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Introduction

by Antoinette J. Lee, Editor

With this issue of *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, we address the post-World War II era with a major article, "Evaluating the Significance of San Lorenzo Village, A Mid-20th Century Suburban Community" by Andrew Hope. The period starting in the late 1940s and stretching through the 1950s is when many of us in the historic preservation profession were born and grew up. As we age, the 1950s is no longer the "recent past." Where once the material culture of this decade was considered commonplace and ubiquitous, it is now fading quickly under the pressures of development, modernization, and mansionization. Before 1950s heritage is subsumed under newer layers of subsequent development, preservationists may want to take stock of how resources of their own era will fare in the 21st century.

For many years, historic preservation looked at the 1950s through it architecture, ranging from Mies van der Rohe's Modern style buildings in Chicago to the development of the major house types of the period, most particularly the ranch house and rambler.[1] Today, our approach is broader. We now understand the period as one of great social change as seen in the Civil Rights Movement; advances in science, medicine, and technology that changed the way in which people lived; the flowering of the arts, literature, and music; urban redevelopment plans that promised to bring people and investment to the central city; and the rise of defensive measures to protect the nation during the Cold War. Few areas of the nation were unaffected by such national and international trends and thus historic resources representing these themes can be found across the country.

The emphasis on social history in the United States system of heritage management will serve the preservation field well as communities examine their 1950s heritage. National social trends played out in everyday life in downtowns, neighborhoods, schools, houses of worship, and shopping centers. Individuals important in leading social change in communities can be commemorated in their residences and places of work. Some of this history may be found in archeological sites.[2]

The tools for documentation will evolve as the preservation field addresses 1950s heritage. The documents of earlier eras—newspapers, archival records, and photographs—will continue to be important. During the 1950s, television,

home movies, and tape recorders left records that should be added to the documentation sources for heritage research. In future periods, it is clear that digital and computer records will be important sources.

How will this heritage measure up against the established criteria for evaluation and integrity standards? Preservationists will want to examine how historic places of the 1950s are already being designated at the local level, particularly in Western states such as Arizona, Nevada, and California. Other states, especially in the South, are undertaking major surveys of places associated with the Civil Rights Movement. The legacies of 1950s music can be found in New York City, Memphis, and Philadelphia. These examples demonstrate that the existing criteria and standards continue to work as they have for resources of earlier periods.

Preservationists who grew up during the 1950s will want to help shape how the heritage field incorporates resources of the period because many will remember what these places meant when they were new. The memories associated with these resources will give preservationists an opportunity to shape their own heritage and its interpretation before passing it on to rising generations of preservationists for whom the 1950s is increasingly the "distant past." In this way, the 1950s can be interpreted by those who lived through the decade as well as by those who study the period using a variety of resources not available in the documentation of earlier periods.

As the 1950s evolves from "retro" to "real heritage," it will accumulate the weight of credibility that will make it as serious a subject for preservationists of the future just as 1920s suburban subdivisions and New Deal school buildings are for us today. At that point, the "recent past" will be redefined to address the heritage of the last four decades of the 20th century.

Notes

1. Recent books on the ranch house include Alan Hess, *The Ranch House* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2005) and Katherine Samon, *Ranch House Style* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 2003).

2. Susan L. Henry, "The National Register and the 20th Century: Is there Room for Archeology?" *CRM* 18, no. 6, supplement (1995): 9-12.

The Future of Preserving the Past

by Daniel J. Cohen

Consider the effort expended to save a rich and representative historical record of perhaps the two most tragic days in American history in the past century: December 7, 1941, and September 11, 2001. The National Archives preserved military photographs of the chaos at Pearl Harbor on December 7 as well as communications and damage assessments. The Office of Naval Records and Library recorded the names of those who died or were wounded. Meanwhile, other government branches and institutions undertook more wide-ranging preservation activities. The Library of Congress acquired the annotated typescript of the National Broadcasting Corporation's breaking news account. In addition to saving military records, the National Archives catalogued the reactions of government officials in public announcements and private correspondence. The National Park Service administers the *USS Arizona* Memorial of Pearl Harbor in Hawaii to preserve the underwater remains of the ship, while providing visitors a sense of the day's events and repercussions.(Figure 1)

In a mode more active than reactive, others sought to save the character of the Pearl Harbor attack by seeking out the views of average Americans. Pioneering folklorist Alan Lomax, working at the Library of Congress's Archive of American Folk Song, sent out an urgent telegram on December 8 to like-minded colleagues around the country imploring them to record the sentiments of the American people. In the next three days these interviewers, using cutting-edge technologies such as direct-to-disc machines that recorded sound directly onto platters that could be played immediately like normal records, gathered commentary from dozens of people in 15 states—a total of 4 1/2 hours of powerful expression. In subsequent years, historians have mined other national and local archives, letters and diaries, and the memories of Americans and Japanese to create a comprehensive picture of this day of infamy.

Sixty years later, on and after another day of infamy, September 11, 2001, professional and amateur archivists and historians again sought to record the aftermath of a horrific event. Widely varying initiatives began almost immediately, engaging in selective acquisition and broad opportunism, active outreach to historical subjects and passive collecting of artifacts, short-term haphazard gathering and careful long-term preservation. Projects modeled on those of 1941 quickly arose. At Columbia University, the Oral History Research Office and the Institute for Social and Economic Research Policy created the

FIGURE 1
An official United States Navy photograph captures the USS Arizona following the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. In 1944, the Office of War Information's Overseas Picture Division transferred the film of this image to the Library of Congress. (Courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

September 11, 2001 Oral History Narrative and Memory Project, which has conducted more than 300 interviews with people affected by the terrorist attacks in New York, New Jersey, and the Boston and Washington, DC, regions, including interviewees who escaped the World Trade Center or lived in its shadow and Afghan and Muslim immigrants.[1] As it had 60 years earlier, the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, the descendant of the Archive of American Folk Song, sent out a notice to folklorists across the United States to record the "thoughts and feelings expressed by average citizens." This distributed network of oral historians donated approximately 300 hours of audiotape to the library, collected in 19 states and a military base in Italy.[2] The library's September 11, 2001 Documentary Project also gathered a smaller number of video interviews, written narratives, drawings, and photographs.[3]

Despite the efforts following September 11, which were orders of magnitude larger than those of Lomax and his small band of colleagues, the nature of the historical record had changed in many ways. Media no longer meant the radio broadcasts of a few national networks but now meant hundreds of audio and video broadcasts. Far more expansively, the record of 9/11 was to be found in new media such as websites, email, and other forms of electronic communication and expression, forms that have become an increasingly significant part of America's and the industrialized world's cultural output.

To be sure, in the weeks and months after September 11, museums, libraries,

and archives began to address the changing nature and scope of the historical record. In doing so, however, they had to abandon, at least in part, well-established models drawn from oral history and archival science. The explosion of historical sources in a digital age necessitated this evolution in preservation tactics. For example, whereas photographs of the attack at Pearl Harbor number at most a few thousand—the largest collection, at the National Archives and Records Administration, comprises a mere 5 boxes with about 200 images in each box—the photographic record of September 11, 2001, likely numbers in the millions of images. Indeed, with the proliferation of personal cameras since 1941, and especially with the spread of digital cameras in the last decade, 9/11 may be among the most photographed events in history.

Given the enormous size of the photographic record of 9/11, a variety of organizations, not just those in the preservation business, have had little trouble building impressive archives. The United States National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), as part of its investigation into why structural elements in the twin towers failed, gathered more than 6,000 images from 185 professional and amateur photographers, from almost every conceivable angle and covering virtually every moment, and in some cases fractions of a second, of the towers' collapse.[4] As seen in the remarkable Here is New York "democracy of photographs" collection of 5,000 images from hundreds of contributors, each photographer literally as well as figuratively had his or her own perspective on the event.[5]

Some preservation institutions recognized the proliferation and importance of new digital media. Looking to supplement their standard accessions of the printed editions of newspapers after September 11, the Library of Congress, in partnership with the Internet Archive, WebArchivist.org, and the Pew Internet and American Life Project, archived 30,000 websites from September 11 to December 1, 2001. This massive collection of digital materials will undoubtedly be of great value to future researchers. But even this impressive undertaking saved less than *one-thousandth* of the roughly 32 million websites in existence in September 2001.[6]

Others took a more active role, soliciting a variety of digital reactions and artifacts through online projects not dissimilar from Alan Lomax's grassroots effort to capture a wide range of perspectives from across the country after the Pearl Harbor attack. The September 11 Digital Archive at the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, co-produced by the American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning at the City University of New York Graduate Center, which I co-directed, tried to capture digital sources from everyday people. We used a website, available at http://911digitalarchive.org, digital telephone lines, and less technologically sophisticated methods like note cards that were later scanned, to save personal stories, emails, photographs and works of art, instant messages, pager commu-

FIGURE 2
The remnants of 1 World Trade Center following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks are recorded in this digital photograph made by a Goldman Sachs employee who worked across the street. Now part of the September 11 Digital Archive, this image accompanied the photographer's vivid email recollections. (Photograph by David Bendory, courtesy of September 11 Digital Archive)

nications, and other forms of expression and communication from 9/11 and its aftermath. Thus far the archive has collected more than 150,000 items from thousands of individual contributors. In the fall of 2003, the collection was accessioned by the Library of Congress, one of the library's first major digital acquisitions.[7] (Figure 2)

Concerns About Digital Collections

The vast expansion of the historical record into new media between December 7, 1941 and September 11, 2001 presents serious challenges that will have to be surmounted in the coming years if future scholars and the public are to have access to an adequate record of the past. Yet despite the urgency of dealing with this mutating record, many in the cultural heritage community have major reservations about digital collecting, due in part to an understandable aversion to the complicated hardware and software involved, but more importantly because of some very real concerns about the nature of online work. At the same time that the web has enabled an exponential increase in cultural production, some argue that online collecting misses those older, less educated, or less well-to-do subjects who may not have access to the necessary technology.[8] Furthermore, the shift from analog to digital entails a change from well-known and relatively stable forms such as paper to forms for which the preservation path is unclear.

Digital collections are characterized as being shallow and less useful for research than traditional archives, for which provenance and selection criteria

are critical. It is unrealistic to expect that the Library of Congress could pre-screen 30,000 websites for quality or relevance to 9/11. The staggering numbers possible in digital collecting renders ineffectual some central tenets and time-honored procedures of archival and library science. Another common problem, encountered by many online collecting projects that actively solicit digital materials, is the opposite of this abundance: the failure to collect much at all because few people hear about or contribute to their websites. An inverse relationship between the quantity of digital artifacts gathered and the general quality of those artifacts may exist.[9]

Perhaps the most profound benefit of online collecting is an unparalleled opportunity to allow more varied perspectives in the historical record than ever before. Networked information technology can allow ordinary people and marginalized constituencies not only a larger presence in an online archive, but also generally a more important role in the dialogue of history.

Digital collections are indeed more susceptible to problems of quality because they often lack the helpful selection bias of a knowledgeable curator and the pressure to maintain strict criteria for inclusion engendered by limited physical storage space. Web collections formed around the submissions of scattered contributors or thousands of websites and blogs have a very different character from traditional archives. Digital collections tend to be less organized and more capricious in what they cover.

On a more positive note, digital archives can be far larger, more diverse, and more inclusive than traditional archives. Perhaps the most profound benefit of online collecting is an unparalleled opportunity to allow more varied perspectives in the historical record than ever before. Networked information technology can allow ordinary people and marginalized constituencies not only a larger presence in an online archive, but also generally a more important role in the dialogue of history. "The Net is a people's medium: the good, the bad and the ugly," Brewster Kahle, the founder of the Internet Archive, has said. "The interesting, the picayune and the profane. It's all there."[10]

A less obvious but perhaps more important measure of the "quality" of a digital historical collection becomes apparent when the collection is assessed as a whole. Like any collection, there will be a minority of striking contributions among a sea of mundane or seemingly irrelevant entries. Historians who have browsed box after box in a paper archive trying to find key pieces of evidence for their research will know this principle well. The propensity of digital collectors to save virtually everything given the low cost of digital storage and the difficulty of using selection criteria may make these percentages worse. Yet, a few well-written perspectives or telling archival images may form the basis of a

new interpretation, or help to buttress an existing but partial understanding of a historical moment. At the same time, the greater size and diversity of online collections allow more opportunities to look for patterns. Why do certain types of stories recur? What does that reveal about popular experience and the ways that experience is transformed into memory?

Because of a digital collection's superior ability to be searched, historians can plumb electronic documents in revealing and novel ways. The speed of analysis can enable quick assessments of historical collections and more substantive investigations. For instance, when historian Michael Kazin used search tools to scan the September 11 Digital Archive for the frequency of words such as "patriotic" and "freedom" he came to some important conclusions about the American reaction to the terrorist attacks. Kazin discovered that fewer Americans than one might imagine saw 9/11 in terms of nationalism or another abstract framework. Instead, most saw the events in personal and local terms, the loss of a friend, the effect on a town or community, the impact on their family or job.[11]

Active Solicitation of Digital Materials

Reaching out to and interacting with historical subjects online, either in real time or asynchronously, is far more economical than traditional oral history. With subjects writing their own narratives, the cost of transcription is avoided. While live individual interviews are often quite thorough and invaluable resources, online initiatives to collect personal histories can capture a far greater number at lower cost and acquire associated digital materials, such as photographs, just as cheaply.

Of course, even if highly successful in the future, online interaction with historical subjects will not mean the end of traditional ways of gathering recent history. As oral historian Linda Shopes observes, newer technological methods will have a hard time competing with many aspects of the oral historian's craft: "the cultivation of rapport and...lengthy, in-depth narratives through intense face-to-face contact; the use of subtle paralinguistic cues as an aid to moving the conversation along; the talent of responding to a particular comment, in the moment, with the breakthrough question, the probe that gets underneath a narrator's words."[12] Instead, using the Internet will likely complement these older methods.

Acquiring historical materials and recollections online is more difficult than setting up a rudimentary website because it entails digital tools to receive, process, and store submissions. To adequately capture the past in this way, more technical hurdles must be surmounted to allow for historical documents and artifacts to flow inward rather than merely outward, as they do on the web pages of most museums, archives, and historical sites.

The good news is that online interactivity is becoming easier each year. The same digital technologies that have made the historical record proliferate into new forms give us the best hope to capture that record. Not everyone needs a custom-programmed archival system such as the one constructed for the September 11 Digital Archive. Much of the infrastructure and software required to do simple or even moderately complex online collecting is available and cultural institutions and independent scholars should take advantage of these technologies.

Probably the oldest and still quite useful technology for online collecting is email, the choice of some of the most successful projects. Keith Whittle's Atomic Veterans History Project, devoted to the community of veterans who participated in nuclear testing during the Cold War, has collected and posted more than 600 personal narratives from former soldiers, acquired solely through email. As Whittle discovered, emailers include attachments such as scanned photographs, many of which grace the website alongside the narratives. Email also allows for long-term interactions, follow-up, and detailed exchanges. An online collecting project can get started right away with a simple web design that uses email links to encourage and accept submissions.[13]

Blogs have given millions of Internet users a taste of what it is like not just to read and view the web, but also to post to it. Many ways of maintaining a blog also allow for more than one person to post and for contributors to add images and multimedia files, creating an ever-expanding and multifaceted discussion about topics of interest. The ease with which one can add materials makes blogs an attractive possibility for a basic collecting site. Blogs have built-in search features and the ability to export whatever is collected to other locations.[14]

New forms of instantaneous communication on the Internet will further expand the toolkit for collecting history online. Millions are now using instant messaging (IM) software that permits real-time communication with individuals around the globe. Although they do not have the tonal inflections of a spoken dialogue, these typed conversations have the advantage of being self-documenting, unlike oral history interviews, which require expensive transcriptions. More recent versions of these IM programs also allow rudimentary audio and video chats, which opens up the possibility of a future that is much like the past of traditional oral history. Technical concerns such as installing and configuring appropriate software and hardware for digital collecting should recede, ultimately, into the background.

What will remain in the foreground are the qualitative concerns, especially the question of provenance raised by the solicitation of historical materials from unseen contributors. Given the slippery character of digital materials, how can we ensure that what we receive over the Internet is authentic, or that historical narratives we receive really are from the people they say they are?

Some of these worries are relatively easy to address. Concern about the falsification of digital historical documents and metadata (information about such artifacts) has mostly turned out to be a phantom problem.[15] I am not alone in this assessment. Newspaper websites have found that relatively few people enter fake information. In one study, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* discovered that only 10 to 15 percent of their 300,000 registered users had entered bad email addresses, and some of those were merely by accident or due to technical difficulties. Zip codes and other less problematic bits of personal information are falsified at an even lower rate.[16]

The nonprofit mission of online historical archives should produce even higher rates of honesty. Most people who take the time to submit something to a digital project share a cultural institution's or dedicated researcher's goals and interest in creating an accurate historical record. In addition, some technical methods can help double-check online contributions. Every computer connected to the web has an Internet Protocol (IP) address. A small bit of programming code can capture this address. If a researcher is skeptical that a contribution has come from a specific person or location, a WHOIS search, which translates an IP address into a semi-readable format that often includes a contributor's Internet service provider and broad area of service, may result in helpful information.[17] Less cloak-and-dagger is a simple email or telephone follow-up with a contributor to thank them for their contribution; this presents an opportunity to ask contributors if they might have any other documents or recollections and whether they might know of other contacts.

The best defense against online fraud comes from traditional skills. Historians have always had to assess the reliability of their sources. Countless notable forgeries exist on paper. As Donald Ritchie has pointed out, written memoirs and traditional oral histories are filled with exaggerations and distortions.[18] Historians will have to continue to look for evidence of internal consistency and weigh them against other sources. In any media, new or old, solid research is the basis of sound scholarship.

Despite the challenges and insecurities surrounding digital collecting, it has become a burgeoning practice. Recently, for example, the British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Museum of London, and a number of other British museums and archives pooled their resources to display and collect stories of immigration to the United Kingdom in a project called Moving Here. Thus far the project has posted almost 400 stories and artifacts, mainly digitized versions of existing archive records but also new materials acquired via the site, ranging from a documentary video on Caribbean life to the reflections of recent African immigrants. The British Broadcasting Corporation's online project to gather the stories of Britain's World War II veterans and survivors of the London Blitz, entitled WW2 People's War, has been even more successful, with over 1,000 narratives gathered through the BBC's website after only 8 months, including dozens of harrowing accounts of D-Day.[19]

In the United States, the National Park Foundation, the National Park Service, and the Ford Motor Company are using the Internet to collect first-hand narratives of life during wartime for the Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historical Park in Richmond, California. So far more than 6,000 former home front workers have contributed stories. *National Geographic's* Remembering Pearl Harbor site has received over 1,000 entries in its memory book. Over 500 people have recorded their personal stories and artifacts of the Civil Rights Movement on a site co-sponsored by the American Association for Retired Persons, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the Library of Congress. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation has supported dozens of online collecting projects on science and technology in the belief that the history of these subjects is growing much faster than our ability to gather it through more conventional means.

Although there remains a healthy skepticism in the oral history community about the usefulness and reliability of narratives collected online, several new projects by major oral history centers demonstrate the benefits of online collecting. Even Columbia University, the home of the nation's first oral history program, is encouraging alumni to join in writing Columbia's history by contributing stories online.[20]

Saving Existing Digital Sources

The main challenge for those interested in a more passive form of digital collecting is how to preserve what is collected for the long term. This is a serious challenge faced by actively acquired digital collections as well. Electronic resources are profoundly unstable, far more so than physical objects like books. The foremost American authority on the longevity of various media, NIST, still cannot give a precise timeline for the deterioration of many of the formats we currently rely on to store precious digital resources.

A recent report by NIST researcher Fred R. Byers notes that estimates vary from 20 to 200 years for popular media such as the CD and DVD. Anecdotal evidence shows that the imperfect way most people and institutions store digital media leads to much faster losses. For example, a significant fraction of collections from the 1980s of audio CDs, one of the first digital formats to become widely available to the public, may already be unplayable. The Library of Congress, which holds roughly 150,000 audio CDs in conditions almost certainly far better than those of personal collections, estimates that between 1 and 10 percent of the discs in their collection already contain serious data errors.[21]

Moreover, nondigital materials are often usable following modest deterioration, while digital objects such as CDs frequently become unusable at the first sign of corruption. We have gleaned information from letters and photographs

discolored by exposure to decades of sunlight, from hieroglyphs worn away by centuries of wind-blown sand, and from papyri partially eaten by ancient insects. By contrast, a stray static charge or wayward magnetic field can wreak havoc on the media used to store digital sources.

