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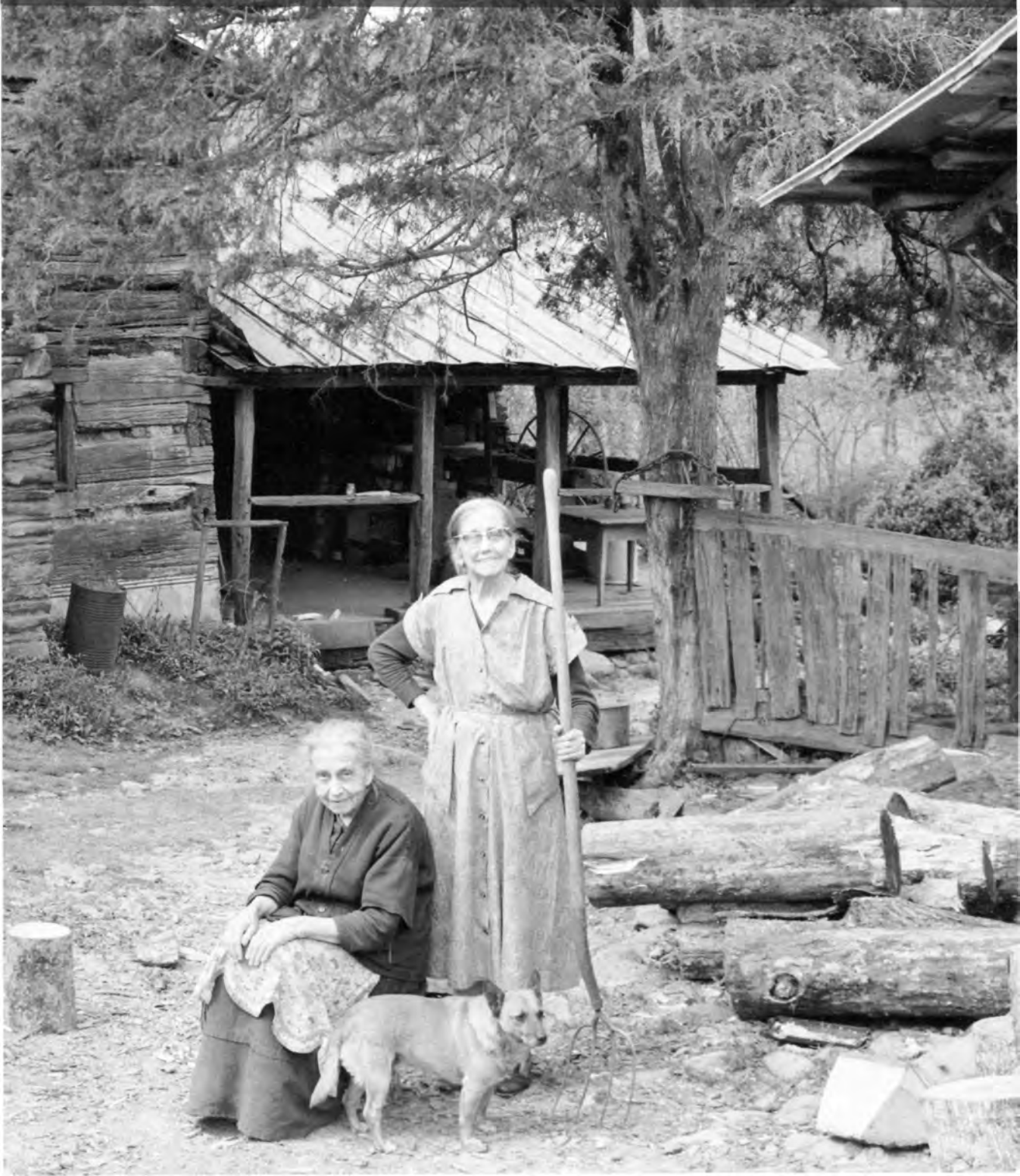

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CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

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COVER

In 1962, Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) photographer Jack E. Boucher captured the surviving Walker sisters, Margaret (age 91 standing) and Louisa (age 79), in front of their house in Gatlinburg, TN. Boucher's visit to the Walker family farm was actually the second by a National Park Service photographer. The first was by Edouard E. Exline in 1936. His photographs are preserved in the album, "A Sketch of Mountain Life: Great Smoky Mountains National Park" as well as in the HABS collection at the Library of Congress. (Jack E. Boucher, photographer, 1962. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

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Editorial Policy

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Introduction

by Antoinette J. Lee, Editor

After a quarter century, *CRM* achieved "classic" status. First published by the National Park Service in 1978, *CRM Bulletin* was a pioneering effort to exchange information on cultural resources work in the national parks. When its mandate expanded to encompass both the parks and the partnership programs in the early 1980s, *CRM* became a vehicle for sharing information among the National Park Service and its partners in the public and private sectors. By the early 21st century, *CRM* was published almost monthly and reached thousands of readers both in the United States and abroad.

Why change a successful model? *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* is part of a larger restructuring of cultural resources publications and products. *CRM Journal*; our sister publication, *Common Ground*; the electronic newsletter, *Heritage News*; and the forthcoming Website, *Heritage Exchange*, reflect the standards that Secretary of the Interior Gale A. Norton has set for the Department of the Interior and its bureaus. The Secretary has emphasized the "Four C's"—Consultation, Communication, and Cooperation, all in the service of Conservation—as the cornerstone of her tenure. This group of publications and products represents our effort to communicate better with the heritage community and the public.

CRM Journal responds to the evolution of the cultural resources field itself. Where once cultural resource management was practiced by relatively small staffs in the National Park Service and a handful of other government agencies, serious and substantive work is now being conducted by many Federal Government agencies, tribal governments, State and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and consulting firms under contract with government agencies and private organizations.

The intellectual growth of the field is evident also in the greater involvement of the academic community. Colleges and universities offer degree programs in historic preservation, public history, museum studies, and applied history as well as nondegree courses and other training. Academic scholars are pursuing research in areas relevant to cultural resource decision-making and technologies. Preservation practitioners are teaching and blurring the line between the academic and practitioner spheres.

Given this transformed professional context, the National Park Service, in consultation with its partners, decided to use the good name of *CRM* and transform it into a scholarly peer-reviewed journal. *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* features scholarly articles, viewpoint essays, research reports, and reviews of print and nonprint materials that cover the range of cultural resources work, including history, architecture, curation, ethnography, archeology, cultural landscapes, folklife, and related fields. *CRM Journal* aims to encourage scholars and preservation practitioners to address the "history and development of and trends and emerging issues in cultural resource management in the United States and abroad." In the process, we hope that *CRM Journal* will stimulate active dialogue among authors and readers and encourage creativity and new approaches in our work.

Authors for this first issue of *CRM Journal* include distinguished figures such as David Lowenthal, professor emeritus at University College London, and Arleen Pabón, professor in the School of Architecture at Florida A&M University. The interview with Russell V. Keune provides a spotlight on a consequential preservation career that began with the National Park Service's Mission 66 program and encompassed tenures at the National Trust for Historic Preservation, US/ICOMOS, and The American Institute of Architects.

CRM Journal aims to encourage scholars and preservation practitioners to address the "history and development of and trends and emerging issues in cultural resource management in the United States and abroad." In the process, we hope that CRM Journal will stimulate active dialogue among authors and readers and encourage creativity and new approaches in our work.

Articles on new research lie at the heart of scholarly journals. We are pleased to include work by younger scholars whose works underscore the creative potential in this field. Lisa Pfueller Davidson and Martin J. Perschler present new and previously unpublished material on the early years of the Historic American Buildings Survey, a model documentation program that began in the depths of the Great Depression in 1933 and celebrates it 70th anniversary this fall. Amy Squitieri and Mary Ebeling offer the insights of those who work for consulting firms under contract to public agencies and a model for determining the significance of and managing a large group of related properties.

To facilitate reader participation in current research, a regular feature, "research reports," will summarize projects that are open to reader input. This issue includes five research reports—covering archeology in the Channel Islands, the Vicksburg Campaign Trail, civil rights resources in Alabama, the

National Park Service's Mission 66 program, and the September 11 terrorist attacks.

Finally, the journal includes a significant number of book reviews, reviews of recent exhibits, and reviews of relevant Internet sites. These reviews help *CRM Journal* to address the full range of cultural heritage issues of interest to professionals both in this country and abroad and suggest the variety of means possible for presenting and disseminating heritage materials.

The development of *CRM Journal* would not have been possible without the guidance of the members of its editorial board, who are leading figures both in and outside of the National Park Service, and the contributing editors, who represent the programs of the National Park Service's National Center for Cultural Resources. All played a major role in identifying peer reviewers and reviewers for print and nonprint materials. The *CRM Journal* staff, including Brian D. Joyner, Michèle Gates Moresi, and Martin J. Perschler, contributed greatly to the intellectual underpinnings of this publication.

Finally, this new iteration of *CRM* would not have been possible without the heroic work of former *CRM* editor, Ron Greenberg, who transformed an in-house publication into a valuable tool for the heritage community. After Ron's retirement, John Robbins, Assistant Director, Cultural Resources steered the National Center for Cultural Resources toward the restructuring of our publications. Thanks are due also to publisher Sue Waldron, who orchestrated this new suite of important publications and products, and to Mike Konetzka of the Dennis Konetzka Design Group for the outstanding design of this journal.

We hope that you, the reader, will enjoy the first issue of *CRM Journal*. We are looking forward to hearing from you and learning how well this publication meets your expectations.

Please send your comments to NPS_CRMJournal@nps.gov.

Pioneering Stewardship: New Challenges for CRM

by David Lowenthal

It is a privilege to join in celebrating *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*'s inaugural issue. Along with countless practitioners and teachers, I owe the National Park Service a quarter century debt. Sparing time and thought from toils on the coalface of public history, hundreds of dedicated specialists have furnished *CRM* with progress reports on everything from archival repositories to archeological sites, time capsules to treasure-hunting, disabled access to disaster strategies for heritage sites.

Twenty-five years have ripened heritage itself into history. Maturity provides the rationale for broadening *CRM*'s remit still further. In the new journal the nitty-gritty specifics of resource management will appear side by side with more extended reflections on heritage in general—its meaning and purpose, growth and evolution, supporters and detractors, perils and promises. Such a forum is sorely needed. Aside from a handful of periodicals—*The Public Historian*, *The International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *The International Journal of Cultural Property* (now, alas, temporarily suspended)—no accessible forum for inquiry and debate encompasses heritage in its rich and multifaceted entirety. As a result, the public at large as well as professional heritage practitioners are apt to lose sight of the forest for the trees.

Heritage is a consummately crisis-driven pursuit. We are swamped by manifold urgent issues, overwhelmed by imminent threats to fabric or integrity, driven by successive emergencies. Hence we seldom find occasion to meditate on the passions and presumptions, the credos and the crochets that underpin the whole enterprise, making heritage a vital living force. *CRM*'s editorial board now recognizes that such contemplation is not just a marginal frill; it is a cardinal need.

That the National Park Service is the prime vehicle for reflections on heritage might at first glance seem highly unlikely to those who only see the agency as a manager of campsites and guardian of flora and fauna. Who would conceive of this "Smokey Bear" image as a sounding-board for scholarly stewardship? Yet in truth the National Park Service vies with the National Archives, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Library of Congress as the national agency most concerned with—and best informed about—heritage. How has this come to be? Because the American National Park System was born, almost uniquely in the world, of a conservation crusade. Haunted by fears engendered by the despoliation of

nature, the closing of the frontier, and the end of free land, a small coterie of devotees persuaded Congress to set aside extensive tracts from mounting pressures of commercial exploitation. The parks were designated as public sanctuaries, intended to inspire, instruct, and refresh present and future generations. Initially limited to realms of scenic splendor and pristine wilderness—such as Yellowstone and Yosemite—the National Park System later expanded to include sites valued for the tales of human history there enacted, terrains of triumph and tragedy dating from ancient prehistory to the near present—Mesa Verde to Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front. Revolutionary and Civil War battlefields today coexist with locales consecrated to the suffragette movement, to civil rights, even, as is most fitting, to pioneers of American conservation, at California's Muir Woods National Monument and Vermont's Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park.

As the parks' remit expanded, so did the experience and expertise of those who staffed them. Responsibility for hundreds of sites in every corner of the country aroused keen awareness of their instructive potential. What Americans admire in their parks and historic monuments increasingly mirrors their resource management concerns at home. Just as the heritage community today embraces all Americans, park visitors or not, so do the management and stewardship principles initiated in parks bid fair to become exemplary guides for the well-being of all America. Ecological health, aesthetic integrity, wise use, and equitable stewardship are no longer principles exclusively bounded within park precincts. They begin to apply, for all Americans, to all America.

Heritage attachments, individual and collective alike, have grown phenomenally over the past quarter of a century. In this surge, four particular trends feature prominently in current practice and in the pages of *CRM*: merging heritage's multiple realms and disciplines, fructifying professional expertise with amateur enthusiasm, balancing resource preservation with creative innovation, transforming heritage stewardship from a sporadic operation detached from ongoing life into a pervasive social commitment. Each of these trends holds promises and engenders problems that merit comment.

Merging Disciplinary Expertise

Time was when the Nation's heritage mainly connoted great architectural monuments and renowned works of art. These were the exclusive domain of historians and conservators, whose duties were to verify authenticity and provenance, and to protect and curate materials and relics. Experts in each field tended to work in isolation: buildings and paintings and grave goods, tapestry and topiary and illuminated texts were studied and conserved with little interchange of ideas or skills from one realm to any other. Each treasure was a distinct thing apart, as decontextualized as an item in a cabinet of curiosities.

No longer is heritage thus atomized and segregated. That its subject matter has immeasurably expanded is common knowledge. Less widely known, yet no less important, is the growing convergence of heritage connoisseurship and management. Archeologists, archivists, art and architectural historians work in tandem with one another, collaborating as well with biologists, geneticists, philologists, genealogists, folklorists, and myriad others. Practitioners in every facet of our natural and cultural legacy are coming to realize how intricately heritage issues interlink. Issues of provenance, authenticity, protection, interpretation, display, commodification, legal title, restitution, repatriation, pillaging, illicit trade—to list but a few matters of moment—are hardly ever tidily circumscribed within any single sphere; instead they require conjoined insights. To cite one famed instance, understanding the Elgin Marbles demands knowledge of classical sculpture and architecture, Ottoman law, Greek and British history, 18th- and 19th-century Hellenism, 19th- and 20th-century connoisseurship and aesthetic taste, the physics and chemistry of marble and its corrosion and decay, the career of Melina Mercouri, and the iconic political role of the British Museum.

Practitioners in every facet of our natural and cultural legacy are coming to realize how intricately heritage issues interlink. Issues of provenance, authenticity, protection, interpretation, display, commodification, legal title, restitution, repatriation, pillaging, illicit trade—to list but a few matters of moment—are hardly ever tidily circumscribed within any single sphere; instead they require conjoined insights.

The challenge here is how to surmount entrenched specialization, how to overcome academic apartheid. Heritage specialists need to be equipped with the combined insights of science, art, and history. Resource managers need to be made aware that the particular gems of nature and culture in their care are part and parcel of the interlinked spectrum of our entire global legacy. Every heritage professional should ideally be a polymath.

Fructifying Professional Commitment with Public Commitment

Well into the 1970s mainstream American heritage was chosen by, and pretty much limited to, a small elite that was overwhelmingly white, professional, affluent, and genteel. That elite's tastes reflected a patrician and patriotic nostalgia for icons of WASP America—colonial antiques, Greek- and Gothic-Revival architecture, sites and relics and memorials connected with the Founding Fathers and saviors of the Republic, with Manifest Destiny, and with milestones of progress. This was a heritage apotheosized at Independence Hall and the Washington Monument, Mount Vernon and Monticello, Rockefeller's Williamsburg and Ford's Dearborn.

Recent decades have seen mainstream American heritage enlarged and transformed almost beyond recognition by popular enthusiasm and populist assimilation. Proletarian voices previously unheard now out-shout the cognoscenti. Women, African Americans, Native Americans, and dozens of minorities today register—and what's more, reify—their own distinctive heritage preferences. Local and ethnic roots, craft lore and skills, folkways of food and dress, music and dance, sports and the media, collectibles of all aspects of popular culture have become integral to cultural resource stewardship. Indeed, once-despised humble origins lend such heritage special cachet.

Meanwhile, heritage now adjudged elitist is not erased but radically reinterpreted. The customary fables of the victors are supplanted by tales told by the victims. From historical markers to presidential homesteads and Civil War sites, revision is everywhere rife. To be sure, professional disdain for lay involvement—unenlightened, unskilled, avaricious, self-centered, dilettante—still persists. But populist preferences are now a major force in every aspect of heritage from museum acquisition and display to tourism.

Enhanced inclusiveness has two prime virtues: it brings to light valued heritage domains up to now unremarked or dismissed by professionals, and it affirms and sponsors heritage management as a public good. Indeed, widespread popular support is essential to sustain heritage stewardship over the long term.

The challenge here is to enable heritage expertise to serve this widely diversified new clientele. To do so calls for incorporating arts of communication and skills of give-and-take into heritage education. Every heritage professional should be trained to articulate technical issues in lay terms. Their most crucial task is to inform and alert officials, watchdogs, and voters—the ultimately decisive amateurs. At the same time, the public needs to be continually reminded that decision-making entails responsibility for making reasoned choices.

Balancing Preservation with Creation

Cultural resource management in previous generations was largely devoted to saving things—safeguarding for as long as possible legacies bequeathed to us from the past. But the emphasis on preservation tended to museumize and hence to ossify these precious relics. As a consequence, heritage was a realm set apart. Unlike the messy ongoing present, the cherished past was immortal, unchanging, congealed in amber, essentially lifeless.

Heritage today has developed into a far more vibrant and dynamic realm. We now feel that worthwhile legacies need to remain in continual flux. They require not only periodic renewal but selective replacement by new creations. Indeed, evolution is inescapable: all remnants and traces of the past suffer attrition from ongoing decay and erosion, annihilation by episodic accident

and cataclysm. Aging and death are the universal lot. And even while items of heritage physically endure, the passage of time implacably alienates us from what they signified for their makers and first possessors. In the end, most survivals cease to speak to us in any meaningful way, becoming only pale academic echoes of the messages they once conveyed. Of the adornments, the memorabilia, even the monuments of the past but a tiny fraction endure, and of those that do fewer still are esteemed as heritage.

Yet these losses are offset by manifold ongoing gains. Surviving heritage ever accretes new substances and accrues new meanings, its look and relevance altering for each successive inheritor. And fresh treasures expand our heritage trove in four distinct ways. First, discoveries ceaselessly surface from newly excavated or re-explored depths of land and sea. Second, relics and memories previously disregarded take on heritage value. Third, we acquire as heritage the residues and bygones of the immediate past. And fourth, we add our own creations to the heritage stock. Lamentable as heritage losses often seem, they are in the long run more than compensated by heritage gains.

We sustain organic touch with heritage not by striving to preserve its every vestige forever, but by accepting attrition and mortality as inevitable, and by pridefully adding our own creations to ancestral bequests. To care well for what we inherit we must form the habit of admiring our own works too—and, of necessity, making them worthy of admiration. Innovation is not the opposite of conservation but its indispensable adjunct.

The challenge here is to temper the clamorous demands of the immediate present with a compelling rationale for the claims of both past and future. Presentist bias is ingrained in today's social and political institutions. Individuals are too impotent, corporations too profit-bent, governments too dependent on instant pay-offs to care for cultural resources beyond the next election, let alone beyond our own lifetimes.

Stewardship is an ideal much preached but little practiced. Yet in reality stewardship not only benefits the future, it also enhances present worth: in caring for the well-being of our heirs and successors, we enrich the meaning of our own lives and strengthen our communal attachments. But effectual stewardship requires collaborative effort sustained over many generations.

Making Stewardship Integral to Everyday Life

Well aware that free enterprise and private property rights were American articles of faith, past conservation leaders habitually abstained from promoting programs of general land reform; they realized these would be unworkable. Instead they focused on perfecting the precious jewels they could control by government possession—Federal and State forest reserves, parks, and

wilderness areas. Here they sought, often with enviable success, to create exemplary sites of ecological, recreational, and scenic inspiration. However, these sites' intended exemplary function was long a total failure. Rather than becoming models for reforming the way land in general was managed, they were seen by the visiting public as uniquely sacred places utterly set apart from the everyday landscape.

Americans thus grew accustomed to think that only these special set-aside locales were worth conserving, and the rest of the country undeserving of attention save for narrow profit. So we ended up with a handful of superbly managed sites to view on holiday or admire from afar, and a run-of-the-mill everyday landscape devoid of control or care. This dichotomy entrenched the disastrous fallacy that only the unusual warranted saving; what was ordinary was worthless. It was socially as well as environmentally divisive, setting the rich against the rest, policed and gated elysiums against the unkempt disarray of everywhere else.

More recently, reserved public lands have helped inspire stewardship far beyond park boundaries. The outstanding gems of our country's natural, cultural, and spiritual resources now begin to exemplify, rather than to be set apart from, the everyday terrain of our ordinary places of work and play, travel and repose. We are now beginning to realize that resource stewardship of nature and culture and of both together cannot be only an occasional, one-off activity; it must be embedded in everyday behavior towards land, goods, the places we live in as well as those we visit and dream about. Not heritage professionals alone but all of us need and deserve a fulfilling environment enriched by past memories and future hopes.

The challenge here is to persuade individualistic Americans, more devoted than any other people to the total sanctity of private property, that a truly collaborative community is the seed-bed of stewardship that can enhance cultural resources for us all. Instilling stewardship into the fabric of daily life and thought is, in my view, our most imperative task today.

Conclusion: Global Perspectives

Finally, *CRM*'s bid to address linkages between heritage issues in the United States and those abroad is most welcome. Fully as consequential as the four trends discussed above is the growing globalization of heritage thinking, heritage skills, and the heritage market. The trend toward global fusion deserves special note because it flies in the face of the compartmentalized fashion in which heritage has traditionally been understood, valued, and used.

Heritage is famously personal, local, and national; each individual and group touts its own legacy, disdains that of others, and keeps outsiders—potential

claimants or interlopers or destroyers—at arm's length. We consider *our* heritage uniquely our own, different from and implicitly better than anyone else's. Possessiveness is inherent in heritage attachment. Hence claimants are bound to conflict, and controversy is exacerbated by feuds over the ownership and interpretation of contested heritage.

Today awareness is rising that much of the heritage we cherish is cherished in common. Moreover, its proper appraisal and interpretation—not to mention the nuts-and-bolts essentials of its management—require global cooperation. More and more we pool stewardship, expertise, and resources. Not only the fundamental elements of the world's natural heritage—woods and waters, soils and biotic systems—but the essential building-blocks of its cultural legacy—languages and lexicons, libraries and archives, museums and historic sites—are more and more seen as the entire planet's shared heritage.

The great challenge here is to overcome dog-in-the-manger chauvinism. Can the selfishness and jealousy innate to heritage passions be tamed or moderated in a mutual concern for a collaborative global commons? I trust that this journal will address how humanity can in concert elevate heritage from spoils of war into shared symbols of cosmopolitan diversity. For we owe our heritage, along with our biological and cultural ancestries, to a hybrid amalgam: the creative commingling of countless dreams and deeds.

David Lowenthal is author of *George Perkins Marsh, Prophet of Conservation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and many other books and articles on cultural heritage.

Por la encendida calle antillana: Africanisms and Puerto Rican Architecture[1]

by Arleen Pabón

Por la encendida calle antillana
Va Tembandumba de la Quimbamba.
Flor de Tortola, rosa de Uganda,
Por ti crepitan bombas y bámbulas;
Por ti en calendas desenfrenadas
Quema la Antilla su sangre ñáñiga.
Haití te ofrece sus calabazas;
Fogoses rones te da Jamaica;
Cuba te dice: dale mulata¡
Y Puerto Rico melao, melamba¡

Walking down the Antillean street
Goes Tembandumba from Quimbamba.[2]
Flower from Tortola, rose from Uganda,
Dances such as *bombas* and *bámbulas*
Crackle in your honor;
For you in uncontrolled *calendas*
The Antilles burn her *ñáñiga* blood.
Haiti offers you her pumpkins;
Jamaica gives you her rums;
Cuba directs you: Go on, *mulata*!
And Puerto Rico: *melao, melamba*!
(Translation by author.)

When Puerto Rican poet Luis Palés Matos wrote these well-known lines of his poem "Majestad Negra" (Black Majesty), he was trying to capture Tembandumba's impact as she walked down an Antillean street.[3] Thanks to his imagery, we can picture the effect of her provocative progress on the population. The alluring street has no name. The poem is about all streets, a metaphor for all Caribbean walks of life illuminated by African presence.

"Majestad Negra," like this paper, deals with intangibles. One of the key components of Puerto Rican culture is its African heritage, particularly in architecture. But, just as Tembandumba lives only in a poem, evidence of African impact on the island's architecture is barely tangible, dimly surfacing only when we interpret some rapidly disappearing ruins or a few old photographs.

This paper is about things that are no more. It deals with absence and tries to dislodge two cherished Western beliefs. First, (to use Nikolaus Pevsner's grand metaphor) only cathedrals and not bicycle sheds deserve academic scrutiny. Second, cultural significance by historic preservation standards is only embodied in physically identifiable artifacts.

Many years ago, when I first tried to understand why historic preservation (or architectural history for that matter) seldom dealt with aspects of *her*story (as opposed to *his*tory), I realized that many academics and preservation practitioners had a narrow vision. Take for example the historical development of Caribbean domestic architecture. Seldom is the topic academically explored; seldom, if ever, is it analyzed as a significant component of the region's cultural heritage. While a few Caribbean dwellings, most always examples of the big house, are presented as transplanted examples of grand European architecture, native and African influences are treated in a perfunctory manner, if at all. Simply put, the issue of architectural diversity has not been analyzed in a holistic fashion.

As a result, society fails to understand how the slave hut was able to breed as many, if not more, important domestic ideas as the big house. More significantly, we fail to consider the role that subordinate groups, such as women and, in this case, Puerto Ricans of African descent, played in the creation of the island's architectural heritage. African influence on Puerto Rican architecture is a non-subject in part because the following questions have not been addressed: Can an enslaved group contribute to a culture's architectural development? If this is possible, are huts and similarly unassuming structures culturally significant? How are physically absent architectural artifacts to be analyzed? Most importantly, is such analysis relevant in historic preservation?

For decades, only silence answered these questions. Unfortunately, a void in knowledge is construed as nonparticipation. The time has come to follow Tembandumba's lead and walk down the Antillean "street" of architectural knowledge, shedding light upon Africanisms present in Puerto Rican architecture.[4]

The Native Hut

By all accounts, Caribbean architecture mesmerized Spaniards when they first encountered it. They were surprised by the apparent fragility of the vernacular house, both in terms of form and materials. The climate and nomadic character of the natives dictated informal arrangements of spaces, as well as the use of natural materials.[5] It quickly became obvious that Columbus's enthusiastic description of Puerto Rican houses as "very good" (*muy buenas*) and able to "hold their place in Valencia" was not accurate.[6] The native hut, known throughout the Caribbean as the *bohío*, was a fairly simple arrangement of reeds, grass, bark, and foliage.[7]

FIGURE 1
In the background, under the balcony of the big house Hacienda Buenavista, Ponce, Puerto Rico, is the barracón *once inhabited by slaves. Hacienda Buenavista is presently owned by the Puerto Rico Conservation Trust. (Courtesy of the author.)*

Caribbean natives did not construct following Valencian or European architectural ideals; Columbus's lavish interpretation was atypical in the bevy of descriptions generated with time. There were no European-style aesthetic arrangements in the Caribbean native house. Ironically, the native's most common building was very similar to the Vitruvian hut: a makeshift affair, open to nature.[8]

When Europeans first came into contact with the North American continent, pristine spaces exhibited the lightness of the natives' touch. The absence of architectural bravado (a characteristic of European experience) and traditional associational ties created the illusion that the continent was architecturally mute. European architecture speaks diverse languages that, in turn, allow for

multiple interpretations. Since unpretentious structures like the *bohío* are *prima fasciae* devoid of the traditional character that reflects complex architectural language, many leading historians (then and now) believe that such structures lack relevance and significance. While it might not qualify for inclusion in Europe's architectural pantheon, the *bohío* became the basis for the island's most common architectural artifact, the Puerto Rican house.

There exists a well known, deep and complex interaction between building and culture. This is the case with all cultures, even "prehistoric" ones. More than a third of the world's population lives in structures made of mud, and a sizable number still lives in tents.[9] Are we to ignore these expressions or judge them by European standards?

In order to correctly evaluate the architectural significance of nontraditional architectural artifacts, we must abandon traditional Western models of interpretation. We need not follow Columbus's route of exaggeration. Rather, we should analyze how architecture expresses social and experiential diversity. It would be a mistake to consider Puerto Rico's humble abodes, whether erected by the indigenous Taino or immigrant Africans, to be mere instinctual solutions to the problem of survival. It is paradoxical that even the humblest of these artifacts, in trying to defy dangers implicit in living, is totemic of meaningful existence.

Certainly, some viewed the lack of architectural trappings as cultural inferiority, but not all. During the 18th century, Puerto Ricans[10] were described as "An abstraction of all ideas of progress and social obligations...*Ibaros* [*sic*] without truly understanding their negation of material things are the world's greatest philosophers, recognizing no need for artificial things."[11] Their abodes were then a reflection of a peculiar cultural response to both life and the pursuit of an existence. Labels such as "prehistoric" are secondary in this type of interpretative analysis. The drama of living is common to all humans, whether born millennia ago or centuries from now. The primary stage for this drama, whether located in the Caribbean or the Antipodes, is the artifact we call a house.

The African Experience

When slavery began in Puerto Rico in the 17th century, many slaves lived in *barracones*, where they experienced a total and degrading lack of privacy.[12] (Figure 1) Later, in the 19th century when sugar cane production was established in Puerto Rico, some slaves were allowed to have their own huts. In spite of its humble ethos, this hut, a condensation of native and African ideas, is iconic of a momentous cultural transformation. The hut provided something the *barracones* did not: a place where personal roots could be planted.

It is documented that Caribbean islanders followed—and still do—specific rites as they built their houses.[13] From Guadeloupe's ceremony marking the cutting

FIGURE 2
These twin Puerto Rican bohios are closely related to the native type. At a later date, wooden planks were used in the construction of the exterior walls. This change in materials was one of many transformations of the architectural type. (Unknown source, circa 1930-1940.)

down of the master post of the hut;[14] to the Puerto Rican phrase, *plantar jolcones*, which literally translates into "planting" the wooden structural posts; to Cuban religious ceremonies that took place at the construction site, this rite of passage was important. There was dignity associated with possession of a hut, even the simplest one, for it represented many hopes and dreams. It is paradoxical that so much feeling could go into such an architecturally basic form.

The native *bohio* had much in common with many African house types, enshrined in the memories of those who experienced the African diaspora. However, significant variations on the local prototype can be detected. Africanisms found their way into the native architectural experience partly because slaves were in charge of constructing their abodes.[15] As a result, past experiences and modes of construction were replicated in the new environment. After all, not only were there similarities in terms of climate, as Diego de Torres Vargas pointed out as early as 1647, but also in construction materials.[16] This approach should not cause surprise, for Europeans, just like Africans, followed the exact same pattern: architectural styling and construction techniques closely mimicked those found in their native land, in spite of climatic differences.

Most archeological findings corroborate historical descriptions of the Amerindian huts: a round or oval floor plan covered with a thatched roof and open-work wooden walls.[17] Consensus is not, however, as widespread regarding the idea that Europeans introduced the square or oblong hut to the island.[18] (Figures 2 and 3) We do know that the vernacular hut morphology experienced a transformation and that oblong (at times square) floor plans came to be preferred. Since the change was not the result of different construction materials or climatic conditions, the new preference is probably

FIGURE 3
Changes in the original Puerto Rican bohio type are evident here. A second unit next to the original one was a common solution to the needs of a growing family. (Unknown source, 1916.)

related to diverse experiences: from new construction techniques to religious and cultural ideas imported not from Europe but from Africa. The ideas did not reflect European construction techniques or native architectural expressions. Comparisons can be made with African building traditions, but more research and interpretative activities are needed in order to correlate the *bohío*'s development with architectural traditions present in African countries such as modern-day Nigeria, Congo, and Senegal.[19]

African experience also transformed the minimalist approach that characterized the native *bohío*. Most historical descriptions make a point of emphasizing its "open character," evidenced in most contemporary images. These houses, termed *bohíos* from the very early stages of the Spanish conquest, were described some decades later in the following manner: "Four tree trunks placed into the soil with smaller ones placed across, covered by dried *yaguas*, [raised] two to three feet from the ground to keep the humidity out and having a small staircase to enter the house." The description further mentions that no nails or other European fasteners were used and that the hut was completely open with only the sleeping area barely protected from the "excessive night air" (*fresco excesivo*). It was here the inhabitants slept, grouped together "like savages." There was no furniture, no table, no bed or crib, only *hamacas* made with "Mayagüez bark" (at a cost of two *reales*). The *ménage* was composed of instruments "provided by Nature," such as palm leaves, which were folded and sewn to make dining plates, wash basins, baskets used as commodes, and even funeral caskets for children.[20]

While in the United States, the slave cabin "recapitulated frontier architecture," in Puerto Rico, African descendants altered the native typology and made possible a new organization, both spatial and contextual.[21] As mentioned before, instead of the round floor plan common to the natives, the square or rectangle

was preferred. In addition, the makeshift, nomadic, native ethos was also transformed: as time went on, the *bohío* acquired more substance both in terms of materials and structural components. The most interesting transformation was a switch to a more introverted character. The transformed hut, in most cases, had no windows and only a small door to the interior.(Figure 4)

This lack of establishing direct connections with the exterior was a deviation from the native arrangement. Opening interiors to the outdoors is common in a tropical milieu, characterized by its hot, humid weather. Enclosure is probably a most relevant Africanism. Walls define boundaries: within them you have status, personal definition. If you were a slave, outside of the seemingly flimsy boundaries established by the walls of your *bohío* you had nothing and were considered nothing. The more openings present in a hut, the more transparency and lack of privacy experienced within the interior. For the enslaved population (and you were enslaved whether you were a slave, a freed slave, or an *arrimao*) the bright outdoor space was not their space but a cruel stage, a vivid reminder of the unfortunate situation that they experienced.[22] A dark, enclosed interior created a sense of intimacy that protected, to paraphrase Gaston Bachelard, the user's immense intimacy from prying eyes and the real world.[23] Completely enclosed spaces provide respite from the heat as well.

It is recorded that all over the Caribbean, in the few cases where windows do appear, blind shutters closed them, per African tradition, in marked contrast to fancy, more transparent European shutters.[24] When inside the *bohío*, you wanted to shut out the exterior, not to bring it in. This characteristic became an intrinsic part of the traditional Puerto Rican house. To this day, most windows, when shut, allow no light to come in.

FIGURE 4
The image depicts an evolved Puerto Rican bohio. *The use of wooden planks and metal (zinc) is characteristic of late 19th and early 20th century examples. The type, which incorporates Africanisms, is the transitional link between the native* bohio *and the vernacular Puerto Rican house. (Unknown source, circa 1930-1940.)*

FIGURE 5
Another example of an evolved bohio, *using wooden planks obtained from the palm tree (*tabla de costa *or* tabla de palma*). Notice the ramp-like artifact seen at the right of the image. (Unknown source, circa 1930-1940.)*

As a result of this desire for privacy, the entry point—the place where the conversion between public and private, profane and sacred, took place—was limited to one very small opening. Given that the entrance was considered a "weak" point in the desire for privacy and interior autonomy from the exterior, the access, when the floor was higher than the ground, was a small, roughly conceived wooden ramp or staircase.(Figure 5) It was common for the interior space to serve as a living-cum-sleeping place (such generic spaces were called *piezas* or *aposentos* by my grandmother) that either had a dirt floor or a wooden platform on stilts (*zocos*). Most lived *al fresco* most of the day, working on their labors. The desire to "forget" the reality of their lives could only be exercised at night, when their time was their own. At night they preferred a completely enclosed area in order to reinforce a sense of isolation from the "cruel stage."

The floor had a unique symbolism and, in keeping with its significance, had its own special name, *soberao*, a word of unknown origin.[25] The *soberao* is not just a floor but evidence of a dwelling locus. For a woman her *soberao* proved not only that she had a house but also that she was the lady of that house.[26]

In the United States, slaves at times insisted on a particular type of floor finish as an act of appropriation. Susan Snow, a former slave raised on a plantation in Jasper County, Mississippi, reported that most of the slave cabins had wooden floors, except the one that was assigned to her African-born mother: "My ma never would have no board floor like the rest of 'em, on 'count she was a

FIGURE 6
The older bohio *structure (at left) is smaller and has a dirt-packed floor. The newer structure is larger and raised on stilts* (zocos). *No windows are present in either of the* bohios. *(Unknown source, circa 1930-1940.)*

FIGURE 7
This structure was described as a bohio *made of wood and paja during the 1940s. It shows how the* bohio *morphology evolved with family needs. The structure with the porch can be considered a direct descendant of the* bohio *and precedent for the typical Puerto Rican vernacular house. (Unknown source, circa 1940s.)*

African—only dirt." By rejecting an apparent material "improvement," this woman recreated in her house an aspect of African domestic life with which she was more comfortable.[27]

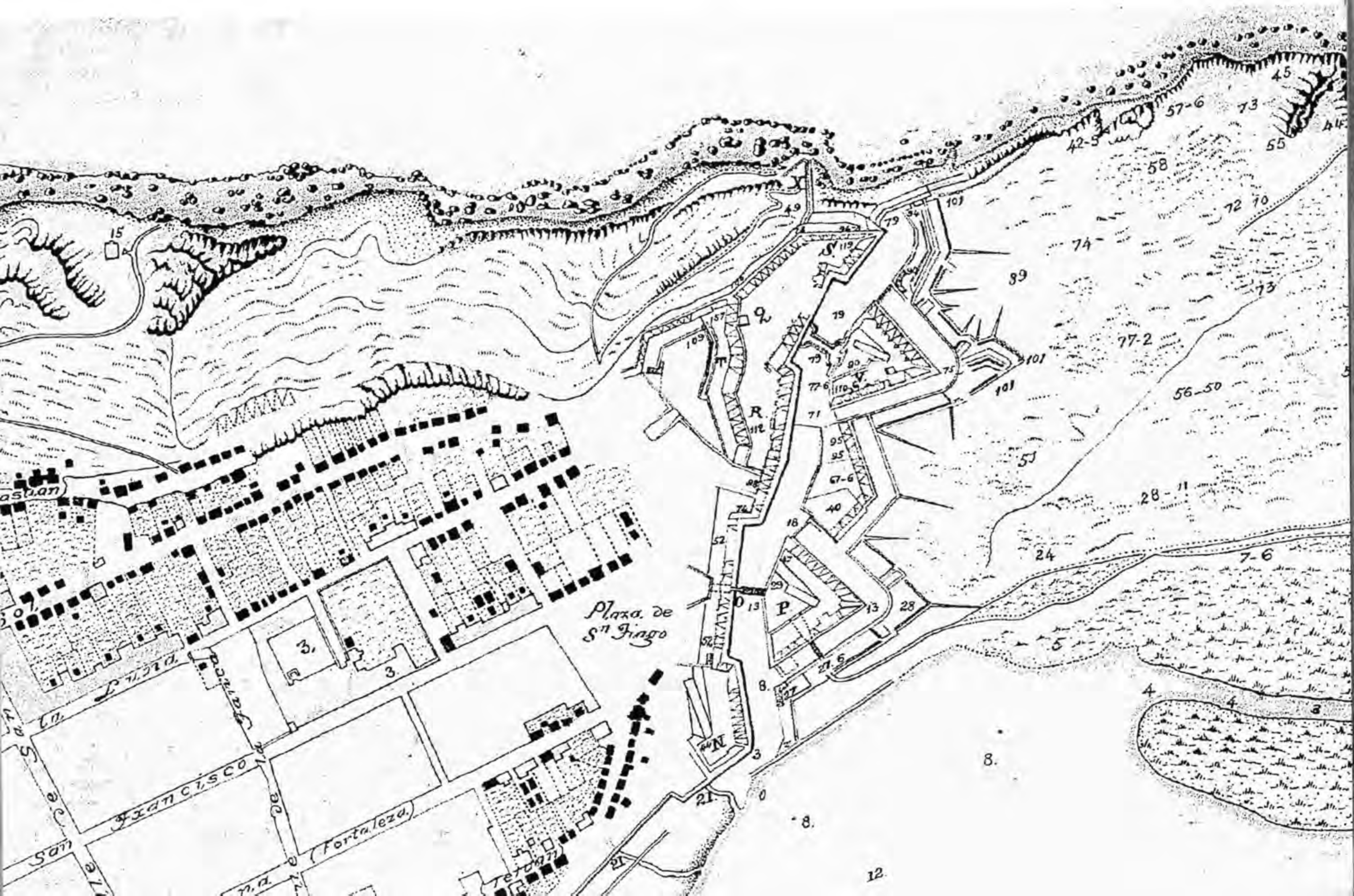
The feel and texture of the dirt against bare feet, the smell of packed earth, and the darkness enveloping these sensations were probably a reminder of the long-gone African past. In Puerto Rico, the dirt floor slowly evolved into the raised floor surface, a solution aimed at providing protection against tropical rain and the ever-constant humidity. However, there is evidence that dirt floors were used well into the 20th century.(Figure 6)

A *bohío* was more than just a shelter; it was a womb-like setting that provided comfort by means of privacy. The *bohío* experimented with minimalist architectural ideas and its unique personality was the result of importing the African architectural experience into the domain of the native house.[28] At a later stage, other Africanisms were introduced, such as the emphasis on the long axis and special decorations on the main facade. When these traditions fused with other ideas (such as the Anglo-American grille), the unique Puerto Rican house came to be.(Figure 7) Most examples of the hut type are long gone but their architectural influence is still with us in every solidly closed window and in every street used as a *batey* (patio) by children and grownups alike.

