down. "No politician in his right mind," thought Kimball, "is going to get a daily newspaper really upset." But, Kimball quickly realized that he should have known better. "The mayor was not the type to get discouraged." At the 20 June 1967 master-plan unveiling before the city, Kimball felt a "real sinking feeling" when the mayor called on Fritz Updike. Updike stood up and "expressed his willingness to move his office and printing plant in the interests and well-being of the city." Associate Director Baker echoed this realization, noting in his report for the meeting that questions made clear that the master plan had met with general acceptance. As Kimball later recalled, "We figured we were dead." It turned out that Rome's leaders were fully behind the reconstruction.[77]

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[73] Mackintosh, "To Reconstruct or Not," 6.

[74] Ibid., 6. For a discussion of various NPS reconstruction projects, including Fort Stanwix, from the 1960s to the 1990s, see Michael James Kelleher, "Making History: Reconstructing Historic Structures in the National Park System," (University of Pennsylvania, MA thesis, 1998).

[75] Kimball, transcript of interview, 6.

[76] Resolution, Fort Stanwix National Monument Master Plan, 19 April 1967, Attachment 25, p. 78, Minutes, Advisory Board 56th Meeting, 14-17 April 1967, NRHE File.

[77] All quotes Kimball, transcript of interview, 4, 9. Baker to Director, 11 July 1967, 1.

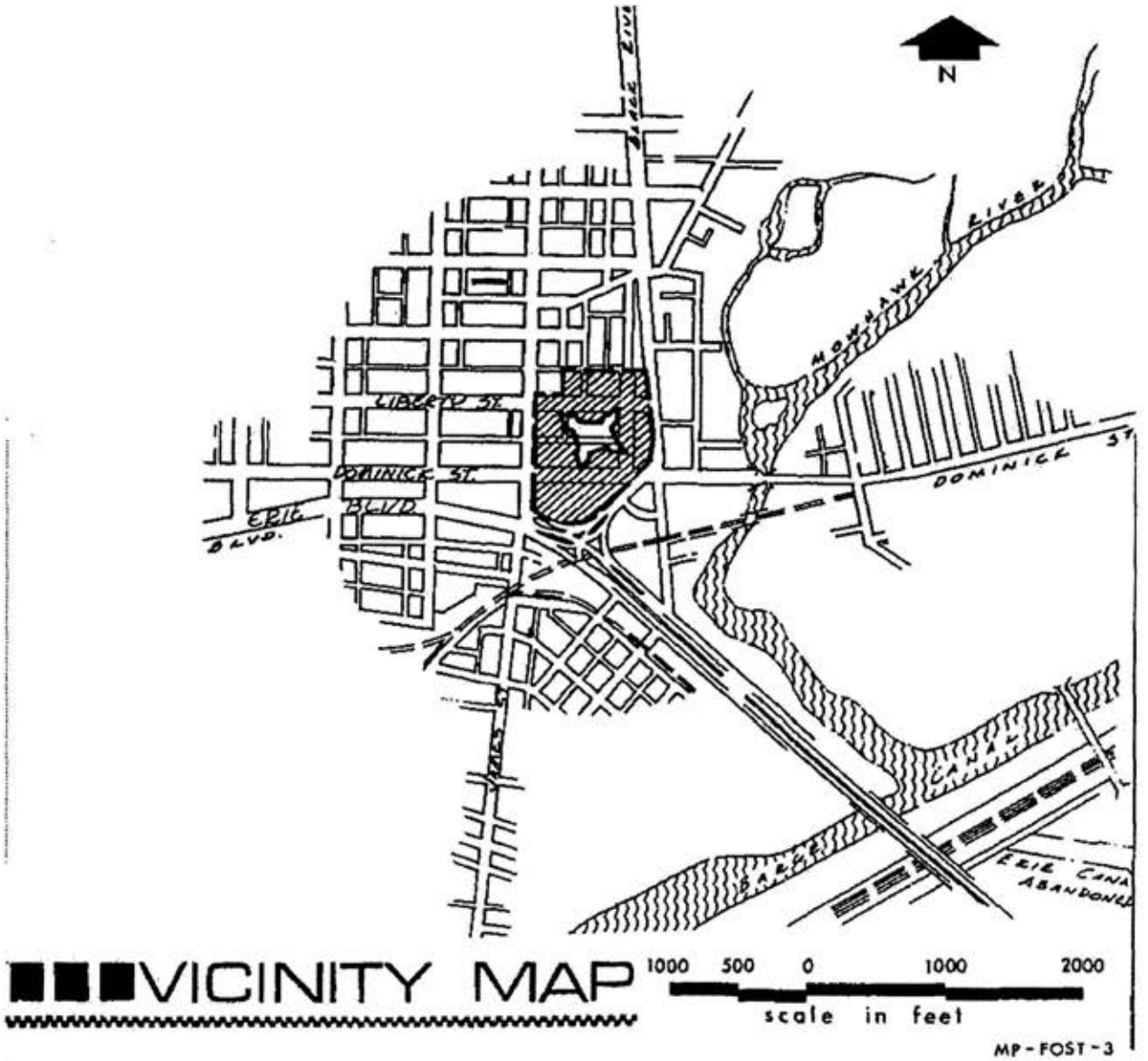


Fig. 8 In the 1967 master plan for Fort Stanwix National Monument, the National Park Service indicated the full extent of the proposed park and what city blocks and streets would be affected. From the NPS 1967 Fort Stanwix Master Plan.

Urban renewal and full reconstruction

At the June 1967 meeting with the National Park Service, there remained the opportunity for discussion and review of the master plan. It was one thing for the Park Service to recommend, in a politically charged environment, full reconstruction. It was another thing for a variety of business and political leaders to accept that plan without any suggestions or revisions. But, participants did not debate the merits of full reconstruction versus the alternatives that

planners in Rome had considered in the past, such as a museum with a model of the fort inside. People did not consider only rebuilding the flag bastion. Instead, the June meeting focused on implementation of the full reconstruction plan itself. The change in direction was swift and permanent. How long would it take for the Park Service to develop the land once the city transferred ownership? Could lack of funds delay the project? Can the Park Service begin the project before the land is acquired and transferred? To these questions, NPS Associate Director Baker made clear that the Park Service could not act until either it had the land or had a firm commitment from Rome that it would get the land. In addition, funding always relied upon congressional determination and that many factors went into that decision, including priority planning to meet an upcoming celebration, such as the Bicentennial. When one person asked if the proposed boundaries to the park might be revised, Baker replied, "Yes," but such changes would also necessitate revising the master plan. At this point, Updike broke in and advocated for sticking to the plan and doing the job right, with Mayor Valentine agreeing. In terms of interpretation, one participant asked if the Park Service would encourage "sound and light, pageants, military drills, and so forth." This question reflects in part the increased use of living history at historical sites and the influence of the earlier planning for a Fort Stanwix theater of history, which would have used lights and sounds to dramatize the story of the siege. Baker responded positively, noting that the Service was interested in "putting life into our Interpretive Programs."[78] No one expressed any visible signs of opposition at the meeting, and Baker recorded in his memo to NPS Director George Hartzog that the publisher of the *Sentinel* "announced a willingness to donate the land occupied by his plant and supported the Master Plan."[79]

Why Fritz Updike and the *Sentinel* unequivocally backed the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix has many reasons. Updike himself had caught the history bug early in life and had taken on many history-related causes. He helped found The Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association to ensure the continued safekeeping of the sacred lands of this Civil War battlefield. He had also been a Fellow of The Company of Military Historians. His interest in the history of Rome over its 200 years could be found in occasional articles he shared in the pages of the *Sentinel* and in his commitment to keep alive the recent past through his involvement in the Rome Historical Society and in compilations and chronologies again published in the daily newspaper.[80] Shirley Waters, the granddaughter of *Sentinel* owner Albert Remington Kessinger, also assigned Updike's interest in history to the fact that he "never had a war. He was that funny little generation that never had a war, they were always observers to the wars, and so as a consequence, he fell in love with the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. . . ."[81]

For the newspaper, Updike certainly had a role in convincing owners George and Shirley Waters that reconstruction was a good thing. But, the Waters themselves needed little encouragement. George had a similar passion for history as Updike and helped with subsequent planning through the Rome Historical Society. Shirley recalled later that "we were so totally committed to this as being a wonderful adventure for the city."[82] Having to move to a new location within Rome and purchase a new press would cost the firm more than two million

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[78] Baker to Director, 11 July 1967, 3.
[79] Ibid., 3.
[80] Updike, *Potato Hill*, 97-114, 116-19, 123-138, 140-171, 175-179, and back cover. Hanson to Director, 12 February 1980, Honorary Park Ranger Award Nomination, 1980 Reading Files, FOST Archives.
[81] Waters, transcript of interview, 3.
[82] Ibid., 3.

dollars, even after they received $600,000 for their former plant site from urban renewal. Yet, the Waters also saw positive results from having to move. The new press would use cold metal, a safer and less toxic process than the former hot metal press. The new building would remain in the central business district, allowing the economic punch of its 80-some employees to help fuel the downtown economy. George Waters, in a letter to his employees, which the *Sentinel* later published, believed in the urban renewal project not because of rumors then circulating that the paper would make a mint of money from the sale of its properties. Rather, he wrote, "Our support of the plan was because we believed it necessary, in the long run, for the health of Rome."[83] In a public hearing on the Fort Stanwix project, Updike expressed the feelings of his employers the Waters by stating that the *Sentinel* had an "interest in the progress of the community and the success of this urban renewal project. . . ."[84] For this reason, they wanted to stay in the downtown area and be part of the economic rejuvenation of the city. And, they saw benefits to the city that could only be beneficial to the newspaper, too. Planning and development consultants Frank and Stein, working for the Historic Rome Development Authority, projected that visitor use of all of Rome's historic attractions would rise from 100,000 people in 1967 to 400,000 in 1971 and 700,000 in 1976. The planners estimated that 70 percent of those visitors would go to the fort. These numbers, albeit not guarantees, were reported in the 1967 master plan and gave further credence to the Park Service's plan for full reconstruction of Fort Stanwix in the hopes of helping the sagging local economy. What else could the Waters and others do but support the Fort Stanwix reconstruction in the face of such promising tourism numbers?[85]

And people in Rome did. When time finally came in May and June 1968 to conduct public hearings about the entire urban renewal project, there was virtually no opposition. Certainly, no one on record suggested reducing the size of area to be redeveloped or that fort reconstruction could be done without such extensive changes to the rest of the downtown. In the minds of many people, fort reconstruction and full urban renewal went hand-in-hand. And, participation of the Park Service in fort reconstruction was key for moving ahead with the downtown renewal. Three people expressed reservations about some of the plan's specifics, but otherwise the more than 60 people attending the two meetings favored the overall program.[86] Many stated the belief that this was Rome's last hope to save its deteriorating downtown, an idea echoing editorials Updike had published in the paper. Updike had laid the issue to its bare bones in these pieces, arguing that Rome's downtown was continuing to decay and that "imaginative steps" must be taken to revitalize the area. "If not urban renewal, what?" This question succinctly put the future of Rome to the test. Updike admitted that the urban renewal plan "does not satisfy everyone." But, he cautioned potential opponents not to endanger the entire project with unending criticisms of details of the plan. In Updike's eyes, "only a coordinated urban renewal program such as is envisioned in this urban renewal approach will save Rome."[87] Business people and leaders of local organizations all took the promise of the plan to heart and gave their full endorsement. Thomas Zappone from the Oneida County Industrial Development

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[83] George Waters, "The Sentinel's Future," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 8 April 1969.
[84] Ernest M. Gray, "Fort-Downtown Renewal Project Step Closer to Council Approval," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 12 June 1968.
[85] 1967 Master Plan, 12.
[86] Editorial, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 9 May 1968 and Gray, "Fort-Downtown Renewal Project Step Closer," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 12 June 1968.
[87] All Updike quotes from Editorial, "If Not Urban Renewal, What?" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 7 May 1968 and repeated 10 June 1968.

Corporation noted that the plan created a whole new image for the city that would be important in setting Rome apart from other competing communities wanting to attract new businesses.[88] John Queirolo put a very human dimension to the question, noting that all the college graduates of his high school class at Rome Free Academy had moved away from the area to pursue their careers. "'You've got to offer something to keep your young people,' he declared. 'I endorse this plan on behalf of the young people Rome has alienated.'"[89]

To help Rome keep its young people and provide opportunities for them, the urban renewal plan had two facets. One aspect focused on the full-scale reconstruction of Fort Stanwix while the other developed a modern downtown business district with a two-block pedestrian shopping mall and supporting parking and traffic areas. The south end of the urban renewal area followed Erie Boulevard and Black River Boulevard. The north end bordered West Liberty Street and Park Street. Madison Street, George Street, and North James Street would cut vertically through the urban renewal area and shape three superblocks. A section of Dominick Street, which Dominick Lynch had named as a founding street in Rome's predecessor town of Lynchville, would disappear under the fort and pedestrian mall (see Figs. 7-9). The overall plan would be accomplished through a unique partnership among the city, the city's Urban Renewal Agency, the state, the National Park Service, and HUD.[90] A similar arrangement had been put into place in St. Louis, Missouri, where a blighted urban area had been torn down to make room for the construction of the Gateway Arch as a national park site commemorating the origins of the 1803-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition. This project, headed by then-superintendent George Hartzog (he would move on to become Director of the National Park Service) was completed in 1965. Yet, Rome was different in that it wanted to blend a historic reconstruction with a modern business district. As reported later, Mayor Valentine remembered one HUD official shaking his head in disbelief, saying "Those guys from Rome want to build a 1777 fort!"[91]

Fort Stanwix, as rebuilt in its original location, would sit on the far eastern section of the urban renewal area between North James Street and Black River Boulevard. The process for the fort's reconstruction depended upon the city meeting the requirements and timetable set by the National Park Service. Development would follow the guidelines presented in the 1967 master plan. The first step in the process required the city, through its Urban Renewal Agency, to acquire the land designated for the park site, clear it, and donate the cleared land to the Park Service. Once the Service had received the land or a firm commitment of when the land would be transferred, it could proceed with its own archeological investigation to uncover further clues about the shape and design of the fort. In the meantime, the agency tasked John Luzader, an NPS expert on colonial and Revolutionary history, to follow the documentary trail about the history of Fort Stanwix. Published in 1969, Luzader's *The Construction and Military History of Fort Stanwix* provided crucial information for later archeological, architectural, and interpretive work. With the historical and archeological work done, the Service could then draw up architectural design plans based on the available evidence and contract out for the actual construction work. Driving the process was the looming deadline of 4 July 1976. Fort Stanwix naturally fell into the category of Bicentennial projects, and the Service wanted to make sure that it had a reconstructed fort ready to open to the public for the huge nationwide celebration already

[88] Gray, "Fort-Downtown Renewal Project Step Closer."
[89] Editorial, "Renewal Vigorously Endorsed," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 9 May 1968. This idea of trying to keep Rome's young people in the area continues to appear in print and television media.
[90] Holzman, "Urban Renewal," 97.
[91] HUD official as quoted in Updike, "A Dream Come True."

being planned. There was not much room for delays or funding lapses, so the Park Service initially set October 1969 for delivery of the donated land. This date would be adjusted, but steady progress was ensured through the concerted efforts of William Flinchbaugh (who became executive director of the Rome Urban Renewal Agency in November 1968), Mayor Valentine, and Congressman Pirnie.[92]

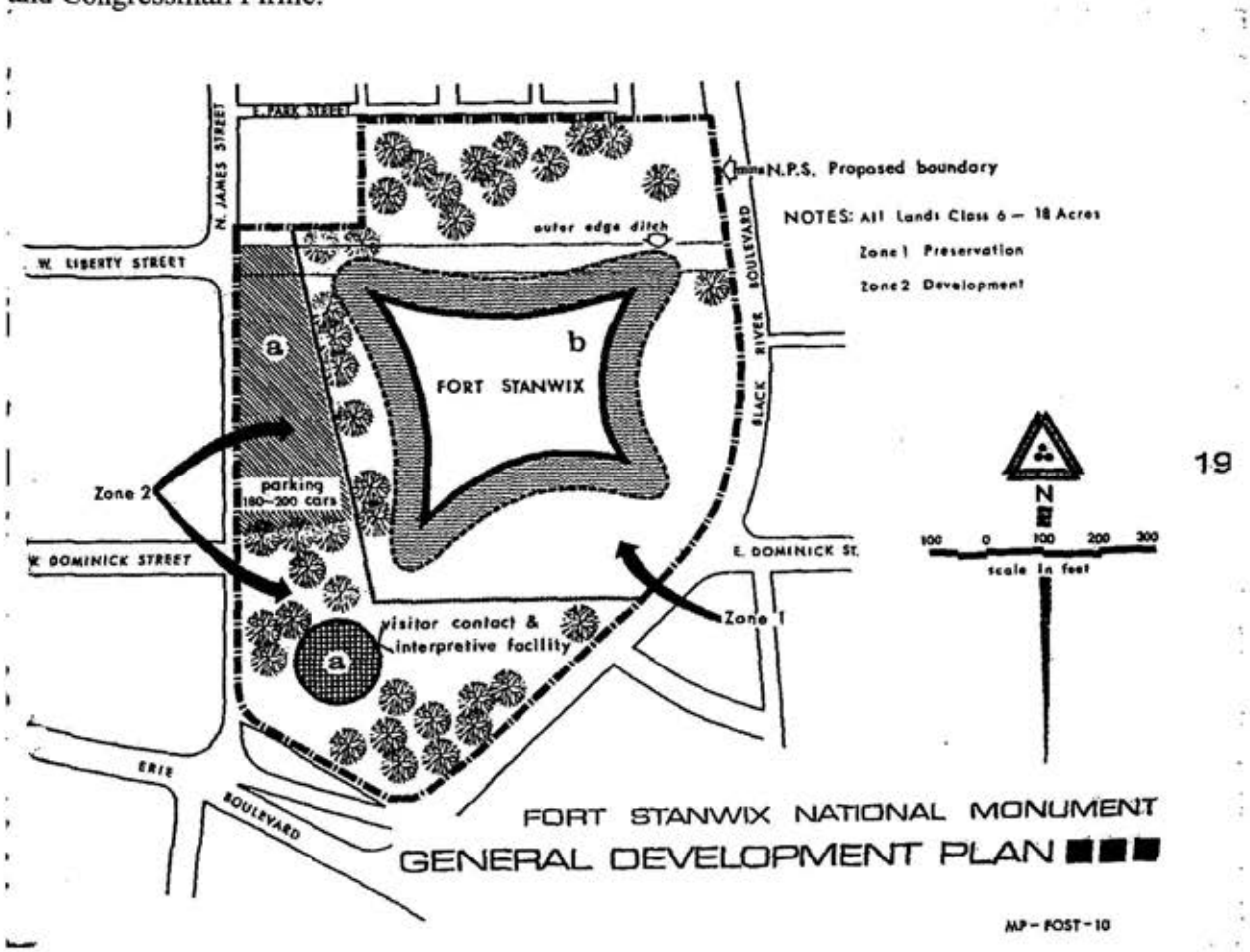


Fig. 9 The 1967 master plan proposed full reconstruction of the fort and included a visitor contact station and onsite parking. From the NPS 1967 Fort Stanwix Master Plan.

The other half of the urban renewal project, to rebuild downtown Rome, involved the same process of acquiring land and clearing the site. Then, the Rome Urban Renewal Agency planned to improve the site to ready it for public and private development. As presented in city plans at the time, a public square elevated on top of a parking garage with pedestrian malls at lower elevations on either side would encourage shoppers to park in public garages and spend time and money in Rome. The model for outdoor malls came from the successful experiment in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Rome would be the first outdoor shopping experience in the region, further distinguishing it from potential local competitors. Lands designated for private

[92] Holzman, "Urban Renewal," 97-98; Holland to Acting Chief Historian, 23 January 1967; "Valentine Hails US Go-Ahead to Downtown Rome Renewal," *Utica Daily Press*, 21 March 1969; Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 2-3; Acting Director to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 9 June 1969 and attached Flinchbaugh to Hartzog, 8 May 1969, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

businesses would be sold, with the proceeds returned to the city through the urban renewal agency. Department stores, banks, and other commercial establishments would draw people downtown. A pedestrian bridge would link the mall area to the already existent shopping center across Erie Boulevard. Roads would circulate around the shopping areas, providing access but protectively isolating pedestrians from traffic. New parking garages would give a much-needed boost to parking availability, a longstanding problem in the city.[93]

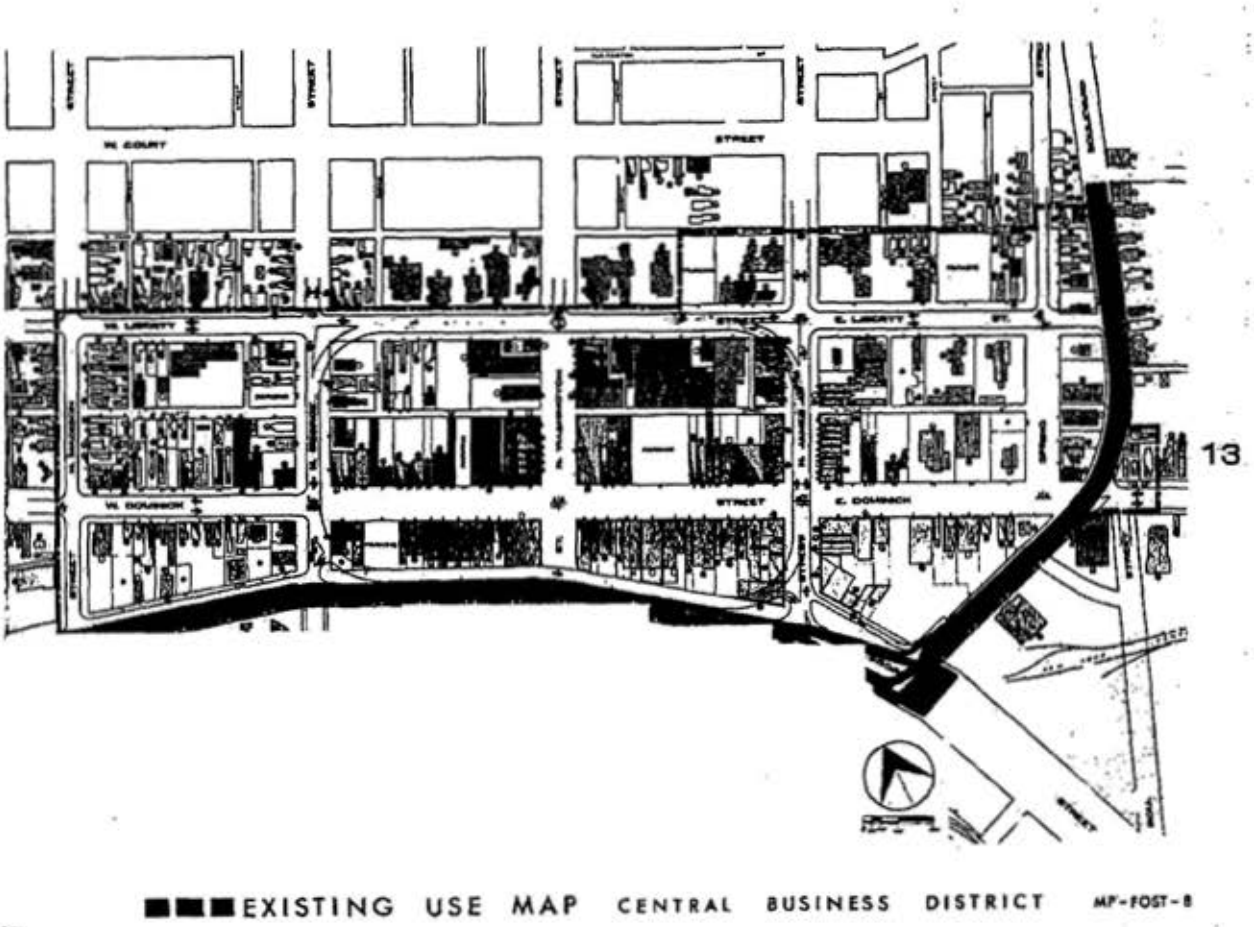


Fig. 10 The area bounded by Madison Street on the west and James Street on the east would become two large blocks for urban renewal development in Rome. From the NPS 1967 Fort Stanwix Master Plan.

Delays in the overall urban renewal project had already been experienced due to the impact of the Vietnam War on federal funding of domestic issues. These delays accounted for the apparent lack of action between the 1967 approval of the Fort Stanwix master plan and the holding of public hearings a full year later. Congressman Pirnie distinguished himself by eventually shoring up the needed federal money to ensure the viability of the project. With each funding cycle, he doggedly stuck to the project and kept it alive. Help certainly came from

[93] Holzman, "Urban Renewal," 98; Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 9; *Fort Stanwix Central Business District Project, City of Rome, New York*, planning document, 1972, 9, File FOST Legislative, NRHE Files; Oneida County Department of Planning, *Rome Master Plan 1970-1990* (Utica, NY, no date), 52-55, File Rome, NY General, Geographic Files, National Trust Library, University of Maryland.

Senators Kennedy and Javits. The total estimated cost for the project came to more than $13 million, with the federal government providing two-thirds of that sum and the city and the State of New York each providing a sixth. The city could use non-cash grants-in-aid, such as building parking garages or making site improvements within the urban renewal area, which could be credited toward its one-sixth total contribution. The National Park Service itself would supply $7 million for reconstruction of Fort Stanwix within the urban renewal area. The project remained financially strong once it passed the fiscal year 1968 delay.[94]

On 19 June 1968, the Rome Common Council unanimously approved Resolution No. 87, committing the city to follow the National Park Service's proposed plan for reconstruction of Fort Stanwix as part of the larger urban renewal effort. The next day, the council unanimously approved the overall Fort Stanwix-downtown renewal project. Three council members, however, attached "soundings," or reservations, to their aye votes for the overall project. Democratic members Patsy Spado and Anthony Busciglio expressed opposition to the closing of East Liberty Street, recognizing that such a change in street patterns, combined with the partial closing of Dominick Street, would effectively cut East Rome, with its strong ethnic community, from the rest of the city. They urged for the development of alternate street connections. Republican majority leader Don McLoughlin also stated his concern about the building line for West Dominick Street. Many local merchants and citizens had reservations about the pedestrian mall idea, and McLoughlin, speaking for them, wanted to maintain the building line so that West Dominick could be re-opened in the future if the mall with its multi-level development failed.[95]

Underlying these sets of concerns was the slow realization among people that the Rome of old would forever be replaced by a new and modern city. People had their misgivings despite having enthusiasm for the promise of the urban renewal project and fort reconstruction. Urban renewal offered lots of imposing changes, and Romans, in general, did not like change.[96] There were historic buildings, such as the Stryker House (also known as Liberty Hall) and the Barnes-Mudge House (known as the Rome Club for the men's club that later used the converted building), that sat where the original fort had stood. Would these once stately homes be lost forever? And, losing part of Dominick Street and its buildings meant literally losing the heart of the city, the American Corner. The American Corner sat at Dominick and James Streets, the very first streets in the city. Here, people routinely met and had a bite to eat or shopped or just enjoyed each other's company as they strolled the block. Many people, including those in East Rome, could walk to the American Corner and complete all their shopping needs.[97] As former East Rome resident Laura Nardozza Lupica remembered, "The American Corner, with its town clock hanging from the Rome Trust Bank, was a landmark. 'Meet me at the clock' was a common expression. The hub of all activities stretched about two blocks from here: north,

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[94] Bob Curley, "Rome Urban Renewal Delayed by Tight Money," *Syracuse Herald American*, 9 June 1968; Boehlert, transcript of interview, 1; Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer*, 30-31.

[95] Ernest M. Gray, "E. Liberty Closing Under UR Plan Brings Some Concern," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 18 June 1968; "Rome Urban Renewal Plan Gets Unanimous Approval," *Utica Daily Press*, 21 June 1968; Editorial, "Urban Renewal Moves Ahead," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 June 1968. The City of Rome had approved Resolution No. 92 on 4 August 1967, also indicating its unanimous support for the proposed National Park Service master plan. However, HUD guidelines required a more specific statement, which the 1968 resolution provided. See J. E. N. Jensen to Alfred J. Holzman, 21 August 1968, and attached letter Holzman to Baker, 31 July 1968, and copies of both resolutions, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives.

[96] This characterization is based on Waters, transcript of interview, 5 and Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 5.

[97] Lyndon H. Strough, "Dominick and James," *Rome Centennial History*, 7.

south, east and west."[98] Shirley Waters also recognized the importance of the American Corner, noting that it was in "every Roman's psyche."[99] Urban renewal would tear down these buildings and disrupt the traditions that had shaped Rome for so long.

Yet, nostalgia for the old also placed a convenient veneer over the reality of the present. As William Flinchbaugh remembers of his work as director of the urban renewal agency, Rome was "down on its uppers." The downtown was in terrible shape, "worn out, plain and simple." "The buildings . . . were falling down before we tore them down." Many were severe fire hazards, as Shirley Waters remembered. Most of the stores had already closed or were on their last legs. Many of the remaining businesses had older owners who just didn't have the energy to redevelop after being relocated under urban renewal. As John Quierolo had argued at the public hearing on the project, younger folks chose to pursue their livelihoods elsewhere, so there wasn't a large pool of people to revitalize the ailing businesses. But, aside from the reservations placed by the three common council members, no other sure and strong voices opposed the project. Flinchbaugh noted that "Anyone that didn't support it just didn't say anything against it." They just sat and watched, convinced that the urban renewal and reconstruction project wouldn't truly get done. Flinchbaugh stated that "most of them were sure it wasn't going to happen."[100]

Mayor Valentine and Fritz Updike made sure that the project did happen. With the Park Service in place with a plan to rebuild the fort and the overall urban renewal project backed by the Common Council, Valentine assembled a team to ensure success. He appointed the five men who ran the Rome Urban Renewal Agency and put himself in as chair of the agency. He hand-selected William Flinchbaugh in fall 1968 to direct the daily affairs and keep the project on track. Flinchbaugh went to work with zeal, pressing on when others might have given up, always keeping in mind the deadline set by the Park Service. Finally, the entire project received federal approval on 20 March 1969, and Flinchbaugh could start directing the land acquisition and demolition process.[101] One of the first buildings to go was the American Hotel at the American Corner. Updike ruthlessly reminded his readers in an April 1969 editorial that "This pre-Civil War building probably would be standing for years, decaying month by month, if it were not for the Urban Renewal method of disposing of it and converting its site to an up-to-date, useful purpose."[102] In Updike's mind, thoughts of progress and promise had to replace any sentimental urges about the past. Rome's urban renewal program would bring tourism and economic vitality to the city. The old run-down buildings merely impeded this progress. History mattered, but only the history that could be put to use for building Rome into a desirable tourist destination. In remembering his own childhood home, now deteriorating with the other farmhouses and buildings of his youth, Updike wrote, "We drive past, wipe a tear from an eye, and hasten, gladly, to depart."[103] Through urban renewal, Updike, Valentine, and others expected a different fate for Rome.

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[98] Laura Nardozza Lupica, *Up and Down the Street* (New York: DiMartini & Whitfield, 1990), 67.
[99] Waters, transcript of interview, 6.
[100] All quotes from Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 5-7, 11. See also Waters, transcript of interview, 9.
[101] Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 3; "Renewal Agency Ponders Projects," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 November 1968; "Rome Urban Renewal Approved; Ft. Stanwix To Be Rebuilt," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 March 1969.
[102] Editorial, "'Good Old Rome, Still the Same,'" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 2 April 1969.
[103] Ibid. Updike's reliance on tourism to boost the city is echoed in Ernest M. Gray, "City Is Committed to Massive Redevelopment," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 March 1969: "There are those who are critical of Rome's becoming a tourist city. . . .There are those who are critical of the pedestrian mall concept. . . . The weight of the evidence in today's trends in tourism and in retailing argues against the critics."

Everything seemingly went smoothly. The Park Service made Rome, New York, a regular stopping place. Dr. Murray Nelligan of the Northeast Regional Office in Philadelphia assumed project directorship of Fort Stanwix and consulted regularly with Rome's officials. Newly appointed Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel under President Richard M. Nixon's administration, fully supported the project because it reflected one of his initiatives to have national park sites in accessible urban centers and available to a wide range of people. Flinchbaugh continued apace in land acquisition at the fort site so that on 1 May 1970, he went before the Common Council to ask their approval to purchase the fort site from the urban renewal agency for the federally approved price of $221,000. Neither Flinchbaugh nor Valentine expected the outcome they received.[104]

The Common Council, led by Spado and Busciglio, tabled the resolution. Both men questioned the cost of buying the land in the face of continued economic difficulties in the city caused by further layoffs at Rome Cable. It had been hoped that the Rome Urban Renewal Agency could simply deed the land to the National Park Service, without any city intervention. But, HUD rules forbade such a move. The project area land had to be purchased by a developer, in this case either the city or the Park Service. Because the Park Service could only accept donated land, according to the 1935 Act, the city therefore had to purchase the land and donate it to the Park Service. Flinchbaugh and Valentine, in heated exchanges with Spado, tried to make clear the urgency of the resolution in keeping the project on track. In addition, Valentine reminded Spado that he had signed the June 1968 resolution agreeing to the intent to buy the fort land. But, Spado and three other members of the council (all Democrats) remained firm in their conviction that the resolution required further study. Updike calmly and methodically laid out the entire urban renewal process in his 5 May editorial, thereby hoping to educate the recalcitrant council members and their supporters as to the necessities of the $221,000 resolution. The night that editorial appeared, the council unanimously approved the resolution. Spado and others defended their decision to table the resolution earlier by saying they needed time to study the legislation.[105]

On 29 June 1970, Park Service, city, and other officials watched as bulldozers razed the first building on the fort site. That building, appropriately or not, was the former Fort Stanwix Museum of the Rome Historical Society. The society had recently vacated its home of 10 years and moved to a temporary location inside a former grocery store. In the audience watching the destruction was Dick Ping Hsu, one of two Park Service archeologists assigned to conduct the archeological dig. He would be joined later in the summer by the supervisory archeologist for the site, Lee Hanson. Hanson and Hsu would spend the next three summers exploring the archeological remains of Fort Stanwix and providing vital clues for the fort's reconstruction. Mayor Valentine and Fritz Updike would visit the archeological site often and continue to

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[104] "URA Purchase of Four Properties in Fort Area Slated at $192,200," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 3 June 1969; "Fort Stanwix Fits in Hickel's Plans," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 7 July 1969; and Photograph, "Discuss Ft. Stanwix Park Project," No date [probably August 1969], all in Binder FOST Newsclippings 1968-1972, FOST Archives; Dick Gaffney, "Museum May Be First Structure On Fort Site To Be Demolished," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 14 October 1969; "U. S. Park Service Official To Speak," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 11 December 1969; "Park Service Officials Tour Restoration Site," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 February 1970; "Fort Site Purchase for $221,000 Asked," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 May 1970.

[105] "Rome Alderman Table UR-Stanwix Resolutions," 2 May 1970; Ernest M. Gray, "Council Tables Authorization for Fort Stanwix Site Purchase," 2 May 1970; Editorial, "City is Urban Renewal Developer," 5 May 1970; and Ernest M. Gray, "Council Unanimously Authorizes Purchase of Fort Stanwix Site," 6 May 1970, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

support the project. But, Sen. Robert Kennedy would not see the results of his crucial influence, due to an assassin's bullet that took his life in June 1968.[106]

[106] Joan K. Kahler, "Fort Stanwix Monument Project Launched with Razing of Museum," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 29 June 1970.

Chapter Three
Reconstruction

Looking out from his second-story window in the park headquarters building above Dominick Street, Orville Carroll spoke half to himself and half to the resting spirits of the old fort below him. "Will the real Fort Stanwix please rise?"[1] He looked again, maybe even raised his hands in encouragement, but nothing happened. The leveled remains of Rome's downtown, laced with the archeological pits dug by the National Park Service, obstinately stared back at him. Carroll, as the NPS historical architect for the project, would have to imagine the real fort himself.

People in 1970 did not doubt that a Fort Stanwix would be built on the 16-acre parcel where the original had stood. With Senator Robert Kennedy gone, Congressman Alexander Pirnie enthusiastically embraced the project and used his critical influence on the House Appropriations Committee to secure the necessary funding. Mayor William Valentine and his urban renewal director William Flinchbaugh kept the bulldozers moving to clear the land and ready the city for the expected crowds when the fort opened in time for the nation's Bicentennial. Fritz Updike and his team of newspaper writers and photographers posted sometimes daily progress reports in the *Rome Daily Sentinel* to keep readers informed and gently nudge the process along. The National Park Service dispatched a host of planners and supervisors from Denver to Philadelphia, from Boston to Washington, to ensure the project was completed in time for the big 1976 celebrations.

Yet, reconstruction of a fort, as described in the last chapter, has its challenges, and Carroll understood them perhaps more than anyone. Lee Hanson and Dick Hsu, leading the archeological dig, would uncover the basic footprint and orientation of the fort. They would identify which buildings were where based in part on what few Revolutionary War artifacts remained. And, the archeologists would find pieces of wood and some nails and hinges to understand the basic fabric of the walls and hardware that had once surrounded and protected the American patriots. These clues, along with documentary evidence traced by NPS historian John Luzader and Carroll's trips to other historic forts to compare designs, would combine to bring a fully reconstructed Fort Stanwix above the ground once more. But, just how accurate was the reconstruction? How could Carroll settle all the thousands of little questions of what exactly a door looked like or how high a wall was? No amount of research could make the real Fort Stanwix rise again, and each person who contributed to the project knew the balancing act they were performing.

The project moved ahead, but so did the doubts and difficulties. Back in August 1968, Roy Appleman as NPS chief of the Branch of Park History Studies, reviewed Luzader's proposal to conduct the Fort Stanwix historical research. Although he had no concerns about Luzader's knowledge and ability to complete the research, Appleman did blast the underlying reason for the work. "The Master Plan makes some far-reaching commitments, the most important of which seems to be the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix. . . . it seems to me this kind of recommendation was uncalled for because sufficient research had not been done. . . ."[2] Clearly, Appleman had been immune from Sen. Kennedy's and Interior Secretary Udall's influence. In fact, the Kennedy-Udall commitment to Fort Stanwix had all but vanished by January 1969 when

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[1] Carroll, transcript of interview, 9.
[2] Roy E. Appleman to Chief Historian, 21 August 1968, 2, File FOST Legislative, NRHE Files.

Richard M. Nixon brought his Republican conservatism to the White House. His new Secretary of the Interior, Walter J. Hickel, wanted hard documentation from the archeological and historical resources to demonstrate a high-level of accuracy for the reconstruction.[3] Hanson, Hsu, Luzader, and Carroll ultimately provided such assurances, but the optimistic days of the 1960s were clearly gone. Now, the hard work of reconstruction began.

Digging up the past

One question nagged at the archeologists as they began the first season of the dig in summer 1970. Did the remains of Fort Stanwix actually lie within the parcel designated for the national monument, and if so, what was the exact location of its main features? J. Duncan Campbell's limited excavations in 1965 had demonstrated that a fort existed under the rubble, but the National Park Service wanted confirmation from its own archeologists. Hanson served as the supervisory archeologist while Hsu led the field operations. The first summer, however, Hsu directed the operation while Hanson completed a Park Service curatorial assignment in Georgia. Hanson visited the site early in the season and conferred with Hsu over the telephone through July and August before joining the team the last day of August. By the time Hanson arrived, Hsu and his team of laborers had opened and explored six excavation pits. From this work, they had uncovered enough of the ditch on the north, south, and west sides of the fort to project the location of its major structural features. Excavation of the northwest bastion also confirmed that the fort was Fort Stanwix. Although the fort was not quite in the location that tradition had supposed, it did sit within the land designated for the national monument. Engineer's drawings from the time of the fort's eighteenth-century occupation also appeared accurate in most, if not all, details, providing a reliable source of information for both the archeologists and the architects.[4]

The early drawings also proved accurate in delineating the fort as square. As described in the previous chapter, engineer Charles Hopkins in 1899 had argued that the northeast and southeast bastions had been compressed, making the fort trapezoidal in appearance. Campbell had validated this rendition of the fort in his 1965 report of his excavations. Hsu and Hanson found, instead, from their digging that Fort Stanwix was square. They argued that Campbell had not dug deep enough to establish an accurate angle. The City of Rome, which had adopted the trapezoidal shape as its official emblem and had used it on everything from promotional brochures to city worker uniforms, had to change its symbol to reflect this new information.[5]

In that first summer, Hsu had spent his first couple weeks reviewing any and all historical documentation he could find about Fort Stanwix and the subsequent building of Rome to aid him in developing an initial work plan. He also began assembling his team of laborers whom he would direct in the excavation work. One of his first hires was an archeology student and Rome native, Craig Davis. Davis would subsequently finish his degree, join Hsu in Alaska to do NPS archeological work, and later in his career, come back to Fort Stanwix to serve as chief of resources management and later as collections manager. But, in 1970, Davis shoveled a lot of

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[3] R. Patrick Corbett, "Ex-Superintendent Defends Ft. Stanwix," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 28 June 1981.

[4] Lee Hanson and Dick Ping Hsu, *Casemates and Cannonballs: Archeological Investigations at Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York*, Publications in Archeology 14 (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975), 1; Dick Ping Hsu, "Summary of the 1970 Excavations at Fort Stanwix," April 1970, 3, 36, Binder FOST Archeology Reports, FOST Archives; Lee Hanson, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 13 March 2003, 2.

[5] Hanson and Hsu, *Casemates and Cannonballs*, 1; "Fort's Shape Established as Square," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 September 1970.

earth and sifted a lot of rubble, looking for clues to the past. Where Hsu directed his team to dig depended largely on where the city of Rome had cleared and leveled the land. The first building razed on the site after the official 1 July start date of the dig was the Carpenter's Temple. Hsu asked the city's demolition contractor to be very careful in pulling down the cellar walls so that they could see the exposed profile.[6] The bulldozer operator ended up being a "real artist,"[7] doing minimal damage to the archeological features. Hsu and his team found the northern ditch of the fort behind those cellar walls. "Once we found that," Hsu later remarked, "then we had a good idea of where we were and how we should proceed from there."[8]

Instead of setting up a series of grids at each dig spot as archeologists typically did, Hsu (with Hanson's blessing) worked with Gordon DeAngelo, a civil engineer from the New York State Department of Transportation, to set up five station points along the dig's perimeter.[9] DeAngelo would be one of the first of many hundreds of volunteers associated with Fort Stanwix over the years to give of his talents and interests to the park. He would share with each of these volunteers a love of the history and pageantry of the fort. The five station points, or fixed places, allowed the archeologists to triangulate each area dug and record the exact location of subsequent data. In Hanson's mind, this approach "was a lot freer than normal excavation is, where you sort of stay within the lines, but we worked outside the lines quite often, and we could go wherever the features of the fort led us without having to worry about opening up another square."[10]

Hsu proceeded through the first season of digging with determination. Many rainy periods in July temporarily slowed the work, but he and the laborers immediately returned to the pits once the heaviest storms passed and even worked through steady drizzles. Hsu had plenty of onsite archeological experience from his more than three years in Texas as the State Survey Archeologist. A native of China who had moved to the United States with his family when he was five years old, Hsu had graduated from the University of Colorado with a degree in anthropology and history. In 1966, when completing his master's in anthropology at the University of Arizona, Hsu had worked for a summer at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, as a temporary with the Park Service. In this position, he had met John Cotter, chief archeologist for the Northeast region. The two maintained a correspondence, and when the Park Service began hiring in preparation for the Bicentennial, Cotter tapped Hsu to work on the Fort Stanwix project. Hsu, with his wife and two sons, moved to Rome and established themselves in the community, volunteering in a range of activities and participating in the life of the city.[11]

In some ways, Hsu could not avoid the city as people were instantly curious about the archeological dig and anything that was found. Of course, Fritz Updike and his reporters and photographers made the site a daily stop. Not to be upstaged by the *Sentinel*, the *Utica Daily*

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[6] Kay Urtz, "Archeologist Preparing for Historic Dig," 3 July 1970; Joan K. Kahler, "Section of Moat around Old Fort Is Found by Archeological Team," 21 July 1970, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Hsu to John Cotter, Monthly Report, 3 August 1970, 1, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/71-12/22/72, FOST Archives; Hsu, transcript of interview, 2.

[7] Hsu to Cotter, 3 August 1970, 2.

[8] Hsu, transcript of interview, 2.

[9] Carroll, transcript of interview, 1; Hanson, transcript of interview, 2; Hanson and Hsu, *Casemates and Cannonballs*, 1-2.

[10] Hanson, transcript of interview, 2.

[11] Hsu, transcript of interview, 1; "Archeologists to Tell Story of Fort Project," 20 October 1970; "Field Archeologist Washington-bound," 30 April 1974; "Section of Moat Around Old Fort, 21 July 1970, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*; Hsu to Wallace F. Workmaster, 20 September 1972, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72 to 12/22/72, FOST Archives.

Press had its own reporters call, too. Mayor Valentine included the dig as a regular stop on his strolls through the city on good weather days. "Sidewalk superintendents," as Hsu characterized the many onlookers, stopped to look and comment among themselves at what they saw. If they wanted more information about the dig and its findings, visitors could take a tour led by the Rome Historical Society's Fort Stanwix Museum in cooperation with the National Park Service. Guides provided historical background for the project and interpreted findings from the archeological dig. The Park Service displayed some of the newly uncovered artifacts in the museum. As many as 1,200 people took the guided tours in August.[12]

When Hanson arrived the last day of August 1970, the first set of crew members had headed back to school and the fill-in crew had begun working. Tough economic times provided a boon, as the Park Service could find and hire recent college graduates to complete the digging for the season. Hanson tried to extend that season as much as possible by constructing a portable shelter or hot house that allowed daylight to stream in through plastic walls but protected workers and the ground from the elements. The protective structure allowed the crew to continue digging even as the weather turned colder, but as snow descended in November and December, the archeological work retreated to park headquarters. There, Hanson and Hsu wrote reports about the first season and readied the artifacts for analysis and storage.[13]

The artifacts that they washed, treated, numbered, and stored that first season included about 150 pieces from the Revolutionary War period. Some extraordinary objects, such as a 2 Reales coin from 1766 minted in Mexico City, a triangular bayonet blade, and a French gunflint, combined with the ordinary belt buckles, musket balls, a corroded gun barrel, and glass beads, gave some idea about life at the fort. But, before the archeologists could dig down to the level of the fort's remains, they had to dig through what the twentieth and nineteenth centuries had left behind. And, the nineteenth century, in particular, left many artifacts for the archeologists to retrieve and save. Homeowners from buildings that had sat on top of the fort's remains dumped broken and unused household goods, such as pottery or glassware, into privies or wells on their properties. These homemade garbage dumps happened to intrude into parts of the fort, especially the northwest bombproof, and, as the archeologists found in subsequent dig seasons, the gateway and bridge. As they dug for clues about the eighteenth century, they thus had to sort through the material leftovers from the later centuries.[14]

Lee Hanson had many years of archeological experience to prepare him for whatever surprises the ground revealed. After earning his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Kentucky, he worked for 12 years as a field archeologist with the same state, his home state. He also served for two years in Berlin, Germany, as a second lieutenant in the United States Army. When he joined the National Park Service in 1965, he first conducted archeological work at Mound City Group National Monument, and then moved to Washington, DC, to work in the NPS Division of Archeology. He took a one-year position as curator of the

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[12] Hsu, transcript of interview, 5; "Tours of Fort Dig Are Planned; Utmost Care Needed in Project," 10 July 1970; "Section of Moat Around Old Fort," 21 July 1970; and "Crews at Former Museum Site," 12 August 1970, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*; Hsu, Monthly Report, 3 August 1970, 2-3.

[13] Hsu to Chief, Archeological Research, Northeast Region, Monthly Report for August, 2 September 1970, 1-2, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives; photograph and caption, "Wintering in at the Dig," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 November 1970.

[14] Hsu, August 1970 Monthly Report, 2; Hanson and Hsu, *Casemates and Cannonballs*, 4; Photograph and caption, "Wintering in at the Dig;" "Three of Four Bastions of Fort Located by Digging and Research," 26 September 1970; and Joan K. Kahler, "Archeologists in New Quarters Overlooking Fort Stanwix Dig," 15 May 1971, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

NPS Southeast Archeological Center before joining Dick Hsu at Fort Stanwix. During the summer of 1968, Hanson completed an exchange program with Parks Canada, gaining an understanding of other archeological practices at Fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia. The hot house or portable shelter idea that Hanson tried at Fort Stanwix came from his work in Canada, where archeologists made the most of the unpredictable weather and short digging seasons. Although much of his training and field experience in Kentucky and Ohio had focused on prehistoric archeology and Indian sites, Hanson began developing an interest in military history and military archeology from his work at Parks Canada and also time spent at Fort Donelson in Tennessee and Vicksburg National Military Park in Mississippi. At Fort Stanwix, Hanson's affinity for military archeology grew, leaving a lasting legacy for the park.[15]

Despite his obvious interest in military archeology, Hanson initially had some doubts about taking the Fort Stanwix job. When first approached by regional archeologist John Cotter, Hanson said no. He had his eye on assuming greater responsibilities in administration within the Service, and Cotter's remarks made it sound to Hanson that his actions would be heavily dictated by Cotter, based in Philadelphia. Hanson wanted to take charge of the project himself and not be left taking the blame for decisions made outside his knowledge or control. Cotter and Hanson eventually sat down and worked out an agreement to both their satisfactions, and Hanson accepted the position.[16]

With Hanson in place, he and Hsu could build on Hsu's initial work and make remarkable progress even as the cold weather blew in. They finished the first season with a good idea of the basic footprint of the fort and its orientation, thanks to uncovering remains of the structure itself. Revolutionary War artifacts turned up, but they were not plentiful. Clearly, the fort had been scoured clean either by soldiers who had abandoned the crumbling fort or by individuals who later claimed any objects found among the ruins. The archeologists relied upon the remains of the structure itself to determine its shape. They placed three of the four bastions by sinking test pits, based on eighteenth-century engineer's drawings, and used soil colorations. They defined the width of the moat and the rampart. They even found wooden pegs and holes in one bastion wall, confirming that the fort had been covered with sod held in place by the pegs. Pieces of wood from the picket line defined the boundaries further while a charred wood layer from a casemate floor gave credence to the theory that the fort had burned while still standing.[17]

Such information may have been enough to halt the archeological digging and proceed with rebuilding the fort. The Park Service, however, being careful to complete as accurate a reconstruction as possible, argued that two more seasons were needed. In this time, Hanson and Hsu would complete the fort outline and uncover evidence about the location and size of the fort's many interior buildings. They would also ward off any possible controversy concerning

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[15] Hanson, transcript of interview, 1, 6; Supervisory Archeologist, FOST [Lee Hanson] to Chief, Public Affairs Division, NERO [Northeast Regional Office], Biographical Data and Photographs, 2 January 1973, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives.

[16] Hanson to Zorro Bradley, 22 May 1970, and Hanson to Zorro, 25 May 1970, both in File FOST Correspondence 1968-70, NRHE Files.

[17] "Fort Dig Uncovers Second Log," 21 August 1970; "Possible Third Reference Point for Fort Stanwix Moat Located," 28 August 1970; "Three of Four Bastions of Fort Located," 26 September 1970; "Wooden Pegs Held Sod on Bastion Walls," 2 October 1970, "Old Picket Stumps May Provide Solid Outline of Fort Stanwix," 7 October 1970, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*; "Major Hurdle Cleared on Fort Stanwix," *Utica Daily Press*, 1 October 1970; Hsu, August 1970 Monthly Report, 2; Hanson, September 1970 Monthly Report, 1; Hanson to Chief, Office of History & Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, October 1970 Monthly Report, 2 November 1970, 1-2, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives.

the ultimate integrity of the reconstructed fort through their painfully detailed and extensive archeological investigation. The fact that they refuted the trapezoidal shape that had long been believed as the shape of the fort put caution to their work. They did not want potential critics to use possible flaws in the archeology to dispute the integrity of the rebuilt Fort Stanwix.[18]

As record winter snows (totaling 175 inches) slowly retreated in the spring of 1971, the Fort Stanwix archeological dig regained new life and vigor. Anxious to see progress, visitors "daily besieged [Hanson and Hsu] with inquiries"[19] about why they hadn't hired a crew and begun working again. By the first of June, about 20 laborers, including eight women, had begun digging and sifting through the fort's remains. Hanson also found a volunteer staff photographer in the eager and gifted 15-year-old David Wertheimer of Lakeville, Connecticut, and New York City. The Park Service moved from its temporary and cramped quarters on Willett Street to a large two-story former grocery store and billiard parlor overlooking the entire dig site on Dominick Street. Hanson and Hsu set up chairs for visitors to sit and watch the crews clean and store artifacts on the first floor. On the second floor, they divided the space into offices and headquarters space. Historical architect Orville Carroll joined the team at the beginning of the season, setting himself up in one of the second-story offices. His assignment included writing and illustrating the Historic Structure Report, from which the architectural drawings would be based. To assist in this process, and keep himself useful during the dig, he also completed research delineating what buildings had been built over the fort site over time.[20]

Carroll's appearance proved especially helpful to the archeologists. As Hanson recalled later, "Orville worked very much hand-in-glove with us. . . . He was an integral part of the team."[21] As the archeologists uncovered artifacts or building foundations, they often went to Carroll to ask his opinion of what they had found. He would share his knowledge from the historical record along with his expertise in architecture, or if he didn't know, he would look in the research books to see if he could find any clues. Most of the time, Carroll's ideas were right, and Hanson and Hsu appreciated getting those answers from someone directly on the site, as opposed to losing valuable time by communicating long distance.[22] As Hsu stated later, "there was a lot of good interchange going back and forth."[23]

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[18] Joan K. Kahler, "Fort Dig Crew Expanding in '71," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 23 October 1970; "Major Hurdle Cleared on Fort Stanwix," *Utica Daily Press*, 1 October 1970; Hsu, August 1970 Monthly Report, 2; Hanson, September 1970 Monthly Report, 1; Acting Director to Pirnie, 26 October 1970, File FOST Correspondence 1968-70, NRHE Files.

[19] Hanson to Chief, Office of History & Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, April 1971 Monthly Report, 30 April 1971, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives.

[20] "Fort Dig to Resume June 1," 10 May 1971; Joan K. Kahler, "Archeologists in New Quarters Overlooking Fort Stanwix Dig," 15 May 1971; "Second Phase of Dig Off to a Fast Start," 8 June 1971, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*; Hanson, April 1971 Monthly Report, 1; David Wertheimer, "An Excavation in Rome—New York, That Is," *The Lakeville* (CT) *Journal*, 30 September 1971; John L. Cotter to Manager, Historic Preservation Team, DSC [Denver Service Center], Observations, Fort Stanwix Meeting, 23 June 1972, 1-3, File FOST 1972, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives; Carroll, transcript of interview, 3.

[21] Hanson, transcript of interview, 5.

[22] Ibid.; Hsu, transcript of interview, 6; Carroll, transcript of interview, 12.

[23] Hsu, transcript of interview, 6.

Interactions with the public increased during the second season. Hanson, wanting to ensure a Park Service presence and provide plenty of visibility to the dig, hired Steve Butterworth as a seasonal ranger. Butterworth built a four-foot-square relief model of the fort to hang in the visitor area of the laboratory and gave hourly tours of the site. Volunteer photographer Wertheimer remembered Butterworth's friendly smile and invitations to onlookers to tour old Fort Stanwix.[24] In fact, Wertheimer had nothing but praise for each of the diggers, saying "Archeologists are a nice lot, never hesitating to drop their complex chores to explain . . . their new finds and what they are doing." In addition to their duties on the site, Hanson, Hsu, and Butterworth regularly gave talks to area groups. Hsu developed a slide show with taped narration that was adopted by the local school systems and presented to many school children.[25] This regular contact with the people of Rome helped maintain a positive image of the Park Service. As Butterworth later recalled, Hanson and Hsu served as "excellent ambassadors."[26]

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[24] Hanson to Bradley, 22 May 1970, 2; Steve Butterworth, email message to the author, 17 February 2004, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.

[25] Wertheimer, "An Excavation in Rome;" Hanson to Chief, Office of History & Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, February 1971 Monthly Report, 3 March 1971, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives.

[26] Butterworth, email message, 17 February 2004.



Fig. 12 Visitors to the archeological dig often had the opportunity to hear about the work from assistant park ranger Steve Bistarkowski. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.