Beyond the possibilities of data corruption, all digital objects also require a special set of eyes, often unique hardware, and an accompanying operating system and application software, to view or read them properly. The absence of these associated technologies can mean the effective loss of digital resources, even if those resources remain fully intact. There have already been several versions of HTML, the underlying language of the web, enough to cause many of the web pages created in the early 1990s to be partially unreadable. The University of Michigan's Margaret Hedstrom, a leading expert on digital archiving, bluntly wrote in a recent report on the state of the art, "No acceptable methods exist today to preserve complex digital objects that contain combinations of text, data, images, audio, and video and that require specific software applications for reuse." In short, historians, archivists, librarians, and museum curators, even those strongly committed to the long-term preservation of recent history, enter uncharted waters when they try to save the past digitally.[22]

Computer scientists and digitally savvy librarians and archivists are working on possible solutions to these challenges, from software like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Libraries' and Hewlett-Packard's DSpace or the University of Virginia's and Cornell University's Fedora, and through broad initiatives like the Library of Congress's National Digital Information Infrastructure and Preservation Program. But we are still in the very early stages of the creation of these new digital archives, and many prototypes and methods will undoubtedly disappear. Most readers of this article will not become active participants in these complex projects, but they are worth keeping an eye on to understand when possible solutions might become available.[23]

Worrying too much about the long-term fate of digital materials in many ways puts the cart ahead of the horse. The average web page exists for a mere 44 days, after which it can never be reproduced. Instead of worrying about long-term preservation, most of us should focus on acquiring the materials in jeopardy in the first place and on shorter-term preservation horizons, 5 to 10 years, through well-known and effective techniques such as frequent backups stored in multiple locations and transferring files regularly to new storage media, such as from aging floppy discs to DVD-ROMs. If we do not have the artifacts to begin with, we will never be able to transfer them to one of the more permanent digital archives being created by the technologists.[24]

Taking First Steps

The importance of moving quickly to save extant digital materials is exceedingly evident in the case of 9/11. People turned to the Internet as a "commons"; it became a place to communicate and comment and share their feelings and perspectives. For example, nearly 20 million Americans used email to rekindle old friendships after 9/11. Thirteen percent of Internet users participated in online discussions after the attacks. People approached the Internet as a place to debate the United States government's response to terrorism (46 percent), to find or give consolation (22 percent), and to explore ways of dealing locally with the attacks and their aftermath (19 percent). Rather than in tangible diaries and letters, there was an outpouring of thoughts and emotions in thousands of blogs on September 11 and the following days, and in millions of emails and instant messages.

"For the first time," wrote one electronic newsletter editor, "the nation and the world could talk with itself, doing what humans do when the innocent suffer: cry, inform, and most important, tell the story together." Just four years later, many of these potent reactions already have been permanently lost in a discarded email or blog account, to willful or unconscious deletion, or on the unrecoverable magnetic surface of a crashed hard drive. Had the Library of Congress and its partners decided months later, instead of within mere hours, to save the web pages from 9/11 and immediately afterwards, many already would have vanished into the digital ether.[25]

Humans have always found ways to express their feelings and their history to each other and to a wide audience. Today this is being done increasingly in digital rather than analog forms, instantaneously to a vast global audience. In an age in which a significant segment of the record of modern life exists in digital form—a segment that will only grow in the years to come—ways will need to be found to capture digital documents, messages, images, audio, and video before they are altered or erased if our descendants are to understand how we lived. A future in which the cultural heritage community does not make extensive use of digital technologies as part of their mission is difficult, if not impossible, to imagine. Much more can, and must, be done if those interested in preserving a robust historical record are to fulfill their mission in the 21st century.[26]

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Many other free and commercial blog sites and programs (including the open source WordPress) exist for those who find the dominant software and hosts too basic, or who demand other features like message encryption or the automatic resizing of images for web display. A full list of software packages can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weblog# Blogging_systems, accessed May 11, 2005, and hosts for a variety of blog packages can be found at http://directory.google.com/Top/Computers/Internet/On_the_Web/Weblogs/Tools/Hosts/, accessed May 11, 2005. In general, however, the top four systems will be suitable in most cases. Two of the more sophisticated blogging systems are the free *Nucleus CMS*, http://www.nucleuscms.org/, accessed May 11, 2005, and pMachine's *ExpressionEngine*, http://www.pmachine.com/expressionengine/, accessed May 11, 2005.

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Stewarding the Future

by David Lowenthal

"Think of your forefathers! Think of your posterity!"
—John Quincy Adams, December 22, 1802

Sustainability is an iconic term in conservation stewardship. It implies a commitment to manage natural and cultural resources to ensure their continuance into an indefinite future. But how far ahead is that? No general agreement emerges. There is only a general assumption that it applies to a period beyond our own lifetime. For some, this means a concern merely for the next generation or two, while for others it involves many millennia, even an incalculably remote future.

Many reasons are advanced for a futurist stance. Some are ethical: it is only fair that future generations inherit a world that we have not shorn of health and wealth. Some are conscientious: we prefer to be blessed as good stewards rather than to be cursed as despoilers. Some are familial: we hope that our grandchildren will inhabit a world at least as fruitful as our own. Others are pragmatic: intergenerational equity is not merely just, it also helps to promote social stability and political well-being in the present. Moreover, active concern for a time beyond our own enhances not only our successors' lives but also our own.

Which if any of these futurist arguments are generally accepted and how far they are put into practice depend on culture and zeitgeist. So does the kind of time to which future concern applies. For example, the future as envisaged by science fiction in the West is almost always conceived in secular terms, forward from our own epoch, whereas outside the West, time is usually cyclical or recursive, wholly unlike mundane linear experience.[1] In the West many continue to regard eternity as a foreign country. Perturbed by daily auguries of global doom, I found it consoling to be assured, in a recent notice, that though old-style 20-pound notes would cease to be legal tender, they would nonetheless "remain payable at the Bank of England for all time." A cleric chided *The Times* of London for heading a letter "From here to eternity," for however protracted the longevity of the Bank of England, it was nonetheless temporal, "eternal investments [being] of a wholly different currency."[2]

Pious expressions of future concern are currently fashionable in commerce and politics alike. "You never actually own a Patek Philippe," says the watch-

maker; "you merely look after it for the next generation." "We're developing the cures of the future," a pharmaceutical company touts its research program; "we'll care for your great-great grandchildren." Picturing a baby with a mobile phone, Nippon Telegraph & Telephone boasts that "we're already figuring out how his great-grandkids will communicate."[3] Yet in most societies and in most respects, future stewardship has lost ground over the past half century. What lies ahead matters less and less, and elicits ever less care.

The shift from future to present, from permanence to transience, was well under way a generation ago. Contrasting children's dolls once clutched lovingly until they disintegrated with disposable Barbie dolls turned in annually for new models, Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* descried an accelerated love of evanescence, a propensity to think in terms of immediate returns and consequences.[4] Christopher Lasch's *Culture of Narcissism* blamed growing self-absorption: "We live these days for ourselves, not for predecessors or posterity"; narcissism was typical of "a society that has lost interest in the future."[5] Recent observers note "a growing incapacity or unwillingness...to identify with the future," as one psychologist put it, a tendency to be "less interested in offspring and willing to sacrifice for them." Few cared about leaving the world in better shape for future generations."[6]

The consequences for natural resources are especially perilous. "We borrow environmental capital from future generations," the Bruntland Commission concluded, "with no intention or prospect of repaying." Our descendants "may damn us for our spendthrift ways, but they can never collect on our debt to them. We act as we do because we can get away with it: future generations do not vote; they have no political or financial power; they cannot challenge our decisions."[7] As is often said, the present is a ruthless dictator to the future.[8]

This seems paradoxical, for in recent times we have learned a great deal about how to preserve almost everything—endangered species, antiquities, art, archives, human life itself. Technology makes long-term conservation increasingly feasible. The means are there, but the ends are missing. The rationale for long-term stewardship is little discussed, let alone debated, still less realized as state or global policy. In the last few decades a plethora of international conventions have championed stewardship of resources for future generations, yet these principles are seldom if ever put into practice.

In this essay I attempt to explore why we have lost sight of the rationale for future stewardship that was well articulated from the late 18th century through the early 20th and have, by default, allowed the demands of the insistent present to dominate government and corporate action.

Sacred and Secular Concerns for the Future

Awareness of distant futures is a feature of most of the world's religions, which sanctify all time past and present.[9] Not that such awareness necessarily connotes much concern or responsibility; "the breathing in and out of the universe by Brahma every four hundred million years," Elise Boulding tartly notes, "is not an image of the future calculated to motivate record-keeping, planning, and action."[10] Yet distinctions between sacred and secular time are largely recent and are not even now embedded in popular thinking. In Judeo-Christian tradition, the length of the secular future varied with the felt imminence of the Second (or First) Coming. Were the end potentially far off, human responsibility to maintain a viable earth might stretch near to infinitude. But if the end were nigh, stewardship was pointless. Nor do doomsayers lament the breakdown of civil order consequent on neglect of the future; indeed, they often welcome signs of social disintegration as confirming the approach of the apocalypse.[11]

Fears of mounting collapse in the wake of the French Revolution engendered the first reasoned arguments for—as distinct from mere attachment to—long-term social stability. Many, to be sure, had always detested change and enjoined permanence as just and pious; but this preference was largely taken for granted. Only toward the end of the 18th century, when heirs of the Enlightenment foresaw an indefinite continuance of scientific and social advance, did they began to consider change historically, and to treat nations as persisting, though changing, social organisms.[12] In such societies, the organic community or commonwealth was treasured as the enduring, if not immortal, possession of all successive generations, not of the present alone. Concern for the future entailed respect for the past, and regard for both past and future were essential to a healthy and harmonious present.

The most eloquent avowal of this perspective was the Irish statesman and philosopher Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). In Burke's view, French Jacobins were so inflamed against tradition that they rejected the whole of their past and were thus careless of the future. By contrast, the English, with due regard for what their forebears had bequeathed, took care to cherish what had come down to them and to pass it on to their descendants. And since the creation of such social institutions required one but many lifetimes, a veneration of the past and a regard for the future were essential for their perfection and to their survival.

Bereft of the virtues of English organic traditionalism, in Burke's view, was the French revolutionary cult of newness. "People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors.... Duration is no object to those who think little or nothing has been done before their time, place all their hopes in discovery, [and] think...that there needs no principle of attach-

ment, except...present conveniency." As a consequence, "the temporary possessors and life-renters [in the French state], unmindful of what they have received from their ancestors, or of what is due to their posterity...act as if they were the entire masters [and] cut off the entail, or commit waste on the inheritance...hazarding to leave to those who come after them a ruin instead of a habitation—and teaching those successors as little respect for their contrivances, as they themselves respected the institutions of their forefathers." Hence "the whole chain and continuity of the commonwealth [are] broken. No one generation link[s] with the others" and life is meanly attenuated. "Men...become little better than the flies of a summer."[13]

Only "a contract...not to be dissolved by fancy" can avert such a calamitous rupture. To forge that contract takes far longer than any single lifetime. And "as the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." Burke accepts the need for reform but rebukes those impatient for it. "Circumspection and caution are a part of wisdom" in restoring a building; no less so "when the subject of our demolition and construction is not brick and timber, but sentient beings.... A process of this kind is slow," and so it should be. "It is not fit for an assembly, which glories in performing in a few months the work of ages." He assails alike the presentism of Thomas Paine ("we owe nothing to the future") and of Thomas Jefferson ("the dead have no rights").[14]

Adherence to community implies reaching into a past and a future beyond what any one person can experience, a leap of imagination into two temporal unknowns. To thus extrapolate from personal experience is an essential act of faith without which life would be shorn of meaning.

More than a century after Burke, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim explained why humans generally rely on a construed sense of immortal continuity, an identity that transcends the duration of individual lifetimes. (Such construction comes naturally, for "our elders have talked their memories into our memories until we come to possess some sense of a continuity exceeding and traversing our own individual being.")[15] Social structure requires enduring communities, entities that outlast individual life spans and attach us to the heritage of our forebears and to the legacy we leave our descendants. Hence, as Burke had said, all communities are compacts between the living, the dead, and the yet unborn. Adherence to community implies reaching into a past and a future beyond what any one person can experience, a leap of imagination into two temporal unknowns. To thus extrapolate from personal experience is an essential act of faith without which life would be shorn of meaning. Only awareness of what we owe to those who preceded and concern for those who

will follow enables us to care enough to plan ahead, both individually and in concert with our fellows.

Such faith begins, Durkheim stressed, with awareness of what we owe to the past. "We speak a language we did not create; we use instruments we did not invent; we claim rights we did not establish; each generation inherits a treasury of knowledge that it did not itself amass. We owe these varied benefits of civilization to society, and...we know...they are not of our own making." And we respect and revere them because they add mightily to our lives. They are, indeed, "the source of [man's] distinctive nature...help and protect him and guarantee him a privileged fate."[16]

Conserving Nature and Culture in the 19th and 20th Centuries

The virtues of regard for both past and future preached by Burke and explained by Durkheim were widely accepted and extolled during the century between them. Nineteenth-century circumstances were generally congenial to doctrines of stewardship, on behalf of individuals and nations alike. Religious piety enjoined concern for the long-term moral and social consequences not only of deeds but of thoughts. Divine judgment in the hereafter became a still more potent promise and threat, as science made every recorded act and impulse retrievable. "The air itself is one vast library, on whose pages are forever written all that man has ever said," famously warned the evangelical computer inventor Charles Babbage; "the atmosphere we breathe is the ever-living witness of the sentiments we have uttered," while earth and ocean "bear equally enduring testimony of the acts we have committed."[17] Victorian and Edwardian industrialists and city fathers built railroads, aqueducts, and sewer systems, libraries, parks, and gardens intended to endure for centuries to come, not only because they confidently expected to recoup their capital, but from a philanthropic regard for the future. "Society was working not for the small pleasures of today," explained the economist Keynes, "but for the future security and improvement of the race."[18] The immensely enlarged past unfolded by geologists and paleontologists seemed to many to herald a no less extended human future.

Conserving civilization's precious material and intangible legacies for posterity came to be considered crucial to national identity and pride, notably in the wake of Herder's path-breaking recognition of folklife, folklore, and folk structures as iconic to collective identity.[19] But the greatest stimulus to the doctrine of future stewardship was a dawning recognition of the extent of human impact on the natural environment, the threats thereby posed to sustainability, and the need for reform lest future generations inherit a ruined and lifeless earth.

The great pioneer of this insight was the 19th-century New England polymath George Perkins Marsh. Marsh's classic *Man and Nature* (1864) was the first text to cast doubt on, and then to overturn, the then-dominant view that lauded human agency, in obedience to divine command and to civilized advance, for transforming raw nature into an ever more fruitful and productive earth. Above all in Marsh's America, it had previously been a positive virtue, as well as the national destiny, to transform the unproductive wilderness into fields and pastures, towns and cities.

To the contrary, rejoined Marsh, many of mankind's so-called improvements —the felling of trees for timber, the ploughing of soils for intensive agriculture, the damming of rivers for power and industry—had subverted the balance of nature through deforestation and soil erosion, accentuating extremes of flooding and drought, and destroying the ecological stability of watersheds. Both the deliberate and the unintended consequences of reckless developmental greed, undertaken with thought only for the present, were fateful, even fatal. Marsh's apocalyptic warning resounded throughout both the New and the Old World—

[In] parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe...causes set in action by man have brought the face of the earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon.... The earth is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant, and another era of equal human crime and human improvidence...would reduce it to such a condition of impoverished productiveness, of shattered surface, of climatic excess, as to threaten the depravation, barbarism, and perhaps even extinction of the species.[20]

The root cause, in Marsh's view, was lack of concern for the future. "Man has too long forgotten that the world was given to him for usufruct alone, not for consumption, still less for profligate waste." For the sake of our offspring we must mend our prodigal and thriftless ways. Above all, this required forest conservation. "The preservation of existing woods, and the far more costly extension of them where they have been unduly reduced, are among the most obvious of the duties which this age owes to those that are to come." Marsh felt such stewardship "especially incumbent upon Americans" who were deeply indebted to pioneer forebears' "toils and sacrifices," a debt repayable only "by a like self-forgetting care for the moral and material interests of our own posterity."

To heed the future, Americans had first to be more mindful of the past. A restless mobility severed them from home, from forebears, and from tradition. "It is rare that a middle-aged American dies in the house where he was born, or an old man even in that which he has built," noted Marsh. "This life of incessant flitting is unfavorable for the execution of permanent improvements."[21] Farmers shunned tree planting because trees grew slowly: "the longest life [of

any individual owner] hardly embraces the seedtime and the harvest of a forest, the value of its timber will not return the capital expended and the interest accrued" for many generations. To plant trees "on a farm he expects to sell, or which he knows will pass out of the hands of his descendants," was poor economy. Hence "the planter of a wood must be actuated by higher motives than those of an investment"—namely, the future well-being of the wider community. And such altruism would serve the present too, Marsh argued; for setting "an approximately fixed ratio" between woodland, pasture, and arable land would reduce the "restlessness" and "instability" of American life. "The very fact of having begun a plantation would attach the proprietor more strongly to the soil for which he had made such a sacrifice."

Marsh initially trusted "enlightened self-interest [to] introduce the reforms, check the abuses, and preserve us from an increase of [the] evils" that he had listed. Unlike Old World serfs, American yeomen owned the land they tilled and could reap the benefits of their own improvements. But selfish individualism, the lure of instant profits, and growing corporate monopoly dimmed Marsh's hopes. Unless it were "his pecuniary interest to preserve them, every proprietor will fell his woods." Only public control could curb maltreatment of nature, protect national resources, and conserve the future commonweal. To be sure, government power spawned official abuse. "But the corruption thus engendered, foul as it is, does not strike so deep as the rottenness of private corporations."[22] Enlightened public management was required to prevent injustice today, desolation tomorrow.

The last decades of the 19th century saw the enactment of unprecedented regulatory controls over environmental resources, notably forests and river regimes. And in a striking reversal of attitudes toward nature, these decades also saw the inception of park and forest reserves explicitly intended to preserve wild and untouched nature for aesthetic and spiritual refreshment forever.

Marsh's prescribed controls flew in the face of customary faith in individual liberty and free enterprise. But his warnings came as a thunderbolt to foresters, land and water engineers, and concerned statesmen in much of the world. In America, the much-heralded end of the frontier made the pace of environmental loss particularly noticeable—and especially alarming, as was the looming threat of a timber famine. Moreover, the industrial pillage and conspicuous waste of the post-Civil War era roused much disquiet. The last decades of the 19th century saw the enactment of unprecedented regulatory controls over environmental resources, notably forests and river regimes. And in a striking reversal of attitudes toward nature, these decades also saw the inception of park and forest reserves explicitly intended to preserve wild and untouched nature for aesthetic and spiritual refreshment forever. So

canonical became the credo of future good that even the most avaricious get-rich-quick resource strippers deployed the rhetoric of stewardship for posterity.[23]

Future-oriented public policy-making peaked with President Theodore Roosevelt's official blessing to U.S. forestry chief Gifford Pinchot's national conservation program. Profoundly influenced by *Man and Nature* in his youth, Pinchot like Marsh aimed to husband and improve nature not only for today but for generations to come. And like Marsh, Pinchot sought government ownership to save public resources from private interest and corporate greed, for "the concentration of natural wealth...is one of the greatest of Conservation problems; monopoly of natural resources was only less dangerous to public welfare than their actual destruction." At the start of his forestry career in 1891 "not a single acre of Government, state, or private timberland was under systematic forest management," for "it had not dawned upon [Americans] that timber can be cut without forest destruction, or that the forest can be made to produce crop after crop."[24]

Above all, Pinchot was aghast at grab-and-get-out speculators and lumbermen who ignored the future because, as they and their congressional allies put it, the future had done nothing for them. Pinchot's devotion to the future, his visions of *perpetual* timber supply, *perpetual* forest cover, so alarmed the forestry industry that he had to parry the "misconception that conservation means nothing but the husbanding of resources for future generations." The present mattered as well, he assured them. But "the purpose of Forestry is to make the forest produce the largest possible amount of whatever crop or service will be the most useful, and keep on producing it for generation after generation of men and trees." He had timber in mind, but his dictum applied just as well to aesthetic and environmental benefits. Early Europeans in America could afford to ignore posterity; when soils were exhausted and forests gone, they and their heirs pulled out and went West.