On the island, cooking was considered a communal affair and, once again, Africanisms transformed the native experience: the Taíno *batey* became a common area shared by the *bohíos* that help organize it. Contrary to European plaza standards, this iconic space did not follow any particular geometric layout. It was an informal place to work, chat, cook, play, and, on occasions, dance. It is interesting to note that balconies, the paradigmatic European architectural domestic interior/exterior artifact, are not present in the African-Puerto Rican hut. On the island, Europeans used balconies as visual instruments of order and power. In the countryside they acted as a platform from where the activities of the farm (*hacienda*) could be inspected. In the city they helped maintain the purdah system, being the only exterior place a woman could venture on her own without male escort. In both cases, they represented something foreign, seldom experienced by the group under study: a place to spend time at ease. The communal *batey* was the equivalent of the European balcony: it acted both as architectural signifier and signified.

The lack of interest in formal arrangement evidenced in the *batey* is parallel to the way the group related to the city. Even in the tightly restricted San Juan urban area, the free African-Puerto Rican population chose to express themselves in a different manner. It is interesting to note that the barrio where most lived was distinguished by its own name.[29] In a historic plan of the area, we discover that the individual houses do not follow the rigid grid layout that characterizes the rest of the urban enclave.[30] (Figure 8)

As the orthogonal arrangement can still be seen today, the domestic units deconstruct the grid. In fact, some houses in the area still have small front gardens, something unheard of in the rest of the city.[31] This is the only preserved physical evidence we have of an urban Africanism on the island, an example of self-expression by a subordinate class. It is indeed curious how, even in the structured and standardized European grid milieu, the group's identity was preserved.



Plaza de
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Francisco

On Things Unseen

Not all things are visible like small front gardens or old photographs of *bohios*. There are things unseen regarding the African impact upon Puerto Rican architecture, things for which we lack physical evidence. Contemporary society is said to be guided by phonocentrism, described as a partiality or a favoring of physicality. As a result, physicality—interpreted, on many occasions, as that which is more common—represents truth and reality. The interpretation that something stands for "reality" just because it is more common, makes possible the construction of many different types of binaries: being/not being, presence/absence, male/female, white/black, among others. As Jacques Derrida and others have explained, such binary oppositions favor the "groundly" term or the construction that supposedly articulates the fundamentals.[32] In this manner, distorted conclusions may be reached.

FIGURE 8
This section of the Plano de la Plaza de San Juan de Puerto Rico y sus ymmediaciones [sic]...*depicts the area within the old San Juan urban core where African descendants settled. The original plan is dated 1771 and was copied in 1880. (National Archives and Records Administration, RG 71.)*

Unfortunately, architectural phonocentrism affects historic preservation methdologies. We tend to ascribe cultural significance to artifacts that we can see or, at the most intangible, to places directly related to events we define as significant or to sites that we believe physically represent historic events. If we do some soul searching, we realize that we are really in the business of preserving tangibles. Yet tangibles are a trap that cause us to believe that only "real things" (as in physical) matter. This is particularly the case regarding architecture.

On occasion, I define architecture to my students using Martin Heidegger's dwelling concept that, naturally, requires presence. It seems to follow that if architecture requires presence, so do historic preservation activities.[33] Is this true? Is cultural significance exclusively tied to the presence of an object? Most of the time, our answer to this last question is yes. That is one of the reasons why many Underground Railroad resources do not qualify as historic resources: we do not have a string of architectural or archeological "things" we can see that are related to them. Curiously, because of our architectural phonocentrism, even when we see, we fail to understand.

Ruins of *barracones* have a paradigmatic presence in many Puerto Rican *haciendas*.(Figure 9) While the various names attributed to these structures should alert us, most specialists miss the point regarding the cultural significance of these structures. These places are more than just ruins of storage areas because, in many cases, slaves also used them as dwelling places. The absence of traditional domestic architectural accoutrements clouds our understanding. Interpreted solely as storage areas, they are perceived as architectural symbols of commercial ventures, as examples of specific construction techniques...as everything except the homes of slaves. More importantly, understood as mere storage areas and not as slaves' dwellings, no research activities are undertaken on their other possible histories. As a result, no urgent need arises to preserve the half dozen that still remain on the island.

FIGURE 9
Puerto Rican barracones *were originally made of the same materials as the* bohio. *As time went on, metal sheets were used to reinforce the durability of the exterior walls. (Unknown source, circa 1930-1940.)*

FIGURE 10
The cotton benfeficiando *at Hacienda La Esmeralda, Santa Isabel, Puerto Rico, sheltered the cotton gin. Of special interest is its elegant temple front facade and corner pilasters. (Courtesy of the author.)*

FIGURE 11
The fields in the Manati area of Puerto Rico were worked by slave labor in cultivating sugar. (Courtesy of the author.)

FIGURE 12
Hacienda La Esperanza, Manatí, Puerto Rico, in spite of its present ruinous state, was one of the most important sugar mills on the island worked by slave labor. The property is owned by the Puerto Rico Conservation Trust. (Courtesy of the author.)

All languages, including architecture, are symbols of a mental experience that consists both of sensory and mental perceptions. Architecture is more than a physical artifact and it follows that its "reality" is constructed of more than just stones and bricks or design ideas. There exist supplemental components, like the intangible "baggage" implicit in cultural diversity to mention just one. As preservationists working with the past for the future we have a cultural exigency: we must question traditional interpretations, dislodge assumed certitudes, and deconstruct undivided points of view. How are we to do this? Let us accept Derrida's recommendation and privilege feelings over physicality.

Conclusion

Buildings are a necessity of the metaphysics of presence. Hence their historical significance: they are physically identifiable. Cultural heritage, however, is formed not only of thoughts expressed physically but also of emotions. Furthermore, absent architectural artifacts might still be audible precisely because of their silence. Regarding Africanisms and Puerto Rican architecture, I believe in privileging absence over presence.

Some structures are more than just *barracones* sitting in the meadows.[34] (Figure 10) Some empty fields are more than just old and now abandoned agricultural areas. These places need to be interpreted in a manner similar to historic battlefields. We preserve battlefields because, for a relatively short interval, something important happened there. Ruins and many abandoned

fields are landmarks in the same manner as battlefields.(Figures 11 and 12.) In these places—in every sugar, coffee, or cotton row—a battle was fought every hour of every day, every week, every year, for several centuries. The battle was for things sacred: individual dignity and freedom. These sites, including the few known resting places of the enslaved population, are truly battlefields of honor, where blood and sweat were spent.(Figure 13) Because of this, they are a significant component of Puerto Rican and Caribbean cultural memory.

FIGURE 13
Unrecognized by most people, this is the site of the slave cemetery at Hacienda La Esperanza, Manati, Puerto Rico. (Courtesy of the author.)

Thanks to poetry, Tembandumba's personality and charm are preserved for posterity. The sites and architectural memories that evidence Africanisms present in Puerto Rican architecture are not. We need to preserve them or else risk forgetting one of Puerto Rican culture's most fascinating and elusive histories.

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Notes

1. This essay is based on a paper presented at the National Park Service's "Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape" conference convened in Atlanta, Georgia, in May 2001. The author wishes to thank Professors Rafael A. Crespo and Andrew Chin, Antoinette J. Lee, Brian D. Joyner, and Frederic Rocafort-Pabón for their help and interest.

2. It is possible that "Quimbamba" refers to Quimbombo, the Congo (from Ganga) word for Gondei. Lydia Cabrera, *Vocabulario Congo (El Bantu que se habla en Cuba)* (Miami: Daytona Press, 1984), 134.

3. Luis Pales Matos, *Tuntun de Pasa y Griferia* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Biblioteca de Autores, Puertorriqueños, 1950), 65-66. The poem, "Majestad Negra" (Black Majesty) is taught in grade schools throughout Puerto Rico and most school children know it by heart.

4. Joseph Holloway, ed., *Africanisms in American Culture* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), ix, defines Africanisms as, "[E]lements of culture found in the New World traceable to African origin." Quoted in Brian D. Joyner, *African Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Africanisms* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2003), 2.

5. In prehistoric Puerto Rico, the use of stone as a construction material was limited to carved *menhirs* usually placed around ceremonial areas known as *bateyes* (*parques ceremoniales* or *canchas*). Archeological excavations also show that stone was used in the construction of some roads (*calzadas*).

6. Christopher Columbus's much-contested letter to the Spanish queen and king mentions that the "houses" were decorated with "nets" and surrounded with "fences," as apparently (only to him) was common in the Valencia region.

7. In Cuba, the *bohío* is described as a humble structure made of the different parts of the palm tree. Oswaldo Ramos, *Diccionario popular Cubano* (Madrid: Agualarga Editores S L, 1997), 27. Other construction materials are mentioned in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 22nd edition (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2001). According to this second source, the word *bohío* is Taino in origin and describes a rustic architectural artifact made of wood and branches or reeds that has just one opening. (In contrast, the *caney*, another Taino word, describes similar structures [*cobertizo*] without walls.) Note that this is a description of the evolved *bohío*. The words *buhío* or *bugío* were also used in the past. Manuel Álvarez Nazario, *El habla campesina del país Orígenes y desarrollo del español en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1990), 330. In this essay, the word *bohío* is used to both describe the original native and developed forms (which includes Africanisms). The English word "hut" is used interchangeably.

8. Many writers and essayists espouse the idea that the primeval hut is central to the development of architecture. See Vitruvius, *De re architectura libri decem*; Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*; Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*; Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise*, among others. Philosophers and theorists follow suit, including Martin Heidegger and Christian Norberg-Schulz. It is my belief that the *bohío* is the Caribbean interpretation of the "primitive hut" or *choza primitiva*. My colleague, Dr. Rafael A. Crespo, refers to the Vitruvian paradigm as the *choza rústica*. (According to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, *cabaña* is synonym for *choza*.)

9. Dora P. Crouch and June G. Johnson, *Traditions in Architecture Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 25.

10. One might question whether or not the full-fledged collective Puerto Rican "personality" had congealed by the 18th century. In my opinion and from an architectural point of view, by this time (two centuries plus after initial European and African presence on the island) the personality was identifiable, as the evolution of special domestic types and the use of the word *ibaros* [*sic*] (*jíbaro*) in this quote suggest.

11. Notes taken from an old manuscript on Caribbean islands kept at the General Library of the University of Havana, Cuba, in 1990. Even though I am unable to specifically name the source (it was presented to me as a bunch of pages with a sort of ribbon loosely binding them), I do remember that there were no page numbers or illustrations, as well as no formal title page. The historic character of the document, written in Spanish, however, was obvious. Since the library strives to preserve valuable documents, it is possible that the manuscript was acquired in this incomplete state. I translated the quoted text.

12. Also known on the island as *barracas*, *cuartéles*, *cuartélones*, and, at times, *ranchos*.

13. In the Spanish-speaking islands, these structures were known principally as *bohío* but also as *ranchito*, *casita*, *mediagua*, and *mediagüita*. Manuel Álvarez Nazario, *El habla campesina del país Orígenes y desarrollo del español en Puerto Rico*, p 331. Cubans of Congo heritage also used the following terms: *nso*, *sualo*, *nusako*, and *kansesa*. (Curiously, tombs were known as *kabalonga* (*casa honda*) or "deep house.") L. Cabrera, *Vocabulario Congo (El Bantu que se habla en Cuba)*, 46.

14. The post is called *pied-bois d'ail*. Jack Berthelot and Martine Gaumé, *Kaz Antiyé Jan Moun Reté* (Paris: Editions Caribéennes, 1982), 85. To "plant" means placing the vertical wooden post (*horcón*) that serves as a column and sustains the main roof beam (*cumbrera* or *cumblera*) and the overhangs (*aleros*). Arleen Pabón de Rocafort, *Dorado: Historia en Contrastes* (Dorado, Puerto Rico: Municipality of Dorado, 1988).

15. The island's construction workforce consisted primarily of slaves and prisoners. An estimated 17 percent of the slave trade was destined for the Spanish territories in America, while an additional 40 percent was directed to European-held islands in the Caribbean, which included Spanish colonies.

16. "Descripción de la Isla y Ciudad de Puerto Rico" sent to the King by Diego de Torres Vargas on April 23, 1647, quoted in Coll y Toste, *Boletín Histórico*, IV, 258. De Torres drew a comparison between the island and Angola. Palm leaves, reeds, *yaguas*, and *guano* are mentioned as local construction materials. (This poses an interesting dilemma for it is well

documented that palm trees are not native to the island.) Although some historians mention that mud was used as in Africa, the material as construction material is not associated with Puerto Rico.

17. David Buisseret, *Historic Architecture of the Caribbean* (London: Heinemann, 1980), 1. Buisseret's description matches those of Fray Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia Geográfica, Civil y Natural de la Isla de San Juan de Puerto Rico*; Pedro Tomás de Córdova, *Memorias Geográficas, Históricas, Económicas y Estadísticas de la Isla de Puerto Rico*; and Obispo Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, among others.

18. Buisseret, *Historic Architecture of the Caribbean*, is one of several that credits Europeans with this idea. A notable exception is presented by J. Berthelot and M. Gaumé, *Kaz Antiyé Jan Moun Rété* since they believe that this morphology is an architectural Africanism. This idea is reinforced by John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993). According to Vlach, the shotgun arrangement is an Africanism. While I do not feel that the shotgun interior arrangement is solely an African contribution, the emphasis on rectangular spatial arrangements seems to be something characteristic to the African architectural experience, even if not unique to it.

19. Many Puerto Rican slaves came from these areas.

20. Notes taken from an old manuscript on Caribbean islands kept at the General Library of the University of Havana, Cuba, in 1990. It is interesting to note the specifics mentioned, such as the use of "Mayagüez bark" (Mayagüez is a town located on the west coast of the island). Humble interiors characterized most domestic establishments on the island. As late as 1899, for example, the "big house" was described in the following fashion—

Even the finest haciendas *are meager and barren in their interior fittings. The floors are always bare. The walls have few pictures, though now and then one is surprised to see a clever painting by one of the masters of the modern French school. The usual wall decoration is a pair of Spanish bas-reliefs, in colored plaster or* papier mache. *Chromos and vilely executed woodcuts often make an appearance, and seem out of place with the oftentimes beautiful architectural finish of the drawing-rooms, whose windows, door less archways are framed in carved woods and relieved of severity by scroll latticework.*

William Dinwiddie, *Puerto Rico; Its Conditions and Possibilities* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899), 147.

21. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Spencer Crew, and Cynthia Goodman, *Unchained Memories: Readings from the Slave Narratives* (Boston: Bulfinch Press, 2002), 67-68.

22. An *arrimao* (from the Spanish *arrimado*) was allowed to work a small plot that belonged to someone else. Payment was part of whatever was produced. Although not considered serfs, their life was extremely harsh as they were subjected to all sorts of uncertainties and economic hardships. It should be noted that in 1899 the institution was still prevalent and described in the following fashion—

House-rent is an almost unknown factor in the country, though in towns many people huddle in to one house and live, amid dirt and disease, at the expense to each family of a few pesos a month. It is customary for landed proprietors to grant to their peons small patches, on the steep hillsides, which are of little value for tillage. This meets the end of assuring their services to the plantation-owners upon demand, with no expense to himself, and secures him the éclat of being apparently a philanthropist.

See Dinwiddie, *Puerto Rico; Its Conditions and Possibilities*, 157.

23. Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at How We Experience Intimate Places* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994).

24. The most relevant exponents of this theory are Berthelot and Gaumé, *Kaz Antiyé Jan Moun Rété*.

25. There exist all kinds of interpretations about the origins of this word. According to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, in Andalucía and America, *soberado* describes an attic (*desván*). It is possible that some connection was made between an attic-like place and the floor of the house, particularly since many houses were placed on stilts. In 1765, houses on the island were described in the following manner—

Para aquellos días tienen unas casas que parecen palomares, fabricadas sobre pilares de madera con vigas y tablas: estas casas se reducen en un par de cuartos, están de día y noche abiertas, no habiendo en las mas, puertas ni ventanas con que cerrarlas: son tan poco sus muebles que en un instante se mudan: las casas que están en el campo son de la misma construcción, y en poco se aventajan unas a otras.

In these days they have houses that resemble pigeon coops built on top of wooden posts with wooden beams and slats: these houses are minimal and consist of a pair of rooms, they are open night and day, and they do not have doors or windows to close them: their furniture is so limited that they can move in an instant: the houses in the countryside have the same type of construction and they are not much better." (Translation by author.)

Appendix II, 1765 "Memoria de Don Alejandro O'Reilly sobre la isla de Puerto Rico," in L. Figueroa, *Breve Historia de Puerto Rico*, Vol. I (Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, Inc., 1979), 463-468. According to Manuel Álvarez Nazario, *El habla campesina del país Orígenes y desarrollo del español en Puerto Rico*, 333, the words originally described the interior generic space and with time came to be associated with the floor surface. There seems to be no definitive interpretation of whether or not the word was used to describe all floors, including dirt-packed floors.

In 1863, a house appearing behind a lady on horseback in the painting *Hacienda de Puerto Nuevo* by Puerto Rican painter José Campeche, was described as having stilts: *Un bohío o casa de campo sobre pilares altos de capá o ausubo. José Campeche 1751-1809* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1971), 24-26. It is interesting to note that the word *bohío* also was used to describe houses in the countryside belonging to the upper social strata. Curiously, similar structures can be found in the northern part of Spain (Galicia). Called *hórreos*, they are usually used as storage or drying areas.

26. Some years ago, when visiting one of these abodes, I observed that the lady of the house retained her untidy *soberao*, formed of rough wooden planks. At first, I was surprised with her situation. Now, I understand that the *soberao* proves that you have a place of your own (even if you are an *arrimao* and the land belongs to another person). My friend Gloria M. Ortiz, former historical architect for the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office, had a similar experience when visiting the house of a *santero* artisan.

27. John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, 165. Susan Snow's quote comes from: Norman R. Yetman, ed., *Life Under the "Peculiar Institution": Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), 61, 144. A former slave described living conditions in the following manner: "Parsons Rogers come to Texas in '63 and bring 'bout 42 slaves and my first work was to tote water in the field. Parsons lived in a good, big frame house, and the niggers lived in log houses what had dirt floors and chimneys, and our bunks has rope slats and grass mattress." Gates Jr., Crew, and Goodman, *Unchained Memories: Readings from the Slave Narratives*, 81. No mention is made in this case whether or not the dirt-packed floor was a personal choice of the cabin's inhabitant.

28. One of the theses of this paper is that the *bohío* had a profound influence on Puerto Rican domestic architecture. During the 1940s they still represented a formidable presence—

In sharp contrast to the massive, solid structures of the cities are the bohíos, *or cabins of the country people, constructed in much the same manner as the aboriginal homes of the Indians which the Spaniards found on their arrival. The real* bohío, *raised a few feet above the ground on stilts, is made from palm thatch, with one or at the most two rooms, and sometimes a lean-to kitchen, where cooking is done over a charcoal fire. Furniture is scant and simple, consisting mostly of hammocks, pallets, or perhaps cot beds with* colchonetas *(quilts) thrown over the springs. Usually the interior walls are brightened by gay pictures from illustrated magazines and newspapers. The crude construction of these humble homes is offset by a profusion of flowers and*

blossoming vines. Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, *Puerto Rico: A Guide to the Island of Boriquen*, 118.

29. Culo Prieto was roughly located to the east of the San Juan urban core, sandwiched between the city and the only land gate. It was roughly located between Sol, Luna, and San Francisco Streets east of de Tanca Street and west of the San Cristóbal fortification.

30. The plan used for this analysis is an 1880 copy of a 1771 document. The copy was prepared by Francisco J. de Zaragosa and dated December 9, 1880. The American administration copied the copy (provided to them by Mr. Morales on tracing paper) dating it to October 16, 1908. The original third copy is housed at the National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, Record Group 71, "Plano de la Plaza de San Juan de Puerto Rico y sus ymmediaciones [*sic*]...")

31. In San Juan, street facades typically opened directly onto the street (now sidewalks). During the 20th century, the streets of the area under scrutiny were formally laid. Since some facades did not directly align, small gardens were inserted between the facades and the street proper. This is how evidence of the former deconstruction of the orthogonal grid is preserved.

32. The concept of the "Other" is amply analyzed in Simone de Beauvoir's *The Other Sex*, Edward Said's *Orientalism*, and Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color* and *Barbarian Virtues*.

33. Several countries recognize this issue and designate as places worthy of preservation locales that lack definitive presence of artifacts constructed by humans. Unesco recently adopted the International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In the United States, recent preservation efforts along these lines include the Trail of Tears, a significant symbolic landscape.

34. At the time that I presented this paper in its original form, I was acting as a preservation consultant for a project that was to be located on the ruins of an early 19th-century cotton *beneficiado* at Hacienda La Esmeralda in Santa Isabel, Puerto Rico. I collaborated with the architect, Abel Misla, in the creation of a new building that frames the ruins in a compatible and sensitive manner. The archeological ruins of the big house were found next to the *beneficiado* ruins, perhaps reinforcing the idea that the *beneficiado* might have housed slaves. The rehabilitation project won the premio a la Excelencia de Diseño prize from the Colegio de Arquitectos y Arquitectos Paisajistas de Puerto Rico [Puerto Rican Architects Association].

An Interview with Russell V. Keune

(Courtesy of Russell V. Keune)

Russell V. Keune (RVK) served the historic preservation community from the 1960s through the 1990s in key positions at the National Park Service, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the United States Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS). His career also covered local preservation activities, including the Arlington County (Virginia) Historical Affairs and Landmark Review Board, as well as international work, through the International Relations Office of The American Institute of Architects (AIA). Although he retired from the AIA in 1999, Keune continues to volunteer and travel for the AIA, most recently to Japan and Turkey. Keune received his B.Arch. and M.Arch. degrees from the University of Illinois in 1961 and 1965, respectively. In recognition of his national and international contributions to historic preservation, Keune is a fellow of The American Institute of Architects and US/ICOMOS. Antoinette J. Lee (AJL), CRM Journal *Editor, interviewed Mr. Keune's at his Arlington, Virginia, home on May 23, 2003.*

AJL: Would you tell us about growing up in Chicago? When did you decide to become an architect?

RVK: I was born and raised in Chicago and attended Chicago's public schools. My neighborhood—Mount Clare—was just north of Oak Park. I frequently saw Frank Lloyd Wright's works, especially his home and studio. It is ironic that later in my career I would have a hand in securing it for the National Trust.

After World War II, my father loved to travel and we took many family car trips. That was my introduction to a good part of the United States. One place I remember in particular was an early visit to Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan. I spent a lot of time going to museums in Chicago—particularly the Museum of Science and Industry, the Field Museum, and the Chicago Historical Society.

I enjoyed drawing so my mother enrolled me in The Art Institute in Chicago for summer courses. I first thought about becoming an architect during my senior year in high school, when I had an influential drafting teacher.

During the summers, I worked as a messenger for the Inland Press. One of our clients was near where Mies van der Rohe's 900 Esplanade complex was going

up. Another was across the street from Skidmore, Owings & Merrill's Inland Steel Building, also under construction. Watching those buildings go up was really interesting, and that coupled with the drawing lessons led me to consider architecture as a career.

AJL: Tell us something about your education at the University of Illinois and influential professors who encouraged you to go into preservation.

RVK: The University of Illinois had a good architecture school. My undergraduate goal was not historic preservation; it was contemporary design. I was pretty good at it. I was an undergraduate student there from 1956 to 1961, a 5-year program in architecture. I was elected to the Gargoyle, the architectural honorary society, and graduated with high honors.

The most influential professor I had was Ernest Allen Connally. I had him the first semester that he taught there in 1956-57. He was really inspirational as an architectural history professor. He made the subject come alive. He was the only professor I had who received a standing ovation at the end of the course from the students. I won the Ricker Medal in Architectural History for my paper on the architectural history of the 1933-34 Chicago Century of Progress International Exposition.

The other major influence was a design studio taught by Edward Deam who had studied at the University of Pennsylvania with Louis Kahn. He was the first professor I had who took a class on a field trip to see completed contemporary architecture. We went to Detroit to the then-new Saarinen General Motors Technical Center, Yamasaki's McGregor Memorial Conference Center at Wayne State University, and others. He taught us how to look at building details and observe how materials joined together and how important detailing was to the success of a building. He really taught students how to look at buildings and how to appreciate them.

The turning point occurred when Ernest Connally in the spring of 1958 announced that applications were being taken for something called the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). He invited students to see him if they were interested in this opportunity. I was in an art studio with a fellow classmate, Malcolm Smiley, who had been on a HABS team the summer before and his experience really sounded interesting. I did not have a job for the summer and it was time to get a job related to architecture, so I signed up.

Ernest Connally had been commissioned by Charles Peterson to conduct the inventory of Cape Cod architecture, particularly the residential buildings. This was when Cape Cod National Seashore was in its early stages. Connally wrote me a note giving me Charles Peterson's address in Philadelphia. I wrote to Peterson, got an application, applied, and was accepted. I ended up on

the team that was assigned to the then Harpers Ferry National Monument.

The Harpers Ferry project was one among many HABS projects that benefited from the National Park Service Mission 66 program. Mission 66 included not just new buildings, but preservation. We were producing "as is" drawings and recording historic buildings in Harpers Ferry that were going to be preserved. What was inspiring about Harpers Ferry was that is was the first time that I worked at a national park and there was a huge number of historians, archeologists, architects, and rangers around. We had a team of six students and our supervisor was F. Blair Reeves. It was his first summer as a supervisor and he was determined to produce a record number of drawings by a HABS team. He worked us very hard, but he was an inspired leader and became a lifelong friend.

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While in Harpers Ferry, we stayed at the Hilltop Hotel. We met all the town characters and many National Park Service staff. Blair and his wife, Mary Nell, were absolutely fantastic in their devotion to the team. They took us on trips on the weekends to Baltimore, Washington, DC, Charlottesville, and all over. It was a thoroughly enjoyable summer. And we did produce a record number of drawings!

I went back to school after this experience without any further thoughts about pursuing historic preservation. But then Charles Peterson came after me because he said that I was one of the fastest and best draftsmen he had encountered on a HABS team. The next summer, I was offered a position in Deerfield, Massachusetts, to participate in a big thematic survey of the Connecticut River Valley. We were in the lower Connecticut Valley. The team was housed at Dartmouth College in the upper Connecticut Valley. Harley McKee was supervisor of this project. One of my team members was George Wrenn. He was with the National Park Service in Philadelphia and later with the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

While in Deerfield, I had a chance to take a grand tour of New England: travel to Boston and down to Rhode Island, New York City, and New Haven. Blair Reeves was running a team in Baltimore and met us in New York. I

remember that the Seagram Building was just being finished and he sneaked us in through the kitchen so we could see the interior. This was the kind of thing he was good at. That summer I met Cervin Robinson, the distinguished photographer, who was commissioned to photograph the buildings in Deerfield. Again, the summer was a rewarding experience.

After I returned to school, Peterson asked me to return the following summer. In the summer of 1960, I ended up in the mid-coast Maine survey, again with Blair Reeves as supervisor, based at Rockland in the Farnsworth Museum. Our sponsor, the retired Chicago architect Ambrose Kramer, was happy to have three architectural students and Blair Reeves there all summer. He owned a boat and served as a gracious host, taking us on weekend sailing trips throughout Penobscot Bay. It was an enriching experience and I was pretty well hooked on a preservation career. Blair was also a great publicist for the program. A local newspaper did a story on the team, which prompted a local club to invite Blair to speak. He always included the students, which was a great opportunity to meet the businessmen and put up an exhibit of our work. The word on our work spread and we received many more invitations and had a huge exhibit at the Farnsworth Museum at the end of the summer.

AJL: When you graduated, did you go to work fulltime for HABS?

RVK: Charles Peterson offered me a job even before I graduated. He asked me to come to work as a restoration architect for the National Park Service. The Royal Academy of Danish Architecture was coming to the Virgin Islands to do a huge documentation study of Danish colonial architecture. He wanted me to serve as liaison between the academy and the National Park Service. At the last minute, the Royal Academy canceled or deferred its plans. Peterson sent me back to Harpers Ferry. It was different to go back there as an employee and in the winter.

The following summer, I ran my own HABS team to document the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. I was an employee of the then Eastern Office of Design and Construction based out of Philadelphia. Then came the Berlin crisis and I was called up to be drafted. I was found to be 4-F and thus exempt from the draft, which gave me a newfound freedom. I had been in correspondence with classmates who had gone West. It was time for me to try something else, so I decided to go West as well.

Peterson invited me to Philadelphia for Tom Vint's retirement party. Vint had been the long-time head of design and construction in the National Park Service. Peterson called me into his office and asked me what I was going to do out West. I said I was going out there and look around. Peterson said that he needed someone in a week to go to San Juan because the U.S. Army was surplusing the San Juan fortifications and turning them over to the

Department of the Interior. It was happening very fast and he wanted someone to watch as the Army moved out. I had not been in that part of the world before and agreed to undertake this project. I got there and my stay was extended several times. The National Park Service needed drawings done, offices installed, and the electrical systems upgraded. This was my first solo assignment that involved onsite historic preservation work. On the weekends, I traveled to nearby islands to see the colonial architecture and the culture.

After completing that assignment, Charles Peterson offered me work at Minute Man National Historical Park in Massachusetts. The park was new and needed an architect to document the buildings that were being acquired. I ran a HABS team there the following summer. I also worked at Salem Maritime National Historic Site and did a little work on the Adams National Historic Site.

In 1963, I decided to get a master's degree in architectural history. At the time, there were virtually no graduate programs in historic preservation. I wrote to Ernest Connally and Alan Laing at the University of Illinois. They encouraged me, and with Herman Pundt, let me structure a master's program in architecture that focused on my interest in restoration architecture and historic preservation. I was also able to get a teaching assistantship that covered my tuition.

Through National Trust publications, I saw an announcement for something called the Seminar for Historical Agency Administrators in Williamsburg, Virginia. I didn't have any specific summer plans for 1964. This program interested me because it related to what I was pursuing. I applied and became the first architect ever accepted. I went to Williamsburg for 6 weeks and got to know William J. Murtagh, the seminar's director. The seminar was a transforming experience. The seminar introduced me to the broader world of historic preservation and the leaders in the field. I knew that I could not go back to being a draftsman or a purely technical person. There was a larger world out there. Later in my career, while at the National Trust, I would direct the seminar.

Another major event of my graduate school days was the Plym Fellowship in Architecture, founded and endowed by an alumnus. The Plym is based on the Beaux-Arts tradition of the Grand Tour of Europe. Each year, two candidates were selected competitively based on their academic record as an undergraduate and professional record since graduation. I entered the competition with the encouragement of Alan Laing and with historic preservation/restoration as the focus of my entry. No one had ever entered the competition on that basis before. I was stunned when I won. I went to Europe for 6 months. I left in February of 1965 and returned in August. I outlined a course of interest to be pursued, developed an itinerary, and submitted monthly reports and another one at the end that described what I had seen. I went all over Europe and

focused on historic preservation. I bought a car and had introductions to professionals at Unesco, monuments, and restoration services, and to leading figures in many countries. The Marais project in Paris was just in the formative stages at that point. I looked at adaptive use and integrating new design into older areas. The fellowship was another transforming experience.

I came back from Europe invigorated. The National Park Service offered me a job at Minute Man. That did not interest me. I was aware that there was an opening in the National Capital Region for an architect. I decided to see what the National Park Service was like in Washington. I applied, was accepted, and arrived in October 1965. After one year, I was approached about applying for the position of executive director of the Virginia Landmarks Commission, which was brand new. Virginia had enacted broad preservation legislation creating a statewide agency. I was interviewed, offered the job, and decided to sign on the dotted line and accept the position.

Coincidentally, I received a phone call asking me to come to the office of the director of the National Park Service for a meeting. It was the first time I had been in the director's office and the first time I had met Director George B. Hartzog, Jr. The meeting was on the formulation of legislation new to me—the National Historic Preservation Act. I was a very junior person at the meeting.

At the meeting was Ronald F. Lee, regional director of the National Park Service's Northeast Region. I had gotten to know Ronnie Lee at the Eastern Office of Design and Construction. As he and I walked out of the Interior building, he turned to me and asked how things were going in Washington. I told him that I was about to leave to take the position in Richmond. He looked surprised. I took a cab back to my office. By the time I got there, I had a telephone call from him asking me to meet him at the Cosmos Club for drinks. I had never been to the Cosmos Club. When I arrived, Ronnie Lee was sitting on a big leather couch with drinks and who should join us but George Hartzog! Hartzog sat next to me and asked "What was this idiotic idea I hear about you wanting to leave the National Park Service?" I was stunned. The pressure was really on not to leave and I also learned that Ernest Connally was on the team—with Lee and Joe Brew of Harvard University—advising Hartzog how to organize the National Park Service response to the new preservation legislation. I learned that Connally was about to be recruited to head up a new entity to implement the legislation. Connally asked me not to leave because there was a role for me in all of this. The bill had not been passed yet.

Shortly afterwards, I was speaking at my first National Trust conference on the National Park Service and historic preservation. The new, about-to-be-signed National Historic Preservation Act was unveiled at this conference in Philadelphia. This was only days before it was signed. I was in the audience

and more fully understood the scope of the legislation. It was very impressive, and I decided to stay at the National Park Service.

After the legislation was signed, I was immediately assigned to the task force created by Hartzog to implement the act. At the same time, Hartzog had already started creating a consolidated office with historians and architects from all around the country. He was shaking everything up and moving us into the Wheeler-Lynn Building in Rosslyn. (The building is still standing. It is the birthplace of the national historic preservation program.)

Bob Utley was in charge of the seven-member task force. I was the only architect. We did everything: we developed the National Register criteria and nomination form, we developed the grants-in-aid manual, we arrived at a system for implementation, we developed nearly everything from scratch. It was a fascinating and exciting period. We looked at related activities, including New York City's then relatively new landmarks preservation commission and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. There was a lot of money at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for statewide planning. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation operated its grant program through State plans and State Liaison Officers, a system well understood within the Interior Department. The State Liaison Officers formed the model for the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO).

There was a February 1967 deadline for preparing the draft documents as Gordon Gray, Carl Humelsine, and Carl Feiss were convening a meeting in Colonial Williamsburg of leaders in the historic preservation field. We were to present the recommended system for creating the new national historic preservation program. It was a challenge to produce everything in time. At the Williamsburg meeting, I learned that Bill Murtagh was being recruited to become keeper of the National Register of Historic Places. Bob Garvey was to become first director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Both Murtagh and Garvey were from the National Trust, leading Gordon Gray to make the famous statement, "I regret that I have but one staff to give to my country." Connally would head the whole operation that became the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP).

Connally arrived ahead of Murtagh and Garvey to set up the new OAHP in Rosslyn. Shortly after that, we moved to another building in Washington, DC, at 18th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. That is where things moved into high gear.

AJL: You were acting keeper of the National Register of Historic Places?

RVK: I was named acting keeper of the National Register in early 1967 and served until the arrival of Murtagh in the summer of 1967. When Bill Murtagh

arrived, I became assistant keeper. Bob Utley became the chief historian and was consumed with supervising all of the historians who had been brought in from around the country.

AJL: Were the early years of the National Register program devoted to creating the SHPOs, which then made the actual nominations?

RVK: What happened is as follows: The SHPOs letter had gone out from the Secretary of the Interior before Murtagh arrived so the designations of SHPOs was largely completed. We had 50 to 55 designated people and a new law. Ernest and Bill decided that we had to talk with these people about the program and how we wanted to run it. It was in the era of LBJ's Great Society. There was a phrase in the Great Society called "creative federalism." We were under a mandate to be creative about how we were going to do these things. We organized seven regional conferences where we invited the newly-designated SHPOs to meet with us. We presented like we did in Williamsburg, how we intended to run the program, what our roles would be, how the funding would work, the criteria, the nomination process, everything. The first regional meeting was in Richmond, followed by meetings in Boston, Savannah, Monterey, Denver, Omaha, and San Juan. The first day was devoted to explaining things. The second day was their chance to critique it. That was really highly educational in terms of our work in Washington. A lot of the new SHPOs were experienced in State and local historic preservation work. At the end of the meetings, we sat down and revised the system again to make it reflect their best advice. During that period, there were no nominations coming in and we did not encourage any.

The first Section 106 case that I can remember was Las Trampas, New Mexico. The State highway department was getting Federal dollars to replace a bridge in front of a church. The highway planners wanted to put in a standard issue bridge. ... The Las Trampos church was on the National Register and a National Historic Landmark. That was the first 106 case and pressure was put on the Federal Highway Administration and the State highway department to modify the design and use natural materials. It worked.

There was a small OAHP staff, and things started to happen almost immediately and we had to react. For example, section 106 [of the National Historic Preservation Act] had not been applied yet, but pressure was mounting to do so. The first section 106 case that I can remember was Las Trampas, New Mexico. The State highway department was getting Federal dollars to replace a bridge in front of a church. The highway planners wanted to put in a standard issue bridge. Nathaniel Owings of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill lived nearby and was very concerned about the plans for the bridge. He asked Director

Hartzog what could be done about it. The Las Trampos church was on the National Register and a National Historic Landmark. That was the first section 106 case and pressure was put on the Federal Highway Administration and the State highway department to modify the design and use natural materials. It worked.

It was crucial to establish our credibility quickly, but it took an enormous amount of time. As the Defense Department continued to surplus military properties, the Springfield, Massachusetts, armory, also on the National Register, became an enormous poster case for the disposal of historic military properties. Ernest Connally was flown in military airplanes to inspect the property. I remember being sent to Beale Street in Memphis, a classic urban renewal project where demolition had been going on and there was more to come. I remember flying down there with George Karras of HUD and being confrontational with the local urban renewal administration that was trying to change that part of Beale Street that was a National Historic Landmark. Activities like these took time from implementing the National Register.

Another challenge was presented by George Hartzog who wanted a printed edition of the National Register to take with him and show to Members of Congress. Suddenly we were all shifted to writing the first edition of the National Register—also known as the National Register Red Book—which was published in 1969. It included all the historic national parks and all National Historic Landmarks.

My early disappointment about the National Register was that we had talked about trying to computerize it from the start. Bob Garvey was enormously helpful because he was so creative. He did not let bureaucracy stand in his way. We hosted a big demonstration by IBM for the then-new Advisory Council about the advantages of having the National Register computerized and how it would help with the section 106 process. It was derailed by the then-nascent computer capacity of the National Park Service and it never went anywhere. Even though the National Register was eventually computerized, there was no reason why it could not have been at the beginning.

AJL: Back in the 1970s, some people said that the National Register would some day be completed. Did you imagine that the National Register would be a small list of historic properties, or did you envision the broad list that it is today?

RVK: Because of the 50-year rule, a small list was never my vision. There was discussion about how big it would get. The one thing I am proud of is that, now going on 35 to 40 years, the National Register criteria have not changed. When the National Register criteria were developed, we did the best we could at the time. The criteria considerations came largely from the seven regional

meetings with the SHPOs and interactions with the professional groups that were involved.

The most significant element for me was the role of the National Register in incorporating State and local significance and in recognizing and encouraging the creation of urban and rural historic districts. In the mid-1990s, it was amazing to visit a city like Phoenix, Arizona, and find so many designated historic districts, mostly dating from the early to the mid-20th century.

AJL: Why did you leave the National Park Service so soon after the programs were set up?

RVK: I was pleased that my role and contributions were recognized by the presentation of two Department of the Interior's Superior Performance Awards. By the end of 1968, the basic systems for the National Register were in place.

By this time, the excitement and challenge of the 1966-68 period were beginning to wane for me. It had been an exciting period in my professional life. And then suddenly we were editing the National Register Red Book and there were no more conferences. By then, it was clear that Congress was not going to make significant appropriations to fund the new law. Also during this period, I passed the architectural registration examination, became engaged, got married, and had a son.

I did not go looking for it, but my next step came to me through Terry Morton. The word came that the National Trust was creating a new program called "field services" and would I be interested in the position of director. Terry invited me over to talk with Jimmy Biddle, the president of the National Trust. I was pleased and impressed. I signed on and left the National Register in December 1968. I was looking for a new challenge. I decided to try something else. I was glad that I did.

AJL: Your National Trust career covers January 1969 through April 1983. Rather than going through it chronologically, would you talk about the early concept of field services and then some of the major accomplishments during your 14 years there?

RVK: The field services program developed from a memo written by Carl Feiss to Gordon Gray, chairman of the National Trust. Feiss was a member of the group that went to Europe as it developed the *With Heritage So Rich* report and the writing of the National Historic Preservation Act. He was also a National Trust trustee. The memo outlined what the National Trust needed to do to respond to the new opportunities presented by the legislation. The work of the field services department was outlined and became my road map for

the early days of the program. The major thrust was to get the National Trust out of Washington and get it into contact with its private sector constituency across the Nation. This was a professionalized outreach effort across the country. Feiss was a mentor to me for envisioning a lot of these objectives.

After arriving at the National Trust, I worked with the Board of Trustees and the Board of Advisors. Helen Abell of Louisville was a board member and chair of the Board of Advisors who wanted to gear up the field services operation and make it effective. Jimmy Biddle raised money to put on a big educational program for the Board of Advisors on the new national historic preservation program. With John Frisbee, I organized a whole road show modeled on the SHPOs meetings that we held for the National Register. Even though these programs were aimed at National Trust people, I invited the SHPOs, Federal agency representatives, and others in regions where the meetings were held.

An early principle of the field services program was that when the National Trust started getting Federal funds, it should help others. One of the first things was the Consultant Services Grant program (later folded into the Preservation Services Fund). It provided matching grants to organizations to hire consultants to achieve preservation objectives. Later, there also was the Preservation Education Fund and the National Preservation Revolving Fund. These were part of that outreach effort.