Archeological finds during the second season included three more barrack fireplaces in the north casemate than the eighteenth-century engineer's drawings had indicated. These six fireplaces were found along the back wall of the casemate. Wood remains and other features of the northwest powder magazine allowed the archeologists to define its thresholds' positions, walled with 6-inch planks, and gained through a 40-foot passageway. Plenty of Revolutionary War era finds found in the east end of the southwest casemate suggested that this side was used for storage while the west end was lived in. "Work in the southwest casemate indicated an unusual combination of hard-packed soil, charcoal, ash, and mortar to line the floor. The archeologists also found deeper trenches running lengthwise down the center of the building interrupted by an H-shaped fireplace in the very center of the room."

[illegible] "Heroics Needed to Unearthed," 11 June 1971; "Two More Months Found," 19 Sept 1971; "Dig Uncovers Two More Hurdles," 8 July 1971; "Trash Furnishes Is Uncovered at Fort," 15 September 1971; all in Rome Daily Sentinel; Historic in Class; Office of Historic Archeology, 1973; October 1971 Monthly Report; 8 November 1971 and January to Chief, November 1971 Monthly Report; 1 December 1971, both in Building Files W3070-12/13071 and 14032-12/32/72; 27/07 Archeology Carroll to Historic Group Superintendent, Comments on Fort Stanwix, 20 April 1972; File 1/1071 1972, Site 27/07 Reconnaissance 1971-80 Folder Files, FOST Archives

For the third and final dig season, Hanson and Hsu oversaw a team of 15 laborers who concentrated on locating and excavating the rest of buildings in the parade ground. Carroll, who had been reassigned to Boston in January 1972, came back in July to continue working on the Historic Structure Report. Student volunteers, as opposed to a uniformed Park Service Ranger, provided tours to more than 7,700 visitors. Hanson did hire Roselyn Infusino to serve as a clerk-typist for the park headquarters. She would stay with the park until her retirement in 1990. Total archeological exploration between 1970 and 1972 resulted in approximately 33 percent of the main fort being excavated. Hanson estimated that 15 percent of this area had been disturbed through such modern intrusions as a swimming pool, privies, cellars, and utility lines. An estimated 13 percent more had been disturbed in unexcavated areas. The team did not ultimately investigate part of the parade ground and about half of the ditch around the fort. All other areas of the fort had been dug. They found all but three buildings known from contemporary engineer's drawings to have existed during the Revolutionary War period. Excavations of the main gate area demonstrated that Campbell's 1965 team had seemingly unknowingly dug with a backhoe straight through the main gate, destroying parts of it in the process. Hanson and Hsu also located and excavated the side gate area. The park's laboratory staff cleaned, preserved, and catalogued more than 28,000 specimens over the course of the dig.[28]

Historic buildings

One of the ironies of excavating the old Fort Stanwix and building a reconstruction on the same site was that other old buildings, some beloved to many Romans, were destroyed. Five structures, in particular, had many and significant ties to the growth and development of Rome. These buildings, all located within a single city block bounded to the east and west by East Dominick and East Liberty Streets and by the north and south by James and Spring Streets, included the Empire House, the Barnes-Mudge House, the Cole-Kingsley House, the Virgil Draper House, and the John Stryker House. Many of the original owners, whose names continued to grace the homes long after people were gone, chose their homesites because of the status of living where the fort had once stood. These were people making history in Rome who wanted to associate themselves with the city's Revolutionary War history. Virgil Draper owned and operated area cotton mills while Alva Mudge ran a successful grocery business. Mudge and attorney John Stryker had both served as the first officers of the Rome Gas Light Company. Stryker and Willey J. P. Kingsley were elected bank presidents. W. J. P. Kingsley and Willey L. Kingsley separately presided as president over the Rome Brass and Copper Company. The Kingsleys and Stryker also served in leadership roles of the Rome Locomotive Works and Rome Iron Works. Stryker, as a state assemblyman, secured the charter of the Syracuse & Utica Railroad and saw that it passed through Rome, ensuring the future growth of

[28] The number of 28,000 catalogued specimens reflects what Hanson and Hsu reported at the time of the dig. However, readers should recognize that the archeological collection at Fort Stanwix represents roughly 450,000 items with about 10 percent of that number related to the periods when the fort was occupied and the remaining items from later use of the site in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The park has about 22,250 catalog card numbers. Many similar objects (often fragments) with the same provenance (or find location) were catalogued as a group, thus explaining the discrepancy in numbers between catalogued items and numbers of items in the overall collection. Hanson to Director, NER, Annual Report for 1972, 2 January 1973, 1-2, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives; Hanson and Hsu, *Casemates and Cannonballs*, 1, 5; Hanson to Director, Northeast Region, January 1972 Monthly Report, 31 January 1972, 1; Hanson to Director, New York District, May 1972 Monthly Report, 1 June 1972, 1-2, both in Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives; "Last Chance to See Old Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 27 June 1972.

the city. Many of these men, including Alfred Cole, held local political office, and W. J. P. Kingsley served as mayor.[29] As Diana Steck Waite wrote in her Historic American Building Survey (HABS) study of these structures, "these buildings form a unique historical environment which dramatically illustrates in brick and mortar the history of Rome as an urban area."[30]

Individually, these buildings changed over time. Local tradition held that the small east wing of the Empire House, built at the end of the eighteenth century, was the oldest remaining building in Rome. As large wings and a grand façade were added over time, the building transformed from a tavern to a boarding school to a boarding house to ultimately a hotel and tavern. Virgil Draper built in the late 1820s his house with an eye-catching two-story portico. In the twentieth century, this house became home to the Henry P. Smith American Legion Post 24. Wheeler Barnes, a prominent attorney in the city, followed in 1830 with a Federal Style house complete with Flemish bond façade. When Alva Mudge purchased the Barnes house in 1841, he added a portico extending across the three central bays of the front of the house. Four elegant fluted columns supported the portico, making the Barnes-Mudge House on East Dominick Street an impressive structure. Mudge also expanded the original house by adding a one-and-a-half-story wing with a porch. Later interior renovations brought a new stairway, marble mantelpieces, and cornices. The Rome Club, a local men's group, moved into the building in 1908 and added a wing to the back. John Stryker's original 1839 house, which stood at the corner of Liberty and Spring Streets and which he and his wife called Liberty Hall, distinguished itself over time by having additions generally blend with the original. A porch and covered balcony were perhaps the most distinctive changes, adding decorative ironwork that set the house apart from its neighbors. Two early twentieth-century dormer windows punctuated the front roofline. The house eventually suffered from severe interior changes to turn it into an apartment house. The Cole-Kingsley House, originally dating from the late 1840s, had a distinctive French mansard roof added during a later 1870s renovation, along with bay windows and a bracketed cornice. The family had a playhouse designed for their children using the same roof design. Willey J. Kingsley eventually donated his home to the Women's General Study Club, later becoming the Women's Community Center. The playhouse moved to the Stryker property and eventually the re-created Erie Canal Village.[31]

Romans, who had dreamed over time about building a museum or other monument to Fort Stanwix, had mixed feelings about what to do about these five structures. In the immediate post-World War II period, planners had discussed using the sites of the American Legion Post or the Stryker property for a suitable museum. In both cases, the planners assumed that the new memorial would replace these two structures. Other buildings within the block, such as the Cole-Kingsley House or Empire House, would supposedly remain.[32] In contrast, in 1963, the Fort Stanwix Committee, led by Dr. Frederick Reid of the Rome Historical Society, recommended leveling the entire block except for the Barnes-Mudge House. This building, as the home of the Rome Club, was considered by the committee to be "the finest esthetic example of its type of architecture in the state" and was "admirably suited to be a cultural center of

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[29] Waite, *History of a Nineteenth Century Urban Complex*, 5-7.

[30] Waite, *History of a Nineteenth Century Urban Complex*, 9.

[31] Waite, *History of a Nineteenth Century Urban Complex*, 7-9, 17, 25-26; "History of Oldest Building Standing in Rome," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 26 May 1971; James Kirkland, "Historic Architecture in Rome," in *Rome Centennial History*, 65-68.

[32] No author, "Fort Stanwix Memorial Thoughts" and "Thoughts on the Project of a Fort Stanwix Museum," both from RHS. See Chapter Two for a fuller discussion of this committee's planning efforts.

Rome."[33] As an indication of its views, the committee rejected a proposal by Colonel Frederick Todd from the West Point Museum to move many historic buildings documenting the history of Rome to one site for visitors to explore. Clearly, the historic architecture of Rome took second place in the eyes of the committee to the city's Revolutionary War history.[34]

In the 1967 Fort Stanwix master plan, the National Park Service put the fate of these historic structures squarely into the hands of the people of Rome. David Kimball could not remember specifically if he or another member of his planning team added the discussion of the buildings, but the final report clearly delineates the problem. It states in the summary that "a decision must be made that development of Fort Stanwix should take precedence over preservation of the several buildings now standing on the site . . . ." The master plan explains that the "historic preservation movement has matured in the years since 1935" when Congress established Fort Stanwix National Monument. Preservation has been extended to include nineteenth and even twentieth century buildings important to documenting all aspects of the nation's history. "This plan, in a sense, does not reflect the new and broader concept of preservation." For the master plan to take effect, "the people of Rome, acting through their city government, will decide whether the national monument is worth this price [of demolishing or relocating the historic buildings] when they decide whether or not to donate the Fort Stanwix site to the Federal Government."[35]

As already discussed, Mayor Valentine and the Rome Common Council readily agreed to sacrifice the city's historic downtown buildings for the reconstructed Fort Stanwix. Yet, some Romans and the National Park Service did discuss the possibility of saving some of the buildings. These honest discussions may have left some people thinking that the Park Service itself had made a commitment to the preservation of these structures. When these buildings did fall, some hard feelings and suspicions of the Park Service remained. In fairness to the Park Service, though, it had already made clear in the Fort Stanwix master plan that the ultimate decision lay with the citizens of Rome. When people discussed the fate of these buildings, different ideas circulated about what to do. Joseph Watterson, as Chief of the NPS Division of Historic Architecture, suggested in July 1969 that the Rome Club and the Stryker House be moved to an extended urban renewal area one block north of West Liberty Street. Here, the two grand buildings could sit amongst elm trees in an appealing landscaped area. This idea soon morphed in August 1969 into having the Rome Club moved and refurbished into the visitor center and park headquarters for Fort Stanwix National Monument. The Stryker House, according to this new plan, would be moved to the general area of Black River Boulevard and East Park Street. By February 1970, plans called for the Stryker House to be renovated and used by the Rome Historical Society.[36]

While discussions continued, the Rome Urban Renewal Agency advanced funds in the spring of 1970 to have the five structures recorded through the Historic American Building Survey of the National Park Service. Diana Waite conducted the historical and architectural research and wrote the resulting report. Jack Boucher photographed the buildings. The New

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[33] Fort Stanwix Committee, Minutes, 14 August 1963, 2, RHS.

[34] Gilbert Hagerty, Report of Meeting with Frederick Todd, no date [between 14 August 1963 and 14 September 1963], 1, RHS; Fort Stanwix Committee, Minutes, 14 September 1963, 1, RHS.

[35] All quotes from Fort Stanwix 1967 Master Plan, 5. Kimball, transcript of interview, 8-9.

[36] Joseph Watterson to Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Fort Stanwix, 9 July 1969, 2-3, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives; Editorial, "Fort Stanwix Project Moving," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 16 August 1969; "URA Acquires More Properties; Still Lacks Redevelopment Prices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 10 February 1970.

York State Historic Trust nominated the Rome Club and the Stryker House to the National Register of Historic Places.[37]

With the HABS recording done, further evaluation of the five structures indicated that only the Rome Club and maybe the Stryker House should be preserved. The other buildings were considered in poor physical condition and had been extensively modified over time so that they did not retain any architectural integrity. When the NPS archeological dig began in the summer of 1970, bulldozers knocked down the Cole-Kingsley House. The American Legion building went down soon afterwards in August 1970.[38] When Lee Hanson arrived in September, he recommended tearing down the Stryker House, stating that "There doesn't seem to be much support for saving" the house and "it might pay us to drop a few hints about tearing it down instead of moving it and see what reaction we get. The house isn't worth the expense of moving in my opinion."[39] Orville Carroll disagreed with this suggestion, arguing in a November 1970 trip report that the Park Service "should carry out our initial plans to have these two buildings moved and set up on new foundations."[40] But, by February 1971, evaluations of both the Rome Club and Stryker House pointed toward their destruction. As William Flinchbaugh noted later, the Stryker House may have been an attractive structure to save, but its sheer immensity precluded any serious considerations of moving it. "It was wider than the street that we had to move it on."[41] There was no place close to move it to, and the Park Service required its removal to continue the dig. It went down in July 1971.[42]

Once the Park Service toured the interior of the Rome Club in February 1971, the agency's decision about its fate came fairly easily. The team, which included Hanson and Hsu, interpretive planner Nan Rickey, and regional director Jerry Wagers, determined that extensive interior and exterior remodeling of the building had virtually erased the original 1828 Wheeler Barnes structure, leaving remnants from the 1840s Alva Mudge occupation and beyond.[43] Hanson wrote in his monthly report following the meeting that "A sampling of public opinion . . . indicates that we would have no difficulty backing out of any commitments made in regard to saving the structure. . . ."[44] In May, the Service officially declined moving and rehabilitating the Rome Club for use as a visitor center. The agency noted that since the reconstructed fort would lie fairly close to the ground, any large imposing buildings on the site, such as the Rome Club, would tend to overpower the fort and diminish its impact. The strikingly different architectural style of the Rome Club would also conflict with the fort's Revolutionary War design. Finally, the Park Service stated that funding the move and renovation of the Rome Club was prohibitive.[45] Fritz Updike had long supported the destruction of all five historic structures in the name of tourism. He had written in April 1969 that the old residences "must be

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[37] Waite, *History of a Nineteenth Century Urban Complex*, iii.

[38] "Another Section of Fort Moat Believed Found at Museum Site," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 17 August 1970; Hanson to Ronald Lee Fleming, 25 January 1971, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives.

[39] Hanson to Jerry Wagers, 14 September 1970, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives.

[40] Carroll to T. Crollin, Trip Report to Fort Stanwix, 9 November 1970, File FOST 1972, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[41] Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 7.

[42] Photograph and caption, "Historical Descent," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 23 July 1971.

[43] "1840 Remodeling of Rome Club Creates 'Problems' About Move," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 23 February 1971.

[44] Hanson to Chief, Office of History & Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, February 1971 Monthly Report, 3 March 1971, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/72-12/22/72, FOST Archives. This idea was shared in Development Concept Plan, Fort Stanwix National Monument, 1970/1971, 2, FOST Superintendent's Files.

[45] "Rome Club Will Be Demolished, Park Service Official Reports," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 3 May 1971.

demolished or removed" if the national monument were established.[46] In March 1971, he said again that "development of Fort Stanwix should take precedence over preservation of the several buildings now standing on the site. . . ."[47] Bulldozers demolished the Rome Club on 28 July 1971.[48] Interestingly, NPS Chief Archeologist John Corbett discovered after his tour of the Fort Stanwix dig in August that NPS Chief Historian Robert Utley did not "know of any change in plans not to save" the Stryker House and Rome Club. As Corbett remarked, "However, they are now gone, so the matter is academic."[49]

In a last effort to determine the historical fabric of the Empire House before its ultimate destruction, Flinchbaugh invited archeological consultant Charles E. Peterson to Rome in August 1971. Peterson opened up walls and tore off weatherboarding to see signs of any original construction materials. Local tradition had long held that one small wing of the building had been a tavern, believed to be the oldest structure in Rome. Peterson did not find any evidence to support this claim. "I am sorry that we did not find a restorable 18th century tavern." Most probably, the Empire House had pieces of doors and window sashes that had been re-used from earlier versions of the building, but without drawings or descriptions of the tavern, "a reconstruction would hardly be worthwhile."[50] It also fell to the bulldozers soon after Peterson's visit.

Designing the fort

Before a reconstructed fort could stand on the spot of the old Fort Stanwix, architectural drawings had to translate the archeological findings and historical research into a three-dimensional structure of defendable accuracy. The National Park Service chose historical architect Orville Carroll to complete those drawings and produce a historic structure report. Carroll had first worked for the Park Service under HABS to measure and record the buildings at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine in Baltimore, Maryland. A native Oregonian, Carroll had graduated from the University of Oregon's School of Architecture before heading East at the invitation of a friend with the Park Service. When the Fort McHenry summer work finished, Carroll accepted a full-time position within the Service. He was based in Concord, Massachusetts, at Minute Man National Historical Park when he first received the Fort Stanwix assignment.[51]

One defining characteristic of Carroll is his attention to detail. And, one of the most frustrating aspects of reconstructing Fort Stanwix was the lack of detailed knowledge. When Carroll stood above the leveled remains of downtown Rome and asked for the real Fort Stanwix to please rise, he said this incantation in part jest and in part utter seriousness. He had so many questions, and the archeology did not provide all of the answers. How did the military barracks for soldiers and officers differ? What did the floors look like? The walls? The ceilings? How did they store equipment? What equipment could they store in the barracks? For the

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[46] Editorial, "Those Old Buildings on Fort Site," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 April 1969.
[47] Editorial, "Practicality of Moving Original Barnes House Questioned," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 24 March 1971.
[48] "Fort Configuration Emerging," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 July 1971.
[49] John Corbett to Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Trip Report to Fort Stanwix National Monument, Rome, New York, 9 August 1971, File FOST Correspondence 1970-72, NRHE Files.
[50] Charles E. Peterson, "Notes on the Fabric of the Empire House, August 1971, General Section, Binder FOST Archeology Reports, FOST Archives.
[51] Carroll, transcript of interview, 1, 3. Carroll's daily activities and methods for designing Fort Stanwix can be followed in his saved daily logs, retyped and shared with the author. Carroll, Daily Logs 1970-1978, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.

Commissary Store, what was its floor plan? How did it store supplies—in shelves or barrels? Did a guard sleep in the store overnight? The questions went on and on. Writing to a historical assistant at West Point at one point, Carroll vented that "the list is almost insurmountable when it comes to details that are the essential thing to reconstruction."[52]

To find at least some of the answers, at his own expense, Carroll went on the road. He toured any and all forts (most of which were either total or partial reconstructions themselves) that might provide some clues. He filled 3-ring binder notebooks with photographs, historical documentation, and any architectural details he found helpful for each of the forts he visited. At the Canadian forts, he studied French construction techniques because he knew that a French engineer had been present while Gansevoort had overseen the building of the southwest bombproof. So, Carroll incorporated the French construction style in that bombproof, having the posts with vertical logs set in grooves. But, he used New England construction techniques for the barracks because many people there at the time were from Connecticut and Massachusetts. Carroll studied main doors at Forts Plain (New York) and Beauséjour (New Brunswick, Canada) to determine the thickness and type of hinges used at Fort Stanwix. Dr. John Gabler, a surgeon in Rome and owner of the property at Fort Rickey, gave Carroll an airplane ticket to go down to Pennsylvania to tour Fort Ligonier, in the hopes of getting details not just for Fort Stanwix but also Fort Rickey, one of the British forts near Rome built in 1758.[53] Carroll also went to Fort Niagara (New York), Fort George (Ontario, Canada), Fort Erie (Ontario, Canada), and others. He later remembered that "I got some details, a little bit maybe, from each one of those."[54]

Other clues came from powder horns. Five, in particular, had what appeared to be authentic sketches of Fort Stanwix. Carroll personally examined these or looked at drawings and photographs of them. He found the James McGraw powder horn to be most useful for his purposes. McGraw had served in Captain Bleecker's Company under Colonel Gansevoort at Fort Stanwix between May 1777 and December 1779. A long period of convalescence due to a wounded leg probably provided McGraw with the time to engrave a plan of the fort onto his powder horn. Eventually, Chester Williams of Rome came to own the powder horn, giving Carroll access to see it.[55]

Wanting still more details, Carroll requested that he and John Luzader conduct additional archival research. Luzader had completed in 1969 his construction and military history of the fort, but Carroll wondered if more information might not be found. Luzader went to the National Archives in Washington, DC, to dig for more clues while Carroll focused on repositories in the Northeast.[56] They found some information about other Revolutionary War forts that supplemented the site visits Carroll had completed at his own expense, but Carroll admitted in his report that the research "did not produce the great reservoir of information anticipated."[57]

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[52] Carroll to Jerry H. Brookshire, 24 March 1972, 2, File FOST 1972, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[53] Carroll, transcript of interview, 5, 17; Carroll to Merrill Mattes, Fort Stanwix, 7 April 1972, 1, File FOST 1972, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[54] Carroll, transcript of interview, 5.

[55] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 127-28; Carroll, transcript of interview, 2, 18.

[56] Carroll to Boston Group Superintendent, Comments on Fort Stanwix, 26 April 1972, File FOST 1972, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives. Glenn O. Hendrix to Director Northeast Region, Fort Stanwix Project, 19 May 1972; Edwin C. Bearss to Manager, Historic Preservation Team, DSC, Fort Stanwix Meeting, 22 June 1972, 1-2; and Frank Barnes to Director Northeast Region, Trip Report, Fort Stanwix, 26 June 1972, 1, all in File FOST Correspondence 1970-72, NRHE Files.

[57] Luzader, *et al., Fort Stanwix*, 122.

In the end, Carroll based his architectural renderings on three main sources of evidence. First, he relied upon the archeological findings of Hanson and Hsu for the location and basic shape of the fort's features. Second, he used the documentation surviving from letters, journals, diaries, orderly books, and powder horns kept during the American occupation of Fort Stanwix between 1776 and 1781, when the fort was abandoned. Third, when information from the American occupation left questions, Carroll referred to fort plans drawn up by the British engineers in 1758, 1759, and 1764. To fill in the myriad details, Carroll had to use his own vast knowledge and understanding of historic structures, based on visiting other colonial era forts and working at other National Park Service sites. Ultimately, he confessed in the summary of the Historic Structure Report, "there will be much conjecture and therefore some possibilities for disagreement regarding the appearance of the proposed fort."[58] Such are the limitations of reconstructions. Yet, despite his own reservations and concerns about details, Carroll produced an impressive report with "beautiful drawings," as one reviewer noted. Another reviewer thought that Carroll's drawings showed "a lot of spirit and imagination."[59] John Luzader, in reviewing his supplemental research activities in locating the elusive details, admitted, "The diffuse character of the documentation and the skillful manner in which it was employed is what makes Mr. Carroll's [report] so impressive."[60] Carroll managed to balance the need for accuracy with the desire for details and life under all the archeological dirt.

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Handwritten comments by Henry J. Magaziner and Jack Lukens attached to cover letter from Carroll to Director, Denver Service Center, Preliminary Drawings, 23 February 1973, File D-22 Fort Stanwix, Box 5, Acc. 93-0004, RG 79, Waltham FRC. See also Nathan B. Golub to Director, Denver Service Center, Preliminary Draft, 22 March 1973, File FOST Correspondence 1973-74, NRHE Files.

[60] Luzader to Manager, Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, Completion Report, Fort Study Research, 9 January 1974, 2, File FOST Correspondence 1973-74, NRHE Files.

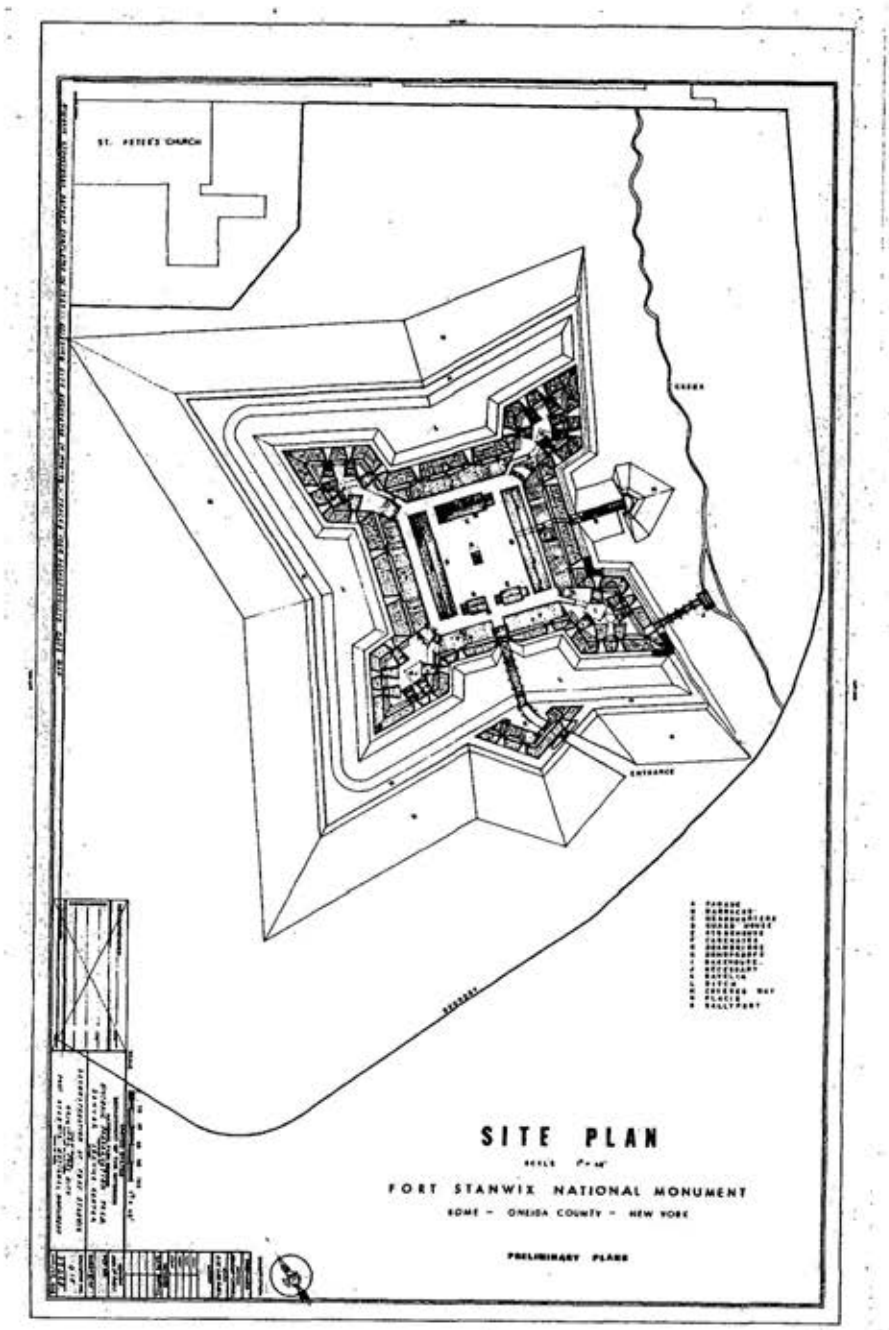


Fig. 12 This site plan by Orville Carroll shows the orientation and layout of the reconstructed fort. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.

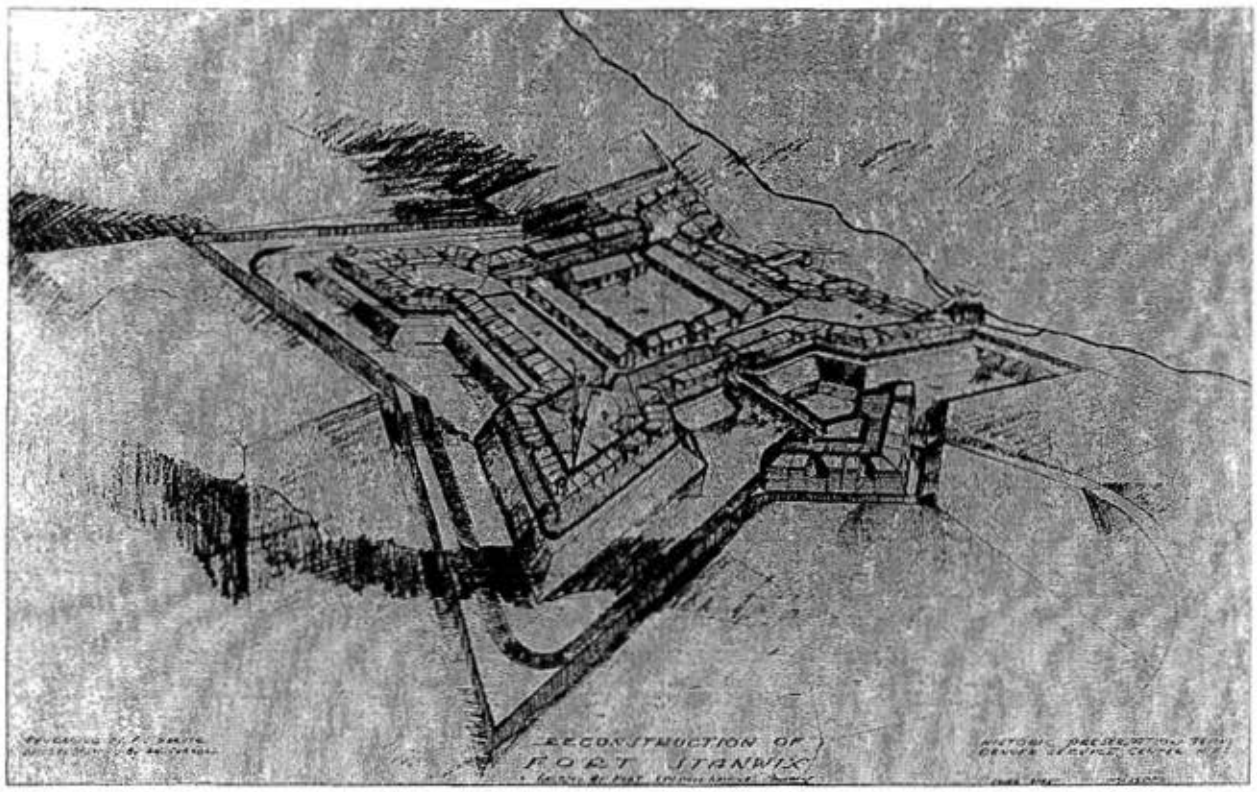


Fig. 13 This drawing, based on Orville Carroll's drawings, gives a sense of the depth of the reconstructed fort. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.

The reconstructed fort also had to accommodate the needs and interests of visitors. In January 1973, Park Service representatives from Denver and the East Coast met in Rome to discuss interpretation in relationship to the fort's overall structure. Attendees agreed that the siege of 1777 and the months immediately surrounding it would serve as the major interpretive theme for the site. They also concluded that the fort's exterior building details and dimensions would correspond to those from the historical period of 1758-1781. All fort structures related to the historic period would be used either for visitor interpretation or for park administration and management. Adaptive uses included a comfort station, an audio-visual station, a sales area run by a cooperative association, office space, storage space, and an employee lounge. Discussion would continue about where exactly each of these adaptive use facilities would be placed. In terms of the overall construction of the fort, the Park Service knew that it would use modern techniques and materials to ensure its longevity and facilitate its maintenance. For the sake and safety of the twentieth-century reconstruction and its visitors, Carroll's drawings showed a fully finished fort, not the incomplete structure with crumbling walls that the American patriots used to repulse St. Leger's forces.[61] Hanson later admitted that "I'm sure things were falling apart, and you really can't maintain things that are falling apart. Instant ruins."[62]

With Carroll finishing his drawings and planning continuing apace, the Park Service prepared for final transfer of the land. Delays had plagued this action. Hanson noted in April

[61] Ibid., 21-24; Glenn O. Hendrix to Director, Northeast Region, Fort Stanwix Reconstruction Project, 1 February 1973, 1, File FOST Correspondence 1973-74, NRHE Files; "Park Service Architect Takes Another Look at Next Project," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 November 1970; Carroll, transcript of interview, 2, 12-13.
[62] Hanson, transcript of interview, 5.

1973 that four outstanding condemnation proceedings remained pending and suggested that the federal government set a deadline to speed resolution. On 5 June 1973, Mayor Valentine signed (with William Flinchbaugh attesting) the legal papers officially transferring the designated almost 16-acre parcel from the Rome Urban Renewal Agency to the United States government. Interestingly, this legal document has served to define the park's boundaries in lieu of any accompanying legislative action by Congress or proclamation of the President (See Appendix 1). Later in the 1990s, when the park's third superintendent, Gary Warshefski, investigated questions about the park's boundaries, he found that the park did not have any legislatively determined boundaries. The 1935 authorizing legislation did not define boundaries but left that act to later parties once land had been identified and transferred to the federal government. In the heated rush to complete the fort reconstruction in time for the 1976 Bicentennial, talk of obtaining such authorization evaporated. The park remains in 2004, at the writing of this administrative history, without congressionally authorized boundaries.[63]

Immediately following the 1973 land transfer, the Park Service contracted to have Carroll's historic structure report and drawings translated into full-fledged architectural drawings and landscape designs. The contractor ultimately chosen to rebuild the fort would rely upon these working drawings. Syracuse-based Duryea and Wilhelmi served as the prime architectural/engineering (A/E) contractor, providing the landscape architectural designs, while Philadelphia-based Day and Zimmerman subcontracted for the architectural work. Designing and landscaping an eighteenth-century fort was a one-of-a-kind experience, and the Park Service soon realized that some direct guidance and assistance was needed to ensure the historical integrity of the project.[64] In early discussions with Duryea and Wilhelmi representatives, NPS Bicentennial Projects coordinator Lawrence Coryell noted that the firm "did not fully understand historic preservation."[65] To counter this situation, Vernon Smith from the Denver Service Center insisted that Carroll be detailed as a consultant to the project. Carroll would spend weeklong sessions with Day and Zimmerman architects, often conferring over the phone at the same time with Salvin Strods of Duryea and Wilhelmi, to advise them on the persistent historical details that would define the reconstructed fort.[66] "Eventually," Carroll later admitted, "I almost had to design the working drawings for them"[67] because he had the experience in colonial architecture that the contractors lacked.

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[63] Hanson to Director, NYD, Newspaper clipping and land transfer, 19 April 1973, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives; "Fort Stanwix Site Becomes NPS Property," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 June 1973; Special Warranty Deed between the Rome Urban Renewal Agency and the United States of America, 5 June 1973, File FOST 01-101 Rome, NY Urban Renewal, FOST Archives; Gary Warshefski, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 16 July 2003, 6-7, FOST Archives.

[64] Lawrence F. Kotecki to Contracting Officer, DSC, Fort Stanwix NM, 12 July 1973, File CX-2000-4-0007 WD 74-01 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC. Initially, Duryea and Wilhelmi proposed using QPK/Architects-Engineers as subcontractors but by December 1973, Day and Zimmerman had been officially chosen as the subcontractors. See Coryell to Regional Director, Northeast Region, A/E Contract, Fort Stanwix, 3 December 1973, File FOST Reconstruction, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[65] Lawrence Coryell to Regional Director, Northeast Region, Proposed A/E Contract, Fort Stanwix, 5 October 1973, 1, File CX 200-4-0007 WD 74-02 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC.

[66] Coryell to Regional Director, Northeast Region, Meeting at New York District Office, October 11, 1, 16 October 1973, File FOST 1973; Carroll to Manager, Historic Preservation, Denver Service Center, Trip Report, 7 May 1974, and Carroll to Manager, Historic Preservation, DSC, 23 May 1974, latter two in File FOST 1974, all in Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[67] Carroll, transcript of interview, 3.

The A/E submitted these final drawings, and the Park Service accepted them in early June 1974. These drawings showed all the fort structures, all necessary plantings, walks, trails, and all support items, such as plumbing, electricity, heating, air conditioning, and security and fire suppression systems. The approved drawings deviated from the 1967 master plan in two significant ways. First, the Park Service eliminated the separate visitor contact station due to budgetary restraints and the desire to keep the fort within an open field setting reminiscent of the original. This decision to use all fort buildings for visitor and Park Service functions (except maintenance) necessarily precluded the possibility of having a separate facility for caretaking of the archeological collection. Second, visitor parking was taken off parkland and moved to a municipal parking lot being built with urban renewal funds at the southwest corner of James and Liberty Streets. Flinchbaugh and the Rome Urban Renewal Agency had recommended in October 1973 the elimination of parking from the site. Wanting to minimize the number of twentieth-century intrusions on the historic scene, the Park Service investigated this idea. Concerns that peak park visitation on weekends might correspond with peak shopping times and use of the garage, the Park Service weighed its options carefully before ultimately deciding to rely on the parking garage. Aesthetic concerns weighed heavily in this decision. In terms of plantings, the Park Service recommended and the drawings indicate use of a meadow, kept at 6-10 inches in height, to re-create approximately the historic scene. Coordination with the Rome Urban Renewal Agency addressed concerns about plantings and sidewalk designs in the surrounding city areas.[68] Hanson reported in March 1974 that Flinchbaugh "is as concerned as [Wilhelmi] that the fort should be in a compatible setting and that what the city builds will fit with what the Park Service builds."[69]

The City of Rome had one last formal opportunity to review and comment upon the Fort Stanwix project before construction began. In accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the Park Service conducted an environmental assessment for development and management of the fort site. Hanson drafted and master planner David Kimball augmented the assessment and proposed development concept plan. The document accepted the recommendation that visitor parking be handled offsite in city garages and that all visitor contact facilities be situated inside the fort. In reviewing possible alternatives to reconstructing the entire fort, the assessment noted that completing a partial restoration of the fort on a smaller site would not provide an effective presentation of the site story or "have helped attract visitors to Rome."[70] In addition, modern buildings, such as the offices and plant of the *Rome Daily Sentinel*

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[68] Hanson, transcript of interview, 4; Joan K. Kahler, "Construction of Fort Stanwix Expected To Begin in August," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 10 June 1974; Vernon C. Smith to Henry P. Wilhelmi, 11 September 1973; Duryea and Wilhelmi Memo to Files, Meeting with Rome Urban Renewal Agency, 10 October 1973, 1, both in File CX-2000-4-0007 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC. Wilhelmi to Larry Kotecki, 2 November 1973, 1; and Coryell to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Preliminary Meeting, Fort Stanwix, 30 January 1974, both in File FOST Reconstruction, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives. Wilhelmi to Vernon Smith, 29 January 1974, 2, File CX-2000-4-0007 WD 74-02 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC; Editorial, "Fort Stanwix Costs Rise; US Has Moral Obligation," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 November 1973; Duryea and Wilhelmi, Advance Design and Cost Study, Reconstruction of Fort Stanwix National Monument, February 1974, Box 1984, FOST Archives; Hanson to Flinchbaugh, 5 December 1974, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives.

[69] Hanson to Wilhelmi, 8 March 1974, File CX-2000-4-0007 WD 74-02 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC.

[70] Department of the Interior, Environmental Assessment, Proposed Development Concept Plan, Fort Stanwix National Monument, no date [1974], 16, File L-7617 FOST Master Plan and DCP Assessment, David E. Clark's Files, NPS-Boston.

could have conceivably remained and intruded on the historic setting. On the other hand, "The archeological remains of the original Fort Stanwix will be lost forever"[71] by full reconstruction. Three years of extensive archeological exploration and artifact retrieval minimized this impact. But, as further insurance, no one proposed building a full reconstruction on a site other than the original. In fact, Duryea and Wilhelmi ordered a full survey of the site to ensure in part that each reconstructed bastion and interior fort building stood on top of the exact ground of the original. The intimate relationship between Fort Stanwix and Rome's urban renewal program required that the fort rise again from its foundations.[72]

At a March 1974 public meeting, the Park Service presented the findings of the development concept plan and environmental assessment. Discussion resulted in no opposition. The New York State Historic Preservation Officer and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation reviewed and expressed support for the proposal. Hanson noted, "There has been excellent cooperation with the City of Rome, other government officials, the utility companies and private citizens."[73] In recognition of this support, the Park Service determined in late June 1974 that an Environmental Impact Statement was unnecessary and that the agency could proceed with contracting out the construction work.[74]

On 2 July 1974, the Park Service invited bids for the construction work and publicly opened the three submissions at the fort site on the first day of August. B.S. McCarey Company of Rome, New York, with the lowest bid, won the contract. The inflationary economic situation in the United States had led to increases in construction costs and belt tightening by the federal government. Unwavering political support continued for the project under Sen. Javits and the new congressional representative for the district, Rep. Donald Mitchell (R). Mitchell won election following Pirnie's retirement in 1972. Although Javits and Mitchell, along with full support of Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton and NPS Director Ronald Walker, managed to eke out nearly $6 million for fiscal year 1975, the Park Service still had to break the total reconstruction project down into stages. Stage One, to be completed before the Bicentennial celebrations, included all landscaping and construction of the ditch, rampart walls, glacis, south casemate, west barracks, storehouse, east casemate, east barracks, interior of the southwest bastion, and an NPS maintenance building. On 23 August 1974, with 2,000 onlookers in attendance, Mitchell, Mayor Valentine, and NPS deputy director Russell Dickenson joined hands on the first symbolic shovel full of dirt for the fort reconstruction. Actual construction work began on 3 September 1974, with the official start of McCarey Company's contract.[75]

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[71] Ibid., 10.

[72] Ibid., 1, 4, 15-17; Kimball to Director, New York District, Environmental Impact Statement Fort Stanwix, 25 June 1973, cover letter and attachments, File L-7617 FOST Master Plan and DCP Assessment, David E. Clark's Files, NPS-Boston; "Fort Site Survey Nearly Complete," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 29 April 1974.

[73] Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Environmental Review, 27 June 1974, 1, File L-7617 FOST Master Plan and DCP Assessment, David E. Clark's Files, NPS-Boston.

[74] Environmental Assessment, 17. David E. Clark to Regional Director, Environmental Assessment, 28 June 1974; David A. Richie to Associate Director, Park System Management, Environmental Assembly, 28 June 1974; Ann Webster Smith to Denis P. Galvin, 28 June 1974; and NPS Press Release, "Environmental Assessment of Fort Stanwix Plans Is Now Available to Public for Inspection," 28 June 1974, all in File L-7617 FOST Master Plan and DCP Assessment, David E. Clark's Files, NPS-Boston.

[75] Coryell to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Meeting to Discuss Advance Design and Cost Study, 8 March 1974, 2, File FOST Reconstruction, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives; Invitation for Bids, 2 July 1974; and NPS Press Release, "National Park Service Awards Contract for Reconstruction of Fort Stanwix," 18 August 1974, both in File FOST Correspondence 1973-74, NRHE Files; Ernest M. Gray, "B.S. McCarey Co. Low Bidder on Reconstruction of Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [August 1974],

Concrete, logs, and grass

If you were one of those "sidewalk superintendents" that Dick Hsu had described at the start of the archeological dig, you would have been simply amazed by the happenings once McCarey Company started construction. After putting a protective fence around the site, bulldozers arrived to grade the central area where the fort would stand. Dump trucks hauled away mounds of dirt as diggers excavated the foundations of the outer wall. You would recognize soon afterwards that the rebuilt Fort Stanwix would have modern bones, as workers laid ironwork into the pits and up the walls. Cement trucks arrived and began pouring their mix into the frame. Plumbers set up storm drains, and electricians planned the underground conduit. Slowly, over the course of a fortunately mild winter, the concrete walls rose as high as 15 feet and marked the four bastions and square shape of the fort spreading across this now leveled section of Rome's downtown. In May 1975, the modern met the colonial past. Trucks with long beds of sawn and treated logs arrived. But, they were only half or quarter logs, and workers carefully fit these logs each on top of the other and anchored them to the cement walls. More wood arrived, and rows of pickets marched sternly around the outer perimeter of the fort. You could see craftsmen fit mortises and tenons together for the handhewn drawbridge (over a concrete foundation) leading into the fort. Finally, grass began to grow along the banks of piled earth, and by 18 November 1975, when workers placed the last log, the outside of the fort was done. On 26 December 1975, McCarey Company officially completed the interior work and presented to the nation a rebuilt American Revolutionary War fort.[76]

Joseph E. Smith Jr. still marvels at the reconstructed fort. As Vice President of McCarey, under his father Joseph E. Smith Sr., he had convinced his father that the company should bid on the project. "I was young enough and frivolous enough to take this on. My father thought I was crazy. . . . " Born and raised in Rome, Smith Jr. had finished college in 1968 as a civil engineer at Union College in Schenectady and joined his father to head the company. Smith Sr. had gone into business with Barney McCarey's established construction company in the early 1950s, changing the name to B. S. McCarey Company to reflect the Smith addition. The company has

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Binder FOST Newsclippings 1974-1975-1976, FOST Archives; Construction Contract, CX-1600-5-9001, B. S. McCarey Company, 6 August 1974, File Fort Stanwix CX-1600-5-9001 Contract Part 2, Box 7, Acc. 079-80-0012, Denver FRC; Coryell to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Contract Award, Fort Stanwix, 6 August 1974, File Development Fort Stanwix, Series VII Development, RG 18, HFC; Ernest M. Gray, "It's Started!" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 23 August 1974; Pat Lonergan, "Fort That Never Surrendered Marches Toward Bicentennial," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 22 August 1974; Program, Groundbreaking Ceremony, 23 August 1974, File Tourism Fort Stanwix Museum Brochures, Vertical Files, RHS.

[76] Completion Report, Fort Stanwix National Monument, 12 February 1976, 2, File Fort Stanwix CX 1600-5-9001, Contract Part 2; Salvin Strods to Edward J. Bleyhl, 8 September 1975, File Fort Stanwix CX 1600-5-9001, Correspondence Volume III, both in Box 7, Acc. 079-80-0012, Denver FRC. Pat Lonergan, "Foundation for Fort Now Being Poured," 8 October 1974; Kay Urtz, "Fort Stanwix Reconstruction 'Right on Schedule,'" 7 December 1974; Kay Urtz, "Pine Chips Fly in Sherburne as Fort Stanwix's Face 'Face' Takes Shape," 15 February 1975; Photograph and Caption, "Lines of Defense," 21 May 1975; Photograph and Caption, "Bridge to the Past," 29 August 1975; Photograph and Caption, "Last One," 18 November 1975, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Leon R. Thygesen to B. S. McCarey Company, 28 January 1976, 1, File Reconstruction of FOST Correspondence, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives; Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Monthly Reports for September and October 1974, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives; Hanson, transcript of interview, 6. I want to thank Cliff Tobias, NPS Mid-Atlantic Regional Office in Philadelphia, for locating and copying all of the Weekly Field Reports filed by Edward Bleyhl during the construction of the fort. These provide confirmation of the steps described in summary reports and oral history interviews.

since celebrated its hundredth anniversary. In putting together the bid, Smith Jr. knew he was dealing with a once in a lifetime project. He had to sort through prices and numbers of a kind very different from his usual commercial construction work. How many logs would he need to face the concrete structure? Where would he find such logs and prepare them to look handhewn yet last decades? Where could he find hinges and nails and other hardware that looked like a colonial blacksmith had forged it on the spot? Smith Jr. wanted the job, but he also had to keep the company profitable and his men paid. He ended up finding a balance with which he and his father were comfortable and won the contract.[77]

Finding and preparing logs to meet Park Service specifications posed one of the biggest challenges. Smith Jr. had originally identified a firm in Arkansas to provide the minimum 20-inch diameter yellow pine, but that company later revealed that it did not have the three to four thousand logs needed. The Park Service insisted on yellow pine and the large diameter to best replicate the look of the original fort. Such large trees were unavailable in New York any longer, so Smith Jr. searched until he found a small plant with its own forestland in Lucoma, North Carolina. Trucks hauled the logs up to Sherburne, New York, about two hours from Rome, where James Webb and his company Lok N Logs first removed the bark and then immersed the wood into chemical preservative. Webb's company notched and grooved the logs at varying angles to allow them to lock into place once set against the cement foundation. Each log was also branded with a branding iron in an inconspicuous spot to ensure proper order during assembly. The bottom logs for each wall could be removed if they decayed faster than the rest of the logs. But, that would still be decades later. All portions of logs that would be within view were foot adzed and broad axed to remove any scars from modern cutting methods.[78]

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[77] Quote and biographical information from Joseph E. Smith Jr., transcription of oral history interview with the author, 11 March 2003, 1, 12.

[78] Urtz, "Pine Chips Fly;" Lonergan, "Foundation for Fort." Bleyhl to Wilhelmi, 20 November 1974; and Wilhelmi to Bleyhl, 4 December 1974; Bleyhl to Smith, 10 December 1974, all in File Fort Stanwix CX-1600-5-9001 Correspondence Volume I, Box 7, Acc. 079-80-0012, Denver FRC. At the time of the reconstruction, Smith Jr. and others believed that the treated logs would last between 75 and 100 years. Experience with upstate New York's often brutal winters has proven that the logs last on average 30 to 40 years. My thanks to facility manager Jack Veazy for this information.

Before any of this work proceeded on a full scale, Webb's men built a prototype wall six feet high and fifty feet long for historical architect Carroll and other NPS representatives to inspect. They also provided examples of the pickets and the joining of the wood at each of the fort's corners. This latter step proved crucial for working out the difficult engineering problem of fitting the log and the timber together in proper dovetails. After much experimentation down in Rome, the lumbermen worked out a system of fitting the two pieces together on site and using a fake dovetail to hold them together. Such an allowance made up for the fact that only half or quarter logs were being used to face concrete. [9]



Fig. 14 On the far right, the exposed concrete structure waits for the log facing. *Courtesy of the National Park Service History Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.*

Wood for siding and for timbers came from Ken Melvin Industries in Livonia. The Mason Company had a special machine that could resaw saw marks on the wood siding, helping to re-create the historical look in a fast and economical manner. For the timbers, Sorah Jr. had the wood sent north via trains and depositied in a rented warehouse space in Spruce Run, located only a few blocks from the fort site. There, he had eight to ten men work the timbers with adzes to replicate the handhewn look. Some 36 members wearing the countryside with a

[9] Webb, Statement of experience, n. Carroll to Hancock, January 9 [illegible], 1981; "Log Report to Fort Hancock, 27 January 1975, 5; Site Reconnaissance of FORT Congressional, Box FORT Reconnaissance 1972-84 Retired Files, FORT Archives.

man from Oneida, trying to locate and buy such old hand equipment to use on the wood. His men then had to be specially trained to do the handwork safely and effectively.[80]

Whenever possible, Smith Jr. used local talent and products for the reconstruction. Rome Iron Mills, Inc. provided the steel reinforcement for the concrete foundation. Tony Pettinelli, a trained blacksmith who had opened a shop behind his house twenty years earlier when he had moved to Rome from his native Italy, made or finished the hardware. Smith could purchase ready-made some of the simpler hardware pieces, but many had to be made by Pettinelli or at least annealed and hammered to give it the authentic look. A foundry in nearby Oneida constructed the huge round metal weight for the fort's drawbridge. The archeological record had been nearly silent about the exact design of this bridge, and Hanson and Carroll had done additional research to uncover more information. As finally built, the weight could roll freely up and down to open and close the drawbridge, but with time, its mechanism lagged, and the drawbridge has since stayed permanently open.[81]

Sodding the vast field around and on the fort proved a final challenge. Abnormally hot temperatures the summer of 1975 reduced much of the sod to brown dust. Still wanting to keep an authentic-looking meadow in the surrounding field, the Park Service approved seeding that area with a historic mix of grasses. Areas inside the fort received new sod that workers placed after the first of September with cooler weather.[82]

The National Park Service carefully reviewed and monitored each step of the construction process to ensure fidelity to the historical and archeological record. The Denver Service Center had primary control over the construction contract and had its Edward Bleyhl watch progress firsthand in Rome. Fort Stanwix National Monument, which had originally fallen under the NPS Northeast regional control of the Philadelphia office, moved in 1974 to the North Atlantic Region centered in Boston. Additional input came from the National Park Service New York and Washington, DC, offices. Interpretive planning out of Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia had to coordinate with the construction and design of the fort's interior spaces, especially since the Park Service had dropped the separate visitor contact station. One person in particular did a lot of road time. Carroll made regular trips back to Rome from his base at Minute Man NHP. He checked samples and then checked again the finished pieces as they were added to the fort. His eye for details never tired and never seemed to let anything slip. He worried over the authenticity of wooden stock locks for fort doors and the width of saw marks on the wooden boarding. He had the contractor submit several different samples of mortar before he found one that matched in color and texture the original mortar found in fireplaces. Near the end of the project, Carroll submitted sketches of details that needed refining and for his final

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[80] Smith, transcript of interview, 3-4; "Modern Materials, Old Building Methods Used to Reconstruct 218 Year-Old Fort, *Building Design & Construction* (May 1976): 16; Bernie Zelitch, "Fort 'Forges' Ahead," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 26 March 1975.

[81] "Huge Steel Quantity Beneath Fort Stanwix Reconstruction," no citation or date [1975], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1974-1975-1976, FOST Archives; Zeltich, "Fort 'Forges' Ahead;" Smith, transcript of interview, 4-5; Carroll to Francis McKibbin, 8 February 1975, File FOST Reconstruction, Box FOST Reconstructions Retired Files 1971-84, FOST Archives.

[82] Bleyhl to Team Manager, DSC, 5 August 1975, File Fort Stanwix CX 1600-5-9001 Contract Part II; and Strods to Bleyhl, 8 September 1975, File Fort Stanwix CX-1600-5-9001, Correspondence Volume III, both in Box 7, Acc. 079-80-0012, Denver FRC.

inspection, he had a laundry list of fixes for filling holes with wooden pegs to doors needing to be re-hung. He even worried that the flagpole had more knots than the original.[83]

Early in the construction phase, James Webb had approached the Smiths with the idea of filming the entire project to make a documentary. The Smiths agreed that such an undertaking would have historical value and maybe even attract some attention to the project. They were justifiably proud of the work and agreed to hire, through their Mohawk Productions Company, a young team of filmmakers. Dennis Remick did the filming while Pat Stanley conducted interviews with many of the people involved with the reconstruction. The film eventually aired on Public Broadcasting Stations around the region. In 2003, Mrs. Joseph Smith Sr. (Isabella) donated the film to the park.[84]

The film, *Made in America: Rome, New York*, tells the story of the fort's construction process through striking images of the actual rebuilding and the thoughts and viewpoints of a range of people. Urban renewal director William Flinchbaugh stated in his film interview that the city's urban renewal project had momentum and an anchor thanks to the fort, setting Rome apart from other nearby communities and giving it national prominence. James Webb viewed the fort as important because it would reach so many children over the next two hundred years (how long he thought the new fort would last) and provide them with a sense of history. Interspersed with such appearances was footage of construction workers and craftspeople. Film viewers can see concrete being poured, and the structure slowly rise. There are scenes of the workers adzing the wood and preparing the hardware. Some of these men believed that urban renewal and rebuilding the fort would benefit Rome and help fulfill the nation's obligation to remember its past. One crafter, however, believed that the citizens of Rome had no say in the decision to rebuild the fort. Mayor Valentine wrongly agrees with this statement in the film, saying at one point that twenty people pulled the fort project together, and there was no vote or public hearings. As indicated previously, the city of Rome did hold hearings and did have the Common Council vote on each aspect of the urban renewal-fort reconstruction project. But, as also previously noted, the firm unwavering support of *Rome Daily Sentinel* editor Fritz Updike and the control Valentine had over the Rome Urban Renewal Agency ensured that the entire project proceeded with few obstacles.[85]

The same skeptical crafter argued later in the film that "if you are really interested in the history, you don't need this. This is not the real thing. I can't get past that."[86] This point goes back to the argument against reconstructions. A reconstruction, according to its opponents, will never have the full authenticity of the original, and other methods should be used to tell the story about the past. One Park Service official, never identified but described in a 30 August 1974 editorial by Updike, held similar convictions. Just before the 23 August groundbreaking

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[83] Carroll to Strods, 17 January 1975, File FOST 1973, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives. Carroll to Manager, Historic Preservation, DSC, 27 January 1975; Carroll to Manager, Historic Preservation, DSC, 15 April 1975; Carroll to Manager, Hist Pres, DSC, 27 May 1975; Carroll to Chief, Historic Architecture Branch, DSC, 17 November 1975; Carroll to Chief, Historic Architecture Branch, DSC, 8 December 1975, all are trip reports in File Reconstruction of FOST Correspondence, both in Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[84] Smith, transcript of interview, 9; Carroll to Manager, Hist Pres, DSC, 27 January 1975, File Reconstruction of FOST Correspondence, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives; Hanson to Acting Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 5 February 1975, Reading Files, 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.

[85] *Made In America: Rome, New York*, film about fort reconstruction, 1977, 2 reels, FOST Archives.

[86] Ibid., reel one.

ceremony, this Park Service official, according to Updike, made an "outspoken, last-hour verbal denunciation"[87] of the fort reconstruction plan. The project continued as planned, but the denunciation impressed Updike enough to use it in an editorial and remind his fellow Romans to be thankful. The fort reconstruction was not easy to start or finish.