But now the West was won and wholly engrossed; there was no more land; wasteful destruction must cease, bade Roosevelt and Pinchot in 1908. "The patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the Nation" meant stewarding natural resources against the no longer tenable "right of the individual to injure the future of the Republic for his own present profit."[25] Pinchot's stewardship ethos embodied W J McGee's classic goal: "the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time"; it became, for a time, national policy. No generation had the right "wholly to consume, much less to waste, those sources of life without which the children or the children's children must starve or freeze."[26]

The American conservation movement exemplified, indeed inspired, the English economist A. C. Pigou's dictum that "it was the clear duty of govern-

ment" to serve as "trustee for unborn generations as well as for its present citizens" against the "rash and reckless despoliation" of natural resources.[27] He noted that "the whole movement for conservation in the United States is based on this conviction." Writing in 1920, Pigou found "wide agreement that the State should protect the interests of the future" to offset, at least "in some degree...our preference for ourselves against our descendants." It was clear to him, as it had been to Marsh, that the time horizon of commerce was too short for enduring public interest; hence "the proper role of government in capitalistic societies," as Lester Thurow recently reiterated, "is to represent the interest of the future to the present."[28]

The Attenuated Postwar Future

Eighty years since Pigou, however, presentist bias is more than ever entrenched in popular attitudes and public policy. The idea of equity between generations remains the unrealized dream of a small minority.[29] This seems paradoxical, for scientists—ecologists, nuclear engineers, geneticists—have at the same time become more and more aware of how present actions pile up consequences for the unforeseeable future. For example, radiation damage has been shown to afflict the great-grandchildren of people exposed. In a risk authority's telling illustration, "the injured of Chernobyl, years after the catastrophe, are not even all *born* yet."[30]

The environmental well-being of our great-grandchildren can to some extent be planned for. But that of much remoter descendants is far more difficult, yet perhaps no less critical to secure. We are ever more aware that current actions have very long-term consequences, and that their impacts for good and for ill need to be factored into what we do. But deciding what precautions to take against nuclear byproducts that remain toxic for 15,000 human generations is exceedingly difficult. The United States has led the search for practical solutions to and realistic scenarios for this daunting problem.[31] But plans to bury nuclear waste in leakproof containers in strata guaranteed geologically stable for 10,000 years have proved hard to activate given anxieties over site selection, transport, and other uncertainties. And even assuming social stability and continuity thus far unprecedented, 10,000 years seems a lamentably brief time-span, since radioactive carbon-14 is lethal in air or groundwater for a million or more years.[32] Whatever the outcome, it is inspiring that a federal appeals court has expressed concern for American lives hundreds of thousands of years hence[33]—the farthest future publicly envisioned since Henry Clay in 1850 reminded fellow senators that "the Constitution of the United States was made not merely for the generation that then existed, but for posterity—unlimited, undefined, endless, perpetual posterity."[34]

For the most part, however, future concern dwindles in inverse proportion to the pressing demands of the voracious present.[35] Advocates of intergenera-

tional equity are far outnumbered by economists who consider market forces and individual interests adequate guarantors of environmental and social heritage,[36] assume that "future generations are likely to be incomparably richer than people alive today,"[37] and rely on future technological miracles to deal, more cheaply and efficiently than can now be done, with our toxic legacies of nuclear waste, land and air and water pollution, lethal additives, corporate bankruptcies, and state indebtedness.[38]

Environmentalists, theologians, philosophers, and heritage managers implore us to have a care for the future, which should matter to us as both biological and cultural progenitors. "Who experiences their child's conception and birth," asks Benedict Anderson, "without dimly apprehending a combined connectedness, fortuity, and fatality in a language of 'continuity'?"[39] The visionary Stewart Brand promotes a long-term mind-set through enduring collective projects, echoing the multi-centuries' construction of medieval cathedrals and the 999-year property leases of Victorian and Edwardian England. One such embodiment of deep time is Daniel Hillis's 10,000-year clock, installed in London's Science Museum, that ticks just once a year, bongs once a century, and whose cuckoo comes out every millennium.[40]

To generate a culture of permanence is a herculean if not an insuperable task, however, for it runs counter to *homo sapiens*' built-in short-term thinking. The "human brain evidently evolved to commit itself emotionally only to...two or three generations into the future," writes the biologist Edward O. Wilson; to—

think in this short-sighted way...is a hard-wired part of our Palaeolithic heritage. For hundreds of millennia those who worked for short-term gain...lived longer and left more offspring—even when their collective striving caused their chiefdoms and empires to crumble around them. The long view that might have saved their distant descendants required a vision and extended altruism instinctively difficult to marshal. The great dilemma for environmental reasoning stems from this conflict between short-term and long-term values.[41]

That care for the distant future may be essential to human survival is only now, thanks to bioterrorism and nuclear residues, transparently evident. Ecological counselors rightly lament human shortsightedness; echoing Marsh, they fear that unless we mend our ways the earth will be a wasteland within a few centuries or less.[42]

But who cares? Does the public share such concern? Who now echoes the angst of the New York planetarium visitor of the 1930s who asked a lecturer at the end of his talk on the sun, "Young man, did you say that life on earth would come to an end in three million years?" "No, I said three *billion* years." "Oh; what a relief!"[43] Who now would share James Jeans's 1928 expectation of two billion years' survival as "taking a very gloomy view of the future?"[44]

Environmental economists calculate one future discount rate for parents exclusively concerned with the welfare of their own immediate progeny, another for those whose concern extends to all humanity, altruists who "reap psychic satisfaction" from having assets transferred to the future, both by themselves and by others.[45] But unlike the Enlightenment philosopher Kant, who believed that humans "could not be indifferent even to the most remote epoch," most moderns sleep undisturbed by what may happen long after their death.[46] "Most human beings do not care in the least about the distant future," Charles Galton Darwin concluded half a century ago. "Most care about the conditions that will affect their children and grandchildren, but beyond that the situation seems too unreal...and uncertainties are too great."[47] After great-grandchildren "few men can project their concerns," held a philosopher in 1972. If some cared about their posthumous reputation, "most of us know that we will be anonymous to future generations and have no reputations to protect."[48]

Today the distant future seems even less real. "What [most] people really want to know," concludes one environmental economist, "is how things will be for their grandchildren."[49] Evidence even of such limited altruistic views is, however, at best scanty. Much of it is merely anecdotal. The economists cited above offer no evidence for selflessness, noting only that they "know numerous individuals who plan never to have children and yet profess great sympathy for the fate of posterity."[50] (It is, of course, one thing to profess sympathy for posterity, quite another to act on it.) My own experience over the last half-century suggests such sympathy has declined. In the early 1950s most of my college students said the future they cared about extended between 150 to 200 years ahead—as long as anyone they themselves might know and love would care about those younger than themselves. A substantial minority claimed they cared what might happen over the unlimited future. Many young people today disdain such long-term horizons. The "future" that concerns them is tomorrow, next weekend, perhaps next year. Few have any sense of themselves as future grandparents, even as parents.[51]

The whole 19th-century bourgeois ideal of life as a progressive career is now becoming obsolete, just as the notion of remaining in one job, or even with the same employer, is outmoded.[52] Attention spans become more and more abbreviated; speed is glorified, what would once have been chided as reckless irresponsibility is now lauded as swift, decisive action. The contemplated future gets ever more attenuated. "When I was a child," says Daniel Hillis, "people used to talk about what would happen by the year 2000. Now, thirty years later [in 1993], they still talk about what would happen by the year 2000. The future has been shrinking by one year per year for my entire life."[53] "When I pronounce the word future," a poet puts it, "the first syllable already belongs to the past."[54]

Spending Our Kids' Legacy

For today's generation the future is less predictable, and more bleak, than for any in at least two centuries. The great majority of North Americans and West Europeans polled in 2002 believed that their children would be worse off than they are;[55] two-thirds of children and young people themselves, in a 1996 Australian national opinion poll, expected their quality of life by 2010 to decline; two out of three British youths consider their prospects poorer than their grandparents, who had suffered World War II bombs, rationing, and unimaginable loss.[56] Since the future is not only uncertain but apt to be both more perilous and less attractive than the present, it is better not to dwell on it at all; we turn a deaf ear to our successors, lest we vilify, disown, abandon, or devour them.[57] Increasingly in the West, children are felt to be a burden; people who have them "are in worse economic shape than they've ever been in," judges a market analyst. "Having a child is now the best indicator" of imminent deep financial trouble.[58]

Any future that does compel attention is apt to be our own, not our children's, much less that of humankind, let alone of planet Earth in eons to come. Long gone are such iconic texts as Olaf Stapledon's *Last and First Men; a Story of the Near and Far Future* (1931) that explored continuity with extremely remote futures. Scholars conjuring up images of humanity's lot a thousand years hence speak to few beyond their own arcane subdiscipline.[59] The vogue for time capsules conveying artifacts and images of our own era to people millennia hence peaked between the 1930s and the 1950s and has since dwindled into obscurity.[60]

In the past, legacies like reputations were meant to be handed down intact; estates were not spent, they were stewarded. Except among environmentalists, stewardship is now out of fashion. Instead of conserving family heritage, we consume it. Inheriting and transmitting give way to self-indulgence, since many find any future too uncertain to be worth planning for.

In the past, legacies like reputations were meant to be handed down intact; estates were not spent, they were stewarded. Except among environmentalists, stewardship is now out of fashion. Instead of conserving family heritage, we consume it. Inheriting and transmitting give way to self-indulgence, since many find any future too uncertain to be worth planning for. Nuclear fears led some young people in the 1950s to reject parenthood, to eschew mortgages and life insurance—even refusing, Alan Brien recalls, to "make any appointments of any kind more than a week ahead." So imminent seemed the end that it was pointless to plan for any future. Gloomy prognoses long prevailed; one American high school student in three, surveyed in the late 1980s, expected

nuclear or biological annihilation within their lifetime.[61] Weakened family bonds and disposable wares curtail the handing on of household goods. "Virtually no one buys a home with the idea that it might become a 'family seat'," writes Grant McCracken; few household items endure beyond two generations. Unlike our forebears, we rarely envisage descendants as replicas of ourselves.[62]

Decline of belief in a sentient hereafter also weakens posthumous concerns. Few conjure up images of heirs enjoying the legacies we have left them. Instead we muse like mummified Egyptians on what to take with us to the grave: a crowbar and a mobile phone, in case death proves premature; a fire extinguisher, in case divine justice miscarries; or, cannily, a proof of longevity, such as a 100th-birthday telegram from Buckingham Palace. Treasures are stored up less for heirs than for our own futures. "We get them, bear them, breed, and nurse" them, grumbled the American poet John Trumbull, echoing Joseph Addison's *Spectator*; "What has posterity done for us?"[63] As self-regard supplants intergenerational generosity, concern for the distant future "bespeaks a sort of mental corruption," in Garrett Hardin's phrase, a view he found held, by the mid-1970s, "by some of the most radical as well as some of the most reactionary people of our time."[64] Agonizing over the fate of the future, the historian Robert Heilbroner could think of "no argument based on reason [that] will lead me to care for posterity or to lift a finger in its behalf."[65]

The shift from stewardship to self-gratification is summed up in a cartoon that shows expectant heirs at a reading of the deceased's will: "Being of sound mind and body, I blew it all." The connoisseur who once aimed to leave his children a noble cellar no longer buys wine that will mature after his death; less and less wine is now grown to age. The tailor or shoemaker who once clinched a sale with "This will see you out" today has customers who prefer to outlast their wardrobes. "I don't want long-term bonds," an old woman tells her broker; "I'm so old I don't even buy green bananas any more." To survive long enough means having a future short enough to need no plans.

We increasingly take longevity as our inborn right. A service called "Cards from Beyond" will send your posthumous birthday greetings, with messages like "Take joy in the fact that those of us who have gone on before would give anything to be in your shoes." A few hopeful souls await being thawed from cold storage when a cure is found for what today would have killed them. Cryonic salesmen reckon most people would opt to be frozen if assured they could resume conscious life, however far in the future.[66] "The great problem with the future," in Brand's summary, "is that we die there. This is why it is so hard to take the future personally, especially the longer future, because that world is suffused by our absence. Its very life emphasizes our helpless death."[67]

The Point of Posterity

What is needed is a modern restatement of Burke's principle.[68] Concern for future generations is not, or at least not mainly, a matter of altruistic self-sacrifice on behalf of people we will never know and who can do nothing for us. Nor is it simply a matter of calculating intergenerational equity, in John Rawls's terms, "balancing...how much [people] would be willing to save for their immediate descendants against what they feel entitled to claim of their immediate predecessors."[69] It is rather a matter of enriching our own lives with depth and purpose. "Human beings have a basic and pervasive need...to extend themselves," holds another philosopher, "to identify themselves as part of larger, ongoing and enduring processes, projects, institutions, and ideals." For "without the idea of posterity"—biological or intellectual—"our lives would be confined, empty, bleak, pointless and morally impoverished."[70] To say, as Rawls does, that "we can do something for posterity but it can do nothing for us," short-changes our imaginative capacity.[71] As beings uniquely capable of envisaging a future, humans have become dependent on doing just that.

Concern for the world to be inherited by generations to come was an Enlightenment obsession. Posterity replaced God as a judge and justifier of human behavior; personified, addressed as a deity, invoked in accents of prayer, posterity was the court of final appeal. It was invoked in the preamble to the United States Constitution and in the speeches of all the American founding fathers. The absence of posterity was unimaginably horrific. Were it known that humanity would become extinct (through a catastrophic comet collision, for example), Diderot predicted that "men would straightway rush into evil courses."[72]

Diderot's doom-laden prophecy is realized in P.D. James's *The Children of Men*, positing a world in which from 1995 on no children are born or conceived. Suicide is rife, lassitude and depression universal. Her protagonist "can understand how the aristocrats and great landowners with no hope of posterity leave their estates untended.... Our minds reach back through centuries for the reassurance of our ancestry, and without hope of posterity, for our race if not for ourselves, without the assurance that we being dead yet live, all pleasures of the mind and senses seem...no more than pathetic and crumbling defences shored up against our ruin.... Man is diminished if he lives without knowledge of his past; without hope of a future he becomes a beast."[73]

It was "the man within the beast" that led Adam Smith to elevate the rights of all humanity above immediate personal well-being, and enabled Heilbroner, glimpsing, like James, "the unbearable anguish" of a universe void of human life, to transcend narrow rationality.[74]

The preconditions for future concern are, however, highly demanding. In much of the world, poverty forces an insistence on immediate needs. To feed their children now, Mexican peasants have no choice but to forfeit resources whose loss those children may later bemoan. "We have to cut down trees to feed our families...so that our children can have enough to eat and go to school so they can have a future and more awareness," explained Eligio Corona. "The tragedy...is that, to feed his children today, he has to destroy that which would give them sustenance tomorrrow."[75]

"People take the long view when they feel a commitment to...posterity—their children and other people's children—and therefore see the need for actions to benefit the distant future." But they can afford to take that view, adds a management expert, only "when they believe the rules of the game are fair [and that] they will share equitably in the returns."[76]

Half a century ago the future was a bright and shining promise. Scientific progress, faith in social engineering, and impatience with tradition engendered countless cornucopian forecasts. The archetypal future, noted architectural historian Reyner Banham, was "a city of gleaming, tightly clustered towers, with helicopters fluttering about their heads and monorails snaking around their feet; all enclosed...under a vast transparent dome," where life would be "unmitigated bliss." Sometime around the late 1960s that modernist utopia disappeared. The future became a thing of the past. Visions of the white heat of technology gave way to hand-lettered tracts extolling pastoral scenes of "windmills and families holding hands."[77] Heritage, roots, and historic preservation made the past our favored abode to escape the fears and the perils of the present. The nostalgized past, I noted, was by the 1980s "the foreign country with the most profitable and rapidly growing tourist trade of them all."[78]

Could investment in the future now perhaps offer comparable rewards? That the future has become more open and less predictable, uncertain rather than foreordained, ought not to deter but to encourage engagement with it. We can still hearten venturers to chart ways beyond the present pall of gloom. Biologists suggest that biomedical research within the next quarter century may double our lifetimes; our grandchildren may coexist with five generations of their descendants. Physicists float prospects of being "truly at home in the universe" 50 years from now, when we'll probably know more about its history and properties "than we know now about...the surface of our planet."[79] Astronomer Martin Rees foresees a future shaped by human decisions that infuse the universe with "a teeming complexity of life beyond what we can even conceive."[80]

That the future, near and far alike, holds huge risks is undeniable. There is a small but finite possibility that we will "not survive the machinations of a technologically very knowledgeable, very depressed Luddite."[81] Rees himself fears

that bioterror or bioerror will lead to a million casualties in a single event within the next 15 years.[82] Let us start coping with rather than shrinking from potential anthropogenic calamity, just as forward-looking science strives to deflect potential natural catastrophes like asteroid impacts and comet collisions. A century after Theodore Roosevelt bade us heed posterity's needs, another president's State of the Union message echoed his "responsibility to future generations...to build a better world for our children and grandchildren."[83] To carry out this pledge requires renewal of the stewardly commitment that inspired the first American conservation movement. We lend force to that inspiration when we see how we enrich our own lives, as well, through communion with the enduring collective humanity to which we owe our being and belonging.

David Lowenthal is author of many books and articles on cultural heritage, including *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998) and *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), both Cambridge University Press. This essay is drawn from his forthcoming *The Undiscovered Country: Reclaiming the Future*. He can be reached at d.lowenthal@ucl.ac.uk.

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An Interview with Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler

Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler (Photograph by Richard Freer, Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler is a historical architect who served with the National Park Service from 1955 through 1992. She was born in Orange, New Jersey, and studied at Bennington College, Vermont, and the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, where she graduated with a B.Arch. degree in 1953. Batcheler spent time in Sweden recording old buildings and started her National Park Service career at Independence National Historical Park, where she worked on architectural research, historic structures reports, and the restorations of Independence Hall, Congress Hall, the First Bank of the United States, Franklin Court, City Tavern, and other projects. Her later NPS career included research and historic structures reports for Boston's Old North Church, Slateford Farm and Charles S. Peirce House at Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, Lemon House at Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site, Ellwood House at Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park in Virginia, and Old City Hall at Lowell National Historical Park in Massachusetts. Batcheler received the National Park Service Appleman-Judd Award for outstanding contributions to cultural resource management in 1982 and the James Biddle Award for Lifetime Achievement in Historic Preservation from the Preservation Alliance of Greater Philadelphia in 2000. Antoinette J. Lee (AJL), CRM Journal *editor, interviewed Batcheler at her Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, home on December 16, 2004.*

AJL: Please tell us about your family and early years. What prompted you toward a historic preservation career?

PHB: I grew up in an 1825 farmhouse in East Orange, New Jersey. My mother was fond of old houses. My uncle moved two log cabins onto his farm in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and family trips usually included visits to old buildings. However, my early introduction to old buildings was not directed to a career in the field.

AJL: What were some of the early influences that steered you to study architecture?

PHB: The 1939 New York World's Fair was easy to reach from our East Orange home and the pavilions there were my introduction to "modern" architecture. The Finnish pavilion by Alvar Aalto was memorable. In seventh grade, inspired by the exhibit "Brazil Builds" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, I

put together a report on the history of architecture of South America, saying "I chose this subject because I like architecture." *Life* magazine and the *National Geographic* supplied the illustrations, and the modern work of Oscar Niemeyer stood out.

By the time I was in high school, I had decided that I wanted to be an architect. At Bennington College, I took an introductory course in architecture. Philip Johnson's book on Mies van der Rohe was newly published and made a huge impression. My advisors recognized that I should follow this interest and attend Mies's school at the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) in Chicago.

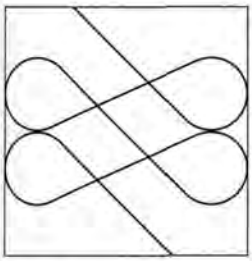

FIGURE 1
When Mies van der Rohe headed the architecture school at the Illinois Institute of Technology, learning to draw was a priority. Students were required to draw compositions on Strathmore paper with India ink and ruling pens. The curves were made with a ruling pen on a compass. The object was to have the width of the line consistent with the curves to the straight lines and to have the curves just miss each other, and just tangent to the outside borders. The original of this image is 13-inches square. (Courtesy of Penelope Hartshorne Batcheler)

AJL: Tell us about studying architecture at IIT under Mies van der Rohe. What was his method of teaching?