As the National Trust president, Jimmy Biddle was supportive of innovation. If you had a good idea, he got behind it and did not interfere with its implementation. He was always generous and helpful. The regional offices were born from a competition that Biddle ran among National Trust staff about how to use some private sector money he had raised. John Frisbee and I proposed establishing the Western regional office in San Francisco. Jimmy liked that idea and that is how regional offices were born.

As soon as it was up and running, a Trust-wide strategic plan called Goals and Programs was developed. Tom Richards and Sam Stokes were hired to staff it. Goals and Programs was supportive of the work of field services. That was an important endorsement by the board and became my ticket to keep on expanding. When I look back over my career, the period from 1970 to 1976 is perhaps, next to the National Register, the most glorious period because so much was happening so fast. We had Federal money, Jimmy Biddle was raising private money, and we had new opportunities everywhere we looked. An example of this expansive period was a whole series of focused conferences. These included conferences on preservation law, exploring how achitects and fine arts conservators could work together in historic preservation, building codes, and old/new design. I was successful in obtaining funds from Bob McNulty at the National Endowment for the Arts to do things like guidelines

for delineating edges of historic districts. I got funds from HUD for the first assistance program for urban landmarks and historic district commissions. We hired the first lawyer and the first planner. Those were some of the highlights of that early period.

After the 1966 Act, and with funds beginning to flow to the National Trust, the constituencies were growing enormously. We had a number of training programs, including the Woodlawn Conference, the Community Preservation Workshop, and the craft training course. When I took over supervision of the historic properties program, I was proud when we got the first house museum—the Wilson House—accredited by the American Association of Museums.

Demonstration programs like the neighborhood conservation program, rural preservation, and Main Street, were also important programs. Completing the regional office system, the funding programs, the preservation revolving fund, and the preservation information sheet series were all significant and enduring achievements. Publishing was important and Terry Morton was key in making it happen.

AJL: Where did the *Preservation: Toward an Ethic in the 1980s* effort come from?

RVK: It came from a 1978 meeting that the board convened to think about the future. It had been 12 years since the National Historic Preservation Act and the Trust needed to re-look at the private sector. National Trust Chairman Humelsine liked the idea. He got a large grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to undertake this study and put Vice Chairman Robertson Collins in charge of it. It was envisioned as Humelsine's legacy. He wanted to move the Trust to another plateau in the 1980s. I was detailed as staff to head it up.

The original idea was to turn the National Trust annual meeting in Chicago into a forum to look at the private sector's future in the national historic preservation program. Instead, a series of presentations were made at the National Trust meeting on a broad range of topics. A smaller group was convened in Williamsburg to arrive at a blueprint for the 1980s. The proceedings were published. Soon after, Carl Humelsine retired as chairman and a new Trust administration team came in. The new team had other ideas and brought in its own consultants. By 1983, I was ready to move on.

AJL: When did you become active in the world of international preservation?

RVK: My work in the international sphere began when I worked at the National Trust. In 1974, I was asked by Ernest Connally to be the National Trust's representative on the first exchange with the Soviet Union. An environmental agreement was signed under the Nixon-Breshnev accords that includ-

ed an urban preservation/conservation component. A team was sent to the Soviet Union to learn how it was doing urban preservation. That was an eye-opener and left a lasting impression on me. It was impressive how enormous their investment was and how far ahead of us they already were. They were preserving properties associated with the czars on an unimaginable scale compared with what we were doing with many of our most significant properties.

In 1976, Bob Garvey invited me to be part of the United States delegation to the Unesco conference in Warsaw, Poland, that drafted the Unesco Charter on Historic Towns. That was my first introduction to Unesco and international conferences. It impressed me how far the United States had come with the National Historic Preservation Act and how much we had learned about historic districts. By now, we were pretty big players. We had a major role in drafting the language of the charter. I met a lot of people who were helpful later in my international career.

In the late 1970s, the Pacific Area Travel Association created a heritage committee. The publisher of *Sunset Magazine* called the National Trust and Rob Collins was appointed to serve on the committee. I was the back-up. Through this connection, I was introduced to Asia and became involved in projects, such as a preservation plan for Macau, historic districts in Singapore, and a National Trust in the Philippines.

AJL: When did you become involved with US/ICOMOS?

RVK: I had been a member of US/ICOMOS since it was formed, but not very active. When Terry Morton left the National Trust and became the full-time president of US/ICOMOS, she started working on the ICOMOS General Assembly of 1987. I became program chairman for the General Assembly. As the process progressed, I was working for the architectural firm of Geier Brown Renfrow. Terry contacted me and said she had raised money and wanted to hire me at US/ICOMOS. I thought this would be another interesting opportunity and stayed until 1993. It was a terrific experience.

The General Assembly was a major accomplishment. It was the first one held in the United States and other things spun off from it. We published an overview of the United States preservation experience, *The American Mosaic*. We expanded our connection with the National Park Service on the World Heritage Convention. I spent a lot of time developing the concept of debt swaps for historic properties in Ecuador. Rob Collins was chairman of the ICOMOS Cultural Tourism Committee and through his efforts we published a site managers' handbook on managing cultural properties on the World Heritage List.

The United States Information Agency (USIA) helped with funding attendance

at the General Assembly from developing countries, which led to our involvement in a series of television programs with USIA featuring the United States preservation experience. US/ICOMOS became involved in many international visitor programs that brought groups to the United States to see how we do preservation. We held several large regional conferences, including one in Hawaii for Asian countries and one in Cairo for countries in the Middle East. These were due to the contacts that were made in the General Assembly.

AJL: Can you provide a summary of your AIA career as it related to your earlier work?

RVK: I had been an AIA member since 1969. I was licensed [as an architect] and was active with the AIA Committee on Historic Resources. I was then invited to be a liaison with the AIA International Committee in my capacity at US/ICOMOS. I learned about the effort within the AIA to develop opportunities for international practice for United States architects. The AIA then hired a staff person. She left about 2 years later. I was afforded the opportunity to apply for the position. I started working there in December 1993 and retired in December 1999.

As director of international relations, my responsibilities did not deal with preservation. This position served as the chief staff person dealing with the International Union of Architects, the Pan American Federation of Architects, and related organizations. I dealt with all of the counterpart professional societies around the world. With an increasing awareness that globalization was the wave of the future, we were negotiating and signing accords with other professional societies to establish official relationships. The AIA was establishing foreign chapters. I just came back from Japan where a new chapter is coming into being. In 1999, the Accord on Recommended International Standards of Professionalism in the Practice of Architecture was adopted in Beijing. Under James Scheeler's leadership, the AIA led this 5-year effort. I have succeeded him as the co-director of the commission, continuing this work. A lot of what I learned in preservation was applicable to the international world of architecture.

AJL: What advice do you have for preservationists of the future? There are many people now working in the field who have never experienced what you did in terms of building programs and being there at the outset.

RVK: The first thing is that the world of employment opportunities is as different as night and day from when I started and the field's early years. It is hard to imagine how much it has changed. There are many opportunities that did not exist before, not only in sheer numbers but in types of positions.

There is also an enormous change in access to information. When I started, we

were still dealing with books on library shelves. Now, you can sit down at a computer and surf the Internet. I remember walking into the city planning library at the University of Illinois in 1963 and finding a mimeographed annotated bibliography on the shelf that Barclay Jones and Stephen Jacobs had done on preservation when they were at Berkeley. It was like finding the Holy Grail. It was exciting to find this literature. Today, the amount of information available boggles the mind.

As I look back on education in preservation and how it has evolved, I am impressed that there are so many resources and so many specializations that did not exist when I started. I would assume the problem is now: what do you select to study, and why?

As I look back on education in preservation and how it has evolved, I am impressed that there are so many resources and so many specializations that did not exist when I started. I would assume the problem is now: what do you select to study, and why?

The challenge is to not become overly specialized because you never know what opportunities will come along. The broader your experience, the better position you will be in.

I suggest that students avail themselves of internship opportunities. Student projects should also be viewed as opportunities. This is important in terms of subject matter and the people you will meet while doing the work, the organizations you will come into contact with, and the networks you will start building. When you do these projects, do not do them under a rock. That is what Blair Reeves taught me. When you participate in these things, reach out. You never know who you will contact that can lead to a lot of new things.

Attending conferences and seminars is important. I remember as a graduate student spending my own money to go to a Society of Architectural Historians meeting Philadelphia. At that meeting, I heard an Englishman give a presentation about the Civic Trust and its small towns program. I remember that I later met him in my work at US/ICOMOS. Attend the social events, meet people, build your networks of contacts. Give papers and be a participant in conference programs.

Travel to experience all that is out there and gain insights from travel experiences. Create networks. That was one of the great things about the early days at the National Trust before we had the regional offices. We were everywhere in the country. That was just terrific. We learned so much from it.

Develop the ability to have a public presence. The public speaking course that

I took in high school served me very well later on. If you are going to do this, you have to be comfortable and confident in public settings. Be able to listen, understand, and assess what is going on around you and to quickly and effectively respond. You have to be nimble on your feet, patient, and maintain self-control.

Aspire to be effective in a multitude of roles. Develop the skills to handle a press conference or serve as a witness before a congressional hearing or as a panelist in a public debate.

Develop your writing ability. I am often amazed at how poorly people write. A good letter is basic and it is still needed. The ability to order thoughts and positions in a logical and concise manner is the only way to get your points across.

When you become an administrator, recognize that the further up the chain you go, the less hands-on you will be. Be happy that you are influencing the big picture, but remember what you used to do and the fun you had doing it. That fun goes away and you have to count on others doing it for you. That is a big change.

Professional training and experience needs to be supplemented with an ability to develop policies and program goals and objectives. Fund raising in the public and private sectors is essential. Budget preparation and administration is a challenge.

Managing people is hard. It includes developing position descriptions and conducting interviews, making selections, saying no to people you know professionally, and evaluating the professional performance of others. These skills are not taught in preservation degree programs, but must be learned along the way.

Hold to your principles. At points in your career you will be tested and it can have large ramifications, both positive and negative.

When you are confident in your skills and experience and you see opportunities, be prepared to take risks and go for it. Most things that happened to me did so by accident. They were not planned. Things just happened, and they were great.

The Historic American Buildings Survey During the New Deal Era: Documenting "a Complete Resume of the Builders' Art"

by Lisa Pfueller Davidson and Martin J. Perschler

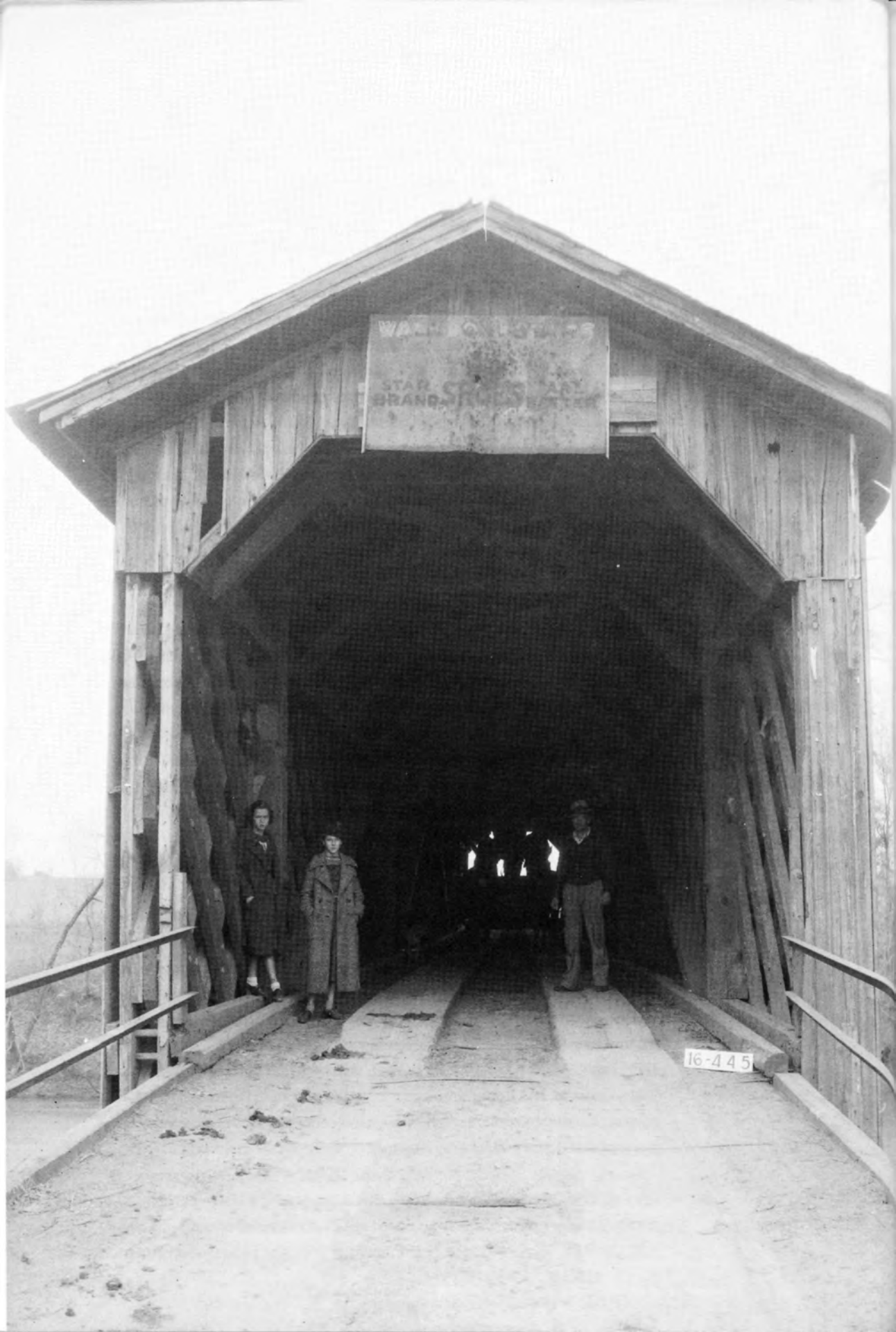
In April 1934, a Department of the Interior press release promoted "a black-and-white review of American Architecture which will divide the country into 39 units, each competing for the cherished honor of being acclaimed the home of the Nation's most perfect development of the builders' art." The Smithsonian Institution hosted this exhibit of selected drawings, photographs, and historical information gathered by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) since the program's inception the previous December. While the competitive language of the press release seems rather dramatic, the premiere exhibit by a Federal architectural documentation program was indeed a noteworthy event.[1]

The creation of HABS was a major turning point in the decades-old study of early American architecture and a reflection of the growing interest in examining American cultural patterns and the expanding role of the Federal Government in such endeavors. The program is well-known in preservation circles, but the circumstances and events surrounding its early years are not. This essay looks at the development of the program's standards and methodology, and the immediate testing and adjustment of these policies by the various district offices, and proposes some reasons for the program's enthusiastic reception and continued survival.

A Product of the New Deal

HABS emerged from the Great Depression and the New Deal reform efforts of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first administration. In 1933, the Civil Works Administration solicited ideas for employment initiatives, including initiatives for professionals most impacted by the Depression. A young National Park Service landscape architect, Charles Peterson, wrote the memorandum outlining the basic form of HABS on November 13, 1933.[2] According to Peterson, approximately 1,000 architects and draftsmen could be quickly employed to study, measure, and draw "important antique buildings." Peterson used the growing Federal bureaucracy to support and centralize an ongoing interest in architectural documentation among many private-sector architects.

After securing funding from Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins, the National Park Service formally activated HABS on December 12, 1933. The National Park Service was just beginning to address the preservation and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interpretation of historic sites, after the number of historical areas under its management quadrupled 6 months prior when Executive Order 6133 transferred the parks and monuments under the War Department and Forest Service to the National Park Service.[3]

HABS was organized as a series of district offices throughout the United States, guided by John O'Neill, Thomas T. Waterman, and other architects in the Branch of Plans and Designs in Washington, DC. The Washington officials followed Peterson's memorandum as they laid out HABS's mission and procedures. The memorandum reveals a founding philosophy much more ambitious than just unemployment relief, emphasizing the cultural loss associated with building demolition—

Our architectural heritage of buildings from the last four centuries diminishes daily at an alarming rate. The ravages of fire and the natural elements together with the demolition and alterations caused by real estate "improvements" form an inexorable tide of destruction destined to wipe out the great majority of the buildings which knew the beginning and first flourish of the nation. The comparatively few structures which can be saved by extraordinary effort and presented as exhibition houses and museums or altered and used for residences or minor commercial uses comprise only a minor percentage of the interesting and important architectural specimens which remain from the old days. It is the responsibility of the American people that if the great number of our antique buildings must disappear through economic causes, they should not pass into unrecorded oblivion.[4]

FIGURE 1
The bridge spanning Choccolocco Creek in Eastaboga, AL, is one of many covered and other early bridges recorded by HABS during the 1930s. (W.N. Manning, photographer, January 1935. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

One of the primary concerns of HABS was the creation of a record of endangered buildings that could not be preserved through other means. By documenting the physical remains of earlier eras, the intangible qualities of early American architecture might not be lost to the forces of progress. Preservation theorist and historian Charles Hosmer noted that the commercial growth of the 1920s expanded the idea of preservation from house museums and battlefield commemoration to historic districts and preservation planning.[5] An early foray into preservation planning at the national level, HABS tapped into a growing sense that modern American society required a large-scale approach to challenges such as preserving the past.

Setting Up the Survey

Peterson, and shortly thereafter the Washington office, recommended that the program consider pre-1860 structures representing "a complete resume of the builders' art," including "public buildings, churches, residences, bridges, forts, barns, mills, shops, rural outbuildings," and others.[6] (Figure 1) Peterson emphasized that buildings should be selected for HABS documentation on the basis of academic interest, not on commercial interest in historic models for new buildings that had tended to drive previous studies of historic American

FIGURE 2
District Officer Earl H. Reed (seated at center) and the staff of the HABS Northern Illinois District Office in Chicago oversaw the program in their district. (Photographer unidentified, circa 1934. Courtesy of HABS, National Park Service, Washington, DC.)

architecture. Status as a Federal Government program offered an opportunity to collect architectural information for broad educational purposes, not just as a source for new design.

HABS's initial parameters echoed the expanding conception of Colonial Revival and the study of American regional patterns that emerged during the late 1920s. The Colonial Revival, a loosely formed patriotic and aesthetic movement celebrating early American history, informed most historical projects of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including HABS. HABS would mainly consider the various "colonial" types such as Georgian, Dutch Colonial, Federal, Spanish Colonial, and Greek Revival.[7] The Federal Government's move into historical documentation during the 1930s also coincided with a new popular understanding of American culture. This view placed the patterns of everyday life on par with rarified examples of fine art as important cultural products.[8] During this period, cultural diffusion models derived from historical geography shaped vernacular architecture studies such as HABS.[9] Other New Deal cultural initiatives such as the Farm Security Administration documentary photographs and Works Progress Administration (WPA) guidebooks sought to compile information on American life through different mediums. For all of these programs, geographic diversity, or regionalism, emerged as a key organizing principle for the study of American culture. Frequent use of regional building traditions and local materials in new Federal Government building construction at this time indicates a similar impulse to acknowledge the regional variety of the United States.[10]

HABS divided the country into districts as a practical necessity for organizing a national program. The American Institute of Architects' (AIA) system of local chapters was instrumental in the National Park Service's ability to launch HABS by January 1934. Working in coordination with the AIA, the program

established 39 districts, assigned individual district officers, provided them with small operating budgets, and instructed them to assemble support staffs and teams of architects to record examples of early American architecture.(Figure 2) In drawing up the districts, the Washington office grouped or subdivided States based on their history, size, and building density. AIA-member architects were nominated as district officers; often these men had already spent years measuring and drawing the early structures in their areas. The district officer position was nonsalaried and depended on the interest and energy of the AIA nominee in creating documentation for the national collection. Some districts produced very little documentation while other districts' officers launched into major documentation efforts that lent structure and purpose to their earlier interest in local historic architecture.[11]

Often the HABS district officer was also the AIA district representative to the national organization's Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings. This group of architects had first considered the idea of a nationwide survey of colonial monuments in measured drawings in 1917, making the AIA a logical partner.[12] Leicester Holland was serving as chair of this AIA committee when HABS was founded, in addition to his position as chief of the Fine Arts Division of the Library of Congress. In 1930, Holland had created the Pictorial Archives of Early American Architecture at the Library. The archives gathered photographs and clippings from sources all over the country, but had little control over the format of the material. Shortly after HABS was established, arrangements were made for the resulting documentation to be housed at the Library. The cooperation between the National Park Service, the AIA, and the Library was formalized with a tripartite agreement announced in April 1934, just as the Smithsonian's HABS exhibition opened.

The tripartite agreement recommended continuation of the system put in place by HABS, citing marked improvement of the national program over previous architectural documentation efforts: "The scattered surveys that have heretofore been made through efforts of local organizations and individual enthusiasm have yielded heterogeneous results, with considerable duplication, and have been of little practical value to the general public."[13] Guidelines for documentation format and materials provided a more consistent collection that could be incorporated into the Fine Arts Division using the cataloging system inaugurated by the Pictorial Archives. Both the Library and the AIA applied the professional expertise and parallel interests of their own initiatives to supporting the National Park Service's program.

HABS's central office in Washington supplied equipment and materials, and disseminated procedural and practical information through a series of circulars and bulletins sent to all district officers, including guidelines for selecting buildings for the program and producing and arranging the documentation. A National Advisory Committee, including Holland, William G. Perry (the archi-

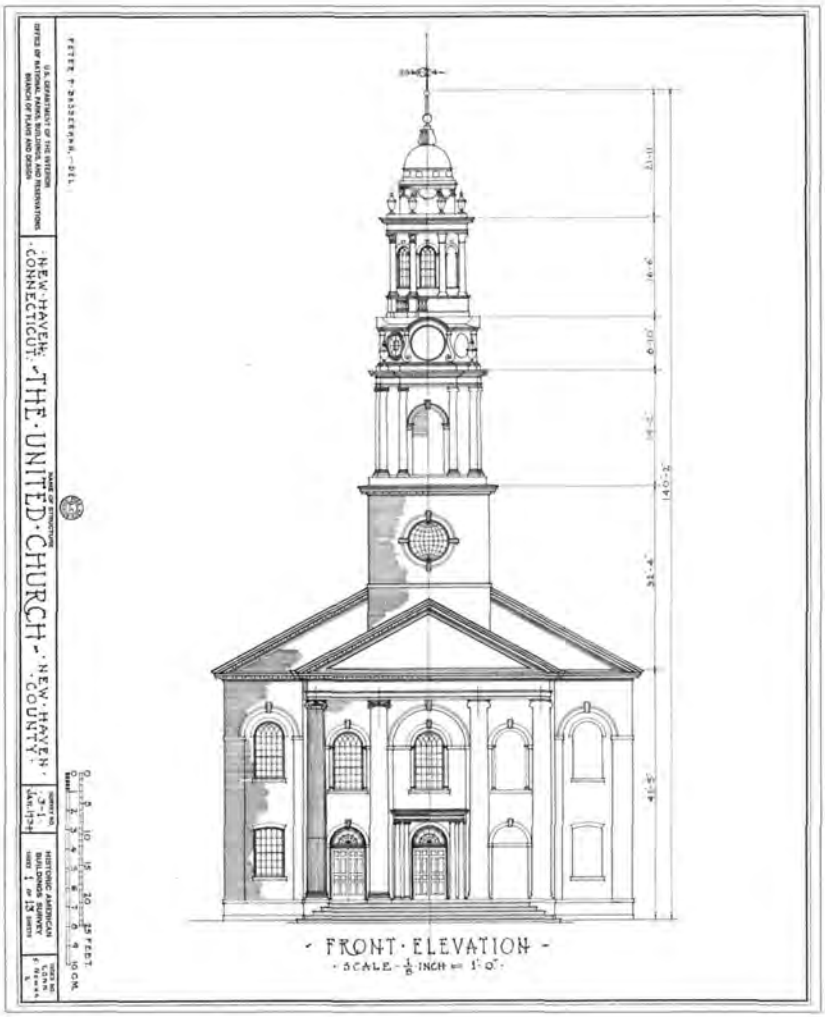

FIGURE 3
The United Church, New Haven, CT, is an example of a New England building linked to a similar building in the Western Reserve area of Ohio. (Peter Basserman, delineator. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

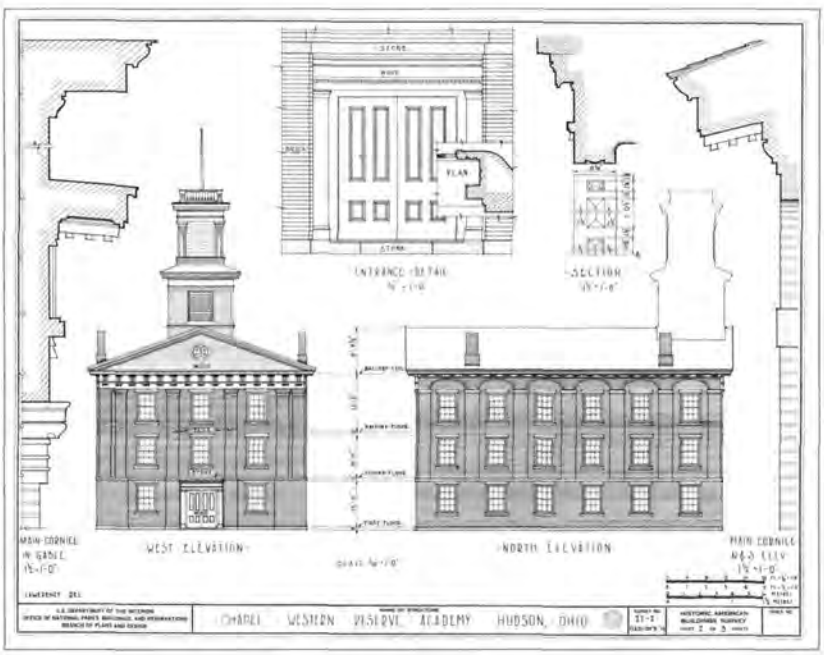

FIGURE 4
The "just like New England" buildings recorded by a HABS team in Ohio included this chapel on the grounds of the Western Reserve Academy near Cleveland. (Lawerence, delineator. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

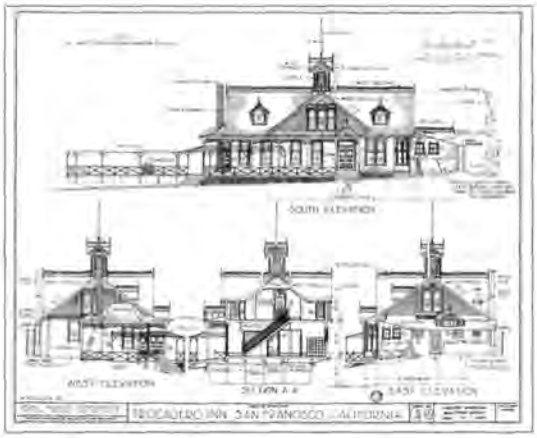

FIGURE 5
Built between 1860 and 1870, the Trocodero Inn in San Francisco is one of several historic mid- to late-19th-century buildings recorded for HABS in Northern California and other points west. (N. Vogulkin, delineator. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

tect in charge of the Colonial Williamsburg restoration), and Santa Fe architect John Gaw Meem, formulated general policies for HABS. State Advisory Committees, consisting of three architects named by the AIA and two nonprofessionals—usually local historians—worked with the district officers to review the existing literature and other documentation on the historic buildings in their States, select buildings for the survey, rank them in order of priority, and then forward their recommendations to Washington for approval.

Developing Documentation Priorities

Buildings prioritized for documentation typically exhibited the pre-industrial aesthetics and historical associations prized by the Colonial Revival movement. While Native American and Spanish Colonial structures were given special mention, the pre-1860 focus and the general interest in the earliest possible structures revealed a bias towards the architecture of the eastern seaboard. Districts such as New Hampshire, New Jersey, and others in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic easily compiled long lists of mostly 18th-century structures for documentation. Priority lists for places like Ohio and Illinois emphasized later structures, such as Greek Revival houses from the second quarter of the 19th century, which were still well within the commonly held conception of historic architecture. As if to be sure to justify the credentials of his district's buildings, Northern Illinois District Officer Earl H. Reed referred to his projects as "the important architectural remains of pioneer culture which flourished in the Midwest up to the time of the Civil War."[14] I. T. Frary, a National Advisory Committee member from Cleveland and the only architectural historian in the group, emphasized links between Ohio and the Northeast, with towns in the Western Reserve "just like New England" built by colonists from Connecticut.[15] (Figures 3 and 4)

Districts in regions farther west struggled within this framework to contribute the few examples of later 19th-century structures to the initial collection. While the HABS staff thought that the California program would focus on Spanish Colonial structures, the Northern California district also began docu-

FIGURE 6
HABS documented the cast iron fence at Magnolia Cemetery in Mobile, AL. Note the serial number and scale in the lower right-hand corner. (E.W. Russell, photographer, February 1963. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

menting 19th-century buildings that were viewed as historic for the region.(Figure 5) Arthur Fisher, a district advisory committee member for Colorado, defended including post-Civil War army forts and mining towns on their priority list: "In as much as Colorado is one of the newest states in the union from the standpoint of settlement, the 1860 date would exclude practically all buildings in the state."[16] However, comments from Frank Choteau Brown, New England division officer, regarding 19th-century buildings in Michigan and Maine reveal that for many early program leaders pre-Victorian buildings were preferable wherever possible. He wrote teasingly about potential documentation of a house associated with Ulysses S. Grant in Detroit: "I have no doubt but that it is probably as queer and ugly as to make it 'unique' enough to be delineated by the HABS of Michigan—where they may lack some of the more quiet and aged material that we hereabouts have come to prefer!"[17] Brown had similar feelings regarding a "Victorian nightmare" in Portland, Maine—possibly the Morse-Libby, or Victoria, Mansion (1859-63)—proposed for documentation. While conceding that "as an example of the horrible taste of the period, it *might* be valuable," Brown rejected it as a priority for the program based on the extensive skill and time needed to render its ornate features and the availability of ample good documentation candidates in New England.[18]

Other key factors influencing the selection of buildings for the survey were historical integrity, concern for endangered structures, and the desire to record a variety of building types. Early instructions to district officers specified that "absolute priority will be given to buildings...which have not been restored or remodeled and which are in imminent danger of destruction or material alteration."[19] Administrative records show frequent revisions of priority lists, often annotated to indicate the addition of a building because demolition was scheduled or removal because it was found to be restored or remodeled.

Buildings considered "safe" because they were owned by historical societies or government agencies, such as Mount Vernon or the White House, were largely omitted from the program in favor of those with more precarious futures.

Even after successive processes of elimination, the number of potential projects was still daunting. Barely a month after HABS was established, E. Walter Burkhardt compiled a priority list of 310 structures for the Alabama district, with the potential for hundreds more. While asking for a larger quota of architects, he advised the Washington office, "The more I get about the State under this project the more I am convinced that a great number of these should be recorded with the greatest haste possible."[20] Burkhardt suggested documenting a great variety of projects in this first phase, including the Confederate Capitol in Montgomery, wrought-iron fences and balconies in Mobile, and plantation complexes with rare surviving outbuildings throughout the State. (Figure 6) A typical letter from New Hampshire mentions a log house, a woolen mill, several "up-and-down" sawmill ruins, and an interior wall painting as documentation priorities, indicating HABS's broad interests even within its chronological constraints.[21]

The impact of geography and proximity on the selection of buildings should not be underestimated either, as it largely explains the uneven national coverage of the HABS collection. The Washington office early recognized that a factor in prioritizing buildings should be "accessibility, including the convenience of carrying out the work in connection with other buildings also listed."[22] New Jersey Deputy District Officer Herbert Moffett wanted to document some Bristol and Morrisville, Pennsylvania, buildings that complemented work in other pre-Revolutionary Delaware River towns on the New Jersey side. In addition, he had learned that the Philadelphia district would be unable to cover this part of its territory.[23] Some sections of the country simply lacked documentation due to staffing or travel difficulties, as Brown confessed to Peterson regarding parts of Massachusetts including the region around Plymouth, Duxbury, and Kingston—

Although still rich in historical material, despite the many reconstructions, restorations and alterations made on the older buildings in the region, it has remained outside of the scope of our program here, because of the fact that it has been remote from any location from which we could secure personnel. Although we have had several buildings on our priority lists in that vicinity, we have not been able to include them in our Survey.[24]

In some areas, the number of historic buildings greatly outnumbered the available architects. Because of this, New Mexico was grouped into a district with Colorado and Utah. Burkhardt suggested a similar arrangement and bringing architects from southern Florida to help with the daunting workload in Alabama, but ultimately the efforts in Florida focused on Spanish Colonial

remains in the northern part of the State. Juggling growing lists of priority buildings and increasingly complex bureaucratic procedures created an almost overwhelming task for the district officers. They drew on previous experiences and adapted the recommendations of the Washington office to fulfill pressing documentation needs, thereby shaping HABS standards for measured drawings, photography, and historical reports.

Measured Drawings: Guidelines and Practice

Existing architectural monographs and other publications played an important role in guiding HABS and informing its methods for recording historic buildings. The State advisory committees and district officers frequently consulted publications for information on buildings in their jurisdictions and based their recording priorities on the extent to which similar buildings had been documented previously. Of great value to the district officers along the eastern seaboard was the White Pine Series, a set of copiously illustrated and annotated architectural monographs on early American wooden buildings edited by Russell Fenimore Whitehead and published bimonthly by Weyerhauser Mills of Minnesota beginning in 1915.[25] Although introduced as a promotional piece for white pine producers and marketed to architects working in areas where pine was frequently used as a building material, the series immediately gained a reputation as an authoritative source and record on early American architecture. The series and other publications, specifically William Rotch Ware's multivolume work, *The Georgian Period*, a collection of photographs, measured drawings, and historical essays appearing in the *American Architect and Building News* prior to 1899, established industry standards for architectural documentation, incorporating three disciplines—architecture, photography, and history—in the recording process.

HABS's organizers adopted this formula and focused their efforts on codifying methods for recording historic buildings. They provided detailed instructions through HABS bulletins on how to take interior and exterior dimensions; measure pitches of roofs, ramps, and other inclined surfaces; and approximate or compute dimensions of parts or areas of buildings that were out of reach.[26] They also encouraged using rubbings and profile gauges for recording details, architectural ornaments, and molding profiles, and instructed measuring teams and delineators to note all significant building materials, colors, and patterns. They placed a premium on accuracy and independent verification of the measured drawings and issued standard notebooks for recording all field measurements that were to be returned with completed drawings and preserved along with the other documentation.

Measured drawings, according to HABS bulletins, were to be "complete, clear, and accurate and in sufficient detail to serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the building if it were to be destroyed."[27] Drawings were to be completed in

black ink on standard sheets supplied by the Washington office and consist of complete floor plans, elevations, sections, and significant architectural details, all of which were to be drawn to a uniform scale. Plans were to be fully dimensioned, showing all wall thicknesses, and were to include a compass. Elevations were to be clearly identified and free of "such extraneous background effects as clouds, trees and bushes, except when such details add to the historical or architectural significance of the drawings."[28] Plans and elevations were to identify materials of construction where appropriate.[29] As for the composition of the drawings, the plans, elevations, and sections were to fill the sheets provided but not run from one sheet to another.[30] Most importantly, the drawings were to show the existing conditions of the structure at the time of recording and identify any alterations or additions to the original structure. Conjectural graphic reconstructions were, for the most part, forbidden.[31]

Charles Peterson had envisioned squads of between two and six men recruited from the architectural profession traveling "about the State measuring the buildings in order of their priority, drawing up their notes before proceeding to the next project."[32] Although the Nation had its share of underemployed and out-of-work architects, HABS had some difficulty finding good candidates when smaller budgets, tightened financial eligibility requirements, and a strengthening national economy slowly but steadily drained the pool of qualified applicants.

HABS ran aground early on in Kansas, where it tried unsuccessfully to sign on Joseph Kellogg, then head of the Department of Architecture at the University of Kansas, as district officer. Kellogg's full-time job, although ideal from the standpoint of the survey organizers, precluded his taking on any work, especially "paper work."[33] The professor felt "some architect with his own office force, an independent income, and no work to do would be the most likely person, if there is any such!"[34] It appears Kellogg was correct in his assessment of the architectural scene in Kansas, for the AIA district failed to produce a single measured drawing for HABS between 1934 and 1965.

The State district officer for Indiana noted with a fair amount of frustration that the two squads available for work in his State had been "made up of inexperienced and mine-run draftsmen."[35] In Massachusetts, an early confrontation between the district officer there and State WPA administrators over minimal qualifications for survey draftsmen and architects had degenerated so seriously that the program's future in that State was said to be in jeopardy. Frank Choteau Brown noted in 1941 that—

[the] WPA has used the project recently—unlike other states—to "unload" any workers otherwise not placeable [sic], *on HABS! ... most of them were doing nothing of any help to our project progress. Some are from "Sewing Projects," oth-*

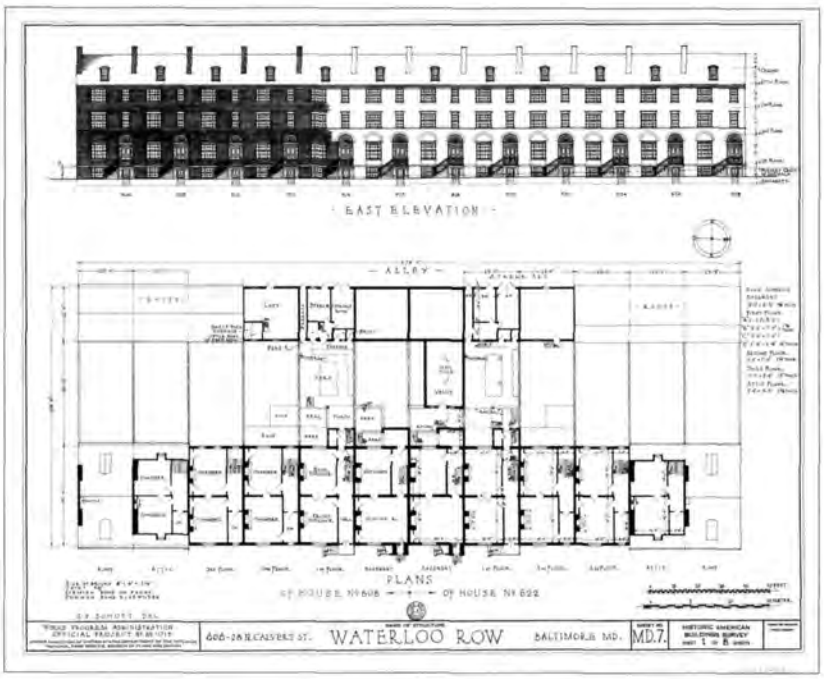

FIGURE 7
Waterloo Row in Baltimore, MD, was one of the few residential blocks measured and drawn by HABS in the 1930s. (G.P. Schott, delineator. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

FIGURE 8
Comparing this photograph with the elevation drawn by HABS teams (above) reveals several inconsistencies in the depiction of Waterloo Row in measured drawings. (E.H. Pickering, photographer, June 1936. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

ers are classified as "Clerks" with Miscellaneous background. One or two intelligent, BUT no architectural knowledge,—and most have regular wasteful "WPA slothfulness" in working tendency.[36]

The district officer in Maine alluded to the level of inexperience of many of his survey hires but took pride in the fact that the survey had meant, in one case, "the development of a fair draftsman from inexperience; in an other case the bringing of an inexperienced draftsman to a large measure of responsibili-

ty and the maturing of a high degree of skill in draftsmanship."[37]

Complaints about underqualified candidates and insufficient funding tended to overshadow the commendations and kind words expressed about the program in the historical record. In most cases, district officers stuck to reporting the number of architects and draftsmen employed in their final program statements filed at the end of every funding period, and seldom delved into specific personnel matters in their correspondence.

For the vast majority of district officers and others involved in the survey, the experience was overwhelmingly a positive one, and in most cases HABS helped them hone their measuring and drafting skills while at the same time put food on their tables. If an architect or draftsman produced exceptionally good work, his supervisor was more likely to try to figure out a way of keeping him on the payroll (the WPA limited employment to 18 months) or to recommend him for a position in the private sector or elsewhere in government. In New Jersey, Elizabeth Joan de Brezeni, the supervising draftsman and one of very few women to ascend to a supervisory role, appealed to administrators in her State on behalf of one of her recently released staff—a draftsman in his 70s—who had worked the maximum time allowed and whom de Brezeni had counted among her best draftsman. Not only did he produce excellent architectural and fine perspective drawings, he was "prompt, dependable and honest." He also had no other source of income.[38]

Overall, the architects and draftsmen followed HABS's instructions for making measured drawings, one result of which is a remarkable technical and compositional uniformity across the approximately 25,500 drawings produced for HABS prior to 1956. For the most part, the squads refrained from embellishing their drawings with clouds or other extraneous features, though some squads attempted more pictorial compositions for their elevations. The district officers in New Mexico and Louisiana supplemented their documentation with watercolor-tinted duplicates of drawings in the case of the former and renderings in the case of the latter. The district officer in Puerto Rico attempted to hire an artist-illustrator to produce pen-and-ink sketches of the buildings there but was discouraged from doing so by the Washington office.