Hanson and the flag

One person unexpectedly remained for the entire fort reconstruction and beyond, Lee Hanson. As supervisory archeologist, he logically stayed through the three years of digging. And, he and Dick Hsu justified their presence through spring of 1974 as they completed their book, *Casemates and Cannonballs: Archeological Investigations at Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York* (published in 1975). Then, Hsu moved on to other Park Service assignments at Fort Moultrie in South Carolina and a staff archeologist position in Washington, DC. Hanson, however, realized that Fort Stanwix would need a superintendent and that he would be interested in moving into such a management position. He wanted new and more responsibilities beyond archeology, and Fort Stanwix offered a pleasant mix of administration with archeology and history.[88]

Hanson began twisting the ear of his regional director. He offered many plausible excuses for such a promotion. First, once the construction work began, he would be onsite to handle any additional archeological remains that might be found. Such scenarios happened more than once, and Smith Jr. noted that it was helpful to have an archeologist readily available to recover the artifacts while keeping the construction work on schedule. Hanson and Carroll incorporated these new findings into minor revisions to the design plans. For example, they added a trap door to the floor of the east barracks to account for a newly discovered cellar. Hanson also argued that he was intimately familiar with all aspects of the site and could handle questions or concerns as they arose during the construction process. He acted as a resource to McCarey Company and its various workers and craftspeople. He could also coordinate interactions between the contractor and the Park Service. Finally, Hanson believed that he should stay at Fort Stanwix because he had developed useful contacts throughout Rome and could act as a liaison between the Park Service and the city. He answered questions from visitors and calmed worries. He wrote in one monthly report that many people had complained about the line of pickets and how it looked like someone could fall over them and impale themselves. An optical illusion created by the six feet of dirt in front of the picket line gave the appearance that the line was only a foot high. He managed to allay these fears without further involving the Park Service. Hanson also had helpful working relationships with Updike, Flinchbaugh, and others and reported to his superiors regularly about meetings with the city. He even became involved with some regional tourism efforts to enhance central New York's visibility. To give his idea a push, Hanson followed a suggestion made by Orville Carroll and began signing all of his

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[87] Editorial, "Purely Personal Prejudices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 August 1974.

[88] Hanson described himself as acting as a superintendent of Fort Stanwix in all areas except planning, which the Denver Service Center handled, in Hanson to Regional Personnel Officer, NERO, 1 June 1972, Organizational Chart, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/71-12/22/72, FOST Archives. Hanson, transcript of interview, 7; "Field Archeologist Washington-bound," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 April 1974. Hanson to Chief, Office of Personnel Management and Development, NER, 14 May 1973, Candidate's Statement, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives.

correspondence as "Acting Superintendent." The Park Service finally agreed and appointed Hanson as the park's first superintendent in time for the fort's official opening in spring 1976.[89]

Hanson also took it upon himself to act as coordinator of all the activities related to Fort Stanwix within the Park Service. He found that individual offices did not communicate their ideas and plans with other offices, leading to duplication of effort or sometimes even ineffective designs. Once the Service decided to incorporate all of the visitor interpretation facilities inside the fort buildings, for instance, steps had to be taken to ensure that such spaces would fit within the confines of the historically correct buildings. Hanson found different offices at Harpers Ferry Center to be particularly frustrating. Each of these offices handled different aspects of park interpretation, such as designing the park brochure or producing the film or setting up the exhibit areas. But, they did not share ideas. He made an effort to coordinate these efforts to present a multi-faceted story to park visitors.[90]

Despite these accomplishments, Hanson's transition from supervisory archeologist to superintendent had one rough spot. In a talk before the Rome Academy of Sciences in November 1975, Hanson defied the deeply held local tradition that Fort Stanwix had been the first place where American patriots had flown the Stars and Stripes in battle. Reviewing historical research conducted by John Luzader, Hanson argued that neither documentary evidence nor the carvings on extant powder horns could conclusively prove that the fort had flown the first Stars and Stripes. More than likely, Hanson believed that women associated with the garrison had probably crafted a Grand Union, or Cambridge, standard to fly in August 1777. Hanson had worked with Marilyn Lahah of Boonville to re-create just such a flag, to be presented to the fort in a special ceremony in honor of the nation's Bicentennial and the opening of the reconstructed fort.[91]

These remarks alone would have generated plenty of controversy within Rome, but Hanson aggravated the situation by specifically drawing the Rome Historical Society and its president Edward Ball, into the fray. The *Sentinel* quoted Hanson as saying, "Frankly, I wish the Historical Society would get off the flag kick and spend some time on something else."[92] Hanson also refuted Ball's own research on the flag question, which relied on a powder horn carved by Col. Gansevoort's adjutant Chris Hutton, and pointed to other powder horns carved by people at the fort which do not display stars and stripes on the flag.[93]

Hanson and the Park Service well understood how deeply many people in Rome felt toward the flag story. Hanson had written in 1972 that that year's Fort Stanwix Days included a symbolic raising of the flag at the fort. "This has become traditional and is going to be a

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[89] Hanson, transcript of interview, 7; Smith, transcript of interview, 5, 8; Carroll, transcript of interview, 13; Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 1 October 1974, September 1974 Monthly Report; Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, no date [November 1974], October 1974 Monthly Report; Hanson to Flinchbaugh, 5 December 1974; Hanson to Flinchbaugh, 6 December 1974; and Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 6 November 1974, Appointment to Regional Tourism Task Force, all in Reading Files, 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives. Hanson to Wilhelmi, 6 November 1974, File CX-2000-4-0007 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC; Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 30 June 1975, June 1975 Monthly Report, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.

[90] Hanson, transcript of interview, 9-10; Hanson to Director, North Atlantic Region, 10 May 1974, File FOST Reconstruction, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[91] Bernie Zelitch, "Fort Flag To Have 50 Stars, Not 13," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 18 November 1975.

[92] Hanson, as quoted in Ibid.

[93] Bernie Zelitch, "'What So Proudly We Hailed,' as First Flag Draws Doubts," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 19 November 1975.

headache for us in future years."[94] NPS Chief Historian Harry Pfanz agreed, writing in 1974 that the flag story will "plague the Service for years to come, and we fear that repeating it even as a legend will tend to keep it alive."[95] The fact that Francis Bellamy, a Rome native whose ashes rest in Rome Cemetery, had written the words to the Pledge of Allegiance, indicates further the commitment many Romans had for the Stars and Stripes.

Ball's response points not only to how dearly some people in Rome held the flag story, but also to some larger tensions between parts of the city and the National Park Service. Ball opened his defense in the pages of the local newspaper by referring to the "NPS style of dictation"[96] that had gone from honoring the flag tradition, as evidenced in its placement in the Fort Stanwix master plan, to the Park Service's supposed reneging on its promises to save the Stryker House and Rome Club. As described earlier in this chapter, the Park Service first supported using these buildings either on the site of the fort or near it. The idea of having the Historical Society's headquarters on the fort grounds or next to them had also been discussed but ultimately rejected. Park Service officials between 1969 and 1971 had regularly visited with Ball and the Historical Society and suggested ways to work together in presenting the story of Fort Stanwix. Henry G. Schmidt, superintendent of the New York National Park Service Group toured the fort site in 1969 and expressed a strong interest in having a new Fort Stanwix Museum as close as possible to the reconstructed fort, making both sites more attractive for visitors. Murray Nelligan, while project director for Fort Stanwix in 1969, wanted to relocate the Fort Stanwix Museum to the park site and coordinate efforts between the Park Service and the Rome Historical Society. Even the fort's Development Concept Plan of 1971 states that "The Rome Historical Society has expressed a desire to locate its new museum next to the reconstructed fort. A commitment has been made by the National Park Service to allow the Historical Society to do this." The 1971 plan set aside a one-acre parcel on the park site for such a museum. Such overtures naturally might be refined as federal planning progressed on reconstructing the fort, but some locals, including Ball, did not forget. Having the future superintendent of the park publicly discredit the closely kept and honored flag tradition was more than Ball and others could accept.[97]

Ball believed that the Hutton powder horn, done by a soldier who had stayed at the fort in 1777, was "the best flag answer we will ever have and it should be as treasured as the Declaration of Independence." Ball went on to say that "it would be a most serious educational and patriotic loss to all future generations if the top leadership of the United States of America permits the NPS to prohibit the rightful flying of the flag. . . ."[98] Another reader shared this sentiment, "For when the smoke has cleared and the flag is first raised over the restored Fort it must be the first 'Stars and Stripes.' No other flag will properly honor the occasion."[99] *Sentinel*

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[94] Hanson to Director, New York District, August 1972 Monthly Report, 5 September 1972, File FOST 1972, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[95] Pfanz to Ray Baker, Fort Stanwix Bicentennial Folder Text, 25 October 1974, File FOST Correspondence 1973-74, NRHE Files.

[96] Edward C. Ball, "Defends Hutton Powder Horn," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 November 1975.

[97] The 1967 Fort Stanwix Master Plan states on p. 9 that "local tradition holds that the stars and stripes were raised above the fort. . . ." "Fort Project of Great Interest, National Park Service Exec Says," 4 June 1969; Joan K. Kahler, "Museum Razing, Preservation of Old Buildings Cited as 'Next Steps' in Fort Stanwix Project," 14 August 1969; Joan K. Kahler, "Green Light On for Fort Stanwix Dig, Historical Society and City Officials Told," 13 December 1969, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. NPS, Fort Stanwix Development Concept Plan, 1971, 23, FOST Archives.

[98] Ball, "Defends Hutton Powder Horn."

[99] Mrs. Parker Scripture, Letter to the Editor, "Takes Issue with Hanson," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 November 1975.

editor Updike also emphasized the seriousness of Hanson's remarks and cautioned that this situation "threatens the domestic tranquility of this community. . . ."[100] Updike waited to further involve himself in the controversy until he received confirmation or denial from the Park Service that Hanson's statements reflected official policy.

Hanson did make an apology for his rude statement. In his written 1976 goals for a public involvement program for the park, he explicitly intended "to avoid any controversy over the local tradition that the first Stars and Stripes to fly in battle flew over Fort Stanwix."[101] He later admitted that this controversy was the closest he would come to getting removed from supervising Fort Stanwix.[102] His boss in the North Atlantic Regional Office, Jerry Wagers, also soothed the rumpled feathers by acknowledging that "we have no intention of challenging the Fort Stanwix flag tradition for it is every bit a part of the history of Rome as the Fort itself."[103] Finally, after a letter of concern from Rep. Donald Mitchell, NPS Director Gary Everhardt officially "recognize[d]" the Fort Stanwix flag tradition and stated that it "greatly enriches our national heritage."[104] When Fort Stanwix raised a flag over the newly reconstructed fort in spring 1976, that flag was the 50-star version of the Stars and Stripes, as dictated by National Park Service policy for all of its park sites.

Perhaps Hanson's biggest positive contribution to Fort Stanwix lay ahead of him. Once the fort opened and many interested and curious folks toured the building, trained and authentically dressed re-enactors greeted the visitors and answered questions about life in the colonial fort. Under Hanson's vision and guidance, these re-enactors from the Fort Stanwix Garrison made the building come alive. Orville Carroll had ultimately achieved his wish: the real Fort Stanwix, as imagined by him and so many designers, construction workers, craftspeople, and re-enactors, did rise from the ground and live again.

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[100] Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 November 1975.
[101] Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, Current Public Involvement Program, 21 June 1976, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.
[102] Hanson, transcript of interview, 15.
[103] Wagers, as quoted by Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 December 1975.
[104] Everhardt, as quoted in "Uncle Sam Snaps a Salute to Fort's Flag Tradition," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 22 January 1976.

Chapter Four
Celebration

The first curious visitors to Fort Stanwix gingerly stepped on plywood sheets strung across the muddy parade ground, making their way between each of the restored buildings and the patches of snow and ice retreating under the mid-March sun. Newly appointed superintendent Lee Hanson greeted them in colonial fashion, dressed as Col. Gansevoort in an authentically reproduced uniform. Other soldiers milled around and answered questions about life on a frontier post. Women in hand-sewn colonial dresses dished out the decidedly twentieth-century offering of cookies and punch. Visitors could view a twenty-minute film describing the 1777 siege or learn about the quarters where soldiers slept and ate. A museum displayed examples of the artifacts unearthed during the archeological dig.[1] Yet, simply by walking around the fort and forgetting that modern times lay just outside the drawbridge, guests could literally touch and feel and hear the past surround them. This was the feeling Hanson envisioned. He wanted people "to really get a total appreciation of what the eighteenth-century soldiers or Revolutionary War soldiers went through in living in this fort."[2] Fort Stanwix had risen and come alive.

Living history

Those smartly dressed soldiers and the women wearing long skirts all volunteered in the living-history program called the Fort Stanwix Garrison. Hanson had imagined the Garrison and given it the name as a way for people to identify with the group and commit to its goals of researching and portraying eighteenth-century life for park visitors. They had to work hard. At weekly meetings, the 125 or so men, women, and even children learned the basic history of the fort and its times from Hanson. Men practiced holding muskets and drilling. Women experimented with cooking one-pot meals over an open fire. Everyone had to sew his or her own clothing. Each volunteer chose a person to portray and built a "story" around that person to use at the fort. Those stories relied on diaries and other historical accounts, carefully researched and rehearsed by each Garrison member. Hanson wanted the fort to live with reenactors who stayed in character, answering questions as if they were still soldiers and farmer's wives, Native Americans and French traders. Such an approach, called first-person living history, tested the commitment and knowledge of each volunteer. But, when successful, willing park guests were transported to another time and place.[3]

People in Rome had a fascination for pageantry and reenactments. The third day of August held special meaning due to it marking the start of the 1777 siege, and the city over time labeled that day Fort Stanwix Day. As described in the first chapter, the Sesquicentennial celebration on 3 August 1927 included building a scaled-down version of the fort and staging a huge retelling of the siege with some 700 costumed participants. Fort Stanwix Day continued to generate interest until the mid-1950s. Then, pageantry re-appeared. A truck parade in 1954 featured floats depicting different historical scenes from the siege. In 1956, historically minded

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[1] Jeff Coplon, "The Fort Is Authentic but not Bleak," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 12 March 1976.
[2] Hanson, transcript of interview, 14.
[3] Ibid., 11-12; Laura L. Sawyer, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 11 March 2003, 3-4, FOST Archives; Fort Stanwix Garrison Training Manual, By Laws as adopted 11 October 1976, 1, FOST Archives; Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 1975 Annual Report, 17 February 1976, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.

Romans built a temporary replica of one bastion of the fort and presented a narration and fireworks display. A thunderstorm in 1957 put a thrilling ending to a play with music for the special day, dampening efforts for several subsequent years. But, enthusiasm slowly re-emerged by1965, and the Rome Free Academy hosted a musical drama written, directed, and produced by Sarah Kent. The next year, Kent's husband George oversaw the construction of an amphitheatre (using no public funds) on a quiet bend of the Mohawk River. Sarah produced an expanded drama, complete with 128 costumes made in Rome by dedicated volunteers with donated sewing machines and material. The resulting pageant, held in the new Kent Amphitheatre, capped what became a weeklong celebration called Fort Stanwix Days.[4]

One of those volunteers helping to sew costumes proved a lasting presence in the Fort Stanwix Garrison. Marguerite Syfert (she would later marry fellow reenactor Stephen Hines and change her name to Syfert-Hines) moved to Rome in 1965 and quickly engrossed herself in the history of the city. She had worked in a range of museums and historical societies, gaining an incredible store of knowledge about the clothing and lifestyles of people living in eighteenth-century America. In Rome, she eventually served as consultant for the Library of Fashion, using the store of costumes begun by Sarah Kent's vision to educate people about the past. Syfert-Hines also had training in interior and theatrical design, applying these skills to her job as buyer and decorator for Nelson's Department Store in Rome. Just as Nelson's was being torn down for the city's urban renewal efforts to build a new shopping mall, Syfert-Hines found new ways to contribute her passion for history in the Fort Stanwix reconstruction project.[5]

Fritz Updike had planted the seed of doing living history at Fort Stanwix. In 1969, he wrote in his editorial space of the *Rome Daily Sentinel* that the National Park Service planned to turn the donated Dwight D. Eisenhower Farm near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, into a working example of how such a farm had been kept. Wouldn't such an approach work at Fort Stanwix? There would be "activity within the fort for the attraction and interest of visitors,"[6] sure to build the coveted tourist trade. Updike continued to cultivate the living-history seed, having articles express the positive opinions of various Park Service and Interior Department representatives to the idea. Updike even suggested the vehicle for such a program, through the Volunteers in the Park program, initiated by newly appointed Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel.

By spring 1971, the Park Service acknowledged that it hoped to garrison the fort with persons depicting life in the colonial fort. Such a proposal came in conjunction with discussions of what to do about a park visitor center. As related in Chapter Three, the Park Service had spent a couple of years debating whether to use one of the historic Rome houses, particularly the Rome Club, for the park visitor contact station. Once deciding not to move and rehabilitate the Rome Club, the Service opted to keep all interpretive, visitor service, and administrative space inside the fort's buildings. The Service wanted to reduce any modern intrusions on the site itself, to retain the flavor of the eighteenth-century fort set in a field. With this decision came the next logical conclusion that living history would enliven and expand the educational opportunities at the fort. Costumed interpreters, according to NPS New York State Coordinator Jerry Wagers (he would soon become regional director for the North Atlantic Region in Boston), would perform

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[4] Fort Stanwix Days Program, 29 July-6 August, 1967, 6-7, File Fort Stanwix Days General, Vertical Files Celebrations, RHS.

[5] Arlene C. LaRue, "Living History," *Syracuse Herald-American* "Empire Magazine," 4 June 1978, 6; Obituary, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 24 October 1992; Syfert-Hines to Colin Shephard, 8 November 1982, Reading Files 1982b, FOST Archives; "Hospitality Appreciated," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 August 1969.

[6] Editorial, "Park Service's Living History Plan," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [June 1969], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1969-1992, FOST Archives.

military drills and demonstrate techniques of living and working in the 1770s.[7] Without living history, Updike wrote, Fort Stanwix would be "a lifeless, sterile exhibit of 17th [*sic*] century fortification, with little lasting appeal."[8]

Just how to bring living history to Fort Stanwix continued to rouse debate. Hanson wrote in April 1972 that he wasn't prepared to start a full-fledged living-history program. His attention still had to focus on supervising the archeological dig and keeping all parties informed about the planning for the reconstruction. He envisioned putting "a couple of V. I. P. interpreters in period dress for local public relations purposes."[9] However, Hanson did consent to having students volunteer as guides for the last season of the dig. Interested in history and familiarized with the story of Fort Stanwix, these students laid the foundation for the Garrison. In 1973, students came back under the auspices of the Explorer Scout Troop 513 and its leader Dick Hsu. Hsu's son David participated. This time, the young men and women dressed in period clothes that they had hand stitched, under the guidance of Marguerite Syfert-Hines. The Explorers constructed a fireplace east of the fort excavation site and used the setting to demonstrate cooking and other activities carried out by the men and women of the 1770s fort. To raise money to buy tools and other implements for their demonstrations, the students melted down pewter and made buttons bearing the "NY" symbol used by the 3rd New York Regiment originally stationed at Fort Stanwix.[10]

By 1974, with Hsu leaving for his new assignments, Hanson fully adopted a living-history approach at the fort site. He dressed in period clothing as soldier Abraham Tompkins and answered questions about life in the 1770s. Such role playing fit Hanson's personality, who describes himself as a bit of a "ham actor."[11] By February 1975, he had placed the first call to arms for the Fort Stanwix Garrison, and Hanson had decided that he would take on the bigger part of playing Gansevoort himself. Syfert-Hines went to the Smithsonian Institution to photograph and take notes on the original Gansevoort uniform held in that collection. Hanson went so far to achieve authenticity by growing a ponytail to match the style of the colonial era. He struck a commanding figure, and the *Sentinel* couldn't get enough of photographing Hanson á la Gansevoort peering over the rising log walls of the reconstructed fort.[12]

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[7] Dick Gaffney, "Museum May Be First Structure on Fort Site to be Demolished," 14 October 1969; Editorial, "Volunteers in the Park Program," 8 November 1969; "Hickel Suggests Study of Fort's War Events," 4 November 1970; Editorial, "Practicality of Moving Original Barnes-Mudge House Questioned," 24 March 1971; "Rome Club Will Be Demolished, Park Service Official Reports," 3 May 1971, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel.*

[8] Editorial, "We Should Tell Our Story," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 29 March 1972.

[9] Hanson to Interpretive Planner, DSC (HFC), Fort Stanwix Interpretation, 13 April 1972, Reading Files 8/30/70-12/30/71 and 1/6/71-12/22/72, FOST Archives.

[10] Hsu, transcript of interview, 6-8; "Last Chance To See Old Fort Stanwix," 27 June 1972; "Park Service Ready for Tours," 25 May 1973; Photograph and caption, "Life in the 1770s," 14 July 1973, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel.* "Post Relives the Past Daily at Fort Stanwix," *Utica Daily Press*, 20 July 1973. Mark Wadopian to Michael Broski, 6 June 1973; Hsu to Lewis G. Decker, 6 November 1973; and Hsu to Kingsley-Stevens Foundation, no date, all in Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74, FOST Archives.

[11] Hanson, transcript of interview, 14.

[12] Photograph and caption, "He's Abraham Tompkins," 5 July 1974; "Life in Fort To Be Topic for Summer," 25 June 1974; "Recruits, To Arms!" 1 February 1975; photograph and caption, "O'er the Ramparts We Watched," 11 November 1975, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel.* Hanson to Donald E. Kloster, 30 April 1975, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.



Fig. 15 Lee Hanson, first superintendent of Fort Stanwix, often posed as Colonel Peter Gansevoort. Courtesy of Lee Hanson.

Hanson had able help in directing the enthusiasm and interest of the more than 100 volunteers who answered the call for the Garrison. Syfert-Hines remained indispensable with teaching participants how to sew clothing and demonstrating cooking skills and other 18th-century domestic arts. Hanson later described her as a "real whiz,"[13] who knew all the crafts and could communicate the skills to the Garrison women. Syfert-Hines was so knowledgeable that Hanson wondered if she really thought she lived in the eighteenth century all the time. John Downing, who served as a staff sergeant at Griffiss AFB, had helped Syfert-Hines since 1974 with guiding the Explorer Scout troop. In 1975, he and part-time fort maintenance man George Ahles obtained specialized National Park Service training in rifle and cannon firings, making sure that any black powder demonstrations at Fort Stanwix would be safe. They passed their expertise to the Garrison soldiers and routinely drilled them to ensure safety and authenticity. Ahles, a Rome native and Marine Corps veteran, had inherited an interest in Civil War and then Revolutionary War history from his family. He collected antique weapons, and after becoming the fort's maintenance chief, he adopted the role of regimental surgeon for the Garrison. He

[13] Hanson, transcript of interview, 11.

collected the knives and other pieces characteristic of a colonial surgeon and explained them to visitors on the weekends.[14]

For many people who joined the Garrison in its first years, living history became a family affair. Hanson's wife Joan appeared in colonial garb and stirred an iron kettle over an open fire on many weekends while also keeping track of their growing family of girls, who dressed the part.[15] Ahles had his wife and two daughters and son around him. In total, about six complete family units graced the ranks of the Garrison in those early years, and they were among the most active participants, serving in such capacities as president, membership chairperson, and orientation leaders in addition to their tasks as reenactors. These families embraced the Garrison because, as one mother noted, "At a time when so many families go their separate ways, it gives us something to do and enjoy together."[16]

Laura L. Sawyer remembers first-hand how reenacting could transform a family. She had grown up always visiting historical sites and forts with her father, an amateur historian. She naturally felt an affinity for historical subjects and, as an adult, began doing reenacting in Civil War garb with her husband, another amateur historian. With the beginning of the Bicentennial celebrations, the Sawyers switched to Revolutionary War living history and loved learning about their area's local history. Their son Bill at a young age caught the reenacting fever and encouraged the family to participate in encampments, or weekend reenactments, as often as possible. When residents of the nearby town of Boonville dressed in colonial-era clothing and marched to Fort Stanwix in 1976 to present the fort with a reproduction of the flag that had first flown during the siege, Bill led the group as the drummer boy. Bill's love for the period eventually funneled into learning eighteenth-century musical instruments, obtaining expert training in black powder use, and becoming a National Park Service Ranger at Fort Stanwix. He married fellow reenactor Laura K. Sawyer (who shares her mother-in-law's first name), and they have regularly presented colonial musical performances at the fort. His mother believes that families gain many benefits from re-enacting together. "It's a wonderful family thing. . . . The whole family can take part in it. It doesn't matter if it's a babe still in a nightgown or a little boy or a teenager or whatever. Any age can take part. . . ." Kids are free to do things that they might not have the chance to do otherwise, from playing colonial games to helping cut wood for the fire. If one child falls, any one of the re-enactors is around to help. Plus, Sawyer developed so many friendships over the years that "when we're together, the different groups, in the fort or anywhere else, we are just one extended family. . . ."[17] That sense of kinship kept many reenactors active in the Fort Stanwix Garrison and made the fort an enjoyable, educational place to visit.

On 22 May 1976, Secretary of the Interior Thomas Kleppe formally dedicated Fort Stanwix National Monument and its reconstructed fort. In his speech, he noted the contributions

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[14] Hanson, transcript on interview, 16. "Recruits, To Arms!" 1 February 1975; Kay Urtz, "Fashion Stopped at Frontier's Edge," 25 February 1975; Bernie Zeltich, "No Time for 'Real' Yankees to Doodle," 19 July 1975, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Trudi Dillon, "Look Back," *Advance-Journal*, 10 April 1975. The Explorer Scout troop became known as the Petticoat Brigade and competed nationally in rifle and cannon firings. See "'Petticoat Brigade' Competing in National Artillery Meet," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 13 August 1976.

[15] Trudi Dillon, "Lee Hanson. . . .Man for all Seasons," *Queen Central News*, 25 May 1976; Hanson to Interpretive Program Specialist Tillman, HFC, Audio-chair Exhibit, 8 July 1975, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.

[16] Mrs. Kelley, as quoted by Joan K. Kahler in "Peter Gansevoort Wants YOU!" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 January 1977.

[17] All quotes from Sawyer, transcript of interview, 1-2, 4, 9-11.

of the many people in the Rome area who had given of their talents and interests over time to ensure the re-creation of the fort. Such historic sites as Fort Stanwix and their living history programs "promote healthy patriotism and give us inspiration." Kleppe ended by saying, "May this Fort stand as a reminder of the sacrifices made by our Revolutionary soldiers who served here and as a tribute to the 20th Century Americans who banded together to restore and preserve this vital part of our national heritage." Kleppe reminds future park managers that the story of Fort Stanwix is intimately tied to both the Revolutionary War period and the unceasing support of the people of Rome. Hanson received some criticism afterwards for forgetting the importance of those people. He invited Mayor Valentine to participate in the ceremony, but he did not ask William Flinchbaugh or any other members of the city government. Instead, recognizing that this was a military fort, Hanson asked officers at Griffiss AFB to join Valentine on the podium. Hanson quickly learned his lesson and worked to maintain good relations with the city as superintendent.[18]

[18] Both quotes from NPS News Release, "Fort Stanwix National Monument Dedicated as National Park Service Bicentennial Area," 22 May 1976, 2, File Info Kit FOST, Series XI Other, Group 2 WASO, RG 18 Bicentennial, HFC. Program, Dedication of Fort Stanwix National Monument, 22 May 1976, File Tourism Fort Stanwix Museum 1976, Vertical Files, RHS; Hanson, transcript of interview, 10.



Fig. 31 Highlights from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Bronx, and Griffiss AFB retirement crowds to the official May 1974 opening of the reconstructed fort. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia

Opening

The National Park Service composed a series of photographs capturing the shape and spirit of Fort Stanwix as it first opened to the public in 1976. Many living history participants sat for the photographs, re-creating a sense of the historic conditions of the fort. This section captures some of these images to provide a sense of what the fort visitor saw as they crossed the drawbridge, leaving the 1970s and entering the 1770s.



Fig. 17 This aerial view of the fort shows the Northwest Bastion with iconic fort and gun platforms. Inside the parade ground, the Park Service converted the West Barracks into two additional rooms and a visitor contact station while the East Barracks provided space for living history demonstrations. A museum in the East Casemate displayed some of the archeological finds of the dig. The smaller Store House contained public restrooms. Courtesy of the National Park Service History Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.



Fig. 18 Soldiers guard the lowered drawbridge leading over the moat into Fort Stanwix. Courtesy of the National Park Service History Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.



Fig. 10 Dressed in clothing authentic to the 1770s, this drum and fife corps of the Third New York Regiment plays period music for visitors outside Fort Stanwix. Courtesy of the National Park Service History Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia



Fig. 28 Standing on one of the gun platforms next to a reproduction cannon, two young living history participants demonstrate the fife and drum. Drummers in colonial battles had the important responsibility of drumming out signals to the troops above the loud noise of gunfire. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.



Fig. 21 Three reenactors, dressed in the uniforms of the Third New York Regiment, pull a cannon into position. The National Park Service-trained members of the Fort Stanwix Garrison re-demonstrate safely and properly rifle and cannon firings. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.



Fig. 22 Boulevard Garrison member Lester Mayo in his Third New York Regiment uniform explains cannon firings to an interested group of school children. Fort Stanwix would host many different school and scouting groups over the years. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia



Fig. 23 Marguerite Seibert Hines, portraying Mrs. Joseph Savage, the wife of an artillery officer stationed at the fort, inside a soldier's cast, surrounded by the furnishings typical to an eighteenth century barracks. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.



Fig. 14 This view of the fort's living quarters and resources gives visitors an idea of the artifacts and tools Revolutionary War soldiers had in a garrisoned fort. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia.



Fig. 23 A blanket muffler protects soldier or sentry Lonnie Mayo from a bitter wind as he demonstrates some of the hardships Revolutionary War soldiers endured in defending Fort Edgecliffe. Courtesy of the National Park Service History Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, West Virginia

Telling the fort's story

Considerable planning, coordination, and perseverance by different offices within the National Park Service made the opening and living-history efforts of Fort Stanwix possible. To understand what Fort Stanwix looked like to visitors when it first opened in 1976, it is helpful to examine the years prior to the nation's Bicentennial and the planning process that the Park Service undertook in preparation for the big event. As one of 22 official Bicentennial development areas, Fort Stanwix competed for time and attention to make sure the fort was built, the museum exhibits set up, the film produced, and the fort furnishings planned in time for 1976. Programming for the Bicentennial within the Park Service involved other construction projects, especially building new or enhanced visitor centers in such places as Saratoga National Historical Park in New York or the ill-fated National Visitor Center in Washington, DC. Colonial National Historical Park in Virginia used Bicentennial funding to conduct significant archeological investigations. Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia attracted the largest amount of money to ready the site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence for the expected onslaught of visitors. The Park Service renovated the area around Independence Hall, designed a visitor center, built a pavilion for the Liberty Bell, and memorialized a suite of buildings once owned by Benjamin Franklin by using imaginative ghost structures. These steel structures outlined the size and shape of the houses and print shop that had once stood there. The Park Service had rejected full reconstruction of these buildings due to the lack of complete archeological and historical evidence. However, the Park Service did reconstruct at Independence NHP the Graff House, where Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, and the City Tavern, where colonial leaders met and discussed separation from Britain. Fort Stanwix, at an approximate cost of $6.5 million for research, design, plans, exhibits, project supervision, overhead, and contingencies, came out as the second largest Bicentennial undertaking. All of these projects had highest priority within the Service, but a vast array of other agency projects, not directly related to the Bicentennial, also competed for attention. Just in terms of construction projects, in addition to Fort Stanwix, the Park Service had committed itself to reconstructing Fort Vancouver in Washington and Bent's Old Fort in Colorado.[19]

From the perspective of the Park Service, Fort Stanwix had already advanced far enough along the pipeline that managers did not foresee any significant roadblocks to its scheduled completion. It had an approved master plan and three seasons of archeological fieldwork under its belt by the time the Service officially began funding Bicentennial projects in July 1973. In contrast, at Morristown National Historical Park in New Jersey, the agency still had to approve a master plan in 1973 and then begin working with the county to have a road built to bypass the park. That work got done, but the Service, through its Bicentennial Action Group, kept close watch on it and all the Bicentennial projects. The Action Group, chaired by Deputy Director Russell Dickenson and composed of Bicentennial coordinators from each involved region, met every six weeks to make sure the different projects progressed steadily. Any complications received immediate corrective attention. In some cases, the Park Service dropped projects that could not meet the December 1975 deadline set by Director Ronald Walker (Gary Everhardt would succeed Walker as Director during the course of Bicentennial planning). Other potential

[19] Merrill J. Mattes, *Landmarks of Liberty: A Report on the American Revolution Bicentennial Development Program of the National Park Service* (Washington, DC: NPS History Division, 1989; originally completed 1976), 2-4, 9, 11, 75-81, 83-88, 94-97.

projects did not receive funding due to the inflationary economic times and the need to focus attention on other projects considered more worthy. Although the Park Service received approximately $100 million over the course of the three years to complete its Bicentennial programming, this funding did not constitute an addition to the agency's normal budget. Rather, that money came as a substitution for the normal budget, necessitating the deferral of other projects until after the Bicentennial. Again, Fort Stanwix had the benefit of having much of its planning work completed before July 1973. Its share of the actual Bicentennial funds went directly to fort reconstruction and interpretive work. As the example in Rome shows, the total $100 million of NPS Bicentennial funding does not take into account such pre-planning work completed at Fort Stanwix and other sites.[20]

Complicating the funding situation, severe personnel ceilings previously imposed by President Nixon restricted any new hiring in all federal agencies. This situation hit the Denver Service Center (DSC) particularly hard. It had only become in 1972 the technological center for all Park Service research, planning, design, and construction work. Recent staffing of regional offices from DSC had depleted its ranks, leaving the Park Service with trying to find more bodies without violating federal hiring restrictions. The Historic Preservation Team, especially with regard to historical architects and restoration specialists, experienced the most critical shortages in the face of all the reconstruction and restoration work to be done for the Bicentennial. A four-pronged approach helped alleviate the situation: reassignment of internal personnel, use of "other than permanent" position descriptions, recruitment of specialists from state offices and academia, and contracting with outside consultants. Because much of the construction work had an interpretive component, such as building visitor centers that would house museums and theater space, the Denver folks had to make sure they coordinated with staff at the interpretive production center for the Park Service at Harpers Ferry Center (HFC). Similar personnel shortages at HFC further eroded its ability to handle the increased load, causing it to rely many times on contract specialists.[21] Merrill Mattes, who headed DSC's Historic Preservation Team until his April 1975 retirement and who wrote an administrative history of the NPS Bicentennial program, described the circumstances and how agency officials handled it, writing "The specter of ingloriously 'flubbing it' when handed the greatest crash program in the history of the National Park Service was probably the strongest motivation for those whose sagging shoulders bore the burden of responsibility."[22] Fort Stanwix, in Mattes's opinion, shined. He noted in describing this project that "The combined research of the archeologists [Hanson and Hsu], architect [Carroll], and historian [Luzader] at Fort Stanwix will long stand as a model of interdisciplinary cooperation in historical restoration/reconstruction."[23]

Beyond frenzied planning and building, the Park Service remembered that the Bicentennial celebration required educational and entertaining activities for its visitors. With assistance from Harpers Ferry Center, parks throughout the system developed Bicentennial programming that tied to the themes associated with each unit. Information kits for the media provided background stories, photographs, and other interesting facts to assist reporters in writing about the parks and the Bicentennial. NPS regional offices developed an array of events and exhibits to circulate among the various parks under their purview. The North Atlantic Regional Office created five portable exhibits describing the role of immigrants and ethnic

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[20] Ibid., 5, 9-10; Galvin, transcript of interview, 3-5.
[21] Mattes, *Landmarks of Liberty*, 7-8, 10, 12.
[22] Ibid., 5.
[23] Ibid., 54.

groups in shaping American society. Traveling musical performances brought eighteenth-century music to ten parks while drama troops inspired audiences with the themes and meaning of the American Revolution. School programs in New York City described the history of the city's fortifications over the course of the past 200 years while community programs at Saugus Ironworks in Saugus, Massachusetts, discussed the rise of industrialization in the eighteenth century.[24]

Fort Stanwix fully engaged in the Bicentennial celebrations. Once formally dedicated in May, the fort hosted various traveling plays, including a touring group with actors playing the parts of Franklin, John Adams, Mark Twain, and Abraham Lincoln in "A Little Look Around." This show, developed for the Park Service, examined the accomplishments of the United States in a whimsical way and ended with a surprise. On the Fourth of July, remains of eight bodies found outside the park boundary during urban renewal excavation were reburied in a public ceremony. Probably the remains of eighteenth-century soldiers who had served at Fort Stanwix, these bones were re-interred in a Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldiers, designed by local area resident Lorimer Rich. Rich had also designed the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery. Fort Stanwix staff and Garrison members served as pallbearers, honor guard, and gun crew for a military salute. The Rome Historical Society had purchased the site for the memorial from the Rome Urban Renewal Agency and had organized a public subscription to raise funds for the monument. Throughout the summer, the fort had Sunday afternoon musical performances by the Third New York Regiment drum and fife corps or by the Bagpipe Band of Fraser's Highlanders. Tom Two Arrows, a member of the Leni-Lanape tribe, also known as the Delaware Indians, and a specialist within the Park Service on Indian culture, stopped at the fort for a weekend and shared his knowledge of Indian culture and skills with visitors. On 3 August, the fort also held a special flag raising in honor of the 10 days long celebration in Rome for Fort Stanwix Days.[25]

What might a typical visit to Fort Stanwix encompass during its opening year? Visitors would walk across the drawbridge and be greeted by a Garrison member acting as sentry on duty. That person, under strict orders to maintain an eighteenth-century persona, would give a greeting and possibly mention the weather or ask if the visitors had seen any enemies near the fort. If confused by such talk and not prepared for the fort's living-history approach, the sentry would point the way to the park visitor contact station in the West Barracks, where uniformed park rangers would answer queries and explain the parks' interpretive approach. While there, visitors would more than likely watch *Siege*, the park film reenacting the anxious days of the 1777 siege. Hanson had carefully worked with the interpretive staff at Harpers Ferry Center to make the film as historically accurate as possible.[26] Once completed, Hanson expressed his

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[24] Summary Minutes, 71st Meeting, 7-10 October 1974, Advisory Committee Meeting, 25-26, NRHE Files; North Atlantic Regional Office, File FY 76 Activity Description and Budget, RG 18 Bicentennial Celebration, HFC; David A. Richie to Assistant to the Director for Bicentennial, Monitoring of Bicentennial Activities, 4 March 1975, No File or Box, RG 18, HFC.

[25] Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Bicentennial Activities Report, 29 September 1976; and Phyllis Smith to John Moroney, 26 February 1976, both in Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives. "July 4, 1976," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [5 July 1976], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1976-1977, FOST Archives; "Tribute to First Americans to Fall Marks City Salute to Third Century," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 July 1976; "Fort Stanwix Days," Travel News: New York State Department of Commerce, 28 July-1 August, File Fort Stanwix NM, Series IV Areas, Group WASO, RG 18, HFC; Stephen Del Giacco, "Tribesman Ambassador at Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [Summer 1976], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1970, 1975, 1976, 1977, FOST Archives.

[26] Hanson, transcript of interview, 10, 12.

pleasure in the film's ability to capture the mood of the events. "I got emotionally wrapped up in the drama and was really moved at times. . . . we're going to have people jumping out of their seats and kids cheering."[27]

The film did, over time, generate complaints from American Indians. Some expressed concern over the portrayals of soldiers and their attitudes towards Indians. The only references to Indians mention scalpings and violence toward whites. None of the Indians portrayed in the film include the Oneidas who served as scouts and provided useful information to the American patriots. To address concerns, Hanson had his staff introduce the film by emphasizing the positive role the Oneidas had played and to avoid terms like "savages." The park museum also did not address the role of American Indians in the history of the fort due to the lack of Indian-related artifacts uncovered during the archeological dig. And, Hanson's initial efforts to have local Indians participate in the living-history program failed. He found Indian politics to be "terribly complex" and "frustrating," with the end result being that no one would make a commitment to represent Indians in the fort.[28]

Yet, the City of Rome did begin to build some bridges, if only temporary, with the local Indians. Mayor Valentine approached Chief Ray Elm of the Onondaga Indian Reservation about having a statement about the role of the Oneidas inscribed on the Tomb of the Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier. Elm accepted this important recognition and began meeting with Joseph Vincent, executive director of the Rome Historical Society, to find ways to further the relationship. Oneidas discussed selling their handicrafts at the Fort Stanwix Museum, and Chief Elm shared stories about the origins, lifestyles, and hardships of the Oneidas. He also tried to educate his white audiences about the Fort Stanwix treaties and why the Oneidas believed that New York State owed them hundreds of millions of dollars in restitution for settling lands that had been occupied by their ancestors. Hanson had noted that he did not favor emphasizing in the park's interpretation the history of the fort's treaties with Indians because of the legal battles erupting over this issue.[29]

Other problems surfaced with the park museum and archeological collection. The museum's narrow entrance in the East Casemate generated a lot of back ups from people trying to get through to the display cases. Dust stirred up from all of the movement from the visitors descended through the quarter-inch gaps between the removable and fixed plexiglass panels, accumulating on the fragile artifacts. Insects also found their way inside, forcing park staff to clean the objects on a monthly basis. Ineffectively controlled humidity levels from the nearby storage area complicated the situation and corroded some of the iron artifacts on display. Harpers Ferry Interpretive Specialist Nan Rickey had recommended in the park's Interpretive Prospectus (1975) that the museum and archeological collection area be linked. The bulk of the collection would be stored in the concrete tunnels connected to the East Casemate. Rotating artifact displays could be set up in front of the artifact storage shelves and cabinets for visitors to peruse as they toured the museum. Despite Rickey's specification that proper environmental controls be used to ensure dehumidification and temperature levels for optimal care of the artifacts, corrosion began to appear. Hanson later admitted that he and his colleagues had not

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[27] Hanson to Chief, Audiovisual Arts, Harpers Ferry, Fort Stanwix film, 20 October 1975, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives.

[28] Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, Treatment of Indians at Fort Stanwix, 6 July 1976, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives; *Siege* park film, FOST Interpretive Files.

[29] "Oneidas To Be Honored for their Role in Revolution," 11 February 1976, and "Chief Recalls Indian's Role in First Fight for Freedom," 10 March 1976, both by Joan K. Kahler in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Hanson to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 6 July 1976.

given enough attention to the proper storage of the archeological collection. "One of the mistakes we made, I think, was the storage area that we set aside for the archeology, for the artifacts. It just really wasn't adequate. . . . ."[30] Carroll agreed, saying that "I think the artifact storage could have been made useable if it had been planned that way from the very beginning, but it wasn't."[31] Rickey's recommendation for the collection served as an optimal choice from a limited number of options, considering that the park only had the fort buildings available for storing and displaying the archeological artifacts. Once the Park Service completed the second phase of the fort reconstruction in 1978, Hanson had the entire museum moved to the West Casemate, providing more room for visitors and new display cases to seal out dust.[32] But, for visitors of 1976, the museum generated admiration and awe for its plush carpeting and "ultra-modern"[33] feel in direct contrast to the austere exterior of the casemate.

Some memorable people from the past probably greeted visitors as they strolled around the fort's parade ground and peeked inside the different quarters. Lester Mayo and Joe Occhipinti played roles as soldiers while Marcel Rousseau, beginning in 1977, developed the part of a French-Canadian trader and set up a trading post in the fort for visitors to examine. Rick Martin joined the NPS staff in 1976 and became an expert in black powder usage and training. He often dressed in a soldier's uniform and participated in various encampments with Garrison members. Each of these reenactors used their well-researched knowledge about their characters to make the fort come alive for park visitors. Martin remarked later that he is normally a reserved kind of person, but when he put on the Revolutionary War uniform, he had to break out and initiate visitor contacts. He also found that he had to translate the myriad information he knew into something visitors could use and understand. "There are ways to get the answer across to visitors in first person," Martin commented, "but you must be creative."[34]

Marguerite Syfert-Hines always attracted attention for her infallible and creative portrayal of the wife of an artillery officer. Syfert-Hines seemed to forget the twentieth century when she put on the persona and dress of Mrs. Joseph Savage. Many a visitor took on the challenge of trying to break her from her role, all unsuccessfully. Chester Seidel wrote after her death in 1992 that "Mrs. Savage stood strong to the challenge"[35] when his brother-in-law made several attempts to draw her out. Syfert-Hines could stay in character because she knew so much about eighteenth-century life. She was a "walking encyclopedia,"[36] as Laura Sawyer once described her. She studied historical fort journals and used their descriptions of daily practices to determine her own activities at the fort. She could knowledgeably talk about how she sent wool

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[30] Hanson, transcript of interview, 7.
[31] Carroll, transcript of interview, 17.
[32] NPS, *Interpretive Prospectus: Fort Stanwix National Monument*, July 1975, 24, FOST Archives. Hanson to Manager, HFC, Dust in Exhibit Cases, 13 July 1976; Hanson to Director, NARO, Artifact Display Area, 7 September 1976; and Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, Moving the Artifact Display at Fort Stanwix, 12 October 1976, all in Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, FOST Archives. Jack E. Stark to Assistant Manager, North Atlantic/Mid-Atlantic Team, DSC, Relocation of Exhibits Fort Stanwix, 7 April 1977; and Gilbert W. Calhoun to Manager, HFC, Fort Stanwix Artifact Display, 17 June 1977, both in File D6215 FOST 74-76, Box 9, Acc. 83-0001, RG 79, Waltham FRC.
[33] Coplon, "The Fort Is Authentic but not Bleak."
[34] Lester I. Mayo, Obituary, 5 July 1983, and Marcel G. Rousseau, Obituary, 9 July 1983, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. William Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, National Park Service Employee Safety Award, 30 October 1985, Binder No label [1985 correspondence], FOST Archives. Rick Martin, email message to the author, 30 January 2004, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives. Quote by Martin in email message.
[35] Chester Seidel, Letter to the Editor, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 24 October 1992.
[36] Sawyer, transcript of interview, 2.

down to Fort Plain for weaving or traded wool and linen to the Indians for maple syrup, Indian corn, or beans and fruit, based on what she could gather from reading historical sources. She made her own ink as the colonists would have, out of the husks from black walnuts, butternuts, and charcoal, and she spun wool or knit stockings regularly, just as women of the time would have done. She also did backwards genealogy, checking to see if descendants from people who served at the fort still lived in the area. This information helped her answer questions when a person sought information about a past relative. Always eager to share her knowledge, Syfert-Hines even compiled a cookbook of recipes typical of the eighteenth century and a teacher's guide for school groups.[37] In 1979, Syfert-Hines earned a special achievement award from the park for her contributions to the living-history program. Hanson wrote, "You are the one interpreter most vividly remembered by visitors and commented upon to me and by mail."[38]

Interestingly, the first-person living-history program practiced at Fort Stanwix went in direct contradiction to the park's Interpretive Prospectus (IP). Interpretive specialist Rickey agreed in the IP that living history would provide a beneficial approach for visitors to learn about the fort, but she flatly emphasized that "Costumed interpreters will not assume a first-person posture in talking with visitors. They will, rather, be costumed interpreters engaged in historic activities, thus being free to discuss all facets of the history of the fort. . . ."[39] This approach followed the example of Williamsburg, where costumed interpreters discussed life in colonial Virginia while also retaining their twentieth-century identities. Rickey wanted Fort Stanwix to ensure that its visitors went home with an understanding of the central story of the 1777 siege and its repercussions in helping to determine the successful outcome of the Battle of Saratoga and eventually, American Independence. However, she also allowed for special programming to extend the story of the fort beyond 1777 to earlier and later historic events associated with the fort. Talks about the archeological dig and its collection of artifacts also deserved consideration according to Rickey. In the end, Rickey recommended using first person in the park film to communicate the events at the fort. Willett and his published autobiography might serve as a way to frame the film.[40]

Documentation has not been found to explain why Hanson favored using first-person interpretation. He later said that he wanted visitors to appreciate what Revolutionary War soldiers had experienced while living in the fort.[41] He insisted that the costumed sentry welcome visitors in strictly eighteenth-century style. If asked how far to Albany, the sentry should answer in colonial time and say four days. Hanson did not want to break the spell the Garrison provided. Certainly, he had support for this idea from people like Syfert-Hines and other enthusiastic members of the Garrison. And, he reported every step of the formation, training, and practice of the Garrison to his regional director Jerry Wagers without receiving any known reprimands for not following the IP. Larry Lowenthal, the park's first historian, supported the first-person approach and served as a resource to the Garrison. Lowenthal opted to stay in his Park Service

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[37] Jay Reiner, "Mrs. Syfert Becomes Mrs. Savage at Rome's Ft. Stanwix," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 18 June 1978; Joan K. Kahler, "Take a Taste of History from the Hearth," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 27 July 1977; Bob Lessels, "Colonial Cookbooklet Offers Taste of the Past," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, 30 December 1977; Arlene C. La Rue, "Living History." "Teacher's Pre-Visit Guide to Fort Stanwix," FOST Archives.

[38] Hanson to Syfert, Special Achievement Award, 15 March 1979, Reading Files 1979, FOST Archives.

[39] NPS, *Fort Stanwix Interpretive Prospectus*, 12.

[40] Ibid., 3, 9, 11-12, 17-20, 24.

[41] Hanson, transcript of interview, 14.

uniform, providing a counterweight to the living-history program and to ensure that visitors understood that the National Park Service managed the site.[42]

Louis Torres's Historic Furnishing Study from 1974 guided restoration of the fort and its depiction of soldier life. Torres had the task of transforming the barren spaces inside each casemate and barracks into a credible re-creation of the original fort. He relied heavily upon John Luzader's historical account and Orville Carroll's architectural design work, and both of these men reviewed and made recommendations to ensure accuracy. Torres discussed everything from the range of weapons that soldiers had for defense to what the water barrels may have looked like. He provided suggestions on how the Officer's Quarters differed from that of the enlisted men and explained arrangements for storing provisions. Each soldier, according to the historical record, had a mattress made of straw and two blankets for warmth. Reproduction items for cooking, sewing, chopping wood, and conducting other business as it would have been during 1777 enlivened rooms and provided props for the living-history program.[43] These furnishings, rich in historical detail, also reminded visitors of the austere life soldiers endured. Hanson noted that park visitors got the message and that "the troops got several offers of food, clothing and companionship to improve their lot."[44]

Rome in 1976

The transformation of Fort Stanwix into a living and breathing Revolutionary War fort occurred simultaneously with the modernization of the city of Rome. Mayor Valentine presided over the changes, with the continued direction of William Flinchbaugh for the urban renewal work. The Rome Common Council provided the legislative backing for all the legal paperwork and ensured that the city kept in mind the concerns of its citizens. The opening of the new plant and offices of the *Rome Daily Sentinel* in November 1971 marked the first development by private enterprise in the urban renewal area. A Philipson's store quickly followed, and work progressed on building residential and commercial spaces.[45]

The city crystallized its conception of the central shopping plaza, located two blocks west of Fort Stanwix. To encourage pedestrian traffic through the plaza area of West Dominick and Washington Streets and into the already established shopping center on Erie Boulevard, Rome built a living bridge, large enough to hold commercial establishments, across Erie Boulevard. Additional parking came from underneath the central plaza and in two conveniently located parking garages at Liberty and George Streets and across from the fort on James Street. On the northerly side of the central plaza stood the new Rome City Hall, focusing attention on the city's modernized downtown. Other new buildings along the central area housed banks and retail developments.[46]

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[42] Ibid., 12; "Second in Command at Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [Spring 1976], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1974-1975-1976, FOST Archives.

[43] Luzader, et al., *Fort Stanwix*, 82-85, 96-98, 107-08.

[44] Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, Bicentennial Activities Report, 29 September 1976, 1.

[45] "Redevelopment Proves Beneficial to Both Sentinel and Renewal Effort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 13 November 1971; Annual Report of the Executive Director, Rome Urban Renewal Agency, as included in special supplement to the *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 24 January 1972.

[46] Ernest M. Gray, "UDC Proposes Extensive Renewal Plan Changes, Parking Revision," 23 March 1973; Gray, "Council Leaning Toward City Hall Location on Superblock Parcel 26," 20 June 1974; photograph and caption, "Last Landmark on Site of Fort Stanwix Razed," 30 October 1974; photographs and captions, "Rome's First Parking Garage," 17 November 1975, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

With all of the bulldozing of buildings and construction of modern ones, many people in Rome felt the need to ensure visual harmony between the new downtown and the areas directly surrounding it. The National Park Service also wanted assurances that the city's architectural elements around the fort would not adversely encroach upon the historic scene. The Service understood that any modern buildings near the fort would look incongruous next to the fort, and this incongruity was seen as an asset, if carefully monitored. Architectural/Engineering contractor Duryea and Wilhelmi noted in its Comprehensive Design Report that the "abruptness of change will only reinforce [the fort's] interpretive impact"[47] in comparison to the modern city. But, concerns existed, especially with regard to building heights and the look and condition of buildings near the fort. For example, the Park Service did not want tall buildings looking down into the fort, upsetting the eighteenth-century aura surrounding park visitors. One suggestion for addressing architectural standards came from Rep. Alexander Pirnie in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Pirnie thought that Rome ought to build on its historic past. He envisioned a "Williamsburg of the North," in which any construction in Rome's downtown would be true to the city's architectural past. Instead of replacing everything with twentieth-century designs, Pirnie wanted to preserve and renovate what remained. Rep. Sherwood Boehlert, who served as Pirnie's chief of staff, remembered Pirnie advocating for shops to dress their clerical help in period costumes. Such an approach would set Rome apart from other Northeastern cities also undergoing urban renewal, making the city special and tying it directly with the fort. Rome's Common Council discussed the idea, as urban renewal director Flinchbaugh remembered, but they ultimately chose new modern construction.[48]

Still, the Park Service and others wanted some visual guidelines placed on new construction surrounding the fort and urban renewal area. Supporters, including planning board member Parker Scripture, argued that such restrictions might be one of the most important first steps Rome could take to encourage tourism. The legislation would bar shoddy commercial construction while also preserving buildings of architectural stature and interest that could draw tourists. As Mayor Valentine stated, Rome did not want a "Coney Island atmosphere" to destroy the attractiveness of any of the historical or modern developments. Instead, Valentine wanted tourists to feel so welcome that they would return and tell their friends. In March 1971, the Common Council established a historic and scenic area zone to fall under the Historic and Scenic Preservation Regulations (Ordinance 3359), originally dating from November 1967. The newly created zone extended from one to two blocks beyond the urban renewal area. These regulations required approval of the planning board for any construction or alterations of buildings, with the intent of controlling such aspects as building heights and design considerations. The Park Service noted these restrictions in its Environmental Assessment and Proposed Development Concept Plan for Fort Stanwix.[49]

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[47] Duryea and Wilhelmi, Comprehensive Design Report, December 1973, 2, FOST Archives.

[48] Duyrea and Wilhelmi, Memo to Files, Meeting with Rome Urban Renewal Agency, 10 October 1973, 3, File CX-2000-4-0007 FOST, Box 28, Acc. 079-81-0009, Denver FRC; Boehlert, transcript of interview, 1-2; Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 3-4.

[49] Ernest M. Gray, "Establishment of Historic Zone Draws No Opposition at Hearing," 16 March 1971; and "Creation of Historic and Scenic Preservation Area Is on Agenda," 3 December 1970; Kay Urtz, "Revitalized City Pictured," 18 May 1971, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Ordinance No. 3359, Historic and Scenic Preservation Regulations, 15 November 1967, File H3417 FOST NHL File and copy NRHE File, FOST Archives. Ordinance No. 3514, Establishing an Historic and Scenic Preservation Area Located in the City of Rome, 17 March 1971, File Rome, NY General, Geographic Files, National Trust Library, Univ. of Maryland.