PHB: I was one of three women enrolled in IIT's five-year undergraduate architecture program. We were all apprentices in a sense. Each first-year student was given a set of small-scale wood bricks with which we learned how to lay up walls of varying thickness and bonds. This happened to be great preparation for eventually working in a brick city.

Learning to draw was another discipline of the school. We had life drawing once a week, and were asked to draw the same object seven times as homework. Drafting exercises were rigorous. In pencil and in India ink with nibbed ruling pens we created beautiful compositions on Strathmore paper. These required exactitude in consistent line weight or widths, precise starts and stops, and one-point tangencies. The University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archive has my plates because of its interest in Mies's teaching methods. (Figure 1)

Other architecture schools encouraged more creativity, I believe. Mies wanted students to learn about materials and how buildings were put together, and how to make them weathertight. We drew already conceived buildings in plan, elevation, and full-size detail, all with the drafting skills previously learned. In the last years, a great deal of time was spent in design composition, placing objects in space, or a painting on a wall. Of course, all of this was accompanied by the usual strength of materials and engineering courses that all architecture schools have.

Our history of architecture classes did not require memorization of building names, architects' names, and dates. We looked at periods for their structural methods.

Mies himself held few classes with undergraduates. One that he did was held at the Farnsworth house when it was almost completed. He was clearly pleased with his work, and the students idolized him as he sat holding a big long cigar.

AJL: How did IIT's architectural education and your experience in Chicago lead you toward a career in historic preservation?

PHB: The school took us on tours of the buildings in the Loop: Sullivan's Carson Pirie Scott store and the Auditorium Building, the Monadnock Building, the steel-framed Reliance Building, and others. Of course, we made pilgrimages to the Frank Lloyd Wright buildings in Oak Park and, with a few friends, we met Wright at his Taliesin in Wisconsin. But historic preservation as a career was unheard of.

AJL: Tell us about your work in Sweden and the influence of your work there on your subsequent career.

PHB: After IIT, a Swedish relative invited me to help with a program to measure log buildings in the province of Dalecarlia. I also made a 16-mm-half-hour film on peasant craft techniques in the same area.

An ethnological team from the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm invited me to join them in a study of the log structures in the village of Saint Véran, Hautes-Alpes, France. By this time, I had also been exposed to the stave churches of Norway and the old stone and brick churches of Scandinavia. I was hooked on historic buildings. The slant of my Swedish relatives towards history, archeology, and the study of old buildings was great encouragement.

AJL: How did you come to be hired by the National Park Service in 1955?

PHB: My Swedish cousins had suggested that I look into working for Colonial Williamsburg. Instead I was led to Charles Peterson in Philadelphia. Independence National Historical Park was just getting going. Peterson had been involved in the planning of the park, but he had subsequently been transferred to the National Park Service's Eastern Office of Design and Construction to steer Historic American Buildings Survey and non-Philadelphia projects. Hearing of my active interest in old buildings, Peterson suggested that I apply to park architect Charles Grossman at Independence. Grossman had worked with log buildings in the Great Smokies, and when he saw my drawings and photographs of Scandinavian log buildings, he decided I couldn't be all that bad, and I was given a temporary position.

AJL: Describe the effort to preserve and restore Independence Hall in the 1950s. Who were your associates on this project?

PHB: From 1955 to 1959, I was at Independence, having been assigned to study Independence Hall, particularly the Supreme Court Room for which I eventually wrote a study of its historic appearance from a comparison of surviving old photographs with the existing woodwork. I also began to put together the

building's history of paint colors while painters were removing the accumulations, started under Peterson, to enable the distinction between original woodwork and modern changes.

The Bishop White and Todd Houses gave me the chance to develop skills in "above-ground archeology." With a floor chisel and hammer—when I wasn't hitting my left hand—the chisel, laid flat, removed later layers of plaster to uncover original evidence beneath.

During this period, I had the advantage of learning from other architects on the staff including William J. Murtagh; James C. Massey; William M. Campbell, a retired University of Pennsylvania architecture professor, who introduced me to 18th-century details and how they were assembled; and Frank Boeshore, a retired practicing architect, whose practical knowledge of construction was invaluable.

Independence Park also had on staff a number of historians, museum curators, and archeologists. The historians had been working since the founding of the park, gathering historical documentation from Harrisburg to London. Brown-bag lunches gave us the opportunity to compare notes on our latest findings and theories. This was an exciting time.

The only preservation work on Independence Hall that had been done in this period was the spot-repointing of brickwork, and the replacement of treads in the grand stair with removable treads, both done under Peterson while he was still at the park. When I was at the park, with the entrance hall woodwork now bare, a superb carpenter, Joe Silberholz, trained "in the old country," repaired the original 1755 woodwork that had shifted over time. This gave us a marvelous opportunity to look behind and under, and to learn a lot about the history of the building and its structural condition.

While all of this learning was going on, the park was buying up parcels of land and buildings to constitute the boundaries set by the 1948 act that established the park. With this came much demolition. Peterson had advocated retention of some of the 19th-century buildings of architectural importance: the Jayne building, the cast iron Penn Mutual building, and Frank Furness's Guarantee Trust that stood in front of Carpenters' Hall. Summer students made measured drawings, and taking photographs was about all we were able to do. Because these buildings were unrelated to the park's main story, they came down.

AJL: How were historic buildings treated at Independence, especially in the absence of today's standards and guidelines? As Constance Greiff stated in her book, *Independence: The Creation of a Park*—

There was no recognized methodology for the small staff at Independence to follow in investigating and restoring historic buildings. There was little literature on the subject, no written guidelines or manuals.... So those responsible for restoration at Independence were forced to develop techniques, learning as they went along from one another, from the draftsmen on the park's staff, and from the buildings.[1]

PHB: Connie was right. In Philadelphia, Charles Peterson and Hank Judd led our historic structures office, and Lee Nelson led the small team assigned to research Independence Hall from 1960 on. We could not have had a better guide. Lee could think and write clearly and was our best proponent when dealing with National Park Service administrators who pressed for the completion of our research and to get on with the actual restoration. Blaine Cliver was a summer student intern. John Milner and Gary Dysert worked with us for several years. The public was admitted to the building during the research process. In fact, they were allowed to see some of the rooms throughout the whole structural rehabilitation and restoration.

We started research on the Assembly Room. This most historic room had its original paneling ripped out in 1816 in order to "modernize" it to make it more rentable. The state government had moved away, and the county commissioners had to make ends meet. After having purchased the State House in 1818, the city hired architect John Haviland in 1831 to restore the room. Haviland designed paneling for all four walls; originally only one wall had been paneled.

My earlier study of paint layering in the building enabled us to recognize pieces of woodwork that turned up. Architect Gary Dysert came tearing back to the office one day with a small dentil he found wedged between an original floor joist and the brick wall. Under our binocular microscope, we were able to spot some of the original red iron oxide primer, the light gray second primer, and a deteriorated finish coat of blue/gray. The microscope was a great tool, and so also was the study of paint. Lee Nelson's research on the history of nail manufacture was a key tool as well. Thanks to Lee, we were readily able to identify the original hand-wrought nail types used for different purposes, the 1816 renovation cut nails, and the more perfected 1831 Haviland cut nails.

Evidence drawings were basic to our work. These included 3/4 inch to the foot interior elevations that recorded nails, nailing blocks, iron anchors, plaster remnants, and paint evidence where it occurred, marking the placement of original woodwork. In the 18th century, on brick walls wood trim was installed and primed before plaster was applied; thus we found vestiges of the original red primer on white mortar joints and the gray second primer on the red brickwork.

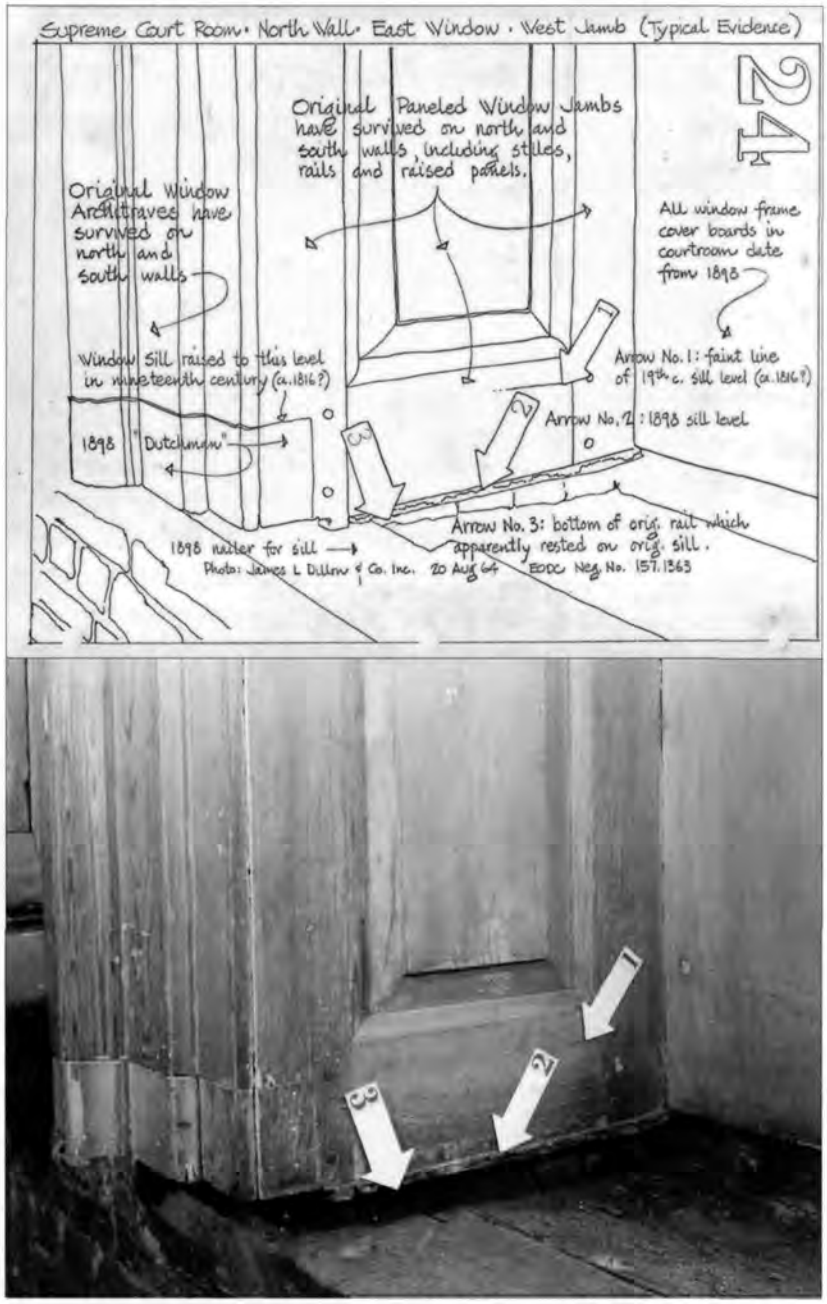

FIGURE 2
Lee Nelson prepared this evidence photograph and "cartoon" overlay of a splayed window jamb at the north wall of the Supreme Court Room, Independence Hall. (Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park)

Charles Peterson insisted our photographic recording of evidence be done with 8- by 10-inch black-and-white negatives. When archivally developed, there is no more lasting record. Lee Nelson developed a good technique to identify the sometimes obscure evidence in the photographs. Lee traced the photographs, and in cartoon fashion, described the evidence recorded.(Figure 2)

Recording the building's framework with summer student help increased our understanding of the original structural system of this ambitious 1730s building. Working with the structural engineers of Keast and Hood Company, they

and Lee Nelson saw to it that the rehabilitation preserved all surviving original structural members in place.

The discipline of writing historic structures reports forced definitive conclusions to our research, and gave the "powers that be" confidence to proceed.

In this era, there was no question that the buildings were to be restored to their appearance in the historic period to be interpreted. In the case of Independence Hall, however, it was accepted that the 1828 Strickland steeple would stay, out of period as it was. In the removal of the 1831 Haviland paneling, it was keyed piece-by-piece to a numbering system for potential reassembly. If we had not been able to come up with so much evidence of the original Assembly Room's appearance, I suspect we may have put back this handsome woodwork.(Figures 3a, 3b, and 3c)

National Park Service architect Hugh Miller joined our team to run the production of the Assembly Room working drawings. As the Bicentennial deadline drew nearer, outside architects were brought in to produce contract documents for many of the projects. For example, Robert Venturi was asked to design the presentation of Franklin Court after the National Park Service had decided not to reconstruct Franklin's house, but instead to provide a view of its archeological remains related to the house plan.

AJL: What were some of the highlights from your career in preparing historic structures reports for National Park Service historic buildings?

PHB: With Independence Hall ready for the Bicentennial, working for the Denver Service Center, I was next honored to research and write a historic structures report for Old North Church in Boston. Helping me were interns, Sally Sweetser and Mary Mish, both of whom had helped at Independence. Unwrapping the red tape around the original construction vouchers for this 1720s church was a thrill. Confirming the existence in the paint layering of the ca. 1727 painted cherubins up near the nave vaulted ceiling was another thrill, especially as I had to climb and hang onto a ladder that stood on the gallery floor, putting my head up about 35 feet above the main floor, a nervous moment.

Other out-of-town projects I worked on were so different from each other and from what I was used to. It was a challenge to learn the architectural vocabulary of each locale and era. Lowell's Old City Hall at Lowell National Historical Park was a shock because it had been totally changed with sheet metal enrichment in 1896. The Peirce House at Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area was equally badly renovated. It was hard to "fall in love" with this house. Slateford Farm, also at Delaware Water Gap, introduced me, among its assortment of buildings, to a Germanic timber-frame cabin of great

FIGURE 3a
This 1790s engraving, "Congress Voting Independence," attributed to Edward Savage, recorded the Assembly Room of Independence Hall before an extensive alteration in 1816. The view provides the earliest known accurate record of the focal east wall. (Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park)

FIGURE 3b
Summer student teams measured and produced evidence drawings such as this of the east wall of the Assembly Room, Independence Hall. (Photograph by James L. Dillon & Co., Inc., Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park)

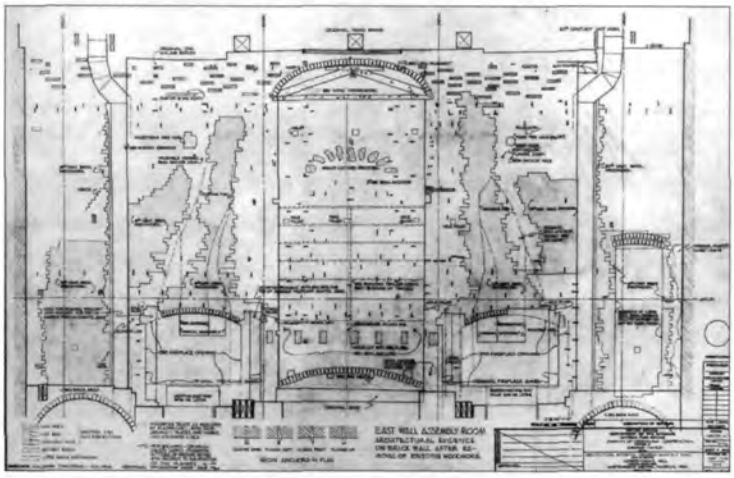

FIGURE 3c
In 1965, the missing east wall paneling of the Assembly Room, Independence Hall, was reconstructed. The paneling was installed by being pushed up into place with the help of someone holding a rope taut from above. (Photograph by James L. Dillon & Co., Inc., Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park)

character. At Ellwood House at Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park, I met another timber frame with an interesting detail. The corner posts were, in section, hewn to an "L" shape enabling the side walls to be thin. Labor was cheaper.

In 1981, I asked Independence Superintendent Hobie Cawood if I could return to the park to write the final Independence Hall historic structures reports that had been postponed for lack of time before restoration. While I had this building's history still in my head, the reports on the Central Hall and Tower Stairhall and the second floor were completed before I retired.

In the last few years while I was at the park, we had the opportunity to set up a dendrochronology database by taking core samples from datable building roof trusses, including some from Independence National Historical Park structures. This database of white oak, spanning the years 1700 to 1828, is still used in the Delaware Valley to help date buildings that lack documentation.

William Brookover succeeded me as park architect. Before I left, he joined me in trying to institute a program of preservation maintenance at the park, including routine inspections, the use of 8 1/2- by 11-inch diagrammatic plans of the buildings to locate problems for work orders, and seasonal charts of routine maintenance tasks to prevent deterioration. To explain scaffolding and interruptions to the visitors, we hung up a huge banner that read, "Maintenance is Preservation." The present park architect, Charles Tonetti, continues to use this banner.

AJL: What was the status of the study of historic building materials in the 1950s and 1960s? How have advances in the research of building materials influenced the practice of historical architecture?

PHB: In the 1950s, when studying the Supreme Court Room of Independence Hall, we tried to date the removal of the joists for the original judges' bench by having a cement company analyze the mortar used to fill the empty holes, comparing it to datable mortars. The Forest Products Laboratory identified the wood types used in the surviving original woodwork, and paint companies came to our rescue identifying the pigments and medium of the early layers uncovered.

In the 1960s, Lee Nelson asked Gary Dysert to do a study of how exterior brickwork could safely be cleaned. Studies were also made of how to treat exterior trim for longer life. We ended up using fiberglass to replace some missing exterior carving. Hank Judd brought our attention to the use of softer lime mortars in repointing old brickwork. Old cedar shingles were studied for specifications that would produce straight grain, hand-split, and hand-dressed surfaces. The original flooring left in Independence Hall was our guide in

procuring longleaf yellow pine with as much edge grain as possible considering the width of the boards needed. Lee looked far and wide to get the new flooring, making us extra sensitive to its exposure to wear that would reduce its life. Amazingly, some original boards survive in place. Needless to say, we laid protective matting down as soon as possible.

In the early 1970s, when restoring the First Bank of the United States, we went out on a limb in consolidating the weathered and fragile exterior carved stonework on the principal facade. There was much deliberation with independent chemists, samples were made and tested, but even so, we were nervous and subject to criticism. The carvings seem to be surviving.

The establishment of the Association for Preservation Technology and materials laboratories at university historic preservation programs are certainly outcomes of the increased focus on the uses and reactions of materials in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s.

AJL: Do you have a philosophy about historic buildings and their treatment?

PHB: Maintenance is preservation! Most preservation is based on a good maintenance plan and frequently taking the pulse of the building. Catch small problems before they grow, and when you find a problem, fix the cause first. Test the water shedding systems in the pouring rain.

AJL: Do you have advice for young people today about how to pursue a career in the preservation of historic architecture? What should they study?

PHB: Choose a preservation course that will have hands-on experience if their career is to be a preservation architect. Learn how buildings are put together to better recognize the causes of problems. Take chemistry to better understand the interaction and performance of materials. Learn how to prioritize restoration and repair needs and learn how to estimate the costs of needed actions. Learn the discipline of keeping good records for future generations. If a building is historic and worth preserving, it should have a life well beyond ours.

Note

1. Constance M. Greiff, *Independence: The Creation of a National Park* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 113.

Evaluating the Significance of San Lorenzo Village, A Mid-20th Century Suburban Community

by Andrew Hope

San Lorenzo is an unincorporated, suburban community south of Oakland in the San Francisco Bay Area. Although a small settlement at San Lorenzo dates to the 19th century, nearly all of San Lorenzo's houses and most of the other buildings were constructed during the community's period of rapid growth between 1944 and 1958. The earliest phase of this growth, from 1944 through 1951, consisted of a new community, San Lorenzo Village, planned and built by developer David Bohannon. As initially developed by Bohannon, San Lorenzo Village included approximately 3,000 houses, as well as schools, churches, and commercial and civic buildings. Other developers expanded San Lorenzo Village to approximately twice its initial size until the supply of undeveloped land was exhausted in the late 1950s. The original portion of San Lorenzo Village appears to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as an early prototypical example of a large-scale, postwar suburban housing development.(Figure 1)

Interstate 880, constructed in the early 1950s and subsequently widened, divides the community. Recently, the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) and the Federal Highway Administration developed plans to modify the freeway entrance and exit ramps in San Lorenzo, requiring compliance with several environmental laws and regulations, including Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act that requires federal agencies to consider the effects of their projects on historic properties. The initial step in complying with Section 106 includes surveying the area that may be affected by the project and identifying properties that may be eligible for listing in the National Register.