Despite instructions to the contrary, some districts produced conjectural reconstructions of historic buildings or "cleaned up" buildings by eliminating later additions and alterations from the drawings. In at least two cases—Doe's Garrison in Newmarket, New Hampshire, and Robert Mills's Waterloo Row in Baltimore—the drawings and supporting photographs reveal differences between the architect's interpretation of the building on paper and how it actually appeared at the time that it was measured and photographed.(Figures 7 and 8) In Maryland, the district officer was heavily involved in a number of high-profile restoration and historic reconstruction projects during the early

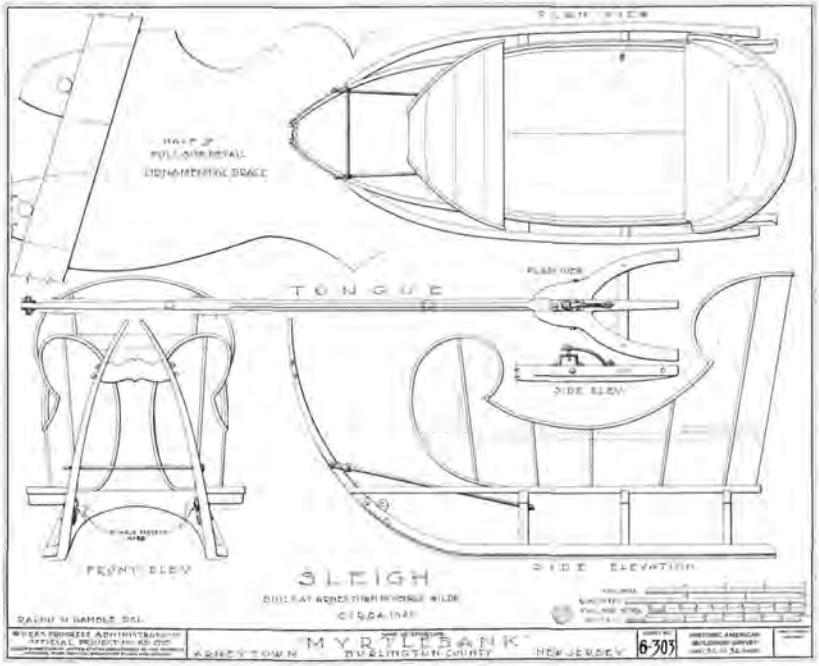

FIGURE 9
The only sleigh known to have been recorded by HABS in the 1930s, this sleigh at "Myrtlebank", Arneytown, NJ, is indicative of the early squads' broader interests in history and material culture. (Ralph H. Gamble, delineator. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

1930s, so in that State the impulse to restore while drawing might have been unusually strong. In Maryland and other districts, the teams recorded buildings in the midst of renovation or during or after demolition and copied previously produced drawings for the collection. Generally, the district officers and their advisory committees remained far more flexible than the Washington office in terms of what they considered appropriate subject matter for the survey. The squads in Mobile, Alabama, and Chicago, Illinois, measured and drew several examples of early architectural ironwork, while the team in Maine drew a gravestone and the New Jersey team a sleigh.(Figure 9)

The Role of Photography and the HABS Photographer

In his 1933 memorandum, Peterson made a general provision for supplemental photographic work but the task of actually hammering out the details of a photographic component fell to O'Neill and his staff in Washington. Between December 12, 1933, and January 8, 1934, they formulated a policy that covered nearly every aspect of HABS photographic documentation. Photographs—at least two views of each building measured—were to be taken using a 5- by 7-inch view camera and were to include the building serial number and a foot rule for scale. In cases of groups of buildings, "buildings of irregular or complicated plan or outline," or "important, exceptional, or particularly interesting details, either exterior or interior," additional photographs were permitted, but HABS left the final determination to the district officer or photographer. In those cases where time and personnel constraints "make it impossible to measure and record every detail of a building," photographs were to be used to supplement the information recorded in the measured drawings. As for the

FIGURE 10
Like Maine's Josiah T. Tubby and other district officers, Thomas T. Waterman contributed photographs to the survey. Like the others, too, he seldom included the serial number or scale. An example is Waterman's photograph of the Parson Joseph Capen House in Topsfield, MA. (Thomas T. Waterman, photographer, June 1936. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

composition of the photographs, it was "more important that they be clear and sharp in their delineation of detail than that they be artistically composed or effective from a pictorial point of view."[39]

Although paid more than stenographers, photographers earned less than their architectural counterparts in the program and were required to furnish their own cameras. An initial proposal to reimburse photographers for the costs of processing and printing film was discarded soon after it was announced. Instead, photographers—who, like the architects, had been out of work and were short of cash—were allowed to forward all invoices for processing and printing to the district offices rather than pay the invoices themselves and file later for reimbursement from the Government.[40]

Judging from the policies formulated and then reformulated in the early HABS bulletins, the Washington organizers were at a loss as to where exactly photographers and photographic documentation might fit into the HABS pecking order. The organizers articulated only the vaguest idea of how architects and photographers were to work together in the field. On the one hand, the central office thought that "it would be desirable where possible to have the photographs taken at the same time that the work of measuring is being done, so as to minimize the inconvenience to the occupants of the building." On the other hand, the central office also cautioned district offices that the photographers "should not travel with squads if this involves periods of idleness waiting for the squads to complete their work." In Maryland and Maine, district officers and field squads determined that photographers should travel separately from the measuring squads despite added inconvenience to property owners. While

economical on paper, this approach was more costly in the field because district officers from both States often traveled at least once with the measuring squads to the project sites and then separately with the photographers.

Whereas district officers might have employed as many as 10 to 20 architects and draftsmen, they made do with one photographer or, once funding grew tight, dispensed with the photographer altogether and took the photographs themselves—often with mixed results.[41] In Maine, for instance, a reduction in force resulted in the loss of District Photographer Allen Hubbard, and the transfer of his responsibilities to Josiah T. Tubby, the Maine district officer and an architect by training. Such practice was not limited to Maine. Thomas T. Waterman and several other architects are credited with a number of photographs in the collection. (Figure 10) Photographs by architects, however, often did not meet the standards of photographs made by professional or expert photographers. While many of Tubby's photographs are satisfactory, a number of them betray his clumsiness with a view camera and his impatience with the photographic process. None of the photos attributed to him includes the required building serial number or a scale, omissions that reduce the usefulness of the images as architectural documentation.

As a matter of policy, drawings received the highest priority. Photographs and historical reports were treated as supplemental materials and were supposed to be produced only for buildings or sites that were measured by the architectural squads. The Washington staff had hinted at the expanded use of photography as a recording tool in its bulletins, even recommending photography over measuring "in cases where consideration of time and personnel make it impossible to measure and record every detail of a building," but the district officers recognized the economic and other advantages of photographs over measured drawings and aggressively lobbied the Washington staff to provide photographers and photographs a larger role. The tremendous impulse to photograph as many historic buildings as possible extended from Maine to California and was a direct response to increased demolition activity nationwide and the fear of premature termination of HABS for budgetary reasons. In Maryland, efforts to photograph rather than measure prompted a lengthy reply from O'Neill in Washington—

It is against the policy of the Survey to make any photographic records of structures actually existing if the structures have already been determined as unsuitable material for measurement by the Survey. We feel that anything we photograph should deserve measurement at least in part. Of course, there are many decorative elements of structures which we prefer to photograph rather than to measure and draw up with a great deal of vain labor and ineffective draftsmanship. As you know this category would include ornate, carved, or decorative plaster details and the more flowery elements of whatever Victorian or Gothic Revival subjects we might record. However these are all parts of structures of

which we would make at least general measurements—at least small scale block plans and/or elevations. If a building is not worth this much labor on our part, I firmly do not think we should photograph it at all although it is conceivable that we might readily make an index card for it. Naturally, we cannot guarantee measurement this year of all subjects you photograph, but each subject photographed should be worthy of eventual *measurement* [emphasis O'Neill's].[42]

Nevertheless, the Maryland district officer had his staff photograph numerous historic buildings and cityscapes for which no measured drawings were ever planned. He also had historic views of Baltimore buildings, then in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society and other repositories, replicated for the HABS collection. The district officer in Maine went so far as to photograph objects having little or no direct relation to the building arts, the most intriguing of which is a 17th-century pewter Communion set from the Walpole meeting house. (Figure 11) Although no formal connection between HABS and the Federal Art Project's Index of American Design—another WPA program—is known to have existed, the impulse to create as complete a picture as possible of the Nation's material culture led to a fair amount of overlap.

FIGURE 11
This photograph of an old Communion set with improvised cloth backdrop at the Walpole Meeting House, Walpole vicinity, ME shows the extent to which the district officer in Maine was willing to bend the rules for photography in order to record this historic artifact for future generations. (Josiah T. Tubby, photographer, July 1936. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

Recognizing the Need for Historical Analysis

From the beginning, the administrative staff in Washington and the district officers keenly felt the lack of good historical information as they worked to set documentation priorities and convey the intellectual framework underpinning their drawing efforts. In his 1933 memorandum, Peterson proposed that any necessary historical data could be easily acquired from books, local and State institutions, or historical societies for "only the briefest resume of facts is necessary in each case and it does not seem necessary to build up an overhead for the purpose of getting data which is ordinarily obtainable gratis."[43] The Washington office echoed Peterson's view of historical data as easily attainable supplementary material, adding the caution that "Long accounts of genealogical matter and sentimental mythology have no place in this program. Factual matter only such as dates of buildings, owners, and other pertinent data is desired."[45] Discouraging the gathering of "sentimental mythology" indicates an interest in professional standards for history that echoed the caution against drawing conjectural reconstructions, but gathering historical data, like photography, was administered in a more haphazard manner than drawings.

The ideal of accuracy and professionalism gave way to a lack of historical training and the availability of unsubstantiated oral accounts. Numerous letters in the administrative files at the National Archives show that soliciting free historical information from local repositories was much more difficult than anticipated. Long lists of buildings sent to State libraries or local historical societies by program officials frequently were returned with polite letters informing the architects that such extensive historical information was not

readily available. Often "facts" about the buildings were simply gathered from oral traditions picked up during field measuring.

Initially hopeful that historical information would spontaneously fall into place for the extensive documentation effort, a basic format for the program's histories was quickly established. In December 1933, the Washington office offered details on gathering historical data. "Dates, the names of architects, builders, and original owners, important historical events which took place on the premises and other pertinent data" as well as the source of the information were to be recorded in the field notebooks used mainly for sketching and noting measurements.[45] A few days later, another bulletin from Washington clarified that this historical information and its sources were to be incorporated into typewritten statements on standard paper, not placed on the drawing sheets.[46] Most districts produced one-page lists of basic facts, while others did more substantial multipage documents with sources listed.(Figure 12) By 1935, the list of requested facts had evolved to emphasize additional architectural information such as condition, materials, and number of stories that could be more easily gathered by the architects on site.[47]

Exactly who prepared the historical reports was much less standardized. Even when district offices included a "historian" on the payroll, it is difficult to determine whether that person was academically trained, or a self-taught clerk given the title for assisting the district officer with indexing and transmittal. The program in New Jersey did employ Walter E. Rutt, who had a masters degree in history, as "supervising historian." Rutt's duties included helping Deputy District Officer Herbert Moffett locate structures for documentation and write a regional history. New Jersey also employed architect Lewis D. Cook as a "research editor" in addition to a number of clerks. Frank Choteau Brown complained about the historian situation in a letter to Thomas Vint in Washington—

Regarding "lack of data" on Massachusetts houses. This matter has BEEN "serious" since 1935! However we have never been able to get ANY properly qualified "Historian" from relief WPA rolls, and so could not do much of anything about it. During part of the last Federal project (Jan 1936 to July 1, 1937) I split an item allowed me for "secretary" and got two workers (not available on "relief") one to research and other to check and write data in final form on material dug out. It was from this material that about 65 first few sheets of data-records (many still incomplete) were sent off to Washington about the first of 1939. No work had been done on this since July 1, 1937 and no provision for such work is made in the current Federal HABS set-up, you will note!"[48]

Brown's lively correspondence with Washington is full of lamentations about needing competent staff to gather historical information and organize the material piling up in his Boston office.

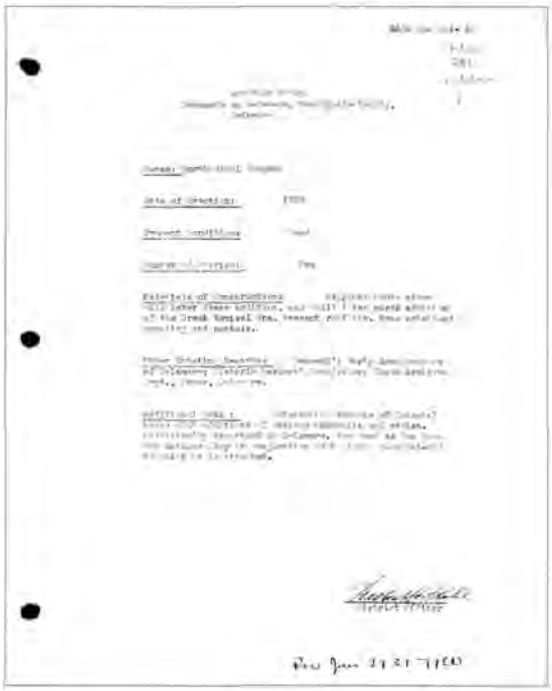

FIGURE 12
This concise historical data form for the Thomas Robinson House, Naaman, DE is typical of the forms filed with HABS. The historical data page was produced by Deputy District Officer Weston H. Blake and approved January 1937 by Thomas T. Waterman. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

Ultimately, the district officers were responsible for generating historical reports, but it quickly became clear that extensive archival research was necessary and much too time consuming. Several districts, including Louisiana, Ohio, and Missouri, worked with other WPA programs such as the Historical Records Survey to gather deed research and related primary source material.[49] However, the problem of analysis remained. The program was moving into the documentation of vernacular structures before most of those topics were covered thoroughly by secondary literature on American architecture. Information gathered offered an unprecedented opportunity for the study of American architecture across State and regional boundaries. A few years after the creation of HABS, an extensive effort was launched to produce an overview history for each district that would be gathered into a six-volume publication titled "Outline of the Development of Early American Architecture."[50] The publication would be illustrated with drawings and photographs, but would primarily highlight broad historical narratives lost in the individual structure format of the collection. The district officers would be the primary writers and Thomas T. Waterman would edit the manuscripts into a publication. Many district officers had extensive knowledge of regional history and forms through their architectural practices, but not all were able to compile a regional history. John Scarff, district officer for Maryland, completed a reasonably lengthy history but worried about its quality, admitting that the writing process "at least taught me the difference between an Architect and an Historian."[51]

Unpublished manuscripts of varying length and quality still survive in the administrative files at the National Archives.[52] Initial efforts focused on creat-

ing a New England volume first with other regions to follow. The WPA published a typescript version of the Massachusetts "Outline," but plans for the series collapsed probably because of the overwhelming task of creating a uniform level of quality across the manuscripts.

Lack of funds and the discontinuation of active HABS recording in 1941 due to wartime demands finally ended the project. State-based reports were never added to the collection at the Library of Congress. The opportunity to articulate the regional themes and architectural patterns identified during thousands of individual projects was lost. The decision to prioritize the work of architects without input from trained historians resulted in documentation that was very progressive in some areas but rather limited in historical data for decades to come.[53]

HABS Continues to Evolve

Today, the HABS collection at the Library of Congress includes documentation on over 28,000 historic buildings and sites nationwide, in over 51,000 drawings, 157,000 photographs, and more than 17,000 historical reports. Although the program as it had evolved in the field between 1934 and 1940 differed in many important aspects from the program as formulated on paper, the collection is a far richer resource of historic American architecture as a result. District officers early on adapted the program's general directives to suit the daily realities of preservation through documentation in a country with strong and very different regional, cultural, and architectural traditions. Ultimately, HABS squads from Maine to California saw value in preserving a record of America's past and creating an archive of the Nation's historic buildings.

The interest in the 1930s in a systematic effort to collect information about American culture placed HABS at a transition between the commercial practice of studying historic buildings for new design ideas and public interest in building a permanent record of early American architecture. Even HABS's founders underestimated the nationwide interest in American architecture that grew out of popular enthusiasm for history. One of the earliest attempts at comprehensive historical documentation in the National Park Service, HABS created a bridge between local expertise and the rigorous standards of a young Federal preservation bureaucracy.

When the Mission 66 initiative (see the article by Timothy Davis in this issue) revived active HABS documentation in 1956, the National Park Service asserted both continued interest in the program and the role of Federal agencies in historic preservation. HABS became the precursor to the growing number of cultural resources partnership programs in the National Park Service, particularly after the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 established the National Register of Historic Places. The establishment of the Historic

American Engineering Record (HAER) and the Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS) as complementary programs to HABS vividly illustrates both the success and flexibility of the HABS model, and the need to increase its scope to encompass new scholarship on the built environment. Founded in 1969, HAER documents historic industrial, engineering, and transportation resources. HALS, established in 2000, has just begun to develop methodologies for documenting landscapes.

The history of HABS embodies a constantly evolving tradition of cultural stewardship in the National Park Service. In 1940, cultural critic Lewis Mumford praised "the sort of initiative that should be followed everywhere, in order to keep a very significant part of our past from being completely obliterated," for "when the history of American architecture is finally written, the historian will be very grateful [to HABS]."[54] With typical prescience, Mumford continued: "There is now far more danger from indifference to buildings done after 1850 than there is from vandalism with respect to those built before that time."

HABS continually revisits the question of what is historic and important for a comprehensive story of American architecture. The scope of the collection continues to expand as new periods and types are deemed of historical interest, but constant change in our built environment means that too many examples "pass unrecorded into oblivion," to use Peterson's 1933 phrase. Despite new challenges after 70 years, HABS enjoys a unique continuity with the past through the continued conviction that architectural documentation preserves irreplaceable cultural evidence for future generations.

Lisa Pfueller Davidson, Ph.D., is an architectural historian and **Martin J. Perschler, Ph.D.**, is collections manager with the HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS program. Dr. Perschler is also the photographic collections editor for this journal.

Notes

1. Department of the Interior press release, April 5, 1934, Records of the National Park Service, Entry 38, Box 3, Record Group (RG) 79, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter, National Archives).

While the establishment of a systematic survey of historic architecture was a noteworthy achievement in the United States, HABS was not an "American original." An article on HABS in the *Baltimore Sun* on August 9, 1936, (Harry Haller, "Recording our Ancient Buildings") mentions a similar program established in England in 1931 as part of the dole system in that country. In addition to the English and possibly other European models, HABS also drew upon the several survey and publication experiments in the United States since the 1870s, some of which are discussed below.

2. Charles E. Peterson, "Memorandum for The Director, Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations," November 13, 1933, as reprinted in "American Notes," *Journal of the*

Society of Architectural Historians 16, no. 3 (October 1957): 30. See also Charles E. Peterson, "Memorandum," November 13, 1933, handwritten memo, Records of the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) Division, RG 515, National Archives.

3. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Willis, "To Preserve the Nation's Past: The Growth of Historic Preservation in the National Park Service During the 1930s," *The Public Historian* 9, No. 2 (Spring 1987): 25. While there does not seem to be a direct connection between E.O. 6133 and the creation of HABS, the chronological proximity of these two initiatives indicates the growing awareness of historical stewardship by the National Park Service.

The date of HABS's first circular—December 12, 1933—is generally accepted as the activation date of the survey.

4. Peterson, "Memorandum."

5. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 8.

6. HABS Circular No. 1, December 12, 1933, Entry 11, Bulletins and Circulars, 1933-38, RG 515, National Archives.

7. David Gebhard, "The American Colonial Revival in the 1930s," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22, No. 2-3 (Summer/Autumn 1987): 120. The common use of "colonial" architecture to mean nearly all pre-Victorian architectural modes meant that a diverse range of styles and types fell under the umbrella of early American. See Kenneth L. Ames, introduction to *The Colonial Revival in America*, edited by Alan Axelrod (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1985), 12; and William B. Rhoads, preface to *The Colonial Revival* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).

8. Warren Susman's essay, "The Culture of the Thirties," provides the classic assessment of the rise of a popular idea of culture. See Warren I. Susman, *Culture As History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 150-183. See also Terry A. Cooney, *Balancing Acts: American Thought and Culture in the 1930s* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), especially chapter 4.

9. Dell Upton, "Outside the Academy: A Century of Vernacular Architecture Studies, 1890-1990," in *The Architectural Historian in America*, Studies in the History of Art 35, edited by Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, 1990), 206.

10. John Bodnar discusses the tension between local historical concerns and a national agenda in *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). On regional designs for new Federal Government buildings see Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 262-263.

11. On the organization and reorganization of the HABS districts see Bulletin No. 7, December 20, 1933; Bulletin No. 12, January 19, 1934; Bulletin No. 50, April 15, 1936; and Bulletin No. 60, May 10, 1938. When State-based HABS districts were eligible to receive national WPA funding in 1936, the district officer could apply for a $200 monthly salary and travel expenses. It was suggested that if the district officer was unable to take the paid WPA position his deputy should fill it (this happened in New Jersey). See Bulletin No. 44, December 23, 1935. HABS Bulletins researched for this article are from the office reference library of HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

12. Wilton Claude Corkern, Jr., "Architects, Preservationists, and the New Deal: The Historic American Buildings Survey, 1933-42," (Ph.D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 1984), 25.

13. See "HABS as a Permanent Plan," HABS Bulletin No. 32, April 6, 1934. HABS followed from a long line of similar architectural recording projects, most notably the multivolume work, *The Georgian Period*, a collection of photographs, measured drawings, and historical essays

appearing in the *American Architect and Building News* prior to 1899. See William Rotch Ware, ed., *The Georgian Period: A Collection of Papers Dealing with "Colonial" or XVIII-Century Architecture in the United States*, 4 volumes (Boston, MA: American Architect and Building News Company, 1899-1902).

14. Earl H. Reed, "Report on the Historic American Buildings Survey in Northern Illinois to the Chicago Chapter of the American Institute of Architects," June 16, 1936, Entry 7, State Organization Files, 1933-56, Box 5 (Illinois), RG 515, National Archives.

15. Travel notes, December 6-7, 1934, Entry 7, Box 18 (Ohio), RG 515, National Archives. On Frary see Charles E. Peterson, "The Survey's Beginnings" in *Historic America: Buildings, Structures, and Sites*, edited by C. Ford Peatross (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1983), 9.

16. "List of Possible Projects for Colorado as Submitted by Mr. Arthur Fisher, a member of the district advisory committee," n.d., Entry 7, Box 3 (Colorado), RG 515, National Archives.

17. Frank Choteau Brown to Thomas T. Waterman, assistant architect, Washington, DC, September 19, 1936, Entry 7, Box 8 (Massachusetts), RG 515, National Archives. There is no evidence that this building was documented.

18. Brown to Waterman, August 26, 1936, Entry 7, Box 8 (Massachusetts), RG 515, National Archives.

19. HABS Bulletin No. 3, December 20, 1933.

20. E. Walter Burkhardt to Thomas C. Vint, January 25, 1934, Entry 7, Box 1 (Alabama), RG 515, National Archives.

21. Eugene W. Clark, deputy district officer, to Waterman, October 6, 1936, Entry 7, Box 11 (New Jersey), RG 515, National Archives.

22. HABS Bulletin No. 3, December 20, 1933.

23. Herbert Moffett to Seymour Williams, Mid-Atlantic division chief, HABS, March 26, 1936, Entry 7, Box 13 (New Jersey), RG 515, National Archives.

24. Brown to Peterson, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis, MO, March 29, 1939, Entry 7, Box 8 (Massachusetts), RG 515, National Archives.

25. See, for example, Charles Magruder, "The White Pine Monograph Series," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22, No. 1 (March 1963): 39-41. The series inaugurated a measured drawings competition for young architects. Entries had to address a set of design requirements and document a structure built of wood. HABS has a measured drawings competition named in honor of Charles E. Peterson.

26. Between December 1933 and March 1934, HABS issued four bulletins devoted to measured drawings: Bulletin No. 4, December 22, 1933, "Measurement and Field Notes"; Bulletin No. 5, December 26, 1933, "Preparation of Record Drawings and Date"; Bulletin No. 17, January 25, 1934, "Check List for Correcting Final Drawings"; and Bulletin No. 21, February 8, 1934, "Cover Sheets for HABS Drawings."

27. HABS Bulletin No. 5, December 26, 1933.

28. HABS Bulletin No. 17, January 25, 1934.

29. Ibid. Bulletin No. 17 was a checklist for completed drawings.

30. Ibid. Squads were advised not to "sacrifice clarity or beauty to save paper."

31. Ibid. The survey made room for exceptions, however. In cases where facts about the original condition of a structure could be derived from "photographs, old drawings, the memory of eye-witnesses or other apparently dependable sources," the teams were permitted to produce reconstructions in the form of supplemental drawings. Guidelines from the period are silent on

the matter of documented reconstructions, specifically whether a reconstructed building should be considered for the survey. Additional research into the collection might uncover some answers.

32. Peterson, "Memorandum."

33. Joseph M. Kellogg to John P. O'Neill, October 16, 1934, Entry 7 (Kansas), RG 515, National Archives. Quotations are Kellogg's.

34. Ibid.

35. Herbert Holtz to W. G. Carnes, director of the National Park Service, January 6, 1940, Entry 7 (Indiana), RG 515, National Archives.

36. Brown to Vint, June 25, 1941, Entry 7 (Massachusetts), RG 515, National Archives.

37. Josiah T. Tubby to Brown, June 30, 1937, Entry 7 (Maine), RG 515, National Archives.

38. Elizabeth J. de Brezeni, memorandum to Herbert N. Moffett, AIA State supervisor, September 4, 1940, Entry 7 (New Jersey), RG 515, National Archives.

39. HABS Bulletin No. 11, January 8, 1934.

40. See, for instance, Peterson's "Memorandum"; see also HABS Circular No. 1, December 12, 1933, and HABS Bulletins No. 6, December 29, 1933, and No. 11, January 8, 1934.

41. Between November 23 and December 15, 1936, HABS significantly reduced the number of personnel involved in the project. Many photographers were let go. See John P. O'Neill, "General letter to all district officers," November 23, 1936, in Corkern, volume 2, n.p. In a separate letter to Joseph P. Sims, the district officer for Pennsylvania, O'Neill responded to Sims's questions about administrative costs by stating that he was sure Sims could produce the photographs and written data for the projects himself. "This is being done admirably by other District Officers with small working units," he added. See O'Neill to Sims, August 23, 1936, Entry 7 (Pennsylvania), RG 515, National Archives.

42. O'Neill to John H. Scarff, district officer for Maryland, August 8, 1936, Entry 7 (Maryland), RG 515, National Archives.

43. Reprint of Peterson's "Memorandum," 31.

44. HABS Circular No. 1, December 12, 1933.

45. HABS Bulletin No. 4, December 22, 1933.

46. HABS Bulletin No. 5, December 26, 1933.

47. HABS Bulletin No. 40, February 14, 1935.

48. Brown to Vint, June 21, 1940, Entry 7 (Massachusetts), RG 515, National Archives.

49. Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Survey in Louisiana in the 1930s," in Peatross, 27; J.W. Thomas, district officer, Cleveland, OH, to Vint, May 20, 1940, Entry 7, Box 18 (Ohio) and Peterson to O'Neill, November 1, 1937, Entry 7, Box 11 (Missouri), RG 515, National Archives.

50. HABS Bulletin No. 54, November 16, 1936, Records of the Works Progress Administration, Entry 215, Box 514 (HABS), RG 69, National Archives. HABS Bulletin No. 54 provided guidelines for the district reports, but additional research about the genesis of this idea is necessary. It is likely that Thomas T. Waterman, as the designated editor, was instrumental. Like other restoration architects during this period, Waterman also wrote architectural history. On this phenomena, see Keith N. Morgan and Richard Cheek, "History in the Service of Design: American Architect-Historians, 1870-1940," in MacDougall, 61-75.

51. Scarff to O'Neill, March 5, 1937, Entry 7 (Maryland), RG 515, National Archives.

52. Draft manuscripts for the "Outline" publication are found in numerous State files in the HABS/HAER files, RG 515, National Archives.

53. Although American architectural history was less frequently studied in this period, scholars were beginning to examine the regional cultural patterns represented by architecture. Most notable was geographer Fred Kniffen, who published the seminal article "Louisiana House Types" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 26 (December 1936): 179-193. The HABS catalogs still being published by many States might be viewed as the intellectual successors to the "Outline" publication, but the State framework precludes extensive regional analysis. Recent examples include New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, Office of Cultural Affairs, *Recording a Vanishing Legacy: The Historic American Buildings Survey in New Mexico, 1933-Today* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001); and Jessie Poesch and Barbara SoRelle Bacot, eds., *Louisiana Buildings 1720-1970: The Historic American Buildings Survey* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997). Thanks to Senior HABS Historian Catherine Lavoie for pointing out this connection.

54. Lewis Mumford to Peterson, January 21, 1940, Entry 7, Box 11 (Missouri), RG 515, National Archives.

The fall issue of *Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation's Heritage* features a pair of articles on the Historic American Buildings Survey; one looks to the past—a photo essay celebrating HABS's 70th anniversary; the other looks to the future—an article on preserving an African-American neighborhood in North Philadelphia, recently documented by HABS.

Historic Bridge Management: A Comprehensive Approach

by Amy Squitieri and Mary Ebeling

New York boasts an extensive transportation network, including roads, railroads, and canals that tie together dispersed urban centers. Bridges are an integral part of this system, carrying roads and railroads over waterways, valleys, other roads, and parkways. In addition to being functional, bridges are recognized for their beauty and iconic stature—the soaring structure of a vertical lift bridge or the textured surface of a fieldstone arch. This article discusses New York State's efforts to identify, evaluate, and preserve significant historic bridges on public roads.(Figure 1)

FIGURE 1
The Roosevelt Island Bridge over the East River in New York City is an example of a vertical lift bridge. (Courtesy of Mead & Hunt, Inc.)

New York's recently-completed historic bridge inventory and management plan project is a comprehensive and ambitious approach to the preservation of the State's nearly 600 bridges listed in or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. The inventory provides a methodology for evaluating a large population of historic resources. The management plan recommends best practices for bridge owners, whether State or a local government, that are consistent with both transportation and preservation needs. Developed by the New York State Department of Transportation (hereafter, Department of Transportation) in cooperation with a broad range of interest groups, the plan reflects a high level of coordination among preservation organizations and local bridge owners. Preservation consultants from Mead & Hunt, Inc., of Madison, Wisconsin, assisted by AKRF, Inc. of New York City, completed the historic bridge inventory and facilitated the cooperative effort that resulted in the management plan.

This article describes key elements in developing New York's historic bridge management plan. It discusses how early and intensive consultation with a working group of bridge owners and preservationists helped to shape the direction and success of both the inventory and management plan. It details how New York's management plan drew on lessons learned from other States during two decades of attempts to maintain historic bridges in transportation use. Finally, the article will argue that a flexible approach to historic bridge management—one that balances potentially competing interests of functionality and historic preservation—can strengthen the chances of a historic bridge's survival.

Project Summary

The New York historic bridge inventory and management plan project is rooted in more than two decades of Federal Highway Administration policy. The Surface

Transportation Assistance Act of 1978 for the first time permitted States to use funds from the Federal Highway Administration's Bridge Replacement and Rehabilitation Program to conduct inventories of historic bridges. In 1980, the Administration adopted a policy that encouraged States to conduct such inventories.[1] Soon thereafter, New York and many other States undertook inventories to identify bridges eligible for listing in the National Register. As these first inventories became outdated or were found to be incomplete, State transportation agencies, including New York's, began to reassess and build upon their early efforts.

Also shaping this second look were the principles of Context Sensitive Design initiated by the Federal Highway Administration and the approach outlined in the Department of Transportation's 1998 Environmental Initiative. The Context Sensitive Design principles encourage planners and designers to preserve a community's historic resources, including bridges, in transportation projects. The Environmental Initiative acknowledges the agency's commitment to protect, conserve, or enhance the natural and man-made environment. Following these directives, the Department of Transportation committed itself to a transportation planning process that considers the importance of the State's environmental and historic resources.

The historic bridge management plan is the culmination of this effort. The plan was developed following completion of three major preliminary steps. First, a historic context for pre-1961 bridges was developed to provide background to support the evaluation of New York's historic bridges. Second, the Department of Transportation, the Federal Highway Administration, and the State Historic Preservation Office selected bridges for field examination. Third, the results of the field inventory were evaluated to determine National Register eligibility.

The historic context study served as the foundation for the historic bridge inventory and management plan. The study identified categories of bridges with potential historic and engineering interest and provided a basis for National Register eligibility determinations. The study's methodology focused on evaluating bridges by type, with particular emphasis on standardized designs.

Historical Background on New York State's Bridges

Bridge building went hand-in-hand with early European settlement of New York, facilitating the development of new communities. Until the beginning of the 19th century, towns struggled to support bridge-building activities. However, in 1801 the State passed a law giving county boards of supervisors the power to assist towns in undertaking projects.[2] This law marked the beginning of State involvement in bridge building.

During the 19th century, stone arch construction was common for short crossings. Longer crossings were typically traversed with wooden bridges. Covered bridges utilizing the Burr arch-truss or the Town lattice truss were dominant prior to the introduction of metal bridges in the 1870s.(Figure 2) A preference for metal bridges grew in the 1880s, although stone and wood continued to be used when materials and craftsmen were available.

FIGURE 2
The Blenheim Covered Bridge in Schoharie County is a single-span covered bridge constructed in 1854 and is designated as a National Historic Landmark. (Courtesy of Mead & Hunt, Inc.)

In response to the increased rate of bridge construction in the first decade of the 20th century, New York passed the Highway Law of 1908, establishing the New York State Department of Highways and directing it to supervise State-funded bridge projects. Centralization of the State's bridge program led to greater standardization in bridge design.[3]

In 1910, New York provided instructions to county and town superintendents on bridges, including suggestions on types and materials. The Department of Highways noted that stone arch bridges were still constructed at a reasonable cost where suitable material was available. Steel had replaced cast and wrought iron and was used for both truss and girder bridge designs. Eventually, concrete gained in acceptance.[4]

Although truss or steel girder bridge designs were prescribed for sites where soft soils could cause the abutments to move, the State continued to develop concrete bridge types. In 1909, the State issued standard plans for a range of truss types and the following year, issued typical designs for reinforced concrete I-beam and T-beam bridges.[5] Town and county officials quickly took advantage of the then 47 standard plans. They proved exceedingly popular and by 1912, 84 standard bridge designs were available.[6]

The establishment of the New York State Department of Public Works in 1923 expanded the use and dissemination of standard bridge designs. The new department developed standard designs for truss, slab, I-beam, T-beam, and plate girder bridge types.[7]

Despite the Great Depression, the Department of Public Works sponsored a record number of bridge projects in 1931, but the number of projects declined in the following years. With limited funding, the department sought to replace or strengthen load-restricted bridges located on major highways with high traffic volumes.[8] Although truss, concrete arch, rigid frame, and timber trestle bridges continued to be constructed, more economical beams, slabs, and girder bridges became the structures of choice during this frugal period.[9]

While the Depression slowed the pace of bridge building, the onset of World War II virtually halted construction as the State and the Nation faced critical shortages in labor and materials. However, the Department of Public Works continued to develop plans for new bridges. During the postwar period, the

majority of bridges were rigid frames, slabs, and I-beams. The number of rigid frames slated for construction reflects the increasing emphasis on grade separation associated with parkway construction, and the need to separate underpasses and overpasses. Bridge-building activities up to the 1960s focused on completing bridges over the State's parkways; beginning work on the New York State Thruway; upgrading and maintaining the existing highway system; and experimenting with different types of materials such as aluminum, and longer span lengths utilizing new technologies like post-tensioning.

Inventorying the Statewide Bridge Population

The initial challenge of the historic bridge inventory was the sheer number of bridges—nearly 11,000 statewide—that appeared to meet the threshold 50-year-old requirement for National Register eligibility. The Department of Transportation decided to evaluate the eligibility of all bridge types built before 1961 so that the resulting inventory would be comprehensive and would not need to be updated for 10 years. This decision distinguishes New York from many other States that have limited their inventories to one type or one period at a time. For example, the 1990 inventory by the Ohio Department of Transportation—its second in a series—focused on bridges built during the 1940s. In 2001, Ohio published *The Concrete Arch Supplement to the Ohio Historic Bridge Inventory, Evaluation and Preservation Plan*, which addressed a single type.[10] To meet the practical challenge of evaluating the population of almost 11,000 pre-1961 bridges in New York, the consultant, Mead & Hunt, developed an inventory methodology to select a manageable number of bridges that warranted field review.

FIGURE 3
This open spandrel concrete deck arch carrying Route 30 over Mine Kill in Schoharie County was included in the field review and was determined to be eligible for the National Register. (Courtesy of Mead & Hunt, Inc.)

Four steps were used in the selection process. First, a contextual study defined areas in New York's bridge-building history and pinpointed the years that standardized plans were adopted. Second, the Department of Transportation's existing Bridge Inventory and Inspection System database was used to cull out structures other than bridges and bridges that are not owned or managed by the Department. Third, repair histories were used to identify bridges that had substantial alterations and, therefore, were not eligible for the National Register. Fourth, bridges were divided into groups based on their potential for National Register eligibility.

Applying this methodology, the Department of Transportation, in cooperation with the Federal Highway Administration and the State Historic Preservation Office, determined which bridges needed to be examined in the field. The rest would be evaluated based on information already available in existing files and databases.(Figure 3)

As the first step, Mead & Hunt, assisted by AKRF Inc., prepared the historic context study of New York State's pre-1961 bridges. The study established a

framework for understanding the historical and engineering significance of the bridges within their statewide context. This research and the review of department records helped establish the evolution of standard designs. In addition, questionnaires were distributed to preservation organizations, local historians and historical societies, and county highway superintendents seeking information about bridges deemed significant by communities across the State.

The second step in the inventory methodology used the Department of Transportation's Building Inventory and Inspection database to eliminate bridges outside the scope of the project. Assistance from the database manager at the Department of Transportation proved critical to this process. Bridges in four categories were excluded: those not managed by the Department of Transportation; those previously evaluated for inclusion in the State or National Registers; structures (culverts, ramps, and tunnels) other than bridges; and those with a superstructure replaced after 1960.[11] This process eliminated important historic structures, such as the Brooklyn Bridge, that are maintained by other agencies.

In the third step, bridges were eliminated from further consideration if they had major alterations, such as new or replaced main members or substantial widening. Photographs and construction records in bridge inspection files were used to determine the scale of alterations. These three steps reduced the bridge population for which additional information was needed to approximately 5,100 bridges.

Following these exclusions, bridges were sorted into subgroups based on defining features including bridge types (arch, beam/girder, movable, suspension, and truss); variations within types; construction materials; and construction dates, including whether pre- or post-standardization. Uncommon bridge types, identified as such in the research for the contextual study, like trusses (other than the Warren, Pratt, and Parker types), and suspension and movable bridges, were put in a single subgroup because of their rarity.

Other bridge types—including arches, beams/girders, and common trusses—were organized into more specific subgroups to help identify significant examples. For example, arches were classified by material into steel and masonry subgroups. Concrete arches were then further divided by deck arches and through arches. Deck arches were then divided into open spandrel and closed spandrel subgroups. Beam and girder subgroups included I-beam, rolled beam, rigid frame, jack arch, box girder, through girder, continuous beam, slab, and T-beam. Common trusses were divided into Warren, Pratt, and Parker types. Common trusses and beams and girders were also divided into pre- and post-standardized construction.

The subgroup divisions also recognized special features of bridges. These bridges may have been constructed by a well-known builder or designer, possess important historical associations, or display distinctive aesthetic treatment. A jack arch bridge constructed by the Works Progress Administration that includes a decorative stone veneer would be an example.

After the bridges were divided into subgroups, structures were chosen for the field survey based on the number of bridges in the subgroup, the significance of the subgroup, the presence of any special features, and whether the bridge had been altered. The entire population of the uncommon bridge types was surveyed. A sample of beam/girder bridges that retained integrity—not even minor alterations—and that possessed significant traits, such as a known historical association, were selected for field study. The selected beam/girder bridges were cross-checked against the entire population of this type and found to be representative of the subtypes, materials, geographic location, and ages of bridges found in the larger group.(Figure 4)

FIGURE 4
This uncommon multiple-span lenticular truss bridge carrys Dutchtown Road over the Susquehanna River in Broome County and is listed in the National Register. (Courtesy of Mead & Hunt, Inc.)

Implementation of the inventory methodology resulted in the selection of 1,900 bridges (out of approximately 5,100) for field survey. Surveyors used an individual survey form for each bridge that included preprinted information obtained from the existing bridge database. Surveyors confirmed or corrected existing data, recorded new information, and photographed each bridge.

Ultimately, nearly 600 historic bridges meeting National Register criteria were identified. Eligibility decisions reflected a consensus among the major parties concerning all pre-1961 bridges that are managed by the Department of Transportation on public roads in the State. The Historic Bridge Database compiled these eligibility determinations with information specific to the individual bridges.[12] With this information, the Department of Transportation proceeded to develop a management plan for this population of National Register-listed and eligible bridges.

New York State's Management Plan

The Department of Transportation's goal for this project was to develop and adopt management practices for an identified historic bridge population. Throughout the project, the participation of a representative from the Department of Transportation's Structures Division, and of regional structural engineers and bridge maintenance engineers, contributed to a focus on workable recommendations that would keep bridges in use. These engineers worked closely with the consultant and the Department of Transportation's Environmental Analysis Bureau, which spearheaded the project. The final historic bridge management plan satisfied participants by recommending practices that are consistent with the needs of both transportation and preservation.

Through use of the plan, the Department of Transportation encourages the preservation of locally-owned historic bridges in the State by disseminating and sharing maintenance recommendations. They include pressure washing; improving drainage and water flow on the deck; maintaining bearings; repairing cracks in the superstructure with similar materials; tightening truss members; spot-painting metal components; and repairing and/or replacing decking, joints, and railings with compatible materials.