Valentine and others knew that if Rome wanted to build a strong tourism industry, the city would have to provide more attractions than Fort Stanwix. Fortunately, the city had other connections to the nation's past, most notably being the home of the Erie Canal. When Economic Research Associates analyzed the potential tourist trade in Rome in 1966, the firm included the development of an Erie Canal Village-Fort Bull attraction. Turning Rome into such a museum town, "The City of American History," would achieve visitation rates as high as 750,000 in 1977, the analysts predicted. Such a tantalizing combination of historical attractions, according to *Sentinel* editor Fritz Updike, would certainly encourage people to travel some distance and spend the night to enjoy each site. The tourism numbers would thus translate into needed tourism dollars. Under the direction of the Historic Rome Development Authority (HRDA), the Erie Canal and Village began to take shape. A million-dollar city bond, passed in April 1971, provided the initial funding. Crews dredged the original canal bed and accompanying horse path between the South Charles Street location of the Village to Fort Bull, about two miles down. Narrow-gauge tracks provided a four-mile roundtrip train ride for visitors. The Canal Village included museums, a nineteenth-century home, a railroad station, a church, a school building, and visitor service buildings. An outdoor amphitheatre would host productions depicting canal life. In June 1973, Mayor Valentine officially christened the reproduction 1840-era packet boat *Independence*. In its first two years of operation, the Erie Canal Village hosted more than 43,000 total visitors.[50]

Other tourism efforts built on the base provided by Fort Stanwix and the Erie Canal Village. In 1972, Dr. Gabler, who had sent Orville Carroll to see Fort Ligonier to compare its design features to Fort Stanwix, opened the Fort Rickey Game Farm with its collection of large animals. To ensure publicity of these different sites and to coordinate group tours, Hanson and others started a committee on tourism. This effort led to the creation of visitor information centers in Rome, publication of a historical map of the city, placement of signs around Rome, and resumption of a shuttle bus service. Hanson also served on the Board of Directors of Leatherstocking Country, New York, a regional task force led by Rep. Donald Mitchell. This group sought ways to tie together a regional package of tourism sites to attract visitors.[51]

The Rome Historical Society continued to outfit its museum with pieces related to the city's past. Two items in particular generated some publicity and recognition in 1974. First, the society acquired a prized powder horn, carved by a James Young while stationed at the still-British fort in 1758. This horn, showing the four walls of the fort and its main entrance and sallyport, joined six other powder horns in the collection. A more remarkable found object appeared in October. A local antiques dealer came across the long-lost 1897 Peter Hugunine painting of Fort Stanwix, called *Willett's Sortie* (See Fig. 3). An aerial view of the sod and log

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[50] Economic Research Associates, *Analysis of Economic and Urban Renewal Potentials*, III-2. Editorial, "Who Would Come to Fort Stanwix?" 11 June 1968; Editorial, "Those Old Buildings on Fort Site," 4 April 1969; Ernest M. Gray, "Historic Development Unit Tells Audience of 10 about Its Plan," 12 January 1971; "Rome Banks Back Fort-Canal Project," 2 April 1971; R. Patrick Corbett, "Million $ 'Baby' Ok'd," 30 April 1977; Ernest M. Gray, "Canal-Fort Bull Tourism Bonds Voted," 30 April 1971; David A. Dudajek, "Work Along Erie Goes on in Winter," 30 December 1972; David A. Dudajek, "Launching of Canal Boat Called Beginning of New Industry Here," 18 June 1973; Pat Longergan, "Rome Will Treat Visitors to 'Time Machine' of American History," 30 December 1975, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[51] Sally Widman, "Rome '72: From Muck to Spaceage Nursery," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 31 December 1972; Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, Appointment to Regional Tourism Task Force, 6 November 1974, Reading Files 1/2/73-12/26/73 and 1/15/74-12/18/74; and Hanson to Valentine, 10 June 1976, Reading Files 1/6/75-1/5/76 and 2/3/76-12/29/76, both in FOST Archives. Hanson, transcript of interview, 19.

fort, the painting shows Willett and his men outside the fort's walls, getting ready to raid the British and Indian encampments. The painting had disappeared soon after its completion. Its last public display had been in Utica in November 1897. Hugunine had had postcards made from the painting, and they became the only visual record remaining until its re-discovery. The society had the painting refurbished and then proudly displayed it in its museum.[52]

Despite these promising efforts in Rome, signs of trouble rumbled just beneath the surface by 1976. Merchants in the downtown area battled the urban renewal agency, arguing that the parking layout did not meet the needs of their shoppers. Disagreements arose over who was responsible for maintaining the mall area, until the city finally assigned this duty to its parks department. When planning and community development director Rodger Potocki started in September 1976, he gathered the battle-worn merchants together and spoke of open communication and participation. Potocki offered an olive branch and reminded his audience that when Rome started its urban renewal program, there was a "feeling of almost total euphoria in Rome."[53] He wanted to get that feeling back, but he needed the merchants to work with the city and the urban renewal agency.

But, the problems Rome faced in reviving its downtown went beyond olive branches and open communication. Retail shopping in the United States had started to shift from city centers to fringe communities. Large indoor malls attracted the newest retail establishments and shoppers eagerly followed. With their main thoroughfare Dominick Street cut in half, residents of East Rome opted to take their cars and money to the new malls and shopping centers in nearby Utica rather than negotiate around Fort Stanwix and hunt for parking in an impersonal garage. Urban renewal director Flinchbaugh had recognized the beginnings of this shift even as the city finalized its plans for the city center plaza, but the city remained steadfast. Unfortunately, the predictions of a revitalized downtown did not materialize as people continued to take their shopping dollars elsewhere, and store after store closed. A few signature retail establishments managed to stay alive, but the huge economic resurgence predicted in the 1960s from urban renewal did not materialize.[54]

Visitors and the fort

In 1977, the disappointments of urban renewal remained muted in the wake of further celebrations for the bicentennial of the siege of Fort Stanwix. A 21-day extravaganza culminated with a parade and fireworks on 20 August. Several different marching and musical units, many in colonial dress, provided rousing music for the parade watchers. Special programming remembered the sacrifices made at the Battle of Oriskany. Other events during the extended Fort Stanwix Days included an open house at Griffiss AFB, an Ethnic Day, a Crafts Day, and a St. John the Baptist Church Italian Day. To complete the fort's appearance for the events, personnel from the 416th Civil Engineering crew at Griffiss used a forklift to mount three nine-pound reproduction cannon onto their gun carriages. These cannon had rested inside the fort's Main Gate since the fort's opening in March 1976.[55]

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[52] "Prize Powder Horn Joins Prime Collection," 3 July 1974; and Bernie Zelitch, "Fort Painting Found in Durhamville," 19 October 1974, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel.*

[53] Potocki, as quoted by Dan Murray, "Renewed Spirit of Cooperation Called Key to Downtown Success," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 30 September 1976.

[54] Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 9; Carroll, transcript of interview, 15.

[55] "Pamphlet to Detail Bicentennial Events," 28 June 1977; "Connecticut Fife-Drum Unit To March in Fort Days Parade," 28 June 1977; "Bicentennial Over, Budget Battle Isn't," 26 September 1977; photograph and caption,

With the fort now feted in 1976 and 1977, planning moved forward on the second phase of the reconstruction project. The Park Service identified three major areas to build: the West and North Casemates; the Northeast, Southeast, and Northwest Bastions; and three bombproof passageways under the bastions. Some parts of the original fort remain unreconstructed, including the Necessary or elevated privy, the Ravelin protecting the drawbridge, the Sallyport, and the Guardhouse and the Headquarters Building on the parade ground. B. S. McCarey, under Joseph E. Smith Sr. and Joseph E. Smith Jr. won the second-phase contract as the lowest of two bidders. Construction work, amounting to about $700,000, began in October 1977. As was done for the first phase, steel and concrete provided the strength and durability while log facing gave the fort authenticity.[56]

The log facing and its pressure treatment became an issue during the second-phase reconstruction. Hanson and his staff discovered by mid-1977 a problem with pentachlorophenol (PCP) leaching out of the logs and forming crystals on the outside surfaces of the logs lining the office space used regularly by the park staff. This situation occurred during the wood's weathering process, when excess PCP traveled to the log's surface and crystallized. PCP is a highly toxic substance that is readily absorbed through the skin and can cause such adverse reactions as painful irritation of the mucous membranes of the nose, throat, and eyes. Prolonged exposure could ultimately result in coma or death. A January 1978 environmental-medical survey by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) determined that airborne levels of PCP fell at about 40 percent of the Federal Standard levels, and urine samples of the effected park employees showed signs of the chemical. Two employees reported having physical symptoms they attributed to the work environment. In response to these results, NIOSH recommended moving the staff from the affected location and carefully removing the crystals through vacuuming and brushing. In the end, the Park Service replaced the contaminated boards.[57]

To prevent any further health contamination during the second phase of the reconstruction, the Park Service instructed McCarey Company to use untreated logs in full-log construction in the interior sections of the buildings. This adaptation led to fungus growth. Following the November 1978 completion of the second phase, the Park Service used portable heaters to heat the affected interior spaces at a 20- to 30-degree temperature differential from the exterior over the course of the winter. This step accelerated the drying process, allowing the moisture content in the logs to drop below 20 percent and thereby curtail any future fungus growth.[58]

With the logs in place and dried, the new fort visitor season opened in April 1979. The South Casemate, which had served previously as the park's headquarters, became a sales and

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"Garrison and Galaxy," 1 August 1977, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Photograph and caption, "Grif Fortifies Fort," *Mohawk Flyer* [Griffiss AFB Newsletter], 3 August 1977.

[56] "Low Bid from Rome Firm on Second Phase of Fort Work," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 10 September 1977. Preconstruction Conference Minutes, 12 October 1977, 3; and Richard Turk to Assistant Manager, Mid-Atlantic/North Atlantic Team, DSC, Trip Report, 14 November 1978, 2, both in File FOST CX1600-7-9007, Box 5, Acc. 079-82-0002, Denver FRC.

[57] NIOSH, Hazard Evaluation and Technical Assistance Report No. TA-77-63, May 1978, 1-3, and recommendations section, File FOST Correspondence 1975-present, NRHE Files; Hanson, transcript of interview, 6-7; Galvin, transcript of interview, 4.

[58] Daniel J. Tobin, Jr. to Regional Director, NARO, Industrial Hygiene Survey, 18 August 1978, File FOST Correspondence 1975-present, NRHE Files; Robert L. Steenhagen to Regional Director NARO, Temporary Heating, 11 December 1978, File CX1600-7-9007 FOST, Box 5, Acc. 079-82-0002, Denver FRC.

storage area. An original brick fireplace graced the newly completed North Casemate. This fireplace had required careful excavation and construction practices to ensure its stability and integrity. As Hanson told one reporter, "We basically built the fort around that fireplace."[59] A glass case covered the fireplace to protect it from curious hands and other harmful conditions. The North Casemate also contained the re-created officers' quarters.[60]

The redesigned fort museum did not open until December 1979. At the dedication, Richard Stanton, director of the recently established NPS North Atlantic Region, presented Fritz Updike with a plaque and identification card naming him an honorary NPS Park Ranger for his unrelenting support of Fort Stanwix. Updike himself remembered the work of the former owner and publisher of the *Sentinel*, Albert Remington Kessinger, who had lobbied for the 1935 legislation authorizing the establishment of the national monument. The expanded museum, in the West Casemate, had many exhibits similar to those found when the fort opened in 1976. Additional labeling, photographs, and text told a fuller story than was possible in the more limited space of the first museum. Trade beads and fragments of utensils and weapons gave visitors a sense of the role played by area Indians at the time of the Revolutionary War. A temporary exhibit displayed artifacts associated with founder Dominick Lynch and his family in Lynchville, the town that eventually became Rome. Photographs of nineteenth-century buildings that had once stood on the fort site reminded visitors of the changes in Rome. A four-minute continuing slide program described the fort's archeological excavation and reconstruction process.[61]

The museum's Indian artifact display built on the participation of Oneida Indians in the park's living-history program. Hanson remembered that this participation came about when members of nearby tribes visited him in his office. They had seen a young woman from the Explorer Scout Troop wear an Indian outfit, and they objected, thinking she was a white playing the part of Indians. Hanson pointed out that she actually had Indian ancestry. From this conversation evolved the idea that Oneidas would train and become involved in the fort's interpretive program. Many of the Indians would not accept wages from the Park Service or other federal agencies, so Hanson turned to the Seneca Indian Nation's CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program to pay for the Indians' time at the fort. Syfert-Hines helped guide the five participants in uncovering the ways in which Indians of the eighteenth-century made their own clothing and designed their handicrafts. The Oneidas also had a rich history in stories that they shared with interested visitors. In summer 1978, as McCarey Company's construction crane and workers dotted the landscape, four Indian women portrayed traders at the fort while a man served as a scout. Using the first-person living-history format, they displayed examples of handcrafts reminiscent of the eighteenth century and talked to visitors about different foodstuffs the Indians introduced to the soldier diet. Breaking occasionally from their eighteenth-century roles, the Indians also provided their own perspective on Indian-white relations. They reminded visitors that the Oneidas had owned the fort's land and thus could not be "thrown out" each night, as portrayed by the park. They also tried to educate

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[59] Hanson, as quoted by R. Patrick Corbett, "New Museum at Fort Stanwix Opens Tomorrow," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 16 December 1979.

[60] "Fort Facilities Being Relocated," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 August 1978; "Fort Will Reopen April 1, But Museum Won't Be Ready," *Utica Daily Press*, 9 March 1979.

[61] R. Patrick Corbett, "Tourist Season Opens with Museum Dedication," 2 April 1980; and Joan K. Kahler, "Museum Dedication Will Mark Opening of Fort's Fifth Season," both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Francis L. Crumb, "When Fort Stanwix Opens Visitors Will See Fireplace in New Museum," no date [January 1980] or publication info, Binder FOST Newsclippings 1979-80, FOST Archives. Corbett, "New Museum Opens Tomorrow."

people about their continued use of the court system to seek the return of several million acres of land in central New York and billions of dollars in damages. In summer 1979, the fort opened an Indian Trading Center to provide a space for the Oneidas to share their culture and role in the events at Fort Stanwix.[62]

Other interpretive activities at the fort included hosting encampments and sponsoring period musical entertainment. Area scouts frequently requested and received permission to stay at the fort overnight. The Garrison and its living-history program remained a staple, although the initial enthusiasm, driven by the Bicentennial, began to wane. Discussion in early 1979 about how to revitalize the ranks of the Garrison (which had fallen to the not insignificant number of 90 people) included having more events both inside and outside the fort.[63] Updike, always anxious to improve the attractiveness of Fort Stanwix to increase tourism, recommended broadening the time period to address the Indian treaties and other non-1777 historical events that had happened at Fort Stanwix. "Why not drills, of foot soldiers and artillery, including firing practice, regularly outside the Fort? Such activities where they can be seen by the passing public certainly would attract visitors, particularly those from out of town who now drive by understanding very little about what they are passing."[64] Hanson counseled caution toward such ideas. He wanted to ensure that the fort's interpretive efforts did not end up creating a carnival atmosphere, detracting from the careful attention to authenticity that the National Park Service had poured into the fort's reconstruction and administration. "Pageantry within the authenticity of the times" might spark increased interest, but Hanson also noted that "I don't know how we could stay authentic and not lose anything when we hoax it up."[65]

Hanson strongly believed in the living-history approach he had established with the Garrison. He wrote in 1980, "To me, if living history isn't first person, then it isn't living history."[66] But he understood its challenges. Volunteers had to train in great depth so that they could portray their characters accurately and consistently without letting modern language or actions intrude. If they let the twentieth-century escape, they could be reprimanded. Syfert-Hines would gently pinch people to remind them to return to the eighteenth century.[67] Hanson also knew that visitors had to be alerted as to the first-person approach to reduce confusion. Despite these steps, some visitors still resisted the Garrison's technique. A June 1979 article in a Syracuse newspaper described some visitors as disliking the approach because it made the colonial era "too real."[68] When Garrison volunteers exhibited surprise at questions that clearly went beyond the 1777-focus, some tourists found this response frustrating. One Roman suggested having the sentry greet people and explain the first-person approach. "Instead his

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[62] Hanson, transcript of interview, 13. Patrick Corbett, "Oneida Indians Will 'Trade' Again at Fort Stanwix," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 19 March 1978. "Oneidas To Tell of Yesteryear," 26 March 1978; and Roger Segelken, "Historic Myths Dispelled," 23 April 1978, both in *Syracuse Herald-American*. Ann Melious, "Hard Hats and Tricorns Will Bob above Ramparts of Fort Stanwix," 31 March 1978; and "Indian Trading Post Feature of Expanding Fort Stanwix Operation," 17 March 1979, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Bob Lessels, "In 1778 and 1978, Oneidas Welcome Addition to Garrison," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, 8 May 1978. "Oneidas Want Rome Land, Plus $2.5 Billion Damages," *Utica Daily Press*, 8 December 1979.

[63] Crumb, "When Fort Stanwix Opens;" "Boredom Killing Living History? Garrison and Visitor Ranks Down," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 2 January 1979.

[64] Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 January 1979.

[65] Hanson, as quoted in "Boredom Killing Living History?"

[66] Hanson to James Shattuck, 6 May 1980, Reading Files 1980, FOST Archives.

[67] La Rue, "Living History."

[68] Lou Marucci, "Bivouacked in the 18th Century," *Syracuse Herald-American*, 24 June 1979.

actions and speech take the visitors by surprise, and it is very confusing for young and old alike."[69]

Hanson remained stalwart to his living-history program in part as a defensive response to the crescendo of critiques coming from Updike and other Romans. Just as Rome's urban renewal efforts had begun in the late 1970s to show signs of depressed economic returns, the fort's visitation numbers dropped. More than 210,000 people toured the fort its opening year, but less than half that number came in 1977. The numbers continued to spiral downward to around 66,000 in 1980, well after the second phase reconstruction, which hurt attendance records. These results went in direct contradiction to economic research studies and National Park Service predictions. The 1967 Fort Stanwix master plan reported that planning and development consultants Frank and Stein estimated visitor attendance to reach 800,000 by 1980. In the 1974 Fort Stanwix Environmental Assessment and Development Concept Plan, the Park Service continued to reproduce rosy numbers, referring to the 1966 Economic Research Associates Report's figures of as much as 720,000 visitors by 1976. Granted, these figures had been compiled by independent firms working under contract for the City of Rome and its agencies, but the Park Service gave them the stamp of legitimacy by reprinting them, without any comment, in its official reports. Jerry Wagers, in his 1971 role as NPS coordinator for all New York State park sites, tried to temper expectations by offering 100,000 a year by 1980. Updike and others grabbed onto all of these numbers, repeated them in print, and expected such returns.[70] Hanson later said in exasperation, "I got so mad at the Park Service for throwing these numbers out in the first place."[71]

Readers of the *Sentinel* could chart the disappointing visitor numbers and share their own ideas of how to get the park back on track. The paper published weekly accounts of the numbers of tourists who crossed the drawbridge into Fort Stanwix. Some articles even gave totals for each day of the week. Provided by Hanson, these numbers might rise one week and lag the next, and the newspaper always compared one year's numbers to the same week of the previous year, further deflating expectations. Headlines would read "Fort Attendance Hurt by Weather" or "Sunny Skies Help Swell Attendance." Weather certainly factored into the decision for many people to visit the fort, but the *Sentinel's* readers pointed to other variables. According to some of the letters to the editor published between 1977 and 1979, Rome needed to put up more signs and have a large welcome center, similar to the one used in Colonial Williamsburg, to direct tourists. Dedicated onsite parking for Fort Stanwix visitors might make it easier to enter and exit while a grandstand and regular artillery demonstrations and military drilling might draw increased numbers of people. Lighting the fort's outside walls at night might keep it from appearing like a black hole and entice people to tour it in the daytime. Freshening up the city's appearance by making sure walkways remained clear and stores looked attractive might convince

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[69] "Inquiring Photographer," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 10 June 1978.

[70] 1967 Master Plan, 12; Fort Stanwix Environmental Assessment and Development Concept Plan, 1974, 2. Updike, "100,000 Guests: Only for Lunch?" 17 February 1971; "Fort Stanwix Tourist Draw Is Estimated," 17 February 1971; Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," no date [July 1973], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1971-73, FOST Archives; and Pat Lonergan, "Rome's Tourism Needs Outlined," no date [October 1974?], Binder FOST Newsclippings 1974-1975-1976, FOST Archives, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[71] Hanson, transcript of interview, 19.

people to return. Having the city publicize its attractions consistently and aggressively might also help, these letters to the editor suggested.[72]

Hanson routinely informed people like Fritz Updike that Park Service policy prohibited Fort Stanwix itself from advertising.[73] This statement was not entirely accurate. The National Park Service, since its 1916 founding, has promoted its sites in coordinated campaigns, as evidenced in the Bicentennial celebrations. In the 1930s, the Service had a publicity department that routinely developed packages for individual parks to use in advertising.[74] Congress may not have allowed Fort Stanwix to use taxpayer money to pay for specific advertisements in the newspapers, but the park could write articles and encourage regular contact with the press to publicize events. Hanson took a different approach, contributing to local and regional tourism groups. He served as chair of the Fort Stanwix Days planning committee for many years. He also appeared on local radio stations with soon-to-be-mayor Carl Eilenberg, presenting weekly one-minute spots about activities and providing historical background.[75] But, his desire to stay true to his vision of living history and forego regular publicity-generating events did not encourage large numbers of visitors to return to the fort. Off hand statements, published in the *Sentinel*, such as "If you saw the fort last summer, you'll have a good picture of what it will be like this summer,"[76] are not words to encourage repeat visits. Updike made a special plea for more events and activities at the fort to generate tourist interest, to counteract a "tone of negativism among spokesmen of the National Park Service."[77]

National economic conditions perhaps had a larger role in discouraging travel to Fort Stanwix. Persistent gas shortages, an energy crisis, and a failing national economy took a toll on fort visitation. When Hanson checked the park guest register for 1979, he found that the numbers of people visiting beyond a 50-mile radius from the fort dropped while those within that radius increased. Such findings he attributed to the gas shortage, although they could also be explained by the lack of concerted publicity beyond the fort's immediate surroundings.[78]

Fort Stanwix did try to better assist those visitors who did come. In response to concerns raised about the meadow surrounding the fort, with tall grass that some considered difficult to see across, Hanson agreed to mow it about once a month. However, he wanted to maintain some historicity, leaving some height so that it did not look like a manicured lawn. Chemical treatment and elevating the pathways around the fort helped to reduce the mud problem that had discouraged visitors during certain times of the year. To brighten the fort's appearance at night, the Park Service lighted the flagpole.[79]

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[72] "Fort Attendance Hurt by Weather," 15 May 1978; Joan K. Kahler, "Sunny Skies Help Swell Attendance," 12 June 1978; "Thoughts of a Former Roman," 25 August 1977; "Message for Rome Merchants," 27 March 1978; "Suggestions for the Fort," 26 March 1979, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel.*

[73] Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," 17 February 1978; Andy Armstrong, "That Free Visit to Fort Stanwix Cost $17 a Head," 23 August 1979, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel.*

[74] See Joan M. Zenzen, "Promoting National Parks: Images of the West in the American Imagination, 1864-1972" (University of Maryland, PhD diss, 1997), especially 283-330; Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 93-119.

[75] Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, 1977 Annual Report, 16 March 1978, Reading Files 1978; and Hanson to Regional Director NARO, 1979 Annual Report, 25 February 1980, Reading Files 1980, both in FOST Archives.

[76] Hanson, as quoted by Ann Melious, "Hard Hats and Tricorns."

[77] Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 January 1979.

[78] Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, Visitation Patterns at Fort Stanwix, 25 February 1980, Reading Files 1980, FOST Archives; 1979 Annual Report, 2.

[79] Hanson to Regional Director, NARO, 26 July 1978; and Hanson to F. P. McManamon, Maintenance of Historic Settings in Historical Areas, 14 November 1978, both in Reading Files 1978, FOST Archives. Hanson to Regional

Fort Stanwix was not alone in seeing significant drops in visitation. Attendance at the Erie Canal Village also saw dramatic declines once the Bicentennial period passed. Hosting 44,000 people in 1976 but only 33,000 the following year, the Village faced possible closure from the large loss in revenue. Updike blamed the Historic Rome Development Authority for not advertising the Village adequately. The contrast to New York State's "I Love NY" campaign stood starkly against the Roman experience. Statewide tourism figures had increased 3.8 percent in six months thanks to the highly visible and memorable campaign. Rome did not see any benefits. In 1978, the city's Convention and Visitors Bureau and its manager Ann Peach took on the challenge of publicizing all of Rome's attractions in a concerted program. Requests for information skyrocketed as a result, but by September of 1979, Updike had to write a "Let's Keep the Village Open" editorial, counseling Rome to stick with its tourism commitment. The future of tourism in Rome remained clouded.[80]

Moving on

Some of the people who had made a huge influence on Rome's tourism efforts left the work of revitalizing area attractions to new people. Mayor Valentine, after 16 years at the head of the city, retired in December 1979. His effectiveness in dealing with recent challenges had been hampered by poor health, including Parkinson's disease, but he looked upon the urban renewal effort and tourism commitment as positive steps toward revitalizing the city. "If we hadn't gone into the UR project," he told the *Sentinel*, "I'm sure downtown would be a sorry sight today."[81] Valentine advised his successor, Carl Eilenberg, to "surround himself with knowledgeable, loyal, hard-working people"[82] to succeed, just as Valentine had done.

At Fort Stanwix, Larry Lowenthal left in 1979 to become a historian at the Springfield Armory National Historic Site in Massachusetts. Sandra Lang replaced him as supervisory park ranger. Lang received her ranger training at Saratoga National Battlefield Park. She had also served at Great Falls Park in the Washington, DC, area and at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in West Virginia. A Baltimore native, Lang would institute new programming, such as Noontime Fare, offering regular talks on Fort Stanwix-related historical subjects to people who worked or lunched downtown.[83]

Lee Hanson left the park in November 1980 to become chief of professional services for the Gateway National Recreation Area in New York City. In a parting piece, Updike described Hanson as "a zealot for accuracy and unmovable where he believes integrity is involved. . . ."[84] Hanson reflected that his greatest accomplishments at the national monument included getting the fort built on time and starting the Garrison. By giving it the name of Fort Stanwix Garrison,

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Director, NARO, 1978 Annual Report, Reading Files 1979, FOST Archives. Photograph and Caption, "Shine On, Old Glory," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 November 1978.

[80] "State Boasts of Tourism Boost, But Didn't Survey Here—Where Visitor Volume Dipped," 6 February 1978; Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," 17 February 1978; Editorial, "Let's Keep Village Open," 25 September 1979, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[81] Valentine, as quoted by Murray, "No Question About IT; Rome is Home, Retiring Mayor Says."

[82] R. Patrick Corbett, "Valentine Leaving Mayoralty with Mixed Emotions," *Utica Daily Press*, 20 December 1979.

[83] "Fort Stanwix Historian Transferring to Armory," 26 September 1979; David A. Dudajek, "Assignment at Fort Stanwix Suits Marylander Just Fine," 19 October 1979, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. William Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 1982 Annual Report, 7 April 1983, Reading Files 1983a, FOST Archives.

[84] Editorial, "A Good Man Departs," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 22 October 1980.

he gave it an image, something people wanted to belong to and make successful.[85] Updike believed that Hanson's guiding influence assured its accuracy in portraying life in a frontier post.

Hanson recognized, though, that he as a person had become "wrapped up in [Fort Stanwix] emotionally as well as physically," stagnating creativity. "You can stop coming up with ideas after awhile,"[86] he told one reporter. He did institute a few changes in his last two years at the park. Beginning in 1979, the fort closed to visitors from January through March (since previous years had demonstrated low visitation), but as a way to honor Washington's Birthday, Hanson allowed a special February encampment. Cold temperatures did not detract from the first event, leading Hanson to suggest it on annual basis. The winter encampment allowed living-history interpreters to delve fully into the difficult conditions of eighteenth-century soldiers. For the Fort Stanwix Days celebration in 1980, Hanson invited colonial balladeer Linda Russell from Federal Hall National Monument in Philadelphia to perform. This idea might be one of Hanson's most lasting and unusual legacies. Russell has come back year after year to growing crowds of appreciative listeners.[87]

Hanson had always been one to jump right into a situation. In the days before he became the official superintendent, he had dressed as Col. Peter Gansevoort, complete with his own ponytail. He later got a haircut to fit his superintendency role. With just a few paid staff members, Hanson took it upon himself to contribute in every way he could. "I don't think there was anything in the fort that I didn't do myself," from interpreting to cleaning bathrooms to acting as security guard at night. "I felt like, if I'm going to have credibility, then I'm going to have to do it, too."[88] This hands-on approach characterized Hanson's leadership at the park. As Martin remembered later, Hanson stepped back a bit for park historian Lowenthal to handle budget issues and historical research, but special events continued to fall under Hanson's direct supervision. Martin himself, as a park aid and then park technician, often dealt with the daily fort visitor operations.[89] Hanson paid special attention to the relationship between his paid staff and the Garrison volunteers. "The paid employees and the volunteers worked hand-in-glove. They really were like the same people. . . . .They were all able to do it the same, and there were no jealousies between the people. . . ."[90] By having softball games, an annual eighteenth-century ball, and other shared activities, Hanson ensured that these good feelings remained.[91]

In thinking about his decade of experience at Fort Stanwix and how it would help him with his new position, Hanson believed that "I'm still just as brash and cocky as always, but now I know how to handle affairs better, and I know more about the political process."[92] Hanson gained this confidence through his regular interactions with political and civic leaders throughout Central New York. He had volunteered his time and talents in many productive ways, on tourism boards, in public school system committees, as chairman of the Fort Stanwix Days

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[85] Hanson, transcript of interview, 11-12.
[86] Joan K. Kahler, "'Commandant' Hails Volunteer Spirit in Farewell to Arms," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 November 1980.
[87] Hanson to Robert Showalter, 21 February 1979, Reading Files 1979, FOST Archives; Hanson, transcript of interview, 21; 1980 Annual Report, 1.
[88] Hanson, transcript of interview, 14.
[89] Martin, email message, 30 January 2004. Due to staffing circumstances, Martin went to Morristown NHP in 1978 for one year before returning to Fort Stanwix.
[90] Ibid., 12.
[91] 1977 Annual Report, 3; News Release, Washington's Birthday Ball, 9 February 1979, Reading Files 1979, FOST Archives.
[92] Kahler, "'Commandant' Hails Volunteer Spirit."

observance, and on the board of the Rome Voluntary Action Center. His many awards and recognitions for this service spoke to his commitment to Rome and its community, beyond his duties as superintendent of Fort Stanwix National Monument.[93]

[93] Ibid.

Chapter Five
Holding Down the Fort

As one of his first tasks as the park's second superintendent, William Jackson mended some underlying wounds that had been left open between the City of Rome and Fort Stanwix National Monument. The flag issue remained a primary sore spot. Many people in the city, including elected officials, believed that Fort Stanwix was the first place to fly the Stars and Stripes in battle. Any casting of historical doubt by Lee Hanson had met with a firestorm of protests. Hanson had carefully avoided the topic after his initial fallout with the city, but the point festered. Jackson's regional director, Richard Stanton, alerted him to the problem. The new superintendent recognized that if his administration was going to have a fruitful relationship with the city, he had to sit down with the mayor and discuss the problem. Soon after his arrival in December 1980, Jackson and Mayor Carl Eilenberg had that opportunity. As Jackson later remembered the conversation, both men agreed that since there was no documented proof of what the flag looked like in the historic period, they agreed that the park would fly the 50-star modern flag. "That was not even an issue any longer,"[1] Jackson later said.

This conversation pointed to one of Jackson's important strengths. He talked openly and honestly with everyone. As a Black man in a predominantly white city, Jackson challenged himself and others to keep lines of communication open. In each of his dealings, he believed that each person deserved respect and fair treatment. He carefully followed the rules and regulations of the Park Service to ensure the preservation of the fort under his care, but he also sought ways to engage people of all different backgrounds and walks of life. During his 12-year tenure at Fort Stanwix, Jackson made real strides in increasing minority hiring. He constantly sought ways to bring people together and find areas where each could learn from the other, whether in educational forums or marketing venues to increase the visibility of the fort and other tourism sites in upstate New York. People knew he was listening to them. Jackson had the habit of talking *to* people, repeating their first names throughout his conversations. This device encouraged people to feel at ease, knowing that Jackson remembered them and their ideas. He did not agree with everyone, but he did accord them respect and dignity.[2]

Originally from Oklahoma, Jackson had taken on a range of assignments within the National Park Service before accepting his first superintendency at Fort Stanwix. He had begun as a seasonal ranger at Platte National Park, after his return from serving in the Vietnam War. He was soon hired fulltime and went to Carlsbad Caverns National Park in New Mexico, followed by the Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park in Texas, and then Gateway National Recreation Area in Brooklyn, New York. At Martin Van Buren National Historic Site in Kinderhook, New York, Jackson served as chief of interpretation. From there, he came to Fort Stanwix. Jackson's educational background, with a degree in American history, provided him with an appreciation for the different historic sites where he had served. He had a special interest in Black contributions to the events of the American Revolution and other important phases of

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[1] William Jackson, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 24 April 2003, 8, FOST Archives.

[2] This characterization of Jackson is based on the author's review of correspondence from the Jackson period, in which Jackson often included many direct references to the person he was writing to in his letters, making the letters sound as if he was talking to the person. See also Jackson, transcript of interview, 3-4; Carl Eilenberg, transcription of oral history interview, 31 January 2003, 5, FOST Archives; Griffo, transcript of interview, 5.

American history. Throughout his career, Jackson continued to respect each person, whether a visitor or neighbor or business leader.[3]

Jackson's ability to deal honestly with each person served him up to a point as superintendent. He built good relations with various city and regional organizations, but his efforts failed to leave the lasting impression he expected. Rome businessman Chris Destito remembered Jackson as watching over the fort and maintaining the fort, being a caretaker but not much else. Marie Rust, who served as regional director at the end of Jackson's time at Fort Stanwix, noted, it was a "pleasant park, it was an interesting resource" but it was "just not engaging to the public."[4] Fort Stanwix had "no community presence whatsoever." To Destito and others in the business community, the fort "was just sort of there. . . ."[5] People in Rome had expected great things to happen with Fort Stanwix and the overall urban renewal project, and by the time of Jackson's administration, it became clear that the hundreds of thousands of tourists and tourism dollars would not appear. Jackson tried a range of special programs and events to make the fort visible, but his efforts ultimately did not impress potential tourists or Rome's citizenry.

Instead, Jackson's legacy at Fort Stanwix remains in the people and the fort itself. He built up staffing to support the level of activities he had in mind. He oversaw the cataloging of the archeological collection and tried to arrest its deterioration. He kept on top of the recurrent maintenance issues related to rotting wood. Under his stewardship, Fort Stanwix became a fully functioning park. But, unlike with the flag issue, Jackson did not satisfy the expectations of many people in Rome. Nor did he actively try to address and confront these expectations. For this reason, his tenure remained in the minds of Destito and other Romans as a "period of complacency."[6]

Community challenges

After a short "honeymoon" of getting introduced to the fort and the city of Rome, Jackson received his first challenge to the integrity of the national monument he was charged to protect. Visitation figures after the 1981 tourist season pointed downward yet again, and city leaders vented their frustrations to the local newspapers. Mayor Eilenberg and his tourism director Ann Peach called for more pageantry and artillery demonstrations to liven up the fort and attract people. Peach explained that using special events at the Erie Canal Village had brought its visitation numbers up to match those from the Bicentennial period.[7] Such tactics, plus a strong marketing campaign, could help at Fort Stanwix. "History is not a draw today," according to Peach, "Fun is a draw."[8] Other tourist forts in New York attracted more than 100,000 people each year by regularly scheduling marching drills and cannon firings. They provided guided tours and demonstrated how to cast musket balls. Why couldn't Fort Stanwix do the same? Eilenberg wanted bands, parades, and concerts to liven up the fort's grounds. Chris Destito, as president of Rome's Motel and Hotel Association, agreed. The fort was built for people to see, but the fort was not doing its job of bringing people into the city. Some

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[3] Jackson, transcript of interview, 1; Jackson to Adah Wayelee, 5 May 1981, Reading Files 1981, FOST Archives; "William Jackson," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 7 June 1993.
[4] Marie Rust, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 13 February 2004, 2, FOST Archives.
[5] Chris Destito, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 6 March 2003, 11, FOST Archives.
[6] Ibid.
[7] R. Patrick Corbett, "Fewer Fort Tourists Worries Officials," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 13 September 1981.
[8] Ann Peach, as quoted by Jon Landsman, "Fort is Free, But Is It Fun?" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 6 October 1981.

pageantry would help make it like other successful forts, where "There's more of an army-type atmosphere; . . .more of a show."[9]

As reported in the *Sentinel*, Jackson defended the fort against the city's attacks. He reminded readers that the Park Service was not in the business of making money. Rather, the agency's mission encompassed setting aside and preserving nationally significant areas for the citizenry. He agreed that Fort Stanwix should assist the local community in advertising the fort, including writing regular press releases and sharing park brochures with area businesses and the tourism agency. "We don't want to be provincial," Jackson commented. "We want to insure that nationally and internationally, we're known."[10] However, staffing levels and daily visitation numbers determined whether the fort conducted cannon firings or other special events. These did not happen on a regular predictable schedule, as Peach and Destito wanted to build tourism. Nor would Jackson consider the idea of having daily flag raisings. The 1777 fort raised the flag once on 3 August, and in Jackson's mind, that date was the only historically correct time to raise the flag. Fidelity to the historic scene and its events guided Jackson's management and kept him committed to its major interpretive device, the Fort Stanwix Garrison and the living-history program. Yet, Jackson was even criticized for his devotion to historical authenticity. Eilenberg referred more than once to the air-conditioned offices and movie theatre in the fort, nudging Jackson into defending the multi-use rooms in the supposedly authentic 1777 fort.

The debate over pageantry and tourism at Fort Stanwix grew in intensity, dredging up the buoyant expectations of the urban renewal period. Eilenberg appealed to Rep. Mitchell (R) and US Senator Alfonse D'Amato (D) to see if there was "any way of loosening up the restrictions about what can be done with the fort."[11] Although careful to not point fingers directly at Jackson or his staff, Eilenberg admitted to his frustration about the consistently declining visitation levels. He wanted changes to reverse the downward trend. As described in a 14 October 1981 article in the *Sentinel*, Eilenberg also directly tied the tourism expectations for Fort Stanwix to the urban renewal enthusiasm of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Eilenberg believed that the city's residents "were asked to give up a valuable chunk of downtown and busy mainstreet, [and] they were promised that the city would become a boom town with hundreds of thousands of visitors to Fort Stanwix and a thriving shopping mall." Fort Stanwix attendance figures decreased instead, and "the downtown shopping mall has a lot of holes because Rome didn't become the tourist mecca officials boasted it could be."[12]

And, here, Eilenberg nailed down what would remain the continuing sore point between the City of Rome and Fort Stanwix National Monument. Many people in Rome believed that Fort Stanwix had an obligation to bring tourists, lots of tourists, to the city. "All our problems would be over,"[13] Eilenberg echoed. But, neither Eilenberg nor others in the city remembered who had made those promises, if they were promises.[14] As previous chapters have shown, people like former Mayor William Valentine and *Sentinel* editor Fritz Updike publicized and promoted urban renewal and the fort reconstruction to revitalize the downtown. City-commissioned studies by Economic Research Associates (ERA) and Frank and Stein projected rosy tourism numbers. The Park Service, unfortunately, reproduced these numbers and even

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[9] Destito, as quoted in Ibid.
[10] Jackson, as quoted in Ibid.
[11] Eilenberg, as quoted in "City Trying To Make Fort Stanwix More Fun," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 14 October 1981.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Eilenberg, as quoted in Ibid.
[14] Eilenberg admits in a later interview that he doesn't know who made these original promises. See Eilenberg, transcript of interview, 6.

made some of its own optimistic predictions about future visitation levels. This combination of factors led to the expectation that urban renewal and the fort would in fact bolster the sagging city. But, the reality of an inflationary economy and gas shortages hammered down these projections. Rome also did not develop all of its potential tourism sites, as expected in the ERA report, nor did the city promote tourism as aggressively and consistently as first expected. These range of factors worked against achieving the attendance numbers originally envisioned.[15]

How did visitation to Fort Stanwix during the first half of the 1980s compare to other NPS sites? Fort Stanwix, with an average visitation of 63,000 people, fares favorably in relation to two other National Park Service sites in upstate New York. Women's Rights National Historical Park (NHP), which includes the historic home of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other sites important to the early women's suffrage movement in Seneca Falls, first opened in 1983 with less than 10,000 visitors. By 1988, those numbers soared to almost 23,000. Yet, Women's Rights remained a small park with an admittedly limited audience interested in the course of women's history in the United States. At Saratoga NHP, visitation averaged around 120,000 visitors per year in the mid-1980s. With its extensive acreage and national recognition (every student's US history textbook discusses the Battle of Saratoga but few give details about Fort Stanwix), Saratoga naturally supports large numbers of visitors. Yet, even Saratoga's numbers pale in comparison to such battlefield sites as Manassas National Battlefield Park, located within thirty minutes of Washington, DC, and hosting more than 700,000 visitors during this same time period. Yorktown, the site of the closing battle of the American Revolution, shares visitation with Jamestown as part of Colonial NHP, but their proximity to Williamsburg boosted their visitation to 2.5 million per year. Clearly, people traveled to historic sites during the gas shortages, but location certainly influenced the numbers.[16]

Fort faithfuls defended the park's interpretive program in the face of the city's critiques. Tim Kavanaugh, who served as a park aid and eventually married chief of visitor services Sandra Lang, wrote to the *Sentinel* that personnel levels predicated how often the fort could fire cannons or conduct musket firings. Park Service regulations required that seven trained people be present whenever the cannons were fired. This requirement alone limited the fort's activities. "Every day that manpower was sufficient, demonstrations were held." Kavanugh also took exception to any comparisons between Fort Stanwix's carefully researched and authentically portrayed living-history program and the "'plastic and polyester-made-in-Hong-Kong-souvenir-rubbertomahawk' tourist trap in Lake George. . . ." Fort Stanwix, according to a recent assessment by Paul Risk of the University of Pennsylvania, had an exemplary interpretive program, which other historic sites should emulate, not the other way around, in Kavanaugh's opinion.[17]

The pot shots quieted down, and the city focused on its own efforts to revitalize tourism. One memorable but ultimately ineffective attempt in summer 1982 involved trading in the longtime "Fort Stanwix Days" for "Milk Shake Magic." This switch, meant to liven things up, tied the entire region together in a special "I Love NY" summer festival and honored the dairy industry's important history in Rome. Events included concerts, picnics, ceremonies, a craft fair, and even making the world's largest milk shake. But, the heavy promotion did not succeed.

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[15] Jackson notes this fact about the ERA report in his "Miscellaneous Media Notes," 17 August 1982, 2, Reading Files 1982b, FOST Archives.

[16] Visitation numbers for each Park Service site can be found at www2.nature.nps.gov/NPstats/.

[17] Tim Kavanaugh, "A Modern Defender of Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 17 October 1981.

People in Rome and around the region failed to embrace this change.[18] As one person wrote the *Sentinel*, "There are all kinds of gimmicks that may sound good or bad about Milk Shake Magic, but to my thinking, it just does not appeal."[19]

On the heels of this failed tourist venture, Eilenberg again directed his mounting frustration at Fort Stanwix. While campaigning in August 1982 for the Republican senatorial candidate Whitney Seymour, Eilenberg stated that the fort has "been a tremendous disappointment to the city since it was built seven years ago."[20] The fort had never generated the attendance and tourism dollars that "federal officials and economic researchers predicted,"[21] according to Eilenberg, and federal funding had never provided adequate money to improve the site as a tourist attraction. Seymour added his own misguided assessment of the situation, saying that the federal government treated Fort Stanwix "like an unwanted stepchild, with the result that this expensive facility is a virtual ghost town."[22] The *Utica Daily Press* especially harpooned Seymour for this unfavorable characterization of Rome and its fort. The paper editorialized that "We think Rome should face up to political and economic realities and realize that the National Park Service can't afford to be a travel agency for its parks, particularly a 15-acre monument, unique as it is."[23] Jackson responded in the most professional way possible, referring to the fact that the Park Service did not base a successful tourist season on statistics, but rather on how well its landmarks have been preserved. "When visitors have a quality experience here and understand its place in the past, that's success,"[24] Jackson responded.

Discontent over the fort also revealed itself through a January 1982 proposal to reconnect Dominick Street to James Street through the park's lands. Common Council member Anthony Busciglio introduced this idea. He may be remembered as one of two aldermen who in 1968 had expressed concern over the street closings between East Rome and the rest of the city. In 1970, he had also given Mayor Valentine difficulty over the resolution to buy the fort land from the Rome Urban Renewal Agency and then donate it to the National Park Service. Busciglio and fellow alderman Patsy Spado eventually agreed to the resolution, but their delay tactics had kept the staunch urban renewal supporters breathless. In 1982, Busciglio returned to the street closing issue and argued that East Rome residents feel "shut off from the rest of the city."[25] By building a road on fort land south of the actual structure, Busciglio believed that Rome would be revitalized. Fellow Alderman Donald Burkhart vociferously opposed such a proposal and commenced a shouting match with Busciglio. But in the mind of at least one Roman, Dominick DeFlorio, extending Dominick Street could add some real benefits to the downtown area. A mini high-rise hotel could face the fort, and a big department store or supermarket could use the

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[18] Editorial, "Rome's 'Magic' Begins," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 27 July 1982; Joan K. Kahler, "Fest: Not Enough Magic To Draw Big Crowds," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 2 August 1982. Sandra Lang to Stan McGahey, 21 October 1982, Reading Files 1982b, FOST Archives.

[19] John Williams, "Keep Fort Stanwix Days," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 15 October 1982.

[20] Eilenberg, as quoted by Dave Gymburch, "Mayor Says Fort Stanwix Tremendous Disappointment," *Utica Daily Press*, 9 August 1982.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Editorial, "Ft. Stanwix a 'Disappointment,'" *Utica Daily Press*, 9 August 1982.

[24] Gymburch, "Mayor Says."

[25] Anthony Busciglio, as quoted by Jon Landsman, "Busciglio Wants To Cut Road Across Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 14 January 1982.

additional land opened up by the road. The National Park Service and the *Sentinel* quickly came to the fort's defense, and the road idea vanished.[26]

But, these angry insistent exchanges about the fort and tourism gave everyone pause. What should Rome expect from its fort? How should Jackson and other Park Service managers address these frustrations while keeping in mind their congressional mandates? What goals should the Park Service place on Fort Stanwix? Jackson did not have all of the answers. Yet, he privately expressed his own frustrations at the expectations heaped on the fort by Rome's mayor and others. He wrote in one internal paper, "We are not an amusement park! The sooner city officials realize this the better off all concerned will be." He also chided himself to "not become embroiled in city, county, State or National politics or its candidates rhetoric."[27] Instead, he would focus on managing Fort Stanwix to fulfill the park's purpose as outlined in its 1935 enabling legislation. Succeeding superintendents would make their own decisions about how best to address the city's expectations while also administering their mandates at the fort. In the meantime, tempers simmered, and the city and fort found productive ways to co-exist.

Reaching out to visitors

While steadily handling the challenges from the local community, Jackson quietly and persistently worked to increase the fort's budget and staffing. In his mind, "If we were going to do the credible job that I felt we should be doing as first-person interpretation, we needed people for the story, we needed people for the cannon firing, we needed people for administration, and we needed people in maintenance to just maintain the fifteen acres of lawn there if nothing else!"[28] By 1982, Jackson had 5 full-time employees and as many as 22 other seasonal and part-time employees to support his vision. He wanted more than a small day-use park with limited visitation and limited staff. He had bigger ideas, turning Fort Stanwix into a full-fledged operating park with staffing to meet the expanded demands. He also wanted staffing to reflect more evenly the diversity of America's population. He actively recruited Blacks and other minorities by contacting local Black churches, area community colleges, minority organizations, and state employment service offices. As a Black man himself, Jackson stood out as an example to others in Rome. His interest in creating a diverse work force at Fort Stanwix also reflected continuing national trends following the 1960s-1970s Civil Rights Movement, which sought balancing past inequities between whites and minorities. By the end of 1982, Jackson had achieved 50 percent minority representation on his maintenance staff and 13 percent representation in interpretation and resources management. This trend continued through the 1980s, ranging between 10 and 50 percent minority representation in the staff each year. And, Jackson kept advocating for budget increases to augment his staff and upgrade positions when possible. He saw success by 1984, with a budget more than 33 percent higher than when he first came to the park in 1980. In his own way, he was creating the park, with trained interpreters and dedicated support staff, that Mayor Eilenberg and others in the city had been demanding.[29]

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[26] Dominick DeFlorio, "Favors Street Link," 16 January 1982; Editorial, "Leave Fort Site Alone," 16 January 1982; Jon Landsman, "Road Across Fort Site Draws Park Service Fire," 24 February 1982; Dominick DeFlorio, "Still Wants Street Link," 4 March 1982, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[27] "Miscellaneous Media Notes," 17 August 1982.

[28] Jackson, transcript of interview, 6.

[29] Ibid., 6; Rust, transcript of interview, 4; Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 7 April 1983, 1982 Annual Report, 3, Reading Files 1983a; Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 14 February 1984, 1983 Annual Report, 1, Reading Files 1984a; Jackson to Regional Public Affairs Officer, NARO, 4 March 1986, 1985 Annual Report, 1, Reading Files 1986a; Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 1 March 1988, 1987 Annual Report, 3, Box Retired Files 1988-

What did Jackson have his augmented staff do? He tasked his interpretive division, still under Sandra Lang Kavanaugh, to develop more programming to increase visitation and give the fort an enhanced community presence. These new activities supplemented what the park had already been doing, such as hosting candlelight tours, playing period music, commemorating the anniversary of the fort siege each 3 August with a ceremonial flag raising, and inviting preschool children for a special soldier program at the Jervis Public Library. One new program, called Noon-Time Fare and organized by Judy Horine, hosted different speakers during the lower visitation fall and spring months to give lunchtime talks on topics related to the national parks, the American Revolution, and Fort Stanwix. Within its first year, the program developed a loyal following of senior citizens. Following its success, the park introduced in the fall of 1983 a Sunday lecture series, again to convince more and different people to visit the fort. Also in 1983, Rick Martin, who had become a Park Ranger with law enforcement duties while also handling much of the daily operations of park visitation, initiated a Fortifications Walk. This guided tour around the fort's perimeter attracted attention and was repeated in subsequent years. The fort's first try at scheduling cannon and musket firing demonstrations also happened in 1983, a direct response to Mayor Eilenberg's concerns. Among the offerings off fort grounds, the Family YMCA in Rome began inviting the park staff to give talks or show movies related to the fort's history.[30]

The interpretive staff also reached out to the local school communities and school-aged children. By collecting social studies curriculum guidelines and working directly with area school systems, the fort developed a series of programs at the schools and hands-on fort visits to connect the site to the student's studies. For younger elementary-aged children, Martin and other interpreters brought a soldier's pack filled with articles typical of the period to area schools and demonstrated such eighteenth-century skills as starting a fire with flint and steel or playing a jew's harp. The fort visitor contact station also hosted annual art exhibits by fourth-graders. Students designed paintings, drawings, and quilts along Revolutionary War themes learned in their social studies classes. One school district even videotaped the living-history demonstrations at the fort in 1985 to use in a movie compilation about the history of central New York. This movie would become a springboard for site visits by various classes. The fort hosted special visits in fall 1984 from the Utica Children's Museum, the Utica Zoo, and the Musical Museum in Deansboro to attract families beyond the busy summer months.[31]

1992; Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 6 March 1989, 1988 Annual Report, 2, no file or box label, all in FOST Archives. Jackson to Office of Scientific Studies, NARO, 11 August 1982; "Operating Base for Fort Stanwix over Previous Three Fiscal Years," c. October 1982; Judy Horine, Noon Time Fare, 10 November 1982; "Status of Minority Recruitment and Employment in FY '82 at Fort Stanwix," c. November 1982, all in Reading Files 1982b, FOST Archives. Jackson, State of the Park Message, 28 June 1984, 6, File A5427 Field Offices (Management Reviews), FOST Archives.

[30] 1982 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, c. October 1982, Reading Files 1982b; Rick Martin, Division of Visitor Services, Highlights for 1983, 1, Files A-2621 Annual Reports; Judy Horine, Noon-Time Fare, 10 November 1982, Reading Files 1982b, all in FOST Archives; Steven H. Lewis to File, 13 December 1983, Trip Report, 1, File D-18 FOST, Box 4, Acc. 93-0003, RG 79, Waltham FRC. "Fort Closing for Three-Month 'Siege,'" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 31 December 1982. Martin, email message to author, 30 January 2004.

[31] Judy Horine to The University of the State of New York, 11 July 1983; Jackson to Ernest Cannava, 3 November 1983; Jackson to Management Efficiency Coordinator, NARO, Volunteerism—Local History Art Exhibit, 17 November 1983, all in Reading Files 1983b, FOST Archives. "Free Programs at Fort Stanwix," 27 October 1983; photograph and caption, "Art Show at the Fort," 10 November 1983, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*; photographs and captions, "Frontier Defense," "No Matches," and "Musical Interlude," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, all in 5 December 1983. Kavanaugh to Jackson, NARO Interpretive Specialist (Historian) Trip Report, no date [July 1984], 2, File A-26

In spring 1985, Kavanaugh left the park with some new programming ideas that her successor, Bethel Hagler, expanded. Hagler, a seven-year veteran of the National Park Service, had previously spent several years at Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri. She had also worked at Fort Caroline National Memorial in Jacksonville, Florida. To convince residents to visit the park multiple times, Kavanaugh had developed a film and speaker series to highlight environmental and historical issues of relevance to Fort Stanwix, New York, or national parks in general. Noon-Time Fare continued, but the park added a Sunday afternoon component and invited representatives from area attractions, including the Fort Rickey Game Farm, to visit the fort and talk about their sites. Participants in the living-history program also presented a soldier's life series, which examined the contributions of different ethnic groups and military units. Visitor use jumped by almost ten thousand, as 67,100 people walked the fort's drawbridge and enjoyed the many new activities.[32]

Living history, with first-person interpretation, continued to guide visitor services at the fort. The Fort Stanwix Garrison attracted dedicated volunteers from within the area. The Garrison itself became more self-sufficient as an organization, training its volunteers with guidance from the Park Service and raising money to support its activities and supplies. In 1986, after the Garrison won a small grant, Jackson recognized this self-sufficiency and officially ended having the park supply the volunteer program with clothing, arms, and other reproduction goods. The Garrison would have the same level of support from the Park Service as other reenactment groups received during their encampments. This separation between the Garrison and Fort Stanwix reflected a kind of coming of age for both entities. Of course, any cost savings that Jackson could find in his budget would help with overall interpretation, preservation, and maintenance of the site. But, there was also a change in the fort and its volunteer force. The Garrison had benefited from the direct hand of Lee Hanson and others in its establishment, but its own membership eventually sustained the organization. Plus, its volunteers had social reasons for staying with the Garrison, beyond what volunteer work they did at the fort. The Garrison became its own entity. Jackson, who supported living history and its role in interpretation at the fort, never engaged the Garrison in the way that Hanson had done. Jackson stayed in his Park Service uniform and remained the park's lead administrator. He never dressed as a soldier or other colonial personage. He tasked his staff to find inventive ways to reach out to a broad audience, and he encouraged the Garrison to support these activities.[33]

Encampments provided an enhanced way to expand living history at the fort. These overnight events also used other reenactment groups, assisting the Garrison in its duties and giving visitors perspectives from new people interpreting at the fort. Each year, the park hosted several different encampments. During the mid-1980s, these encampments began with the Washington Encampment in February. This usually cold and snowy event honored the nation's first commander-in-chief and president. Joseph Ryan from Blue Mountain Middle School also brought his students to Fort Stanwix on a regular basis during this time period to practice their living-history skills. This school offered students the opportunity to learn about the American Revolution by living it. The curriculum incorporated Revolutionary War-era skills and history

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Reports, FOST Archives; Kavanaugh to Staff, 16 October 1984, Rome Family "Y," Reading Files 1984b, FOST Archives. Robert P. Jubinville to Jackson, 27 June 1985, Box 1987, FOST Archives. NPS Press Release, Fall Programs at Fort Stanwix, no date [September 1984], File K3415 Press Release, FOST Archives.

[32] FY 85 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, 4-6. "New Supervisor at Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 November 1985. Visitation numbers from www2.nature.nps.gov/NPstats/.