The historic property survey for the freeway project initially included fewer than 20 residences and a few modern, commercial properties adjacent to I-880 that would be directly affected by right-of-way acquisition for the freeway ramps. The residences were typical post-World War II suburban tract houses that initially did not appear to be historically or architecturally significant. However, further research revealed that the modest houses were part of a much larger district, San Lorenzo Village, and that the district is significant in the context of the area's mid-20th-century suburban growth. The survey report concluded that the San Lorenzo Village Historic District appears to be eligible for the National Register.

Postwar Suburbs and the Industrialization of Home Construction

During the first half of the 20th century, the housing construction industry comprised a large number of independent, small-scale builders. As late as 1938, the typical builder constructed no more than 4 single-family houses per year, with only a few builders capable of constructing as many as 10 houses per year.[1] The small scale of production paralleled comparably low demand in most regions of the United States, due to the difficulty of financing the pur-

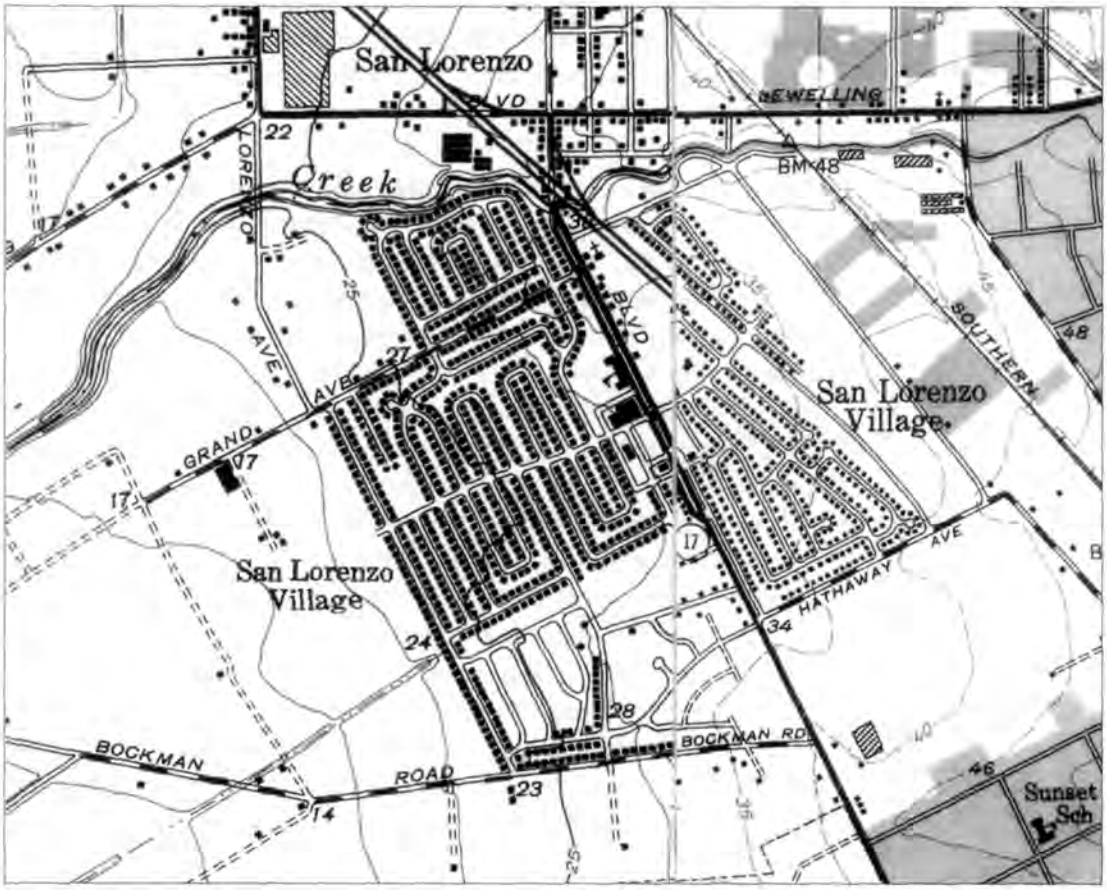

FIGURE 1
Bohannon's San Lorenzo Village, about half its ultimate size, is shown in this composite of the 1947 San Leandro and Hayward USGS maps. Additional housing was built to the south and east in the later 1940s and early 1950s.

chase of a single-family house. Lending institutions rarely financed more than 60 to 70 percent of the purchase price, with mortgages of 5 years or less that ended with a balloon payment.[2] These terms prevented much of the middle class and nearly all of the working class from buying homes, or required many years of patient saving prior to making a purchase.

The groundwork for altering this state of affairs began with the creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934. With two million construction workers without jobs, FHA initiated a program of mortgage guarantees to spur lenders to make more loans and thereby increase the rate of home construction and ownership. Although lending institutions embraced the program, little headway was made in stimulating the construction industry during the

Depression. The major catalyst for change came with the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly referred to as the "GI Bill," which included provisions for government mortgage guarantees of up to 100 percent of the purchase price. Lending institutions responded to FHA and Veterans Administration loan guarantees by dramatically reducing the down payment required and providing fixed-rate mortgages for much longer terms than had previously been considered prudent, to as much as 20 years. By the end of World War II, there was a tremendous pent-up demand for housing, due to a decade of economic stagnation preceding the war and the return of millions of soldiers to civilian life. With mechanisms for affordable financing in place, the building industry responded to the demand by constructing low-cost houses at a rate never before seen.

During the war, the Federal Government became a major customer in the housing market, constructing two million housing units for defense workers and their families near factories, arsenals, and shipyards.[3] In the San Francisco Bay Area, cities such as Oakland, Richmond, and Vallejo saw a huge influx of defense industry workers along with government programs to construct housing for them. In fact, the Bay Area was probably the largest recipient of federally funded wartime housing construction in the country.[4] Because the housing had to be constructed as quickly as possible, old methods of building one house at a time were clearly not sufficient.

A small number of builders responded by industrializing the home construction process and standardizing their product. Builders with experience in wartime housing construction were uniquely positioned to become large-scale housing developers after the war. These men were known as "operative builders," a term that referred to those who bought large tracts of land; installed streets, utilities, and other infrastructure; built the houses; and sold the finished houses as part of a new community. Operative builders came to dominate the postwar housing construction industry by building houses at an unprecedented rate and achieving economies of scale not previously seen in housing construction.

Housing developments by operative builders in the decades following the war were often characterized as assembly lines in which the workers moved rather than the product. The operative builders analyzed the construction process and divided it into discrete tasks assigned to different work crews. Each crew performed its assigned task repeatedly, moving from house to house, followed closely by the crew performing the next task. Crews were organized by the skill level appropriate to each task. Less experienced carpenters would do the rough wall framing, while the more experienced did more difficult roof framing, and the most experienced did finish work such as door and window casings.

One of the most important elements of the industrialized building process was pre-cutting lumber. Typically, a temporary sawmill would be set up at the construction site to fabricate the exact quantity and dimensions of lumber needed for the houses. All of the lumber needed to construct a single house could then be bundled and delivered to each building lot, eliminating the need for field cutting. Some of the largest operative builders, including Bohannon and William Levitt (developer of the Levittowns on the East Coast), acquired stands of timber in northern California, thereby securing a reliable source of materials. In addition to lumber, building components from bathtubs to doorknobs were purchased at volume discounts.

The industrialized building process originated in California, where it was applied to developments of unprecedented size, allowing large numbers of houses to be erected with remarkable speed. In particular, the use of temporary sawmills onsite and the bundling of complete sets of lumber and other materials for each house came to be known as the "California method."[5] By 1949, operative builders had become a major force in the housing market, with just 4 percent of all builders being responsible for 45 percent of new housing units.[6]

As one of the first of the operative builders, David Bohannon played a leading role in the development of mass production techniques. In 1939, Bohannon began the construction of Hillsdale, a residential and commercial development on the peninsula south of San Francisco. The plan for Hillsdale included single-family houses, apartments, and a shopping center. In the design of this new community, Bohannon was influenced by two communities developed in the 1920s: the Country Club District of Kansas City by J.C. Nichols and Hugh Potter's River Oaks community in Houston.[7] Each combined housing with shopping centers and recreational facilities.

With the suspension of construction at Hillsdale during World War II, Bohannon turned his attention to building houses for defense workers elsewhere in the Bay Area. His first big project was the construction of nearly 300 houses near San Jose in 1941, a development that Bohannon completed in just 9 months. This was followed by the construction of more than 500 houses for shipyard workers in the city of Napa in 1942. Having refined his mass-production techniques with these two projects, Bohannon then built 700 3-bedroom houses in Richmond for workers at the Kaiser shipyards, completing the project in the remarkable time of just 4 months, between early May and early September 1943.[8]

Bohannon began the construction of San Lorenzo Village in 1944. While initially housing many defense workers, neither the Federal Government nor the defense industries were involved in the project as clients. Rather, the project was a speculative venture that responded to immediate needs and anticipated

FIGURE 2
This aerial view of a portion of San Lorenzo Village was taken ca. 1950 as the street trees were beginning to mature. The buildings at the upper right are part of a later tract by another developer. (Courtesy of the Hayward Area Historical Society)

the postwar demand for affordable housing. Bohannon acquired 350 acres of farmland in the unincorporated area between San Leandro and Hayward and built nearly 1,500 houses in 1944 and 1945.[9] (Figure 2)

Bohannon set up a temporary sawmill on the construction site to fabricate 2 by 4s and other lumber as needed. The lumber was then assembled into wall panels with framed openings for doors and windows, and a complete set of panels was delivered to each lot. Although factory production of wall panels is more common in housing construction today, this was an innovation in the 1940s. A central mixing plant and reusable forms allowed concrete to be poured at the rate of 25 house foundations and 1,000 feet of sidewalks and curbs per day. At the peak of the operation as many as 2,500 workers were involved in the building of the new community.[10] Bohannon constructed an average of more than 400 houses per year from 1944 through 1951, far beyond the rate of even the largest builders of the prewar period.

Community Planning and Design

Operative builders were also called "community builders," whose developments went beyond the scale of previous subdivision construction and constituted entirely new communities. The new housing developments were often located well beyond the city limits or the older streetcar suburbs, in unincorporated areas without zoning regulations. As a result, community builders often acted as planners in the absence of government planning,

FIGURES 3a AND 3b
Built in 1944-45, these two houses (upper left and right) have the same plan but different roof forms.

FIGURE 4
The corner window lends this 1947 house (lower left) a touch of modernity.

FIGURE 5
The 1948 model house (lower right) featured a large picture window on the facade.

(All courtesy of the author)

working out forms that came to be considered standards for developments. While community builders were primarily interested in constructing houses and commercial buildings that would bring a return on their investment, they also had to plan for facilities such as schools, churches, parks, libraries, and fire stations.

In addition to planning for a variety of land uses, community builders developed new street layouts, abandoning the rectilinear grids of earlier urban and suburban neighborhoods. Curved streets, looping streets, and the short cul-de-sac were all used extensively in this period. In addition to aesthetic considerations, the primary motive was to make residential streets safer, especially for children, by reducing the speed and volume of through traffic. The new type of street plan can be seen in San Lorenzo Village, where only 6 of the 86 streets in the historic district intersect with Hesperian Boulevard, the main traffic artery through the district. Twenty of the streets are cul-de-sacs, and another 23 are short connector streets with intersections only at their ends. The entire district includes just 124 intersections, substantially less than would be found in a development of the same size laid out in a traditional grid pattern. While curved and looping streets were built in suburban housing developments since the designs of Frederick Law Olmsted in the 19th century, they proliferated in the decades following World War II not only in the more expensive neighborhoods, but in tracts of modest houses intended for first-time home buyers.(Figures 3a and 3b, Figure 4, and Figure 5)

Mel Scott noted the significance of San Lorenzo Village as a prototype for new suburban communities in his 1985 book, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective*—

San Lorenzo Village, begun by the David D. Bohannon Organization in 1944 in the area south of San Leandro, was a forerunner of the scores of new "planned communities" of almost identical houses. A whole new town in itself, it housed approximately five thousand people and had its own shopping center, schools, and recreation facilities. In its planning it was, however, superior to many later ventures in large-scale construction of low-cost houses, because the street system at least included service roads paralleling a main highway (which unfortunately sliced through the development) and the interior streets were designed to assure as much safety and convenience as possible.

In many of the other speculative developments built in the immediate postwar years, when returning veterans were taking full advantage of the home-purchasing provisions of legislation enacted during the war, the street layouts were not so carefully planned, and no sites were set aside for needed schools and playgrounds.[11]

David Bohannon became the first president of the National Association of Home Builders, founded in 1941, and was a longtime member of the Community Builders Council, founded in 1942 as a subgroup of the Urban Land Institute.[12] The Community Builders Council began publishing the *Community Builders Handbook* in 1947, which codified the planning and design principles of the postwar housing developers. Annual issues of the *Handbook* frequently quoted Bohannon and cited his projects. As a result, the design features that appeared in San Lorenzo Village in the late 1940s became the design standards for subsequent housing developments nationwide.

Significance of San Lorenzo Village's Buildings

National Register criteria state that a property may be eligible for listing as an historic district if it "represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction." The houses of San Lorenzo Village are stylistically conservative and conventional in their design and materials, but are representative of their type and period and collectively convey the immediate postwar era.

The industrialization of the building process led to uniformity of the finished product. All of the nearly 1,500 houses constructed in the first phase of the project utilized the same floor plan, with variety achieved through such techniques as reversing the plan, alternating hipped and gabled roofs, and varying the window locations and exterior paint colors. The single-story, 3-bedroom houses were slightly less than 1,000 square feet, and sold for $6,000.[13] One of

the bedrooms had a door leading directly to the outside, so that this room could be rented if not needed by the family. Several different designs were used in the project's subsequent years, but all of the houses built in a year had the same floor plan. Thus, while the house form varied from one neighborhood to the next, all of the houses within a neighborhood were of the same design.

Distinctive characteristics of the houses include their small size, compact plans, and the absence of large porches, all reflecting the priority given to minimizing construction costs. All of the houses were a single story, with one-car garages. Exterior materials included stucco and different types of wood siding, with one-piece, lift-up garage doors. Decorative features were limited to geometric patterns of wood trim on the garage doors and on panels between the facade windows. The designs provided for direct access to the rear yard from the living room or dining area, which, along with the small front porches, reflect the period's emphasis away from the street and public life and towards family life and private outdoor space.

Although the houses at San Lorenzo are not architecturally distinguished, they collectively form a significant ensemble. The historic character of the district is further enhanced by the fact that all three of the schools, three of the churches, and the largest of the commercial buildings recognizably date to the same period as the houses. Two buildings in particular stand out as significant examples of the period's architecture: the Lorenzo Theater and the San Lorenzo Community Church. The Lorenzo Theater, a streamline-moderne movie house built in 1947, features a tall sign pylon above the corner marquee that serves as a landmark for the community. The San Lorenzo Community Church, designed by the architect Bruce Goff during the war for nearby Camp Parks, incorporates a World War II Quonset Hut for the sanctuary. After the war, the Quonset Hut was sold to the present congregation, dismantled, and reassembled at its current location.(Figure 6)

FIGURE 6
The San Lorenzo Community Church was constructed in the late 1940s from a World War II surplus Quonset Hut. (Courtesy of the author)

Integrity

In order to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, a property must possess integrity. This does not mean that a property must be in its original, unaltered state, but it must retain enough of its historic appearance and original material to convey its historic character and significance. In evaluating an historic district, the typical approach is to assess the integrity of each building and determine whether it is contributing or non-contributing to the district. A building constructed after the district's period of significance, or that has been so altered that it no longer conveys its historic character, would be non-contributing. In order for the district as a whole to convey its historical significance, a substantial majority of individual buildings must be contributing.

Almost all of the houses within the proposed San Lorenzo Village Historic District were constructed between 1944 and 1951, although most have been modified to some degree over the half-century since construction. Other buildings within the district, which date to the same period and retain a high degree of integrity, include the community center, fire station, and movie theater, as well as three churches and three schools. Later non-contributing buildings include the library, post office, and three other churches. In addition, most of the existing commercial buildings date to the 1970s and 1980s, although two of the commercial buildings date to the mid-1940s. The original Bohannon plan, concentrating commercial buildings on Hesperian Boulevard, has been maintained.

The great majority of the buildings within the proposed San Lorenzo Village Historic District are single-family houses. Evaluating their integrity was problematic, because making individual judgments about each of the approximately 3,000 houses would have been an enormous undertaking. Instead, a sampling technique was used to gather information on a small number of houses, which would enable generalizations about the integrity of the district as a whole. While this methodology would probably not be sufficient for a National Register nomination, it was considered sufficient to establish the presence of an eligible district for the purpose of Section 106 compliance.

The sample included 10 houses in a row from each of 14 locations selected from a map of the district without prior knowledge of the houses at each location. The 14 locations were evenly distributed throughout throughout the district and included houses spanning the entire construction period. Each of the 140 houses in the sample was surveyed, and alterations visible from the front sidewalks were noted. A majority of the houses have at least one replacement window on the facade. In most cases, the original window frames have been retained, with new vinyl-clad or aluminum sash replacing the original wood sash. Forty-two percent of the garage doors in the sample (57 of 135) are replacements. Surprisingly, in only one house has the garage been converted to additional living space. Twenty-two percent of the houses (31 of 140) have replacement roofs of wood rather than

FIGURE 7
This moderately altered house has replacement windows, stone veneer on the facade, and a garage converted to additional living space. (Courtesy of the author)

FIGURE 8
The original form of this substantially altered house has been obscured by later additions, and no original material is visible. (Courtesy of the author)

asphalt shingles, and one house has a replacement clay tile roof. About one-quarter of the houses has a masonry veneer added to the facade, usually as a wainscot between grade and the window sills. Of the 36 houses with masonry veneer, 34 are brick and 2 are stone or imitation stone products. Thirteen of the houses have new wood siding (such as T-111 plywood), which differs in appearance from the original wood siding, and three have aluminum siding. Seven houses have been resurfaced in stucco, with a more noticeable texture than the smooth finish of the unaltered stucco houses. Thirteen houses have additions on the front, and two others have second story additions at the rear. The additions range from an enclosed front porch to more substantial enlargements.

Following the survey, the 140 houses in the sample were sorted into 4 categories: unaltered, slightly altered, moderately altered, and substantially altered. A house might be considered slightly altered if, for example, the only changes were the addition of a brick wainscot to the facade and a new garage door. Moderately altered houses could still be recognized as dating to the era of their original construction, but have had several minor alterations, possibly combined with a more substantial alteration such as the enclosure of the front porch. Substantially altered houses show extensive changes to the fenestration, second-story additions, etc. Generally, substantially altered houses could no longer be recognized as dating to the era of their original construction. (Figure 7 and Figure 8) Nineteen of the houses in the sample (13 percent) appeared to be unaltered, and another 92 houses (66 percent) only slightly altered, 14 houses (10 percent) fell into the "moderately altered" category, and the remaining 15 houses (11 percent) exhibited substantial alterations.

Based on sampling results, the dividing line between contributing and non-contributing buildings falls somewhere within the "moderately altered" group, with all of the "substantially altered" houses and most of the "moderately altered" houses being non-contributing. At least 80 percent of the houses in the district appear to be contributing, a more than sufficient proportion for the district as a whole to convey its historical significance. In addition to the sampling, a windshield survey of the entire district appeared to confirm that the 140 houses surveyed in the integrity sample were representative of the whole district.

Conclusion

The Historic Architecture Survey Report for the San Lorenzo Village Historic District was transmitted to the California State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in 2002, with a request for concurrence regarding eligibility of the district and other historic properties. The report concluded that San Lorenzo Village is significant as one of the earliest of the Bay Area's postwar planned communities, and for its pioneering role in the application of mass-production techniques to house construction. The district is also significant for its association with David Bohannon, one of the most influential community builders of the postwar period. The district's houses and other buildings exhibit the distinctive character of their type and period, and the community as a whole conveys a strong sense of the postwar era, in spite of alterations to individual houses.