Learning from Other States

New York's management plan draws on lessons learned from other State's often unsuccessful attempts to preserve historic bridges in transportation use. Consultant AKRF, Inc. conducted in-depth interviews with transportation and historic preservation staff in nine States actively pursuing historic bridge preservation programs.[13] The consultant also collected and reviewed management plans and preservation agreements that had been prepared by these and other States.[14]

It was clear that States have benefited from an inclusive approach to evaluating their stock of bridges. However, due to the expense of a comprehensive, statewide historic bridge inventory, many States opt to tackle the project in phases, looking at one type or period at a time as funds become available. Scheduled, periodic updates of the inventory were also found to be useful as they allow for the recognition of newly eligible bridges and the reconsideration of previous determinations, if necessary.

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Other practices contribute to the effectiveness of management plans. Early consideration of management options has proven useful as owners identify the condition of their historic bridge(s) and evaluate preservation options prior to scheduling a rehabilitation or replacement project. Annual review of the management plan with participating agencies was also recommended to encourage continued commitment among agency representatives and accommodate staff changes. Another helpful management tool is a well-maintained tracking database to facilitate rapid retrieval of information on individual historic bridges and aid in maintaining up-to-date information on each bridge covered by the management plan. Alternate or flexible engineering standards allow a bridge's historic integrity to be maintained while current safety and traffic needs are met.

Other policies and programs that support bridge preservation include intergovernmental agreements, bridge adoption programs, and flexible design standards. Programmatic agreements have been used by many States to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and provide an operational framework for implementation of a State's historic bridge management practices. Transportation agencies have also used agreements with bridge owners to obtain local responsibility for historic bridges that do not fall under the State's jurisdiction. Although finding new owners for historic bridges has often been difficult, targeted reuse campaigns have succeeded that match bridges with organizations or government units that have a real need.

Incentives to encourage bridge preservation have been offered in the form of both funding and education programs. Programs such as the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21) have been used to fund bridge maintenance and rehabilitation and can help overcome the difficulty of financing a historic bridge preservation project. Educational programs have been used to inform agency personnel, bridge owners, historical organizations, and interested members of the public about management practices and preservation opportunities. Some States have sponsored workshops on bridge rehabilitation.

Innovative techniques include the application of new bridge rehabilitation methods and the promotion of awards and easement programs. Virginia has used two pioneering rehabilitation methods: galvanization instead of repainting for steel bridges and reinforcement of masonry arches with grout anchors. Ohio annually recognizes county engineers who demonstrate a commitment to historic bridge preservation through successful or innovative rehabilitation projects. In Vermont, towns may sign a participation agreement conveying an easement to the State, giving up certain development rights for a bridge and agreeing to conduct basic maintenance. In return, the State funds the rehabilitation of the bridge and pays for future, more significant maintenance on the bridge.

Other States related challenges in preserving historic bridges. Bridge storage and relocation efforts have often been unsuccessful, perhaps due to ineffective marketing techniques or the lack of need for a bridge with limited function. Insufficient funding remains a pervasive problem for historic bridge preservation projects. In addition, the absence of methods to track the costs of bridge rehabilitation hinders a realistic comparison of management options. Transportation agency representatives interviewed stated that owners may prefer a new bridge to meet their transportation needs and speculated that this was due to concerns over cost, maintenance, and potential load restrictions. Inadequate public education or participation in planning processes fails to build an understanding of historic bridges and support for preservation options.

Based on the analysis of other States' efforts, three factors were considered to be key to long-term success and were incorporated into the New York management plan. First, including many parties in developing the plan encourages cooperation from a wide range of bridge owners and historic preservationists. Second, a comprehensive approach extends the plan to all listed and eligible bridges in the State and provides flexibility for bridge owners. Third, the plan reflects a balance between function and preservation to maximize the chances for saving historic bridges.

Outreach and Inclusivity

In accordance with its environmental policy, the Department of Transportation recognized that successful implementation of the plan depended on strong local support, reflecting the needs, interests, and values of local communities and organizations that own historic bridges. Developing the plan with a high level of participation by county and local representatives was viewed as an important first step to gaining its broad acceptance.

Early outreach efforts involved local governments across the State in developing the management plan. As part of this outreach, the Department of Transportation and its consultant made presentations about the historic bridge inventory and management plan project at conferences attended by local bridge engineers and county highway superintendents and at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation.

The Department of Transportation recognized the need for continuing consultation throughout the development of the management plan. A working group of representatives from the Department's main office and regional offices, the Federal Highway Administration, the State Historic Preservation Office, county governments, statewide preservation organizations, and the County Highway Superintendents Association participated in a series of meetings that shaped the final management plan. Participants offered strategies for problem solving from the local government perspective and reviewed and commented on an outline and drafts of the management plan.

Comprehensive Approach and Maximizing Preservation Potential

The Department of Transportation consciously avoided a "one size fits all" management approach. By focusing on bridge types rather than individual bridges, the historic bridge management plan is applicable to the State's nearly 600 National Register-listed and eligible bridges and allows engineers and preservationists flexibility in crafting individualized plans for their bridges.

By providing a range of options for preserving the State's historic bridges, the Department of Transportation addressed the challenge of maintaining func-

tionality and historic integrity. This flexibility should increase the chances for the preservation of the State's historic bridges. Safety concerns and changing transportation needs will present a recurring challenge for preservationists and engineers planning the rehabilitation of a historic bridge. It is often difficult to retain a historic truss bridge, for example, if the current traffic volume requires widening of the bridge. In this situation, bridge engineers may find themselves in an intractable position. The cost of the widening may be prohibitive compared to building a new structure. Widening the bridge could damage the qualities that made the bridge eligible for the National Register.

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The funding solutions provided in the management plan also point to creative options that may ease the fiscal problems often encountered when preserving a historic bridge. These options may include the use of grants available through the State's Environmental Protection Fund, which provides funding for preservation projects, or the Preserve New York grant program administered by the Preservation League of New York State, which supports planning studies by nonprofit groups and local governments. These funding sources are in addition to the more commonly known funds, such as the enhancement funds available through TEA-21.

Following the recommendations in the management plan, bridge owners can analyze their historic bridges and set priorities for maintenance and rehabilitation. To help local governments establish priorities for historic bridge maintenance and rehabilitation, they are encouraged to complete a condition assessment and then prioritize bridges needing maintenance or rehabilitation using their own criteria. If they identify a projected budget shortfall, counties, cities, and towns have been advised to work with Department of Transportation to arrange funding for bridge maintenance and rehabilitation.

Lessons Learned

New York's experience with its historic bridge inventory and management plan project offers guidance for others involved in the inventory and analysis of large numbers of historic resources. The creation of a database of New York's historic bridges greatly simplified implementation of the inventory

methology. The ability to track the status of National Register-listed and eligible bridges is one of the most important long-term benefits of the database.

To monitor the effectiveness of its management plan, the Historic Bridge Database will be updated annually to reflect bridges that have been removed or replaced, or changes in eligibility status. Based on these updates, new paper copies of lists of eligible, listed, and noneligible bridges will be generated and distributed to the regions. The regions may then inform local governments of any changes in the status of locally-owned eligible or listed bridges. In future years, the Department of Transportation will be able to access information on whether historic bridges are being retained for continued use and by whom.

Conclusion

The Department of Transportation anticipates that its plan will streamline the management of historic bridges and result in the best possible chance of their survival, consistent with transportation needs. Continued outreach to local units of governments will help to strengthen its prospects. Engineers, government officials, and the public can benefit from additional education on why historic bridges should be preserved, how to approach preservation projects, and how rehabilitation projects can succeed.

The management plan discusses options for outreach, including producing a booklet on bridge maintenance and rehabilitation issues to distribute to engineers. Another possibility is a publication on New York State's historic bridges that would be distributed to historical societies and libraries. As part of the outreach effort, the Department of Transportation has placed the documents produced for the Historic Bridge Inventory and Management Plan project on its Website, http://www.dot.state.ny.us/eab/hbridge.html. The Department of Transportation is well-positioned to track the plan's impact over time through the database developed as part of this project. The project demonstrates how a public agency can address a large group of historic resources and serves as a model for the preservation of significant bridges.

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Notes

1. William P. Chamberlin, *Historic Bridges-Criteria for Decision Making* (Washington, DC: Transportation Research Board, 1983), 12.

2. Charles H. Betts, *Highway Manual of the State of New York* (Albany, NY: New York State Statutory Revision Commission, 1904), 260.

3. New York State Archives and Records Administration, *Guide to Records in the New York State Archives* (New York: New York State Archives and Records Administration, 1993), 308.

4. New York State Department of Highways, *Directions Prescribed by the Commission for the Guidance of County and Town Superintendents Regarding the Erection and Repair of Bridges* (Albany, NY: J.B. Lyon Co., 1910), 22.

5. "Historic Bridge and Road Survey for Cattaraugus County," correspondence file, Mead & Hunt, Inc., 1999; "Building-Structure Inventory Form for the Lyndon Road Bridge," collection of the New York State Historic Preservation Office; New York State, *Directions Prescribed*, 24-26, Plates 8-11.

6. New York State, *Report of the State Commission of Highways for 1910* (Albany, NY: J.B. Lyon Co., 1911), 471; New York State, *Report of the State Commission of Highways for 1912*, 418.

7. New York State Department of Public Works, *Annual Report of the Superintendent for 1925*, 15; New York State Department of Public Works, *Annual Report of the Superintendent for 1926*, 8.

8. New York State Department of Public Works, *Annual Report of the Superintendent for 1932*, 106.

9. Ibid., 105.

10. Ohio Department of Transportation in cooperation with the Federal Highway Administration, *The Second Ohio Historic Bridge Inventory, Evaluation and Preservation Plan* (Columbus: Ohio Department of Transportation, 1990); Ohio Department of Transportation in cooperation with the Federal Highway Administration, *The Concrete Arch Supplement to the Ohio Historic Bridge Inventory, Evaluation and Preservation Plan* (Columbus: Ohio Department of Transportation, 1994).

11. Previously evaluated bridges included those already determined eligible or ineligible and those listed in the State Register and/or National Register.

12. A discussion of eligible bridges by type is included in the consultant's report, Mead & Hunt, Inc. and AKRF, Inc., "Evaluation of National Register Eligibility" (Albany: New York State Department of Transportation, Environmental Analysis Bureau, January 2002).

13. The surveyed States were Connecticut, Georgia, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia. Renewable Technologies, Inc., completed a comparative analysis of all States' historic bridge activities in 2001. See Rossillon Mitzi, "A Comparative Inventory of Statewide Historic Bridge Mangement Planning Efforts (Draft)" (North Dakota Department of Transportation, Bismarck, ND, March 29, 2001). The results influenced the selection of States that were contacted for this project.

14. These experiences were summarized in an interim report. Mead & Hunt, Inc. and AKRF, Inc., "Survey of Selected States with Historic Bridge Management Plans" (Albany: New York State Department of Transportation, Environmental Analysis Bureau, June 2001).

Archeology, Ancient Human Impacts on the Environment, and Cultural Resource Management on Channel Islands National Park, California

by Torben C. Rick and Jon M. Erlandson

Motivated by contemporary environmental challenges, archeologists, ecologists, and other researchers are investigating examples of ancient human impact on the environment.[1] Historical ecology—an interdisciplinary field focused on understanding how people have interacted with and altered the environments that they have inhabited through time—supplies a framework for investigating long-term human environmental relationships.[2] Archeology and other historical disciplines provide insight into the impacts of ancient people on the environment, how people responded to environmental degradation, and the types of solutions and catastrophes that emerged.

FIGURE 1
The study is located in the Northern Channel Islands and the Santa Barbara Channel area. (Courtesy of the authors.)

A collaborative and multidisciplinary project was recently initiated to investigate ancient human impacts on what is now Channel Islands National Park in California.(Figure 1) The Channel Islands contain the earliest evidence of maritime people in North America and a spectacular record of coastal hunter-gatherers that spans the last 12,000 years.[3] The research project integrates cultural resource management, extensive radiocarbon dating, and salvage excavation to produce a long-term and relatively comprehensive picture of local environments and human impacts on the marine and terrestrial ecosystems of Channel Islands National Park. The initial phase of the study demonstrates that the Channel Islands may soon provide information of regional and global significance to understanding ancient human impacts on the environment.

Channel Islands Shell Middens as Ecological Laboratories

The Chumash and Tongva peoples of the California coast and Channel Islands were among the most populous hunter-gatherers in the world. They often lived in large villages or towns with a hierarchical sociopolitical organization and complex exchange networks and interaction spheres. The Chumash and their predecessors left behind a well-preserved and continuous archeological record of coastal land use, subsistence, and other activities.(Figure 2)

Most archeological sites on the Channel Islands are large shell middens, composed of the refuse of the site occupants, including the remains of a variety of shellfish, fish, birds, and mammals.(Figure 3) Although the preservation and stratigraphic integrity of Channel Islands' archeological sites are generally outstanding, many of these shell middens are heavily eroding and have been impacted by cultural and natural processes. Through the identification of vari-

ous shells and bones, the shell middens provide an ideal source of ecological information that can be used to reconstruct local marine and terrestrial ecosystems, human subsistence patterns, technology, and other aspects of society.

By comparing the animal remains from a variety of sites or components dating to different time periods, the project investigates how ecological communities varied through space and time, and how humans influenced and were influenced by these biotic changes. Such data are crucial to designing effective restoration and remediation plans for both terrestrial and marine ecosystems.[4]

Cultural Resource Management and Historical Ecology

The initial phases of our study involved collecting samples from sites for radiocarbon dating and excavation to obtain information on human subsistence and interaction with the environment. These data established a chronology of when sites were occupied, the activities people engaged in at those sites, and ultimately how these patterns changed through time and across space. The research has been management-oriented, targeting sites that have been heavily impacted by marine and wind erosion.[5] All of the excavations have been conducted in eroding and threatened sites in consultation with Channel Islands National Park staff and local Chumash representatives. Research efforts are balanced with developing effective strategies for managing and preserving the archeological record.

FIGURE 2
The roughly 100-foot-high dune has a nearly continuous 7,500-year record of human occupation. The dark lines (midden exposure) in the eroding dune face can be seen at the top. (Courtesy of the authors.)

Ancient Human Impact on the Channel Islands

The research is still in its early phases, but data from archeological sites spanning the last 10,000 years provides one of the longest records for a coastal region in the world. A variety of topics are investigated, including the role of ancient human hunting on seal and sea lion populations and ecology, human harvesting of shellfish beds, human hunting of sea otters, human fishing strategies, and comparing the effects of modern human impacts with those of Native American practices.

FIGURE 3
The eroding midden deposit reveals shell, sea mammals, and fish bones. (Courtesy of the authors.)

The project's preliminary findings are interesting.[6] The data illustrate dramatic differences between contemporary Euroamerican impacts (overgrazing, overfishing, etc.) and the impacts caused by the Chumash and their predecessors. The data suggest that people hunted and foraged for a similar suite of animals in the Channel Islands' marine environments for over 10,000 years. The Chumash and their ancestors may have caused some brief impacts on mussel beds, kelp forests, and other resources, but our data also indicate periods of rebound and recovery.[7]

Findings regarding the prehistoric period stand in sharp contrast to the relatively rapid and intense declines caused during the historic era, when marine mammals were hunted to local extinction, overgrazing drastically impacted terrestrial

habitats, and oil spills, overfishing, and other human related disturbances devastated the local marine environment. Fortunately, much of the Channel Islands area, including surrounding waters, is under Federal or other conservation-oriented stewardship that is leading to the restoration and conservation of its natural and cultural resources.

Over the next several years, additional fieldwork and laboratory analysis will build on the preliminary study. Future research will continue to target threatened and eroding archeological sites, with the goal of increasing collaboration with ecologists, marine biologists, botanists, resource managers, restoration ecologists, the Chumash, and the public. The collaborative endeavor will provide a means to understand the long-term evolution of Channel Islands' environments and a baseline for preserving and restoring the resources for the future. Finally, the data illustrate the importance of integrating and balancing effective resource management strategies and broad archeological research issues.

Acknowledgments

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The Vicksburg Campaign Trail Feasibility Study

by Harlan D. Unrau

The surrender of Vicksburg—the "Gibraltar of the Confederacy"—on July 4, 1863, was a significant milestone in the ultimate success of the Union army and the reunification of the Nation. Followed by the fall of Port Hudson 5 days later and 125 miles downriver, the Northern objective of the war in the West—the opening of the Mississippi River and the severing of the Confederacy—was at last realized.

Command of the waterway enabled uninterrupted passage of Union troops, supplies, and commerce from the Northwest to the Gulf of Mexico. It also isolated Texas, Arkansas, and most of Louisiana, States that the South was heavily dependent upon for supplies, munitions, foodstuffs, and recruits. The strategy behind the Vicksburg Campaign was wide-ranging and brilliant, employing long and difficult flanking maneuvers and logistical operations, cavalry raids, skirmishes, pitched battles, naval engagements, and siege warfare.

Public interest in the surviving resources associated with the Vicksburg Campaign led to the enactment of the Vicksburg Campaign Trail Battlefields Preservation Act of 2000 (Public Law 106-487). This law authorizes the National Park Service to study how to manage, preserve, and interpret Civil War battlefields and related resources along the Vicksburg Campaign Trail in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Legislation has been introduced to add Kentucky.

A meeting of National Park Service historians and representatives of the respective State Historic Preservation Offices or State historical commissions was convened in Corinth, Mississippi, August 28-29, 2001, to draft a comprehensive list of resources along the trail. To encourage the widest possible involvement, eight public meetings were held between March 4 and May 30, 2002. Public comments were also solicited through the media; a brochure, The Vicksburg Campaign Trail: Exploring Partnerships for Preservation and Interpretation; a Website (www.nps.gov/vick); and meetings with current and potential partners.

The dominant themes that emerged were a passion for Civil War heritage, a vision of the Vicksburg Campaign Trail as a unifying theme for the region, and a recognition of the economic benefits of promoting heritage tourism. While the study is not complete as of this writing, the principal recommendation is

expected to be the creation of a new national initiative. The initiative would provide a management structure for Federal, State, and local interests and promote collaborative programs for the more than 500 sites identified along the Vicksburg Campaign Trail. An advisory committee would be established to serve as the "lead managing partner" for administering the Vicksburg Campaign Trail Initiative.

Consultations between National Park Service historians and State representatives evaluated the significance of the 500 historic sites identified along the trail using criteria developed by the National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program and adapted for use in this feasibility study. All sites were ranked as follows—

Tier One: Decisive/Major

Sites associated with decisive battles that had a direct, observable impact on the direction, duration, conduct, or outcome of the Civil War or major battles that had a direct, observable impact on the direction, duration, conduct, or outcome of the Vicksburg Campaign.

Tier Two: Formative

Sites associated with battles that accomplished a limited campaign objective of reconnaissance, disruption, defense, or occupation and that had an observable influence on the direction, duration, or conduct of the Vicksburg Campaign.

Tier Three: Limited

Sites associated with battles that achieved a limited tactical objective of reconnaissance, defense, or occupation and that had little or no observable influence on the direction of the Vicksburg Campaign.

Associated (nonbattlefield)

War-related activities, especially those associated with civil wars, do not occur exclusively on battlefields. Thus, there are numerous important associated nonbattlefield Civil War sites in the Vicksburg Campaign Trail region that together with the battlefields tell the broad story of the Civil War and its effect on the Nation's citizenry and localities. Associated sites include arsenals and armories; camps/contraband camps; cemeteries; fortifications/military posts; headquarters buildings; homes of Civil War participants; hospitals; iron works, furnaces, and factories; prisons; schools; and vessels.

All Tier One sites were evaluated against the National Park Service's criteria for new units in the National Park System. Inclusion is not recommended if resource preservation, interpretation, and public enjoyment opportunities can be provided by other means.

Recommendations for Tier One sites may include inclusion in the National Park System as detached units of Vicksburg National Military Park or expansion of existing National Park units to preserve significant resources not currently protected. Options also include National Park Service technical assistance and aid in identifying funding sources, organizations, partnerships, or potential cooperative agreements that could assist existing State parks, private landowners, or other governmental entities to manage, preserve, and interpret sites. Public acquisition of sites and transfer of their management to Federal or State agencies is another alternative.

Sites not categorized as Tier One sites will be examined to determine appropriate mechanisms for resource preservation, interpretation, and development for visitor use. This process will involve evaluating alternatives such as continued management by State or local governments, the private sector, or other Federal agencies, or identification of partnerships that would provide for more effective resource preservation and interpretation.

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Civil Rights Resources in Alabama

by Christy Anderson, Dorothy Walker, and Trina Binkley

June 11, 2003, marked the 40th anniversary of George Wallace's "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door" in front of Foster Auditorium at the University of Alabama. September 16, 2003, marked the 40th anniversary of the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham. (Figure 1) December 5, 2005, will mark the 50th anniversary of Rosa Parks's conviction that launched the Montgomery Bus Boycott. All of these events transformed Alabama places into civil rights landmarks.

FIGURE 1
Kelly Ingram Park (foreground) and the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham were focal points in several violent civil rights confrontations during the 1960s. (Courtesy of Trina Binkley, Alabama Historical Commission.)

While these events captured national and international media attention, they were highlights in an ongoing stream of civil rights activity that took place in rural and urban communities throughout the State. Alabama is only now coming to understand the vast array of resources associated with the Civil Rights Movement. This everyday activity in both public and private venues that led to and followed these pivotal events remains largely unknown. Identifying places that served as the foundation for the movement poses a challenge to local organizations; the Alabama Historical Commission; and other local, State, and Federal agencies to identify, interpret, and preserve these resources.

Civil rights activities took place in both urban and rural settings in Alabama, and the momentum and successes of the movement relied on daily grassroots efforts. Birmingham provides an essential and familiar backdrop for studying

the movement in an urban setting. A recent study funded by the Birmingham Historical Society and the Alabama Historical Commission identified the larger contexts of places associated with the movement, looking beyond the obvious sites.

Activism in the years and months leading up to the spring of 1963 and into the next decade of integration was nurtured in lesser-known locations in Birmingham. These lesser-known locations were centers of strategy, conflict, or resolution of both civil rights efforts and white resistance. These sites are addressed in a multiple property submission, prepared by Carroll Van West of Middle Tennessee State University to provide the foundation for listing resources in the National Register of Historic Places and amending existing National Register nominations to add their civil rights associations. The multiple property submission was approved by the State review board and has beem forwarded to the Keeper of the National Register for final review.

But beyond the cities, the movement's rural context remains largely uncharted territory. The recently designated Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail passes through 43 miles of rural Lowndes County. (Figure 2) The march served as a vehicle for bringing the movement to the county, fostering voter registration drives, protests, and organizational meetings. In this county—where in 1965 African Americans comprised 80 percent of the population, 90 percent of the land fell under white ownership, and 90 percent of the farms were operated by tenant farmers 90 percent of whom were black—the fight for civil rights was different from that in urban areas. The locus of this largely grassroots effort was in rural churches and private homes. Because of the isolated nature of the county, there was less media coverage, fewer large-scale confrontations, less overt activity, and a greater threat to personal safety. The potential loss of one's home, livelihood, and life was real and immediate. Civil rights efforts took place in rural communities throughout the State, but finding comprehensive documentation of these often hidden activities will prove challenging.

Alabama Historical Commission staff is working with municipal and county governments and local organizations in Lowndes County to develop long-range strategies and maintenance plans for preserving rural resources associated with the civil rights movement. The Lowndes County Friends of the Trail has been instrumental in collecting oral histories, nominating properties to the Alabama Register of Landmarks and Heritage; and increasing awareness within the community. The Alabama Historical Commission, the Alabama Department of Transportation, and the Federal Highway Administration have entered into a memorandum of agreement that treats the Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights March route as a single National Register-eligible historic resource as part of the agreement. The Department of Transportation will purchase additional rights-of-way along 9 miles of Lowndes County high-

FIGURE 2
The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail follows 43 miles of U.S. Highway 80 through rural Lowndes County. (Courtesy of Dorothy Walker, Alabama Historical Commission.)

way as part of the interpretive program. In Greensboro, the African-American community and the Black Heritage Council are gathering information from the Alabama Department of Public Safety to identify civil rights history-related resources. The Tuskegee Human and Civil Rights Multicultural Center has developed tour brochures that include civil rights history.

A substantial portion of civil rights history in Alabama has not been evaluated yet. In addition to understanding the urban and rural contexts of the movement, issues of integrity for National Register purposes and interpretation increasingly will come into play. How is a 54-mile linear resource evaluated? How are rapidly deteriorating resources evaluated? How can resources that are not eligible for National Register listing be recognized?

One of our greatest assets is the group of individuals who experienced the civil rights movement first-hand. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, dedicated in 1992 to promote education and discussion of human rights issues, collects oral histories. Throughout the State, individuals have formed local interest groups that help to identify previously unknown or overlooked civil rights resources. Through those combined efforts, we hope to gather more information than one office or group could gather alone.

In the next several years, an estimated 20 National Register nominations will be completed for civil rights-associated churches in Birmingham under a multiple property nomination based on material prepared by Carroll Van West. National Historic Landmark nominations for Bethel Baptist Church in Birmingham prepared by the National Park Service's Southeast Regional Office and Foster Auditorium in Tuscaloosa, prepared by Gene Ford, Office of Archaeological Research in Moundville, Alabama, will be reviewed.

Identification and evaluation of other related resources statewide are only in the very early stages.

This documentation will assist not only with the preservation of civil rights history-related resources, but also will contribute to expanded interpretation of related properties. Interpretation of the Selma to Montgomery Trail by the National Park Service and the Montgomery Greyhound Bus Station museum by the Alabama Historical Commission will be well underway over the next few years. At present, it is unclear how Alabama's historical agencies will address all of these resources, but all embrace the opportunity to research and develop the full story of Alabama's civil rights legacy.

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Mission 66 Initiative

by Timothy M. Davis

The National Park Service has launched a major research effort on Mission 66, the controversial postwar development program that played a significant role in shaping the national park experience. Conceived as a means of bringing the national parks up to modern standards of design and convenience after years of neglect during and after World War II, Mission 66 had at least as much impact on the development of the National Park System as the better-known and more widely revered Depression-era programs involving the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Public Works Administration. While Mission 66 made national parks accessible to an increasingly broad segment of the American public, critics have long accused the program of compromising the very values that the National Park Service was charged to protect.

Between its inception in 1956 and its official termination 10 years later in conjunction with the National Park Service's 50th anniversary, Mission 66 channeled close to a $1 billion into program enhancements and infrastructure improvements. Roads were widened, straightened, and outfitted with new turnouts and parking lots; more than 100 visitor centers were constructed, along with a much larger number of comfort stations and picnic shelters; administrative facilities were greatly improved with the development of new headquarters buildings, maintenance yards, and over 1,000 units of much-needed employee housing.

The National Park System itself was greatly expanded. An ever-broadening array of national seashores, national recreation areas, and national historic sites complemented the more traditional western wonderlands. Many research programs were revitalized, enhancing the National Park Service's role in historic preservation, public history, and environmental science. Despite the program's manifold accomplishments, Mission 66 has not yet been subject to extensive scholarly analysis. Not only are the basic outlines of the program imperfectly understood, but there is considerable debate about whether Mission 66 and its physical legacy should be treated with the same institutional reverence afforded earlier eras in national park history.

Ambivalence about Mission 66 is rooted in a variety of practical and philosophical concerns. Many view Mission 66 as an unfortunate episode in National Park Service history, when the desire to accommodate unprecedented crowds ostensibly overwhelmed the mandate to preserve natural and cul-

tural resources. Along with promoting automobile tourism and constructing elaborate visitor centers in close proximity to the Nation's most scenic and historic sites, National Park Service planners introduced modernist architectural aesthetics to settings where natural materials and traditional rustic design had long been the norm.

From an administrative perspective, the sheer volume of Mission 66-related resources poses significant challenges. Not only do aging structures require maintenance, but also a host of potentially burdensome compliance procedures will come into play once these artifacts reach 50 years of age and become potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

Even for those with no ideological reservations or bureaucratic agendas, it may seem counterintuitive to ascribe historical significance to resources that seem so mundane, ubiquitous, and conspicuously modern in design and function. These preconceptions may be shifting, however, as nostalgia works its way through the decades and the past creeps ever closer to the present. Just as preservationists throughout the country are turning their attention to such seemingly "modern" structures as glass-fronted banks, suburban shopping centers, and mass-produced tract homes, National Park Service cultural resource managers have begun to embrace their roles as stewards of postwar park development. This renewed interest in Mission 66 has generated a wide range of responses. While a growing collection of Mission 66 structures has been listed in the National Register and a select few have even achieved National Historic Landmark status, many seemingly significant resources have been denied historic stature. More problematically, a number of key buildings and landscapes are currently threatened with demolition or alteration.

The most commonly cited reason for this uneven reception is the primitive state of scholarship on Mission 66, which greatly complicates the process of identifying relevant resources and evaluating their significance. In order to redress this shortcoming and provide a more informed basis for the identification, evaluation, and stewardship of Mission 66-related resources, the National Park Service's Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscape program has launched a wide-ranging research effort involving a diverse cast of bureau employees, independent scholars, academics, and State Historic Preservation Offices.

The first phase of this research initiative focused on one of the signature products of the Mission 66 era: the visitor center. Along with providing opportunities to showcase the program's embrace of modern architecture, visitor centers epitomized Mission 66's commitment to enhancing public education and visitor circulation. Prior to Mission 66, administrative functions and visitor services were generally dispersed among an array of public and private buildings

including ranger stations, hotel lobbies, and the occasional small museum or nature center. This system worked fairly well when park staffs were small and most tourists arrived by train to be shepherded around by professional guides.

As expanding operations required additional office space and growing hordes of independent motorists arrived with little idea of where to go or what to see, the need for more substantial and systematic means of addressing these needs became apparent. The visitor center provided an opportunity to gather these functions together in a single facility that was designed to channel visitors through a carefully choreographed sequence of administrative and educational experiences. While the free-flowing spaces of these new facilities elicited little comment, their distinctly modern materials and design vocabularies generated considerable controversy. Siting issues continue to draw criticism from opponents who claim that Mission 66 visitor centers impinge unduly on natural and cultural resources.

The initial study, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of A Building Type*, was developed to provide a more balanced and scholarly approach to the evaluation of signature Mission 66 visitor centers.[1] Authored by architectural historian Sara Allaback, this volume provides a brief overview of the Mission 66 program, analyzes the practical and intellectual factors underlying the National Park Service's embrace of modern architecture, and traces the development of five prominent visitor centers. Allaback credits Mission 66 architects with developing a new style, which she labels "Park Service Modern." According to Allaback, Park Service Modern eschewed the overt rusticity of pre-war "parkitecture" and embraced modern materials, modern aesthetics, and modern conceptions of space and movement. Allaback elaborates on these characteristics in a detailed appendix that provides a step-by-step guide to evaluating the National Register eligibility of Mission 66 visitor centers. Visitor centers at Rocky Mountain National Park and Wright Brothers National Memorial have already been designated as National Historic Landmarks, and several parks and National Park Service regional offices are preparing National Register nominations for a variety of additional Mission 66 structures.

Two current projects will complement Allaback's study by focusing on broader aspects of the Mission 66 program. A comprehensive context study will trace the program's origins and evolution, and relate Mission 66 to broader currents in American history such as the rise in personal mobility and leisure time, changing attitudes towards nature and outdoor recreation, and the role of standardization and bureaucratic planning in shaping the modern built environment. This study is being written by Ethan Carr, an assistant professor of landscape architecture at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. By establishing Mission 66 as a significant cultural development in its own right, this study will obviate the need to argue for Mission 66's merits on architectural grounds alone.

A National Register multiple property nomination form developed by historians from the National Park Service's Pacific and Great Basin Support Office in Oakland, California, will help to identify additional Mission 66 resource categories and provide background information and comparative frameworks to assist in evaluating properties for possible listing in the National Register. The list of specific resource types has yet to be finalized, but likely categories include roads, campgrounds, entrance stations, and administration buildings.

With these two major projects under development and a number of parks and regions focusing renewed attention on their Mission 66 resources, the Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes program convened a Mission 66 research workshop at the National Park Service's Washington headquarters in May 2003. Participants included park and regional office staff, National Register and State Historic Preservation Office staff, Ethan Carr, and George Washington University Professor Richard Longstreth, an international authority on 20th-century architecture and related preservation efforts. The meeting provided an opportunity for participants to share their research and discuss a variety of concerns related to the identification, evaluation, and stewardship of Mission 66 resources.

Workshop participants agreed that Mission 66 was far more diverse than stereotypes suggest. They advised that greater attention should be paid to the program's successes in the realm of seashore, backcountry, and recreational area protection, as well as to its impact on cultural resource management through the acquisition of historic sites and other preservation activities. Participants also suggested that controversial Mission 66 practices should be re-evaluated according to their original intentions. These include the siting of visitors centers, which sought a more immediate connection between visitor education and resource experience than is generally afforded by the contemporary emphasis on low-impact offsite facilities.

Moving from matters of historical interpretation to resource management, workshop participants agreed that, following the completion of a broader context study, the greatest challenge involved the question of determining what *not* to preserve or designate as historically significant. Acknowledging administrative concerns about the plethora of Mission 66 resources, the group agreed that the most logical solution to managing Mission 66's physical legacy would be to adopt a "historic district" strategy that would recognize a small number of distinctive Mission 66-era complexes rather than declare every structure associated with the program intrinsically significant. Exceptionally important individual structures might be considered eligible, but there would be no presumption that every comfort station and employee residence should be preserved simply because it was associated with Mission 66. This approach would underscore the broader planning goals of the program and preserve a representative sample of Mission 66 buildings and landscapes without unduly

constricting future park management decisions. Participants with extensive field experience noted that the vast majority of Mission 66 structures and landscapes have already been significantly altered, so that most would be immediately disqualified from National Register eligibility on basic integrity issues.

The Mission 66 context study and multiple property nomination will provide invaluable guidance as the National Park Service moves forward to assess and manage the legacy of this key period in national park history. Draft copies are scheduled for internal review in early 2004 and final versions should be available by early 2005. In the meantime, academics and independent historians are pursuing various Mission 66-related topics while National Park Service regions along with some individual parks are developing additional National Register nominations and determinations of eligibility. This broad-based research initiative will enlarge our understanding of the National Park Service experience while providing important insights into 20th-century building patterns and social practices in general.

For information about the context study, multiple property nominations, or Mission 66-related research in general, contact National Park Service historian **Timothy M. Davis** at Telephone (202) 354-2091 or E-mail Tim_Davis@nps.gov.

Notes

1. Sara Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2000).

The National Park Service Responds to the September 11 Terrorist Attacks

by Janet A. McDonnell

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and their aftermath left few Americans unaffected. The National Park Service had a unique perspective and role in responding to this tragedy because of its fundamental responsibility for protecting and preserving many nationally significant sites, including several near Ground Zero. Although the most profound personal impact was no doubt on National Park Service employees who either witnessed the attacks firsthand or were directly involved in the immediate response, every national park was affected to one degree or another.

In the days and weeks after September 11, as the significance of the attacks became clearer, a number of Federal agencies, private institutions, and groups launched efforts to document the event. Columbia University's Oral History Research Office initiated a major project to conduct oral history interviews and collect personal accounts related to the attacks. Department of Defense teams began systematically interviewing survivors and eyewitnesses at the Pentagon. Individual military services and commands also conducted interviews with their members and collected documents and photographs. The Smithsonian Institution and other museums and agencies began collecting artifacts in New York City, at the Pentagon, and at the Shanksville, Pennsylvania, crash site. George Mason University's Center for History and New Media collected materials for a Web-based digital archive.

Within the National Park Service, historians and ethnographers soon recognized the need to document the impact of the tragedy on parks and park staffs. Collecting these first-hand accounts and personal recollections was particularly urgent because these sources are extremely perishable. Memories and the emotional power of events tend to fade with time. In the National Park Service's Northeast Region, where a number of employees had been eyewitnesses or were directly involved in the response effort, historians and ethnographers undertook an extensive oral history project with support from Eastern National and the National Park Foundation. In conjunction with this effort, an ethnographer from the National Park Service's Washington headquarters conducted interviews in the National Capital Region and in New York City. Excerpts from many of these oral history interviews and supporting materials are available on the National Park Service Website (www.nps.gov/remembrance/).

While much of the effort focused on collecting eyewitness accounts and personal recollections, some managers in the Washington headquarters also recognized a need to document the official response of the National Park Service. At the request of the Associate Director for Cultural Resources, I initiated a study to address the following questions: How did National Park Service managers and staff respond at the national level and in the regional offices and parks? What actions did they take and why? How did the attacks and their aftermath affect the way that the National Park Service and its parks operated? How did they affect park resources and the allocation of those resources? What impact did the attacks have on the way that park staffs viewed their jobs and the way that Americans viewed their parks? And finally, what lessons could the National Park Service learn from this experience? The goal of the study is to create a detailed historical record of the National Park Service's response that will provide managers and policy makers with information useful in responding to future emergencies.

The first phase of this study involved planning and conducting a series of oral history interviews. I conducted preliminary research to identify key themes and issues to be addressed in the interviews. Then I began contacting individuals who could best address the broad range of topics and issues that had been identified and who would provide diverse perspectives. It was particularly important to incorporate the perspectives of people from different disciplines and from park staffs as well as senior management. As of this writing, I have conducted nearly 30 interviews with National Park Service leaders, regional and park managers, park staff, U.S. Park Police officers, and park rangers. Each interview has been transcribed and edited to ensure that it is properly preserved and available for future researchers.

The second phase was to create a historical report that would provide a chronological narrative and address the complex issues involved. Research included identifying, collecting, and reviewing documents in the Washington headquarters and other locations. Some of the most valuable sources were the National Park Service's Morning Reports and superintendents' annual narrative reports; press releases; news articles; and various memorandums, correspondence, timelines, and telephone logs. A few interviewees provided particularly useful supporting documentation.

Using the themes and topics that emerged from the interviews and other source materials, the next task was to develop a concept for the historical study. The report, now currently in draft, addresses topics like communications and coordination within the National Park Service and with other agencies; resources and funding; park closures; security and risk assessment; implementation of the National Park Service incident management system; emergency use of park properties; and the roles of U.S. Park Police and law enforcement rangers.

The project has posed some unique issues. Perhaps the greatest was the scarcity of written source materials. Historians usually conduct research in primary and secondary sources before conducting interviews and collecting personal accounts, but in this case few written records were available. Decisions were made quickly in meetings or by phone and were not reflected in the written record. Officials often communicated by e-mail, which tended to be less accessible and more perishable than other sources. The scarcity of written records meant a greater reliance on the oral history interviews that National Park Service historians and ethnographers had conducted. This involved a certain amount of risk as memories can be faulty, especially after experiencing such a traumatic event. In this case, the oral accounts were sometimes confusing or lacked specific details.

The September 11 attacks were shocking and chaotic. In the aftermath, even determining an accurate sequence was difficult. Weaving together a history with the threads as diverse as law enforcement, security, funding, and deeply embedded cultural values, proved difficult. There were no historical prototypes or prior research upon which to draw. And, when dealing with recent history, providing historical context can be daunting.

The report reflects the flexibility and responsiveness of the National Park Service incident management system, the challenge of making operational decisions when security threats are unclear, shortages in the Service's law enforcement capabilities, the changing role of generalist park ranger, and the difficulty of balancing security with the National Park Service's fundamental mission to protect resources and provide for public enjoyment. Although it is far to soon to evaluate the long-term impact, it seems to have been a transforming event for the National Park Service. The attacks prompted changes in the way that the Service operates and is organized. For many in the National Park Service and for many Americans, September 11 gave the national parks new meaning and significance.

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Reviews

BOOKS

The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism

By Adam Rome. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001; 299 pp., photographs, notes; cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

During the post-World War II era, the concept of the "suburb" came to define the American character. The mass media embraced this form of development as quintessentially American. Magazines, television, and movies popularized a fictionalized, sanitized (mostly inaccurate) conceptualization of the "burbs." Following World War II, the Federal Government promoted home ownership through low-interest loans, implemented economic policies that created favorable conditions for the residential construction industry, and established transportation policy that encouraged highways over rail. Public policy and popular culture were the driving forces. People moved in droves to newly urbanizing communities beyond cities, leaving behind central cities and rural areas.

Over the second half of the 20th century, manifestations of large-scale development intruded upon historic land use patterns and significantly altered the country's cultural and natural landscape. The result was the rapid, homogeneous urbanization of great swaths of the United States, forever altering their unique built and natural attributes. This is "suburban sprawl," which started in earnest with the post-war building boom and continues today at great cost to the cultural landscape and the environment.

Many authors have studied the phenomenon of urbanization from architectural or urban history, planning, and public policy perspectives. Adam Rome takes a different tack, an academic, environmental history approach focusing on the environmental impact of subdivisions. This new awareness, Rome asserts, in turn gave rise to a new conservation movement that fights for more environmentally-sensitive development.

Bulldozer is not written for the broad audience that popularized *The Geography of Nowhere*, James Howard Kunstler's critique of urbanization, and *City Life*, Witold Rybczynski's commentary on the American city, or others from the body of popular work offering criticisms of urbanization. Nor is *Bulldozer* a practitioner's or activist's manual like *Save our Land, Save our Towns* by Thomas Hylton, or *Saving America's Countryside* by Samuel N. Stokes et al., or other books that offer guidance on fighting sprawl and preserving communities and landscapes.[1]

Bulldozer is not a historic preservation or architectural history book. But *Bulldozer* is instructive about how the most prevalent development patterns shaped our environmental and land-use ethic. Witold Rybczynski laments that "'suburb' is one of those words that is difficult to use in a precise discussion because it describes something that has become a stereotype. And like most stereotypes, it is composed of clichés."[2] As an environmental historian, Rome could be forgiven for depending on the shorthand term "suburb." But, in fact, Rome's reliance on the suburb stereotype mars this otherwise thoroughly researched and precise book.