[33] Jackson to President, Fort Stanwix Garrison, 18 December 1986, Reading Files 1986b, FOST Archives; Sawyer, transcript of interview, 5; Jackson, transcript of interview, 2, 5.

into its reading, math, music, art, and other classes. Adult reenactment groups also scheduled regular weekend encampments throughout the park's visitor season. A 1984 summer encampment joined Rome's two historical attractions, Fort Stanwix and the Erie Canal Village, in a special cooperative venture. This full range of living-history experiences enriched the park's interpretive program and encouraged visitation.[34]

Despite continued enhancements to the park's interpretive programming, visitor numbers dipped in subsequent years. One significant change influenced this drop. As part of a congressional directive, the park began charging admission in 1987. Jackson had contacted local political leaders and New York's congressional delegation prior to the fee implementation to ensure proper communication and address any potential concerns. Educational groups did not pay the one-dollar-per-person fee, and senior citizens and handicapped visitors could ask for free National Park Service-wide passes at the fort visitor contact station in the Southwest Casemate. Otherwise, visitors 12 years of age and older paid the fee at the new collection booth built near the fort's entrance. For people expecting to visit the fort multiple times, the park offered its own annual pass. During the first year of the new fee system, the park collected more than $15,000. This amount was 50 percent less than what the North Atlantic Regional Office had expected to receive at the fort and $3,000 less than what the regional office had calculated it would cost to run the booth. Park visitation that year had dropped to around 45,000.[35]

Jackson continued to be optimistic about the park and its potential for growth. Even as visitor numbers dropped, he opened his annual report for that year with the statement that "1987, was perhaps one of our most rewarding and overall productive years in a while."[36] In response to visitor questions and the interpretive staff's concerns, the park's film, *Siege*, had an introduction and epilogue added to give viewers an orientation that placed the 1777 event into the historical context. The park developed succinct guidelines to aid the Volunteer in the Parks living-history program, ensuring that all participants would have the required knowledge and understanding. Thanks to a donation from the Utica Children's Museum, park interpreters could answer questions from visitors about different buildings in the fort (including those not reconstructed) by pointing to a complete 12 x 20-foot diorama of Fort Stanwix. Edward Casey and others at Griffiss AFB had completed this model in commemoration of the nation's

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[34] David Waller, "Cannoneers Aim to Help Make Tourist Business Boom at Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 18 July 1983; Herbert Cables to Joseph Ryan, 14 November 1984, and attached Joseph J. Ryan, "The Return of the 79th Brigade: A Program in Living History," both in File A-3415, FOST Archives. Fort Stanwix National Monument 1984 Calendar of Events, Reading Files 1984a, FOST Archives. NPS Press Release, Student Soldiers to Garrison Fort Stanwix, no date [June 1984]; NPS Press Release, French and Indian War Encampment—Battle, no date [July 1984], both in File K3415 Press Releases, FOST Archives. Tom Cocola, "A Birthday Party," *Sunday Utica Observer Dispatch*, 17 February 1985; NPS Press Release, Annual Washington's Birthday Winter Encampment, no date, [February 1986], Box 1987, FOST Archives. Photograph and caption, "Gates Reopened," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 13 February 1988.

[35] Following the completion of the second reconstruction project, the Park Service had opened a sales/storage/visitor contact station in the Southwest Casemate and a new museum in the West Casemate (see Chapter 4). 1987 Annual Report, 1. Steven Lewis to Director, 25 November 1986, Implementing the Expanded Recreation Fee Program, Box 1987; Jackson to Floyd A. Scott, 5 February 1987, Reading File 1987, both in FOST Archives. Press Release, New Fee System at Ft. Stanwix NM, no date [c. March 1987]; Press Release, Fort Annual Pass, 2 April 1987, both in Box Retired Files 1987-1992. The park increased the age limit for not paying the fee to 16 years and younger in 1988. See Press Release, Fort Stanwix Visitor Fees, 30 March 1988, Box Retired Files 1987-1992, FOST Archives. Jackson reported in his 1987 annual report that visitation hovered around 53,000, but the park's official statistics, as reported on the NPS Public Statistics webpage, indicate the number to be 45,338. See www2.nature.nps.gov/NPstats/.

[36] 1987 Annual Report, 1.

Bicentennial. It had eventually made its way to the children's museum before being donated to the park and rehabilitated by Park Ranger Stephen Hines. The fort model and the increased use of "roving rangers" to give visitors the opportunity to seek answers beyond what the living-history actors could provide also helped park interpretation.[37]

Exhibits both in the visitor contact station in the Southwest Casemate and park museum in the West Casemate proved a continuing area of concern throughout Jackson's tenure. A 1984 regional-level assessment noted that visitors needed more information and orientation to the fort and its major historical themes before encountering the living-history actors. The report stated, "It is too much to expect the living history program to carry all the park themes."[38] Instead, more ranger presence around the fort and a wayside exhibit at the fort entrance would help. In addition, interpretive historian Cynthia Kryston recommended amplifying the park themes in simple exhibits. The park had a few panels about the fort reconstruction project and the New York Campaigns of 1777 that needed some revamping to avoid confusing viewers. Kryston wanted the visitor contact station to provide information in a visually diverse and cohesive way so that visitors could fully appreciate the living-history program. Kryston also worried that the museum seemed underutilized and that many exhibits did not have sufficient labeling. Visitors should be encouraged, according to Kryston, to look at the artifacts on display. The museum exhibits and visitor contact area should be carefully coordinated to avoid duplication of effort.[39]

Jackson recommended further changes two years later. He wanted soundproof doors for the two theatre entrances in the visitor contact station to reduce the noise leakage. Dust and insects in the museum cases pointed to the need for repairs. To liven up the museum area visually and add to the interpretive program, Jackson suggested painting a mural with a timeline, from construction of the 1758 British fort to the reconstruction and management of the present building. He agreed with Kryston that the visitor contact area needed a thorough facelift, maybe introducing a red, white, and blue color scheme and redesigning the interpretive placards. Although the Park Service's exhibit specialists at Harpers Ferry Center developed in 1989 a draft rehabilitation report for addressing all of these concerns, work continued to be stalled for lack of adequate funds. The regional office did provide a one-time budget allocation to upgrade the fort security system.[40]

Plates, knives, and a fireplace

While expanding and improving the interpretive programming to increase the fort's visibility, Jackson also recognized that he had a notable archeological collection from the Hanson-Hsu excavation under his stewardship that deserved attention. With more than 45,000 objects in the primary 18th-century military collection, Fort Stanwix could boast at that time of having the largest such Anglo-American collection in the United States. These artifacts included

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[37] Ibid., 1; FY 1987 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services. Kavanaugh to Blaise Davi, 11 July 1983, AV Program, 1983b Reading File; Stephen Hines to Edward Casey and attachments, 29 December 1986, Box 1987; and Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 18 February 1987, HFC Exhibit Repair and Minor Rehabilitation Program, Reading File 1987, all in FOST Archives.

[38] Cynthia Kryston to Jackson, 25 June 1984, Trip Report, 1, File A-26 Reports, FOST Archives.

[39] Ibid., 1-2.

[40] Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 16 May 1986, Interpretive Repair/Rehab Needs, 1986b Reading Files, FOST Archives. Thomas White to Jackson, 31 October 1989, Draft 10-238 for Fort Stanwix for Upgrade of Interpretive Media, No File, FOST Archives; Robert MacIntosh to Jackson, 21 February 1992, Museum Collections Preservation and Protection Program, File Maintenance Files Collected by C. Davis 6-5-96, FOST Resource Management Working Files.

knives, nails, Indian trade beads, buttons, and some weaponry. For the large number of artifacts dating between 1850 and 1890, they might be considered one of the best representations of material culture from a heterogeneous community. The breadth and scope of this collection provides numerous potential research avenues. Researchers could use the ceramic collection of plates and bowls and cups and platters, for instance, to build a standard of what people in upstate New York during the nineteenth century had in their houses and put on their dinner tables. Other archeological studies could refer to the Fort Stanwix standard as a dating mechanism. But, before such research could take place, the Park Service had to find a contractor to finish cataloging and cleaning the artifacts. Between September and December 1982, Hartgen Associates removed many of the artifacts from their boxes and cleaned them. The firm recorded the location and condition of each piece on collection inventory forms and then re-shelved the materials in acid-free boxes. By the end of the six-week period, the contractors had examined approximately half of the total collection. Items still needing attention included bone, shell, seed, soil samples, prehistoric artifacts, gun flints, window glass, and metals.[41]

Work on the collection continued the following year, but cataloging did not progress sufficiently to make the collection accessible to researchers. Not all items had been cataloged and new computerization techniques required re-cataloging of artifacts. By 1985, when the NPS North Atlantic Office conducted a region-wide assessment of its archeological collections, it found 177 boxes of uncataloged artifacts at Fort Stanwix. Estimates by Dick Hsu, now the regional archeologist, put finishing the cataloging process at one year for a 2-person team. By 1986, Jackson and Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services Hagler determined that the collection needed more than cataloging. Humidity fluctuations in the storage area prompted Hagler and Jackson to worry about mold growth and corrosion of metal artifacts.[42]

Configuration of the storage space also elicited concern. The fort had previously used excess Federal prison industry shelving to keep the cardboard boxes off the floor. Each of these shelving units, according to Jackson's calculations, wasted 15 cubic feet of space by not accommodating the maximum number of boxes that could potentially fit in the designated space. To provide more storage space, thereby increasing access to the collection, the fort's maintenance chief Bob Guellich and his crew in 1989 constructed an additional storage area in the tunnel off the original collections room. The fort then had installed space saver compact moveable shelving in the tunnel and in the original collections area. To even out the humidity fluctuations, the park invested in dehumidifiers and recorded levels with hygrothermographs. By 1991, a site visit of the collection storage areas found high relative humidity and temperature fluctuations. These adverse conditions had promoted mold growth on organic materials and corrosion of metal artifacts. Insect activity, responding to the suitable environment created by these conditions, had also increased. By controlling air circulation and sealing all gaps to

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[41] Hanson, transcript of interview, 7; Jackson, transcript of interview, 1-2; 1982 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, 22; Patti Hendrickson, "Fort 'Out of Sorts,' So Uncle Sam Sends in Archeological Help," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 October 1982; Hartgen Archeological Associates, Collection Management Project, January 1983, 1, File FOST 029, Box FOST 024-030, NPS NE Museum Services Center; 1982 Annual Report, 1; NARO, Fort Stanwix National Monument Collection Management Plan, January 1993, 3-4, FOST Archives.

[42] 1983 Annual Report, 1; Linda A. Towle, Assessment Phase of the Archeological Collections Accountability Project, November 1985, File ACAD .065, Box Acadia ACAD .059-.065, NPS NE Museum Services; FY 1987 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, Box 1987; and FY 1988 Statement for Interpretation and Annual Interpretive Program Report, no file, no box, both in FOST Archives. Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 17 September 1981 [?], Resources Management Plan, Statement of Work Completed on FOST-CR#5, File D-18 Resource Management Plans, FOST Archives.

prevent moisture build-up, the Park Service hoped to arrest the further deterioration of its prized artifact collection.[43]

In tandem with the development of the new storage area, the fort let out another contract, this time with TimeLines, Inc., to complete the work of cataloging the collection. This cataloging work followed the standards of the North Atlantic Region Archeological Collections Management Project (ACMP) and had data entered into the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS). ANCS served as a collections management database for the Park Service, keeping track of accessions, cataloging information, loans, and other management activities. The work by Hartgen Associates and TimeLines, Inc. allowed for cataloging of the entire archeological collection but at two levels of detail and accuracy. This situation persisted as the park installed the compact shelving. The TimeLines catalogers worked with the new Chief of Interpretation Anthony Tommell and NPS regional supervisor for archeology Linda Towle to enter the new locations of the artifacts into the computer. Despite these efforts to make the collection finally accessible to researchers, the regional curator discovered that additional cataloging would need to be done to access the reconstructed ceramics and glass, approximately 12,000 items, which were arranged by provenance, rather than by classification and object name. These items were by far the most important pieces in the collection. In 1989, the contractors attempted to rearrange the catalog cards by object name as a temporary fix to this problem.[44]

Another significant feature needed more than a temporary adjustment to save it from crumbling away. The original fireplace that had been preserved and displayed in the North Casemate showed alarming signs of deterioration from excess moisture accumulating in the protective case. Mice, voles, and insects also had dug tunnels through the area and had caused damage. Working with the region, the fort's staff in 1987 first used silica gel to try to arrest rising humidity levels. They also monitored temperature and humidity levels and took brick and mortar samples to determine salt levels. Extensive photographing captured the level of deterioration and became a visible measure of any further damage. Upon the recommendation of the region, Fort Stanwix staff removed the four floodlights that had been inside the case and causing high temperatures. Instead, the fort put two floodlights on photocells outside the case, allowing lights only when visitors entered the casemate and thus reducing the heat build-up. Working with the state, the fort also eradicated the pest problem with use of chemicals. To enhance the interpretive space alongside the fireplace, the fort installed artifact displays.[45]

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[43] Jackson to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Preservation, NARO, 28 September 1988, Revised Collection Storage Proposal for FOST, File Fort Stanwix, Planning Files, NPS NE Region Offices. Towle to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 5 May 1989, Trip Report, 1; John Maounis to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 5 July 1989, Trip Report, 1; and Maounis to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, NARO, 24 July 1989, Trip Report, 1; Towle to Acting Manager, Cultural Resource Center, 15 November 1989, Trip Report, 2, all in Box Retired Files 1979-1992, FOST Archives. Katharine Untch, Collection Condition Survey, 15 September 1991, 25-28; and FOST Collection Management Plan, January 1993, 24-28, Superintendent's Files, both in FOST Archives.

[44] 1988 Annual Report, 1; Towle to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 17 April 1989, 1-2; Maounis to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 5 July 1989, 2; Towle to Acting Manager, Cultural Resource Center, 15 November 1989; NARO, Collection Management Plan, January 1993, 3.

[45] Francis McManamon to Chief, Cultural Resources, NARO, 4 March 1983, Trip Report, File D2215 Development/Study Package Proposals, FOST Archives; FY 1985 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, 6; Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 16 May 1986, 3, Reading Files 1986b, FOST Archives; FY 1987 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services; FY 1988 Statement for Interpretation and Annual Interpretive Program Report, 12; Towle to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 17 April 1989, 2; Towle to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 5 May 1989, 1; Maounis to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, 5 July 1989.

The systematic 1991 assessment of the entire archeological collection and fireplace demonstrated that environmental conditions continued to hamper the preservation of the artifacts. For the fireplace, investigators could see active deterioration resulting from a combination of sources. Rising dampness from freezing ground and seepage of moisture through the cement and log wall behind the fireplace had refrozen and forced the structure apart. In addition, the presence of soluble salts in the brick and mortar had dissolved, migrated when the structure was moist, and recrystallized near the surface. These migrating salts, with their larger volume, forced the surface to crumble. The glass-walled case surrounding the fireplace aggravated these circumstances, creating a greenhouse effect by trapping heat and moisture. The assessment recommended opening up part of the glass walls with screening to allow for air circulation, with the hopes of slowing down the problem until further research could pinpoint a solution.[46]

Making connections

Jackson tried many different strategies to build a larger and more visible presence for Fort Stanwix. These efforts went beyond the visitor services and interpretive programming developed by his staff. Jackson's actions in part responded to the criticisms Mayor Eilenberg and others in the city of Rome had directed toward the park. His work also embodied his belief that Fort Stanwix deserved greater public recognition and use than it had received in the past. For Jackson, preservation of the resource under his care was paramount. Yet, having that resource left unused of its full potential as an educational and interpretive device was also unacceptable. Jackson built on the efforts made by his predecessor Lee Hanson in developing upstate New York into a tourism destination point. Hanson had worked with Congressman Sherwood Boehlert's office to encourage tourism through the Leatherstocking Country campaign, and Jackson continued to contribute. He also had other ideas. The New York State Thruway, the closest major thoroughfare to the fort, did not have any signs identifying this historical attraction, or many others, to motorists. Jackson believed, and his regional director agreed, that signs would make the park identifiable to motorists and increase accessibility. He innocently believed that New York State officials would readily agree and sent a letter in July 1981 asking for signs at the two exits closest to the fort.[47]

This simple act turned into a 12-year odyssey. The Thruway quickly rejected Jackson's request, arguing that allowing signage for Fort Stanwix would lead to an "unacceptable proliferation of signs."[48] Signs had already been placed to give the Rome area prominence, and the Thruway believed such coverage was sufficient. Ironically, former Mayor Charles Lanigan, who in 1961 had suggested the idea of using urban renewal funds to reconstruct Fort Stanwix, served as treasurer for the Thruway and had his name imprinted prominently on the reply stationery. This connection did not help Jackson's cause. He pressed on, enlisting others in his efforts. With the support of the regional director, Jackson began encouraging other national park sites in New York State to meet and aid each other in all aspects of management and communication. These meetings functioned beyond building a tourism identity, with Jackson encouraging parks to exchange interpretive personnel to allow for development of communication and administration skills. Such exchanges would also, in his mind, increase the likelihood that different parks would refer visitors to other sites. He also found other ways to

[46] Katharine Untch, Collection Condition Survey, 15 September 1991, 17-20, FOST Archives.
[47] Jackson, transcript of interview, 10-11; Jackson to Charles Herr, 7 July 1981 and reply, File A-8815 Visitor Use, FOST Archives; Rust, transcript of interview, 4.
[48] Herr to Jackson, 15 July 1981.

promote tourism through these national park site gatherings. At the first zone meeting of the Hudson-Mohawk Valley and Central New York superintendent's meeting in December 1982, Jackson and the others present agreed that all New York parks should submit a combined proposal to the New York State Thruway Authority to advocate for signs. Mayor Eilenberg also sent his own missive to Interior Secretary James Watt, asking for his assistance in convincing the New York officials to put up signs along the Thruway. These efforts fell on deaf ears. Leatherstocking Country signs made their way onto the Thruway, but Fort Stanwix remained an unidentified historical site, from the perspective of motorists.[49] Ten years later and still determined, Jackson wrote in his 1992 Statement for Management that he had worked with Rome's mayor, the Oneida County Convention and Visitor Bureau, the New York State Department of Commerce and Tourism, members of Congress, and the Leatherstocking organization to see his goal for signage fulfilled. "Although prior attempts have been unsuccessful," Jackson wrote, "park management will continue its efforts to rectify this situation."[50] One week after transferring from the park to his next assignment, the Thruway placed the new signs identifying Fort Stanwix. Jackson's successor Gary Warshefski noted that as soon as the signs went up, the park saw a substantial increase in visitation.[51]

Jackson's patience and persistence, as evidenced with the sign issue, served him well in organizing the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1784. This treaty recognized the alliance between the United States and the Oneidas and Tuscaroras and ended hostilities with the Indian allies of Great Britain, the Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Mohawks. Jackson considered the 1784 treaty to be the final treaty of the American Revolution, and he wanted the park to commemorate its bicentennial. He took the initiative on this event, building on his own experience in working with diverse populations. He hoped that the treaty commemoration would serve as a springboard for building ties between Indians and the rest of the region's population. An educational forum, with Indians and scholars sharing a range of perspectives, would shed light on the intricacies of the treaty and its ramifications for Indian-white relations. Jackson hoped that such open discussion would enhance understanding about the role Indians had played not just at Fort Stanwix but throughout that period of American history. From this understanding might come real efforts to build ties and promote positive relations.[52]

Descendents of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy continued to live and work in upstate New York. Lee Hanson had developed some level of interaction with the Confederacy, having members participate in the fort's living-history program. Some members also worked on the maintenance crew under Hanson's and Jackson's superintendencies, but formal communication between the National Park Service and the tribal leaders had not been

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[49] Minutes of the Hudson-Mohawk Valley and Central New York Superintendent's Zone Meeting, 8 December 1982, 2-3, File L-24 FOST 1982, Box 17, Acc. 87-0001, RG 79, Waltham FRC; Eilenberg to James Watt, 25 January 1983, and attached reply; and Jackson to Wanda Robertson, 16 March 1983, both in File A-8815 Visitor Use, FOST Archives. Jackson to Eilenberg, 9 February 1983, Reading Files 1983a, FOST Archives. Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 3 January 1984, Management Efficiency Program FY 84, Reading Files 1984a, FOST Archives; Rust, transcript of interview, 4.

[50] Fort Stanwix National Monument, Statement for Management, 1992, 10, FOST Archives.

[51] Warshefski to Regional Solicitor, Northeast Region, 1 November 1993, New York State Thruway Authority Contract, File November 1993 FOST Chron Files.

[52] Jackson, transcript of interview, 2-4; Jackson to Mike Occhipinti, 2 November 1983; and form letter from Jackson regarding Minutes of Second Meeting of Treaty Bicentennial Planning Committee, no date [c. November 1983]; Jackson to Ray Elm, 22 November 1983, all in Reading Files 1983b, FOST Archives. Jackson to The Iroquois Confederacy c/o Ray Elm, no date, Reading Files 1984a, FOST Archives.

established. In his first attempts to secure such pathways of discussion, Jackson found that he had much larger and more difficult issues to confront. He later recalled a crucial meeting he had had with the Council of Chiefs at the Onondaga Indian Reservation. "A lot of things that I had to learn during that three hour session and I think that it was most important that I had that opportunity to come over. As a result of that, we rectified a couple of problems that had existed. Sometimes you don't know these things until it's a bit late. This time we were able to rectify part of the problem."[53]

Jackson discovered in his initial contacts with the Council of Chiefs that the National Park Service had made certain promises to the chiefs that were not kept. These promises had been made during the heyday of the planning for the 1776-1976 Bicentennial and ultimately could not be kept. Park Service officials had, according to what Jackson learned in the long house with the chiefs, promised to provide the Confederacy with a role in Fort Stanwix's administration. Jackson and probably previous Park Service officials understood that such promises of an Indian role in park administration could not be kept, but "promises were made that that would happen, and that created a problem."[54] For Indians, as Chief Irving Powless Jr. stated in the educational forum, "two hundred years ago is like yesterday,"[55] and ten years ago was like a blink of the eye. The chiefs remembered those promises, and there were hard feelings and friction. Jackson needed to build a sense of trust between the chiefs and the Park Service before any discussions could proceed about the treaty bicentennial.

With any dealings with people, but especially with Indians, Jackson believed that the "word of an individual is his or her bond." And, Jackson knew that "we [should] not only speak truth, but we also follow it up with the way we carry out that truth, our actions." He made every effort to keep communication open and keep the tribal chiefs informed about the treaty bicentennial planning process. In all of his dealings, he tried to make clear that the Park Service wanted the educational forum to include the Indian perspective, to allow people of all backgrounds to gain an appreciation of Indian culture and the suffering and sacrifices of Indians. Through this effort, Jackson and others believed that improved relations could result among the Six Nations, the City of Rome, the State of New York, and the federal government.[56]

Once the chiefs recognized Jackson's efforts, they began to develop trust in Jackson and the Service. They agreed to take part in the educational forum and commemorative program. Jackson later remembered, "The participation from the Confederacy was outstanding. All of the chiefs came, all of them came in their period or native garb, and they all participated." For Jackson, seeing the results of his careful attempts at rebuilding trust between the Six Nations and the Park Service was "probably one of the most rewarding times during my tenure at Fort Stanwix."[57] Fritz Updike recognized Jackson's "sterling diplomacy" in convincing representatives from each of the Six Nations to participate. "That he succeeded so well is due to the responsible understanding of the Indian chiefs and to the patience and tact of Jackson. Both

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[53] Transcript, Proceedings of Treaty of Fort Stanwix Celebration (1784-1984) Bicentennial, attached to cover letter Jackson to Chief of Interpretation, NARO, 13 September 1985, Eastern National Park and Monument Association Research Requests, 61, File FOST Manuscript for Fort Stanwix Conference, Cultural Resource Files, NPS Northeast Region. Steven Lewis to Files, 13 December 1983, File D-18 FOST, Box 4, Acc. 93-0003, RG 79, Waltham FRC.

[54] Jackson, transcript of interview, 3.

[55] Transcript, Proceedings of 1984 conference, 44.

[56] Jackson to Chief Edison Mt. Pleasant, no date; and Jackson to Ray Elm, Minutes of 3 February 1984 Meeting, no date, both in Reading Files 1984a, FOST Archives.

[57] All quotes from Ibid., 3.

deserve commendation."[58] Unfortunately, as Updike also noted, the number of people in the audiences for these events numbered from just over 60 people to a couple hundred. Updike contrasted this response to the 150th anniversary commemoration of the treaty, in which more than 1,500 people viewed a reenactment of the occasion.[59]

The treaty observance, held 20-22 October 1984, had several different components. Jackson arranged with the National Archives and Records Administration to have the original 1784 treaty displayed at the fort's visitor center through the month of October. Six Nations members allowed for the display of original artifacts. In cooperation with the Rome Historical Society, the Copper City Stamp Club hosted its annual stamp show in the society's main exhibit hall and offered United States Post Office hand cancellations of envelopes with stamps symbolizing peace, a dove and an Indian peace pipe. The historical society also hosted the two-day educational forum. Scholars, such as Francis Jennings, described and debunked Anglo-American stereotypes of Indians, such as the idea of the Noble Savage or the Savage Indian. Barbara Graymont emphasized the importance of Indian treaties and how they provide clues to understanding Indian culture. Elisabeth Tooker examined the displacement of the Six Nations into Canada and Oklahoma as a result of Americans not observing the Fort Stanwix Treaty. Laurence Hauptman provided twentieth-century examples in politics, culture, and law in which the Six Nations had made significant contributions to the lives of all Americans.[60]

Tribal chiefs shared their own thoughts about the Fort Stanwix Treaty and present Indian-white relations. Chief Powless Jr. explained that history books might describe Indians as vanished, but "I am still here with my father and the rest of the people at Onondaga carrying on the traditions of our people. . . ."[61] Chief Oren Lyons also expressed this sentiment, stating, "We have practically nothing, except the spirit and the will to survive."[62] Chief Powless Jr. went on to caution foreign governments that "you must watch what you're doing with the United States government if you're dealing with the United States government, if you're looking at putting down a treaty, because their treaties with our people have been totally broken."[63] He described how the elders of the Six Nations continue to pass down through the generations the rights given in the Fort Stanwix Treaty. Yet, other governments forgot "that there are commitments that are still held onto by our people. We agreed that we would allow you to travel through our territories, that we would live in peace, but somehow or other the governments have forgotten that this was agreed upon and they continually pass laws that violate that agreement that we would live separately, so we run into conflicts."[64] Chief Lyons wondered why the President of the United States was not present at the treaty bicentennial commemoration. "This is the grandfather of all the treaties in this country. . . . It's important. That's why the President of the United States should be here today because this is the anniversary of this first treaty that the

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[58] Quotes by Updike, "Purely Personal Prejudices," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 26 October 1984.
[59] Ibid.
[60] G. N. Scabo to Jackson, 24 May 1984, File A-8215 FOST Archives. Tom Merz, "You Can See National Treasure on Display at Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 October 1984. Jackson to Acting Public Affairs Officer, NARO, 1 August 1984, Excerpt from Rome Historical Society Newsletter, Reading Files 1984a, FOST Archives. Descriptions of the scholarly talks is based on a review of the Transcript, Proceedings of 1984 conference.
[61] Transcript, Proceedings of 1984 conference, 42.
[62] Ibid., 128.
[63] Ibid., 58-59.
[64] Ibid., 44. This statement also refers to Oneida Indian attempts in 1984 to claim lands formerly seized by New York State and its counties. This newest attempt for reclaiming lands would go to the Supreme Court, where it would rule in March 1985 in favor of the Oneidas in the case of two counties. See "Supreme Court Upholds Claim by Oneida Indians," *New York Times*, 5 March 1985.

United States ever made with anyone as a new nation. They should honor that and respect that because it is continuing today."[65]

Chiefs Powless Jr. and Lee Lyons also discussed the issue of repatriation of Indian bones and artifacts. Chief Powless Jr. asked why it was all right to display Indian bones but not those of Revolutionary War soldiers. "Well, why is it right for you to do that with us? Why is it right for you to put our bones under glass and not right to put the soldiers? Well that's different. It must be as Mr. Jennings said today, savage barbarians, so it's okay to put us under glass, but since you people are civilized, civilized people you don't put under glass."[66] Chief Lee Lyons described how American military forces, in doing research on atomic bombs, had destroyed sites held sacred by Indians. And, he went on to decry the fact that "Our sacred objects are being held in universities, museums and historical associations and societies. Medicine bundles, sacred pipes, medicine masks, wampums, prayer sticks, kachinas, prayer feathers and much more are being exposed to a curious society that does not understand the spiritual significance of such things."[67] In closing, Chief Powless Jr. reminded the audience, "We do exist, and the things that are in museums and monuments are not artifacts to me. These are part of my life."[68]

On the last day of the treaty observance, representatives from the National Park Service, the State of New York, and the City of Rome joined with the tribal chiefs in a ceremony honoring the peace and friendship that the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix had made possible. NPS North Atlantic Regional Director Herbert S. Cables, Jr. admitted his initial skepticism when Jackson had first presented the idea of having the treaty commemoration. The federal government's lack of respect for the treaty marked one of the less glamorous parts of the nation's history. He asked, "How could we commemorate an event which did not reflect our history well?" Cables soon understood that "it is of utmost importance to take a hard look at the injustices of the past."[69] From looking back, future relations could be forged. New York's Secretary of State Gail Shaffer, who had earlier in the year been made an honorary member of the Six Nations, emphasized peace and friendship. The 1784 treaty reminds people, Shaffer stated, "that peace is not merely the absence of war. Peace is the presence of justice and there are still many issues for us to resolve to really attain that equity that was spoken of in the treaty of peace and friendship."[70] Shaffer concluded with the charge that "With good faith, with firm respect for sovereignty and for tradition we will do more than safeguard our history of peace and friendship, we will leave for our children and their children a better and healthier society."[71] In that spirit of peace and friendship, the Park Service, the City of Rome, and the State of New York offered a declaration of goodwill to the Six Nations.

Rome and the fort

While Jackson was still planning the treaty observance, Mayor Eilenberg approached him about having the park host the Utica Symphony on park grounds. The city had been trying to determine a new approach to its summer festivities, with the 1982 Milk Shake Magic attempt a dismal failure. In 1983, Rome went back to Fort Stanwix Days, but the city wanted to do more. The idea soon developed to have a big concert in 1984 outside the fort, with patriotic musical

[65] Transcript, Proceedings of 1984 conference, 157.
[66] Ibid., 54.
[67] Ibid., 125-26.
[68] Ibid., 59.
[69] Ibid., 160.
[70] Ibid., 161.
[71] Ibid., 164.

selections ending with a rousing rendition of Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*. Wouldn't it be thrilling to have the fort shoot off its cannons and surrounding churches ring their bells at the climatic ending? Fireworks would explode overhead as the finale. That one day, in keeping with President Ronald Reagan's call for communities throughout the country to "Honor America," would be called Honor America Day.[72]

Jackson had fielded in the past other requests from the city about hosting events. He had strictly interpreted the Fort Stanwix 1935 authorizing legislation and used that legislation as his "bargaining chip throughout my tenure with the city fathers and with the mayors." Jackson remembered, "Things that they wanted to do that really were kind of reaching in terms of appropriateness at the site, we talked about, we negotiated, and most things were really denied."[73] But, Jackson agreed that the Honor America Day celebration was an appropriate event on the fort grounds and provided the space and Park Service Rangers for security and safety. As Eilenberg later recalled, though, Jackson was "right by the book" and vigorously opposed the city selling American flags at the event as a way to help defray the cost of the show. Park Service policy forbade selling items on parkland, but Eilenberg saw the incident as indicative of the distance between the city and the fort in those days. "That was before the fort charging was money. But we couldn't do that," Eilenberg said later. "The funniest thing, to me this was funny, but this was pretty much indicative of the way that things transpired over those years. It wasn't Bill's fault; it wasn't anybody's fault."[74]

The concert, expected to attract more than 10,000 people, had rain squash these figures. People did attend a fireworks display and concert on the following Monday evening. Other weekend festivities rounded out the celebration. Erie Canal Village hosted an antique car show. Liberty Plaza in the new downtown area had a food festival, art show, and tug-of-war competition. A parade, with the theme "Agriculture: Backbone of America" wound its way through Rome. Marching units, a color guard, different floats, and the Massachusetts Guard Band provided entertainment. People were quickly hooked, and Honor America Days became a staple for Rome during subsequent summers. The fort continued to host the concert and fireworks display, with the Syracuse Symphony taking the honored musical role.[75]

Honor America Days clearly built a sense of community. People looked forward to the event each year. William Flinchbaugh captured its flavor, saying "It's really enjoyable. After all the music, the *William Tell Overture* [*sic*] comes in, and then the bells ring, and the cannon shoot. And the fireworks fly in the air. It's really quite impressive."[76] This gathering of thousands helped boost the park's visitation numbers, and the fort continued to provide security and clean-up patrols, in addition to the trained personnel to shoot the cannons. The park charged the city for these expenses. In 1988, the fee totaled around $800. Jackson explained this fee as being required under Park Service Guideline #53, which directed parks to recover budgeted and unbudgeted costs for special events. Park Service budgets were always strapped, and such a fee

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[72] "Rome Rocks with 3,000 'Ramblers;'" 8 August 1983; and Joan K. Kahler, "Sight and Sound to Erupt Over Rome in Symphonic Splendor," 5 April 1984; "Fort Stanwix Days Start Tomorrow, but City Focus Is on 'Honor America,'" 27 July 1984, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Jackson to Regional Director, NARO, 14 February 1984, Request for Assistance, Reading Files 1984a, FOST Archives.

[73] Jackson, transcript of interview, 8-9.

[74] Eilenberg, transcript of interview, 5.

[75] Joan K. Kahler, "Honor America Day Spilling Over into Three-Day Parade of Events," 5 July 1984; Kahler, "Patriotism Will Be Shot from Guns During Star-Spangled 'Honor America' Concert," 10 August 1984; Kahler, "Canadians Marching to Rome for Star-Spangled Celebration," 11 March 1985, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[76] Flinchbaugh, transcript of interview, 11.

imposition seemed logical.[77] Yet, as Rome area businessman Chris Destito reflected later, "It really wasn't a big issue that we had to pay for it, but I just think it was what the perception was because we had to pay for it." The Park Service did not do anything to hamper the celebration, but in Destito's mind, "It just never felt like we were all working together for the good of all."[78]

This reluctance to engage the city fully can be seen in the city's next idea for making connections. In 1985, Eilenberg asked Jackson if the fort would allow the city to put a Christmas tree up on the park grounds. As Eilenberg remembered, Jackson thought Eilenberg was crazy, wanting to combine church and state and display a religious symbol on federal property. So, Eilenberg quietly took his plea up the Park Service chain of command. He also wondered why federal government sites like Griffiss AFB and even The White House could have Christmas trees but not Fort Stanwix National Monument. When he presented his proposal in this light, he got the answer he sought.[79] Jackson reluctantly granted the city a special-use permit to display a Christmas tree, emphasizing in the permit that "We offer this parcel of land for the City of Rome's use on a one time basis and this permit will not be re-issued."[80] Despite this declaration, each year between 1985 and 2002 (after which the Willett Center began to use that space on park grounds), the fort hosted a Christmas tree lighting ceremony. The event grew bigger and drew more people with each passing year, with Santa arriving via helicopter in recent years.[81]

Following the 1984 treaty observance, Jackson oversaw a ten-year anniversary celebration of the fort's reconstruction. Members of the Six Nations, however, did not actively participate. This absence indicates that the treaty observance, while important in making initial connections between the Park Service and the Indians, failed to build lasting ties. The planning committee instead embraced a range of area tourism, historical, and public organizations, such as the Rome Historical Society, Erie Canal Village, the Oneida County Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Utica Chamber of Commerce, Griffiss AFB, Rome schools, and area newspapers. The committee decided to celebrate this diverse collection of organizations by having the theme for the celebration be "Fort Stanwix: A Decade of Community Partnership." Activities over the course of Memorial Day Weekend included sponsoring an essay contest and art show for area students, displaying photographs of Rome's urban renewal development, and showing a special stamp cachet commemorating the anniversary. The fort, with participation from Griffiss AFB, hosted 18th-, 19th-, and 20th-century soldier demonstrations. A concert on Sunday night, with cannon firings during the *1812 Overture*, attracted 10,000 spectators. The Rome Free Academy Marching Band performed before more than 1,000 people during the Memorial Day ceremony. Local bakeries generously donated a huge birthday cake and cookies for the Monday birthday ceremony.[82]

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[77] Jackson to Jackie Herber, 12 July 1988, Box Retired Files 1987-1992, FOST Archives.
[78] Destito, transcript of interview, 12.
[79] Eilenberg, transcript of interview, 5. "Wagon Rides, Music and Santa among Tree-Lighting Highlights," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 25 November 1985.
[80] Special Use Permit, Community Christmas tree, 3 December 1985-6 January 1986, Box 1987, FOST Archives.
[81] Rob Duchow, "From North Pole to Fort Stanwix, Santa Brings Delight," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 1 December 1992.
[82] Jackson to Boehlert, 9 December 1985, Binder 1985 Correspondence. Minutes for the 10th Anniversary, 16 January 1986; 23 January 1986; 18 February 1986; 18 March 1986; and 21 April 1986, all in Reading Files 1986a. Jackson to Fred Rath, 21 February 1986, Reading Files 1986a. Jackson to Regional Management Efficiency Coordinator, 28 May 1986, Box 1987. Jackson to Public Affairs Officer, NARO, 10 April 1986; Jackson to Fred Rath, 27 May 1986; Hagler to Chief of Interpretation, Saratoga NHP, 29 July 1986, all in Reading Files 1986b. Program for 10th Anniversary Celebration, 26 May 1986, no box or file. All documents from FOST Archives.

The outpouring of support and enthusiasm from the community marked a slight change in perspective within Rome's tourism circles. During spring 1986, Rome tourism groups held a series of small meetings to evaluate the city's future in this area. The groups quickly agreed that its two major attractions, the Erie Canal Village and Fort Stanwix, had not generated the predicted tourism revenues. In 1985, Mayor Eilenberg had directed the city's limited financial means toward managing the struggling Erie Canal Village, focusing the city's tourism efforts upon the Village and dismantling the city's own tourism office. He put chamber of commerce staffer Jacqueline Izzo in charge of the new Erie Canal Village department. Under Izzo's direction, the Village began cooperating more with private tourism efforts in Rome. Fort Rickey Game Farm and Ozzie's Recreation Park began to experience increases in visibility and visitation. They also responded to Izzo's gestures of cooperation and began extending their promotional efforts by including other Rome attractions in their advertising. This cooperative effort signaled in the minds of many a new era in Rome's tourism future. The 10th anniversary celebration at Fort Stanwix included this new outlook, by emphasizing the idea of partnerships. As the Rome Tourism Group noted, "The best way to increase our tourist traffic is (1) to provide high-quality, affordable entertainment and (2) to cooperatively promote the Rome area rather than individually promote our own attractions."[83] By indicating the wide range and number of attractions, the tourism group believed that visitors would be inclined to stay longer and thus spend more money within Rome. One offshoot of this cooperative advertising campaign was the familiarization tours. These "fam" tours, as they came to be known, would provide discounts to employees of other attractions, hotels, motels, restaurants, and gas stations who were in a position to spread the word about the different sites in Rome. Fort Stanwix began regularly hosting fam tours as its contribution to this effort.[84]

Rome, itself, continued to experience rises and falls in its economic health. In 1987, Griffiss AFB lost its 49th Fighter Interceptor Squadron when the Department of Defense decided to consolidate this area into its National Guard units. But, President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, also known as "Star Wars," boosted construction funds at Griffiss to support needed high-technology research for Star Wars. In 1989, a new photonics laboratory, later known as Rome Laboratory, opened at Griffiss, working to turn emerging technologies into real products. Revere Copper and Brass quietly closed its doors in 1986, leaving behind a Revere Ware retail store selling the copper-clad pots, pans, and teakettles that had once been manufactured in Rome. Finding ways to invigorate downtown shopping continued. In 1987, Mayor Eilenberg proposed to reopen West Dominick Street across the Liberty Mall to vehicle traffic. Without funding to match these plans, this idea fell to the side, and stores opened and closed in the struggling pedestrian mall. By 1991, the decades-old Simpkins Ski and Bike Shop, which had relocated to Liberty Mall in 1982, closed its doors. On the brighter side, the Rome Historical Society, under the directorship of Jon Austin, began managing the struggling Erie Canal Village. Within three months of this take-over in 1992, the historical society saw some limited promise. The society had also increased its visibility within Rome by developing four popular exhibits and participating in more community events.[85]

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[83] Press Conference, Rome Tourism Group, 24 April 1986, 3, File Rome Tourism Group, Box FOST Reconstructions 1971-84 Retired Files, FOST Archives.

[84] Ibid., 1, 3. 1987 Annual Report, 1. "Banner Year," 4 November 1986; and Patti Hendrickson, "Tourism Leaders Parley on How to Promote Profitable Industry;" Richard Moss, "Mayor Picks Chamber of Commerce Employee to Head New Erie Canal Village Department," 14 November 1985, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[85] Joan K. Kahler, "Griffiss Construction, SDI Cash, in Federal Budget ; 49th Cut," 6 January 1987; Kahler, "Loss of Landmark, Proud Trademark, 125 Jobs," 5 February 1986; Patty Hendrickson, "Mayor Seeks Other Opinions for

Resource preservation

Fort Stanwix of the eighteenth century had existed longer in ruins than it had as a fortified fort, either for the British or the Patriots. Its log and earth structure could hardly hold up against the severe winters of more than 100 inches of snow. The Park Service in the twentieth century hoped and expected that the reconstructed fort, with its pressure-treated wood facing and cement foundation, would last for a substantial period of time. Jackson soon found when he assumed his duties as superintendent in 1981 that the fort "was really kind of a nightmare in terms of maintaining this wood structure." Jackson remembered that "It was a constant battle to try and maintain the fort. . . ."[86] Compounding this maintenance issue was the fact that the fort sat in the middle of downtown Rome. Every aspect of its care was watched and commented upon by the city's inhabitants. Anything not meeting with resident approval would generate letters and concern. Chiefs of Maintenance George Ahles and then Robert Guellich worked with Jackson on addressing any and all aspects of preserving and maintaining the fort structure and its grounds.

Just before Jackson arrived at Fort Stanwix, Hanson had overseen the replacement of the six gun platforms on the southwest, or flag, bastion. The wooden planks had curled up and created enough of a hazard that Hanson had ordered that bastion closed to visitors until the park could replace the wood. When his staff had pulled up the flooring, they discovered more extensive deterioration than expected. During the summer of 1980, Ahles and his crew used pre-treated Alaskan yellow fir planks to replace the platforms. By 1983, Jackson requested that the Park Service replace the gun platforms on the other three bastions, which had begun to show similar signs of rotting as the flag bastion. The fort also replaced a section of rotting pickets.[87]

The earth embankment, or glacis, surrounding the fort needed attention soon after Jackson's arrival. Visitors and city residents had worn a walking path through this area in an attempt to cut across the fort's grounds. Erosion had begun to appear, threatening the integrity of the glacis. Jackson appealed to the city in a press release, asking people to use the maintained gravel paths around the fort's perimeter. When this neighborly approach failed to achieve the needed results, Jackson had his maintenance staff cover the worn path with topsoil, reseed it, and fence it off with split-rail fencing. These steps ameliorated the problem.[88]

Another grounds headache in 1981 for Jackson and Ahles was cutting the grass and clearing the pathways of snow. Not having its own tractor, the park relied upon finding contractors to perform this work, but Jackson found the cost "astronomical and the quality of work . . . questionable." Contractors bristled under the park's requirements that the grass be mowed to appear as a cropped meadow of 4-6 inches in height. Plus, it was difficult to find

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Downtown Improvements," 24 June 1987; Hendrickson, "Clothing Store, Gift Shop, Call It Quits on Downtown Mall," 11 December 1991; Hendrickson, "Erie Canal Village Chalks Up $10,000 Profit, Society Says," 24 August 1992, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Gina Masullo, "War Wizardry Began in Rome," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, no date [June 1991], Binder Press Clippings 1990-1992, FOST Archives.

[86] Jackson, transcript of interview, 2.

[87] "Flag Bastion Surrendered to Repairmen," 28 February 1980; and photograph and caption, "Reinforcements Arrive!" 1 July 1980, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Assessment of Effect on Cultural Resources, Replacement of Wood Gun Platforms, no date [May 1983], no box or file, FOST Archives.

[88] NPS Press Release, A Call for Help, 1 April 1981, Reading Files 1981; NPS Press Release, "Earthworks Preservation," 4 May 1982, Reading Files 1982a, both in FOST Archives. Photograph and caption, "Don't Tread on Me!" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 5 May 1982.

snow removal contractors willing to use a blower, as opposed to a blade, to prevent damage to the grounds and trails. Jackson recommended that the fort purchase its own tractor and use the savings in money to hire another living-history interpreter. By doing the work themselves, the park staff could better control the appearance of the grounds and save the park money in the process. In closing his justification, Jackson wrote that "because of where the park is situated (Downtown Rome) the appearance of the grounds especially mowing the grass is crucial to maintaining a good Park Service image."[89] The fort got its tractor, and Jackson wrote in his 1982 Annual Report that "we received several compliments from the community."[90] In 1987, the fort purchased a larger tractor with new attachments, allowing for faster completion of tasks with even less potential damage to the grounds.[91]

Structural repairs to various parts of the fort kept Ahles's and Guellich's crews busy. The fort implemented its own regular maintenance procedures, as developed in a 1981 Preventive Maintenance Schedule, and routinely invited outside experts to check the fort's structures. Griffiss AFB safety inspectors and the Rome Fire Department conducted annual inspections. In 1987, the fort also expanded its maintenance facility to provide more room for storage and allow for a carpentry shop to handle much of the repair work in-house.[92]

Concerns about the drawbridge arose in 1983 when visual inspection showed several rotted timbers. The fort raised concerns that a stress test had never been done of the bridge and wondered if its capacity had been compromised as a result of several large and heavy pieces of equipment and cement trucks traveling over it during the phase II reconstruction project. Historical architect Orville Carroll and the North Atlantic Region's Chief of Historic Preservation E. Blaine Cliver visited the fort and calculated that the bridge was strong enough for the expected visitor usage. The bridge could also support carrying a fire truck going at a walking pace. The park completed recommended repairs of the bridge, plus some work on the sentry boxes and picket gate.

Leaking and resultant deterioration of wood in fort buildings also required attention. In 1985, the maintenance staff fastened two steel brackets to a large wooden beam in the East Barracks that had cracked. In 1987, maintenance staff repaired and treated the wood in two casemates. In 1990, the fort replaced the West Casemate's north wall and corrected damage in the Southeast Casemate from a leaking ceiling. That year the fort also replaced all the wooden gutters. Two years later this work had to be redone. The gutters had been improperly sized and fitted and had a tendency to become dislodged during rainstorms or in periods of high winds. In 1993, the fort again replaced rotting logs on the walls of the West Casemate and added an innovative gravity feed drainage system to try to resolve the continuing water-drainage problem.[93]

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[89] Both quotes by Jackson from Jackson to Acting Regional Director, NARO, 6 July 1981, Request for Fourth Quarter Lapse Funds, Reading Files 1981, FOST Archives.

[90] 1982 Annual Report, 3.

[91] 1987 Annual Report, 2.

[92] Jackson to Acting Regional Director, NARO, 29 May 1981, Draft Preventive Maintenance Plan, File FOST 025, Box FOST 024-030, NE Museum Services Center; 1982 Annual Report, 3; 1986 Annual Report, 1; 1987 Annual Report, 1.

[93] Assessment of Effect on Cultural Resources, Structural Analysis of Bridge, 9 May 1983; E. Blaine Cliver to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, 5 July 1983, File H-30 FOST 1981, Box 13, Acc. 87-0001, RG 79, Waltham FRC; 1985 Annual Report, 1,2; 1986 Annual Report, 1; Charles Clapper to Jackson, 28 May 1985, Section 106 Compliance, File FOST 1985-1987 562; 760; Jackson to Chief Cultural Resources, NARO, 7 November 1990, Completed XXX Form for Replacement of Wooden Gutters; Robert McIntosh to Jackson, 11 September 1990, Section 106 Compliance, Repair Southeast Casemate, all in Section 106 Compliance Files, NPS-

In 1987, the park contracted out to have an addition built to the original maintenance building. This expansion allowed for better utilization of space and gave more room to store equipment. The addition also included a carpentry shop, providing more opportunities for maintenance staff to repair and build reproduction pieces for fort buildings at the park site.[94]

Jackson regularly reported on ways that Fort Stanwix tried to conserve energy. This initiative came from Congress and percolated throughout the federal government, in an attempt to decrease national reliance on foreign energy sources and increase efficiency. Having the fort closed to visitors during the harsh winter months saved energy dollars and reduced the incidence of visitor injuries. Other measures included installing in 1982 an employee restroom so that the public restrooms could be closed during the winter. In 1986, the fort replaced three wooden doors to the visitor center to increase insulation. The following year, the fort saw a 10 percent drop in energy consumption thanks to the installation of thermostats and timers in two critical areas of the park. This success prompted use of such timed thermometers throughout the fort, further reducing energy usage by 21 percent. At the end of his tenure, Jackson saw that the park received funding to convert its electric HVAC system to gas, which would provide an expected cost of energy drop of at least 30 percent.[95]

A continuing resource concern during the first part of Jackson's superintendency was completing the fort reconstruction project. Jackson and his interpretive chiefs referred to this action as "vital"[96] and considered its completion as necessary to satisfy the park's management objectives. Chief interpreter Beth Hagler wrote in 1985,"The total structure would best present an accurate story to the public."[97] When the Park Service decided to begin charging fees to Fort Stanwix, Hagler recommended that instead of building a standard fee collection booth, the fort should reconstruct the Ravelin, the structure located just inside the picket line and opposite the main gate. Such a structure would address concerns for retaining historical accuracy while also meeting the need for collecting fees near the fort's entrance. This idea eventually fell by the wayside, and a standard temporary booth was instead built.[98] In his 1988 Annual Report, Jackson finally recognized the inevitable: "Given the reality of this facility, relative to future construction and its enabling legislation, Fort Stanwix National Monument is complete."[99]

Changing of the guard

On 18 September 1993, William Jackson left Fort Stanwix to take a new assignment as superintendent of George Washington Carver National Memorial. Jackson had long admired Carver's legacy in agriculture and education and had wanted the opportunity to serve in some capacity at his home in Diamond, Missouri. When the position opened up, he jumped at it.[100] "It was really a dream come true," Jackson later commented about being able to serve at the home

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Boston; Index Card Files, Section 106 Compliance, FOST, NPS-Boston. Gary Warshefski to Chief, Office of Communications, NARO, 15 March 1994, 1993 Annual Report, 1, File March 1994, FOST Chron File.

[94] 1987 Annual Report, 2.

[95] 1982 Annual Report, 1; 1986 Annual Report, 1; 1987 Annual Report, 2; 1988 Annual Report, 2; 1993 Annual Report, 1.

[96] 1982 Annual Statement for Interpretation, I.B.3.1.

[97] FY 1985 Annual Statement for Interpretation, 7.

[98] Hagler to Jackson, 8 July 1986, Reconstruction of Fort Ravelin, no file or box, FOST Archives.

[99] 1988 Annual Report, 1. There is an indication that Jackson bent to continuing pressure from the regional office in deciding against further reconstruction. A marginal note on the May 1989 Operations Evaluation for the park states, "we have been trying for years to get Supt. to stop trying to plan for a 3rd phase of development." No file or box, FOST Archives.

[100] 1993 Annual Report, 1; Jackson, transcript of interview, 12.

of his childhood hero. But, he also remembered his time at Fort Stanwix as "good and memorable, and I think that we tried to do a little bit to help the perpetuation of our national heritage."[101] Gary Warshefski, who had been serving as deputy superintendent of Manhattan Sites, became the third superintendent at Fort Stanwix.

Jackson left behind some accomplishments and challenges for the new superintendent. In terms of resource management, Jackson and his staff recognized that despite steady attention to the deteriorating wood of the reconstructed fort, some buildings, especially the Southwest Casemate, required rehabilitative work beyond the means of normal maintenance operations. The 1993 Collections Management Plan also expressed continued concerns about the stability of the fort's only remaining historic fireplace. Jackson's commitment to having the archeological collection properly stored and cataloged made clear that fort personnel needed to monitor and address lingering temperature and humidity fluctuations in the storage areas. To best address these concerns about storage conditions and find ways for the collection to be used for research and exhibition, the plan also recommended that the fort establish a permanent curator position.[102]

On the interpretive front, Jackson had overseen a shift in the living-history program from a strict first-person interpretation to a more fluid approach. If visitors had difficulty understanding the reenactors as they went about their tasks in eighteenth-century style, the reenactors easily shifted out of character and talked directly to their audience in twentieth-century language. This change in part addressed a longstanding concern raised by some visitors who were confused by the first-person style. First-person interpretation also required an immense commitment by volunteers in terms of training and skill development. With the passing of longtime re-enactor and trainer Marguerite Syfert-Hines in October 1992, combined with severe funding limitations placed on the National Park Service systemwide, the fort had to consider other interpretive approaches. These funding shortfalls had strained the fort's budget to the point that it was running about $70,000 in debt, which the North Atlantic Regional Office had absorbed.[103]

These funding issues required the attention and commitment of a new manager. Jackson had given 12 years to making Fort Stanwix a fully functioning national park site. He had succeeded in staving off outright criticism of the fort and its lower-than-expected visitation numbers and had built relationships with various groups in and around Rome. His efforts in creating ties with the Six Nations in 1984 particularly stand out. But, with time, even these successes passed from view, and the park focused on facing the daily challenges of educating visitors through interpretive programs and maintaining the wood and earth structure. Fort Stanwix would benefit from new eyes and hands to take the park into new and productive directions.

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[101] Jackson, transcript of interview, 12.

[102] 1993 Collections Management Plan, 22; FY 1992 Statement for Interpretation, section on Resource Management Concerns.

[103] Jackson, transcript of interview, 5; Linda Bottjer, "Fort Stanwix Offers Living History," *Utica Area Home News*, 29 August 1993. Fort Stanwix National Monument 2-pg data sheet, July 1993, File FOST Park Book, Planning Files, NPS-Boston; Warshefski, transcript of interview, 2.

Chapter Six
Beyond the Pickets

"How would you like to go to Rome?" Gary Warshefski listened to these words from his boss, National Park Service Northeast Regional Director Marie Rust, and thought immediately of the possibilities for international cooperation in Italy. "I'd love to go overseas," he enthusiastically responded. Rust realized the mistake and brought Warshefski back to the United States, explaining that she meant Fort Stanwix National Monument in Rome, New York. They talked about the unusual nature of the park, how the reconstructed fort acted as an elaborate interpretive device for the park's major resource, the archeology from the Revolutionary War period. Rust let Warshefski know that while the park had some good basic operations established, it was a bit "sleepy," and she wanted him to find ways to give it a new direction, even move the park into the forefront of partnership and historic preservation in the region and the country. It also needed some fiscal fine tuning to bring the park out of its accumulated $70,000 debt. It would be a good place for him to try his wings as a superintendent, Rust thought. She envisioned Warshefski staying for two or three years and then moving on to some larger parks. Intrigued, Warshefski agreed to the move. He started at Fort Stanwix as the park's third superintendent in October 1993. He ended up staying seven and a half years.[1]

Warshefski had seventeen years of Park Service experience behind him when he moved to Rome. His first assignment as a seasonal Park Ranger had been to run the elevator at the Washington Monument during the heady days of the nation's Bicentennial. He became a permanent employee in January 1977, serving as a district naturalist at Fire Island National Seashore off Long Island, New York. He moved on to become an environmental education specialist and then a district ranger at the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area northwest of Los Angeles. His activities broadened to include interpretation, law enforcement, fire fighting, search and rescue, and emergency medical services. His next assignment at the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial in Honolulu evolved into an acting superintendency. His interest in management piqued, he moved to New York City to serve as deputy superintendent at Manhattan Sites. Then, he was off to Rome.[2]

Warshefski would be the first to tell people that he was a "broad-brush" sort of person. He worked best at visioning, moving forward on some broad ideas and issues and leaving the subtle, detailed work of following through on those initiatives to others. Fort Stanwix and Rust's charge to liven things up were just the sort of opportunity for him. He would have room to think big and build connections with a range of different interests. He would literally look beyond the pickets surrounding the reconstructed fort and get people excited about the possibilities at Fort Stanwix. Even before starting at the Park Service, he had developed this ability to reach out and tie different groups together. For his undergraduate training at the University of Michigan, he majored in forestry, with minors in U.S. history and psychology. This combination, he later remarked, prepared him for a job in the National Park Service, with its focus on natural history, cultural history, and people. He then served two years in the Peace Corps, working as a regional forester in Costa Rica, doing cooperative extension work among the farmers, the farming

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[1] All quotes from Warshefski, transcript of interview, 2-3. See also Rust, transcript of interview, 5.

[2] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 1; Judy Manzer, "He's Holding the Fort," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 20 December 1993; NPS Press Release, Park Service Selects New Superintendent for Fort Stanwix, 11 October 1993, File October 1993, FOST Chron Files.

communities, and the farming cooperatives. Subsequent education earned him a teaching certificate in biology and ecology and a master's degree in public administration.[3]

In Rome, Warshefski would succeed in building ties between the fort and a range of tourism and historic preservation groups. He served on committees examining whether the federal government should protect long sections of the Erie Canal or establish a Northern Frontier Heritage Corridor to remember the area's important Revolutionary War events. He studied the possibility of having Oriskany Battlefield, a state site, incorporated into the official boundaries of Fort Stanwix. He reached out to the Oneida Indian Nation and other Indian tribes and sought their perspective on these and other ideas. He made many people excited about the possibilities of what the fort might do to enhance visitation to central New York. One lasting legacy of this work has been the Marinus Willett Center at Fort Stanwix. Warshefski actively pursued the idea for the center to preserve the archeological collection and educate visitors about the fort and other sites in the region. He came up with its name and found the initial funding for the project.