Because of the size of the district and its unusual nature, SHPO staff requested a tour with Caltrans staff to visually confirm whether the district conveys its historic significance and possesses sufficient integrity for National Register listing. Discussions during and after the tour revealed that SHPO staff had a more negative view of the district's integrity, and there was no consensus on the National Register eligibility of the district. The SHPO staff's more skeptical view of the proposed district was due in part to the high proportion of houses that exhibited at least some alterations, and in part to a higher threshold for the degree of alteration that an individual house could exhibit and still be considered contributing to the district. Particular objection was made to the introduction of materials, such as brick, that were not part of the development's original materials palette.

Subsequent to the site tour with the SHPO staff, a reduction in the scope of the freeway project eliminated the need to acquire additional right-of-way adjacent to the freeway. The redesigned project had no potential to affect the proposed historic district, and therefore no formal response from the SHPO was needed or received on the question of the district's eligibility.

The tour revealed that the integrity of the proposed historic district had diminished noticeably in the two years since the survey effort began. The integrity of the district will undoubtedly continue to diminish as property owners continue to alter their houses. The San Lorenzo Village Homes Association, which enforces deed covenants and has authority over exterior alterations to the houses, prohibited the construction of second-story additions for more than 40 years. However, amid growing concerns that San Lorenzo was becoming a community of retirees, the homeowners' association lifted the prohibition about 15 years ago in an attempt to attract more young families with children.[14] More second-story additions are likely, as the original houses are considered too small by today's standards.

While alterations to the houses are inevitable, the significance of San Lorenzo Village lies as much in its overall planning as in the architectural qualities of the individual buildings.[15] The distinctive character of the district derives in part from its street layout and the planning for schools, churches, and other community facilities. Physical features that distinguish San Lorenzo Village from later neighboring developments include the relatively narrow streets with mountable curbs, and the now-mature trees. Later subdivisions in the area generally have wider, straighter streets with square curbs, and a substantially lower investment in landscaping.

As more postwar housing tracts are considered for National Register eligibility and listing, the issue of assessing their integrity will become more urgent. Lacking consensus about the appropriate level of integrity for this type of property, these historically important properties may remain unprotected and underrepresented in the National Register of Historic Places.

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Notes

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2. Ned Eichler, *The Merchant Builders* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), xvi.

3. Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the American Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), 242.

4. Sherman Maisel, *Housebuilding in Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), 12.

5. "Big Dave Bohannon: Operative Builder by the California Method," *Fortune* (April 1946): 145.

6. Weiss, 161.

7. "Big Dave Bohannon," 146.

8. "Big Dave Bohannon," 190.

9. "Big Dave Bohannon," 190.

10. "Big Dave Bohannon," 145.

11. Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 273.

12. "Big Dave Bohannon," 146.

13. "Big Dave Bohannon," 145, 194.

14. Doris Marciel, San Lorenzo resident and local historian, personal communication, January 18, 2005.

15. Richard Longstreth addresses this point in "The Extraordinary Post-War Suburb," *Forum Journal* (Fall 2000): 16-25.

Managing Cultural Resources in Alaska's Parklands

by Frank Norris

The year 2005 is a watershed in the history of the National Park Service in Alaska, because it marks the 25th anniversary of the federal law that transformed the bureau's mission and scope in the state. President Jimmy Carter signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act or ANILCA (16 USC 3101 et seq.) into law on December 2, 1980, after a decade-long struggle. The lands designated by ANILCA—43.6 million acres in 10 new national parks units and 3 expanded parks—comprise more than 80 percent of all NPS acreage in Alaska. As a result, the National Park Service's role in Alaska has been largely shaped by that law.[1] (Figure 1)

Alaska's parks are significantly different from those in other states in several fundamental ways. Because virtually all of the ANILCA parks along with most of the parks established prior to 1980 were authorized for scenic, wilderness, or wildlife values, cultural resource management in Alaska's parks has long been perceived as a secondary park function. In addition, circumstances surrounding ANILCA's passage, and national attitudes prevalent while ANILCA was being considered, have resulted in a relatively strong role for Native populations and

FIGURE 1. NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM IN ALASKA, DECEMBER 2, 1980

Name of Park	Size (in acres)
Aniakchak National Monument and National Preserve	593,000
Bering Land Bridge National Preserve	2,699,000
Cape Krusenstern National Monument	649,000
Denali National Park and Preserve*	6,075,000
Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve	8,472,000
Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve*	3,283,000
Katmai National Park and Preserve*	4,093,000
Kenai Fjords National Park	670,000
Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park	13,200
Kobuk Valley National Park	1,751,000
Lake Clark National Park and Preserve	4,030,000
Noatak National Preserve	6,570,000
Sitka National Historical Park*	106
Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve	13,186,000
Yukon-Charley Rivers National Preserve	2,526,000

**Portions of the parks marked with an asterisk (*) predated the ANILCA planning process.*

other rural residents in park regulations and management. The Alaska park experience, in turn, has influenced how the National Park Service addresses Native and other local-residence issues in the lower 48 states.

Until 1971, the lion's share of Alaska's national parklands was in three large parks: Mount McKinley, between Anchorage and Fairbanks, was a 2.2-million-acre expanse focused on game-rich tablelands adjacent to North America's highest peak; Katmai, in southwestern Alaska, was the site of one of the world's most explosive volcanic eruptions; and Glacier Bay in southeastern Alaska was home to many tidewater glaciers. The three parks were established between 1917 and 1925 through the efforts of sportsmen and scientists.[2]

Alaska's parklands, however, offered more than just scenery, game, and scientific wonders. Sitka National Monument, signed into law by President Taft in 1910 (Executive Order 959), contained a remarkable assemblage of Haida and Tlingit totem poles that had been exhibited at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 and the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland in 1905. The monument also protected a major battleground where Tlingit warriors had fought against the Russian military. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson signed into law a second national monument (Presidential Proclamation 1351) that protected the remarkably preserved Haida village of Old Kasaan on Prince of Wales Island.[3]

During the 1920s and 1930s, little was done to maintain or improve America's existing national monuments, including those in Alaska. Advocacy groups suggested new Alaska parks and monuments but, for the most part, the groups did not propose parks based on their historical or cultural value. In the early 1930s, Skagway residents floated the idea of a Chilkoot National Park to preserve the landscape made famous during the Klondike Gold Rush. Later that decade, Territorial Chief Ernest Gruening prevailed on the National Park Service to consider a Kennecott National Monument that would include the recently abandoned Kennecott mine and mill complex along with 900 square miles of surrounding wilderness.(Figure 2) The National Park Service, however, showed little enthusiasm for either proposal, and by the early days of World War II, both had been quietly shelved.[4]

A few attempts were made prior to the mid-1960s to discuss cultural resource concerns in Alaska's existing parks. At Mount McKinley, a team of University of Alaska archeologists investigated a Teklanika River site in 1961 that was initially dated at some 10,000 B.P. Their findings, however, did little to stimulate archeological research elsewhere in the park, and one of the park's most important historic sites, the Charles Sheldon cabin, built in 1907, was allowed to collapse and disintegrate.[5] At Katmai, a treasure trove of wooden ceremonial masks was found during the 1930s in a lakeside cave. Given the total lack of park staff, however, nothing was done to provide protection. Several years later, the masks were removed from the park and scattered by trappers and other area residents.[6]

FIGURE 2
The Kennecott Mill that operated from 1911 to 1938 was once the world's largest copper mill. Shortly after it closed, it was briefly considered as a national park. In 1980, the surrounding area became part of Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, and in 1998, the National Park Service purchased the mill and surrounding properties.(Courtesy of the Historic American Engineering Record Collections, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

At Katmai and Glacier Bay, National Park Service policies discouraged entry by nearby residents, many of whom were Native Americans. The policies had various ramifications. At Katmai, local Natives respected the park's pleas to stay away. White trappers, who ignored the regulations, became so entrenched in the park that the Department of the Interior dispatched a special investigator to coax them out.[7] At Glacier Bay, the no-entry policy was a major affront to the Hoonah Tlingits, who had long considered the bay—rich in fish and marine mammals—as the "Hoonah breadbasket." Beginning in the late 1930s, National Park Service officials and local residents engaged in a long stalemate over the issue. Eventually, locals were tolerated if not accepted. The park, however, was uncomfortable with their presence, and in 1974 park management issued an expulsion order.[8]

At the state's two cultural resource-based parks, the National Park Service had mixed success trying to preserve the artifacts in its care. At Sitka, the National Park Service—forced to manage affairs with a single employee until the late 1940s—did its best to maintain the totem pole collection and associated artifacts. But Old Kasaan, which was isolated from all but the most adventuresome visitors, fell victim to neglect. The site, deep in the rain forest, became so degraded that maintaining the decaying remnants proved impossible. In July 1955, Congress dedesignated the site as a national monument and turned the area over to the U.S. Forest Service.[9]

The National Park Service's first broad-based study of Alaska's cultural treasures was the *Preliminary Survey of Alaska's Archeology, Ethnology, and History* completed in 1952 by Arthur Woodward, an anthropologist affiliated with California's Southwest Museum. The study was neither widely distributed nor widely publicized.[10] Further action to describe and evaluate cultural resources had to wait until Alaska became a state in January 1959. Just a year later, U.S. Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, chagrined by the bureau's omission of

Alaska from its historical theme studies, convinced the National Park Service to focus on the new state. The regional office staff in San Francisco scrambled to compile a list of Alaska's most significant historic and prehistoric sites. In the early summer of 1961, historian Charles Snell visited 19 Alaskan historic sites and evaluated their eligibility as National Historic Landmarks.[11] A year later, the National Park Service commissioned Dr. J. Louis Giddings to prepare a similar study of the state's aboriginal sites; as part of that study, 14 sites were evaluated for National Historic Landmark eligibility.[12] As a result of these studies, by 1966 15 sites had been recommended by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments for landmark designation.[13]

Snell's and Giddings's research provided the data needed when future proposals for new parklands were advanced. Such proposals were not long in coming. In January 1964, newly appointed National Park Service Director George Hartzog vowed that the protection of the "surviving landmarks of our national heritage" would be one of his primary goals. Hartzog appointed a special task force to analyze "the best remaining possibilities for the service in Alaska." The analysis, called *Operation Great Land*, laid out a bold blueprint for future bureau operations by identifying 39 "zones and sites containing examples of recreation, natural, and historic resources." Of these, almost half were primarily or exclusively of historical interest, broadly defined; most of the "historic" zones and sites, in fact, had been previously identified by either Snell or Giddings.[14]

In January 1964, newly appointed National Park Service Director George Hartzog vowed that the protection of the "surviving landmarks of our national heritage" would be one of his primary goals. Hartzog appointed a special task force to analyze "the best remaining possibilities for the service in Alaska."

Because Hartzog did not want to antagonize other Interior bureaus, he decided not to distribute *Operation Great Land*. The document, however, remained available for planning purposes, and before long, several proposals began to move forward. In 1965, a feasibility study was initiated for the Russian-era Erskine House in Kodiak. Two years later, two "alternatives studies" were prepared for areas with significant cultural values: Attu Island at the far end of the Aleutian chain, which had been occupied by Japanese forces during World War II, and the Skagway area, which had witnessed dramatic activity during the 1897-1899 Klondike gold rush.[15] Neither the Erskine House nor the Attu Island proposals resulted in movement toward a national park designation. The Skagway study, however, generated great interest among Alaskans and Canadians, both of whom shared a high degree of enthusiasm for a Klondike-

FIGURE 3
These Skagway commercial buildings date from the Klondike gold rush period. The National Park Service first became interested in the Skagway area in the 1930s. In 1961, a National Park Service historian visited the site and nominated it as a National Historic Landmark. In 1976, President Gerald Ford signed legislation that authorized the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park.(Courtesy of the Historic American Engineering Record Collections, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

based park. Before long, plans were afoot for parks in British Columbia and Yukon Territory as well as in the Skagway area.[16] (Figure 3)

Another National Park Service idea during this period was to create cultural centers as a way to preserve Alaska Native heritage and to exhibit and interpret that heritage to visitors. Several major Native groups lived in areas that were remote from the typical tourist routes and cultural centers provided the possibility of presenting a broad range of Native cultures in one or more easily accessible locations. A preliminary plan in 1968 called for cultural centers in Nome, Fairbanks, and Ketchikan. Because there was widespread worry during this period among both Natives and non-Natives that traditional lifeways were declining, the plan also recommended designating "some of the most representative native villages" as National Historic Landmarks "to give them proper recognition and encourage local preservation efforts." The plan initially went nowhere. But the seeds of the idea had been sown. As shall be seen they later bore fruit, with the National Park Service playing a supporting role.[17]

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

A dominant theme in Alaska during the 1960s was a growing recognition that the rights of Alaska's Native peoples should be taken into account in anticipation of widespread growth and development. During the mid- to late 1960s, a series of events portended a vast new role for the National Park Service in Alaska, in recognizing the lifestyles and rights of Native and non-Native residents near Alaska parks.

Prior to the 1960s, Alaska's Natives—almost none of whom had experience with Indian reservations as in the lower 48 states—had not settled with the Federal Government regarding land rights. Lacking a settlement, the new State

of Alaska began to select, for its own purposes, tens of millions of acres throughout the state. In so doing, the state ignored any recognition of Native land rights. During the same period, a series of environmental crises threatened the Native lifestyle. These included Project Chariot, a late-1950s Atomic Energy Commission proposal to detonate a nuclear device along the northwestern Alaska coastline; the Barrow "duck-in" of 1961, a mass protest against federal wildlife law; and the Rampart Dam proposal of the early to mid-1960s that would have inundated 7 predominantly Native villages and 10,000 square miles that had long been used for subsistence purposes.

In response to the environmental and land-rights crises, Natives met in Anchorage in October 1966 and formed what became known as the Alaska Federation of Natives. That meeting was important because, just two months later, Natives were able to prevail on the Secretary of the Interior, to impose a "land freeze" that prevented the State of Alaska or private parties from further land selections.[18] The meeting also proved timely because, just one year later, vast quantities of oil were discovered along the North Slope in the region surrounding Prudhoe Bay. Once the reports were confirmed, political leaders and industry officials began to focus on how to get the oil to market. A broad consensus soon emerged that the best transport method would be a pipeline from the oil fields south to Valdez. Such a pipeline, however, could not be built until the question of Native land rights was settled.[19]

Native lands settlement bills were introduced in Congress beginning in June 1967, but few initially paid attention to the issue. After Prudhoe Bay became front-page news, however, Natives recognized that their input would be needed to resolve Native land-claims issues before a bill could be passed. The Federal Government's initial proposal to provide Natives with 4 to 7 million acres of land, along with a $100 million cash payment, was countered by a Native proposal for a grant of 40 million acres and a $500 million payout.[20] In the rush to gain access to the "black gold" of Alaska's North Slope, oil companies and development interests were in no mood for delays on a land-rights bill. The bill that emerged from Congress and landed on President Nixon's desk in December 1971, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), called for conveying 40 million acres and $925 million to Alaska's Natives.[21]

Two ANCSA provisions played a major role in how Alaska's cultural resources would be managed. One provision allowed Native groups to select up to 2 million acres of Alaska land to protect cemeteries and historic sites; these were known as "14(h)(1) sites" after that section of ANCSA. The National Park Service and the University of Alaska later identified more than 7,000 sites, more than 4,000 of which were claimed by one of Alaska's newly-created Native corporations.[22]

The other provision, Section 17(d)(2), foreshadowed a long future battle. The provision called for the Federal Government to recommend "up to, but not to exceed, eighty million acres of unreserved public lands...for addition to or creation as units of the National Park, Forest, Wildlife Refuge, and Wild and Scenic River Systems." [23] At first glance, Congress appeared to have stressed natural rather than cultural resources in the provision. Indeed, most of the proposals for new or expanded national forests, wildlife refuges, or wild and scenic rivers had little direct relevance to the preservation of cultural resources.

FIGURE 4
Inupiat hunters have long depended on marine mammals for food, clothing, and other necessities. Here, Inupiat hunters haul a seal killed near Cape Krusenstern National Monument. (Photograph by Robert Belous, courtesy of the National Park Service)

The National Park Service, however, did not ignore cultural resources in its advocacy of new areas. During the fall of 1971, National Park Service officials—in full recognition that a native-claims bill with a lands provision would pass—prepared a list of 37 potential national parks and monuments. While most of the recommended parks were natural and scenic areas, 23 of the 37 contained areas of historical or archeological interest. Seventeen of the 23 were archeology-based, of which 8 had already been designated National Historic Landmarks. The remaining 6 of the 23 were historic: Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Old Kodiak National Historic Site, Attu Island National Monument, Alaska Highway National Historic Road, Pribilof Islands National Historic Site, and an addition to Sitka National Monument.[24] Two of the 6 historical proposals were acted upon. With additional acreage that included the 130-year-old Russian Bishop's House, Sitka National Monument

was renamed Sitka National Historical Park in October 1972. The proposal for Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park was signed into law in June 1976.[25]

One major area that ANCSA did not address was subsistence resources. The law helped to guarantee the permanence of Native lifeways by allotting tens of millions of acres to newly formed Native corporations and providing permanent rights to hunt, fish, and gather.(Figure 4) But the 1971 bill was silent on the legal rights of anyone, Native or non-Native, to carry out such activities on Alaska's federal lands, which constituted more than three-fourths of the state's land area. The Senate bill provided these rights, but the House bill omitted any reference to subsistence. Alaska's Congressional delegation was asked to resolve the issue. During a tumultuous meeting that was held just two weeks before Nixon signed the final bill, the delegation decided to not include a subsistence provision. The decision was accepted by the Congressional conference committee and, as a result, ANCSA was enacted without resolving the subsistence issue.[26]

Towards an Alaska Lands Act

Section 17(d)(2) of ANCSA detailed a hectic seven-year schedule by which federal agencies would address the disposition of the remaining unreserved public lands. Interior Secretary Rogers Morton had to announce the first land withdrawals—for lands to be reserved for future inclusion in conservation areas—within 90 days of ANCSA's passage. Given that timetable, officials from Alaska's land management agencies quickly assembled a list of areas of interest. The first National Park Service list, issued in early January 1972, included 12 natural areas and 9 cultural areas. (Eight of the cultural areas were archeology-based; the ninth was a gold rush park that included areas near both Skagway and Eagle.)[27] By the time the National Park Service list was evaluated and compared with other bureaus' lists, the nature of the lands debate had changed. In his withdrawal order of March 15, 1972, Morton concluded that the highest priority among 17(d)(2) lands was the protection of large-scale ecological reserves. Based on that conclusion, the list of proposed National Park Service withdrawals—12 new areas and 2 additions to existing park units—focused almost entirely on areas with natural and recreational values.[28]

Three months later, when the National Park Service was asked to recommend to the Secretary potential additions to the National Park System, the bureau recommended nine new parks and extensions to two existing parks, all with the same natural-area focus. A report justifying the recommendations noted that several of the areas were utilized for subsistence hunting by local residents and that many included historical and archeological sites. The only proposed area in which cultural resources played a significant role in its justification was the Tanana Hills-Yukon River area—which is present-day Yukon-Charley Rivers National Preserve—where "the most noteworthy potentials and fea-

tures" of the area included history along with scenery, recreation, and natural history.[29]

By now, the main thrust of what the National Park Service hoped to achieve during the post-ANCSA period was clear. For the next two years, the National Park Service and other Interior Department bureaus continued to refine their land proposals, issuing environmental impact statements in December 1973 and December 1974. During this period, the National Park Service improved its approach toward cultural resources. Not only was the bureau trumpeting a park (along the Yukon and Charley rivers) with a subtle blending of cultural and natural resources, but it was also proposing a park based primarily on archeological values—Cape Krusenstern National Monument north of Kotzebue—that had not been considered in mid-1972. It had also broadened its basis for establishing the Chukchi-Imuruk area to include a strong cultural component, "the preservation of a representative portion of the Bering Land Bridge for archeological, anthropological, paleontological, and ecological study and for future related cooperative efforts with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."[30] The proposed park later became known as Bering Land Bridge National Preserve.

During the post-ANCSA period, the Department of the Interior also grappled with the thorny issue of subsistence. While ANCSA had left the issue unresolved, the National Park Service in environmental impact statements declared that all of the proposed parks and park additions would specifically sanction subsistence activities.[31] Similar recommendations were made for proposed additions to the national forests and for the newly-proposed national wildlife refuges. Most federal officials recognized that Natives and non-Natives in rural Alaska needed access to subsistence resources for both economic and cultural reasons, and that the bureaus' allowance for subsistence activities would favorably influence Congressional consideration of the proposed areas.