Rome is less interested in the ranch houses, split levels, and Cape Cods that populated post-war subdivisions than he is in the groundwater, habitats, and soil that these subdivisions disrupted. Similarly, *Bulldozer* focuses less on William Levitt and his colleagues than on U.S. Senator Henry Jackson of Washington State and the cadre of environmental advocates who rose up in defiance of the "bulldozer in the countryside" development ethic.

After Rome's first chapter—which retraces well-known ground for those familiar with the themes of post-war urbanization—Rome offers readers a fresh perspective on the results of suburbanization. *Bulldozer*'s central chapters offer Rome's greatest contributions to a new understanding of the suburbs' impact on the environment. Construction of new housing exploded from an average annual rate of 300,000 units during the 1930s to 1 million in 1946 and 2 million in 1950. The majority of these housing starts were in new subdivisions beyond city borders. To the detriment of the environment, Rome suggests, the majority of the builders of these subdivisions were primarily concerned with the bottom line. Developers wanted to provide large quantities of housing at affordable prices while generating high profits. In controlling construction costs, developers rarely considered corollary costs to the environment.

Developers were reluctant to construct energy efficient housing because of increased costs regardless of the environmental benefits and despite advances in heating and cooling systems and insulating techniques. Further, developers acquiesced to opposition from energy producers, low energy prices, and homebuyers hesitant to embrace the nontraditional designs of new solar and energy efficient houses. Only when energy prices rose did the public demand more from developers. Similarly, developers embraced the septic tank over more expensive public sewer systems until regulation and market forces required them to change. With as many as 45 percent of the subdivisions built during the period relying on septic tanks, the widespread failure of tanks led to more than just unpleasant complications for homeowners. Groundwater contamination and associated public health risks triggered government involvement, stricter regulations, and greater public scrutiny.

The environmental consequences of subdivisions, according to Rome, eventually came to the fore. Perhaps nothing may have been more important in launching the environmental movement in the United States than the loss attributable to subdivisions of open space, rural landscapes, and wildlife habitat. The rapid loss of countryside sounded alarms for birders, hunters, and fishermen, and raised the issue for civic groups, academia, government, and the media. New environmental concerns emerged as developers placed subdivisions on hillsides and in flood plains and wetlands. The resulting erosion, flooding, surface and groundwater contamination, and habitat loss led to an awakening of organized environmental activists calling for stricter regulation of developers and Federal laws protecting the environment.

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was enacted at the same time that environmental advocates were agitating, with limited success, for greater environmental protections. Both movements wrestled with property rights advocates over appropriate land-use controls. Yet, neither preservationists nor environmentalists have learned enough from each other to advance their common interests. With this in mind, *Bulldozer* provides an opportunity for cross-disciplinary understanding. *Bulldozer* offers an instructive, fresh perspective on the massive post-war spread of urbanization, the origins of environmentalism and government response to it, and ongoing fights over land-use and property rights.

Scott Whipple
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1. James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); Witold Rybczynski, *City*

Life: Urban Expectations in a New World (New York: Scribner, 1995); Thomas Hylton, *Save our Land, Save our Towns: A Plan for Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA: RB Books, 1995); Samuel N. Stokes, et al., *Saving America's Countryside: A Guide to Rural Conservation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

2. Rybczynski, 176.

Moment of Grace: The American City in the 1950s

By Michael Johns. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003; 148 pp., illustrations, notes, index; cloth $29.95.

This compelling book describes American cities at mid-20th century, when downtowns were packed with throngs of people, neighborhoods offered the full range of commercial and social services, and new suburbs retained strong ties to the city. The author traces the waves of development and demolition that caused tight-knit cities to unravel and inspired the national historic preservation movement in the 1960s. This book also describes the many attractive aspects of urban life that the preservation community attempted to revive in the past four decades.

According to Johns, a professor of geography at the University of California, Berkeley, the American city reached its consummate expression in the 1950s. Downtowns were compact and intimate places that served the cities' economic and cultural needs. Neighborhoods developed around urban manufactories and provided essential shops and services within walking distance. The suburbs relied upon cities for jobs and goods.

As described by Johns, the 1950s also marked a decade when cities began to fragment. Today, downtowns are largely populated by offices, hotels, sports arenas, and entertainment centers as well as by empty lots and abandoned commercial buildings. Older neighborhoods provide housing but are separated from desirable shopping and employment opportunities. The suburbs are largely removed from the fortunes of the central city.

Why did we allow cities to decline in the United States? Johns contends that the post-World War II period was defined by a nearly "blind faith in progress...a forward-looking attitude that lacked nostalgia." American culture was entranced with everything that was new, modern, and efficient. And, "Americans abused nature on a colossal scale in the '50s: drivers tossed garbage from cars, engineers dammed rivers unnecessarily, scientists tested hydrogen bombs above ground, and the factories of the world's mightiest industrial power spewed untreated waste into rivers, lakes, and the air."

Other forces were also at work. People abandoned communal trains, streetcars, and trolleys and took up their individualistic automobiles. The Federal Government offered "heaps of money" for urban renewal and highway construction and subsidized the kind of suburban development that drained the central cities of people and investment. Office towers rose in outlying suburbs and exurbs. Highways became the new infrastructure for the metropolitan area and included major routes that ran through the inner city. Younger families moved away from their ethnic neighborhoods and into new suburban subdivisions that offered a "stronger blend of Americanism."

But Johns does not view the 1950s American city through rose-colored glasses. He addresses the oppressive effects of racial segregation on cities. As cities slipped into a downward spiral, poor neighborhoods became desperate ghettos that filled with rage and exploded during the race riots of the 1960s. Public housing projects that had been shaped by sensitive community planning principles during the 1930s became mass-produced during the 1950s and herded families into superblocks.

Why is this book important to heritage stewardship? First, it describes historical forces that led to passage of environmental legislation, including historic preservation laws and regulations at the Federal, State, and local levels from the 1960s to today. Second, memories of cities of the 1950s have motivated historic preservationists for the past 40 years—since passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Preservationists have tried to bring new life to otherwise abandoned central cities and older neighborhoods through incentives and advocacy programs. With these tools, preservationists transformed former industrial warehouses into residential condominiums, surplus school buildings into elderly housing, and abandoned office buildings into hotels. Older neighborhoods were revitalized through return-to-the-city programs, even if the neighborhoods rarely possessed adequate commercial and social services.

The irony is that we now experience the 1950s American city only in other countries that have broader and stronger land-use controls. Americans tour these countries to admire the kind of cities that at one time were found in the United States. The 1950s American city probably will never grace our own country again. The American city of the future will be another kind of entity. And preservation and conservation are well-established forces that will shape that future.

Antoinette J. Lee
National Park Service

Independence Hall in American Memory

By Charlene Mires. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002; 350 pp., illustrations, notes, index; cloth $34.95.

Independence Hall in downtown Philadelphia is—without question—one of the most revered places in this country, an American icon. Site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and scene of the Constitutional Convention, Independence Hall was the stage *extraordinaire* for the larger-than-life personalities of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin; and is known to all Americans as the birthplace of American freedom.

In this wonderful and insightful book, Charlene Mires argues that these aspects of the building's history, while central to the history of the Nation's founding, obscure the larger and just as relevant story of Independence Hall beyond 1787. "To see Independence Hall as a place with a long history in an American city does not diminish its significance," she argues, "but rather enhances it." The complete history of the Pennsylvania State House, as the building was known throughout the 18th century, not only enhances our sense of the past but, more importantly, illuminates Independence Hall as a "place where successive generations have struggled to define the essence of American national identity."

Independence Hall is one of those books that speaks to the core of what drives preservation and interpretation not only in the National Park Service but throughout the preservation community. Preservation is fundamentally about choices—choices about what gets preserved, how buildings are preserved, what stories are told, which groups

are perceived as the primary audience, and whether the stories confirm existing beliefs or challenge visitors to think differently about what they think that they know. Many historic places, including many within the National Park System, have chosen to present a story of consensus and not of conflict. Mires believes that the complexity of the past must be reflected in these presentations to be useful to the present. In particular, she sees an Independence Hall that is "very crowded with history, memory, and the struggles of constructing and preserving a nation."

In our desire to focus on Independence Hall as the "birthplace of freedom," we have, according to Mires, shadowed and, in many instances, ignored stories that relate to and even enhance the grand deliberations of the Founding Fathers. However, still more and very relevant stories abound. Post-1787 United States history revolved around the issues of slavery and the growing dichotomy between the bold statements regarding freedom found in the Declaration of Independence and the recognition of slavery in the Constitution. The tension between the two documents provides rich material to examine the meanings of freedom among inheritors of the American Revolution.

For example, the 1780 session of the Pennsylvania Assembly, held in the Pennsylvania State House, passed America's first law ordering the abolishment of slavery. Although it was a gradual emancipation law, Pennsylvania is recognized as the first of the Northern States to take this step.[1] In 1793, the United States Congress, deliberating in the State House, passed the first Fugitive Slave Law presaging the more controversial act by the same name of 1850. During the 1840s, Pennsylvania abolitionists used the contradictions represented by Independence Hall to stage an anti-slavery rally in Independence Square. At the event, the abolitionist speaker, Frederick Douglass, addressed the striking contrasts between the image of Independence Hall and the persistence of slavery in the South.

The growing issue of constitutionally defined freedom and slavery returned to Independence Hall the following decade in the U.S. District Court on the second floor. During this period, the court heard several cases resulting from the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The most celebrated of these was the trial of the Christiana defendants. Attempting to thwart the capture of a runaway slave, a crowd of blacks and whites in Christiana, Pennsylvania, resisted and killed the pursuing slave owner. The 1851 trial of 33 blacks and 5 whites on charges of treason for interfering with the Fugitive Slave Act drew national attention and provided attorneys on both sides with opportunities to connect the offense with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. All of the defendants were found not guilty. According to Mires, this rich history should be included in the educational presentations of Independence Hall.

All of these stories, and many more in *Independence Hall*, complement the dominant 18th-century story of independence and, more importantly, illustrate that independence and liberty, once declared, were debated and contested by post-Revolutionary generations. Indeed, this book aggressively engages the important concept of memory as a contested landscape. The idea of contesting public memory depends on the recognition that many versions of the past conflict with each other. The preservation of buildings presents preservationists not only with choices regarding treatment, but also with the stories to be told. Such decisions revolve around remembering and forgetting stories of the past. Mires reminds us that remembering and forgetting are "fundamental in the formation of individual and collective identities."

Through complicated dynamics, societies choose which aspects of their past should be remembered and which forgotten. Independence Hall, she concludes, has powerful stories to tell—stories of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, to be sure, but stories yet untold of successive gen-

erations of Americans constructing a Nation "through the memory-work of commemoration, preservation, and dissent." Historic buildings are places of history, but they are also, Mires observes, "places of memory where we continually interact with the past and sustain our ideas of what it means to be a nation."

While focused on the preservation, commemoration, and interpretation of a very important remnant of the American past, *Independence Hall* is relevant to cultural resources professionals everywhere. Mires' work creates an important framework for the business of preservation and how the choices that we make affect public perceptions of the past and the development of society. This book is required reading for all of us engaged in the work that we call historic preservation.

Dwight T. Pitcaithley
National Park Service

1. While Pennsylvania gets credit for being the first state to outlaw slavery, the territory of Vermont prohibited slavery in 1777.

Creating Colonial Williamsburg

By Anders Greenspan. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002; x + 212 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography of further reading, index; cloth $45.00; paper $17.95.

No other historic town in the United States has been so scrutinized as Colonial Williamsburg. Anders Greenspan gives us an assessment that is decidedly different from the one anthropologists Richard Handler and Eric Gable offered in *The New History in an Old Museum*.[1] Handler and Gable depicted Colonial Williamsburg's modern social history interpretive strategies as corporate-controlled and ineffectively delivered to audiences by the institution's 400 costumed interpreters. In stark contrast, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg* presents a balanced critique, leavened with succinct, thorough historical context. Greenspan argues that the history of creating Colonial Williamsburg holds the key to understanding the powerful influences that have shaped the institution's public presentations of the past and the ghosts of interpretation that still inhabit this cultural icon.

Rockefeller money and political ideology shaped and drove the enterprise from its inception until the mid-1970s. Rockefeller's largesse is well known, but Greenspan emphasizes the time and personal attention that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., invested in Colonial Williamsburg from 1926 until his death in 1960. Not only did he enjoin his own ideals with the restoration process, but also by restoring a colonial town—and with it an appreciation of traditional values—Rockefeller sought to distance himself from his father's world of industrial might. He preferred his legacy to be "a tribute to those individuals who had created a nation based on liberty, democracy, and the worth of the individual."

Wealth combined with personal motive was a formidible force and John D. Rockefeller, III, went even further in the post-World War II years. The war itself changed the way Americans, including historians, perceived the past; and although the propagandistic use of history was more subtle during World War II than during the Great War, American history nonetheless was harnessed to serve the state. As Greenspan explains in the third chapter, Colonial Williamsburg played a prominent role in the war effort with troop education programs designed to inspire young men to fight for democratic ideals. When John D. Rockefeller, III, assumed control of Colonial Williamsburg in 1949, however, he brought with him a Cold War belief in "dynamic Americanism" and, in collaboration with the U.S. Department of State, used Colonial Williamsburg to promote "the virtues of the United States rather than merely warning of the evils of communism."

Greenspan notes that the Rockefellers could have used Colonial Williamsburg to influence desegregation in the post-war period but did not. Here Greenspan is at his best, acknowledging on the one hand that Colonial Williamsburg simply wrote African Americans out of its storyline about a Nation based on liberty, democracy, and the worth of the individual, and then ignored for nearly two decades Thad Tate's 1957 study revealing that slaves accounted for 50 percent of Williamsburg's population during the colonial era.[2] On the other hand, Greenspan points out that Virginia is, after all, a Southern State and that because a substantial percentage of visitors came from the South, Colonial Williamsburg gauged public opinion and "waited until there was a greater acceptance of the role of blacks in American history."

If inclusive history did not come fast enough for many of Colonial Williamsburg's critics, things changed after direct family control ended in the mid-1970s. Professional historians then began to steer toward a new thematic interpretive program infused with social history. As evidence of the change, history collided with public values and expectations in 1994 when Colonial Williamsburg presented a carefully planned slave auction re-enactment. Greenspan may indeed understate the resulting firestorm: "Such divisions over the representation of slavery revealed that Colonial Williamsburg would have a difficult time in promoting its desire to re-create the past more accurately."

Greenspan summarizes the historical ties between Colonial Williamsburg and the National Park Service, noting that the restoration of Williamsburg figured prominently in the 1930-31 effort to create Colonial National Monument in Yorktown and Jamestown, Virginia, which was designated as a unit of the National Park System in 1936. But his focus on institutional history leaves the ties between Colonial Williamsburg and the National Park Service largely unexamined.

Toward the end of the book, Greenspan suggests that Colonial Williamsburg strengthened the historic preservation movement by popularizing historic preservation. Greenspan does not develop this idea into an argument, but his suggestion raises an intriguing point about the tangled roles of public and private funding in the history of historic preservation. While popular magazine articles of the 1930s praised the unfolding restoration of Colonial Williamsburg financed by private wealth, the National Park Service quietly spent millions of New Deal dollars on preservation and played a parallel and significant role in professionalizing historic preservation.

This aside takes nothing away from Greenspan's achievement. *Creating Colonial Williamsburg* is expertly researched and beautifully written—a sympathetic yet unapologetic examination of America's most famous historic townscape.

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1. Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

2. Although the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation finally published Tate's work in 1965 under the title *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, Greenspan notes on page 144 that as late as the mid-1970s, Tate's scholarship still had not been incorporated into the information provided to public audiences by front-line staff interpreters.

Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History

By Rebecca Conard. Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 2002; 266 pp., photographs, index; cloth $32.95.

Museum and cultural resource management professionals in public history can readily point to pioneers and mentors dating back at least 100 years. Yet most scholars in the steadily increasing number

of graduate programs in university-based public history programs tend to argue that public history, as it is practiced today, has roots no deeper than 1976—the year that the University of California, Santa Barbara founded what is considered the first academic public history program. This intellectual disconnect persists, in part, because the term "public history" is assigned to a broad, multidisciplinary range of activities and interpretive products from exhibits to documentaries and from cultural geography to museum studies. It rarely has been defined with any precision.

In *Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History*, Rebecca Conard allows her subject to define the term. Conard makes a strong case that Shambaugh was a pioneer in the field of public history. Shambaugh was hired as a professor of political science at the University of Iowa in 1896, a position that he held through the 1930s. In 1897, he became a member of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and in 1907 he was formally named to the position of superintendent and editor. His long career placed him precisely in the intellectual space between the university and the public. As summarized by Conard, Shambaugh defined what he called first "applied history" and later "commonwealth history" as the practice of "collecting, preserving, publishing and using history for the greater good of the state." In other words, Shambaugh viewed the "public" primarily in terms of its civic nature.

Conard's biography of Shambaugh is framed to some degree as a response to Peter Novick's definitive study of the professionalization of history. In *That Noble Dream*, Novick pays little attention to the careers of historians working outside of universities, except to imply that their work embodies qualities he views as "pre-professional" or amateur.[1] Conard attempts to remedy this reading by viewing Shambaugh's work as a product of the "New Historians."

A product of Progressive-era thinking, New History took shape among a small number of historians between 1897 and 1912. Conard summarizes the four main contributions that New Historians made to historical study. First, they were interested in everyday life and local trends. Second, they advocated a broad view of political life, focusing more on diplomacy and civic action than military history. Third, they recognized history's potential to help cultivate broad-minded citizens. Finally, they sought to expand the scope of historical inquiry to include the life of ordinary people. While Novick argues that the New Historians were significant because they influenced a later generation of scholars, Conard demonstrates that their philosophy shaped the intellectual foundations of public history. Viewed through this lens, Benjamin Shambaugh comes into focus as a pivotal figure.

Shambaugh brought public history to the university. He made sure that the State Historical Society was housed on the University of Iowa campus and linked his work as a professor to his agenda as the director of the society. He was involved with the American Historical Association's Archives Commission as well as the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies. Over the years, he led the State Historical Society to a new level of professionalism. He revamped the Society's publications and insisted on the best methods for preserving the Society's records and ensuring their accessibility to scholars.

Shambaugh's two major contributions to public history were the Applied History Research Laboratory and the Commonwealth Conference. Through the laboratory, Shambaugh developed long-term research projects on Iowa history. He provided a select group of professional historians with research facilities and funds for travel. Between 1909 and 1930, this group published the *Applied History Series*, a collection of detailed studies of Iowa's economic, labor, and social legislation history. These volumes embody Shambaugh's belief that well-researched historical studies could be

practically applied toward efforts to solve social problems.

Shambaugh successfully argued that applied history was a legitimate function of State-supported universities because "it is utterly futile for us to talk about high minded citizenship and ideals in public service without seriously endeavoring to provide that special training which will make men really capable and efficient public servants." Reflecting the same ideals, Shambaugh's Commonwealth Conferences, held between 1923 and 1930, brought together a broad cross-section of Iowa citizens to discuss policy and governance.

During the course of her research, Conard made use of an unpublished 1940s biography written by Jacob Swisher, a Shambaugh protege. The unpublished text posed problems because it tended to gloss over difficult periods in Shambaugh's career, and placed enormous emphasis on Shambaugh's personal and professional relationship with his wife, Bertha Shambaugh. Wisely, Conard uses the text like a diary, placing entire sections of the Swisher biography in carefully marked sections outside of her own text. She uses these lengthy quotations to emphasize what a Shambaugh confidante would recognize as important without losing her own perspective and critical distance.

By allowing Shambaugh to speak through Swisher to, and against, the echo of Peter Novick's historical study, Conard demonstrates in a masterful and meaningful way that public history has deep intellectual roots and a long professional trajectory. Yet her final chapter argues precisely the opposite. Why? Peter Novick's argument is grounded in an assumption that university-based scholarship ultimately represents the highest level of professional achievement. Accepting this premise forces Conard to gauge public history's professionalism as a product of its location in the academy. From this perspective, public history's logical development is nearly impossible to perceive. Conard argues that Shambaugh's career, while significant in establishing the roots of public history, has no tangible connection to the profession's fits and starts between 1930 and today.

But anyone working in the field of cultural resource management can attest that Shambaugh's work demonstrates the persistence of the same conflicts and issues decade after decade. Shambaugh felt the need to explain the public utility of historical research and the value of his programs to the university. He faced harsh criticism from academics who found the term "applied history" too vague, and who viewed the *Applied History Series* as lacking intellectual autonomy and a truly fresh perspective.

Conard's biography is well written and interesting, and her strategies for engaging in dialog with a variety of texts produce a fresh method for defining and assessing public history. However, Conard joins countless other scholars in viewing public history as merely a younger sibling of university-based historical scholarship. Public historians are expected to engage in a kind of heteroglossia—speaking on multiple levels, within multiple contexts—to audiences whom they can imagine and compose but never actually be certain they know. Viewing public history professionals strictly in terms of their relationship to academic history programs narrows our perspective of the field and places public history practitioners in an inherently untenable position. It measures public scholarship in terms of professional markers that only make sense in the context of the academy.

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1. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation

Edited by Gail Lee DuBrow and Jennifer B. Goodman. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003; 428 pp., photographs, appendices, notes, index; cloth $49.95.

This volume amply illustrates the unruly, untidy, and occasionally undisciplined practices required to reintroduce women into their natural habitat in historic landscapes and buildings dominated by stories about great men. The essays resemble a gathering of friends who know one another so well that they talk over each other, finish each other's sentences, and steal words from each other's mouths. Indeed, efforts to bring women's presence to the past have centered to date around a few well-connected, well-known leaders, who work diligently on their separate goals and come together every few years to learn from and support each other, and to discuss and plot new strategies and work. *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* reads like a cookbook for this first generation. It demonstrates that the time is ripe to move beyond the tight network of committed women's history preservationists, as well as to focus more carefully on what can be done in separate fields to support a "more democratic and inclusive vision" of historic preservation.

The field of historic preservation, where the relationship between disciplines contesting to document, preserve, and educate the public about history through the built environment can range from barren to very fruitful, is equally untidy. Curators, archeologists, landscape architects, and planners look for significance in physical evidence, while historians and ethnographers, familiar with oral and written tradition, use documentary evidence within broad historical themes. Lack of familiarity with written sources can lead to judging something as significant, which document-based scholars know to be a normative feature of a historic period, or to making conclusions that are unsupported either by the archeological record or by secondary sources. Meanwhile, document-based scholars regularly overlook or misread evidence of human activity in material culture, the landscape, and the built environment. Bringing disparate disciplines to bear on the role of women further complicates already tenuous connections.

Cultural resources professionals who have challenged the methods and theories of their respective fields to include gender as a basic category of analysis have had varying degrees of success, resulting in new work on women's history from several disciplinary perspectives. Site-based staff and policymakers who rely on this work to support their efforts to incorporate women's experiences in preserved landscapes, historic sites, and educational programs, may lack training to assess what they are reading. *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* documents the last decade of efforts to return women's presence to historic sites and landscapes by reaching across multiple boundaries.

Featuring presentations from three national conferences between 1994 and 2000, as well as a few essays produced for the volume, *Restoring Women's History* aims to bring "the best work together under one cover." Nineteen selections are arranged in five parts: 1) surveying the work of women in historic preservation, 2) assessing interpretive strategies, 3) using resource or building type analysis as new primary sources about women's lives, 4) showcasing "exemplary" projects, and 5) evaluating Federal policy in the United States and Canada.

The structure occasionally obscures an essay's intent, as when a piece on preserving gay and lesbian sites in general is placed in the section on "exemplary projects" rather than in the section cri-

tiquing Federal preservation policy in the United States, or when chapters on preservation practice in Georgia and West Virginia are placed in different sections. This is exacerbated by the bane of conference proceedings: many selections have appeared elsewhere, overlap significantly, or reference the same organizations, sites, programs, conferences, events, and publications. One wishes for more editorial control over repetitious references and sections, and for a single bibliography to minimize wading through footnotes for each essay.

That being said, what a glorious conversation this book reveals! It embraces the history of nurses and librarians through the built environment, the folkways of Los Angeles prostitutes through archeological evidence, issues of gender in preservation practice, and strategies for reclaiming histories whose neglected buildings have been lost. The author list reads like a "who's who" of preservation in Canada and the United States, with essays by Carol Shull, Alan McCullough, Dolores Hayden, Page Putnam Miller, Patricia West, Edith Mayo, and more. If there is one book to have on your shelf about preserving women's history, this is it.

Yet there is much more work to be done. To date only a few States have comprehensively surveyed properties relevant to women's history, in spite of presidential and congressional mandates. (Leslie Sharp's essay on the Georgia survey provides a good model.) Evidence of women's experiences encoded in the built environment is underutilized. (Essays by Abigail Van Slyck on libraries and by Annmarie Adams on nurses' residences point the way.)

Telling the stories of women's lives at historic sites requires knowledge, patience, and supportive colleagues. Patricia West and Edith Mayo provide information and advice; Kim Moon discusses the project that provided a structure for statewide collaborative efforts in Pennsylvania; Allan McCullough and Carol Shull reflect on preservation policy in Canada and the United States, where divergent commemorative strategies illustrate that process can hinder or help efforts to include women.

Interestingly, this volume appears just as the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites gains its nonprofit status. The collaborative, fostered by several of the authors featured in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, is a membership organization that supports the agenda richly canvassed by this book.

Vivien Ellen Rose
National Park Service

Polly Bemis: A Chinese American Pioneer

By Priscilla Wegars. Cambridge, ID: Backeddy Books, 2003; 24 pp., illustrations, biographical notes; cloth $21.00.

Polly Bemis may not yet be a familiar name in American history, but in her new book for children, Priscilla Wegars creates a captivating portrait of the unmatched contributions of this Chinese immigrant. Wegars wrote her dissertation on the history and archeology of the Chinese in northern Idaho from 1880 to 1910, and this research ultimately led her to Polly Bemis. Because Wegars has selected fourth-grade students as the primary audience for this particular work, she begins her story by locating Bemis' life within the context of United States history, and with an overview of the limited available information. Wegars writes—

Although Idaho's Polly Bemis is the Pacific Northwest's most famous Chinese American woman, almost nothing is known about her life or her family except that she was born in northern China, near Beijing on September 11, 1853. The same year, Abraham Lincoln and his wife Mary celebrated the

birth of their last child. Polly arrived in Idaho in 1872 age eighteen. After living there for more than sixty years, Polly Bemis died on November 6, 1933, when she was eighty years old. This is a true story.

As an educational tool, the book provides valuable insight for students on the struggles that immigrant women faced in the rural Northwest at the turn of the century. Interestingly, as Wegars points out in her biographical note at the end of the book, Bemis died in 1933, 10 years before repeal of the law barring immigrants from becoming citizens. Nonetheless, Wegars presents her as an American hero with an independent spirit and a unique concern for children.

Like a good field trip, *Polly Bemis* has a core of important educational information, as well as vivid historical details that capture the reader. After being sold into slavery in China, Bemis then traveled to the town of Warren, Idaho, and in 1872 was purchased by a Chinese man who later helped her to establish her freedom (according to Wegars there is no record of how this happened). Later, Bemis went to work for, and in 1894 married, Charlie Bemis, and the two moved to a small ranch in the Salmon River Canyon, north of Warren. For the benefit of her young readers, Wegars accentuates the richness of Polly and Charlie's life on the river, and adds interesting information such as what they grew in their garden, the strategies that they used to visit their neighbors on the river, and how for a short time the couple kept a mountain lion as a house pet. The book does not contain a map, however, which might be a useful aid for some students who are unfamiliar with the geography of the Northwest.

Given her enjoyment of life on the river as well as the initial challenges that Bemis faced in the process of establishing herself in America, it may come as a surprise to some readers that she opted to move back to Warren in 1922 after the death of her husband. According to Wegars, Bemis welcomed the change, which included her first stay at a public hotel and her first visit to a movie. While living in Warren, Bemis became friends with Johnny Carrey and his younger sister Gay, who were both elementary students staying in town during the academic year because their family's home was too far away. Aware of the fact that girls, unlike boys, could not reside at public hotels without their parents, as well as limitations that her own lack of formal education had caused her, Bemis invited Gay to stay at her house during one school year. Once again, Wegars adds details about picnics and fishing trips that Bemis enjoyed with Gay and Johnny, which has an air of familiarity that may remind readers of their own time spent with a favorite relative.

Educators will be interested to know that in her acknowledgements, Wegars makes special mention of the "numerous Idaho fourth-graders and their teachers" who contributed to this book. Wegars painstakingly portrays Polly Bemis as a historical figure who fills a void within many American history textbooks. Wegars hopes that this book will help dispel the myth that all American pioneers came from Europe. Wegars states that "the book will help students to see Polly as a person who overcame many difficult circumstances, but whose strength of character enabled her to overcome these adverse influences and become respected and admired by everyone who knew her, even during a time when most people of Chinese ancestry faced a great deal of prejudice simply because of their race."[1]

Wegars dedicates her book to Johnny Carrey who provided some insight about Bemis before he died in 2002. In addition, Wegars also includes two significant photographs: one of Polly in her wedding dress and another of Charlie. These two photographs will be of particular interest to young readers because Bemis gave them to Gay Carrey before she died. The realization that Bemis entrusted these historic documents to an individual of approximately their same age may give students an opportunity not only to consider how history is

recorded, but also the personal relevance that history has for them.

Anne Eigeman
American Association of State Colleges and Universities

1. Telephone conversation with Dr. Priscilla Wegars, June 16, 2003.

The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory

By Edward T. Linenthal. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001; ix + 304 pp., photographs, drawings, notes, index; paper $16.95.

Landscape, place, and memory can powerfully influence our understanding of historical reality. Historians have become fascinated with the interplay of these three forces and have analyzed the ways that Americans confront their past and shape their future beliefs or understandings. By examining, for example, battlefield memorialization, memorial statuary, and memorial landscapes, historians have explored the dynamic process of protest as individuals and groups struggle over the ownership and meaning of these special places over time. Usually, the memorial moments under consideration are positioned securely in times past. Edward Linenthal's *The Unfinished Bombing* plunges readers into the challenges associated with the memorial process related to a very recent event: the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City.

Linenthal's study begins with the bombing of the Murrah building on April 19, 1995, and concludes with the memorial's dedication in 2000. What intrigued him was not only the story of the Oklahoma City National Memorial Foundation, but also the ways in which the bombing impacted the Nation's imagination. It became a canvas upon which citizens defined as well as contemplated the community's and the Nation's past, present, and future.

What was larger than the bombing itself, Linenthal argues, was the manner in which a number of trends within the larger world of memorialization converged. Memorialization has long been a way for groups to stake out space and make an imprint upon an area's cultural and political consciousness. Usually a significant period of time will elapse before the memorialization process begins. What was striking about Oklahoma City was that it seemed to begin in a heartbeat, with grieving, remembering, and sanctifying all entangled.

As a result, the memorial process became more democratic as a range of individuals, however far removed from the event or people involved, participated in acts of remembrance. Linenthal suggests that the interest in memorializing the bombing represented a shift in the way American culture accommodates sites of violence. Instead of following more common responses to such sites—modest remembrance or obliteration—the Oklahoma City bombing generated an intense desire to ensure that the event would not be forgotten. The outcome, he concludes, was a memorial process that drew on past efforts and took on a particular character based on family members' and survivors' desires for remembering the victims.

Linenthal identifies four primary narratives that emerged to interpret the Oklahoma City bombing. The "progressive narrative" stressed the possibility of rebuilding and renewal as the community and the Nation overcame the challenges posed by the tragedy. The "redemptive narrative" drew on religion and concentrated on the opportunity for good to triumph over evil. The "toxic narrative" reflected the anger and bitterness over lives lost, expectations shattered, and physical and emotional injuries. The fourth narrative that Linenthal suggests, "patriotic sacrifice," revolved around the decision to place the Oklahoma site among the memorials administered by the National Park

Service. This is Linenthal at his best, identifying and exploring the many stories and contested visions about an event.

The heart of Linenthal's study is his analysis of the images and symbols that surfaced to describe the impact of the bombing and its aftereffects, and the way in which the memorial process took shape and played out. He considers how the Nation confronts an act of violence and the challenges associated with the needs of families and survivors, the creation of a national bereaved community, and conflicting notions of memorialization.

Linenthal believes that the impact of the Oklahoma City bombing continues. In his conclusion, he poses the following questions: "Will the prominence of the Oklahoma City bombing be ensured by its location in the nation's official memory? Will it become an enduring part of the national landscape, a site as important as Monticello, Gettysburg, or the Vietnam Veterans Memorial? Will a future terrorist act that inflicts even more death consign Oklahoma City to a less prestigious location on the landscape of violence? Or might such an act increase its prestige as the first event in a continuing body count of domestic terrorism?" These questions remain unanswered. *The Unfinished Bombing* appeared as the Nation reeled from the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and the crash in Pennsylvania. These events may well have deflected attention from the singularity of the Oklahoma City bombing. Our lack of distance from the events clouds our ability to place them in perspective.

This is an engaging book that immerses readers in the story, feeling the emotions generated by the event as well as Linenthal's own wariness about many of the attempts of professionals to impose "mental health" on the families and survivors. Here is a framework for understanding the dynamics of such aftereffects and the choices available in developing appropriate memorialization strategies. However, the study suffers from too little contextualization of the memorial process and the site's association with political terrorism rather than national sacrifice. Linenthal alludes to these issues but they remain undeveloped. Nonetheless, this study will be intriguing to anyone involved with developing, administering, and interpreting memorial sites.

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At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture

By James E. Young. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000; viii + 248 pp., photographs, drawings, notes, bibliography, index; paper $18.95.

Post-Holocaust Jewish-American and European artists and architects have moved in new directions to memorialize the Holocaust with often jarring, nontraditional "counter memorials." *At Memory's Edge* treats what James E. Young, a University of Massachusetts English and Judaic studies professor, defines as "memory-work." The author recapitulates his extensive scholarly output of articles, catalog essays, informal talks, lectures, and symposia as the foundation for *At Memory's Edge*. The introductory chapter includes a standard literature survey. Young proceeds to several case studies to describe post-Holocaust artistic interpretations and memorials. The book concludes with his insider's perspective chronicling "memory-work" to select the design for the German national Holocaust memorial.

The artists' and architects' body of work cited in the book leapfrogs the traditional style of memorials found throughout Europe—statues, preserved ruins, monumental architecture, and poignant inscriptions. The book represents the author's specialized scholarship regarding the novel approach-

es that post-Holocaust generations of American and European artists and architects of Jewish heritage have employed to remember the Nazis' bitter fruit. These intellectuals have rejected typical bronze and marble Holocaust memorialization in favor of artistic approaches that draw the world's attention to what they argue resulted in an immense cultural void in late 20th-century Europe.

At a temporal distance from the Holocaust, artists and architects have produced nontraditional ethereal monuments, memorials, and museums. The artists and architects did not directly experience the Holocaust; rather their perceptions have been created and influenced by survivor accounts and by the vast outpouring of Holocaust-related books, magazines, movies, and television programs. Some of the artists returned to the neighborhoods where the Jews worked and lived, trying to recapture "what it was like" in order to educate present-day observers. Shimon Attie's large-scale slide projections of historic photos of early 20th-century Jewish life seemed to be a particularly effective medium when projected on buildings, streets, and sites in European cities. Jochen Gerz attracted public interest by commemorating the loss of 2,000 Jewish cemeteries in Germany by inserting replacement cobblestones (each inscribed with the name of a razed burial ground) in Saarbrucken's main square.

Among other artists' and architects' works, the results are startling: Art Spiegelman's cartoon art, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*; David Levinthal's miniature figurine photography; and Horst Hoheisel's national Holocaust memorial proposal to blow up the Brandenburg Gate, a well recognized Berlin monument once incorporated in the Berlin Wall.

The artists' and architects' cutting edge "memory-work" regarding the Holocaust does not, perhaps unconsciously, intersect with what Europeans have already accomplished as remembrance of that dark story. While it is interesting, educational, and inspiring to examine old stories with unique and often startling perspectives on the Holocaust, the emphasis on daring, novel art and architecture, what the author calls "counter monuments" seemingly dismisses traditional approaches to memorialization: statues, plaques, memorials, and preservation and interpretation of concentration camps, transit centers, ruins, cemeteries, and other terrible landmarks of Nazi tyranny. Yet these traditional memorials continue to serve as parallel and powerful reminders of the European Holocaust.

Young concludes with an insider's perspective on the intellectual angst generated during the protracted, tortured debate in Germany in the 1980s and 1990s on erecting a German national Holocaust memorial in Berlin. A talented panel sifted through some 25 proposals ranging from demolishing the Brandenburg Gate to Renata Stih's and Frieder Schnock's *Bus Stop—the Non-Monument*—a large bus terminal in Berlin from which visitors could travel to concentration camp sites throughout Europe.

The book concludes with the selection of a preferred design near the end of former Chancellor Helmut Kohl's tenure, "Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe" by American architect Peter Eisenman. Under Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's tenure, the design was further modified. The Holocaust memorial is under construction on the former "death strip" near the razed Berlin Wall within hailing distance of Hitler's demolished Chancellery and scheduled for completion in March 2005.

For students of the cultural impact and value of memorials, *At Memory's Edge* is a useful addition to the growing body of literature. While the book is geared towards an artistic and architectural academic analysis, a more balanced treatment should have at least introduced the magnitude of "memory-work" at existing historic sites. Nonetheless, the book provides useful discussion of an engaging array of artistic output that should be considered by cultural resource professionals, historians,

artists, architects, and academicians. Recent genocide, war, and terrorism in Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, Oklahoma City, and on 9/11 remind us of our responsibility to transmit to succeeding generations our thoughts on these terrible events. Those of us engaged in commemoration and memorialization, especially those engaged in creating, preserving, managing, and interpreting memorial sites, should read this book.

Ron Johnson
National Park Service (Retired)

Monuments and Memory: History and Representation in Lowell, Massachusetts

By Martha Norkunas. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002; xi + 208 pp., illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $39.95; paper $17.95.

In recent years, memory and its complex relationships to history has garnered increasing intellectual attention. Martha Norkunas's *Monuments and Memory: History and Representation in Lowell, Massachusetts* adds to our understanding of these relationships as history, histories, and memories have been formed and re-formed in this mill-town turned national park. In a series of interrelated essays, Norkunas successfully tackles questions "about the connections between gender, ethnicity, power, space, and narrative, about the relationship between the living and the memory of the dead, and about the uncertain intersections between memory and history."

Building on her personal ethnic history and her deep connections to Lowell, Norkunas began a systematic documentation of Lowell's 252 monuments. She sought to make sense of their origins and significance, and to contrast her female-centered family's narratives with the public memorials' "sea of maleness." In the process she describes a continuum from personal memory to national history, from her personal life to a national park. Some of the most interesting reading comes with her developing an understanding of her family's past: "I could not go in. I was afraid that my memory of the past which I had varnished over time...would be forever disturbed."

For much of the book, Norkunas wrestled with issues of significance—how it changes with generations and as direct knowledge of those being remembered fade. Norkunas shows memory not as a finished event but as an ongoing process between the people being remembered and those doing the act of remembering. Memory is process changed by those individuals and communities participating in it. Many of Lowell's memorials had become unrecognized—drained of their original meaning. Others, originally dedicated to individuals, take on different significance as ethnic neighborhood boundary markers.

In her chapter "The Gender of Memory," she particularly honors the private women's history: "It often seemed to me that these stories, the ones that were told openly and the ones that were told in hushed tones, were the real history of Lowell, the history that mattered, and that only the women knew it." She states, "For women the site of memory, the place where the living and the dead commingle, is not on the landscape but remains rooted in the narrative." She concludes that women are "rememberers of male accomplishment," but not themselves remembered. She hints that as women enter more public spheres their recognition through monuments will increase.

Norkunas raises several issues for those of us involved in cultural resources to consider. Highlighted are the competing visions between

parks created to promoted local values (here, ethnic ones) or to provide a stable economy through enticing newcomers (here, white collar jobs). Patrick Mogan, Lowell's School Superintendent and "Father of Lowell NHP," used the local approach; U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas focused on economic incentives. One approach risks not being the truly national story Congress intends when it establishes such parks. The other risks creating something so gentrified as to lose its roots in reality.

According to Norkunas, the area's focus on the mill girls had not gotten "more than a passing local interest...prior to the advent of the National Park." Given the extensive historical literature on Lowell's early industrialization and its famous mill girls, Norkunas's statement reflects more local and temporal attitudes than a Nation's history. Gradually, the park's significance expanded to a larger (and longer) story of immigrant generations of mill workers, from the Irish digging the mills' canals to the post-mill era Cambodians who by 1990 made up 25 percent of Lowell's population. At Lowell, these histories—of mill girls long gone and of immigrant generations still very present—can either compete or, preferably, be seen as complementary. Her insights into the tensions between these approaches are useful to many other places.

The book assumes some knowledge about Lowell as a city and as a national park. Maps showing the succession of ethnic communities and key monuments would have been helpful. She could have pushed some of her thoughts further, particularly concerning how becoming a national park shifts local history and memory.

Monuments and Memory is recommended for those interested in better understanding relationships between communities and national parks, for those responsible for commemorative works, and for anyone interested in the interplay between memory and history. Norkunas concludes that, "History texts do not begin when memory ceases to function, as the cultural theorists suggested; rather history coexists, side by side, with a living, functioning memory."

Heather Huyck
National Park Service

Beyond the River: The Untold Story of the Heroes of the Underground Railroad

By Ann Hagedorn. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002; 352 pp., map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $25.00, paper $14.00.

The 1858 Oberlin-Wellington Rescue: A Reappraisal

By Roland M. Baumann. Lorain, OH: The Bodnar Printing Co. with Oberlin College, 2003; 64 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index; paper $9.95.