The Willett Center is rightfully one of his important legacies. Yet, Warshefski's vision for the center and the fort ran bigger than Fort Stanwix and even the National Park Service could ultimately contain. He promoted the Willett Center as an economic driver for central New York, having the potential to spearhead tourism and bring much-needed economic relief to the financially strapped area. Such language resonated well with the people left in central New York who watched industries flee to warmer climates or foreign shores. By promoting the Willett Center on such a grand scale, though, Warshefski was leaving Fort Stanwix itself behind. In Warshefski's eyes, the reconstructed fort became a vehicle for economic relief. He seemed to be turning back to the exhilarating days of the 1960s when Mayor William Valentine and *Sentinel* editor Fritz Updike sold Romans on the idea of rebuilding Fort Stanwix as a way to bring an economic boost to the financially strapped city. Warshefski was putting the National Park Service into a precarious position, into the tourism business and away from its twin mandate in preservation and education.

This story is complex. Regional director Rust encouraged Warshefski's drive to develop leadership opportunities throughout upstate New York. She believed in the economic benefits Fort Stanwix and other sites could generate to local areas. She stated flatly that "I have no problem being an economic force, I think that's healthy. . . ." Yet, she also knew that "it's always a delicate balance, we're in the business of preservation. We have to constantly talk that side and make them understand that there are certain things we're not going to do as a national park."[4] The line between the two would at times get fuzzy during Warshefski's superintendency. Rust also pointed with pride to the fact that "Gary was more than Fort Stanwix,"[5] thanks to his ability to have a larger vision beyond the park. He could act on that vision in part because he understood the legislative aspects of park management. For instance, he had a direct hand in solidifying Congressman Sherwood Boehlert's critical support for the fort. Warshefski's vision certainly brought many promising projects to Fort Stanwix, but his broad-brush perspective sometimes failed to achieve final results.

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[3] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 1, 9.
[4] Rust, transcript of interview, 10.
[5] Ibid., 5.

Changing economies

Changing economic fortunes greeted Warshefski as he moved to Rome, New York. The Oneida Indian Nation expanded its once small bingo hall venture (south of the City of Oneida) into the first full-fledged legalized gambling casino in New York State. Located in Verona, only a few miles southwest of Rome, Turning Stone Casino attracted 1.8 million people by the time of its first anniversary in July 1994 and injected into the local economy $1.1 million in payroll to its nearly 2,000 employees. Such success catapulted the Oneidas and their Nation Representative Ray Halbritter to prominence. The Nation broke ground in 1994 on a new four-story hotel to encourage visitors to extend their stays at the casino. Along with a recreational vehicle park and other amenities, the gaming center became a resort destination.[6]

Turning Stone literally turned the tables for the once impoverished Oneidas, providing the means for the Nation to house, feed, and educate its people. Halbritter explained to the U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs that the Oneida Nation had "tried poverty for 200 years. Now, we've decided to try something else."[7] With the revenues generated from its gambling enterprise, the Nation could also nurture its culture, repossess ancestral lands, and provide for future generations of Oneidas and their non-Indian neighbors. Not required to pay taxes, the Nation had acted on its belief to help others by donating money to Verona to renovate its town hall and conduct a comprehensive land-use study for the main road through the small town.[8] The Oneidas also looked for ways to educate Americans about their history and culture. Even before the casino opened, Halbritter had escorted NPS Chief Historian Edwin Bearss to the remains of a former Oneida Indian village south of Canastota. Bearss agreed that this was an important place, where a living museum might be built to educate visitors about how the Oneidas lived before the arrival of Europeans. Halbritter agreed, saying that "This is a chance for us to have the rest of our history told."[9] Eventually, the Oneidas built their own museum, Shako:wi Cultural Center, near its old bingo hall and sponsored exhibits, showcases of native crafts, and demonstrations of the life and culture of the Nation.

At the same time that Oneida Indian Nation fortunes rose, the city of Rome saw its economic hopes spiral downward with the March 1993 Pentagon announcement of the Griffiss AFB realignment. In reaction to changing military strategies in the post-Cold War period, the Pentagon recommended that by mid-1995 all but the Rome Lab, DEFAS (Defense Finance and Accounting Services Center), and the Northeast Air Defense Sector remain at Griffiss, effectively closing 85 percent of the base and putting more than 1,500 civilians out of work. 3,800 military personnel and the B-52s and refueling tankers left for other bases. The Air National Guard took over command of the Northeast Air Defense Sector, laying off a quarter of its personnel in the process. Joseph Griffo, who had recently won election as Rome's mayor in 1992, shook his head in exasperation, saying "This is the worst thing that has happened here since the siege of Fort Stanwix."[10] He would later describe Rome as the "epicenter of a

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[6] Kathleen M. Haley, "As Casino Hotel Rises, So Do Hopes of Oneida Nation," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, no date [July 1994], Binder Press Clippings 1994, FOST Archives; 1993 Annual Report, 3. Haley, "Numbers Tell the Story of Turning Stone Casino's First Year," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [July 1994], Binder Press Clippings 1994, FOST Archives.

[7] "Halbritter Briefs Senators on Gaming," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, no date [July 1994], Binder Press Clippings 1994, FOST Archives.

[8] Haley, "As Casino Hotel Rises."

[9] Glenn Coin, "Old Oneida Site a Museum Maybe," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 25 August 1992.

[10] Craig Brandon, "A City in Shock," *Albany Times Union*, 14 March 1993.

tremendous economic loss."[11] Business owners in the community shared Griffo's anxiety. Many relied on Griffiss for more than half their business and wondered if layoffs of their staff would be enough to keep their storefronts and restaurants open.[12]

Gloomy predictions soon gave way to optimistic proposals for how the city could capture the economic potential remaining at Griffiss. Mayor Griffo focused on the idea of economic diversification, encouraging more small businesses and making sure that Rome did not rely upon a single economic source in the future.[13] Former Mayor Eilenberg supported Griffo's belief, thinking that the loss of Griffiss would force the area to focus on Rome Laboratory and the economic possibilities of Defense conversion. Converting military technology into commercial uses was the watchword of the Clinton administration, and Eilenberg wanted Rome to move quickly in this direction.[14] Rome business member Maurice Ecung echoed these thoughts, urging Romans to be creative in tapping non-base resources. "The gravy is gone, but we've still got to stay here," Ecung said. "We will just have to roll up our sleeves and tighten our belts. It means everybody needs to work harder to sell our other assets."[15] By December 1993, officials at Rome Lab and within the state had already begun developing the idea for a technology campus serving central New York, with Rome Lab as its centerpiece. In its initial formulations, the high-tech center would integrate military, commercial, and academic research and development pursuits. Other proposals soon followed. Halbritter and the Oneida Indian Nation envisioned using parts of Griffiss to diversify the Oneida Nation's economic pursuits from gambling to aircraft manufacturing and silk-screening.[16]

These ideas and others fed into the 1994 establishment of the Griffiss Local Redevelopment Council. The Council included Mayor Griffo and area business and professional leaders. RoAnn Destito, elected the previous year to the state assembly and wife of Rome businessman Chris Destito, served in an *ex-officio* position. The Council immediately addressed questions of what to do with Griffiss by developing a master plan for attracting new occupants to the base. Using a majority of federal and state money, the plan proposed setting up specific areas for research and development, industrial/warehouse use, education and training, and other types of public and commercial uses. A new parkway cutting through the site would tie the different areas together and facilitate transportation to the major roadways of the region. By 1996, the Griffiss Business and Technology Park had attracted an advanced vehicle technology center using state funding requested by Destito. Also in 1996, three new firms chose the Griffiss business park for their homes and another manufacturing firm expanded its operations at Griffiss.[17] The *Utica Observer-Dispatch* reported in September of that year that "Life Goes on After Griffiss." One Rome barber, Dale Moshier, proclaimed, "I don't see where it's killed anybody. A lot of new business has sprung up since they left. We're not going to roll over and

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[11] Griffo, transcript of interview, 2.

[12] John M. Cropley, "Merchants Wince and Wonder about Future," 13 March 1993; and Chip Haley, "Base Jobs Decline 32 %," 5 January 1995, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. R. Patrick Corbett, "Griffiss Takes 3 Major Hits," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 13 March 1993; Brandon, "A City in Shock."

[13] Griffo, transcript of interview, 1-2.

[14] Glenn Coin, "Area's Recovery from Loss at Base Will Take Time," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 13 March 1993.

[15] Ecung quoted by Gina M. Masullo, "Business People Fret, but Will Fight," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 13 March 1993.

[16] Haley, "As Casino Hotel Rises."

[17] Rob Duchow, "15 Local Members Launch Effort to Find Future Use for Griffiss," 3 October 1994; Chip Haley, "Plan Shows How $50 Million Would Be Spent to Make Base Attractive for Development," November 1994; Haley and Duchow, "Griffiss Gets Advanced Vehicle Technology Center," 17 July 1996, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Meg Schneider, "New Jobs Coming to Griffiss," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 13 September 1996.

die because they left." The Rev. William Kelly of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church captured the resiliency of his parishioners when he said, "Everybody realizes there's been a change, now they're determined to make this a better place to live."[18]

Elsewhere in Rome, new opportunities replaced old. In summer 1994, a K Mart store opened in the new Canal Place Shopping Center in West Rome. Soon afterwards, Wal-Mart brought a supercenter with grocery store to West Rome. These huge retail establishments directed shoppers away from the still struggling downtown area, leaving further empty spots in Liberty Plaza and other centers. Montgomery Ward, Ames, and Goldberg's furniture store all closed in reaction to the realignment of Griffiss AFB and the opening of the large discount chains. Mayor Griffo and the Rome Common Council acted upon these changes. In spring 1995, they called in outside consultants to study the city's assets and suggest improvements for the central business district. Released in January 1996, the Rome master plan recommended opening the Liberty Plaza pedestrian mall and building more parking spaces to encourage commercial development. Demolishing the former General Cable Corporation building to make way for a new business park would remove an eyesore while also generating a projected 100 new jobs. Taking a cue from other cities that were re-discovering their waterfronts, the master plan also envisioned a new harbor complex at the confluence of the Mohawk River and Erie Canal.[19] These proposals embodied Griffo's own call in his 1994 State of the City address, "We have the opportunity that comes so rarely—to change, to reinvent ourselves and our community, to really make something new and good happen for ourselves and our children."[20] By November 1997, the city had completed one of these tasks, re-opening West Dominick Street in time for the holiday shopping season.[21]

Fort partnerships

Warshefski jumped into the city's endeavors to reinvent itself, forging opportunities for partnerships along the way. He had joined the Rome Rotary Club soon after becoming superintendent, using the weekly lunch gatherings with community leaders to communicate the park's message. He encouraged his staff to do the same, to engage in community work while informally educating people about the mission and goals of the National Park Service.[22] When Rome began working with its consultants on a master plan, Warshefski served as a member of the master planning committee. In this role, he could address proposals that might be adverse to the fort while also fostering ways for the park to become a partner with the city. A suggestion to reconnect East and West Dominick Streets through the National Monument property met with an immediate response from Warshefski. He clearly stated that the Park Service will "not allow any

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[18] Both quotes by David Tyler, "Life Goes On After Griffiss," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 23 September 1996.

[19] Patti Hendrickson, "Wal-Mart Confidence," 8 December 1993; Chip Haley, "K Mart Anchors 'Canal Place,'" 24 February 1994; "Wal-Mart Will Shift Retail Axis," 12 February 1994, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Judy Manzer, "Officials in Rome Shopping for Answers," 14 December 1993; David Tyler, "Montgomery Ward's Closing Leaves Void for Rome Neighbors," no date [1997-1998], Binder Press Clipping October 1997-March 1998, FOST Archives; Tyler, "Resilient Rome Recovering," 4 January 1997, all in *Utica Observer-Dispatch*. EDAW, Inc., *Rome CBD Master Plan*, January 1996, FOST Superintendent's Files.

[20] Griffo quoted by Patti Hendrickson, "City's Efforts Can Remake Rome for Future," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date [January 1994], Binder Press Clippings 1994, FOST Archives.

[21] John S. Adams, "Dominick St. Reawakens to New Beginning," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 November 1997.

[22] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 5, 11.

street to be constructed" at Fort Stanwix. "Any proposal to do so can only be perceived as adversely affecting the nationally significant cultural resources of the park. . . ."[23]

The approved master plan for Rome's downtown instead recommended integrating Fort Stanwix into the central business district as a town green. The plan noted that it would be "unconscionable to violate the mission of the National Park Service," but a "subtle redesign of the grounds"[24] would link the park to the city and create a pedestrian-friendly environment for both residents and tourists. Having a pedestrian-activated traffic signal to cross James Street and an expanded pedestrian gateway to welcome people to the park would encourage visitation. The master plan also suggested defining an outdoor space with shade trees and having an elliptical path join the southwest parts of the fort to the lawn area. These improvements, in the minds of the planners, would increase the value of the usable open space at the park and make the site a more attractive and thus visited area.[25]

As Hanson and Jackson did before him, Warshefski also had to address Rome's continuing belief that Fort Stanwix had first flown the Stars and Stripes in battle. The Rome master plan suggested building a "sculptural tall flagpole that flies the original stars and stripes." The monumental flag would serve as a "visual focal point and a strong reminder of the significance of the fort both to the city of Rome and the entire country."[26] Warshefski had tried to derail this idea during the development of the plan, reminding people that exhaustive research had failed to confirm the flag story. He made clear that the Park Service was "reluctant to perpetuate a story which may be historically inaccurate."[27] He also stated to planners that the Park Service would not use public funds to finance such a flagpole, nor would it seek private donations for such a project. The flagpole idea remained in the master plan, and the Park Service did nothing to have it built.

Beyond Rome, Warshefski sought avenues for fulfilling his charge from Regional Director Rust to change Fort Stanwix from a sleepy park to one at the forefront of partnerships and historic preservation. He found a willing and enthusiastic ear in Congressman Sherry Boehlert. Boehlert strongly believed that "We've got something in central New York, that can't be replicated, you can't go out and buy it. We've got a rich heritage." Recognizing the sagging fortunes of Rome and area communities in the wake of the Griffiss AFB realignment and slow drain of industrial jobs, Boehlert sought ways to diversify central New York's economy. The Griffiss Business and Technology Park helped to strengthen the area's technological opportunities while efforts to shore up manufacturing helped to keep industrial firms from abandoning the region. But, Boehlert also firmly believed in adding heritage tourism to the mix to expand the economy. "Shame on us if we don't take advantage of our heritage,"[28] he later explained. This desire to build up tourism met with his concern over the management and protection of Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site.

In spring 1991, state budgetary woes led to the closure of Oriskany and some other small historic sites in New York. Jim Gold, Director of the Bureau of Historic Sites, noted that the state had hoped that communities or nonprofits could operate the closed sites on a seasonal basis for the state.[29] Through the cooperation and commitment of a host of volunteers, Oriskany's

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[23] Warshefski to Dennis Carmichael, 1 May 1995, File May 1995, FOST Chron Files.
[24] Rome CBD Master Plan, 105.
[25] Ibid., 105-06.
[26] Ibid., 105.
[27] Warshefski to Ronald Conover, 20 July 1995, File July 1995, FOST Chron Files.
[28] Both quotes from Boehlert, transcript of interview, 3.
[29] Jim Gold, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 9 January 2004, 4, FOST Archives.

lawns and walkways received attention, and the gates remained open for summer visitors. However, as Oriskany site manager Nancy Demyttenaere later stated, the local residents perceived the closure as a direct repudiation of their heritage, and "that created a great firestorm within the community."[30] Residents in the nearby towns of Oriskany, Whitestown, and Rome debated what should be done to maintain the sacred grounds of the 6 August 1777 battle that proved to be one of the bloodiest of the American Revolution. The towns themselves did not have the resources to manage the site after the state reduced its presence and financial commitment, and many people began to wonder if maybe the federal government shouldn't take control. Oriskany had National Historic Landmark status, and its story was intricately linked to the siege of Fort Stanwix. Why shouldn't the Park Service preserve and protect this land?[31]

Boehlert agreed and began enlisting federal support. He talked with then-superintendent William Jackson. Jackson initially expressed a positive reaction to the proposal, saying that Fort Stanwix had the materials and manpower to care for the Oriskany site. When Department of the Interior Undersecretary Frank Bracken toured both Oriskany and Fort Stanwix in September 1991, he emphasized the need for preservation while also expressing caution in involving the federal government, which had its own budget restrictions.[32] More roadblocks to Boehlert's proposal came from the State of New York, which flatly refused transferring the state land to the nation. "The site belongs to New York, and the state is not interested in giving away land to anyone, including the federal government,"[33] stated the deputy commissioner of the state Department of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Boehlert eventually found funding for a special resource study to examine the possibilities for management of Oriskany. The debate over federal control of the state battlefield site would eventually stretch over three Fort Stanwix superintendencies.

Boehlert's commitment to preserving Oriskany and enhancing heritage-based economic development in his district intersected with Warshefki's interest in building partnerships. When Warshefski came to Fort Stanwix in late 1993, he found a ready and willing partner in Congressman Boehlert. Ideas from them and others for tapping the full tourism and historic preservation potential of the area came fast and furious. As an indication of the sense of cooperation quickly developing between them, Warshefski alerted Boehlert only months after starting at Fort Stanwix of the work of the National Coalition of Heritage Areas. This organization used heritage partnerships to preserve and protect cultural resources and to promote economic development through tourism expansion. Warshefski noted in a February 1994 letter that such an organization might be helpful in providing information and direction for the Northern Frontier American Heritage Project.[34]

The Northern Frontier was a pet project of Boehlert's. In late 1991, he had begun hosting town meetings within his congressional district to generate support for a partnership between governments and private citizens. His goal was to preserve the rich cultural heritage of upstate

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[30] Nancy Demyttenaere, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 8 January 2004, 4, FOST Archives.
[31] Susan Stanley, "Oriskany Can't Save Battlefield from Wound of State Budget Deficit," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 15 May 1991. Dave Dudajek, "Monumental Task," 8 June 1991; Audrey Lewis, "Historic Landmark in Works for Oriskany," 7 August 1991, both in *Utica Observer-Dispatch*.
[32] Memorandum, dd [Dean D'Amore, chief of Boehlert's congressional staff] to SB [Sherwood Boehlert], DC, RW, 5 September 1991, attached to correspondence from Marie Rust to Boehlert, 3 June 1993, File H3417 Oriskany NHL File, FOST Archives; Annett Jimenez, "Area Officials Step Up Defense for 2 Historic Sites," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 7 September 1991.
[33] Julie Stokes, as quoted by Audrey Lewis, "Oriskany Plan Shot Down," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 8 August 1991.
[34] Warshefski to Boehlert, 2 February 1994, File Feb 1994, FOST Chron Files.

New York and its Revolutionary War past, and "to stimulate historic and cultural awareness and economic development through tourism."[35] Regional Director Marie Rust had told former superintendent William Jackson to work on the Northern Frontier Project with Boehlert. When Jackson left. Warshefski immediately involved himself with further exploration of this project. This initiative grew to an interest in identifying all of the sites, artifacts, and activities related to the struggle for European dominion of North America and foster public awareness of and travel to these places. In 1998, Boehlert obtained funding for a Northern Frontier Special Resource Study, directing the National Park Service to evaluate the Northern Frontier's significance and determine its suitability as a national heritage area.[36]

Also during the mid-1990s, several proposals obtained legislative backing from New York State and the federal government. State Assemblywoman RoAnn Destito (D) and State Senator William Sears (R) co-sponsored legislation in 1994 to fund the creation of the Mohawk Valley State Heritage Corridor. Through partnerships among individuals, organizations, and all levels of government, the legislation encouraged the celebration of the Mohawk Valley's extensive natural, cultural, historical, and educational resources. The hope was that such a heritage corridor would recharge the region's economy and revive pride in its varied resources.[37]

Warshefski served an integral role in completing another special resource study on the Erie Canalway. With increasing frequency during the latter half of his superintendency, Warshefski crisscrossed New York State and traveled to the major cities of the East Coast in his role on the study team to develop the Erie Canalway initiative. Begun in 1995, this study investigated the merits of having the New York State Canal System recognized as a national heritage corridor. The Erie Canal, the most well-known of the state's canals, had attracted attention as a historic and recreational resource for many years, evident in the 1973 establishment of the Erie Canal Village in Rome. But, people in New York and beyond sought ways to expand the potential for tourism development, recreation, and education through such a federal designation. Soon after the National Park Service began investigating the feasibility of the national heritage corridor, HUD's Office of Community Planning and Development, headed by Andrew Cuomo (son of former New York Governor Mario Cuomo) stepped in to supply economic initiatives to support cities and smaller communities along the 524-mile route of the canal system. Part of a larger federal effort to revitalize economically depressed areas, HUD's program recognized the attraction of America's waterways and the growing economic and social benefits resulting from their development. HUD's Canal Corridor Initiative sought partnerships with the National Park Service, the state, and local organizations to bring such vitality to New York's canal system.[38]

Warshefski, with Boehlert firmly behind him, turned these various initiatives into possibilities for partnerships for Fort Stanwix National Monument. Directly following the November 1996 elections, Warshefski sent letters of congratulation to each of the victorious office holders, asking them to keep in mind National Park Service planning efforts for Fort

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[35] Boehlert to James Ridenour, 10 October 1991, File Fort Stanwix, Planning Office Files, NPS Boston Support Office.

[36] NPS, Northeast Region, Boston Support Office, *The Northern Frontier Special Resource Study*, 2002, 3-4, 7-8; Rust, transcript of interview, 4.

[37] "Local Legislators Push for Tourism Funding," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 18 March 1994; Mohawk Valley Heritage Corridor website, www.mvhc.org, accessed 3 October 2003.

[38] NPS, *Northern Frontier SRS*, 14; HUD, Canal Corridor Initiative: Connecting Communities: A Framework for Comprehensive Development, December 1996, Preface, 1-6, File D18 HUD Canal Corridor Background, FOST Superintendent's Files. Warshefski, transcript of interview, 9-10.

Stanwix, "Oriskany Battlefield, and the Erie Canal as well as other regional projects and programs."[39] He wanted to educate the new and returning electors, receive suggestions for future steps, and gain their critical support.

Marinus Willett Center

That support and the resulting budding partnerships would prove essential for the realization of the Marinus Willett Center. When first arriving at Fort Stanwix in late 1993, Warshefski recognized that the park's world-class archeological collection suffered. Humidity and temperature levels fluctuated at unsafe levels for proper artifact protection. More than 200 inches of snow that winter, combined with bitter cold temperatures, further damaged the integrity of the fort's tunnels, allowing seepage. By 1998, mushrooms were found growing through rotting floorboards in the collection room and metal objects sat rusting in cardboard boxes. Mold and mildew could be found throughout the storage area, and glue bonds on reconstructed pottery were failing. Warshefski understood that Fort Stanwix needed to find a new home for the collection or risk losing it to the ravages of these inhospitable forces.

Using funding opportunities provided by a significant reorganization within NPS regional offices, in May 1996, Warshefski hired Craig Davis to serve as curator and chief of cultural resources at Fort Stanwix. Davis, originally from Rome, had been hired in 1970 by Dick Hsu the first year of the archeological dig. Davis was studying archeology in college at the time. In 1977, Hsu hired Davis again for special archeological projects in Alaska. Davis later became the first regional archeologist for the new Alaska Region. Davis then moved on to become a senior archeologist based in the NPS Washington Office. He had completed Department of the Interior leadership training, had served as acting superintendent of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine in Baltimore, Maryland, and had worked on a six-month detail in Congressman Boehlert's Washington congressional office and his Utica, NY, district office before accepting the position at Fort Stanwix. Along with his duties in resources management and providing support to the superintendent for park planning, partnership initiatives, and operations, Davis quickly went to work evaluating the current status of the collection and reboxing artifacts to help ensure their preservation. During three discrete periods between 1996 and 1998, Davis, with the assistance of special project teams of NPS curators, had box and shelf lists made, historic documents placed in acid-free labeled folders, and delicate reconstructed objects cavity packed to maintain their shape and design. This work helped to stabilize the collection. Now, Warshefski could focus on finding an environmentally safe and secure place to keep the collection and make it available to researchers.[40]

The Willett Center emerged from these circumstances. The original 1967 master plan for Fort Stanwix intended to have a separate visitor contact and information center, located outside the fort but on Park Service property. This center would house contact facilities, restrooms,

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[39] This quote can be found in letters from Warshefski to David Townsend, Sherwood Boelhert, RoAnn Destito, Raymond Meier, Nancy Larraine Hoffman, and Ralph Eannace, Jr, dated 6 November 1996 [Eannace letter dated 14 November 1996], all in File November 1996, FOST Chron Files.

[40] Warshefski to Assistant Regional Director, Programming and Financial Management, NARO, 22 April 1994, Emergency Storm Damage Funding Call, File April 1994; and Warshefski to Northeast Museums Services Committee, Northeast Museum Services Center, 3 October 1995, Call for Backlog Cataloging and Museum Collections Preservation, File October 1995, both in FOST Chron Files. 1993 Collection Management Plan, 24. Warshefski, transcript of interview, 5, 8-9. "Staff Changes Planned at Fort Stanwix Monument," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 28 May 1996. Robert Gavin, "Time Ravages Fort," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, 17 November 1998. Fort Stanwix NM Collection Management Plan, 2002, 50-51, FOST Archives.

information and fee collection activities, and office and maintenance space. The master plan does not provide guidance on where or how the park should store its archeological collection, leaving the details of this and other interpretive work to later. As discussed in Chapter Three, financial considerations and interpretive planning resulted in the decision to house all interpretive and administrative functions in the reconstructed fort. The archeological collection would be stored in the East Casemate.[41]

Warshefski decided that the best way to ensure the preservation of the archeological collection was to remove it from its leaky and moldy environment in the fort's tunnels. No other space within the reconstructed fort could hold this large collection, so Warshefski looked for a separate facility, a new visitor center on or near fort property. But, new construction projects for visitor centers did not have a high priority within Congress, and Warshefski knew that he would have to build on the partnerships he had been nurturing to find the estimated $6 million.[42]

By February 1997, the proposed collections facility had the name Marinus Willett Center.[43] Warshefski remembers sitting around with his staff and brainstorming how to make the proposed center more attractive from a marketing viewpoint. He had asked Park Ranger Bill Sawyer to provide biographical materials on some of the key people involved with the siege of Fort Stanwix. Warshefski wanted to give the building some personality, and he found that personality in Marinus Willett, second-in-command at Fort Stanwix during the 1777 siege. Willett had led the foray that had raided the British and Indian camps during the Battle of Oriskany. After the siege, Willett had remained in the Mohawk Valley, stabilizing the area against British raiding parties. He went on to serve as Sheriff in the City and County of New York and served as mayor of New York City. Willett's deep roots to the region would appeal to the partnership opportunities Warshefski was developing throughout the Mohawk Valley. When Boehlert first heard the idea for a Marinus Willett Patriot Center for the Study of the Northern Frontier, he thought it was brilliant. Over the years, the Willett name would remain, although the building's exact purpose would evolve.[44]

Concurrent with identifying a name for the center, Warshefski pursued funding opportunities. He knew from his work on the Erie Canalway that HUD would look favorably on grant proposals for Park Service sites in upstate New York. But to assure success, he needed to develop relationships with the local communities and tailor the grant application into a regional initiative. In talks with the City of Rome, he found enthusiastic support from City Planner Ron Conover. Mayor Griffo, wary of any proposals that tried to make tourism a primary economic driver in Rome, agreed after some lobbying by his staff.[45] He later stated that, "Tourism is important, but only as one element in the economic development equation."[46] Griffo did not believe that the center would be the answer to his city's economic woes. "But as some would

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[41] 1967 Master Plan, 21.

[42] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 5.

[43] Warshefski to Ron Conover, 14 February 1997, File F54 Willett Center Funding-HUD, FOST Superintendent's Working Files.

[44] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 5-6; Boehlert to Joseph Griffo, 16 October 1997, attached to 1997 application for Heritage Areas System, matching grant funding through the NY State Clean Water/Clean Air Bond Act, File F54 Willett Center, 1997 NYS Env. Bond Act, FOST Superintendent's Working Files. Warshefski, email message to the author, 27 January 2004, 1, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives. For biographical information on Willett, see Larry Lowenthal, *Marinus Willett: Defender of the Northern Frontier* (Fleischmanns, New York: Purple Mountain Press, 2000).

[45] Warshefski, email message, 27 January 2004, 1-2; Warshefski, email message to Rust, 10 September 1996, Notes on Meeting with City of Rome, 1, FOST Superintendent's Files.

[46] Griffo, transcript of interview, 3.

like to sell, this was now the answer, this was the missing cog in the wheel, I did not subscribe to that."[47] Giving the center a regional spin to gain funding expanded to include all major grant proposals. And, this marketing approach quickly paid off. In August 1998, HUD's Canal Corridor Initiative granted the City of Rome $600,000 for the Willett Center. Another $300,000 came from the State of New York's Environmental Bond Act. In 2000, New York State granted another $2 million. Dedicated to finding money for the archeological collection and visitor center in Congress, Boehlert also convinced his colleagues to dedicate as much as $3 million of the National Park Service budget to the center. This combination of financial support made the Willett Center a reality.[48]

In contributing to grant applications and talking with possible partners for funding the Willett Center, Warshefski revealed his expansive vision for this building. He knew the center would protect the archeological collection and finally make the collection available for research. However, at times, he got caught up in marketing the Willett Center for other purposes, to support the many partnerships that he had made, that he sometimes failed to remind people of the center's primary purpose of preserving the archeological collection. Of course, Warshefski needed to tailor his message to accommodate the interests and priorities of his list of potential partners. He wanted to generate enthusiasm and full-fledged financial support so that the fort could have the collection facility and visitor information center it desperately needed. Yet, Warshefski's vision at times lost sight of this basic purpose to take care of the fort's resources first. He began talking more about how the Willett Center would help the other partners than address the Park Service's own needs. In this way, Warshefski came dangerously close to repeating the Park Service's mistakes from the late 1960s and 1970s during the Rome urban renewal period. In both cases, discussion began to center more on economic development through tourism and other historic preservation efforts rather than on the preservation of Fort Stanwix and its resources. By taking the park back to these days of economic optimism, Warshefski threatened to damage the work Hanson and Jackson had done to separate the park's management from economic motives.

Warshefski's interest in fostering tourism through his many partners can be seen in his letter of support for the city's application for a HUD Canal Corridor Initiative grant. Nowhere in the letter does he mention the supposed primary reason for the Willett Center, a collection facility. He says the funding for the proposed center would provide for "visitor information, orientation, and interpretation at Fort Stanwix and the other heritage tourism areas in the region...." The center would become an "anchor in upstate New York for a number of heritage and recreational initiatives and used extensively for public meetings and regional heritage partnership coordination activities. . . ." Warshefski went on to write that the Park Service would "work in partnership with the City of Rome in the redevelopment of the downtown business district and provide visitor services in conjunction with the Rome Canal Harbor and Erie Canal Village." He stated that the center would "provide quality information and interpretation of historic events, resources, attractions, personalities, and cultures that make up the region."[49] In

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[47] Ibid., 6.

[48] James S. Gormley, "Fort Gets $3 Million toward Visitors Center," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 October 1998. Meg Schneider, "Rome Project Wins Grant," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, no date; Chip Haley, "Bond Act Funds Earmarked for Area Tourism Projects," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, no date, both in Binder Press Clippings 10/97-3/98, FOST Archives. R. Patrick Corbett, "Ft. Stanwix To Get $2M in Grants," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 11 April 2000.

[49] All quotes from Warshefski to Conover, 14 February 1997.

this way, Warshefski envisioned that the Willett Center would extend its interpretive storyline beyond Fort Stanwix to places and periods not necessarily connected to the fort.

These descriptions for the Willett Center went beyond letters. In an October 1997 briefing statement, Warshefski wrote that the Center would serve as the "visitor center for Fort Stanwix National Monument, support many federal, state, regional and local heritage preservation, education and economic development initiatives, and provide regional heritage tourism information and interpretation for thousands of visitors annually." Again, there is no mention of the collection. Warshefski also makes clear that economic development is a significant component of the Willett Center. The statement includes mention of how the Center will "anchor the City of Rome's efforts to enhance and redevelop the central business district," in part by supporting community programs and special events, even to the point of providing them administrative and office space.[50]

Warshefski's interest in building partnerships was appropriate. In response to the 75th anniversary of the founding of the National Park Service, the agency underwent a thorough self-appraisal to identify its strengths and weaknesses. Published in 1991 as the Vail Agenda, this report laid out what the Park Service should be doing as it entered the 21st century. A significant finding from this report directed each park manager to find ways to generate greater public support for resource stewardship through partnerships.[51] Regional Director Rust noted this shift within the agency, saying: "that agenda that came out of Vail was clearly the change that moved the Park Service in the direction of partnerships. It moved the Park Service into a broader scope, a broader vision."[52] As the Vail Agenda noted, each national park site needs to establish and maintain relationships with as many different outside organizations and groups as possible. This approach educates others about the mission and goals of the National Park Service and keeps the Park Service informed about the local and regional communities. Information is exchanged and people become comfortable sharing their interests and goals, building linkages between different projects that prove beneficial for all parties. Only through partnerships, the Vail Agenda reported, can the National Park Service truly fulfill its basic mission, to preserve and protect its resources and educate people about those resources. As Rust bluntly made clear, "You can't protect the resource if you stay within a very limited boundary. You've got to reach out. . . . It's a question of survival, it's not even a question of nice things to do."[53] Warshefski should be commended in laying the foundation for so many beneficial partnerships.

His attention to partnerships also reflected an evolution in congressional thinking about national park stewardship. During the 1980s and 1990s, in particular, Congress established national park areas that went beyond the traditional Park Service model. This traditional model called for federally owned land to preserve a natural or cultural resource, with sole management authority vested in the National Park Service. At the end of the twentieth century, Congress began to experiment with different ideas for preserving natural and historic resources and educating the public about those resources. At New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park (Massachusetts), for example, Congress legislated in 1996 that NPS ownership of land and/or buildings would be minimal and that the Park Service must collaborate with the City of New Bedford and associated historical, cultural, and preservation agencies to manage the site.

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[50] Both quotes from Briefing Statement, Marinus Willett Center, attached to letter from Warshefski to Karen Engelke, 1 October 1997, File F54 Willett Center 1997 NYS Env. Bond Act, FOST Superintendent's Working Files.
[51] *National Parks for the 21st Century: The Vail Agenda* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1993), 137-140.
[52] Rust, transcript of interview, 9.
[53] Ibid., 8.

Congress even extended these partnerships beyond Massachusetts to the North Slope Borough Cultural Center in Barrow, Alaska, ensuring that native Alaskan people's contributions to the story of commercial whaling would be preserved and shared. At the Cane River Creole National Historical Park and Cane River National Heritage Area, both of which Congress established in 1994, the Park Service works closely with a 19-member commission representing local community, landowner, and government interests. The national park holds two French Creole plantations while the 116,000-acre heritage area in northwestern Louisiana contains examples of French, African, Haitian, Spanish, and American Indian cultures. Partnerships throughout the region ensure that diverse programs and projects reflect the range of cultural influences that have historically influenced people living there.[54]

These and many other examples of a broadened vision for stewardship within the National Park Service contributed to the charge Marie Rust gave Warshefski when he started at Fort Stanwix and influenced Warshefski's decision to actively seek partnerships within New York's Mohawk Valley. However, Warshefski at times lost sight of the ultimate goal of these partnerships for Fort Stanwix and the National Park Service. Instead of thinking how these relationships would aid the fort, he many times appeared to think of how they would aid the economic development of the city and region. His emphasis on economic development alarmed Mayor Griffo and put him on the defensive about the center. Griffo later stated that he supported the center and believed that "it was important and almost maybe necessary to ensure the existing facility continued to function and hopefully be more successful,"[55] but he did not want people to think the center would be the answer to the economic hard times of Rome. And, the Vail Agenda makes clear that any partnerships needed to be directed toward resource preservation. Being an economic driver as an ancillary result would be fine, so long as preservation remained the primary focus.[56] Warshefski certainly believed that the Willett Center should preserve and protect the park's archeological collection and tell the story of Fort Stanwix, but he did not readily and consistently communicate these two essentials when trying to get funding for the center. In the case of the Willett Center, he demonstrated both the positive and cautionary aspects of developing wide-ranging partnerships.

Planning for the future

While building partnerships and finding funding for the Willett Center, Warshefski realized that Fort Stanwix needed a blueprint for its future, what the National Park Service calls a General Management Plan (GMP). Two congressionally directed special resource studies, for Oriskany Battlefield and the Northern Frontier, had the potential to expand dramatically the shape and interpretive direction of the fort. The Willett Center offered endless possibilities for telling the story of Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, and the entire Mohawk Valley from colonial times to the present. Yet, the enabling legislation for the national monument provided little or no guidance on how each of these compelling stories may or may not be included in the protection and interpretation of Fort Stanwix. The 1935 congressional debate did not provide further illumination. Representatives focused on whether the federal government should assert control over state lands in light of budgetary restrictions during the Great Depression. The primary reason for establishing Fort Stanwix came from Secretary Ickes, who wrote that "this proposed

[54] NPS, *Branching Out: Approaches in National Park Stewardship*, 2003, 2-3, 24, 26-27.
[55] Griffo, transcript of interview, 6.
[56] *Vail Agenda*, 137.

legislation is the site of a battle of great importance in American history. . . ."[57] Such wording makes clear that Fort Stanwix National Monument should interpret and preserve the history of the 1777 siege.

But, Warshefski wondered, couldn't that story be extended? Couldn't the story of Fort Stanwix also include information about Indians, before, during, and after the siege? Should the Park Service accept management of Oriskany and more fully incorporate its story into the fort's interpretation? When should the timeline for interpretation at Fort Stanwix stop: with the end of the American Revolution? Could it go further to include the economic development of Rome's canal, railroad, dairy, manufacturing, and/or military industries? Why can't Fort Stanwix serve the entire Mohawk Valley by telling its story and promoting its rich heritage and economic possibilities? As can be seen from his planning and promotion of the Willett Center, Warshefski clearly sorted through these ideas and began building his vision for the national monument. To make his vision a reality, he asked that the Park Service fund the development of a General Management Plan.[58]

As the Park Service considered Warshefski's request, he came upon information that tipped the scales, making the Fort Stanwix GMP the highest priority in the Northeast Region. In looking closely at the enabling legislation, he realized that the park did not have congressionally set boundaries. In 1935, Congress did not have any land or buildings to designate for the national monument. The city of Rome sat upon the ruins of the fort. To address this situation, Congress had declared that when title to the site shall have been vested in the United States, then a proclamation by the president should designate and set apart the site as the national monument.[59] Warshefski personally reviewed all presidential proclamations related to the Park Service since the passage of the enabling legislation. He found nothing for Fort Stanwix's boundaries. He checked with the previous superintendents, Lee Hanson and William Jackson. They did not know of any movement to set the park's boundaries, either by proclamation or congressional action. Then, he talked to NPS Deputy Director Denis Galvin, who had been the deputy regional director in the North Atlantic Region during the fort reconstruction phase. Galvin, a man who impressed many with his impeccable memory, told Warshefski that the Park Service was so focused on getting the fort reconstructed that any other issues, including setting boundaries, did not receive attention. Galvin agreed that the park should do a GMP, and he provided initial funding. In consideration of all the energy and excitement Warshefski was generating through building partnerships at Fort Stanwix, Galvin also suggested that the park use the GMP process to reset the enabling legislation and define the park's boundaries.[60]

Such an idea gave force to Warshefski's belief that Fort Stanwix National Monument could be a large and vital presence within the Mohawk Valley and the United States. "I looked at that as another opportunity of providing an expansion as to the purposes for the park" in terms of Oriskany, the Northern Frontier, and the Indian role. "It provided a wealth of opportunities to go forward not only with the General Management Plan but in new directions for the park."[61]

Work on the GMP began officially in May 1998 with an opening meeting at Fort Stanwix. Team members included Warshefski and NPS representatives from the Boston Support

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[57] Ickes as quoted in S. 739, 5 August 1935.
[58] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 6-7.
[59] Paraphrasing of Fort Stanwix National Monument 1935 enabling legislation.
[60] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 7; Minutes, FOST GMP Initial Meeting, 7 May 1998, 2, File D18 FOST GMP 1998, FOST Superintendent's Files.
[61] Both quotes from Warshefski, transcript of interview, 7.

Office of the Northeast Region, including Joanne Arany, Ellen Levin Carlson from Planning and Legislation, and former Fort Stanwix historian Larry Lowenthal.[62] From Fort Stanwix, Warshefski had each of his division chiefs participate. Craig Davis represented cultural resources and curatorial activities. Michael Kusch, who had joined the park the same time as Davis, served as chief of visitor services and represented the fort's interpretive and visitor operations areas. Kusch, who first worked as a seasonal at Gateway National Recreation Area in his home state of New Jersey, had extensive experience in interpretation, law enforcement, and resource protection. He had fought wildland fires in such national parks as Grand Teton (Wyoming) and Big Bend (Texas), provided law enforcement services at Yellowstone (Wyoming) and Carlsbad Caverns (New Mexico), and had developed interpretive programming at Statue of Liberty National Monument and Ellis Island Immigration Museum (New York) and Independence National Historical Park (Pennsylvania). Longtime facility manager Robert Guellich had retired in 1996, and Jack Veazy had assumed this role. Leigh Ann Medick represented park administration. In the case of Davis, Kusch, and Medick, Warshefski had been able to use funding opportunities provided by the downsizing of NPS regional offices to hire these talented and dedicated people.[63]

At the initial GMP meeting, Warshefski provided a basic lay of the land of where different issues stood. He outlined the history of the fort's reconstruction and the changing economic climate in the region. He noted that "the community has a mixed attitude about the fort,"[64] indicating the need for better connections and integration. Warshefski also alerted his fellow GMP team members that the state had begun providing skeletal management of Oriskany and that Congressman Boehlert continued to advocate for federal control of the state battlefield. At Fort Stanwix, the GMP would also help make a decision about whether to finish the reconstruction to include the remaining fort features.

The primary issues to resolve under the GMP, according to Warshefski, were proper care of the collection and redevelopment of the park's interpretive program to give sufficient contextual understanding of the fort. Two interesting discussions on the collection resulted at this initial meeting. Warshefski suggested that the buildings at Griffiss AFB "could assist in resolving collections management issues."[65] The minutes do not indicate if such an arrangement might preclude the necessity of having the Willett Center as a collection facility, thereby providing the center with maximum space for interpretation and outreach. In addition, curator Davis asked that the Park Service consider deaccessioning, or permanently removing, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century artifacts from the collection. A partnership arrangement might be explored, having a regional facility built for shared archeological collections. National Park Service costs might be "meaningfully reduced in [such] a partnership."[66] Again, such an arrangement would significantly reduce the amount of space needed in the Willett Center for the collection; approximately 45,000 items of the total 450,000-item collection relate to the eighteenth-century fort.

GMP development proceeded apace. The Park Service considered alternative sites for housing the park's archeological collection. Abandoned buildings at the former Griffiss AFB offered one possible solution, and Warshefski, Davis, and Veazy evaluated this option. Two

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[62] Lowenthal would eventually retire from the National Park Service on 31 December 1999.
[63] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 8-9.
[64] Minutes, FOST GMP Initial Meeting, 2.
[65] Ibid., 2.
[66] Ibid., 5.

buildings available for reuse by the Park Service proved to have many problems with water leakage, space configurations, insulation, and accessibility, turning these potentially "donated" buildings into costly storage spaces for Fort Stanwix, once necessary repairs and improvements had been completed. Other buildings that had the potential for reuse as collection spaces were consistently opposed for such use by the Griffiss redevelopment organization. As Davis later remembered, Warshefski pursued such offsite collection facility options with the view of potentially reducing the size of the Willett Center and focusing its activities on visitor services.[67]

As the GMP proceeded to its active phase of development, team members worked on finalizing a combined Project Agreement for the GMP and Environmental Impact Statement to assess the results of alternative management strategies. The June 1998 draft of this document continued to reflect Warshefski's belief that an "interpretive center that would serve the city, the region and the park is now being discussed as part of the city's revitalization planning."[68] Also, the draft agreement notes that "the Northern Frontier Project, the Mohawk Valley Heritage Corridor, and HUD's Canal Corridor Initiative are among the major regional initiatives that are considering Fort Stanwix as an anchor."[69] Warshefski's vision of a regional center at Fort Stanwix continued to guide planning for the park. Interestingly, in the draft project agreement, collection storage and preservation are discussed separately from the interpretive center, leaving readers with the impression that the two are independent. Abandoned buildings at Griffiss AFB are proposed as possible future homes for the collection. Other topics in the draft project agreement include studying incorporation of Oriskany Battlefield within the park's boundary and discussing the City of Rome's wish to have Fort Stanwix provide recreational green space.[70]

Three public scopings for the GMP, held in July 1998, attracted almost seventy people and generated a range of comments to incorporate in the draft plan. Many Friends of Oriskany and supporters of the Northern Frontier Project signaled their desire to have the federal government take over management and administration of the state battlefield site. They recognized that the federal government could provide a wealth of educational and interpretive expertise.[71] One audience member stated that "we would like to see the National Park Service take over where the state left off because they are not doing such a hot job."[72] Other people expressed support for the proposed visitor center, noting that "it would be a great focal point for visitors to the area and local residents to learn more about Fort Stanwix, but also about the other historical sites in the area, and also about visitor services in the area."[73] Other issues raised included having sufficient parking for visitors to Fort Stanwix, lighting the fort at night to attract tourists, and having a bike or walking path between Fort Stanwix and Oriskany.[74] These comments and more helped GMP team members continue drafting a plan.

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[67] Staff Curator to Acting Director, Northeast Museum Services Center, 10 July 1998, Trip Report, Box Management History, FOST Superintendent's Files. Davis, notes on first draft of admin history, 15, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.

[68] Joanne Arany, Project Agreement for General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for Fort Stanwix National Monument, 17 June 1998, 7, FOST Archives.

[69] Ibid., 7.

[70] Ibid., 6-8.

[71] Fort Stanwix National Monument General Management Plan, Public Scoping, 27 July 1998, transcription, 33, 38-39, 41, FOST Archives.

[72] Unnamed person, as quoted in Ibid. (27 July 1998), 38.

[73] Nancy Anderson, as quoted in Fort Stanwix National Monument General Management Plan, Public Scoping Meeting, 30 July 1998, transcription, 77, FOST Archives.

[74] Fort Stanwix National Monument General Management Plan, Public Scoping, 20 July 1998, transcription, 50, 52, FOST Archives; Public Scoping, 27 July 1998, 44.

As this planning work proceeded, Warshefski and his team members sent the 1998 draft project agreement to the NPS Washington Office for review where it aroused the concerns of the NPS Park Planning and Special Studies Program Manager, Warren Brown. As the Washington Office policy reviewer, Brown worried in particular that a major justification for the GMP was to spur the local economy. The justification stated in the first paragraph of the overview section that "The role of Fort Stanwix has become critically integral to city, state, and federal planning efforts to spur the local economy with heritage tourism strategies. Public investment in this area is a driving force, with the National Park Service General Management Plan at its centerpiece."[75] The justification also repeated the mistake of the 1967 Fort Stanwix master plan by including tourism projections. If a regional visitor center was adopted in the park's GMP, the funding justification argued that "annual visitation should double, as projected by the Rome CBD [Central Business District] Master Plan (1995). This doubling would bring projected annual tourism expenditures to [$]13.3 million. . . ."[76] Brown responded firmly to this approach, stating that "While improved economic conditions may be an important side benefit of a unit of the National Park System, it is not a purpose of Fort Stanwix. . . ." Brown went on to write that "we need to be very careful about encouraging people to believe that parks will bring economic benefits, or that our decisions about how the park should be managed will be based on local economic impacts rather than the park's purpose."[77]

The GMP planners only partially responded to this concern. For the final approved project agreement for the GMP/Environmental Impact Statement, dating January 1999, the planners deemphasized the economic benefits of the proposed visitor center. Although the revised statement refers to the "city's revitalization planning," it also makes clear that the interpretive center will "result in greater visibility for FOST, and increased educational opportunities for the general public, anchoring NPS presence in the region."[78] In listing the planning issues to be addressed by the final project agreement, the document places the storage center for the archeological collection as number nine out of nine issues. The need to preserve the archeological collection, without mention of where, is listed as number seven. Higher up the list are the same statements as in the 1998 draft about Fort Stanwix being a potential regional anchor for the Northern Frontier and other cooperative ventures. Clearly, the project agreement continued to emphasize Warshefski's vision of regional partnerships for the park and Willett Center.[79]

The allure of economic benefits continued to frame other GMP planning documents. For example, the projected tourism numbers and economic benefits are included in a February 1999 draft synopsis of decision points reached through discussions with GMP team members and a host of non-Park Service representatives of different area organizations and communities. The opening decision point on the need for a fundamental change in park management refers to Fort Stanwix being in an optimal position to respond to a number of initiatives "tying into economic development and heritage tourism efforts." By completing the GMP, this draft planning

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[75] Arany, Fort Stanwix National Monument FY 1999 GMP Priority Data Sheet, 2 June 1998, 1, File FOST Correspondence/Misc. 1967-, Planning Office, NPS-Washington.
[76] Ibid., 4.
[77] Both quotes by Brown in Warren Brown to Robert McIntosh, Sarah Peskin, and Joanne Arany, 11 September 1998, Draft Project Agreement for Fort Stanwix National Monument General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, New York, 2, File FOST Correspondence/Misc. 1967-, Planning Office, NPS-Washington.
[78] Joanne Arany, Project Agreement for General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for Fort Stanwix National Monument, 15 January 1999, 4, File D18 FOST GMP 1999, FOST Superintendent's Files.
[79] Ibid., 3-5.

document notes that park management will be able to enter into partnerships that "will dramatically increase visitor use and help gain national exposure. These actions can have immense positive impact on the Central New York economy."[80] Projected tourism numbers and resulting dollars from increased visitation are also repeated in this document.[81] Clearly, many NPS representatives believed that the Fort Stanwix GMP had importance in part due to identification of its potential economic benefits gained from the park, despite objections raised by Washington Office policy reviewer Brown.

By June 1999, GMP team members had developed four proposals for managing Fort Stanwix. These four alternatives focused on such issues as completing the fort reconstruction, Oriskany, the Willett Center, and the role of partnerships. As required for comparison purposes, the first alternative recommended no action with respect to building new facilities or reconstructing the remaining fort features. This alternative would provide for formalization of the existing park boundary. Alternative Number 2, defined as "Looking Inward," would reconstruct the remaining fort features and consider various offsite collections storage alternatives. Oriskany Battlefield would remain a state site linked physically and through partnerships to Fort Stanwix and other related organizations. The "Reaching Out" Alternative, while not recommending completion of the fort's reconstruction, put a new education center and collections storage space on the park site. This center would provide both park-specific and regional visitor services. Partnerships would be encouraged with state, federal, local, and international entities, as well as non-profits and Indian groups. Oriskany would be linked to Fort Stanwix through partnerships and boundary inclusion. The fourth alternative, "Expanding Horizons," did complete reconstruction of the fort and had a new collection storage and education center built adjacent to park lands. Oriskany's boundaries would be expanded and the federal government would legally acquire the battlefield site for inclusion within Fort Stanwix National Monument. Partnerships would be forged with a range of outside entities.[82] A public meeting in Rome indicated that people especially favored having Oriskany Battlefield brought under federal care, either through outright acquisition or by a partnership plan that would keep the site under state jurisdiction.[83]

In December 2000, GMP team members had begun reviewing a draft document that encapsulated the two and a half year's worth of work. Comments and concerns raised during this internal review provide further insight into the thoughts and vision of Warshefski and others. One telling exchange between Warshefski and Resource Management Chief Davis addressed their opposing views concerning the use of the fort's grounds. Davis argued that "I believe that allowing unrestricted informal recreational use of the site, such as pick-up football games, is inconsistent with the nature and character of this place—this historic resource." Davis believed that the fort's lands were sacred hallowed grounds. Warshefski, on the other hand, argued that "we have spent much time and effort working at developing a historical continuum of themes that broadly define the significance of Fort Stanwix." Warshefski agreed that there was death and destruction on the fort's lands, but he also knew that there had been births and happiness. "Geography and the establishment of Fort Stanwix is the reason why the city of Rome is here and our histories are intertwined." He went on to say that "I might even argue that the pickup

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[80] Both quotes from Philadelphia, Park Planning Review/Northeast Region, Fort Stanwix National Monument, 8 February 1999, 1, File D18 FOST GMP 1999, FOST Superintendent's Files.
[81] Ibid., 4.
[82] Newsletter of Fort Stanwix National Monument: The General Management Plan, June 1999, FOST Archives.
[83] Meg Scheider, "Fort Stanwix Engaged in Battle To Survive," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 10 June 1999.

football games that Craig [Davis] so passionately argues against is actually present day demonstrations of historically-based uses of exterior grounds of forts throughout the ages."[84] Where do we draw the line, Warshefski asked. What recreational activities should the Park Service permit? We should reject ones that have the potential to harm park resources, but where do pick up football games fall versus kite flying and recreational walking and jogging? Warshefski had a broad vision for Fort Stanwix, and he applied that vision to all aspects of the fort's management.[85]

Visitor Services Chief Kusch raised another issue during the December 2000 review of the draft GMP that also extended the potential reach of Fort Stanwix within the larger community. Kusch forcefully argued that the park's mission and significance statements should specifically recognize the fort's role in Indian relations and in negotiating treaties with the Six Nations. Kusch believed that Fort Stanwix had the opportunity to become a center for studying Indian relations east of the Mississippi, hosting conferences and forming partnerships with Indian nations and tribes. Such relationships would be hampered, according to Kusch, if the park's mission statement failed to recognize the treaties as important. He believed that the Oneida Nation and other Indian Tribes would resist overtures from the park if the basic acknowledgment of the treaties had been excluded from the park's mission statement. Kusch may have been particularly aware of these dynamics because he was one-quarter Indian and remembered stories about his mother and her siblings who had experienced prejudice because neither whites nor Indians accepted them. He had also contributed to an ethnographic study of Mohawk Valley Six Nations groups, completed in 1998 by Joy Bilharz of State University of New York, Fredonia. Initiated by Warshefski and administered by Davis, this report signaled an important shift in park interpretation at Fort Stanwix. Another study of non-Six Nations Indians was later completed by Bilharz in March 2002. These studies, described in more detail later in the chapter, gave voice to Indian concerns regarding Fort Stanwix and Oriskany, helping the Park Service to understand this perspective and act knowledgeably in building relations with various Indian Tribes. Kusch wanted to ensure that the foundation laid by the first ethnographic study would not be cracked by negligence in the GMP.[86]

Also at the end of 2000, the GMP team had determined a preferred alternative for Oriskany. In recognition of the public's support for federal control of the battlefield site and in consonance with Congressman Boehlert's firm support for such a federal alliance, the GMP team recommended that Oriskany become an administrative unit of Fort Stanwix. New York State, under this arrangement, would continue to own and market the site, and the National Park Service would have the authority to enter into a cooperative management agreement to share services with Oriskany. Each site would have separate legal boundaries, unless the state decided to donate the battlefield lands to the federal government. This decision resulted in part from visible signs by the state that it wanted to maintain the site. In May 1994, the state had reopened

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[84] Quotes from Craig Davis and Gary Warshefski from Fort Stanwix National Monument Cursory Staff Review of GMP Version 12/28/00, attachment to email from Warshefski to Ellen Carlson, Craig Davis, Michael Kusch, Leigh Ann Medick, and Jack Veazy, 9 March 2001, 11, email forwarded to author by Ellen Levin Carlson, 16 December 2002, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives. Zenzen thanks Carlson for forwarding this and many other emails concerning the GMP.

[85] Ibid., 11-12.

[86] Fort Stanwix National Monument, Cursory Staff Review of GMP Version 12/28/00, Kusch comments, 1, 5-7, File D18 FOST GMP 2000, FOST Superintendent's Files. Joy A. Bilharz, *A Place of Great Sadness: Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography*, 1998; and Bilharz, *Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography, Phase II: The "Western Indians" and the Mississaugas*, March 2002, both in FOST Archives.