Although ANCSA had decreed that Congress needed to resolve the 17(d)(2) lands issue by the close of 1978, no significant legislation was advanced until January 1977 when Representative Morris Udall of Arizona introduced H.R. 39. Udall, who chaired the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, vowed that the passage of an Alaska lands bill was a top priority. Working with Udall was Representative John Seiberling of Ohio, who headed the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Alaska Lands.[32] H.R. 39 started as little more than a conservationists' wish list, but as the committee and subcommittee began to modify the bill in response to public input, they relied heavily on Department of the Interior environmental impact statements and related materials. Udall's revised bill, not surprisingly, reflected many recommendations that the Interior Department had made more than two years earlier.[33]

One of many issues that Udall, Seiberling, and other Congressional negotiators had to face was subsistence. Who if anyone would have the right to hunt, fish, and gather foods for personal or village consumption? While a broad consensus supported the concept of subsistence, Congress needed to tackle the more contentious issue of deciding which of the proposed conservation units would allow subsistence activities. That question was resolved in May 1978, when House negotiators decided that subsistence activities would be sanctioned in a large majority of the new conservation areas. Congress also needed to decide two other important questions: whether race or residence would be the primary factor in determining access to subsistence resources, and whether the state or Federal Government would administer subsistence activities. Addressing these questions would take considerable political acumen, inasmuch as existing fish and game regulations administered by the state favored urban, non-Native residents. Seiberling's subcommittee dealt with subsistence in late January 1978 and recommended that rural residents would have the highest priority access to subsistence resources without racial qualification. The subcommittee also decided that subsistence would be regulated by the state government under broad federal guidelines.[34]

When it passed ANCSA in 1971, Congress decreed that if the Alaska lands issue was not resolved within seven years, the reserved lands would be released to the public domain. The House of Representatives, taking the lead, passed its version of the lands bill in May 1978. The Senate, however, was slow to act. During the final days of the 95th Congress, senators from opposing sides struggled to resolve differences. At 5:30 on a Sunday morning in early October, a filibuster threat effectively killed all hope for a compromise and Congress adjourned without acting on the bill. President Carter, assisted by Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus, responded to the seven-year deadline by issuing presidential proclamations for 17 national monuments totaling 56 million acres (Presidential Proclamations 4611 through 4627). Thirteen of those monuments, totaling 41 million acres, would be managed by the National Park Service.[35] The president's actions angered many Alaska residents, and several protest events were held, both in the major towns and on the margins of the newly-designated park areas.

Recognizing its unfinished business, Congress went back to work in January 1979 to develop a mutually acceptable lands bill. The House passed its version that May, but the Senate showed little inclination to act until July 1980. Feverish activity continued until mid-August, when the Senate passed its own version. Significant differences between the House and Senate bills prompted new attempts to produce a final bill that bridged the gaps between the two versions. Little action, however, took place before the November 1980 elections. With President-elect Ronald Reagan an avowed opponent of both bills, House and Senate leaders accepted the Senate version and President Carter signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act on December 2, 1980.[36]

During the nine-year period between the passage of ANCSA and ANILCA, great efforts were made to expand what the National Park Service knew about cultural resources in both the established and proposed parks. At Katmai National Monument, for example, University of Oregon archeologist Don Dumond continued his long-term investigations, and highly regarded historic resource studies were completed for the Katmai and Klondike Gold Rush parks.[37] Most cultural resource work, however, took place because the National Park Service, in 1972, established a Cooperative Park Study Unit at the University of Alaska's Fairbanks campus. National Park Service veteran Zorro Bradley headed the part of that office that focused on archeology and historic preservation. Working with the university allowed the bureau to tap the energy and skills of budding professionals, and during the next decade the office produced more than 35 studies on the archeology, cultural anthropology, history, and subsistence patterns inside and outside the proposed parklands.[38]

Cultural Resource Management in Alaska: 1980 to the Present

President Carter's 1978 proclamations, and the passage of ANILCA 2 years later, swelled the National Park Service's land management responsibilities in Alaska from approximately 7.6 million to 54 million acres.[39] (Figures 5a and 5b) While the primary purpose of most of the new and expanded national park units was to preserve wilderness ecosystems and wildlife populations, there was a broad recognition that establishing and expanding these park units included the responsibility to learn about and protect cultural resources.

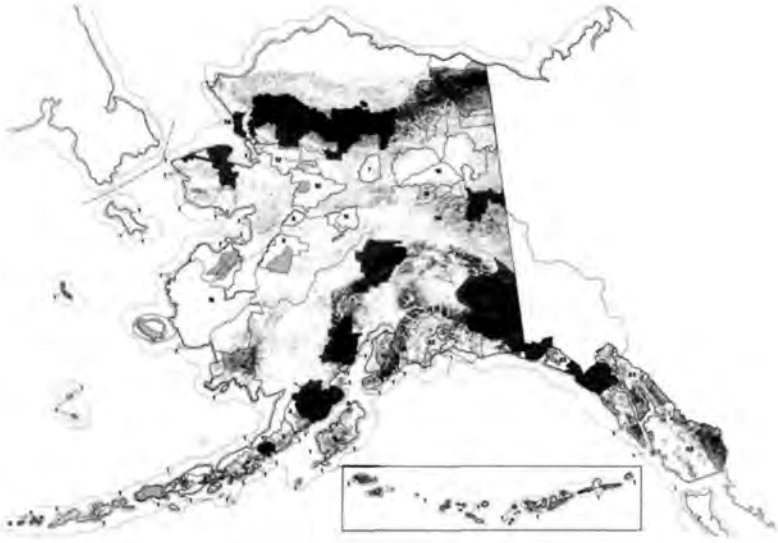
Fulfilling these responsibilities was a daunting challenge. Congress did not immediately respond with new funding commensurate with its new responsibilities; thus slow, incremental growth was the result. During the early to mid-1980s, most of the new parks operated with skeleton staffs, and as a consequence, cultural resource management was largely delegated to the National Park Service's regional office staff in Anchorage. Compounding the labor shortage problem was an unexpected workload increase. In 1981, the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, which had administered historic preservation programs during the Carter Administration, was abolished and its functions were merged into those of the National Park Service.[40]

Regional office staffing in Alaska grew slowly over the years, but it was not until 1984 that the Anchorage office could boast a full four-person complement of cultural resource specialists. The specialists recognized that the state's huge park acreage and minimal staffing demanded that cultural resources be treated in novel, more flexible ways than in the lower 48 states. One aspect of the flexible approach was minimal separation between internal programs geared toward the parks and external partnership programs related to the National Register of Historic Places, National Historic Landmarks, and federal historic preservation tax incentives. Another aspect was the unusually strong

FIGURE 5a: NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM, ALASKA–1971

In 1971, the National Park Service managed four national parks in Alaska, including Mount McKinley that was later incorporated into Denali National Park and Preserve. Sitka National Monument was the only national park in Alaska established with a cultural theme. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

FIGURE 5b: ALASKA NATIONAL INTEREST LANDS CONSERVATION ACT, 1980



The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) of December 1980 established most of Alaska's national parks. As important as acreage added, the Act forged new methods of park management. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

emphasis on cultural resources related to mining and the skills and staff needed to develop historic mining properties as parklands.

Subsistence issues were considered as well. Immediately after ANILCA's passage, the regional cultural resource staff was asked to assist in managing subsistence activities, but this function was later assigned to a separate subsistence office.(Figure 6) Since 1990, cultural resource management in Alaska parks has been anchored on a considerably firmer footing than during the immediate post-ANILCA period. Additional funding has helped overcome the most obvious program deficiencies. By 1997, almost all Alaska parks were staffed with at least one cultural resource professional, due in part to increased funding and in part to a trend that shifted personnel from the Anchorage office to parks.

FIGURE 6
Rural populations throughout Alaska depend on game, fish, and other subsistence resources for personal consumption to supplement store-bought foods. In this photograph, an Inupiat woman flenses a sheefish. (Photograph by Robert Belous; courtesy of the National Park Service)

Congressional action during the 1990s resulted in several new cultural resource initiatives. Beginning in the mid-1980s, cultural resource staff began working with federal and local officials on projects in the Unalaska-Dutch Harbor area and, in 1990, regional office staff continued that local involvement by compiling a preservation plan for the area. The plan prompted an increased community desire to preserve and interpret key World War II-era structures, and before long that interest resulted in a plan to provide broad federal protections for the area. Local residents approached Alaska's Congressional delegation on the subject, and the result of that collaboration was the passage of a November 1996 bill authorizing the Aleutian World War II National Historic Area.

In February 1999, Congress added a new affiliated area, the Inupiat Heritage Center in Barrow, which was thematically related to the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park in Massachusetts.[41] Three months later, the long-planned Alaska Native Heritage Center opened on the outskirts of Anchorage. As noted above, the National Park Service had studied the "native cultural centers" idea in 1968 and again in the early 1970s, but the idea did not take hold until the 1990s. Native groups were primarily responsible for the center's construction, although the National Park Service has provided financial assistance for both construction and day-to-day operations.[42]

The National Park Service in Alaska Today

Following the model established in the 1980s, cultural resource staff in parks and the regional office remain committed to flexibility and problem solving. Throughout the state, cultural resource personnel have played important roles in resolving problems related to past management practices. At Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, as noted above, a policy prohibiting area Natives from carrying out subsistence harvests in the bay had long been a point of contention. The park's cultural resource specialist worked with the Hoonah Tlingits and found innovative ways to bring local residents into the park and to

create cooperation and understanding. A spirit of cooperation is also evident at Sitka National Historical Park where, since the 1960s, the park visitor center has been co-located with a Tlingit cultural center. In recent years, that interaction has grown; the Sitka Tlingits, for example, have erected a totem pole and performed potlatch ceremonies in the park.[43]

Another important function of Alaska's cultural resource staff is the "Section 1318" program. This key section of ANILCA directs the National Park Service to "provide advice, assistance, and technical expertise" to Native corporations or Native groups "in the preservation, display, and interpretation of cultural resources, without regard as to whether title to such resources is in the United States."[44] Since 1990, the bureau has provided assistance and training in preservation planning, museum management, historic architecture, archeology, ethnography, and interpretation.[45]

Similar to the Section 1318 program but with an emphasis on education and training, the bureau participates in the University of Alaska's Rural Development Program. In recognition of the growing value of partnerships and civic engagement, National Park Service personnel have sponsored a cultural resource seminar for rural Alaskan college students in each of the past several years. The seminars have taken students to academic conferences, park areas, and similar venues. They have fostered learning opportunities and increased staff awareness about rural Alaskan development and land use issues.[46]

ANILCA reflects a more modern, enlightened attitude toward both Native Americans and other local populations than bills that established many of the earlier national parks. In so doing, ANILCA has transformed the bureau's mission in Alaska. Bureau staff strives to partner with local residents at every opportunity while managing Alaska's parks in ways consistent with bureau regulations and policies.

Alaska regional personnel have worked hard to improve relations between the bureau and Native American groups. ANILCA's subsistence provisions have given Native and non-Native local residents the legal right to use most National Park Service lands in Alaska for subsistence purposes. Since 1980, repeated interaction between Natives and bureau officials has resulted in a broad understanding that the aims of the two groups can be mutually inclusive.

Today, 25 years after ANILCA's passage and 95 years after the establishment of Alaska's first national park, the cultural resources of Alaska's parks are being professionally and actively managed. The new paradigms established by ANILCA and the innovative programs that the National Park Service has developed in response to those paradigms, offer practical, proven models of modern cultural resource management.

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Notes

1. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Index 2001-2003* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2001), 13. The largest Alaska national parks are Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, 13.2 million acres; Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, 8.5 million acres; Noatak National Preserve, 6.6 million acres; Denali National Park and Preserve, 6.1 million acres; and Katmai National Park and Preserve, 4.1 million acres. Death Valley National Park, the largest park in the lower 48 states encompasses 3.4 million acres, and ranks sixth among all U.S. national parks.

2. Congress established Mount McKinley National Park in Februarry 26, 1917; President Wilson proclaimed Katmai National Monument in September 24, 1918; and President Coolidge proclaimed Glacier Bay National Monument in February 26, 1925. In 1917, the area of each national monument was approximately 2.8 million acres: Glacier Bay slightly more, Katmai slightly less.

3. Joan M. Antonson and William S. Hanable, *Administrative History of Sitka National Historical Park* (Anchorage: National Park Service, 1987), 10-16; Frank Norris, "A Victim of Nature and Bureaucracy: The Short, Sad History of Old Kasaan National Monument," *Proceedings of the Alaska Historical Society Annual Meeting* (2000), 87, 89. The management of Old Kasaan between 1916 and 1933 was delegated to either the U.S. Forest Service or the Alaska Road Commission; after 1933, the monument was entrusted to the National Park Service. None of the agencies, however, ever stationed personnel at the site or otherwise actively managed the area.

4. Frank Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time:" The National Park Service and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980* (Denver, CO: National Park Service, September 1985), 26; Frank Norris, *Legacy of the Gold Rush: An Administrative History of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, 1996), 52-53.

5. Kristen Griffin, *An Overview and Assessment of Archeological Resources, Denali National Park and Preserve, Alaska* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, September 1990), 22, 62-63.

6.Frank Norris to Pat McClenahan, "Compilation of Data on Katmai's Indian Caves," March 8, 1993, in Katmai Administrative History Collection, Alaska Region Curatorial Center. The National Park Service had no staff at either Katmai or Glacier Bay until 1950 when it began sending seasonal rangers to the two parks.

7. William E. Brown, *A History of the Denali-Mount McKinley Region, Alaska* (Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, 1991), 147; Frank Norris, *Alaska Subsistence; a National Park Service Management History* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, September 2002), 33-40; Frank Norris, *Isolated Paradise; An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, 1996), 52-53, 57-60.

8. Theodore Catton, *Land Reborn: A History of Administration and Visitor Use in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, 1995), 102-103, 115-116, 128-132, 192-193, 210-219.

9. Andrew Patrick, *The Most Striking of Objects; the Totem Poles of Sitka National Historical Park* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, 2002), 93-121; Lawrence Rakestraw, *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Commission), 98-106, 149.

10. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 31; Arthur Woodward, *A Preliminary Survey of Alaska's Archeology, Ethnology, and History* (San Francisco, CA: National Park Service, 1952).

11. Charles Snell, "The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XXI, Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1910, Special Study, Alaska History, 1741-1910" (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1961), 1-8.

12. National Park Service, "The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XVI, Indigenous Peoples and Cultures, Special Study, Alaska Aboriginal Culture" (Washington, DC, 1962), i-iii.

13. *National Register of Historic Places, 1966 to 1994* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1994), 17-21.

14. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 35-41.

15. Ibid., 42-45.

16. Norris, *Legacy of the Gold Rush*, 84-158.

17. Norris, *Alaska Subsistence*, 41, 59-60, 83-84.

18. Ibid., 10-11.

19. Walter R. Borneman, *Alaska, Saga of a Bold Land* (New York, HarperCollins, 2003), 444-445, 462-470.

20. Norris, *Alaska Subsistence*, 46-47.

21. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 89.Most of the funds were entrusted to Native corporations formed at both the regional and village levels. Alaska's Natives largely avoided the reservation system that characterized governmental relations with most lower 48 Native groups.

22. Ibid., 90, 265-269.

23. Ibid., 72, 92.

24. Ibid., 51-53, 76-79.

25. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Index 2001-2003*, 19.

26. Norris, *Alaska Subsistence*, 48-50.

27. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 1, 97-99.

28. Ibid., 104-107.

29. Ibid., 114-16; National Park Service, "Recommendations Regarding Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act 17(d)(2) Withdrawals," July 1972, passim.

30. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 135, 143, 160; Alaska Planning Group, *Proposed Chukchi Imuruk National Reserve, Alaska, Final Environmental Statement* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1974), 5, 247-248. These changes reflected the influence of Robert Belous, a National Park Service employee who had considerable experience in northwestern Alaska.

31. Norris, *Alaska Subsistence*, 55, 61.

32. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 172.

33. Ibid., 142-151, 190-196.

34. Norris, *Alaska Subsistence*, 71-73; 162-164, 242-254. As it turned out, Federal Government oversight loomed large in later years. Because of a series of court decisions and the state government's inability to meet guidelines issued subsequent to ANILCA, subsistence activities on many of Alaska's federal lands are now managed by federal agencies.

35. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 203-224.

36. Norris, *Isolated Paradise*, 335-343; Norris, *Legacy of the Gold Rush*, 103.

37. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 263-269.

38. National Park Service, *Index of the National Park System and Affiliated Areas as of January 1, 1975*, 23, 28, 30; Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 239-240.

39. Williss, *"Do Things Right the First Time,"* 284-286; *National Park Service, Alaska Regional Office, Division of Cultural Resources, 1981-1986* (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, 1987), 70-71.

40. *National Park Service, Alaska Regional Office*, 7, 24, 39.

41. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Index 2001-2003*, 98-99.

42. Norris, *Alaska Subsistence*, 41-42, 58-60, 83-84; "Annual Budget for NPS Alaska Park and Program Areas, 1919-Present" (chart), 2004, author's files.

43. Antonson and Hanable, *Administrative History of Sitka*, 101-02, 143-144.

44. Public Law 96-487 (December 2, 1980), Sec. 1318.

45. Ted Birkedal, "Cultural Resource Management in Alaska Region of the National Park Service," *International Scientific and Practical Conference, Beringia Days, 2003* (Moscow: Sovetsky Sport, 2004), 249.

46. Ted Birkedal to author, email correspondence, December 16, 2004.

Heritage Management and Tourism in the Obudu Cattle Ranch and Sukur Kingdom, Nigeria

by Pat Uche Okpoko and Emeka Okonkwo

Heritage management has long been a part of the traditions and practices of cultural groups in Nigeria. Some communities have conserved forests within their settlements for hunting; others have established sacred groves for the worship of traditional deities. Plant and animal species valued for medicine, shade, or food are preserved through taboos. Similarly, effective and elaborate traditional systems exist for the rational exploitation of fish and other natural resources.[1]

With the inception of British colonial administration in 1900, traditional practices were supplemented by government conservation policies to create forest reserves to protect land, forests, and water while exploiting the economic benefits of the forest resources. The most comprehensive and far-reaching of the policies was the Forestry Ordinance of 1916 that created a unified Federal Department of Forestry. The ordinance introduced the system of "dual control" in which forest reserves were established by the central government and subsequently handed over to local authorities for management. In 1919, colonial Governor General Lord Lugard adopted a policy of reserving 25 percent of the country's land area for forest reserves.[2]

Other environmental conservation policies included the Wild Animals Preservation Law of Western Nigeria of 1916, the Wild Animals Preservation Act of 1939, the Northern Nigeria Wild Animals Law of 1963, the Eastern Nigerian Wild Animals Law of 1965, and Decree 46 of 1979 that authorized the establishment of national parks in Nigeria. The 1979 decree coincided with the inception of democratic governance in Nigeria.

Nigeria falls within the tropical rain forest zone in the West African subregion. Nigerian society is heterogeneous with an estimated 250 ethnolinguistic groups and a population of approximately 120 million people. Of these groups, the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba, and the Igbo are predominant. The Hausa-Fulani inhabit a major part of the north while the Yoruba and the Igbo occupy parts of the southwest and southeast respectively. Other smaller but prominent ethnic groups include the Tiv in the middle belt, the Edo in the midwest, the Efik and the Ibibio in the southeast, and the Ijo who inhabit the delta fringes of the midwest and southeast.[3]

In 1914, British colonial administrators merged these diverse groups to form a single Nigerian nation. With its independence in 1960, Nigeria inherited a British parliamentary system of government. At that time the country was delimited into three main administrative regions, the north, the west, and the east. Following claims of marginalization, the Edo and other minority groups in the west were carved out in 1963 to form the midwestern region. The 4 regions were subsequently divided into 12 states in 1967 and 19 in 1976. By 1979, Nigeria adopted the presidential system of government akin to the American model. There were further state-creation phases in 1987, 1991, and 1995, when the country was further subdivided into 21, 30, and 36 states respectively.[4]

This article discusses two sites: Obudu Cattle Ranch in Cross River State and Sukur Kingdom in Adamwa State. Obudu Cattle Ranch is an important eco-tourism site. Located on the top of the Mambila Hills, it was first explored in 1949 by Scottish expatriate ranchers and originally conceived as a ranch for raising special breeds of cattle. Over the years, the ranch suffered neglect and abandonment. Under the current government, the ranch has been rehabilitated as a tourist destination managed by Protea Hotel, a South African consortium.