How prudently most men creep into nameless graves while now and then one or two forget themselves into immortality.

–Wendell Phillips, quoted in *Beyond the River*

Ann Hagedorn is an investigative reporter who tells us that *Beyond the River* results from "doing what journalists do," telling stories that challenge our assumptions. In this instance, she uses the career of abolitionist Rev. John Rankin to meticulously reconstruct one specific line of that ad hoc, opportunistic network that we now call the Underground Railroad. Operating on the north bank of the Ohio River in the small town of Ripley, Ohio, Rankin and his coconspirators repeatedly violated both the sensibilities of their neighbors and Federal law by assisting freedom-seekers out of slavery. Hagedorn revives gun battles, midnight arson, kidnappings, and torch-bearing mobs faced down by pious abolitionists on the Ohio River borderlands.

Relying heavily on first-person accounts, part character study, part regional study, part grand historical context, Hagedorn calls her work "narrative non-fiction," and it strives for popular appeal. On the first page alone, ridges sprawl, expanses are vast, thickets entangle, panthers and wolves lurk, hills are verdant, and flatboats are cumbrous. But do not be discouraged. Take a break, but please do come back to Hagedorn.

From the evidence in the endnotes, how many different books could have been written based on Ann Hagedorn's extensive research? She could have reconstructed entire routes of the Underground Railroad, with the names of conductors and fugitives, dates of operation, locations of safe houses, and means of transport. Hagedorn could have written a history of the abolitionist movement, or the religious roots of Northern resistance to slavery, or the Southern origins of some of the abolitionist movement's key players. Even if unintentional, Hagedorn's chapters 14 and 22 may well become the definitive reconstruction of the true story underlying the Eliza character from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Occasionally the lack of deep historical perspective is frustrating. Hagedorn does not have much to say about the enslaved freedom-seekers themselves, who admittedly rarely wrote memoirs or left a paper trail of any kind. But more glaring is Hagedorn's open condemnation of the South, slavery, and slaveholding, with no attempt at anthropological distance. The South is repeatedly described from the outside looking in, in terms used by 19th-century abolitionists. Slave catchers are always drunken louts, proslavery magistrates are always on the take, and slave owners are always brutal and too stupid to see the equality of their chattel. Of course slavery was wrong! Of course those who recognized it as wrong were heroes! But if ever we are going to understand why those few heroes were so scarce for so long, we need to be able to put aside our righteous modernity long enough to see the world as it was at the time.

But this is a book of heroes. Rev. John Rankin is set up as an archetype in order to explore why some people in the 1820s to 1860s chose a path of dissent and civil disobedience. There is a tension throughout the book between Rankin as the hero acting on his convictions and Rankin as the blind actor in a larger historical movement. As the title suggests, the hero wins. If none of us is merely a blind actor, perhaps all of us are called to be heroes.

Roland Baumann is an archivist and a history professor, bringing strong control over the source material and analytical rigor to his booklet, *The 1858 Oberlin-Wellington Rescue: A Reappraisal*. Reading Baumann's crisp, declarative style and precise endnotes was refreshing.

In January 1856, John Price fled slavery in Mason County, Kentucky, and found refuge in the small college town of Oberlin, Ohio. By September, a professional slave catcher, accompanied by a Federal marshal and his assistant, arrived in Oberlin, arrested Price by subterfuge, and ran for the nearest train south. A rescue party was mounted before the kidnappers had traveled more than 8 miles. On the evening of September 13, 1856, over 200 people surrounded the hotel in the village of Wellington where Price was held. About 50 people entered the hotel, some of whom eventually found Price, hauled him out, and sent him back to Oberlin, thence to Canada, after which he was never heard from again.

The story of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue is only peripherally about John Price. By November 1856, the district court in Cleveland handed down 37 indictments against the rescuers, each to be tried separately. The indicted rescuers included cobblers, clerks, carpenters, cabinetmakers, printers, farmers, grocers, harness makers, brickmakers, and five students. Two lawyers, a physician, and a teacher were the only representatives of the professional classes. The party of rescuers included free African Americans, fugitive slaves, and sympathetic

whites. Many of the rescuers were conductors on the Underground Railroad.

Baumann tells the story of the ensuing legal battle, precipitated by one of the most successful large-scale nonviolent episodes of civil disobedience in American history. According to most of the earlier literature on this episode, that success is largely due to the 19th-century equivalent of a media circus that polarized public opinion in support of the rescuers, and indirectly aided the rise of the Republican Party and the election of Abraham Lincoln. Baumann downplays the national repercussions of the rescue, while highlighting the maneuvering of both sides in what became a national spectacle.

At odds with William Lloyd Garrison's progressively more militant abolitionism, the leadership of the Congregationalist clergy in Oberlin were "committed to a protracted effort to reform society" and were, "informed by civil disobedience, moral suasion, and organizational networking." The rescue was conducted without a riot, and with no vigilance committees, no injuries, or even threat of injuries. Thanks to Baumann's clear description and documentation, the reader can reconstruct the precise route of both kidnappers and rescuers, learn the names of those involved, and read first-person accounts, newspaper stories, and court proceedings.

Baumann demonstrates the extraordinarily astute public relations practiced by the abolitionists before the trials. Public events included 6,000 people in a peaceful demonstration led by Sunday school children, a fundraising banquet for the defense called "The Felon's Feast," and a second defense fund set up by the Republican Central Committee of the Western Reserve called the "Fund for Liberty." In retaliation for the proceedings of the Cleveland Court, Lorain County Court indicted the slave catchers and the Federal marshal on kidnapping charges. In the end, charges were dropped for both rescuers and slave catchers. In Baumann's words, "Oberlin's abolitionist leaders had successfully negotiated the boundaries between social reform, state and local politics, and religious evangelicalism."

Baumann and Hagedorn share a love of exhaustive research, using their results in dramatically different ways. The back-to-back effect of reading their works is like walking out of an overstuffed Victorian parlor into a Danish-modern law office. There is a place in the world for both tastes, and we are in debt to both authors for their fine work.

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National Underground Railroad Freedom Center

Houses of God: Region, Religion and Architecture in the United States

By Peter W. Williams. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000; xv + 321 pp., photographs, bibliographies, indices; cloth $34.95; paper $24.95.

Sanctuary

By Thomas Roma. With an introduction by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002; xii + 96 pp., 52 photographs, map; cloth $29.95.

The writing of American religious architectural history is complicated by the many components of religious space that one must understand in order to give proper credit to these important structures. Peter W. Williams' *Houses of God* and Thomas Roma's *Sanctuary* employ an interdisciplinary approach to consider sacred space through the lenses of geography, ethnicity, religion, social issues, preservation, material culture, archeology, and architecture, enabling a solid understanding of sacred environments in the United States.

Williams, a professor of Comparative Religion and American Studies at Miami University in Ohio, began this work as a series of essays for a 1994 photographic exhibition at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis on the public expression of religion in American art. Williams cites the book's purpose as an examination of "the built environment of religion in the United States—its architecture, landscape, and other dimensions of its public physical aspect—with special attention to the importance of geographical and cultural *region* in shaping that religious expression." He centers on regionalism, religious tradition or denomination, architectural style, and social class. Williams studies each region chronologically and according to topics such as theological innovation, ethnicity, religious denominations, urbanism, modernism, and architectural style.

Williams does not, however, utilize the same themes in each chapter but instead carefully selects those most important to each region's history. In the chapter on New England, for example, he focuses on the Puritan meetinghouse and its significance as a new American building type, suitable for both sacred and secular purposes. In the chapter on the Mid-Atlantic region, Anglicanism is emphasized in its various stylistic forms, whereas colonial Anglican churches, largely completed in a neoclassical style, are the main topic of the South's religious spaces. The chapter on the Spanish Borderlands centers on the Spanish Catholic settlement of the American Southwest.

While these regions provide a focal point of "cultural hearths"—described by Williams as "the entrance of various strains of European culture into the Northern American social environment through distinctive geographical nodes"—the remaining regions, the Old Northwest, the Great Plains and Mountains, and the Pacific Rim, lose this concentration due to later settlement by a multitude of cultural groups. For example, in the Great Plains and Mountains chapter, after an introductory discussion on settlement patterns and ethnicity, Williams discusses the entire history of the churches in this region under a general heading of "Building Patterns," moving back and forth among States and themes.

Although many buildings are included in his survey, Williams' text lacks the discussion of post-World War II religious space, particularly that influenced by modernism and liturgical reform after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Williams devotes only one paragraph to the Vatican reforms and fails to mention the importance of St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, as an international leader in liturgical reform. Many of the St. John's brethren were advisors to the council and were also closely involved in the design of St. John's Abbey church (1953-1961) by Marcel Breuer, a modern building espousing modern liturgical ideals.

The ecumenical nature of worship promoted by the Council also impacted the design of non-Catholic spaces, and Williams' work could be expanded to include these changes. Additionally, an analysis of churches now approaching their 50th anniversary would aid preservationists as they consider potential nominations to the National Register of Historic Places. A revision might also improve the quality of several of the images, and update the indices to include a topical index rather than just the name and location indices provided in the current edition.

Williams, however, has completed a daunting task and has added greatly to the historiography of the built religious environment. Most religious architectural studies are monographs and Williams' work is one of two recent books to tackle the United States in a survey format. The other, Marilyn J. Chiat's *America's Religious Architecture*, is a series of one-page entries on many lesser-known vernacular buildings, appealing to the traveler and preservationist as she encourages congregations to protect and record their heritage.[1] Both books use region as an organizing idiom but given

the diversity and mobility of people in the United States, will region remain an appropriate tool for future inquires? Even Williams is doubtful. Yet through his efforts we see the promise of completing successful religious architectural histories through a combination of ideas taken from geography, religion, architecture, cultural studies, and material studies.

Another important element of architectural history is the visual documentation of structures. Thomas Roma's photographs of his Brooklyn, New York, neighborhood in *Sanctuary* fulfill this vital task. Roma, whose photographs appear in museum collections as well as in many solo exhibitions, sought imagery "that dealt with the way people express their spirituality" and how sacred places fit into the lives of the immigrants who built them as well as those who now use them. These interests produce unexpected juxtapositions. In one photograph Roma fills the foreground with abandoned cars on a vacant gravel lot, the middle ground with three-story apartment buildings, and the background with a church steeple prominently centered within the image.

For Roma, life and faith are intertwined and the term "sanctuary" moves beyond its traditional description as the most sacred part of a Christian church. It becomes a "state of mind" as noted by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., in the introduction. Roma's photographs are captivating and force the viewer to reconsider the sacred nature of their own environment.

Roma and Williams encourage researchers to take a multifaceted approach when documenting the sacred built environment. With thousands of the best religious spaces yet to be explored, work on sacred space will continue to come from collaboration among scholars and researchers in various fields.

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1. Marilyn J. Chiat, *America's Religious Architecture: Sacred Places for Every Community* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1997).

Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War

Edited by Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003; 363 pp., illustrations, notes; cloth $59.95, paper $27.95.

Rather than focusing on "great men," the focus should shift to include the men and women of both sides who fought and feared, died or survived, benefited or lost everything as they participated, often through no choice of their own, in an event which they did not necessarily understand or support.

—From *Archaeological Perspectives*

The American Civil War is one of the most extensively studied and debated subjects among both academics and the public. Interest in the Civil War has soared due to a number of factors, including Ken Burns' documentary series, the increasing numbers of battle reenactments, and increased visitation to Civil War sites across the country. Despite such popularity, many scholars in the field of archeology have ignored the Civil War, passing it over as having "no intellectual future."

Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War smashes this myth with a powerful collection of 18 original and insightful essays that illustrate that the archeology of the Civil War is not just about finding bullets and buttons; it is about real people. The essays collected by Geier and Potter

are highly relevant to all fields associated with heritage stewardship.

Archaeological Perspectives is divided into three sections: Tactics and the Conduct of Battles, The Home Front and Military Life, and New Methods and Techniques. The five essays in the first section include work on battles such as Second Manassas, Antietam, and Cool Spring; research on the recently discovered Confederate submarine *H. L. Hunley*; and surveys of extant fortifications surrounding the city of Atlanta.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing essays is a joint effort between Potter and Smithsonian Institution forensic anthropologist Douglas W. Owsley to recover four partial sets of human remains at Antietam. Besides discussing individual artifacts that were recovered with each burial, Potter and Owsley are able to make a reasonable case for the identification of one of the fallen soldiers. In another fine essay, Steven D. Smith uses the recovery of the *H.L. Hunley* to demonstrate that archeology can be highly political. Smith provides a well-presented controversial argument about the perception of Confederate symbols in modern America.

The second and largest portion of the book consists of essays relating individuals' experiences during the Civil War. The nine essays fall into four groups: the life of the common soldier in settings such as camp or prison, the study of domestic life during the Civil War, the lives of African Americans and how they were affected by the war, and agriculture and agrarian landscapes during the Civil War. The experiences of the common soldier are detailed in essays about Fort C. F. Smith, Sheridan Field Hospital, and Andersonville Prison. Each provides excellent primary source material to support the archeological evidence at these sites. Domestic life during the Civil War is detailed using examples from the Owens' House/Post Office Complex at Camp Nelson, Kentucky, and from Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. In both of these essays, archeological evidence is used to explore how the functions of domestic structures may have changed during the Civil War and how the individuals in these settings may have dealt with conditions brought upon by a sudden influx of military personnel.

The African-American experience is clearly essential to understanding the Civil War, and the three essays devoted to this topic are outstanding. Kenneth E. Koons presents a seemingly limitless amount of data on the numbers and occupations of African Americans in the Shenandoah Valley, while Erika K. Martin Seibert and Mia Parsons explore how the lives of a free African-American family were affected by the battles at Manassas. Elise Manning-Sterling looks at how the devastation of the Civil War impacted both agricultural output and the agrarian landscape.

The final section is devoted to the Civil War archeologist's biggest threat and best ally, the metal detector. Of the four essays in this chapter, one details work on the Battle of Chickamauga while the remainder address the Battle of Antietam. Each of these essays demonstrates that systematic metal detector surveys are simply the only manner in which Civil War militaria can be effectively recovered over a large area. John E. Cornelison Jr.'s essay emphasizes that the overall value of these surveys depends entirely on the accuracy with which the recovered artifacts are mapped. Bruce B. Sterling and Bernard W. Slaughter follow with an essay that sets the standard for conducting metal detector surveys. Through an exhaustive, multiyear survey at Antietam, the authors detail the most- and least-effective methods for recovering military artifacts through metal detector surveys.

While the final section is extremely useful as a guide for conducting large-scale battlefield surveys, all of the chapters tend to ignore an important issue: archeological surveys depend on volunteer relic hunters. While volunteer services are invaluable, relic hunters often use skills learned as project volunteers to loot and destroy sensitive archeologi-

cal sites. Future work on metal detector surveys must address this controversial issue.

Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War is a must-read for students of the Civil War. Although some scholars may be surprised that this book focuses almost entirely on the eastern theater of the Civil War, they will be rewarded in that many of these essays succeed in presenting a unique understanding of the role of the common individual during this crucial time in American history. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in African-American studies, agricultural history, and domestic life in the 19th century.

Brandon S. Bies
University of Maryland

Uncovering Australia: Archaeology, Indigenous People, and the Public

By Sarah Colley. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, in association with Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, New South Wales, Australia, 2003; 251 pp., illustrations, notes; paper $24.95.

This book is about the practice, politics, and ethics of archeology in Australia. Aimed at nonspecialists, but written to be of interest to archeologists and cultural heritage managers, it will also interest those working in the United States and Canada, as there are many parallel issues. Factors operating in Australian archeology today include the "relationship between 'science' and Indigenous rights; community-based action against development which threatens important cultural places; and the role of government and the media in mediating interactions between different interest groups."

Throughout the book, Colley uses case studies to illustrate her points. The examples may not be well known outside of Australia, but demonstrate how particular cases changed relationships among archeologists, Indigenous people, the public, government, environmentalists, and the media.

Colley provides the reader with a professional context by summarizing archeological practice and the basics of cultural heritage management. In Australia and many other countries, the term cultural resource management has been replaced by the term cultural heritage management in order to include a much broader meaning. Heritage includes intangible as well as tangible heritage. In addition, the separation of cultural and natural heritage makes little sense to Indigenous societies. As in other countries, focusing on cultural landscape and landscape archeology breaks down this divide somewhat.

Three chapters center on relationships between archeologists and Indigenous people, covering issues of repatriation and Indigenous rights and negotiations over archeological research. In some cases archeology is in direct disagreement with Indigenous beliefs. Indigenous people may perceive archeology as both a physical and spiritual threat. However, archeology may also bring tangible benefits and Colley provides examples of success stories of archeologists and Indigenous people working together. Archeologists need permission to conduct archeological research (as opposed to compliance studies) on Indigenous places in Australia and therefore need to negotiate with communities. When an archeologist approaches a community and seeks permission to conduct a survey or excavation, the community can decline permission, suggest changes to make the work more relevant, or give permission, perhaps with certain conditions. As in other countries, questions arise about who represents the community.

Some of Colley's case studies illustrate that relationships are different between archeologists and

Indigenous peoples depending on whether the context is research or consulting work. Archeological work is more likely to take place in the latter context. Australian planning legislation requires considering archeology as part of environmental assessments. As in the United States, cultural values must be taken into account but the presence of heritage resources does not necessarily stop development.

In Australia as in the United States, the legislated process defines the archeological record in terms of artifacts, groups of artifacts, and spatially bounded sites, and promotes a piecemeal approach focused on small, disconnected parts rather than on region- or landscape-based approaches. Landscape approaches have long been of interest in the United Kingdom and other parts of the world. In the United States, the regional approach has been available for decades and yet restricted by the site-based approach reified in cultural resource management legislation.

There has been a trend toward providing Indigenous people with more legal control over their own places, but in the current political climate, Colley thinks that the tide may have turned against Indigenous interests. In spite of this, Colley expects increased Indigenous coordination and control of heritage assessment work. Archeology of some kind will continue, but numerous questions persist, such as who will do the work. Will it be members of the community and will they have archeological training?

Colley considers archeology in a broader public context. In discussing archeology and the public, it is clear that not much information is available on public perceptions of archeology in Australia. (Contrast this with the good baseline data collected in the United States by Harris Interactive. The study is available online at http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/pubs/harris/index.htm). Discussion here is based on public misconceptions about the "romance and adventure" of archeology. Colley refers to Peter Hisock's useful distinction between "pseudo-science," which uses scientific terminology and cites "evidence," and "New Age" archeology, which rejects conventional methods and relies on revelation rather than examination. United States practitioners of cultural resource management will recognize the situation in this statement: "Proponents of both pseudo-science and New Age archaeology commonly accuse scientists, archaeologists and the government of ignoring them and perpetuating a cover-up about the True meaning of archaeological sites and what Really happened in the past."

Colley's concluding chapter on archeology, Indigenous Australia, and postcolonialism attempts to explore connections between archeological practice and knowledge in the contexts of postcolonialism and postmodernism. The author explicitly acknowledges the discordance of modern society and the loss of confidence in science and academic knowledge in the postmodern age. She argues for considering other social values when deciding significance of a place, particularly in the wake of colonialism where Indigenous people and their culture were devalued. In this postcolonial context, the politics of race influences archeology in Australia.

Colley states clearly that this is not an archeology book. Instead it is a book about archeology in social context and is intended to provoke discussion. It should succeed in that intention, not only in Australia but in any country with both Indigenous and immigrant populations where cultural heritage or cultural resource management is practiced.

Barbara Little
National Park Service

Claiming the Stones, Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity

Edited by Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003; 384 pp., illustrations, notes; paper $50.00.

This eclectic volume developed from a 1998 conference sponsored jointly by the Getty Research Institute and the Drue Heinz Trust at Oxford University. One co-editor is a professor of history and cultural studies, the other is a professor of American literature. The general theme is the relationship between cultural property and cultural identity, with the former broadly construed to encompass a diverse range of phenomena, scholarship, and interests.

Archeologists are interested in material culture and in current and emerging theories regarding the effects, operation, and social role of cultural things in social contexts. Several interesting issues concerning material culture, or cultural property, and the construction of identity are raised in this volume, but without an attempt to link observations and insights to current theoretical work in material culture studies. Lacking a relevant theoretical framework, the overall value of the contributions is reduced and cultural property is subject to a kind of "mystification." In the opening paragraph of the introduction, for example, the authors allude to some "inexplicable chemistry" underlying the power of material culture to create a sense of identity.

The book comprises an introduction and 14 essays from legal, literary, anthropological, historical, and biological perspectives that explore the social significance of claims to cultural property and the resulting controversies. The sections of the volume are based on three categories of cultural property: tangible, intangible, and what the authors term "representations," the reformulation of traditional cultural property in the service of reconfigured identities. The first two sections deal with tangible cultural property and remains. The first two chapters—on the Elgin Marbles and pre-Columbian remains and indigenous cultural identity—cover ground already substantially treated by scholars. The subsequent chapter by Claire L. Lyons traces the life history of a gold plate from its origins in the 4th century B.C. to its present disputed circumstances in a private collection in the United States. This study offers a fresh analysis of competing interests in the material remains of the past at their point of intersection with a specific object.

The next two chapters deal with the skeletal remains of an individual who has come to be known as Kennewick Man, another topic about which much has been written. The piece by Douglas W. Owsley and Richard L. Jantz, which argues the side of science, is notably out of date with the most recent references to events in 1999. The following chapter by Patty Gerstenblith, written from the opposing point of view, opens with a two-page quote from a Tony Hillerman novel and then proceeds to review the Kennewick case, again providing information with respect to NAGPRA and repatriation legislation that has been amply covered elswhere.

The next section of the volume, entitled "Legislating the Intangible," contains three chapters that deal with intellectual property rights and three different types of intangible property: traditional ecological knowledge, traditional music, and body ornamentation or tattooing. Darrell Addison Posey's chapter on the Kayapo is rather diffuse, although he makes several interesting points regarding indigenous systems of knowledge and the political significance of definitions of culture and nature. Helene La Rue's well-organized essay on world music and the impact of new recording technologies provides a useful and current synopsis of traditional music and intellectual property concerns. The final chapter in part three offers a Maori scholar's account of

the history and current cultural significance of the tradition of body ornamentation.

The final section contains five chapters on issues of control, authority, and rights with respect to representation. In the first of two chapters that deal with African-American representation, Marlon B. Ross provides an insightful analysis of "copyright in race," in which he treats blackness like whiteness as a particular form of cultural property. In the following chapter, Jonathan Arac deconstructs *Huckleberry Finn*'s place in the American literary canon from the point of view outlined by Ross. The final three chapters consider Irishry and Jewishness in the context of literary works. As a set, these chapters allude to important issues of heterogeneity in groups typically viewed as monolithic, and highlight the ways that competing factions and individuals negotiate and contest identity.

While the strength of this volume might, on one hand, be considered its eclectism, on the other, this can be viewed as a weakness. Given that it provides broad coverage of cultural property topics in a single volume, it could be a useful, state-of-the-art compendium. Unfortunately, a coherent framework is lacking and a number of chapters appear to be considerably out-of-date. As the co-editors note at the end of the introduction, the terms "cultural property" and "cultural identity" have perhaps become so loosely and inclusively defined as to lose their usefulness. This collection might be a good illustration of this danger.

Tamara L. Bray
Wayne State University

A River and Its City: The Nature of Landscape in New Orleans

By Ari Kelman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003; 296 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $29.95.

Scholars have long focused on New Orleans' politics and literature, race relations, working class, food, and tourism. Within the past decade, the history of the city's public spaces has received increased attention. Kelman's new book examines the complex history of the waterfront and its changing character reflecting concerns about the waterfront as public space and business opportunity. Through a variety of attempts to enhance trade, control floodwaters, and rechannel the mighty Mississippi, the waterfront has remained the city's defining natural feature.

This broad-ranging and thoughtful book represents a gentle reaction against other historians, notably William Cronon, Michael Sorkin, and Mike Davis, who have decried the loss of public space in the face of the relentless power of modern corporate capitalism to redefine urban landscapes. Kelman's story purports to be more complex than merely seeing man against nature as he delves into the complex legal status of riverfront land use rights, conflicting engineering visions for water management, and the often weak constituency behind public access to the waterfront over the past several hundred years. Definitions of the public good are constantly changing, he notes, and conceptions of public access remain unclear.

The book presents episodes in the waterfront's history, from the torturous legal battles over the batture (parts of the riverbanks that are covered during high water and uncovered during low) in the late 18th century to the later legal fight over monopolistic power of steamship companies, from the impact of the yellow fever epidemic of 1853 on the waterfront, through the struggles to create levees and warehouses in the late 19th century to the

dramatic impact of the 1927 flood. Kelman ends his story with the successful attempt to stop highway construction along the waterfront in the 1960s.

President Thomas Jefferson was involved in a major dispute over control of a portion of the batture that pitted him against an old antagonist, Edward Livingston, who had settled in New Orleans after scandals drove him from New York. Having become sensitized to the concerns of Westerners' access to the river since the 1780s, Jefferson eventually weighed in against Livingston's attempt to prove his ownership of the alluvial land. Yet Kelman notes, locals had a tradition of understanding nature's erratic force that Livingston could not grasp. In the end, (actually this is a never-ending story), Livingston's persistence extracted something of a compromise from city officials.

The impact of new technology, specifically the steamboat, reflected "the contingent nature of public space" for which Governor Claiborne advocated when trying to establish a monopoly for the Fulton group (those investors associated with Robert Fulton, inventor of the steamboat), a relatively common business practice in Jefferson's day. Yet competitors soon arrived in the form of Henry Shreve, who successfully challenged the Fulton group for the riparian common. Perceptions of "artifice and the river" became fused to notions of progress as American merchants subsequently battled Creole elites to define the waterfront in commercial terms, eventually and briefly breaking up city governance into three submunicipalities over the issue.

Kelman finds that "as commercial capitalism took root in cities, people no longer valued spaces for their uses but instead for the amount of capital proprietors could ask in exchange for them." His implicit message is that we need to rethink the intangible values of waterfronts and public access.

One of Kelman's recurring themes is that control over nature, frequently the bottom line of boosters' promotion of artifices such as wharves and levees, has always proved illusory in the long run. New forms of economic competition, from canals to railroads, shifted the trade along the Mississippi from east to west. But, the waterfront remained contested space as well, facilitating escape for slaves going upriver, notably during the 1853 yellow fever outbreak. The shape of control produced a variety of victims, such as those flooded out of their homes in 1927 when a portion of the levee was destroyed, sacrificing "the people of the poorer river parishes so that New Orleanians, and particularly the city's commercial community, could thrive." Manipulation of the news media during the flood as well as during the yellow fever epidemic underscores the powerful scope of elite bias in rationalizing river politics.

Although the breadth of Kelman's sources is impressive, there is an inadequate feel for how residents or seamen reacted to the waterfront. Besides the writings of Mark Twain and J. D. B. DeBow which he cites in early chapters, it would have been useful to read more about the complex sights and sounds of the area. What was it about the multicultural and cross-class aspect of the place that proved so alluring or off-putting? More attention might also have been paid to how the mentality of the commercial elite's redefinition of the waterfront as a public good overlapped with other aspects of their social, political, or business relations. Nonetheless, Kelman has made a valuable contribution that can help us re-examine how we think about urban waterfronts and our frequently faulty approaches in channeling nature.

Gregory Bush
University of Miami

Mount Mitchell & The Black Mountains: An Environmental History of the Highest Peaks in Eastern America

by Timothy Silver. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003; 346 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, index; cloth, $39.95, paper $19.95.

Over the past two decades, environmental historians have examined resource management approaches and have taken managers to task for ignoring the human impact on the environment. Although his aim is not to study resource management, Timothy Silver focuses much-needed attention on State parks and the Forest Service in his study of one mountain chain of the southern Appalachians. The book seeks to describe the changes in the land in this small region northeast of Asheville, North Carolina, over thousands of years, but the chapters on Forest Service initiatives and wildlife management problems offer important insights into the triumphs and hazards of preservation.

Silver, whose first book was on the environment in colonial Virginia, does an exemplary job describing the Progressive-era foresters who shaped Mount Mitchell State Park. Intensive logging had destroyed wildlife habitat and State foresters responded with aggressive management of timber and game. The Southeast Forest Experiment Station prepared a detailed planting plan for Mount Mitchell of Fraser fir, red spruce, and nonnative Norway spruce. They stocked both native species, such as wild turkey and bobwhite quail, and exotics like ringneck pheasant and elk. They also engaged in predator control that had long-term consequences for the ecology of the mountains.

Silver has organized the book in the chronology most familiar to scholars of the southern Appalachians. There are chapters on geological forces that shaped the Black Mountains; the first Native Americans and European immigrants to the region; the geographers, like University of North Carolina Professor Elisha Mitchell, who explored the mountains and lost his life there in a legendary fall; logging, railroads, and the chestnut blight; original Forest Service management under the Weeks Act; and the modern strains between tourism, hunting, and development.[1]

Interspersed among its pages, *Mount Mitchell* includes journal entries from one of Silver's camping adventures in the Black Mountains. Venturing into the first person—always a scary step for those with a scholarly background—the author asks the reader to hear the January wind at 4,000 feet, examine a remaining chestnut stump, smell the uncut hayfield in the valley, and tramp through the ubiquitous rain. These interludes not only help the reader experience the place, they give Silver authority as a naturalist-writer and render the text more personal and readable.

It is a convention among historians to make their monographs sound "path-breaking" or "new." In his introduction, Silver claims to write the first "true-to-life chronicle of the southern Appalachians, one in which nature gets equal time with people." This is presumptuous. At least a dozen books and museum exhibits already have attempted this, and it would be impossible to write this book without the prominent role assigned to Elisha Mitchell and the influential State forester, John Simcox Holmes. Nor is Silver's thesis—"human perceptions of nature...dictated most of the activities of the region"—unique. Nonetheless, the work will be of great interest to managers who wish to use the environment as a lens for interpretation and to students of State parks and their development.

Margaret Lynn Brown
Brevard College

1. The 1911 Weeks Act established the first national forests east of the Mississippi by providing funds for land in "the watersheds of navigable streams."

The Past in Peril

By Mike Toner. With a Forward by John E. Ehrenhard. Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, 2002; 122 pp., illustrations, tables; paper, free of charge.

As news of lost treasures and raided archeological sites in Iraq played out in the national media, the National Park Service's Southeast Archeological Center gathered and reprinted a series of articles by *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* science writer, Mike Toner. Starting in 1999, Toner wrote a six-part series on cultural heritage sites and artifacts in danger. The reprinted works, along with complementary graphics and images by photographer David Tulis, make up *The Past in Peril.*

The series starts with a case study of looting in Peru. Toner describes the economics of looting, and how the poor locals take the biggest risks while gaining the least as the value of artifacts increase exponentially the closer that they get to collectors. Next is a collection of articles that delves further into the trade of stolen artifacts. Toner explains how anonymity in the art and artifact trade means that too few questions are asked about provenance. He shows how easy it has been for dealers and smugglers to ship artifacts to other countries for laundering. From there, valuable objects go to art dealers and auction houses in New York and Tokyo. His global perspective takes us to Antarctica, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia as he reports on thefts the world over.

Museums do not escape Toner's coverage. Exposés on major institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum take them to task for early collection practices, and the well-known Elgin Marbles case is described in some detail. This particular issue helped lead to the "Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums" issued in December 2002 by 18 major museums of the world. There are examples from the United States, specifically Georgia, sprinkled throughout.

We get a fuller perspective of what is happening in the United States later in the book. The most popular examples here are the looting of Civil War battlefields and Native American burial sites. Again, due to the rewarding market for bullets, belt buckles, and baskets, people are willing to dig up private and public lands in search of goods to sell. When you include the fact that many places do not have the resources to protect their property, it is a sad tale to tell that our past is slipping away into the black market. A final section is devoted to other ways that we are losing our past—how sprawl, armed conflict, and tourism are destroying heritage sites. This is by no means an innovative work, but it brings together in a concise, journalistic style some of the issues we face as a profession and for society as a whole in preserving the material aspects of the past. Both the author and the publisher should be congratulated for their efforts to raise public awareness of these issues.

Harry Klinkhamer
American Association for State and Local History

EXHIBITS

El Rio

Smithsonian Institution, Arts and Industries Building, Washington, DC. Project Directors: Olivia Cadaval and Cynthia Vidaurri

February 14-April 30, 2003

How are cultural identity, traditional knowledge, and sustainable development related in a particular place at a particular time? This is the main question explored by *El Río*, an exhibit created through the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. The material culture, interactive vignettes, music, photographs, and films that comprise the exhibit prompt the viewer to question the

multiple and often complex relationships among its main themes.

By focusing on a particular place—the Río Grande/Río Bravo basin on the border of the United States and Mexico—and how the people there live, a series of questions are raised: How are identities created and maintained? How does place affect culture? What is the relationship of the communities of the United States and Mexico to the Río Grande/Río Bravo basin, and how do the people who live there perceive themselves as carriers of traditional knowledge about culture and the environment? How do they perceive themselves as communities, individuals, or even nations? What is the compatibility of environmental and cultural projects?

A strong point of *El Río* is that many of these related questions are answered in the exhibit through current scholarship, particularly in border studies. Border studies have long been an important perspective in understanding American history.[1] During the past decade, however, scholarship has expanded beyond the borders themselves to examine identity politics and transnational projects.[2] This exhibit highlights these trends and serves as a effective storytelling space based on current methodological and theoretical perspectives.

The exhibit itself is comprised of several areas, separated by physical gaps rather than by titles. Each area tells several different stories emphasizing various aspects of culture and environment in places along the Río Grande/Río Bravo basin and highlighting relationships among the three main themes: traditional knowledge, cultural identity, and sustainable development. The exhibit is in both English and Spanish, with the English presented first at times, and the Spanish first at other times. This subtle but deliberate manipulation of the text allows the power of language to be shared, making it a truly bilingual as well as binational space.

The Río Grande/Río Bravo basin and its people are illustrated through a display map of the region that highlights particular places surrounding the basin, such as small towns. Without reference to Mexican versus American citizenship, the people are presented as a mix of Native American and Spanish descendants, as well as first generation inhabitants. A few direct references are made to specific tribal names or ethnic or racial groups with whom the people in the exhibit are affiliated. This lack of specificity regarding who these people are makes the viewer think about and question identity and how it is created and maintained. Rather than focus on nationality, or individual or group identities, the focus is on culture and traditional knowledge.

The second half of *El Río* raises questions about the maintenance of culture in the face of disparate environmental and political policies. Headphones are traded among visitors as they listen to ceremonial, social, and topical traditional music, and a discussion of how water policies conflict with traditional values, and watch videos of the corn dance. Power issues are emphasized through oral histories and artifacts related to religious cycles versus forced seasonal migrations, small local businesses versus corporations, and affordable housing for migrant communities. Artifacts associated with those isses include photographs and material culture from local businesses—barber chairs, meat market interiors, traditional herbs in a drug store, and adobe houses. This portion of the exhibit hints more openly at a primary concern with the emerging global relations of capital, the relationship between power and hegemonic constructions of culture and practice, and the position and outlook of the viewers themselves.

A series of questions concludes the exhibit: What are your environments? Is there traditional knowledge in your community? Can that knowledge maintain and improve the environment? Considering these questions places the visitor in the same position as the people of the Río Grande/Río Bravo basin, prompting the viewer to

think about the extent to which globalization changes the techniques of social resistance.

Taking a page from border and transnational studies, *El Río* focuses on the complex social relations that link the people of the basin with both the United States and Mexico, with the environment and culture, and with modern technologies and traditional practices. The multiple relationships among the people who live in the Río Grande/Río Bravo basin are reflected in the development of familial, economic, social, religious, and political ties that span borders.

Erika K. Martin Seibert
National Park Service

1. For detailed discussions on border studies, see Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands, La Frontera* 2nd Edition (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1999); Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989); Héctor Calderon and José David Saldívar, *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991); Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

2. Frances R. Aparicio and Susana Chávez-Silverman, *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, University Press of New England, 1997); Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Politics, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Gordon and Breach, 1994); Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds., *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd, eds., *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Donald E. Pease, ed., *National Identities and Post-Americanist Narratives* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994).

Gateway to Gold Mountain: The Angel Island Experience; Tin See Do: The Angel Island Experience; made in the usa: Angel Island Shhh; and My Mother's Baggage: Paper Sister/Paper Aunt/Paper Wife

The Ellis Island Immigration Museum, New York, NY. Curator: Judy Giuriceo.

March 8-May 31, 2003

Imprisoned in the wooden building day after day,
My freedom is withheld; how can I bear to talk about it?

I look to see who is happy but they only sit quietly.

I am anxious and depressed and cannot fall asleep.
The days are long and the bottle constantly empty;
My sad mood even so is not dispelled.

Nights are long and the pillow cold; who can pity my loneliness?

After experiencing such loneliness and sorrow,
Why not just return home and learn to plow the fields?

— From the walls of Angel Island Immigration Station, author unknown

On a typical daily trip into Manhattan, commuters catching a glimpse of the Statue of Liberty may be reminded of the significance of immigration to the United States. Is there a comparable symbol of immigration on the West Coast? A special exhibit at the museum on Ellis Island reveals its western counterpart, Angel Island Immigration Station.

The Ellis Island Immigration Museum took a novel approach in addressing west coast immigration by combining the Angel Island Immigration Foundation traveling exhibit, *Gateway to Gold Mountain: The Angel Island Experience*, the Kearny Street Workshop's, *Tin See Do: The Angel Island Experience*, and installations by artist Flo Oy Wong,

The poetry carved into the walls of Angel Island Immigration Station spoke of the sadness and loneliness of confinement. (Courtesy of Surrey Blackburn.)

Immigrants stayed in these barracks anywhere from a few days to 2 years. (Courtesy of the California State Department of Parks and Recreation.)

Detainees were questioned about their families and what they intended to do in the United States. (Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.)

A doctor examines a detainee at Angel Island. (Courtesy of the California State Department of Parks and Recreation.)

made in the usa: Angel Island Shhh and *My Mother's Baggage: Paper Sister/Paper Aunt/Paper Wife*. *Gateway to Gold Mountain* and *Tin See Do* chronicle the journey of Chinese immigrants and their lives during detention on Angel Island. *Made in the usa* and *My Mother's Baggage* explore the personal identities of Chinese immigrants. The collaboration among Ellis Island National Monument, Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation, Kearney Street Workshop, and Ms. Wong provides a fuller view of the immigration phenomenon.

Angel Island, a State park in the middle of San Francisco Bay, was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1997 and, unfortunately, was listed as one of America's 11 Most Endangered Places in 1999 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Between 1910 and 1940, over 1 million people passed through the station. The vast majority were Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Asian Indian, with Portuguese, Mexican, and Russian immigrants as well. The significance of the Angel Island experience begins with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first time immigration control was based on nationality or race. Designed to curtail Chinese immigration, the law allowed for additional discriminatory laws directed at other people of Asian origin or descent.

Gateway to Gold Mountain and *Tin See Do* reveal both the similarities and differences experienced by Chinese immigrants in their pursuit of freedom. Their feelings of sadness and isolation are embodied in the presentations. Most Asians were detained for prolonged periods on the island, from a few weeks to 2 years. The displays depict the attitudes, hopes, and fears of immigrants through photographic images and poetry carved

on the walls during their time at Angel Island. Each image or poem reveals the detainees' anxiety, depression, and longing. The photographs vividly capture views of medical inspections and interrogations. The exhibition also includes a video, "Carved in Silence," by Felecia Lowe.

The artist's two exhibits, *made in the usa: Angel Island Shhh* and *My Mother's Baggage: Paper Sister/Paper Aunt/Paper Wife*, add personal narrative to this history. They feature people, their collected memories, and some historical interpretation by Flo Oy Wong. Both installations recognize the importance of personal stories and oral history as a counterpoint to the photographic records of *Gateway to Gold Mountain* and *Tin See Do.*

In *made in the usa*, Wong presents the American flag on cloth rice sacks in an ironic play on the symbolism of the flag—freedom, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. She combines the rice-sack flags with photographs and passages from recorded interviews with former detainees to create 25 mixed-media collages of the Angel Island experience. The collages commemorate the trials and tribulations of the detainees' lives. They are markers, moving epitaphs of American history, documented from the spoken word.

Wong uses her family in further scrutinizing immigration. *My Mother's Baggage* examines the boundaries of truth, and issues of self, identity, and trust, while exposing some of her family secrets. Like other Chinese immigrants, Wong's family came to the United States seeking a better life. Wong's use of suitcases as containers of memories to capture the hidden stories and lives of her family is an imaginative means of demonstrating these private aspects of the immigration process.

The exhibits bring the story of Asian immigration, and in particular Chinese immigration, to a larger audience. It links two major points of entry for the United States, and illuminates hardships associated with the immigration experience that were previously unrecognized. The exhibits accomplish this through an honest and personal inspection of public policy and process.

Atim Oton
A2EO Media, New York

Harlem Lost & Found

The Museum of the City of New York, New York, NY. Curator: Michael Henry Adams

May 3, 2003-January 4, 2004

The exhibit *Harlem Lost & Found* at the Museum of the City of New York is based on a book of the same name by curator Michael Henry Adams.[1] The exhibit traces Harlem's social and urban history through its artifacts and architecture and shows how Harlem developed from an Indian village to an urban cultural capital.

The exhibit is chronological, starting with Native American settlement and featuring stone tools and arrowheads found in the area. The 17th-century Dutch settlement of Nieuw Haarlem, located north of the city, gave the neighborhood its name. When the English took control of New York City, they attempted to rename the settlement New Lancaster, to no avail. Country estates dotted the rural landscape in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Most have been demolished but two survive: the Morris Jumel Mansion, built in 1765, and Alexander Hamilton's Grange, built in 1802. Illustrations, paintings, furniture, silver, clothing, and a scale model of Hamilton Grange provide an engaging picture of this country estate.