Oriskany Battlefield for seasonal operation. Between 1996 and 1998, as part of an overall revitalization program, the state completed several improvements. These steps, which included repointing the brick in the Battlefield Monument and renovating the visitor center, demonstrated the renewed commitment of New York State to its Revolutionary War battlefield site. The state continued to resist any transfer of the property to the federal government, and the Fort Stanwix GMP team members wanted to honor that stance.[87]

Indians at Fort Stanwix

One important shift in park management under Warshefski dealt with relations with the various members of the Six Nations. Warshefski initiated the first ethnographic study in response to his own concerns about the fort's interpretative story. As he later related, he was struck when first coming to the park that the story told to visitors focused solely on the soldiers and the siege. When he learned that more than half of the combatants on the British side were Indians, he was "dumbfounded that we were not really telling our story."[88] Having worked with Indians in the Santa Monica Mountains and Native Hawaiians in Hawaii, he knew that honest overtures to Indians would be answered, so long as Warshefski and his staff built a trusting relationship.

Then, on 29 April 1994, President Bill Clinton signed the Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies on Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments. The Department of the Interior and the National Park Service followed up on this executive memorandum with agency policy guidance, providing Warshefski and others with the framework for developing relationships with Indians. Working with Rebecca Joseph, who headed the newly established regional ethnography office in the NPS Northeast Region, Warshefski managed to steer tight funds to Fort Stanwix for the ethnographic study. Once Davis and Kusch were hired in 1996, Warshefski tasked them with continuing to build ties with Indians. Davis took over management of the first ethnographic study and later designed and administered the second one looking at non-Six Nations Indians. By 1997, Warshefski remembers that "rarely did a day go by without someone on the staff having contact with the tribes."[89]

The ethnographic studies proved crucial for developing strong communication ties among the Indians and the park staff. Interviews resulting from these studies made clear that contemporary Six Nations people had an intimate connection to the entire Mohawk Valley. Interviewees believed strongly that the events of Oriskany and Fort Stanwix needed to be placed into a larger regional and temporal context, an idea compatible with Warshefski's interest in broadening the fort's focus. Oriskany itself was a site of intense meaning for Six Nations people, and interviewees wanted to make sure that the site was properly protected and its story told to include the Six Nations perspective. According to Six Nations tradition, The Great Law had enjoined Six Nations people from taking up weapons against each other. At Oriskany, for the first time since the establishment of The Great Law, Six Nations warriors engaged in hand-to-hand combat against each other. Scars from this conflict continued to fester within the minds of

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[87] Table alt2fin.doc attached to email from Carlson to Bob McIntosh, Sarah Peskin, James Pepper, Gary Warshefski, and Elinor Foley, 1 December 2000, email forwarded to the author by Carlson, 16 December 2002, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives. State University of New York, College of Environmental Science and Forestry, Cultural Landscape Report: Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site, November 2000, 178, FOST Archives.

[88] Warshefski, email message to the author, 29 January 2004, 2, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.

[89] Ibid., 4.

the interviewees. Also related to Oriskany, interviewees expressed concern about the treatment of Six Nations dead that certainly still lay beneath the battlefield's grounds. Most people did not want any attempts made to recover these human remains. People also wanted to enlarge the battlefield park's boundaries to include areas known to have had fighting but were under private ownership.

With respect to Fort Stanwix, the ethnographic studies made clear that the Six Nations people were a bit surprised and a bit suspicious of the renewed interest of the Park Service to develop a relationship. Despite this caution, interviewees encouraged the Park Service to continue its outreach activities with all Indian peoples. Brian Patterson of the Bear Clan of the Oneida Indian Nation and a representative to the Men's Council of the Oneida Indian Nation of New York echoed this sentiment in the July 1998 GMP Public Scoping meetings, inviting and encouraging conversations between Indians and federal officials. Interviewees during the first ethnographic study also voiced the firm opinion that the park's film should be retired and replaced with a historically accurate and culturally sensitive portrayal that introduced the history of the entire Mohawk Valley, especially Oriskany. The only mention of Indians in the park's film was to use the now-considered derogatory term "savages." Although historically accurate, based on references in diaries and papers written at the time, this term had taken on a different meaning in the twentieth century and detracted from the message of the film.[90]

In response to these concerns and others, Fort Stanwix retired the film *Siege* at the end of the 1997 visitor season. Continued historical research had made it clear that the film contained many inaccuracies, in addition to the offensive language against Indians. The film had also been difficult to use as an introduction to the interpretive story of the fort. Attempts to add an introduction in the 1980s had helped give the film some context, but park visitors still were often left ill-prepared for the living-history volunteers once they left the film room and wandered around the reconstructed fort. *Siege* was deliberately made to be different from a typical NPS introductory film. Former park historian Larry Lowenthal, who by the 1990s was working in the NPS Boston Support Office, was asked to review the film. Lowenthal commented that the film makers wanted to draw visitors into the life and times of the eighteenth century by using a single dramatic episode, a re-creation of the 1777 siege. This drama and a desire for strict historical accuracy guided the film's development more than concerns about how the film might fit within the park's overall interpretive program. Lowenthal and others soon realized that, in practice, the film failed to give the overall story of the significance of Fort Stanwix and the context for its story. Using interpreters, an additional slide show, and some adjustments to the film helped, but these steps could not fully solve the problem. Many visitors still did not understand what Fort Stanwix was about after viewing the film.[91] But, as Lowenthal admitted, "Harpers Ferry [the NPS office that produced the film] was so proud and supportive of this film, it seemed impossible to discard it altogether."[92] The ethnographic studies gave further impetus for removing the film, which the Park Service did on 31 December 1997. Warshefski later said that "I will always remember the day our ethnographic researcher told us that we would never have a

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[90] Bilharz, *A Place of Great Sadness*, 1, 9-23. Fort Stanwix GMP Public Scoping, 27 July 1998, 30-31. Larry Lowenthal to FOST GMP team, FOST Staff, 30 September 1998, Thoughts on Conducting Interpretation at Fort Stanwix, 2, File D18 FOST GMP 1998, FOST Superintendent's Files.

[91] Kusch to Judy Whittaker, 8 January 1999, File Dec 1998-Jan 1999, FOST Chron Files; Kusch to Superintendent, Fort Stanwix, 28 January 1998, 1997 Division of Visitor Services Annual Narrative, 2, File FOST Interpretation FY 1997, Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, FOST Archives; Lowenthal, Thoughts on Conducting Interpretation, 1-3.

[92] Lowenthal, Thoughts on Conducting Interpretation, 3.

trusting relationship with any [Six Nations] tribe until we stopped using the movie." Once the ethnographer went back to the tribes and told them the park movie had been retired, Warshefski remembered, "Our relationships blossomed as they began to feel that we were willing to hear their views and take action."[93]

This experience with the tribes led other parks in the region to view staff at Fort Stanwix as the "experts" on Indian relations. Fort Stanwix shone as a model for developing lasting relationships with a wide range of Indian tribes. Warshefski personally led NPS workshops on Indian policy and relations.[94] Whereas former superintendent William Jackson in 1984 had established relationships with the Six Nations for the single event of the Treaty Bicentennial, Warshefski and his staff had by 1997 begun to "establish long term mutually beneficial relationships with the tribes through a coordinated consultation and relationship building process."[95] Warshefski and his staff also began working on a formal Memorandum of Understanding between the Oneidas and the National Park Service, although such an agreement would not be signed until Mike Caldwell's superintendency.[96] These efforts helped to build lasting communication ties with the tribes. Warshefski saw the work of his staff as an "extension of the role that Fort Stanwix historically had as a centralized location for Indian relations first held by the British and then by the Americans."[97]

At the same time that Warshefski, Davis, Kusch, and others at the fort were making real overtures to the Six Nations, the Oneidas, in particular, were making real efforts at reaching out to the surrounding communities. The Oneida's excursion into resort gambling had proved financially strong, making them a recognizable force in all areas of central New York life. Beginning in 1996, the Oneidas began hosting tourism conferences and planning sessions for area chamber of commerce members, tourism officials, travel agents, and businesses to attend and work together on building tourism in the region. Oneidas were also in the news as the Nation and the state tried to negotiate longstanding land claims in central New York. The Supreme Court had ruled in 1985 that these land claims were valid, but negotiations had been complicated by several factors, including a schism between the New York Oneidas and the Wisconsin Oneidas, one of three resulting clusters of the Indian Nation after the early nineteenth-century diaspora. The other cluster is based in Ontario, Canada. Discussions between the New York Oneidas and the state continued into the beginning of the next century.[98]

Daily life at the fort

Warshefski continued to serve in name as the superintendent of Fort Stanwix, juggling with the Willett Center and General Management Plan while also fostering relations with

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[93] Both quotes from Warshefski, email message to the author, 29 January 2004, 3.

[94] Ibid. This characterization is also based on discussions with the current regional ethnographer, Chuck Smythe. The author wishes to thank Smythe and Paul Weinbaum for their thoughts about the region's ethnography program.

[95] Warshefski, email message to author, 29 January 2004, 4.

[96] Craig Davis, comments to second draft of Administrative History, 4 May 2004, 18; and NPS, Draft General Management Plan for Fort Stanwix National Monument, 27 August 1999, 43, both in FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.

[97] Warshefski, email message to author, 29 January 2004, 4.

[98] "Oneidas Host Travel Forum To Promote Regional Effort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 14 March 1996; Joel Stashenko, "Federal Official Sees Dim Hopes for Oneidas Land Claim Deal," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 12 December 1996. Meg Schneider, "Oneidas Take Lead To Boost Tourism," no provenance; and "Oneidas' Hotel To Boost Nation, Area Tourism," no provenance, both in Binder Press Clippings 7/97-9/97, FOST Archives. "Boehlert Sees Reason for Optimism on Oneida Land Claims," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 22 December 1998; Steven Jones, "Future Indian Land Purchases Dominate Talks," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 March 2002.

Indians. Yet, by 1999, his time and attention shifted increasingly to the proposed Erie Canalway National Heritage Corridor and trying to get its legislation secured. Warshefski, in developing the necessary relationships with members of Congress, state representatives, and other officials for the Erie Canalway, spent, by his own admission, about 60 percent of his time away from Fort Stanwix. He did this work directly under the support and guidance of Regional Director Rust and her office. Rust later commented, "In terms of the Erie Canal, I think that was much more of a regional decision to move into that direction. He [Warshefski] helped foster that, but it was a regional direction. He understood it, and he moved it."[99] Park staff, namely Craig Davis, Mike Kusch, Leigh Ann Medick, and Jack Veazy, acted as a management team and ran the park's daily operations. Back in 1996 when Warshefski had hired these new personnel, he consciously chose people who could compliment his own strengths. His broad-brush visioning skills did not do well with intricate details. He looked for people who "would be able to handle the subtle, in-depth work that I knew I was not going to be able to do."[100] The team he put together, in his mind, did yeoman's work handling the day-to-day activities while also keeping alive the larger vision that they had all developed for the park. "I probably put a lot of pressure on them, but they did an excellent job of moving those things forward."[101] He recognized that his last years at the fort, with being away so much, were probably not easy and that tensions surely surfaced. But, he also believed that there was a lot of collaboration and cooperation. "We were all pretty much hanging out on sixteen acres; it wasn't as if we could avoid each other. I think that we worked really hard at getting through those tensions and developing strategies on how to continue to move the park forward."[102]

During this period of Warshefski's absences, Davis served as the designated team leader and handled overall park management as a quasi-deputy superintendent. He performed these duties in addition to his work as resources manager and curator for the archeological collection. In his new capacity, Davis worked on such items as special funding requests, annual and strategic work plans, and database management of NPS computerized inventories. Kusch focused his attention on visitor services operations while Medick handled administrative matters and Veazy worked on facility operations. The park continued to function and serve its visitors during this period, but progress on the GMP and Willett Center slowed to a near standstill.[103]

In both cases, political concerns and the lack of steady leadership had eroded the initial burst of support for the projects. The GMP planning team had been left without a clear direction or steady decisive leadership to handle the political implications of incorporating Oriskany Battlefield into the national park boundaries. The State of New York, under Gov. George Pataki, had made it clear that it would not surrender any of its historic sites to federal control. Although the Park Service in its 2000 draft of the GMP had indicated that partnerships and close collaboration with the state would be a viable alternative, Congressman Boehlert and residents of the local community still hoped for full federal protection of Oriskany. Warshefski, who had developed a strong working relationship with Boehlert, did not assert this alternative, and therefore the GMP sat. For the Willett Center, determining a suitable location for the site brought more political implications. The Park Service favored a parking lot site directly across

[99] Rust, transcript of interview, 5.
[100] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 9.
[101] Ibid., 9.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Davis, comments to first draft of manuscript, 17; NPS, Transitional Management Assistance Program: A Review of Fort Stanwix National Monument, 2001, no page numbers.

from the park's southwest corner, but Mayor Griffo remained skeptical of the park's tourism potential and wanted to keep his options open for developing the site commercially. Again, without steady leadership at the fort, development of the center remained static. As time progressed, the Park Service became aware of the need to reinvigorate communication among all the principals so as to not lose important gains. A new superintendent would eventually make these overtures.[104]

From the point of view of visitors to Fort Stanwix in the late 1990s, they continued to step into the eighteenth century to learn about the courage shown and sacrifices made during the American Revolutionary War period. Some changes greeted those visitors. The Fort Stanwix Garrison, which had slowly separated itself from the management and control of the National Park Service, dissolved. According to Laura Sawyer, the longtime reenactor, one of the Park Service employees pushed the Garrison to its demise. Not giving names, Sawyer recalled that this man "destroyed the Garrison." He demanded more Park Service direct oversight of Garrison activities than had been the case in previous years, and he alienated the Garrison volunteers with his outbursts. As Sawyer stated, "it just got to be, unfortunately, so it wasn't worth it because of all the business that you had to put up with."[105] Sawyer does note that the Garrison would probably do well under Mike Kusch, whom Warshefski hired as visitor services chief.[106]

The interpretive program at Fort Stanwix shifted and expanded under Kusch's guidance. Kusch began recruiting living-history volunteers to serve in the "Continental Army of 1777" as opposed to the Fort Stanwix Garrison. These volunteers continued to perform the same types of functions that Garrison volunteers had done, such as drilling with military muskets and performing guard duty or fatigue work. Only, their identity was with the national monument and not a separate Garrison. These living-history volunteers also used third-person interpretation, as opposed to the first-person role playing that the Garrison had used. This change reflected the fact that Kusch did not have the personnel or financial resources to support the rigorous and extensive training needed to run a successful first-person interpretive approach. He did allow for first-person interpretation in the case of "theater in the square." Such special events have spotlighted daily lives of soldiers or nursing, with the reenactors staying in character. However, Kusch required a third-person interpreter to interact with the audience. Black powder demonstrations under Kusch's leadership have also required a third-person interpreter explaining the event while first-person reenactors focused on the safety aspects of the programs. This shift in interpretation has helped address past reactions to first-person interpretation over time. Many visitors had enjoyed the chance to talk solely about eighteenth-century topics with the reenactors. But confusion had often resulted for some visitors. As Mayor Griffo later remarked, the reenactors "were not interacting with the visitors because under the concept of [first-person] living history, somebody would ask directions, and they couldn't tell them where to go because they couldn't go out of character."[107]

Kusch's shift in living-history interpretation did not adversely affect the number of volunteers interested in participating in the program. Kusch created a positive and encouraging environment at the fort. By the end of 1997, he reported that he had 100 volunteers devoted to

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[104] Gold, transcript of interview, 3; Demyttenaere, transcript of interview, 6-7; Griffo, transcript of interview, 6-7; NPS, Transitional Management Assistance Program, Oriskany and Willett Center sections.
[105] Sawyer, transcript of interview, 5.
[106] Ibid., 5-7. See also Warshefski to Superintendent, Saratoga National Historical Park, 20 May 1996, Black Powder Training, File May 1996, FOST Chron Files.
[107] Griffo, transcript of interview, 3.

interpretation. These numbers continued to grow each year.[108] Reenactment groups, many of which had stopped staying at Fort Stanwix also showed renewed interest in the fort. Kusch refers to "our improved relationships with reenactors"[109] in his 1997 annual report. Some new annual encampments began under Kusch, including one remembering life during the French and Indian War. Instead of hosting the annual President's Day encampment, to honor George Washington, the fort tried a March encampment before settling on a mid-April one. Regular encampments during the summer kept the fort buzzing on weekends, plus Kusch encouraged at least one encampment in fall.[110]

Having all of these encampments and volunteers at the fort augmented the living-history program and the thin ranks of the park staff. When Kusch first came to Fort Stanwix in late May 1996, he and NPS Ranger William Lange were the only permanent full-time employees in interpretation. Another 15 people, including people like Bill Sawyer, worked on a temporary basis during the busy summer months. Any new programming or events had to take into account these limited personnel numbers. Funding remained slim as the Park Service and federal government as a whole faced budget tightening in an attempt to tame the huge federal budget deficit. Kusch explored new ways to reach a growing audience while keeping mindful of his personnel numbers. Visitation increased with such new events as Constitution Week, in which people could sign their "John Hancock" on a version of the United States Constitution. In 1997, a replica of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial brought nearly 15,000 people to the fort just to see this striking memorial. Seasonal candlelight tours, eighteenth-century dancing and music, instruction in textile work and sewing, and programming on different trades practiced in the Mohawk Valley during the Revolutionary War period expanded the interpretive focus of the fort. Honor America Days and the annual visit of Santa to the Rome Christmas tree on the fort's grounds also kept people visiting.[111]

Building on the partnerships idea that Warshefski promoted for Fort Stanwix, Kusch also sought ways to enhance interpretation by creating relationships with schools, the Oneida Indian Nation, New York State, and other organizations. When he first arrived at Fort Stanwix, Kusch received word that the park had won a grant from the National Park Foundation to produce posters for visiting school children. Kusch thought that the money might go further if it was applied toward the development of a *Teaching With Historic Places* lesson plan. He invited staff from nine other parks in the area to attend a writing workshop for the purpose of compiling ten new lesson plans (one focusing on each park). These plans would eventually be sold in the individual park's cooperating association bookstores and through the National Register of Historic Places, which had initiated the program. Using these lesson plans, teachers and students

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[108] "Fort Needs Volunteers for Living History," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 2 October 1998; Annual Interpretive Program Report, FY 1997 and FY 1998, File FOST Interpretation 1998 FY, Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, FOST Archives. Kusch to "gamboaa," 3 August 2000, File August-September 2000, FOST Chron Files.

[109] 1997 Division of Visitor Services Annual Narrative, 1.

[110] William Sawyer, Military Muster at Ft. Stanwix Nov. 16 and 17: A Report, File FOST Interpretation Files FY 1997, Visitor Services Interpretation Files, FOST Archives. NPS Press Release, 1998 Special Events and Programs Announced at Fort Stanwix NM, File April, May 1998; NPS Press Release, Fort Stanwix NM Invites Public to Pre-Season Encampment, 10 March 1997, File February 1997; NPS Press Release, Fort Stanwix NM Opens for its 23rd Year of Service to Visitors, 1 April 1999, File April-May 1999, all in FOST Chron Files.

[111] Kusch to GOGA Alcatraz at NP-GOGA, 4 March 1997, email, File FOST Interpretation FY 1997, Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, FOST Archives. Kusch to Terry Brent, 23 September 1996, File September 1996, FOST Chron Files. "You Can Sign Constitution at Fort Stanwix This Week," 16 September 1996; and "About 15,000 Visit Moving Wall at Fort," 29 July 1997, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. NPS Press Release, 1998 Special Events and Programs.

would have resources to learn about historic sites while the parks would have the opportunity to reach out to schools throughout the country. In the case of Fort Stanwix, Kusch established partnerships with the Oneida Indian Nation, the Northern Frontier Project, and the New York State Parks, Recreation and Historic Sites Office to work with a local junior high school teacher to write the lesson plan focusing on the fort and Oriskany Battlefield. Other parks developed similar partnerships.[112]

Kusch also worked with local elementary schools to broaden the interpretive reach of the fort. In partnership with teachers from local public and parochial schools and the Oneida Indian Nation, park staff used the curriculum guidelines for the state to create a comprehensive 4th grade education packet on the American Revolutionary War. To further its partnership approach, Fort Stanwix joined hands with DeWitt Clinton Elementary School in Rome as part of the nationwide Adopt-A-School program. In addition, park interpreters in period dress regularly visited local elementary schools to demonstrate such living-history activities as drum commands. To engage elementary-aged visitors at the fort, the park in 1997 developed its first Junior Ranger program. Junior Rangers answered questions about the fort and engaged in activities outlined in a specially designed booklet for their age group.[113]

Maintaining the wood and sod fort structures went hand-in-hand with the interpretive programs. Facility managers Bob Guellich and then Jack Veazy, with their staffs, ensured that visitors could tour the different buildings and fort structures safely to learn about the past. Central New York's bitter winters and heavy precipitation levels constantly battered the fort and tested the Park Service's ability to keep up with each deteriorating timber and rotten plank. Warshefski had barely started at the fort when Guellich began replacing deteriorating pickets because of severe rotting. The original pickets had not been treated with wood preservative, so Guellich made sure the replacement ones were treated with an EPA-approved substance. Fort Stanwix significantly reduced costs for this work by using wood cut on Department of Environmental Conservation land just north of the site. Griffiss AFB personnel flew the logs to the fort, where a state corrections crew hand tooled the logs. The Park Service considers picket replacement an ongoing issue, handling on average five pickets a year. In 1995, the fort used drawings made specifically by the then-retired historical architect Orville Carroll, who lived in Rome, to replace steps leading to the tops of each bastion. The former steps proved difficult for people with disabilities to use and infringed on the historical scene. The new steps were placed to the side, away from immediate view, and had uniform depth and height to ensure safety. The park also resurfaced about a half mile of trails around the fort's perimeter. These trails had been severely damaged from heavy snow removal in the previous year.[114]

In 1998 and 1999, Veazy oversaw the removal and rebuilding of the parade ground and the replacement of the gun platforms on each bastion. The parade ground drainage system did

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[112] Conference of National Park Cooperating Associations, Cooperating Association Partnership Fund, Request for Grant Funding, File FOST Interpretation FY 1997, Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, FOST Archives.

[113] NPS Press Release, Fort Stanwix NM and DeWitt Clinton Elementary School Form Partnership, 9 June 1997, Mike Kusch Files; Kusch to Brenda C. Tuite, 4 November 1997, File October, November, December 1997, FOST Chron Files; Photograph of Bill Sawyer with drum, newspaper, no provenance, Binder Press Clippings 10/97-3/98, FOST Archives; Kusch, 1997 Annual Narrative, Division of Visitor Services, 1, 5.

[114] Alexia Herbowy, "Weather Attacks 'Fort That Never Surrendered,'" *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 December 1994; Guellich to Major Jocelyn E. Colvin-Donald, 7 February 1995, File February 1995, FOST Chron Files. Robert McIntosh to Warshefski, 21 March 1995, Section 106 Compliance Re: Replacement of Steps to Bastions, file FOST 1995 xxx 2780; 2802; 2809, Section 106 Compliance Files, NPS Northeast Region. NPS Press Release, Fort Stanwix NM Announces Trail Rehabilitation Project, no date [May 1995], File May 1995, FOST Chron Files.

not promote funneling water away from the fort's buildings. Facility management staff oversaw the removal of 6 inches of dirt, graded the ground to slope to the center drains, and installed new drains between the East Casemate, East Barracks, West Casemate, and Visitor Center. Contractors then recovered the ground with compacted material to encourage proper drainage. The gun platforms, which had been replaced under Jackson's tenure, had become hazardous and unstable. The six gun platforms were replaced with mill-sawn planks laid tightly together.[115]

Another maintenance project, which took several years to complete, addressed seepage into the concrete foundation. After many years of inspecting and monitoring tunnel damage, park staff determined that water had been pocketing in areas inside the "flower boxes" on top of the walls of the fort. These flower boxes, as park staff called them, were discrete areas of soil and sod, set off by square or rectangular sets of timbers, making up the top surfaces of the curtain and bastion walls of the fort. Underneath the soil and sod, a heavy-duty rubber membrane had been placed at the time of the fort reconstruction to protect the underlying concrete structure from water. Inevitably, over the years, these membranes had begun to allow water passage, resulting in rusting of steel plates at the top of the reinforced concrete members. In two places covering ten-square feet, the concrete had cracked. This situation had already compromised the archeological collection, and the park wanted to lessen any further damage. Using state correctional help to dig out the dirt from the flower boxes, park staff cleaned, primed, and sealed all cracks, then placed a different waterproof membrane over the concrete structure and recovered the area. Staff worked on one section at a time to reduce visitor disruption.[116]

These steps to reduce water leakage into the fort helped, but did not fully solve the problem. Water also found its way into the fort buildings and storage tunnels through plugged roof drains, leaks in the casemate roofs, and through gaps in the caulking along log and concrete wall faces. Some episodes in 1998 alone deposited between a quarter- and a half-inch of water onto the floor and damaged some collections and records. Veazy and Davis continued to monitor the situation, especially with respect to the archeological collection. The collection had benefited from the work of Davis and the Northeast Museum Services Center between 1996 and 1998 to repack and reshelve objects and create box and shelf database lists noting the new locations. Documents, including maps and drawings, and plans, were placed in acid-free folders and moved into a map case. By the end of this project, most of the reconstructed archeology artifacts had been boxed, but their status remained insecure due to these continuing problems with water and associated pests.[117]

Davis also attended to other aspects of resources management while juggling his increased duties as team leader during Warshefski's absences. The fireplace exhibit continued to show increasing signs of deterioration, in part exacerbated by the Plexiglas case enclosing the artifact and creating damaging temperature and humidity fluctuations. Davis worked with the NPS Northeast Cultural Resources Center staff between 1996 and 1998 to redesign the enclosure. They opened the top of the Plexiglas case, partially banked the fireplace in sand,

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[115] Veazy to Jennifer McMenamin, 7 January 1999, Completion Reports, Binder Parade Ground FY 98; Veazy to McMenamin, 20 December 1999, Completion Reports, Binder Replace Unstable Hazardous Platforms, both in FOST Maintenance Files.

[116] Lawrence Gall to Warshefski, 26 June 1995, Section 106 Compliance, Re: Roof and Wall Drainage System Project, File FOST 1995, xxx 2780; 2802; 2809, Section 106 Compliance Files, NPS Northeast Region. Warshefski to Joseph Costello, 26 April 1996, File April 1996, FOST Chron Files. See also comments from Davis to first draft of manuscript, 17, based on conversations with Jack Veazy.

[117] 2002 Collections Management Plan, 50-51. NPS, Draft GMP for Fort Stanwix, 27 August 1999, 46, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.

placed a pine wall halfway to the ceiling, and installed angled Plexiglas windows to allow visitors to view the fireplace. These steps helped, but staff continued to find signs of significant moisture in the North Casemate near the exhibit, and the fireplace itself continued to deteriorate.[118]

Mindful that the park would need updated documentation about its archeological and cultural resources as it prepared for construction of the Willett Center, Davis also initiated and led to completion several studies and reports. The Northeast Region Cultural Resources Center had earlier contracted, for the park, to have the University of Massachusetts Archeological Services complete an Archeological Overview and Assessment. This report had been left unattended until Davis's arrival in 1996. Recognizing its importance, he put in motion the steps needed to have it completed successfully. Published in June 1999, this report provided a concise description of past archeological findings and gave specific recommendations of where future archeological remains would most likely be found. The report also recommended that the park fund a historical research project to trace land development and a Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping project, an idea Davis supported and later initiated at the park. These efforts would tie the fort's archeological collections to maps and place the collection into its proper context in relation to land development in Rome over time. The park also contracted with Saratoga Associates to complete a historic land use study primarily focusing on Oriskany Battlefield. In response to a national initiative within the Park Service to have cultural landscape inventories completed, Davis then coordinated completion of this study by the National Park Service's Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.[119]

The Fort Stanwix Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI), completed in 2000, assessed the entire landscape of the park, describing such features as the locations of buildings and the topography of the site. This report benefited from Davis's and Veazy's continuing work in keeping the List of Classified Structures database updated. The CLI noted where a creek running on the east side of the fort had been reconstructed during the fort reconstruction project and where the circulation paths were, allowing visitors to examine different parts of the fort. The inventory listed the types of trees that had been planted over the years as screens along the west and north sides of the site. In assessing each of the landscape features at the park, the CLI definitively concluded that Fort Stanwix does not have any landscape features that contribute to the historic significance of the site. All of the landscape features are either modern, non-historic reconstructions, outside the period of significance, or so altered as to no longer convey the period of significance. The report did not provide any recommendations as to reconstructing or reestablishing historic landscape features. This report also gave valuable guidance with respect to the park's existing National Register of Historic Places nomination form, originally dating from December 1981. This form and associated historic practices had evolved since 1981, and the Cultural Landscapes Inventory recommended updating the criteria for nomination of Fort Stanwix as a National Register site to reflect these changes. The park continued to address these recommendations, as reflected in the 2002 Collections Management Plan.[120]

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[118] 2002 Collections Management Plan, 27-28; 1999 Draft GMP, 49.

[119] Eric S. Johnson and Christopher L. Donta, The University of Massachusetts Archaeological Services, Archeological Overview and Assessment of the Fort Stanwix National Monument, June 1999, 61-64; Davis, comments to first draft of manuscript, 16; 1999 Draft GMP, 58.

[120] NPS, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, Cultural Landscapes Inventory for Fort Stanwix National Monument, 2000, especially Part 3; FOST, 2002 Collections Management Plan, 6-7; 1999 Draft GMP, 39.

Going beyond the pickets

The coming of the millennium brought new changes to Fort Stanwix and Rome. Longtime supporter of the park, Fritz Updike, passed away in December 1995. Updike had stepped away from active involvement in the happenings of the fort after Hanson left. But, he continued to share his thoughts with the city in a weekly column he named "Purely Personal Prejudices" for the *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Its best stories resulted in the publication of his popular book *Potato Hill and Other Recollections*. He served on Rome Sentinel Company's board of directors almost to his death, and he left behind a host of causes he had championed in the name of preservation and community service.[121]

At the fort, one change gave more change back to visitors. A 1999 study of the fee collection system at Fort Stanwix made clear that it cost the fort more money to collect fees than the park actually gained from having the entrance fees. In 1999, fee collection cost the federal government more than $7,000. The park continued to have low staffing for its interpretive program and having some of that precious time used to collect fees could not be supported. When the park opened for its 2000 season, it announced that there would no longer be any entrance fees. Staff removed the temporary fee collection booth.[122]

The year 2000 also marked the designation of the Erie Canalway National Heritage Corridor. The process of achieving this heritage corridor status had special meaning to the management of Fort Stanwix. Warshefski's leadership had succeeded in developing relationships with the entire congressional delegation of upstate New York and the governor's office, thanks in part to his traveling back and forth to Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York City to meet with the various parties interested in the canal corridor. His work had made him one of the most knowledgeable and involved people working on the designation. He understood the politics of the designation, especially in the New York governor's office. Gov. George Pataki (R) distrusted the Clinton administration's involvement in the canalway, especially as represented by Andrew Cuomo, son of former New York governor Mario Cuomo (D). Pataki's opposition scuttled the national heritage corridor legislation in early fall 2000. Once Texas governor George W. Bush had been declared president-elect in December, Pataki signaled his approval of the bill, and it passed Congress to become law.[123]

Warshefski had been thinking about his own future as the Erie Canalway bill first floundered and then became law. He had spent seven years at Fort Stanwix, more than twice as long as he had expected. He had fostered partnerships with local, state, and national organizations to broaden the vision of the fort. These partnerships had included supporting investigations for the Northern Frontier Special Resource Study, a pet project of Congressman Boehlert. Warshefski had started the process of having the park complete its first General Management Plan, to cement those partnerships into an approach for managing the park into the twenty-first century. He had initiated the design and funding for the Willett Center to address collections and education needs at Fort Stanwix. By fall 2000, he was ready for new challenges. At first, he thought he would build on his role with the Erie Canalway to become its first program manager. But, when the bill first failed in Congress, he looked elsewhere. He applied

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[121] Editorial, "Farewell to a Friend," 29 December 1995; and "State Publishers Salute Retired Sentinel Editor," 29 September 1995, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

[122] NPS Comparability Form, Fort Stanwix NM Entrance Fee, no date, File Comparability Review 1999, Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, FOST Archives; NPS Press Release, Special Events and Programs for the Year 2000 Announced at Fort Stanwix NM, 1 April 2000, File April-May 2000, FOST Chron Files.

[123] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 3, 9; "Erie Canal Named Heritage Corridor," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 17 December 2000.

for and received an offer to serve as deputy superintendency at Lake Mead National Recreation Area in Nevada and Arizona. When the Erie Canalway passed in December 2000, Warshefski had to make a choice between two attractive positions. He chose the West. He left Fort Stanwix for Lake Mead in May 2001.[124]

The transition to new leadership at Fort Stanwix progressed over the course of 2001. Warshefski appointed, with regional approval, Davis as the acting superintendent through the first half of the year. To aid in selecting a new superintendent, the region sent a Transitional Management Assistance team to the fort to evaluate the park's management structure, troubleshoot some key areas, and maintain continuity on the major planning initiatives. Mike Creasy and Michael Caldwell teamed up for this review, with each serving as acting superintendent in turn during the summer and early fall. Mike Kusch then took over as acting superintendent through the late fall and early winter. Regional Director Rust selected Caldwell as the park's fourth superintendent, and he began his official duties in this capacity on 2 January 2002. As Rust later commented about Caldwell, "He's ambitious, he's assertive, he's energy. He doesn't want to wait."[125] The initiatives begun under Warshefski would flower under Caldwell's leadership.

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[124] Warshefski, transcript of interview, 3-4; Editorial, Fort Loses Advocate, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 April 2001.
[125] Rust, transcript of interview, 7.

Chapter Seven
Reaching Out

Michael Caldwell sat at his desk, reviewing files left from Gary Warshesfki, learning about Fort Stanwix National Monument. It was summer 2001, and Caldwell was serving as acting superintendent until the Park Service had chosen a replacement. He saw something that caught his eye. A receipt noted that the park had charged the Rome Chamber of Commerce a fee of $1,500 to host the Honor America Days Syracuse Symphony concert. Another bill of $800 had been sent for cleaning up the grounds after the event. Intrigued, Caldwell asked, "Do we necessarily need this money to cover the staff for that night?" He soon discovered that the staff time had already been built into the park's base budget. With this information in hand, Caldwell made a decision that would characterize his time at the fort. "I just waived the fee because I thought it was a great proactive way to be part of a great event that brought 25,000 people to the grounds of Fort Stanwix."[1]

This decision represents one of the fundamental differences between Caldwell and Warshefski. Both men sought partnerships with the surrounding community and advanced the mission of the fort through these partnerships. But, Warshefski had a large compass and sometimes searched far beyond the park's boundaries for partners. Caldwell remembered that the park had to be friends with its immediate neighbors, and he sought ties with Rome first, surrounding areas second. Warshefski's partnerships helped start new initiatives at Fort Stanwix, including the Willett Center and the park's General Management Plan. But, both of these initiatives had lost their energy and threatened to fizzle out in part because Warshefski hadn't built bridges between the fort and its Rome neighbors. His preoccupation with the Erie Canalway had also reduced his time and influence in Rome. Caldwell, who officially started as the park's superintendent in January 2002, made Fort Stanwix his primary concern. One of his guiding principles became to "take care of your people, your resources, and your visitors"[2] and your partners.

Caldwell understood the value of the national parks growing up in a National Park Service family. His father Doug Caldwell had served as an editor in the cultural resources division in Washington, DC. In 1983, Doug Caldwell accepted a reassignment as a management assistant at Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado, helping the Park Service prepare for the 1984 World Conference on Heritage. Mike recalls that moving from the northern Virginia suburbs to southeastern Colorado was at first a culture shock for his family. He later said, "it really taught me a lot about how to deal with types of people from different backgrounds and at all levels of the organization." His father eventually retired from the Park Service after working as an interpretive planner specialist at the Rocky Mountain Regional Office and as the Public Information Officer at Rocky Mountain National Park, both near Denver, Colorado. What Mike remembers from his father's experiences was that "he loved what he did, and I think that's the one thing that has really rubbed off on me."[3]

Mike Caldwell began his own career within the National Park Service after finishing his undergraduate training in history and political science at the University of Colorado in Boulder. He started out as seasonal ranger in Washington, DC, at the monuments, and then, to become a

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[1] Both quotes from Michael Caldwell, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 4 February 2003, 5, FOST Archives.
[2] Ibid., 4.
[3] Both quotes from Ibid., 2.

permanent employee, accepted a clerk typist position at the National Capital Region Training Center. This position gave him the opportunity to meet a lot of people and become proficient at working with computers. He also completed a master's degree in public administration at George Mason University in Virginia. He then began working in the field, first at Greenbelt Park and the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and then Monocacy National Battlefield Park, all in Maryland. He eventually headed to Massachusetts, where he served as a park ranger at Lowell National Historical Park. The superintendent at Lowell sent Caldwell to New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park to help the park start up after its establishment in 1996. Caldwell eventually became deputy superintendent at New Bedford before coming to Fort Stanwix. New Bedford Whaling NHP, as described in the last chapter, relied upon the Park Service establishing ties with the community to make its programming and preservation goals possible.[4] Caldwell was a significant force in this work, and Regional Director Rust recognized his leadership capabilities. As she later stated, "He certainly had the potential to be a superintendent, and I thought it could be realized very, very fast. I was right."[5] Caldwell quickly engaged himself at Fort Stanwix in building connections with the surrounding community.

This chapter must necessarily give an outline of the decisions made and activities sponsored under Caldwell's leadership. At the park for almost two years, he has made a positive impression, but it is also too early to assess his contributions fully and place them within the context of the fort's management. Yet, it is clear from what Caldwell has done so far that he has embraced the challenges and opportunities available at Fort Stanwix and within the community, and, with his staff, made some lasting improvements.

Partners

Caldwell noticed soon after arriving at the park as the superintendent that communication could be improved between the fort and Rome. "On the day I got here, I definitely realized that we needed to make some friends. It seemed as if we didn't have too many friends out there, and a lot of people didn't understand the Park Service for whatever reason."[6] There seemed to be a general disconnect between the fort and the community, and Caldwell sought ways to bridge that gap. Like Warshefski, Caldwell joined the Rome Rotary and participated in its regular meetings. Caldwell also began writing regular articles for the *Rome Daily Sentinel*, which he called "The View from the Fort." In his first one for February 2002, he emphasized the need for collaboration. "The NPS does not work alone. The successful preservation of these special places depends greatly on the thousands of community groups. . . who have a vested interest in the upkeep of . . . America's cultural, historic, and natural heritage."[7]

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[4] Ibid., 1-3; Steven Jones, "Fort's Fourth Superintendent Sets Goals for Pivotal Year," 15 December 2001; and Editorial, "Fort in Good Hands," 19 December 2001, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel.*

[5] Rust, transcript of interview, 7.

[6] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 5.

[7] Caldwell, "The View for the Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 21 February 2002.



Fig. 20 Mike Caldwell, the fourth superintendent at Fort Stanwix, channeled his energy and enthusiasm into building partnerships with a host of local organizations. Reprinted by permission, *Utica Observer-Dispatch*.

In reaching out to groups, Caldwell found ways for both units to benefit from the relationship. In April, the fort hosted the Rome Area Chamber of Commerce's "Chamber After-Hours" event. Chamber members had the chance to network on a social level in unique surroundings while the fort used the opportunity to educate members about the Willett Center. The Chamber and the Park Service also signed a cooperative agreement at the event, formalizing their growing relationship. The agreement encouraged the fort and local businesses to share efforts to promote and advertise mutual projects and events. To further cement goodwill and relations, Caldwell presented two awards, one to Rome businessman and Honor America Days Committee President Chris Dentes as the first "Friend of the Fort" and another award to Roberta Cavuoto for her efforts in marketing and programming. Chamber members, having seen Caldwell in action as superintendent for only a few months, already registered their approval in his approach.[8] Said Doreen Schlosswerger of Canterbury Press, "I'm very impressed with what Mike Caldwell has started. It looks like interaction with the community is going to be improved."[9]

Caldwell also made lasting ties with the Rome Historical Society. The historical society had had a long and uneven relationship with Fort Stanwix, as previous chapters have described. At times, programming and activities had been carefully coordinated between the two organizations, and at other times, the two had remained largely independent. Caldwell recognized the possibility for growth in developing a relationship with the society. He encouraged his interpretive staff to conduct winter programs with the historical society, raising the society's visibility while also making it possible for the Park Service to maintain year-round programming. For example, in February 2003, the historical society and the fort hosted a joint Fort Fest, taking advantage of the winter weather to have snow fort competitions, snowball throwing, and corporate cardboard box sled challenges. These activities mirrored the sorts of leisure pastimes officers and soldiers participated in during the Revolutionary War.[10]

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[8] "Chamber Gets Special Look," [28 March 2002, Herman Jones, "Chamber Members Tour Learn about Fort Stanwix," [3 April 2002, both in Rome Daily Sentinel.

[9] Doreen Schlosswerger, as quoted by Jones, "Chamber Members Tour."

[10] "Activity for Rome Fans," [28 March 2002, and "Attack 140 Enjoy Fort Fest," [5 February 2003, both in Rome Daily Sentinel.

In Spring 2002, Caldwell strengthened the fort's partnership with the historical society by negotiating a leasing agreement with the society to rent most of its second-floor space for the park's headquarters.[11] The Rome Historical Society, housed in a former historic post office across the street from the fort, benefited from the extra revenue. And, the Park Service gained more space to house its administrative work while freeing up space in the fort for exhibits and other visitor services. This move had been strongly encouraged in the Transitional Management Assistance Program review that Caldwell and others had completed after Warshefski took his assignment at Lake Mead.[12] Caldwell later remarked that being in the historical society building "has just strengthened our partnership. I think we work together more, more than we ever did." In his mind, building these types of partnerships "is not rocket science, just common sense."[13]

Lighting the fort's exterior at night provided another opportunity to build partnerships and respond to community concerns. For many years, city officials and others had asked that the fort be lit at night to make the dark city block where the fort stood seem more inviting and interesting. Energy concerns and costs had prohibited such lighting in the past. In May 2002, Caldwell decided to try a new approach, working with Total Lighting, Inc. of Syracuse to experiment with different lighting combinations and placements. He asked for public input to help guide the decision making. This collaboration has resulted in having the fort lit until 10 PM each evening.[14]

Caldwell has also worked at being a good neighbor. Hard feelings had long existed between residents of East Rome and the rest of the city due to the closing of East Dominick Street and the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix directly in the pathway between East Rome and Rome's downtown. Over the years, when Common Council members representing East Rome had talked about re-opening Dominick Street across the fort's grounds, past superintendents had quickly and unequivocally denounced such an idea in the name of preservation. Caldwell would surely have addressed any such proposals similarly, but he also turned the tables to make it less likely that such proposals would be bandied during his time at Fort Stanwix. Instead of being confrontational, Caldwell chose to be a partner with the East Rome Family Merchants Association. This organization has been working to redevelop its collection of family-owned small businesses into an old-fashioned neighborhood shopping area, using its proximity to the canal waterfront to further its appeal to local shoppers. Caldwell joined the group as an equal partner, bringing his own knowledge and background. As Chris Destito recalled, "He's right there, he's at the table, he attends our meetings, he has a lot of expertise in market studies, and he has helped us pick a company to do our study and sort of guide us through the study. . . ." This sharing of skills has helped to strengthen the ties between the fort and East Rome, easing past bitterness and developing productive working relationships. As Destito said, "he's just been a great partner in helping us and understanding that it's important what takes place in his neighborhood as well as what takes place at the fort."[15]

225th Anniversary

More opportunities for partnerships came with the planning for the 225th anniversary of the Fort Stanwix Siege and the larger remembrance for the entire American Revolutionary War

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[11] "Aiming for Banner Year."
[12] Transitional Management Assistance Program, Operations and Administrative Issues section.
[13] Both quotes from Caldwell, transcript of interview, 5.
[14] "Fort Seeks Public Opinion on Exterior Lights," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 May 2002.
[15] Both quotes from Destito, transcript of interview, 15.

period. Visitor Services Chief Mike Kusch had worked out ideas for special programming and events to commemorate this historic time long before Caldwell came to the fort. Then, when Caldwell served in an acting capacity, Fort Stanwix and more than a dozen other historical, community, and tourism organizations joined together to apply for a state grant to promote reenactments and programs in New York and Vermont. This extended partnership, calling itself "The Northern Frontier Campaign—3 Valleys to Freedom—Relive America's Victories of 1777," won $15,000 from the Cultural Tourism Initiative of the Arts and Business Council and the New York State Council on the Arts. The state grant went to produce posters, brochures, and a website to attract visitors, especially for overnight trips, to Fort Stanwix and the other cooperating sites.[16]

Another opportunity for partnership for the 225th anniversary came with Rome's Honor America Days celebration. After waiving the Park Service fee for hosting the symphony concert on the fort's grounds in 2001, Caldwell recalled that "I kind of invited myself"[17] to the planning for the 2002 event. Fort Stanwix became a full co-sponsor of the event, further cementing its relationship with the community. Events for Honor America Days wove together with programming for the 225th commemoration, providing both Fort Stanwix and the city of Rome with plenty of attractions to lure visitors from near and far. Honor America Days opened officially on 27 July 2002 with a grand parade featuring marching bands and floats. That evening, the Syracuse Symphony performed on the grounds of Fort Stanwix, playing patriotic music, marches, and concluding with the *1812 Overture*. Church dinners and historical programs, a car show and a blues and jazz band concert brought people together and reminded them of the American Spirit and the People Who Inspire Us, as evoked in the 2002 Honor America Days theme. Committee chairman Chris Destito noted that this theme had been chosen before the events of 11 September 2001, and its meaning intensified as a result of the events of that tragic day.[18]

Tied to Honor America Days, programming at Fort Stanwix for the 225th anniversary of the siege demonstrated the extent to which the fort sought collaboration and partnerships. Kusch and his staff worked with such local attractions as the Rome Historical Society, the Erie Canal Village, and Rome Art and Community Center to develop a range of events. The Erie Canal Village hosted two battle reenactments during the 225th's opening weekend of 3-4 August. Other groups, including the Northern Frontier Project and the Mohawk Valley Heritage Corridor Commission, also coordinated programming throughout the surrounding area to extend the reach of the commemoration. The Northern Frontier Project, with the Oneida County Historical Society and Regent Broadcasting, produced four award-winning radio shows describing the people and events of the Northern Campaign in 1777. To connect the events of the fort and

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[16] Kusch, Draft Planning Document for 225th Anniversary, 10 August 2000, File FOST 225th Planning—Events, Working Files Craig Davis, FOST Resource Management Files. Kusch to Gavin Watt, 13 September 2000, File August-September 2000; and Kusch to Natalie Dubois, 5 June 2001, File May-June 2001, both in FOST Chron Files. Editorial, "Trails Paved with Cooperation," 10 April 2002; and R. Patrick Corbett, "Grant to Aid in Local Battle Re-Enactments," 12 April 2002, both in *Utica Observer-Dispatch*. Editorial, "Collaboration Brings $15,000 Marketing Grant to Fort Stanwix," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 10 April 2002.

[17] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 5.

[18] Caldwell to William Guglielmo, 13 May 2002, and attached sponsorship application, 13 May 2002, File FOST Interpretation FY 2002, Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, FOST Archives. Steven Jones, "Special Meaning for Honor America Days," 2 July 2002; and Barbara Charzuk, "From 3,000 Glowing Candelaria to Town Criers, Plenty to See and Hear at Fort," 30 July 2002, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

Oneidas; shuttle buses ran hourly between the two sites during the weekend, and the battlefield site hosted a solemn ceremony on 6 August, the 225th anniversary of the assault.

Knech strove to provide an inclusive and balanced program that remembered all of the actors in the Fort Stanwix siege. He included American Indians and Canadians on 2 August to join together in a ceremony remembering their ancestors who had struggled at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. Providing information about Loyalists and the range of Indian responses to these European-American political events marked an important expansion in interpretive themes for the fort. Brian Patterson and other members of the Oneida Indian Nation held talks discussing their ancestors' involvement. The Oneida Nation also hosted on a subsequent weekend its own intertribal pre-encampment on Nation lands. A large encampment at Fort Stanwix on 3-4 August provided living-history demonstrations on military drills and trades. Visitors joined re-enactors in the evening for a festive military ball with period music and dance. Eighteenth-century balladeer Linda Russell, who has made annual visits to Fort Stanwix since Lee Hanson's tenure, presented a concert on her hammered dulcimer. For the first weekend in August alone, the fort greeted almost 8,000 curious visitors and treated them to a memorable and educational time.[7]



Fig. 27 Reenactors and park visitors of all ages celebrated the 225th anniversary of the Siege of Fort Stanwix with a colonial ball. NPS photo.

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[7] Chaisik, "Four 1,000 Glowing Candlelights;" E. Patrick Corbett, "Fort Stanwix Kicks Off Anniversary with Events," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 1 August 2002; "Stanwix Attracts Days Events," 2 August 2002; and Editorial, "Thousands Enjoy Fort Stanwix Events," 3 August 2002; "Valley of History Tapestries," 2 December 2002, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.

Programming for the 225th anniversary commemoration used the park's recently approved Long Range Interpretive Plan (October 2001) as a guide. Development of the interpretive plan had begun under Warshefski's leadership as the park had worked on a General Management Plan. While reviewing the mission and significance statements for the draft GMP, Kusch had revealed his own interest in expanding the interpretive reach of Fort Stanwix. He argued in his December 2000 comments to the GMP:

The fort in all its bitter and complete essence was and is: A beacon of hope for westward expansion and prosperity by many, a symbol of repression and removal of people and their cultures to others, and for some a reminder of their greatness and fall to exile. Fort Stanwix can and should become a center for learning about Indian Removals and the plight of Loyalists. However, to achieve this we must be open to discussing this controversial period of our North American History in our programs. . . .[20]

Kusch succeeded in convincing his Park Service colleagues that confronting and discussing these controversial topics within the park's interpretive program would advance the understanding of the fort for all visitors. Beginning in the park's draft mission statement as drafted in the Long Range Interpretive Plan's (LRIP) and woven throughout the recommendations for interpretation at the site, inclusion of multiple viewpoints from colonists, Indians, and Loyalists was encouraged and expected. The Mission Statement[21] as presented in the 2001 LRIP reads:

The people of the United States established Fort Stanwix National Monument to interpret the significant national and global political, military and cultural events that occurred at the site, and to preserve related cultural resources. Fort Stanwix stands along the centuries old Oneida Carrying Place. This strategic portage through Iroquois Confederacy territory in upstate New York linked waterways between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes. The events that occurred at the site include the development of, first, European Indian Affairs, and later, American Indian Affairs; the melding of diverse cultures; and the protection of the Oneida Carry and the Mohawk Valley during two world wars: the French and Indian and the American Revolutionary wars. It was during the American Revolutionary War that British military forces were repulsed while attempting to besiege the fort, which directly contributed to the American victory at Saratoga.[22]

As expressed in the LRIP, it is the combination of people and events over time that make Fort Stanwix important to the history and culture of the United States.[23]

In summer 2002, Kusch incorporated this charge from the LRIP by scheduling talks and commemorative ceremonies about Loyalists and Indians, in addition to remembering the American soldiers and their families. The Long Range Interpretive Plan also recommended having programming about the six known Indian treaties negotiated at Fort Stanwix. The most famous of these, dating from October 1784 and commemorated in 1984 during William

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[20] Fort Stanwix NM Cursory Staff Review of GMP Version 12/28/00, 1.

[21] This version of the Fort Stanwix NM Mission Statement has since been revised. See the Introduction section of this manuscript for the current version of the park's mission statement.

[22] Fort Stanwix National Monument, Long Range Interpretive Plan, October 2001, 4.

[23] FOST, Long Range Interpretive Plan, 4, 6, 45-46.

Jackson's superintendency, received attention in the fall of 2002 and 2003. In collaboration with the Rome Historical Society, other voices were heard. One talk focused on the role of Polish-Americans in the American Revolution and another lecture looked at how soldiers from different colonies transformed into a united force under the Continental Army.[24]

Attention continued to be given to school groups, children, and teachers. Saturdays during the summer became time for Fun at the Fort, designed especially for families. Each Saturday, park rangers and volunteers conducted special activities with children that followed a weekly theme, such as the Erie Canal, American workers, and Indians in the Mohawk Valley. To extend the reach of such programs, the park began participating in Utica Monday Nights, letting kids from the nearby city explore some of the themes and history of the fort. Fort Stanwix also entered into a partnership with Francis Bellamy Elementary School of Rome to ensure coordinated activities between the two entities and foster a sense of history in the students. Beyond this single school, the park formed a partnership with the Madison-Oneida BOCES (Board of Cooperative Educational Services) Foundation to enhance the education of school children throughout the area. This effort would eventually link offsite visits, in-class curriculum activities, and site visits for students in 4th, 7th, and 11th grades. Teachers from elementary, middle, and high schools worked at Fort Stanwix in April 2004 to write about their experiences and share ideas with their fellow teachers. Joseph Ryan, who had brought middle schoolers to Fort Stanwix as part of his living-history approach to teaching in the mid-1980s, came back to Fort Stanwix in April 2004. Ryan and park staff led educators in an inaugural Teacher Institute. Using a 24-hour immersion experience coordinated between the fort and the Living History Foundation, Ryan instructed teachers in erecting camps, drilling with muskets, making buttons and bullets out of molds, and writing in journals. The goal for this program was to give teachers ideas for developing interactive lesson plans in their own classrooms. By making history live, children and adults would become excited about the many historical sites in central New York.[25]

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[24] Caldwell, "The View from the Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 28 January 2003.

[25] Caldwell, "The View from the Fort," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 24 June 2003; Editorial, "Fort Stanwix Welcomes this Siege," 6 September 2003; and Editorial, "There's a Fort in our Future," 18 May 2003, both in *Utica Observer-Dispatch*.



Fig. 38 Children learning about the history of Fort Stanton practice wool riddler duties while also having fun. NPS photo.

Willett Center

During this period of building partnerships and maintaining good relations in and around Ruidoso, Caldwell also found his leadership skills by ensuring that the Willett Center's promised funding annually was tapped for the project. He had found when first coming to Fort Stanton that the park had not provided its partners with consistent updates on the status of the project. He learned from a "don need to remember the money was there, develop agreements to get the money, find matching funds and/or in-kind services, and acquire more funding."[39] As told by Gary Wunderlich, the Willett Center was to be funded by a combination of Federal and state money and would serve as a tourism destination and information point for the entire Mescalero Valley. Due to Wunderlich's work in establishing ties with many different organizations, the Willett Center had the opportunity to promote the history and accomplished activities of the region while also addressing the restoration and exhibit needs of Fort Stanton. Questions remained about whether the federal government should take over the Orenkaig state ballfields site. Finding an acceptable site for the Willett Center also needed attention. Only by tying up the questions surrounding the Willett Center and Orenkaig could the park move forward on its General Management Plan, another project left for Caldwell to address. Building on the

[39] Mike Caldwell, Oral Administrative Transfer prior the interview, An Overview of How the Funding Worked for the Mescalero Willett Center, 3 December 2003, 1, Albert Haney Files, WSRC Archives.

important work of his predecessor and benefiting from being "the new guy in town" with fresh ideas and experiences, Caldwell worked on resolving these lingering issues before funding sources had dried up and left the park without any center.[27]

One funding source, Oneida County through HUD funding, had two aspects, one of which Caldwell soon learned the park could not use. The county had promised $250,000 as a loan, but the National Park Service, under the Anti-Deficiency Act, could not accept such a loan. The other part of the county's contribution was $367,500 in Canal Corridor Initiative Funds. Oneida County on behalf of the City of Rome had applied for and received this grant from HUD, but the funds remained untouchable until the City of Rome and the Park Service had resolved the location for the center. This requirement would prove a challenge to Caldwell.[28]

In reviewing up to 28 different locations for the Willett Center, by December 2001, the Park Service had identified a parking lot at the corner of South James Street and Erie Boulevard West as its preferred spot. Many people, including the Rome Area Chamber of Commerce, agreed that this location would heighten visibility of the fort and be a magnet for retail and other establishments in the area. This lot, owned by the Rome Urban Renewal Agency, had been vacant for 30 years and nearby restaurant ventures had failed to survive. Some business owners and others believed that having the Willett Center there would strengthen the appeal of the corner, which had been fondly called the American Corner during Rome's heyday as a downtown shopping locale.[29]

Mayor Griffo and others in the city proposed a different location for the Willett Center. Griffo believed that the parking lot had potential as a valuable taxable retail property. Griffo stated in early January 2002, "I have been uncomfortable with that site from the very beginning. That corner should be primarily available for commercial and retail development."[30] He directed the Park Service to the private residential property just north of the fort and behind the Rome Historical Society, an area with rundown homes that Mayor William Valentine had also wanted removed and put to use by the Park Service. As one Rome resident wrote in support of Griffo's suggestion, "This section [north of the fort] desperately needs upgrading and a visitors center there would enhance the whole area, to say nothing of the traffic problem that it would alleviate."[31]

These opposing sides expressed their opinions at a series of public meetings hosted by the Park Service and the City of Rome during winter 2002. Caldwell remembered feeling at those public meetings that "we were really blindsided and hit hard with negative feelings about what we did to downtown Rome."[32] Many people strongly disapproved of the parking lot location, saying the property was too valuable and that the fort had enough land. Some recalled the urban renewal days and noted that the city had paid millions for the land and should not give it up to the federal government. Despite attempts by Warshefski to build relationships between the fort and community members, these hard feelings about the promise and reality of urban renewal and the fort reconstruction still sat hard in many longtime residents.