Harlem's development peaked from the 1880s to World War I. The construction of trolley and subway lines, the pressure of the city's rapidly growing population, and the increasing density of areas farther south triggered the expansion. As defined in

the exhibit, Harlem encompasses a large part of northern Manhattan.

The new tenements, row houses, and apartment buildings attracted European immigrants, mostly Germans, Italians, and eastern European Jews. By 1917, Harlem had the second largest Jewish population in the country at 170,000, but by 1930, the Jewish population numbered only 5,000. The synagogues that they built were sold to churches. The show features the former Temple Ansche Chesed, designed by Edward Shire in 1909, now Mount Neboh Baptist Church. The exhibition highlights extraordinary buildings by important architects, such as Strivers' Row by McKim, Mead and White in 1891; the 1909 St. Mary's Church by Carrère and Hastings, architects of the New York Public Library; and early skyscraper architect Francis Kimball's 1887 Queen Anne style row houses on West 122nd Street.

African Americans moved into Harlem at the beginning of the 20th century. They came from other parts of New York City, the South, and the Caribbean. There were many instances of racism and exclusion. The financial panic of 1904-07 left hundreds of apartments vacant, creating opportunities for African Americans who sought better housing. By 1930, more than 200,000 African Americans lived in Harlem.

Two photos of the dining room at 118 West 120th Street are particularly evocative of the ethnic history of Harlem. The first shows the Guttenberg family in 1902. Eight family members are seated formally at a dining table under an elaborate chandelier, celebrating the Guttenberg's golden anniversary. The second shows the artist Grace Williams in the same room, now a studio, with her colorful paintings in front of the same ornate mantel. Ms. Williams is the third generation of her family to live in the house.

One of the most famous Harlem residents featured in the exhibition is Madam C. J. Walker. Born in a log cabin in Louisiana in 1867, she started a beauty products company for African-American women and became a millionaire. Madam Walker was part of the first wave of African Americans who moved to Harlem. In 1915 she hired an African-American architect, Vertner Woodson Tandy, to redesign two rowhouses on West 136th Street and create what was to be the last of the area's mansions. The house was demolished in 1942.

Jazz plays throughout the exhibition, a reminder of the influential era of the Harlem Renaissance that reached its height in the 1920s and transformed Harlem into a cultural capital. Influential artists included writers Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen; Aaron Douglas, whose murals are at the Countee Cullen library; and James Van der Zee, who maintained a studio in Harlem and whose photographic portraits are in the exhibit. Music and venues like Small's Paradise and the Savoy Ballroom were also an important part of the Harlem scene during this period.

Vividly colored terra cotta fragments highlight a display of the famed Audubon Ballroom. It was one of the first theaters built for William Fox of the 20th Century Fox movie studio and became best known as the place where Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965. Most of the building was demolished in the 1990s but parts of the ballroom and the facade were saved and incorporated into a new building.

The exhibit uses architectural fragments such as a cornice frieze, balusters, railings, and gargoyles to show what we are missing. Losses like this and a number of others prompted the curator, a historic preservationist, to publish a book showcasing Harlem architecture.

The exhibition is modest in size, but crammed with information. The captions are extensive, with academic descriptions of the history and architecture of Harlem. The show relies on the collections of the Museum of the City of New York, known for its historic photographs and New York City decorative arts collections, as well as the curator's pri-

vate collection. Contemporary color photographs by Paul Rocheleau portray Harlem's vibrant and extraordinary architecture.

For those who cannot visit the exhibit in person, the Museum of the City of New York Website provides a good summary of the exhibit at www.mcny.org.

Mary Dierickx
Mary B. Dierickx Architectural Preservation Consultants

1. Michael Henry Adams, *Harlem Lost and Found* (New York: Monicelli Press, 2002).

Bronzeville: Black Chicago in Pictures, 1941-1943

The International Center of Photography, New York, NY. Curator: Maren Stange

February 28-June 8, 2003

In 1940, sociologist St. Claire Drake described Chicago's Black Belt as an "eddy of faces—black, brown, olive, yellow, and white." A neighborhood defined by its inhabitants, it became affectionately known as Bronzeville. Those who lived in Bronzeville, a South Side Chicago neighborhood, geographically bounded from 22nd to 63rd Streets between Wentworth and Cottage Grove, resembled a socio-economic dichotomy of African-American people: the elite and the destitute. Its character was documented from 1941 to 1943 by photographers Edwin Rosskam, Russell Lee, John Vachon, and Jack Delano as part of the Depression-era Farm Security Administration project to depict urban conditions of the recent rural migrants from the South. *Bronzeville: Black Chicago in Pictures, 1941-1943*, an exhibit at the International Center of Photography (ICP), presents over 120 photographs that capture the essence of Chicago's Black Belt.

Guest curator and associate professor at The Cooper Union, Maren Stange, and ICP Assistant Curator Cynthia Fredette organized the exhibit using anthropological and social historical themes: The Face of the "Black Belt," 12 Million Black Voices, Family and Home, Work and Business, Church, and Going Out. Photographs in these categories voice the emotional triumphs and disappointments of urban life and a story of perseverance.

The introduction to *Bronzeville* asks, "Who were the people of Bronzeville?" and "How did they live?" The photograph, "People Sitting on the Front Porch in the Negro Section," by Russell Lee begins to answer using unbalanced subjects to symbolize the social and economic unbalance in this community. On the right, a man sits isolated in front of a sundry shop while to his left three men and a woman look suspiciously at the camera. They are subjugated individuals, exemplifying the complex dynamics of Bronzeville, a place of symbolic promise with destitute realities.

Photographer Edwin Rosskam's observation that the "housefronts in the 'best' area of the Black Belt are merely shells enclosing slum living" underscores the purpose of the Farm Security Administration photographic project. The Roosevelt Administration used the project to legitimize New Deal efforts to alleviate poverty. A second photograph in this section, "Candy Stand Run by a Negro on the South Side," by Lee bears witness to the urban decay that persisted in Bronzeville. The store, standing on a deteriorated street, resembles a shanty on the edge of a village.

The title of Richard Wright's second book, *12 Million Black Voices: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States*, serves as the title of the next section. Combining the language of Wright with the Farm Security Administration imagery generates a fresh perspective of Bronzeville. The photographers' images are supported by Wright's words, in addition to commentary throughout from St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton's groundbreaking sociological and economic study, *Black Metropolis*.[1]

"Family and Home" uses the images of its subjects to bridge Bronzeville's multiple socio-economic categories. The photographers in this series contrasted the inhabitants of Bronzeville, the well-to-dos and the undesirables. Following the evidence provided by Wright, Lee, Rosskam, Drake, and Cayton, Jack Delano focused his photographic account on the exemplary families living in the Black Belt. Delano's photographs coincide with a shift in philosophy for the Farm Security Administration project, which was absorbed into the Office of War Information in 1942. The purpose of the project changed from documenting poverty to publicizing patriotic behavior.

Wright described life on the other side of the Black Belt as "kitchenettes—our death sentence without trial." The kitchenette was the divided interior of a large house that once belonged to wealthy white families. These apartments offered less than comfortable living conditions: a room furnished with a bed or two, sometimes a living area, and a small kitchen area. The photographs give Wright's critique credibility. For example, the photograph "Negro Family Living in Crowded Quarters" depicts a mother and her three children, surrounded by draped laundry and unsecured lights.

Delano's images contrast starkly with photographs taken by Lee and Rosskam: he shows families reading and playing instruments and fraternity brothers at the University of Chicago. The photograph "On a Sunday Afternoon at Home, [musician] 'Red' [Saunders] and his Wife Read the Comics to Their Children and Puppy Whose Name is 'Blitz'," capture a family attending to "American" values. In addition, Delano emphasizes the elegance of Bronzeville. "Oliver Coleman has Apparatus for Recording in his Home on Indiana Avenue. He uses it to Record the Work of his Students and his own Drumming," pictures a man in solitude refining his skills for the benefit of others. Delano's photographs convey a different tone that enabled the curator to interpret the Bronzeville reality—a continuum of wealth and poverty.

In the realm of "Work and Business," enterprise abounds and the photographs unveil the multi-faceted entrepreneurial spirit of the people of Bronzeville. Rosskam's photograph, "Lunch Wagon for Negroes," shows the perseverance of one man carving out a business for himself. Stange juxtaposed this photograph with other similarly industrious subjects, including shoeshine boys, barbers, and dime-store attendants. Although these occupations employed citizens in respectable jobs, the exhibit team accurately depicted the dominance of the service industry.

Stange's themes of "Church" and "Going Out" transcend the previous mood by embracing the strength of the human spirit. The church in the black community provided guidance and spiritual uplift. Regardless of the facilities, the passion for worship was not curtailed. Delano, Rosskam, and Lee illustrate the piety, sophistication, and revelry found in Bronzeville churches. This same vitality infiltrated the community in social and recreational life. Stange includes photographs from taverns, nights at the Savoy Ballroom, and community centers. Through personalities such as Gwendolyn Brooks, Langston Hughes, and blues singer Lonnie Johnson, Stange reinforces the cultural legacy of Bronzeville.

Bronzeville captures the neighborhood's rich character, meticulously presents a complex social history, and affirms the premise behind the Farm Security Administration project: to document the overwhelming effects of the mass migration of rural people to urban areas such as Chicago.

Danette T. Sokacich
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1. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1945).

Exhibit Catalogue: Maren Stange, *Bronzeville: Black Chicago in Pictures, 1941-1943* (New York: New Press, 2003).

Saving Mount Vernon: The Birth of Preservation in America

National Building Museum, Washington, DC.
Curator: Pamela Scott

February 15–September 21, 2003

Saving Mount Vernon: The Birth of Preservation in America celebrates the role of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association in preserving and restoring George Washington's Mount Vernon plantation in Virginia. Commemorating the association's 150th anniversary in 2003, *Saving Mount Vernon* argues that founder Ann Pamela Cunningham's efforts to restore and refurnish the house and preserve the surrounding acreage as Washington knew them "heralded the birth of the historic preservation movement in America and inspired others to emulate her principles of authentic preservation." The exhibit successfully, and appropriately, celebrates the ladies' achievements and explains the significance of Mount Vernon to Americans. Too many times, however, it misses opportunities to enrich the story by engaging the broader context, including issues of race and preservation efforts by others.

The exhibit is organized into six thematic sections. The first deals with Mount Vernon as icon and notes that Mount Vernon became a national shrine with George Washington's 1799 death. Over the past 150 years, an estimated 80 million people have visited Mount Vernon, which made it a successful tool for fulfilling two of the association's goals: reminding Americans of Washington's role as a founding father and inspiring visitors "to emulate George Washington's exemplary patriotism."

This section also features Mount Vernon in miniature, an exact replica of the mansion's interior and exterior. This object, which alone makes the exhibit noteworthy, offers visitors the opportunity to study the house in detail and at their own pace.

The next section focuses on Cunningham's grassroots efforts to purchase Mount Vernon from Washington's great-great nephew John A. Washington. By 1858, the association had garnered enough political and financial support to acquire the estate. Thereafter, the ladies implemented an impressive restoration and preservation program that secured Mount Vernon's future. Primarily focusing on documents, this section is the least visually interesting, and the size and sometimes color of the label text are also problematic.

Included in the exhibit are letters from Cunningham to newspapers to build support for her project. Although the exhibit does not highlight these issues, the letters reveal that her efforts to save Mount Vernon were intertwined with the sectional tensions and Southern nationalism that also characterized the 1850s. In an 1853 letter "To the Ladies of the South" in the Charleston Mercury, Cunningham talks about the threat of "Northern capital" and "speculative machinists," and appeals to Southern women "in the name of...Southern feeling and honor." While Cunningham ultimately became convinced that her efforts needed to be national if they were to be successful, Southern nationalism clearly continued to shape the association's priorities in preserving Mount Vernon.

The third section describes the process of, but not the laborers involved in, restoring the mansion. Here the exhibit also encounters a minor organizational problem: it would have been informative to see the topic of the restoration of the mansion together with the topic of the preservation of the viewshed, which appears in an earlier section. While the viewshed photographs provide a nice background for the miniature, discussing the preservation of the house and landscape together would have provided a more holistic depiction of the ladies' efforts.

One of the most object-dense areas of the exhibit addresses the more specialized preservation work of the association's tomb, outbuildings, gardens

and grounds, and relics committees. Here visitors can see the original cupola finial, a model of Washington's 16-sided barn, and a variety of Washington's personal items and ceramics. This section is the only one that mentions the institution of slavery; but even here references to slaves and slavery are scant. Photographs show former slaves or their descendants, like Thomas Bushrod and Tom Quander. A painting of an outbuilding shows a slave woman. Exhibit text states that "Although advised to tear down structures where slaves had lived and worked, the association did not comply."

While slavery may be tangential to the story of the association, the issues of race and racism are not. And in this way, the exhibit demonstrates how the association was representative of broader preservation efforts. In prioritizing what was most important to preserve and restore, the ladies overlooked the slave quarters for more than a century. While they admirably understood the quarters' importance in Mount Vernon's daily domestic life, the exhibit also reveals that Mount Vernon's superintendents used the Servants' Hall for their office until 1983.

Not once does the exhibit deal with the issue of how historic sites, monuments, and shrines—all of which characterize Mount Vernon—reflect both the past and the present. At various points, the ladies chose not to highlight a certain aspect of Washington's past and determined what history they thought was worth remembering. The exhibit offers little information about the ladies' decisions, choices, and values about what to preserve at Mount Vernon. The omission of the race and slavery issues becomes more problematic when one considers some of the language in the exhibit. One label described slave Tom Quander as having "descended from a family that had been residing at Mount Vernon since the eighteenth century." The video described the slaves as a "hard-working labor force." Both phrases come across as whitewashing the issue of slavey. More than a dozen visitors expressed concerns in the comment book over what they perceived as "glossing over" the story of slavery. Indeed, one young person perceptively asked, "What about the slaves? Where did they stay? Why wasn't it restored?"

Next, experiencing Mount Vernon looks at visitation to the plantation. This entertaining section includes photographs of the many different individuals, groups, and dignitaries who have made the pilgrimage over the years. The ladies quickly found a means for raising funds for their efforts in the sale of souvenirs, many of which are on display. This section of the exhibit reflects on the influence of Mount Vernon—not only on preservation, but on American architecture generally. Postcards and other images of hotels, restaurants, and private homes show how pervasive and influential Mount Vernon's architecture has become.

A final section takes the visitor inside Mount Vernon's green dining room and teaches visitors that historic preservation is an ongoing process that changes as historians conduct additional research.

The exhibit does many things well, but unfortunately it does not prove, or really even try to prove, that the association's efforts were the first major preservation efforts nor that they inspired others to preserve. Indeed, despite its declining condition, Uriah Phillips Levy purchased Thomas Jefferson's Monticello in 1834, 20 years before Cunningham saw Mount Vernon. He believed that "the houses of great men should be preserved as 'monuments to their glory'" and he and his family owned it for almost a century.[1] Clearly, Levy and Monticello, as much as Cunningham and Mount Vernon, deserve a role in the story of the origins of historic preservation.

Saving Mount Vernon covers an important and interesting topic, is visually stimulating and appealing, and uses an effective combination of historical documents, photographs, and objects. One visitor

summed up the exhibit's success when she wrote in the comment book, "A great tribute to George Washington and the ladies who worked to preserve his home and farm." If one accepts the exhibit as a celebration of the association, an organization clearly worthy of celebration, then the omissions regarding Southern nationalism, race and slavery, and the broader preservation movement are less problematic. While the exhibit missed some important opportunities for scholarship and engaging particular issues, it achieves much and is sure to appeal to broad audiences.

Laura Croghan Kamoie
American University

1. Marc Leepson, *Saving Monticello: The Levy Family's Epic Quest to Rescue the House That Jefferson Built* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 254.

Washington Perspectives and Washington Stories

The City Museum of Washington, DC, Washington, DC. Curators: Laura Schiavo and Jill Connors

Permanent exhibits

The new City Museum of Washington, DC, has an important mission: to make the capital and its history accessible to the citizens of Washington and to national and international visitors. To accomplish this, the museum's creators have an innovative concept—a central museum in downtown Washington that serves as an orienting hub with links to the city's neighborhoods and to important governmental, business, cultural, and community sites.

Located in a former Carnegie Library, the museum occupies 60,000 square feet of exhibition and education galleries, an auditorium, and a museum store. It is a cheerful space, with yellow and deep red detailing on the white walls of the main hall. Equally cheerful greeters direct you to the two primary exhibits, the introductory exhibit *Washington Perspectives* and the 23-minute multimedia show *Washington Stories*.

In *Washington Perspectives*, an enlarged black-and-white photograph shows children playing in an alley with the Capitol dome hovering in the background. Its label is simple and direct: "Washington's peoples and neighborhoods as well as the federal government have shaped this unique place—the nation's capital." The take-home message has been delivered.

The floor of the exhibit is a huge aerial photographic map of the 100 square miles of the original district that is astounding in its detail. During my 4-hour visit, there was always someone kneeling, making connections, and delighting in new discoveries. The map also serves as a gathering place, a spot where visitors encounter one another and can talk about their discoveries.

Arranged around this map are four exhibit areas that address four eras: Imagining a Capital, Creating a City: 1790-1860; A Modernizing City: 1861-1900; Progress, War, and Protest: 1901-1945; and Changing Neighborhoods and Community Voices: 1946-present.

The design of the exhibit is dense and encourages visitors to explore, open drawers and doors, and stick their heads in cubbyholes to investigate. In the period 1790-1860, for example, one label reads: "Fortunes were made and lost." Another proclaims: "The seat of government lacked the power to govern itself." A third asks: "Slavery in the capital of a democracy?" These issues are arrayed among images of Washington's landscape, early buildings, and residents, with the focus on people whose lives affected, or were affected by, these themes. Those interested in learning more about the themes will find a treasure trove of artifacts, such as an 1802 manumission letter, an 1827 Black Codes, and an 1843 Certificate of Freedom for Jane Taverns and her children, signed by the mayor.

Beyond the drawers, there are four "behind the facade" interpretative sets in each section of

Washington Perspectives. Opening the "Imagining a Capital" door reveals a table in an early boardinghouse where, due to the lack of adequate housing and the transient nature of the Federal Government, congressmen lived while Congress was in session. At each chair a question is posed. One asks, "A Profitable Business?" addressing the single women and widows who typically ran the boardinghouses, many of whom barely eked out a living.

Overall, with its multiple perspectives, interactive design, and engaging questions, the exhibit provides an excellent orientation to the major themes of Washington's history. The exhibit curators have synthesized much of the new scholarship on urban Washington to craft the exhibit's narrative. The exhibit's few shortcomings include the absence of powerful artifacts. Although several are strong—for example, a fifth-grader's drawings of the April 1968 riots and an embroidered shawl worn to Ford's Theatre the night of Lincoln's assassination—the exhibit would be improved by additions that better illustrate the major themes.

Washington Stories, the multimedia show, is a treat. The program begins with a hologram of a gray-haired matron, Miss Inkster, who steps onto the stage to deliver an introduction to the city, complete with note cards. But the good lady has barely begun her talk when she is interrupted by other Washingtonians. An African-American woman talks about Washington's U Street, "It belonged to us and we belonged to U Street." Someone complains about the District's lack of representation in Congress.

Miss Inkster is dismissed and the tale is taken over by people from the city's past, including the city's original planner Pierre L'Enfant, early mayor Robert Brent, British Admiral George Cockburn, Frederick Douglass, and Martha Custis Williams, who lived in Georgetown during the Civil War. The show concludes with the statement that Washington is a city of unexpected moments and places, which visitors really must explore for themselves.

While *Washington Perspectives* and *Washington Stories* are the feature exhibits, the museum houses much more. The research library resides on the second level, along with changing exhibit spaces featuring *Taking a Closer Look*, an exhibit of original prints and maps of Washington, and *Sandlots to Stadiums: Sports and Community in Washington, DC*, which focuses on the connections between athletics and those who participate in and support them. On the main level, two galleries will feature revolving neighborhood exhibits designed in collaboration with community partners. *Chinatown: Place or People?* and *Mount Vernon Square Communities: Generations of Change* open in fall 2003. An archeology laboratory and classrooms for educational programs are located in the basement.

The new City Museum of Washington, DC, provides an energizing, welcoming, and informative overview of Washington. Visitors are reminded that real people live in Washington, and, not surprisingly, the museum's Website reaffirms the City Museum's three main messages: "Welcome," "Real People Live Here," and "No Matter Who You Are, You Have A Connection to Washington, DC."

Melissa McLoud
Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum

Treasure State Treasures

Montana Historical Society, Helena, MT.
Curator: Kirby Lambert

Semipermanent, open until 2007

The Montana Historical Society's exhibit, *Treasure State Treasures*, has a twist that is sure to please the visitor. The story line does not illustrate the typical State historical event or famous Montana personality. Its chief objective is to get artifacts out of storage and on exhibit for visitors to enjoy, while giving them an opportunity to understand challenging museum issues.

The Montana Historical Society was established in 1865 and is the oldest, continuously run State historical organization in the Nation. The society publishes the journal, *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*; includes the State's historic preservation office; and operates an active educational outreach program.

Treasure State Treasures is organized around objects—a wall with military items, a cabinet of walking sticks, a kitchen full of paraphernalia. Exhibit curator, Kirby Lambert admits that an object-rich exhibit is the only way to address the enormous challenge of selecting just a few treasures among the hundreds of thousands of artifacts collected since the organization's establishment. Interpretive text is minimal but successful in setting the tone and explaining how objects were selected. Some speak to State significance and others are typical of everyday life. Selected items represent all areas of the State.

The success of *Treasure State Treasures* is "the drawers." A map cabinet has its drawers filled with archival riches protected by Plexiglas. Two "dressers" contain drawers for three-dimensional artifacts. Each drawer reflects a theme—railroads, political badges, and shoes. A label explains how the drawers are similar to museum storage where artifacts are not just squirreled away, but stored for conservation and research.

Future components of the exhibit will address context. A few bedraggled objects will be displayed next to a few pristine items. The visitor will learn that what appears to be "junk," a lump of adobe from Fort Benton, is valuable because of the story behind it and that the "nice" pieces, a couple of very large arrowheads, are not as valuable because no information exists to verify their authenticity.

Treasure State Treasures provides an admirable example of how museums can select from their storehouse of seemingly ordinary artifacts, place them within a broad context, and connect them to the experiences of their visitors.

Chris Ford
Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site

September 11: Bearing Witness to History

Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, Behring Center, Washington, DC. Lead Curator: Marilyn Zoidis; Collecting Curators: William Yeingst, Peter Liebhold, and David Shayt

September 11, 2002-July 6, 2003

Business professor and author Peter F. Drucker stated that "in a few hundred years, when the history of our time will be written from a long-term perspective, it is likely that the most important event historians will see is not technology.... It is an unprecedented change in the human condition." Our current human condition is a country emerging from war, seeking economic stability, and forging a new position in the global marketplace. However, for most Americans September is no longer the month of passing fancy from summer to fall, from vacation to school; this month has become a moment in time when America experienced terror not seen since Pearl Harbor.

The simultaneous events at the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and Shanksville, Pennsylvania, are addressed through the National Museum of American History's exhibit *September 11: Bearing Witness to History*. Within months of that fateful day, museum curators sought to document the event through artifacts. This ongoing collection effort is sampled in *September 11*. The installation contains photographs, artifacts, objects, a testimony book, and a video.

Anyone who has visited Smithsonian museums dur-

ing the height of tourist season knows the cacophonous din of the crowds. At this exhibit, in high contrast, the atmosphere is reverential and subdued.

The entrance is filled with photographs taken by professionals and amateurs who capture the horror and devastation of the attacks. The photographs provide a visceral, firsthand depiction of the moment with images of collapsing buildings, soot-covered survivors, and stunned and teary-eyed onlookers. In the object gallery, approximately 50 items, representing the three crash sites, are used to document the stories of the local impact as well as the national response and recovery effort.

All of the items provide commentary on the horrible events of September 11, but three items in particular communicate the depth of human determination, resilience, and memory. A squeegee owned by window washer Jan Demczur became a tool of liberation on September 11. Trapped on the 50th floor in an elevator at the World Trade Center, Mr. Demczur used the squeegee to cut holes through which he and five others crawled and escaped from the building just minutes before it collapsed. The second object is a scrapbook compiled by Michelle Guyton, an artist from Mobile, Alabama. A means to reflect, cope, and heal, this scrapbook incorporates historical and patriotic themes, as well as newspaper and magazine clippings.

The third object is a selection of postings from a memorial created by survivors and family members at the entrance to Bellevue Hospital in New York. This spontaneous human effort to locate missing loved ones and to memorialize those who had been lost began within days of the attacks as people posted makeshift fliers containing photographs and descriptions of "missing persons." Dubbed the "Wall of Prayers," it brought together people of all faiths who came to mourn and pray for the missing, the survivors, and the Nation.

September 11 includes a number of interactive elements. A short video produced by ABC News recounts the initial television news response. "Tell Us Your Story" encourages visitors to write their recollections about how September 11 affected them.

Finally, there is an Internet site that offers a virtual tour of the museum's collection of more than 140 September 11 artifacts and several interviews with curators (http://americanhistory.si.edu/september11). The site is maintained in conjunction with The September 11 Digital Archive at George Mason University. The exhibit will remain permanently online with its visitors' guide, selected objects, links, and video and audio clips.

This exhibit evokes the strong emotions, reflections, and reminiscences about the September 11 attacks. It also provides useful information. By analyzing the written reflections left by museum visitors, scholars may add to our understanding of the human response to horrendous events. The exhibit may aid parents and educators in answering questions posed by children and students. By sharing stories, the public can continue to recover. The National Museum of American History, Behring Center, has done an excellent job in offering this exhibit for our contemplation and catharsis. This exhibit will begin touring the Nation in fall 2003.

Ida E. Jones
Howard University

WEBSITES

The Migration Heritage Toolkit
migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/toolkit

The Migration Heritage Centre (MHC), New South Wales, Australia; accessed on July 29-31, 2003.

The preservation of place and cultural expressions is challenging for many contemporary preservationists as they seek to be inclusive of ethnic and minority communities. Resources that help expand advocacy efforts to include community revitaliza-

tion and redevelopment remain relatively few, particularly guidance for communities on assessing heritage from their unique cultural perspectives. "The Migration Heritage Toolkit" was developed to help heritage professionals and local migrant communities in New South Wales, Australia, work together to identify, document, and evaluate the legacy of migrants that began arriving in 1788.

Completed in 2002, the toolkit contains guidelines and Web-rich resources to assist migrant communities with preserving and sharing heritage for future generations. The toolkit also brings a wide range of issues related to migration to the broader public's attention. Using the toolkit, migrants learn how to develop skills necessary to manage and protect artifacts, places, and experiences that comprise their migration heritage.

Available online and in print, the toolkit was developed in consultation with migrant communities and in collaboration with the New South Wales Heritage Office. The Migration Heritage Centre provided initial support for the toolkit. The most significant product of center's work is the establishment of a tangible link between the history of human migration to Australia and the cultural heritage of ethnic groups.

Projects sponsored by the center, like the toolkit, are dedicated to recognizing and promoting migration and refugee heritage as part of the larger cultural landscape of New South Wales. The center defines migration heritage as a historic and living heritage expressed through personal effects, language, food, music, beliefs, memories, buildings, and land. By establishing the breadth of what constitutes heritage significance, the toolkit immediately sets itself apart from the traditional canon.

The Website itself reflects the center's commitment to the cultural diversity of Australia. It provides summaries of projects, including "Mapping Italian Heritage in NSW," "Tune in to Fairfield City: A Multicultural Driving Tour," and "Leaving the Crocodile: The Story of the East Timorese Community in Sydney." Other projects address "Shanghai and the Jews of China," "Lebanese and Arab Australian Communities Heritage Project," and an oral history project on the "Vietnamese Community in Australia."

The toolkit has three parts: Background Information, The Migration Heritage Study, and Resources. Each part is divided into subsections that allow the user to navigate to questions pertaining to a particular migration heritage study. Under the "The Migration Heritage Study" heading, four workshop scenarios are presented. The workshops are intended to gather participants to discuss, assess, and manage their migration heritage. The workshop guidance includes not only how to arrange presentations, but also the technical details of event organization.

Although not intended to promote a "top down" research approach, as seen by the breadth of the center's collaborative projects, the toolkit does leave the user wondering how a member of a migrant community might undertake organizing and implementing such a study. The toolkit actually is more useful to the heritage professional.

Furthermore, the toolkit does not provide the kind of critical background material on migration in Australia or basic research methods critical for a community member to assume a leadership role in facilitating the study as a coordinator. The toolkit relies heavily on an expert from the heritage profession—a historical society member, someone from a local or regional library, or a person involved in local government—taking an interest in an existing migrant community. Despite these shortcomings, few other sites provide as comprehensive a step-by-step approach to identifying places of cultural significance for migrant or refugee communities.

The toolkit presents a coherent package of text, audio, and visual sources to enable the user to

understand the process of a migration heritage study. The site also provides a variety of other support and reference resources for developing the preliminary phases of a heritage study. Moreover, the site makes excellent use of heritage resources to provide users with a strong network of organizations at the local, regional, and national levels. Nearly all of Australia's cultural groups also found their way to other countries, making this Website relevant to other countries, including the United States.

Angel D. Nieves
University of Maryland

The Booker T. Washington Papers
historycooperative.org/btw/index.html

The History Cooperative; maintained by the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois; accessed on June 18-22, 2003.

My daughter, Portia, said to me, not long ago: "Papa, do you know that you have never told me much about your early life, and your children want to know more about you." Then it came upon me as never before that I ought to put something about my life in writing for the sake of my family, if for no other reason.

—Booker T. Washington,
The Story of My Life and Work

Written in 1900 as Booker T. Washington's first autobiographical endeavor, *The Story of My Life and Work* was nearly obscured by his second and more popular autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, published the following year. Today, *The Story of My Life and Work* can be found in the 14-volume compilation of Washington's writing dating from 1860 to 1915. Originally published by the University of Illinois Press, the compilation is now available on the Internet.

"The Booker T. Washington Papers" was launched in 2000 to offer amateur and professional historians free access to the writings of this renowned African-American leader, many of which are out of print. The "Washington Papers" Website was designed by Paul Arroyo of the University of Illinois and Michael Jensen of the National Academy Press, part of an electronic library of archives and collections developed by the History Cooperative—a collaboration among the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the University of Illinois Press, and the National Academy Press.

"Washington Papers" provides researchers the once rare opportunity to explore thousands of pages of primary sources with tremendous ease and flexibility. The site's designers utilize the National Academy Press's "open book" framework that allows online readers to peruse each electronic page as if simply turning the pages of an actual book. This framework also employs a chronological search feature across multiple volumes. Searching for information on Washington's initial contact with Julius Rosenwald, for example, turned up results throughout the 14 volumes—all with the click of a mouse.

This ability to easily research events, speeches, and letters from Washington's life is one of the highlights of the Website. For a researcher, this feature is an incredible time-saving tool. Without it, the search for information on Rosenwald would have required hours of reading through hundreds of pages to retrieve the same information provided within a matter of minutes.

The Website was designed to present the papers in a clear and straightforward style. In addition to providing access to the complete collection of volumes, the Website offers original illustrations from many of the volumes, and the option to purchase bound volumes. But links are sparse. At the time of review, only three were provided: "Documenting the American South: Booker T. Washington, 1856-

1915" at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; "Up From Slavery: An Autobiography" at the University of Virginia; and the National Park Service's Booker T. Washington National Monument Website.

"Washington Papers" is a unique and valuable tool for the cultural historian, bringing rare primary sources on the history and culture of African Americans closer to those who use them the most: folklorists, college and university professors, students, curators, museum interpreters and educators, and genealogists. Websites like this mean no long wait for interlibrary loans, no overdue fees, and no library card required.

Shirl Spicer
North Carolina Museum of History

Our Documents
www.ourdocuments.gov

National History Day and National Archives and Records Administration; maintained by the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; accessed July 11-16, 2003.

"Our Documents" features 100 digitized documents chosen from among the thousands of public laws, Supreme Court decisions, inaugural speeches, treaties, and constitutional amendments that influenced the course of United States history from 1776 to 1965. Starting with Richard Henry Lee's resolution of June 7, 1776, to the Second Continental Congress that became the basis of the Declaration of Independence, the documents include the 1896 *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling upholding "separate but equal" accommodations, the United Nations Charter, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that enforced the 15th Amendment by prohibiting mechanisms that discriminated against voters of color.

The Website was launched in September 2002 as part of a White House initiative to engage students, teachers, parents, and the public in a national reflection on citizenship in a democracy. While the site may not have sparked a national discussion of citizenship, it is reaching the students and teachers who are the core audiences for the site's developers, the National Archives and Records Administration and National History Day. The National Archives provides instruction for teachers in the use of primary documents in the classroom, making them a perfect partner for National History Day, which for over 25 years has engaged students in grades 6-12 in discovering history using primary documents.

Selecting so few documents from so many was a subjective process and there will be disagreement about what should have been included. A careful review reveals a list that reflects important events in each decade, and discloses both the strengths of our democracy and the weaknesses of a country that has enslaved and discriminated. As a whole, the 100 documents reveal the complex and sometimes contentious history of our Nation—although the homepage would benefit from an overview of what is meant by "milestone documents."

The design is consistent throughout and the use of icons and layering of information make it easy to navigate. The site changes weekly, featuring three new documents on the homepage. One click brings up the list of documents. Click on a document for a digitized image and transcription, a discussion of its significance, its citation, and a high-resolution PDF file that will print the document on 8- by 11-inch paper.

In addition to the documents, which alone are a valuable resource, teachers may download either a 2-page tip sheet on how to work with primary documents, or an 80-page teacher source book. This tool includes information on how to develop lesson plans, three model lesson plans, a reading list, a bibliography that recommends up to nine books

per document to provide historical context, and a timeline that places the documents in a chronology with a brief annotation on the significance of each.

"Our Documents" is an outstanding resource for teachers and students. It provides national access to important documents, most of which are not available in their original form to the general public. According to Mark Robinson of National History Day, a large percentage of the more than 2,000 students who participated in the National History Day competition in June at College Park, Maryland, used documents from this Website.

Some historians will feel that important documents have been excluded from the list of "milestones." To respond, a campaign has been launched through national periodicals and the Website to invite teachers, students, and others to vote on what they feel are the 10 most significant documents in American history.

Mychalene Giampaoli
The City Museum of Washington, DC

Alexandria Archaeology Museum
www.AlexandriaArchaeology.org

The City of Alexandria, VA;
accessed on July 5-11, 2003.

Twenty years ago, archeology had limited ability to interest—and much less to educate—the public. Site reports were not publicly accessible and, more often than not, sat on shelves collecting dust. Today, technology is bringing archeology into the home, the schoolroom, and the office—a mere click away for Web surfers. There is no better example of how to exploit the medium than the "Alexandria Archaeology Museum" Website.

Created to connect the public with archeological resources important to Alexandria's past, the site accomplishes much more. By exhibiting "Alexandria's 10,000 years of human history and its relationship to the world and region," it brings awareness and appreciation to not only the field of archeology, but also heritage resources and historic preservation, all while stimulating local tourism. The site offers activities, tours, exhibits, articles, and studies, catering to both scholars and the public.

The Website's appeal is in its ability to effectively communicate. The site entices visitors to visit the actual museum with free admission, group tours, classes, hands-on activities, and special events. It even features a summer camp for students, who participate in a dig led by city archeologists. The site also offers ideas to those looking to explore Alexandria, providing links to walking and biking tours, the American Heritage Trail, historic cemeteries, and Jones Point Park, a 60-acre archeological site exhibiting 5,000 years of history.

Visitors who want to plan their own tour of the city can click on "Following in Washington's Footsteps," which highlights still-extant taverns, churches, schools, businesses, and homes visited by George Washington. Each site includes an image, brief description, and a narrative about Washington's relationship to the place. This format is a clever way to both educate people on the historical significance of these sites and encourage tourism. Increasing revenue and public support are powerful tools for saving significant resources from development threats.

The site satisfies professionals by providing information on conservation, collections management, preservation laws and ordinances, archeological discoveries, bibliographies, consultant reports, and research. Links to scholarly articles published in the *Historic Alexandria Quarterly* are accessible under the research section as well as a timeline of 250 years of Alexandria history called "Discovering the Decades." In addition, the site boasts a searchable database covering such diverse topics as heritage studies, material culture studies, methods,

people, public places and events, and thematic studies.

"Alexandria Archaeology Museum" devotes a useful and comprehensive section to historic preservation, providing everything from preservation laws to descriptions and images of over 40 Federal, State, and city projects in Alexandria. There are 13 subcategories under the site's preservation section and several with laws and ordinances that protect designated archeology sites. Look here for zoning ordinances, code reports, preservation laws, and resources on Alexandria's archeology.

Visitors may download and print the "preliminary assessment form" which is required before any development may occur in a designated area. Much like city historic districts, these designated archeological areas are protected by city ordinances. Protected archeological areas represent a reaction to a major population influx and ensuing development 15 to 20 years ago. City archeologists were able to keep a step ahead of the developers through city ordinances and public education and by building a large constituency.

Embedded within the City of Alexandria's Website, the "Alexandria Archaeology Museum" site is as extensive as it is easy to navigate. Tourists and residents have the option of searching other city museums, local government agencies, tourism groups, and historical organizations as well as recreation facilities and trail maps. However, the flexibility of the navigation bar layout also makes it somewhat confusing. First-time users may find themselves unintentionally searching the city's other services. Nonetheless, the ability to link and explore many options make this an enticing Website.

Just as architectural historians have recognized that surveys are limited if the public is unaware and unable to interpret them, archeologists must also share and interpret their studies with the public. This is a daunting task, as archeological sites do not reveal their importance to the untrained eye.

The "Alexandria Archaeology Museum" Website demonstrates that archeological sites can be interpreted for, and enjoyed by, the public. Perhaps, paradoxically, this Website has brought us closer to the past than we were 20 years ago.

Katherine Seale
Preservation Dallas

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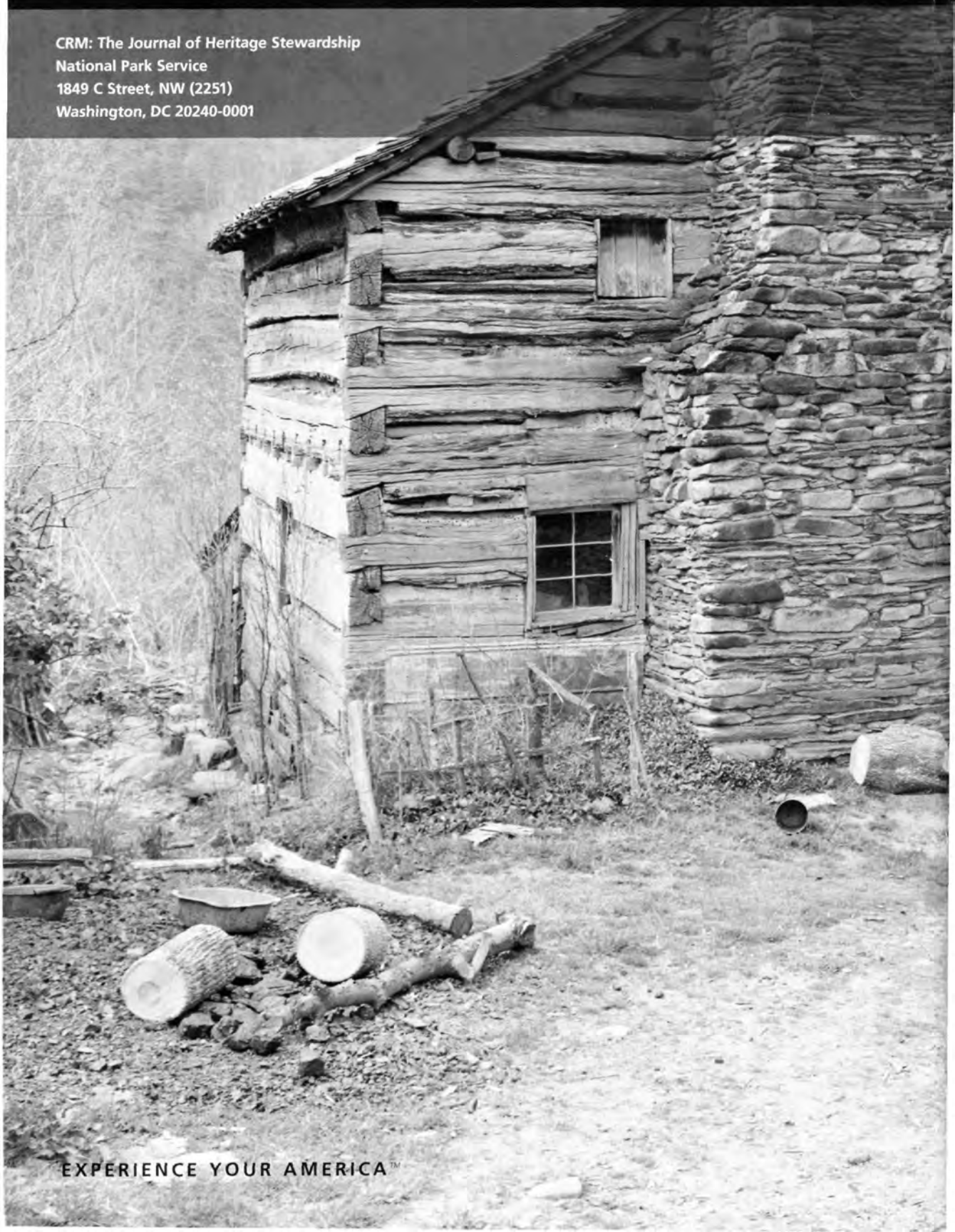

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