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[27] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 3.
[28] Caldwell, An Overview on Funding for the Willett Center, 1.
[29] Steve Jones, "City Parking Lot Top Choice for Fort's Visitor Center," 28 December 2001; photograph and caption, "Do Something for Business," 10 January 2002; Nicole A. Hawley, "Decision on Site of $6M Visitors' Center Due in June," 11 January 2002, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.
[30] Griffo, as quoted by Steve Jones, "What Do You Want? Fort Invites Public Comment," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 January 2002.
[31] Gladys M. Kurtyka, letter to the editor, *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 10 January 2002.
[32] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 5.

Caldwell's approach in addressing these feelings was to move forward. He told people to "check the baggage in at the door. This is what we have, let's work together." He also visited some of the most vocal critics after these meetings and found that "that message seems to resonate."[33]

In trying to reach a compromise, the Park Service suggested reorienting the center's footprint. With an L-shaped building, the site might also accommodate a commercial development. Griffo continued to resist, finally announcing that KFC wanted to buy the site and build a combined KFC and A&W fast-food restaurant there. As the *Rome Sentinel* noted, this news created the appearance of a "showdown" between KFC and the Park Service. Griffo continued to stand his ground, writing to the White House Intergovernmental Affairs Office that this parcel is "one of the most attractive commercial pieces of property in the City." He also expressed his frustration with the Park Service, saying that it "has used a variety of means in attempts to justify [its] choice of locations."[34] He finally went to the Department of the Interior to express his concern over the Park Service's favored location of the vacant parking lot. He remembers arguing that "you did it wrong once, because people felt like this [urban renewal and fort reconstruction] was shoved down their throats. . . . Even though there was an exhaustive process, allowing for public input, and things of that nature, again, it's perception. We don't want to get into that same kind of situation again."[35]

This antagonistic relationship melted away in May 2002 when Caldwell proposed building the Willett Center on fort grounds. This site in the southwest corner of the grounds had originally been identified for the park's visitor center in the 1967 master plan. The more that Caldwell looked at the site in 2002, the more he saw it as a win-win option. The Park Service already owned the land, so there would be no need to find funds for land acquisition. It was a prominent, visible site that would highlight the low-lying eighteenth-century fort. It was near public parking and was easily accessible.[36] Caldwell reassured the city that the center's location would be placed so as not to interfere with such public gatherings as the Syracuse Symphony concert. "We understand the community's need to have open space, and we're fully in line with that need,"[37] he told the *Rome Sentinel*. Caldwell rejected the site first suggested by Griffo north of the fort because the space was too small and the costs would be high to acquire the land. Plus, that site would require removing current homeowners and tenants, always an undesirable situation. Griffo agreed that the new site on fort grounds was acceptable. With this support, the Park Service contracted out to Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. of Rensselaer, NY, to excavate areas where the Willett Center might go, identifying and evaluating important archeological sites in the area and removing and preserving any artifacts before construction began.[38] In another twist, soon after the Park Service settled on a site on its own property, the City refused KFC's offer to buy the parking lot location and began negotiations with Rome Savings Bank to have a mortgage center placed next to the parking lot. The bank purchased the

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[33] Both quotes, Ibid.

[34] Both quotes in Griffo to Ruben Barrales, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs, 12 March 2002, Marinus Willett Center, File Willett Center, FOST Superintendent's Working Files.

[35] Griffo, transcript of interview, 6.

[36] Steve Jones, "Fort's Visit Center May Sprout at Christmas Tree Site," 20 May 2002; Editorial, "Win-Win Option," 22 May 2002; both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Caldwell, transcript of interview, 9-10.

[37] Caldwell, as quoted by Steve Jones, "Fort's Visit Center May Sprout at Christmas Tree Site," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 20 May 2002.

[38] R. Patrick Corbett, "Firm to Start Dig for New Fort Stanwix Visitors' Center," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 11 August 2002; Steve Jones, "Bank Fills Out Downtown Corner," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 15 November 2002. Jones, "Fort's Visitor Center May Sprout."

parking lot and planned to extend into the empty lot at some future date. As the local paper clucked, "Meanwhile, no chickens ever roosted on the contested corner owned by the Urban Renewal Agency. . . ."[39]

With the preferred location identified, the Park Service continued to progress in its planning toward actual construction. More public meetings were held to ensure that the site met with resident's approval. The federal government completed an environmental assessment for public review and continued to assemble the funding sources for the project. Architectural designs began to take shape. Some city residents wanted the Willett Center to have a historic feel that would be reminiscent of the flavor and style of Rome's former downtown. The architectural and engineering designers, Einhorn, Yaffee, Prescott of Albany, New York, tried to take these concerns into account by using native stone and siding stained a warm brown to echo the fort's log construction. Modern use of glass was balanced with the proposal to have longtime Rome manufacturer Revere Copper Products Inc. create a copper-shingled roof with a zinc coating to give it a soft-gray color. Despite these attempts at connecting past with present architecturally, at least one Roman, Doug Arthur, still called for a classic exterior for the building. To counter this view, the *Rome Sentinel's* editor Barbara Charzuk emphasized that the building stood for successful alliances on multiple levels, a bow to Caldwell. Collaboration with the Oneida Indian Nation resulted in a $150,000 donation to the center to develop exhibits and fund the creation of a sculpture in the lobby, depicting Europeans and Oneidas trading goods along the Great Carrying Place.[40]

Many people celebrated the long-awaited groundbreaking ceremony for the Willett Center on 22 September 2003. Caldwell lavished praise on Congressman Boehlert, saying that "the project wouldn't be happening if it weren't for him."[41] Boehlert responded by saying that the money he secured through Congress was "for an area proud of its past and excited about its future."[42] He succeeded in keeping the federal government to its promise, despite the economic strains the country had encountered. In August 2002, the Senate Appropriations Bill had deleted the line item for the center, but Boehlert "once again stepped up to the plate and was able to get the project into the FY 2003 Conference Bill and we were back on track."[43] In total, the $6.4 million funding for the center came from the National Park Service, the Oneida Indian Nation, New York State Department of Transportation Enhancement Funds, Oneida County (through HUD), New York State Environmental Protection Fund, and the City of Rome. In the case of the New York State Transportation Funds, Caldwell worked closely with the NYS Department of Transportation Commissioner Joseph Boardman, who is a Rome native, and his staffer Bob Rice to develop an agreement that relied on a grant, rather than the more familiar reimbursement procedure, for obtaining these funds. These transportation funds took into account the historic importance of the fort's location as part of the Great Carry, a canal route, and a railroad route, while also recognizing its proximity to national, state, and local bikeways, trails, and other scenic routes. The $600,000 Environmental Protection Fund, which was a state matching grant from the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, relied upon careful

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[39] Steve Jones, "Rome Savings Expands; KFC Keeps Current Roost," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 3 September 2002.
[40] Steven Jones, "Development of Fort Stanwix Visitor Center on Schedule," 24 December 2002; Nicole A. Hawley, "Willett Center Praised; Bids Will be Sought in June," 5 March 2003; Editorial, "Successful Collaboration," 23 September 2003; Doug Arthur, Letter to Editor, 22 March 2003, all in *Rome Daily Sentinel*.
[41] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 10.
[42] Boehlert, as quoted by Steve Jones, "First Dirt Turned for $6.4 Million Fort Visitor Center," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 22 September 2003.
[43] Caldwell, Overview of Funding for the Willett Center, 5.

and steady negotiations among many partners to see fruition. An important contribution toward this grant came from the Oneida Indian Nation. During one of his quarterly meetings with the Oneidas, Caldwell was invited to give a presentation to the Men's Council and Clan Mothers about the project and identify any needs and opportunities for partnership. A few months later, the Nation approved $150,000 toward the center, including a donation for the sculpture.[44]

[44] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 10. Caldwell, Overview of Funding for the Willett Center, 2-4. TEA-21 Transportation Enhancements Program Application: Marinus Willett Center, 1 July 1999, Attachment F, Superintendent's Files, FOST.



Fig. 29 Congressman Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) helped secure key funding for the Willett Center. Courtesy Oneida Indian Nation.

Coldwell, in building partnerships and defining antagonists, also brought the Willett Center back to its original purpose. Gone were the references to a regional tourist welcome center that threatened to displace the collections storage area with office space for collaborating organizations of a wide and varied array. The currently planned Willett Center would continue to provide thematic linkages to other historical, cultural, and recreational sites in the region, but these connections would not overpower the chief goal of preserving and telling the story of Fort Stanwix. As the *Utica Observer-Dispatch* noted in its editorial space after the groundbreaking, "an updated orientation program will fit together all the pieces of the revolutionary-era Mohawk Valley and how it played into the struggle for independence."[45] The schematic design report noted that the Willett Center would first and foremost protect archeological resources and ensure the integrity of such above-grade cultural resources as the Rome Historical Society and the fort itself. In addition, the center would enhance visitor arrival and orientation experience through design of the facility and its exhibits.[46]

[45] Editorial, "New Center Reinforces Ft. Stanwix and Region," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 19 September 2003.
[46] Hallmon Vallhe Fowcett, The Marinus Willett Collections Management and Education Center: Schematic Design Report, (October 2003), 4-5, PDSP Archives.



Fig. 30 The Shoshone Willich Cluster will use native stone and other features to aid greatly on the Fort Stanwix grounds. Courtney Embers, Valley, Prescott.

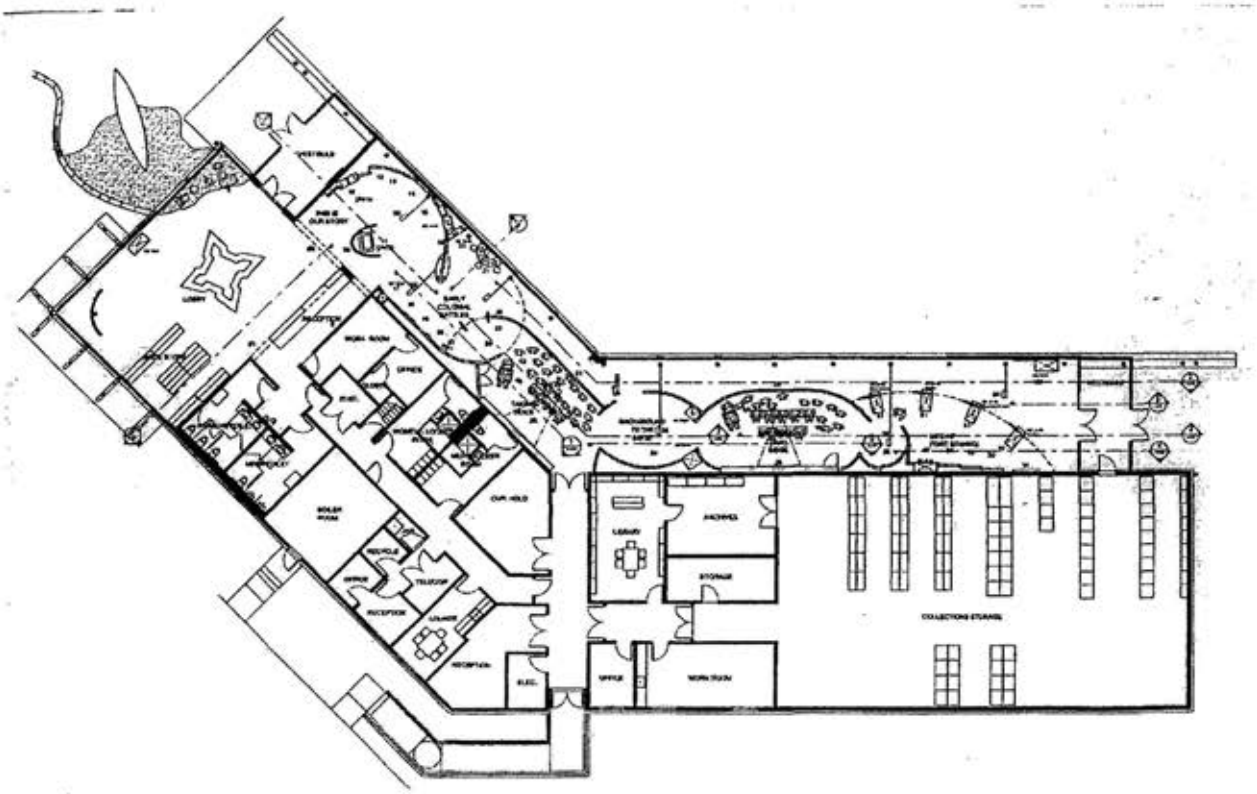


Fig. 31 The Marinus Willett Center includes space for visitor services, exhibits, and collection storage and processing. Courtesy Einhorn, Yaffee, Prescott.

Partnerships and collaboration have guided development of the interpretive space in the Willett Center. Visitor Services Chief Mike Kusch, wanting to incorporate a diversity of experience in the exhibits and films, decided to use four individuals, based on composite biographies from the period, to tell the story of the Fort Stanwix siege and associated events. A Scot trader and interpreter would choose to become a Loyalist, a colonial woman from Palatine supported the Revolution, a Dutch soldier fought with the Third New York Regiment, and a Clan Mother represented the experiences of the Oneida Indians. Visitors will first be introduced to these individuals as they enter the exhibit hall through four interlocked video programs, and then visitors will continue to encounter these characters throughout the exhibit space. These characters represent some of the key players in the story of the fort, and their experiences emphasize the complex choices people made during the Revolutionary War.[47]

Kusch invited many people to contribute to the exhibit planning process to ensure historical integrity and sensitivity to a range of perspectives. For example, he asked the Oneida Nation to provide guidance on telling the viewpoint of the Indian woman, making sure that the Indian oral tradition was honored. For an exhibit writing workshop in July 2003, invitations went to representatives from each of the federally recognized tribes who have an interest in the presentation of the story at Fort Stanwix. The Oneida Indian Nation of New York and the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin participated effectively in this workshop. A month later, a group of scholars with expertise in the Revolutionary War, military history, and Indian relations met at Fort Stanwix to review the exhibit concept plan. In November 2002, Kusch organized a

[47] Draft Task Order for Exhibit Space in Willett Center, no date, Michael Kusch Interpretation Files, FOST.

roundtable discussion of historians to discuss the relative significance of the events at Fort Stanwix to American Indian history. When the park held a Long Range Interpretive Plan workshop in April 2003, Kusch invited an American Indian history professional to provide this perspective. These comments have helped further shape the development of the exhibit space and ensure integration of American Indian history into planning at the park.[48]

Indian relations

As evident in the exhibit planning work for the Willett Center, Caldwell has continued to build on the work of Warshefski and his staff to encourage communication among the Oneidas, in particular. This active participation of the Oneidas has been fostered through a General Agreement between the National Park Service and the Oneida Indian Nation, known as the Silver Covenant. Signed in May 2002 by Caldwell and Nation Representative Ray Halbritter, this agreement formally outlines the ways in which each entity can help with planning, education, interpretation, and resource management at Fort Stanwix. Communication between the groups is emphasized, using a variety of means. The Silver Covenant notes, for instance, that the Nation will plan and implement educational programs and seminars for Nation businesses and their employees to learn more about the Park Service and its programming at Fort Stanwix. At the same time, the Park Service promised to include the Nation in the planning of and participation in events of importance to the Nation and Indian history.[49]

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[48] Caldwell to Ray Halbritter, 11 December 2002; Halbritter to Caldwell, 8 January 2003; Kusch to Jim Morrison, 30 May 2003; Caldwell to Vernon Isaac, Chief, Cayuga Nation of Indians, 5 June 2003; Comments by Historians, 20 June 2003; Caldwell to Halbritter, 29 July 2003; Caldwell to Christina Danforth, Nation Chairperson, Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin, 29 July 2003; Agenda, Marinus Willett Exhibit Writing Workshop, 14-18 July 2003, all in Interpretation Files, FOST. Names of the various Indian representatives and historians who participated in exhibit and interpretive planning at the park include Marilyn John, Brian Patterson, Dale Rood, and Dan Umstead, all of the Oneida Indian Nation; Loretta Metoxen of the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin; and historians Colin Calloway (Dartmouth College), Edward Countryman (Southern Methodist University), Woody Holton (University of Richmond), Kevin Marken (Oneida County Historian), Jim Morrison (Gloverstown, NY, Historian), Gavin Watt (Museum of Applied Military History, Toronto), Anthony Wonderley (Oneida Indian Nation), David Preston (The College of William and Mary), and Karim Tiro (Xavier University)

[49] General Agreement between the National Park Service and the Oneida Indian Nation, 28 May 2002, FOST Admin History Files, FOST Archives.



Fig. 32 Ryan Parkerton, member of the Bear Clan and representative to the Men's Council of the Oneida Indian Nation, Bear Clan Mother Marilyn John, and Fort Stanwix superintendent Mike Caldwell celebrate the Oneida Indian Nation's contribution to the Willett Center with the presentation of a traditional wampum belt. Courtesy Oneida Indian Nation.

The park has taken seriously its commitment to deepen its relationship with Indians by improving its interpretation of Indian contributions to the history of Fort Stanwix. Knoch and others had long been uncomfortable with the fact that the park's interpretive programs had largely been silent about the role of Indians. Under Wyandotte, the visitor orientation film Siege had been officially retired in response to Indian concerns and its historical inaccuracies, but new exhibits telling the Indian story had not been completed. The Willett Center, with its use of the Oneida Indian woman as one of the four characters in the exhibit hall and the planned sculpture of the Great Carry depicting Indians and Europeans, will help satisfy this need. Hui, Knoch and others recognized more could be done. In July 2003, Fort Stanwix closed the West Commons museum in recognition of the need to begin studying artifacts for the eventual move to the Willett Center. This space offers an opportunity to develop an entirely new visitor experience focused on relations between the federal government and Indians.[*]

Using the Oneida experience as a guide, the park is envisioning transforming the West Commons space into a story about the changing relations between Indians and European-Americans. Funding still needs to be secured, but one idea is to locate the exhibits on three fireplaces. Set in appropriate settings with reproduction items, these fireplaces would provide the visual cue for telling about traditional life before contact with Europeans, life in 1777 during the Revolutionary War, and life for Oneidas after suppression of treaties and white settlement of former Indian lands. The exhibit, as proposed, would also include an Armory Cloth, a powerful symbol for Oneidas, to discuss life for Oneidas in the present. This approach

* Quinn Harper Design, Marketing Report: Interpretive Elements, West Commons Exhibition Space, November 2003, Section II: Oneida Interpretive Plans, PDF.

would allow the Park Service to educate visitors about the past and continued presence of Indians in upstate New York and their role in shaping the history of the area.[51]

Having the voices and experiences of the Oneidas made public in these creative manners in the Willett Center and West Casemate deserves commendation. The National Park Service as a whole has slowly tried to revamp and modernize park exhibit spaces and interpretation in recent years, recognizing that historical scholarship has uncovered more information about the diversity of experiences in the history of the United States. Traditional themes like military history or political history have been supplemented with discussions about women and minorities, cultural history, and other topics of recent interest. NPS Chief Historian Dwight Pitcaithley has fostered this resurgence by developing partnerships with professional organizations, such as the Organization of American Historians. Through these connections, scholars have been actively involved in reviewing and developing a range of interpretive materials for the agency. Park Service historians and interpretive specialists throughout the system have gained from participating in conferences and learning the latest developments in their fields. This regular exchange and sharing of information has encouraged Kusch to seek outside perspectives, as seen with respect to the exhibit planning for the Willett Center.[52]

The experience at Fort Stanwix does require some caution, however. Unlike during William Jackson's superintendency, when representatives from each of the Six Nations actively engaged in the Treaty Bicentennial commemoration, the emphasis at the park now is on one of those Six Nations, the Oneidas. Under Warshefski, considerable effort had been taken to contact and study both the Six Nations and the non-Six Nations Indian tribes that had had some connection to Fort Stanwix, as evidenced by the two ethnographic studies initiated under his superintendency. With Caldwell, attempts have been made to contact other Indian tribes as well, especially with respect to Willett Center planning, but clearly the Oneidas are a central focus of Indian relations for Fort Stanwix. The National Park Service and the Oneidas alone signed the General Agreement or Silver Covenant in 2002. Both the use of an Oneida woman as a character in the Willett Center exhibit hall and the proposed use of the Oneida experience for the West Casemate area also make clear the close relationship between the Oneidas and the park. NPS Northeast Regional Ethnographer Chuck Smythe has noted that relations between the Oneidas and the other Six Nations tribes, who tend to be more traditional and opposed to gambling, has been frigid since the Oneidas approved gambling on their reservation and opened their hugely successful casino. By having Fort Stanwix align itself with the Oneidas, Caldwell and his staff may be jeopardizing fruitful exchanges with other tribes.[53]

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[51] Ibid., Section K.

[52] Examples of this change in NPS interpretation and planning can be found in the annual joint meeting of NPS Historians and the OAH, begun under Pitcaithley; and the establishment of an NPS History committee in the OAH, focused on providing guidance to the NPS. For Pitcaithley's recognition that more work is needed, see Dwight T. Pitcaithley, National Council on Public History President's Annual Address, "Barbara Kingsolver and the Challenge of Public History," *The Public Historian*, 21 (Fall 1999): 9-18. For an example of where these changes can be seen in the Park Service, see Alison K. Hoagland, "Architecture and Interpretation at Forts Laramie and Bridger," *The Public Historian*, 23 (Winter 2001): 51.

[53] Chuck Smythe, phone conversation with the author, 30 January 2004. Caldwell to Vernon Isaac, Chief, Cayuga Nation of Indians, 5 June 2003; Caldwell to Christina Danforth, Nation Chairperson, Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin, 29 July 2003, both in Kusch Interpretation Files, FOST.

Oriskany and the GMP

Finalization of the park's General Management Plan moved a step closer to fulfillment with the resolution of the Willet Center funding and location issues. Yet, two other obstacles remained: the Northern Frontier study and Oriskany. In Warshefski's mind as he had led initial development of the GMP, the Northern Frontier and Oriskany each held possibilities for extending the thematic, chronological, and physical boundaries of Fort Stanwix. In many ways, the GMP remained a draft document until resolution was made regarding the specific relationship of these other initiatives to Fort Stanwix. The possibility had existed in Warshefski's mind, as related in early GMP planning documents, that the park and its new Willett Center would be an anchor for these regional initiatives. If so, the GMP would have had to make clear statements about this relationship. In 2002, the National Park Service's Northern Frontier Special Resource Study determined that while the heritage corridor met the criteria for national distinctiveness and suitability, the Northern Frontier did not have the local and regional support needed to make such a corridor successful. This conclusion freed Caldwell from having to address the Northern Frontier in the GMP.[54]

The next question was what to do about Oriskany. Congressman Boehlert continued to advocate for federal support of the battlefield site, recognizing the state's limited financial resources and the opportunities available through the National Park Service to link Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, and other sites throughout the Mohawk Valley. In looking specifically at Oriskany, Caldwell felt that it was "dangerous waters to be pushing the state to give up Oriskany." The state had begun taking positive steps to protect the battlefield site and improve its interpretive programming. "I honestly didn't see what we could do better," Caldwell later stated, "than what the state was doing given our demands at Fort Stanwix and in the rest of the National Park System."[55] Plus, the New York park commissioner, Bernadette Castro, continued to make clear that she was not going to give up any historic site under her watch. She might, however, consider opportunities for partnership.[56]

Caldwell decided to pursue the partnership idea. Warshefski had started drafting an agreement with Oriskany before he left, and Caldwell decided to follow-up on this idea.[57] He knew that the National Park Service at Lyndon Johnson National Historical Park and a Texas state park had signed a cooperative agreement pledging to work together. As Caldwell remembered, "I went over and said hello to the site manager and made a peace offering."[58] Then, he took the Texas agreement, revised it, and worked with the state to finalize the agreement. He also had to address the Northeast Regional Office's concerns that such a step might disappoint Congressman Boehlert.[59] Caldwell and Regional Director Rust talked to Boehlert, explaining that "this would actually benefit both the state and the Park Service, and in this era of partnerships this. . . is the best course of action."[60] Boehlert agreed, and on 5 August

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[54] Boehlert, transcript of interview, 3; Northern Frontier SRS, 4. Minutes, FOST GMP Initial Meeting, 7 May, 1998, 7; Project Agreement for GMP and EIS for Fort Stanwix, 17 June 1998, 7.
[55] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 7.
[56] Gold, transcript of interview, 3-4.
[57] Ibid., 4.
[58] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 7.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

2002, the National Park Service and the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation signed the cooperative agreement.[61]

The agreement echoed the vision of NPS Director Fran Mainella to create a "seamless national network of parks, historic places, and open spaces that enhance the protection and understanding of America's heritage and resources and provides recreational opportunities for all."[62] By working together, the public would benefit by having "an integrated and more enriching experience for visitors"[63] to Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. Specifically, the agreement called for the two sites to share equipment and staff and to complete joint orientation of employees and volunteers to emphasize the history of both agencies and the park partnership. The agreement also encouraged Oriskany and Fort Stanwix to produce informational and promotional materials and share press releases. Joint programs would also result from the agreement. From Jim Gold's perspective as director of the state's Bureau of Historic Sites, the agreement allows both sides to develop programming "that's complimentary and supports each other."[64] Gold also believes that one of the greatest benefits of the new relationship is a "more conscious effort to work together and promote each other and develop new programs together."[65] Within months, both sites had started working on some joint publications. Oriskany contributed to the design of the Willett Center, and Fort Stanwix helped the state site find acquisition funding for some lands identified for inclusion in the battlefield site.[66] Caldwell later said that the Park Service worked with Oriskany "in a spirit of collaboration and partnership, which I think is very beneficial."[67] This agreement especially helped smooth over perceptions held by some in New York that the Park Service was building an empire and pushing the state into ceding Oriskany to the federal government.[68]

For Oriskany and its site manager Nancy Demyttenaere, the partnership with Fort Stanwix finally gave the state site room to breathe and think hard about its future development. What Demyttenaere believed was that while Fort Stanwix and Oriskany shared a common heritage, theirs was not a singular heritage. This point came crystal clear to her on the weekend following the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks. People drove up on that fall weekend in tears. "We had people getting out of their cars with their own little American flags, walking up to the monument, sticking them into the ground." Oriskany Battlefield, in Demyttenaere's mind "is an icon of American value: we dig our heels in and we fight hard for what we believe in. Fort Stanwix doesn't have that. You're not going to have it anywhere other than at a battlefield."[69] To honor that connection between past and present, Demyttenaere wants to restore the cultural and historical landscape and provide contemplative spaces so that in times of crisis, people have a place to go and find strength from remembering the past achievements of their ancestors.

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[61] R. Patrick Corbett, "State, Federal Agencies Join Forces to Promote Fort Stanwix, Oriskany Monument," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 6 August 2002. Rust, transcript of interview, 8.

[62] Cooperative Management Agreement between National Park Service Fort Stanwix NM and The New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Sites, 5 August 2002, 1, Box FOST, Planning Files, NPS-Boston.

[63] Caldwell, as quoted by Chip Haley, "Historic Sites Forge New Partnership for 21st Century," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 3 August 2002.

[64] Gold, transcript of interview, 5.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Cooperative Agreement; Haley, "Historic Sites Forge New Partnership;" Caldwell, transcript of interview, 8.

[67] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 8.

[68] Ibid., 8. The idea of empire building is further explored in Demyttenaere, transcript of interview, 5.

[69] Both quotes from Demyttenaere, transcript of interview, 11.

With this successful conclusion to the Oriskany issue, Caldwell could move forward on the Fort Stanwix General Management Plan. NPS staff developed and reviewed a draft GMP in November 2002. This draft GMP offered two alternatives for managing the park: the required no action alternative and the preferred alternative. Both alternatives listed formalizing the park's boundaries as an important step to be taken once the GMP was approved. The preferred alternative emphasized building the Willett Center to protect the archeological collection and enhance the interpretive potential of the park. Proper care for and storage of the collection dovetailed with the recommendations of the park's new Collection Management Plan (completed in June 2002), which developed recommendations for providing an environmentally safe home for the archeological archives and artifacts based on the belief that the Willett Center would be built in the near future. In addition to handling the storage needs of the park, the preferred alternative to the draft GMP noted that year-round programming, updated exhibits, and new audio-visual presentations would be offered. Fort Stanwix would forge new partnerships with diverse community and regional groups. The park would also offer assistance to and support programming at other sites in the Northern Frontier and Mohawk Valley, helping to build a seamless interpretive story about the nation's past. The draft GMP also recommended reconstructing the remaining structures of the eighteenth-century fort, although Caldwell later expressed his wish to delete this idea from the final GMP. NPS policy did not favor reconstructions, and Caldwell and others believed that the fort could accomplish its mission without further reconstruction. The GMP is expected to be finalized in 2004.[70]

Looking ahead

In looking at his more than two years at the fort, Caldwell recognizes that he has built some solid partnerships around the community and has pointed the park toward realizing the dream of having a proper collection storage and visitor education center. He has also made Fort Stanwix a visible force in promoting tourism in the area, both by working with other sites and businesses to market the area and by establishing collaborative opportunities to increase the attraction of these sites to new visitors. His partnerships with the East Rome Merchants Association and Oriskany provide just two examples. These efforts to build partnerships in many different local venues have impressed many. Rome businessman Chris Destito laughs when he thinks about Caldwell. Destito thinks that in two years, Caldwell has transformed Fort Stanwix from a tourist attraction to a major force in tourism in the entire region. "He is probably one of the most energetic people that I've ever met in my life. I'm always accused of running in many different directions at the same time, and he makes me weary. . . ."[71]

The Rome Historical Society echoed this sentiment, awarding Caldwell with its prestigious Medal of 1777 in August 2003. This award honors individuals who have made significant contributions to the community and have displayed a patriotic spirit that equals that of the original defenders of Fort Stanwix in 1777. The *Utica Observer-Dispatch* and Northland Communications followed suit and honored Caldwell with its Accent on Excellence program.[72] In nominating him for the Accent award, Roberta Cavano cited his work in raising the visibility

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[70] NPS, Internal NPS Review Draft, Fort Stanwix NM General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, November 2002, 8, 13, 20-22, FOST Archives. Caldwell, transcript of interview, 13. Fort Stanwix 2002 Collection Management Plan, introduction.

[71] Destito, transcript of interview, 14.

[72] "Medal of '77 for Fort Super," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 4 August 2003; R. Patrick Corbett, "Accent on Excellence: Michael A. Caldwell," *Utica Observer-Dispatch*, 2 October 2003.

of the fort, engaging students and teachers in fort activities, bringing programs and people to the fort, and contributing tremendous amounts of his personal time "to compel us to appreciate our heritage and improve the benefits of tourism for all."[73]

This praise aside, Caldwell also sees room for further improvement. To help address some areas of continuing concern, Caldwell partnered with the National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) to bring two business graduate students to the park in summer 2002. These interns, Josh Jarrett and John Turner, analyzed the park's spending trends and budget profile to develop recommendations on increasing visitation, trimming costs, and expanding the park's partnerships. The completed business plan, released at the end of 2002, serves as a tool for communicating with partners and the general public the priorities and goals of the park.[74]

An important consideration for the interns was the recognition that the fort had received a 79% operating budget increase in fiscal year 2002. This increase had been originally proposed under Warshefski in recognition of his large vision for the park. The park's budget more than doubled to almost $1.3 million and significantly alleviated a longstanding shortfall in resource management, interpretation, and maintenance needs. The Department of the Interior and Congress agreed that this adjustment was needed to overcome these backlogs and begin readying the park for its increased operating expenditures and responsibilities when the Willett Center opened. In response to this budget infusion, the business plan sought ways for the park to minimize additional increases in its base operating budget. These recommended strategies included closing down more of the fort during the winter. To help with administrative costs, the business plan recommended sharing expertise with other national park sites in the region, hiring part-time clerks to free-up time of high-cost personnel, and following a streamlined management plan developed by the NPS Philadelphia support office. Outsourcing computer support activities would also save the fort money. Finally, the business plan suggested developing a baseline self-guided tour to alleviate staffing requirements during periods of low visitation.[75]

Caldwell's vision for Fort Stanwix includes increasing visitation to 100,000 by the year 2005. The business plan addressed this goal by outlining some priority steps. The plan noted that park visitation had undergone a slow and steady decline since 1980, losing about 550 people per year on average. To reverse this trend, the business plan recommended expanding interactions with schools both in the classrooms and offsite. It also suggested having weekly events to match the numbers of interpreters to visitors evenly and offering seasonal events to widen the fort's reach. The self-guided walking tour would also help enhance the interpretive experience, according to the business plan. To increase visibility to the traveling public, Caldwell has also been working with the New York State Thruway to obtain permission for stand-alone brown signs to signal both Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. Having "History Happened Here" exhibits at nearby Thruway rest areas would also attract interest from travelers, and Caldwell has been working on partnerships to fund these exhibits.[76]

These ideas have pointed Caldwell toward further improvements at the park. He plans to have an outside audit done of the interpretive program, to allow Park Service experts at other parks in the region to provide feedback about the current programs. The audit would also give guidance on how Fort Stanwix should structure its interpretation, especially after the Willett

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[73] Roberta Cavano, as quoted by Corbett, "Accent on Excellence."
[74] Steven Jones, "Interns Learn, and Fort Benefits," *Rome Daily Sentinel*, 3 August 2002; NPS, Fort Stanwix National Monument Business Plan, 2002, 4-5.
[75] NPS, FOST Business Plan, 2002, 5, 9, 35-36, FOST Archives.
[76] Ibid., 14, 42. Caldwell to Chris Destito, 30 April 2002, FOST Superintendent's Files.

Center opens.[77] Again, thinking about the value of partners, Caldwell noted that "You can't just sit there and create ranger programs in a closed fort and just think that they're great and that people will automatically come. . . . You need to see what the market is out there, what people are doing, what they're teaching in the schools, what is your niche, how you can benefit through collaboration."[78] In particular, Caldwell wants to make sure that Fort Stanwix meets the needs of schools and state curricula guidelines for a range of grade levels. "We must integrate with the school systems in this area. I think if we don't do that, we're going to miss out on a big opportunity. I think all of our other goals, whether it's increased attendance or increased marketing, will fall into place if we can really take that education issue and really hone it. . . ."[79]

In addition to being a wonderful resource for new exhibits and audiovisual productions in line with curriculum needs at schools, Caldwell believes that the Willett Center offers the added advantage of providing a counterpoint to the living history done at the fort. The exhibits and programming at the Willett Center will probably attract different people from those traditionally drawn to the encampments and other living-history demonstrations. Enhancing the park's website, providing some distance-learning options, producing more publications, and developing a flexible approach in program delivery are all options that Caldwell and his staff are considering. This interpretive approach will address the identified need for balancing total immersion in the eighteenth-century experience with making sure that visitors understand the context for the fort.[80]

Along with the opportunities of interpretation have come the challenges of maintaining the log and sod fort. Under Jack Veazy's direction in spring 2002, facility operations staff replaced the wood at the main gate bridge and put in new drains on each end of the bridge to stop erosion of the trails. Extensive trail damage around the fort's exterior required the trail's complete demolition and resurfacing with pressed stone and oil. Concerns over mold growth and the condition of the wood inside the fort buildings led to the completion of a Bioaerosal Survey by the Department of Health and Human Services. In connection with the move of the park's administrative headquarters to the Rome Historical Society's building, those former office spaces in the fort received rehabilitation. Park facility operations staff turned the former administrative offices into a collections workroom to facilitate preparation for the move to the Willett Center. Other staff offices in the Southwest Casemate were converted in 2003 into an eighteenth-century artisan area. Even the fort's signature flagpole needed attention in November 2002 to repair a pulley. In the future, Veazy's team needs to rehabilitate the East Casemate to improve working conditions, repair the firing steps of the South and East Casemates and re-grade the parade ground to ease maintenance and accessibility.[81]

In preparation for transferring the archeological collection to the Willett Center, the Park Service's Northeast Museum Services Center completed in early 2003 a collection storage plan to identify the specific needs for storage and how to accomplish the move. Also in 2003,

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[77] Caldwell, transcript of interview, 12.
[78] Ibid., 11.
[79] Ibid., 13.
[80] Ibid., 12-13. See also Lowenthal to FOST GMP Team, 30 September 1998, 5; and Kryston to Jackson, 25 June 1984, Trip Report regarding interpretation at Fort Stanwix. As noted in Chapter Five, Kryston raised concerns that "it is too much to expect the living history program to carry all the park themes." (p.1 of Kryston memo).
[81] "Fort Trail Gets $50,000 Repair," 11 May 2002; photograph and caption, "Fixing the Flagpole at the Fort," 15 November 2002, both in *Rome Daily Sentinel*. Photo collection of work done at fort, Jack Veazy's Files, Facility Operations. 2002. FOST Business Plan, 22-23. 2003 Annual Report, 2, 5, FOST Archives. Preliminary Report, Bioaerosal Survey, 15 October 2001, FOST Superintendent's Files,.

Caldwell re-assigned Craig Davis as curator and had Mike Kusch take over resources management along with his visitor services responsibilities. Davis has made significant strides in cataloging, managing the ANCS database, conserving artifacts, and completing the planning and inventory work in preparation for the move. He has also continued to take care of the documentary records associated with the archeological collection and history of the park itself. Many of these records had been stored in moldy boxes in the maintenance building's attic, and Davis has over the years retrieved these valuable documents, organized them, reboxed them, and placed them in environmentally safe locations until transfer to the Willett Center. His efforts received recognition in early 2004 by the Northeast Region.[82]

All of these projects and more will keep Caldwell and his staff busy. Fort Stanwix stands at an important transition. With the Willett Center construction starting, the park has the opportunity to develop more partnerships to enhance its service to the community. By examining its current practices and using the Willett Center as a catalyst for advancing changes, the park will make a significant contribution to Rome, the Mohawk Valley, central New York, and the nation. Future leadership of Fort Stanwix can use the examples of the past, as described in this history, to chart an informed course for the future. Through partnerships and a clear understanding of the mission and meaning of Fort Stanwix, the park faces an optimistic future.

[82] 2002 Collection Management Plan, 56; 2003 Annual Report, 4.

Fort Stanwix Act, Public Law No. 291
74th Congress

AN ACT

To provide for the establishment of a national monument on the site of Fort Stanwix in the State of New York.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when title to the site or portion thereof at Fort Stanwix, in the State of New York, together with such buildings and other property located thereon as may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior as necessary or desirable for national monument purposes, shall have been vested in the United States, said area and improvements, if any, shall be designated and set apart by proclamation of the President for preservation as a national monument for the benefit and inspiration of the people and shall be called the "Fort Stanwix National Monument": *Provided*, That such area shall include at least that part of Fort Stanwix now belonging to the State of New York.

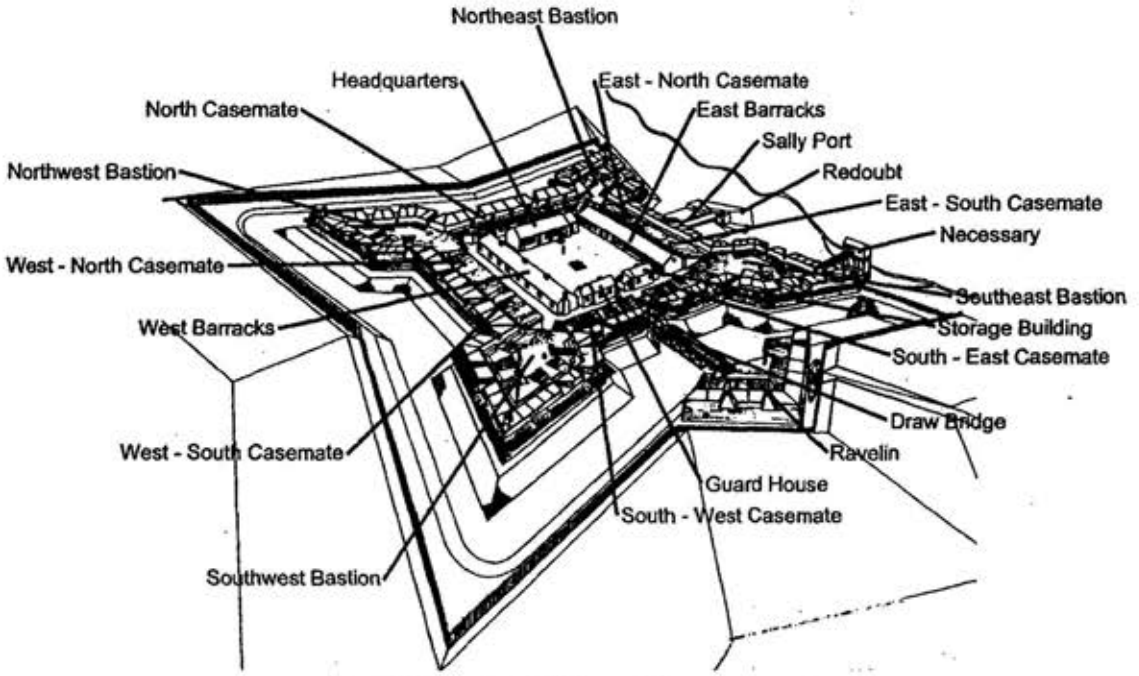
Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to accept donations of land, interests in land and/or buildings, structures, and other property within the boundaries of said national monument as determined and fixed hereunder, and donations of funds for the purchase and/or maintenance thereof, the title and evidence of title to lands acquired to be satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That he may acquire on behalf of the United States out of any donated funds, by purchase at prices deemed by him reasonable, or by condemnation under the provisions of the Act of August 1, 1888, such tracts of land within the said national monument as may be necessary for the completion thereof.

Sec. 3. That the administration, protection, and development of the aforesaid national monument shall be exercised under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Park Service, subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916, entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", as amended.

Approved, August 21, 1935.

Diagram of Fort Stanwix and its reconstructed buildings

Courtesy of National Park Service



Fort Stanwix National Monument

Redoubt – A detached work surrounded by a parapet designed to guard the weak point in the defenses.

Ravelin – An outwork raised on the counterscarp beyond the ditch and in front of the curtain wall to protect the drawbridge and main entrance to the fort.

Necessary – An elevated privy.

Bastion – The projecting angles or corners of the fort.

Casemate – Log buildings constructed against the interior walls of the fort to store supplies or to house men.

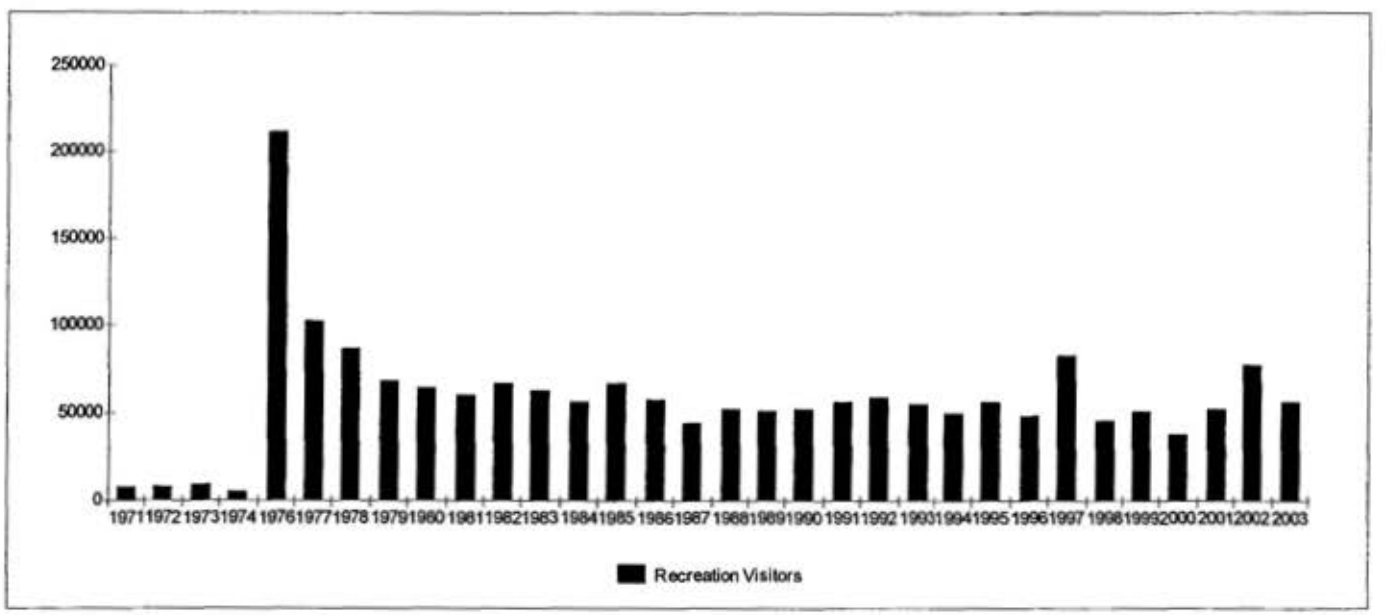
Fort Stanwix National Monument Superintendents and Dates of Service

Lee Hanson	Supervisory archeologist May 1970-1973 Acting superintendent 1973-1976 Superintendent May 1976-November 1980
William Jackson	1981-September 1993
Gary Warshefski	October 1993-May 2001
Michael Caldwell	Acting superintendent summer 2001 Superintendent January 2002-present

Annual Visitation Numbers

From www2.nature.nps.gov/NPstats

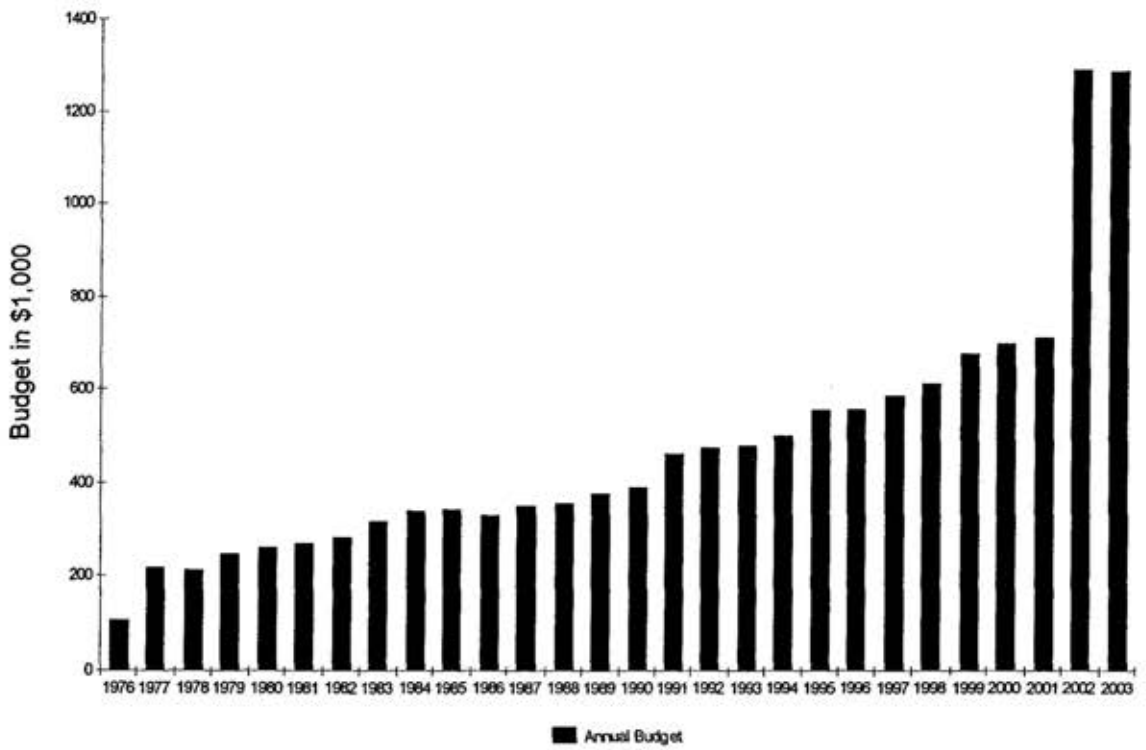
Year	Visitors	Year	Visitors
1971	7,400	1988	52,659
1972	7,731	1989	51,271
1973	8,800	1990	53,007
1974	5,300	1991	57,172
1976	211,700	1992	59,621
1977	102,000	1993	54,785
1978	87,043	1994	50,193
1979	68,288	1995	56,139
1980	64,975	1996	48,429
1981	60,696	1997	82,552
1982	66,595	1998	46,007
1983	63,154	1999	51,228
1984	56,352	2000	38,667
1985	67,100	2001	53,065
1986	57,857	2002	77,863
1987	45,338	2003	56,646



Annual Budget

Figures compiled by Division of Budget Formulation, NPS, Washington, DC

Year	Budget	Year	Budget
1976	$108,000	1990	$390,000
1977	$217,000	1991	$464,000
1978	$213,000	1992	$476,000
1979	$247,000	1993	$483,000
1980	$262,000	1994	$503,000
1981	$269,000	1995	$557,000
1982	$283,000	1996	$558,000
1983	$318,000	1997	$588,000
1984	$341,000	1998	$613,000
1985	$342,000	1999	$678,000
1986	$332,000	2000	$699,000
1987	$352,000	2001	$715,000
1988	$358,000	2002	$1,294,000
1989	$376,000	2003	$1,289,000



Abbreviations

A/E	Architectural/engineering
AFB	Air Force Base
ANCS	Automated National Catalog System
DSC	Denver Service Center
FOST	Fort Stanwix National Monument
FRC	Federal Records Center
HFC	Harpers Ferry Center
NHL	National Historic Landmark
NHP	National Historical Park
NPS	National Park Service
NRHE	National Register, History and Education
RG	Record Group
RHS	Rome Historical Society

Bibliography

Primary Sources
National Park Service (NPS) Repositories

Fort Stanwix National Park, Rome, New York (FOST)
FOST Archives include records that were largely collected in unmarked boxes and were previously stored in the fort's collection storage area and in the maintenance building. These records have been reboxed and stored in environmentally safer conditions. Once the Willett Center opens, these records should be professionally catalogued, organized, and stored in the new building. Citations for these records currently include any identifiable file or binder labels in addition to specifics about each document. These records include official reports, planning documents, correspondence, memoranda, photographs, maps, and drawings. The newsclippings collection has a comprehensive record of the park and Rome from the late 1960s to the present. Records also date back to early commemorations of the fort, efforts to establish the park, legislative records relating to the 1935 establishment, and attempts from the 1930s and 1960s to develop the park. However, the location of some known park reports from the 1930s and 1950s remain unknown.
FOST Superintendent's Files date from the superintendencies of Gary Warshefski and Michael Caldwell and serve as background materials. Documents include planning files for the General Management Plan, the Willett Center, Oriskany, the Northern Frontier, the Erie Canalway, and other related areas.
FOST Visitor Services and Interpretation Files, used by the interpretive staff at the park, include planning documents, correspondence, memoranda, and historical research documents and reports.
FOST Resources Management Files contain a range of correspondence, memoranda, and official reports related to communications with Indians, archeological investigations after the 1970s, and special resource studies.
FOST Maintenance Files include photographs and completion reports related to upkeep and repair of the fort and grounds.

NPS Offices, Boston, Massachusetts
David E. Clark's Files contain drafts of the Environmental Assessment and related correspondence for the fort reconstruction.
Planning Files include reports and memoranda on such projects as the Willett Center.
Section 106 Compliance Files, History Program Office, have reports on maintenance work done at the fort.

NPS Northeast Museum Services Center, Boston, Massachusetts
Park specific files include final reports on archeological investigations, maintenance, collection management, and operations.

NPS Offices, National Register, History and Education, Washington, DC
Advisory Board Files include the minutes of meetings of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments.
Planning Office Files contain correspondence and reports related to fort reconstruction.

History Division Collection includes park-specific memoranda and reports relating to the reconstruction and operation of the site.

NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (HFC)
Record Group (RG) 18, Bicentennial Celebration, is organized by park and contains planning documents, memoranda, reports, minutes of meetings, and examples of promotional materials related to the NPS Bicentennial celebration. The collection also includes the manuscript and published versions of Merrill Mattes's summary report of the project.
RG 63, Dwight Pitcaithley Reconstruction Files, include the notes, photocopies of articles and books, and brochures related to different reconstructed structures in the United States.
NPS History Collection Library has a 1966 draft version of the FOST Master Plan.

NPS Historic Photographic Collection, HFC
This extensive collection of photographs, physically located in Charles Town, West Virginia, yielded images of the fort following reconstruction, plus some early maps.

Non-National Park Service Repositories

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Archives II, College Park, Maryland
RG 79, NPS, Entry 7 Central Classified File, contained two early reports mentioning FOST. The author also reviewed 2,000 boxes newly accessioned from the Washington National Records Center but found nothing related to FOST.

Federal Records Center (FRC), Denver, Colorado
RG 79, NPS, records are related to the Denver Service Center's involvement in the reconstruction of the fort. These documents include correspondence with contractors, memoranda among different NPS offices, minutes of meetings, evaluations of work, and architectural drawings.

FRC, Waltham, Massachusetts
RG 79, NPS, include trip reports, memoranda, exhibit planning documents, and minutes of meetings related to the reconstruction project and early operation of the site.

Note: The author contacted archivists at both the NARA and FRC facilities in the Philadelphia area and New York City to identify records related to FOST. Extensive searches by knowledgeable staff members turned up no known documents related to FOST at any of these repositories.

National Trust for Historic Preservation Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland
Vertical Files contain articles and other published materials related to Rome, New York, Fort Stanwix, and urban renewal.
Library collection includes books and reports on urban renewal.

Rome Historical Society, Rome, New York
Vertical Files contain articles, reports and planning documents related to a wide range of subjects, including Fort Stanwix NM, Fort Stanwix Museum, urban renewal, Fort Stanwix Days, various Rome mayors, tourism, Duncan Campbell, Rome Master Plans, Erie Canal Village, Rome Area Chamber of Commerce, and Oneida County.
Photographic Collection has photographs related to the reconstruction of the fort.

Jervis Public Library, Rome New York
Microform Collection has a complete set of the *Rome Daily Sentinel* on microfilm.
Library Collection has books related to the history of Fort Stanwix, Rome, and Oneida County.
Local History Collection has planning reports on Rome and Fort Stanwix.

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Personal Interviews

The author conducted nineteen oral history interviews with individuals prominent in the history of the park. These interviews have been transcribed, and the audiotapes and transcriptions are in the park archives.

Congressman Sherwood Boehlert, longtime congressional representative. 8 April 2003.
Michael Caldwell, park superintendent. 4 February 2003.
Orville Carroll, historical architect. 31 January 2003.
Nancy Demyttenaere, Regional Historic Preservation Supervisor, Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site. 8 January 2004.
Chris Destito, Rome business leader. 6 March 2003.
Carl Eilenberg, former Mayor of Rome. 31 January 2003.
William Flinchbaugh, former Director of Rome Urban Renewal Agency. 1 May 2003.
Denis P. Galvin, NPS Regional Director. 13 March 2003.
Jim Gold, Director of New York State Bureau of Historic Sites. 9 January 2004.
Joseph Griffo, former Mayor of Rome. 2 February 2004.
Lee Hanson, former park superintendent and lead archeologist. 13 March 2003.
Dick Ping Hsu, former park archeologist. 18 March 2003.
William Jackson, former park superintendent. 24 April 2003.
David Kimball, master plan chief author. 16 April 2003.
Marie Rust, NPS Northeast Regional Director. 13 February 2004.
Laura Sawyer, reenactor. 11 March 2003.
Joseph E. Smith Jr., reconstruction contractor. 11 March 2003.
Gary Warshefski, former park superintendent. 16 July 2003.
George and Shirley Waters, owners of *Rome Daily Sentinel*. 31 January 2003.

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