Sukur Kingdom is a small polity in the Mandara highlands. The name "Sukur" or "Sugur" refers to the ancient Sukur Kingdom that flourished between the early 16th and late 18th centuries. In 1999, the remains of the Sukur Kingdom were designated a World Heritage site.[5]

This article examines modern conservation methods employed at Obudu Cattle Ranch and traditional methods used at Sukur Kingdom. A goal in Nigerian conservation is to integrate traditional and modern methods to ensure sustainable conservation and tourism development. No explicit national policy or legislative instruments currently support this objective.

Heritage Management, Conservation Areas, and Tourism

A tripartite relationship exists among heritage management, conservation, and tourism. Good heritage management ensures that tourism and conservation complement each other; in turn, conservation and tourism are complementary factors in the management of heritage sites.[6] Attempts to address heritage management in Africa must seek to satisfy this trinity and encourage the sensitive blending of modern and traditional practices. Emerging trends in sustainable heritage management in Africa demand the integration of local concerns with modern heritage management.

In this article, heritage management refers to public or private initiatives to protect and maintain natural areas and cultural resources, including the protection and preservation of habitats, species, artifacts, monuments, and sites of historical importance. Heritage management is sometimes used interchange-

ably with cultural resources management, but the latter is limited to man-made artifacts, sites, and the built environment.

Heritage sites "make important contributions in sustaining human society especially through conserving the world's natural and cultural heritage."[7] Apart from maintaining representative samples of ecosystems and preserving biological diversity, protected areas often are centers of environmental stability for their regions. Heritage sites "can provide opportunity for rural development and rational use of marginal lands, for research and monitoring, for conservation, education and for recreation and tourism."[8] Indeed, heritage sites play an important role in promoting tourism in many developing countries. In Kenya, Rwanda, South Africa, India, Costa Rica, Indonesia, and Ecuador, heritage sites are important international tourist attractions.[9]

Apart from maintaining representative samples of ecosystems and preserving biological diversity, protected areas often are centers of environmental stability for their regions.

The unique and most appealing aspects of Nigeria's cultural heritage continue to provide the public with beautiful and historically significant places that are linked to national identity and the pride of the country and its people.[10] Some advocates for the creation of national parks in Nigeria view them as a means of ensuring the continued survival of heritage sites and as a component in advancing the country's intellectual and material development.[11]

A sound management plan that incorporates input from the community and concessionaires is invaluable in reaping the benefits of tourism. Community input "encourages an awareness of, and pride in, the natural and cultural heritage of the community and at the same time enables the community to be proactive in promoting what it sees as unique in terms of developing an appropriate tourist strategy for the area."[12] A suitable combination of modern and traditional practices is needed in heritage site management: "the successful management of...a heritage site involves sensitivity to the requirements of both the heritage resources and the community of which they are a part as well as the demands of either short-stay or long-stay visitors."[13]

A combination of strategies is vital for successful heritage management in Nigeria and allows developers to "assess all the knowledge available from every source" and "pick what is best suited to the case at hand."[14] Modern methods are not the only avenue towards sustainable heritage management, particularly in developing nations.

Obudu Cattle Ranch and Sukur Kingdom are good places to study the traditional and modern management methods and develop recommendations on

how to integrate the best of each method. Lessons learned can be applied, with modifications, to other historic sites to ensure their sustainability and enhance their potential for tourism.

Tourist Attractions

While Obudu Cattle Ranch is mainly a natural area and Sukur Kingdom is mainly a cultural site, a mixture of attractions can be found at both sites. Obudu Cattle Ranch is inhabited by a variety of animal and plant species. The site's hosts, the Bechile people, offer cultural events to visitors, such as the *Elumu* festival. Celebrated annually in honor of the *Elumu* deity, *Elumu* is a festival of peace with gifts, dance, and masquerades. On the other hand, the Sukur Kingdom provides cultural features such as the Hidi's Palace, stone walls, gates, paved ways, agricultural terraces, unique vernacular architecture, shrines, tombs, and smelting furnaces. In addition, Sukur Kingdom incorporates sacred natural areas within which the *Mudumum*, *Famaihi*, and *Duvdoi* shrines are located.

At Obudu Cattle Ranch, tourist attractions include the Grotto, Gorilla Viewpoint, Becheve Nature Reserve, Cameroon Viewpoint, and waterfalls. The Grotto is a pleasantly shaded natural swimming pool within a small waterfall. The Gorilla Viewpoint is a place to observe a variety of gorillas in their natural habitat. Becheve Nature Reserve contains a montane forest, scrub land, and regenerating forest, grassland, and formerly cleared farmland. The forest is reserved for watching the extraordinary number of birds that inhabit the forest. Over 2,000 species have been recorded at the reserve, and the Obudu plateau's birds are the greatest attraction to visitors with an interest in natural history. From Cameroon Viewpoint, visitors can view the countryside of Cameroon. Other Obudu ranch sites of note include the honey factory, the veterinary section, the primary and secondary schools, the ranch market, and the ceramics production center.

The main feature of the Sukur cultural landscape is the Hidi's Palace on a hill approximately 3,500 meters above sea level and dominating the villages below, the terraced fields and their sacred symbols, and the extensive remains of a former flourishing iron industry. The cultural landscape is exceptional as "a form of land use that marks a critical stage in human settlement and its relationship with its environment" and an "eloquent testimony to a strong and continuing spiritual and cultural tradition that has endured for many centuries."[15]

Hidi is a traditional title given to persons who ascend the Sukur throne. The Hidi has immense powers and controls the political, social, and religious affairs of Sukur society. Once enthroned, the Hidi is expected to relocate to and reside in the palace, a residential as well as a political and cultural com-

plex. The Hidi is considered a priest-king whose religious authority is recognized by ethnic groups in the region and far beyond.[16] An ingenious arrangement of stone seats for the chiefs of various ethnic groups signifies the political authority that the palace once wielded.

Paved ways from the north and east and within the palace complex are made of carefully selected stones, methodically arranged to facilitate climbing and minimize erosion. Considered a construction marvel, the paved ways exhibit the ingenuity of ancient surveyors and laborers who, without modern instruments or tools, tamed the steep terrain and provided access routes in a mountainous region.[17]

Festivals are vital components of Sukur cultural heritage. The most prominent of the festivals are *Zoku* and *Mbur sakun*. The *Zoku* festival is celebrated at the end of each September to drive away evil spirits from the community and to appease the gods. The *Mbur sakun* festival is celebrated every two years to mark the initiation of young boys into adulthood.

Shrines, tombs, and altars are important features in Sukur Kingdom. Shrines are located in dense forests and other awe-inspiring places characterized by solemnity, quiet, and fear, which suggest the presence of something out of the ordinary.

Shrines, tombs, and altars are important features in Sukur Kingdom. Shrines are located in dense forests and other awe-inspiring places characterized by solemnity, quiet, and fear, which suggest the presence of something out of the ordinary. The shrines' deities are said to have the power to inflict serious hardship on anybody in Sukur Kingdom who does evil. According to the chief priest of Sukur deities, "for one to know the remedies, it requires consultation with an oracle to find out the causes of the punishment and how to appease the deities responsible for them." There are cases "where communities or persons who suffered some kind of calamities had their misfortunes suddenly arrested after consulting oracles and complying with the wishes of the deity or deities responsible for the misfortune."[18]

Two types of burial grounds are found in Sukur Kingdom: *Dazha*, the royal graveyards, and the common burial ground for the villagers. *Dazha* areas are regarded as sacred and can only be entered by chief priests. Tombs are marked by a pyramid.

Altars in Sukur Kingdom are used for sacrificial purposes. Before the planting season in April and May, sacrifices are offered on Mungwalai Mountain to appease the gods and pray for a good harvest. During harvest in October and November, sacrifices are offered on Muzi Mountain by the chief priest to

thank the gods while blessing the fruits of the harvest. The highest sacrificial spot in Sukur in terms of elevation is Muva Mountain, which serves as the sacrificial spot for the Hidi and the entire village. Other sacrificial altars are Mulirih Mountain, Liags-Mbathavai Mountain, and Tangwurah Mountain. Sacrificial animals commonly used among the Sukur are chickens, rams, and sometimes bulls, depending on the financial capability of the person offering the sacrifice.

Iron-smelting sites constitute one of the most attractive tourist destinations in Sukur Kingdom. Smelting is almost moribund in many societies in Nigeria but not in Sukur Kingdom, where tourists interested in traditional smelting have an opportunity to witness smelting processes and techniques first hand. Smelting furnaces are located on agricultural terraces or at the margins of residual forests to ensure easy access to fuel. At Sukur, the fuel supply could have been a more critical factor in the smelting process than the source of ore. Smelting consumes substantial amounts of wood and undue exploitation of timber can lead to wind and rain erosion that can negatively affect plants, domestic livestock production, and wild animal habitats.

Blacksmithing and pottery making are also important, and related, activities in Sukur Kingdom. Metal products and pottery are for local use and sale to neighboring communities. Smiths use bloom produced by local smelters and metal purchased from nearby markets to forge machetes, sickles, scythes, ploughshares, and other agricultural, war, religious, and cultural implements.

Despite the availability of other types of wares, such as enamel, plastic, and glasswares, demand for traditional pottery is high because pottery is affordable and better adapted to local uses. People prefer traditional foods or drinks, such as *riwad* (millet), *thiebur* (maize), *ghan* (beans), and *indanburu* (bambara nut) cooked in ceramics.

Conservation Practices in the Study Areas

Conservation practice at Obudu Cattle Ranch comprises three components: the Forest Management Committee, ranch and tourist guides, and boundary demarcations. The Forest Management Committee tries to improve the quality of life through the enhanced and sustainable management of forest resources. The committee erects gates, seizes illegally cut wood and wood-cutting machines, checks illegal activities in forest reserves and community forests, and develops regulations to guide operations.

The committee is the main conservator of Obudu Cattle Ranch and has developed reserve regulations for the Becheve Nature Reserve. Visitors must enter with an official of the reserve, stay on established trails, minimize noise to avoid scaring away wildlife, and conform with other sound conservation prac-

tices.[19] The committee, in collaboration with village councils, negotiates and monitors concession agreements at Obudu Cattle Ranch. It also undertakes community forest boundary cleaning, clearing, and demarcation with Forestry Commission Technical Assistance, and makes arrests for poaching and other illegal activities. The committee monitors illegal farming and nontimber forest-product extraction activities and enforces measures to curtail these infractions. Over time, increased awareness of conservation laws and value of protected forest has lessened illegal activities.

Ranch and tourist guides receive training in tactics and strategies to protect the area. Trained guides remind tourists of the reserve's regulations and ensure that tourists adhere to the regulations. Guides are alert to poaching and other illegal activities and ensure that farm and nontimber forest products are not extracted.

Law enforcement and survival training help guides to deal with those who hunt wild animals or fell trees in reserved areas. According to Edem A. Eniang, "the hunters are still operating within these areas and they are killing our wildlife."[20] He further notes that there is a traditional attachment among the general populace to meat from wild sources known as bush-meat. Ranch and tourist guides have curbed unwholesome activities by local hunters and villagers, resulting in a relative scarcity of bush-meat even in known bush-meat markets.

In Becheve Nature Reserve and the ranch at large, boundaries are clearly marked with barbed wire and warning signs. In less restricted areas outside the ranch, tree lines mark boundaries. Boundary demarcations prevent community members from claiming ignorance of the presence of a conservation area as an excuse for poaching and farming.

In contrast with Obudu Cattle Ranch, conservation in Sukur Kingdom is approached in a more traditional manner where local culture has greatly influenced conservation methods. The Sukur Kingdom conservation strategy rests mainly on community solidarity, customary practices handed down from generation to generation, and taboos.

Age-grades and groups constitute an enduring management system in traditional Nigerian societies, whether in the centralized political systems of Benin and Yorubaland or the relatively segmentary noncentralized systems of the Igbo and the Tiv.[21] People in this part of the world, particularly men, are often grouped together into age ranges. Those who fall into a particular age range constitute an "age-grade." Each age-grade has special or designated roles. Among the Sukur, people are grouped into four age-grades: palace officials including the Hidi and his chiefs; elders, those 60 years old and above; the middle-age group between 35 and 60 years old that constitutes the workforce

and traditionally supplied warriors; and the youth, from about 25 to 34 years, who assist older age-grades in clearing brush and building communal houses and shrines. Registered members of age-grades form the Sukur Development Association, which is responsible broadly for community development projects, social and cultural activities, and promoting community responsibility. Association members are responsible for erecting stone paved ways, planting trees, providing site security, and repairing shrines and palaces in Sukur Kingdom.[22]

Additionally, many areas are conserved through sacred sanctions, taboos, and cultural laws. For example, farming or cutting down trees in a certain forest will attract the wrath of the deity and the invasion of the kingdom by a leopard. Deities oversee other areas that are meant only for grazing cows. Other uses of the land are believed to attract locusts and the destruction of farm crops.

Integrating Modern and Traditional Practices

African scholars increasingly recognize the need in Africa to integrate modern and traditional practices in resource conservation. Some researchers have voiced the need for integrating relevant aspects of indigenous and foreign techniques in solving Africa's social, cultural, and economic challenges. "Since a large percentage of Africans live in the rural areas, indigenous knowledge is very useful in the preservation of their cultural heritage because apart from the fact that most of the historical/archaeological sites, features and monuments are located in those areas, the rural folks are very likely to comply with the preservation ideals which are culturally suitable to them."[23]

Having assessed the conservation methods employed at the two sites and their advantages and disadvantages, our goal is to integrate the methods and harness their potential for sustainable conservation and tourism development.

With Sukur Kingdom's worldwide exposure and the expected influx of tourists, traditional practices alone may not provide adequate protection from the negative effects of development, such as deforestation, depletion of wildlife, dilution of culture, and disruption of social life. Such threats make the integration of modern and traditional practices even more important.

We believe that a committee approach should be integrated into Sukur conservation practices. Security groups could be established to work hand-in-hand with the age-grade association to make arrests, erect gates, and seize recovered wood and machines used in the illegal harvesting of trees.

The committee would cooperate with the Hidi and his ministers to develop regulations to guide its operational activities in line with forest law and regula-

tions while being cognizant of local laws, taboos, and sanctions. In addition, the committee should accommodate at least one-half of the local population as members, two-thirds of whom shall constitute the executive committee. This will motivate the community and give it a sense of responsibility and ownership.

The age-grades and volunteer groups should undergo training in law enforcement techniques, tactics, and survival strategies like the ranch and tourist guides at Obudu Cattle Ranch. With this training, the volunteer groups will be better able to educate visitors on the area's regulations and control the activities of tourists and researchers.

The role of age-grades and lineage groups in heritage management is not new in this part of the world. An example is seen in Okoroji's center for slaves in Southeastern Nigeria. "The maintenance of the building and its contents as a mini museum has rested on the lineage group of Okoroji who died in the late 19th century." The possibility of synchronizing guide systems and age-grade and lineage-based systems in the management of heritage sites offers challenging prospects in sustainable heritage management and the development of cultural assets and tourism.[24]

Integrating modern and traditional methods promises enormous advantages of sustainable conservation practices and methods. The National Commission for Museums and Monuments, the body responsible for museums and monuments in Nigeria, has had to fall back on community support and partnerships in the management of heritage assets at Sukur Kingdom. An intermediary organization of Sukur elites, the Sukur Movement Support Group, acts as a liaison between the national commission and the Sukur Development Association.[25]

An integrated heritage approach may be difficult, not only on Obudu Cattle Ranch, but throughout Nigeria and Africa at large, because of institutional weaknesses, inadequate resources, and the isolation of many sites, compounded by a general lack of awareness of the value of heritage conservation. The dynamism of local initiatives and community solidarity is an important asset that should be incorporated, enlarged, and enhanced in Obudu Cattle Ranch to preserve and protect a valued heritage.[26]

Conclusion

The two sites discussed in this article are invaluable to tourism development in Nigeria. Sukur Kingdom exemplifies the role of community participation in heritage management. Its World Heritage listing is based on the customs and traditions of its people, and the contribution of the Sukur Development Association and other support groups highlights the importance of communi-

ty involvement in heritage management. The involvement of the state and local governments and national and international conservation organizations in conserving heritage will definitely place Sukur Kingdom in a proper and viable position in the heritage tourism industry of Nigeria.[27] On the other hand, the Obudu Cattle Ranch is already a popular vacation destination for adventurous tourists wishing to explore the natural environment and remote corners of Nigeria. The site is attractive for its clement weather and its easy accessibility by land or air. The ranch's natural and manmade facilities make a tourist's stay worthwhile.

The integration of traditional and modern methods of conservation promises to generate sustainable heritage management practices in Nigeria. While government agencies and private organizations are encouraged to explore and exploit the benefits of this approach, all should understand that sustainable tourism practice at heritage sites requires a significant commitment. Individuals, businesses, and organizations must be aware that the benefits are long-term, and should not expect to reap them as soon as integrated methods are implemented. In practice, only a small portion of benefits will arise quickly. Most will depend upon many years of continued effort.

Understanding the value of culture and nature as embodied in traditional customs and beliefs is a good step towards integrating traditional and modern initiatives. Harnessing the value inherent in this approach requires policy, legislation, long-term planning, training, and capacity-building programs that emphasize the influence of cultural factors and sustainability in Africa and how cultural factors can be integrated into modern initiatives.

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19. Protea Hotel, "Obudu Cattle Ranch," pamphlet.

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Civilian Conservation Corps Activities in the National Capital Region of the National Park Service

by Lisa Pfueller Davidson and James A. Jacobs

A recent study of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) activities in the National Park Service's National Capital Region explored the CCC's important role in employing out-of-work youth to expand the Washington, DC, region's recreation infrastructure during the 1930s. Working under an agreement with the National Capital Region, Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) staff historians completed archival research and fieldwork to produce an overview historical narrative and inventory of CCC projects in the region.[1] In addition to the National Mall and other parks in the capital's monumental core, the region administers an array of historic and natural sites throughout the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Between 1933 and 1942, 12 CCC camps in the Washington metropolitan area completed an impressive array of projects for the National Park Service. Enrollees built park roads, picnic areas, athletic fields, cabin camps, comfort stations, reconstructions of Civil War forts and canal locks, and a bird sanctuary, in addition to clearing brush and debris, planting and pruning trees, and providing erosion control. While rustic architecture built by the CCC in wilderness areas is better known, the National Capital Region efforts are indicative of the broad and diverse scope of the program in metropolitan areas.[2]

National Park Service Use of CCC Camps

The War Department, in cooperation with a "technical agency" supervising the projects, administered and equipped CCC camps. The National Park Service was one of the most active supervising agencies, quickly capitalizing on the infusion of personnel and funds offered by the CCC and other New Deal relief programs to accomplish deferred improvements in many parks. The National Park Service was also instrumental in the Recreational Demonstration Area program, which reclaimed barren farmland near metropolitan areas as organized camps and recreation areas for city-dwellers. Two former demonstration areas are now part of the National Capital Region—Chopawamsic, Virginia (now Prince William Forest Park), and Catoctin, Maryland (now Catoctin Mountain Park).

The availability of emergency funding and relief labor also coincided with a major expansion of the National Park System. Executive Order 6166, issued

June 10, 1933, transferred national military parks, battlefield sites, and national monuments formerly administered by the War Department and the Department of Agriculture to the National Park Service. For the Washington region, this transfer included the national capital parks and 60 other memorials, monuments, and structures around the city. This expansion represented a major opportunity to enhance existing facilities and develop new recreation areas—which fit well with the CCC's purposes.

The National Park Service established its first Washington-area CCC camps in October 1933, Camp No. NP-6-VA at Fort Hunt, Virginia, and Camp NP-7-DC in Fort Dupont Park, Washington, DC. Before the CCC program was terminated in June 1942, the National Park Service supervised camps at the National Arboretum (with the U.S. Department of Agriculture), in Arlington near the Memorial Bridge, Rock Creek Park, Chopawamsic and Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Areas, Fort Washington, and along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Cabin John, Maryland. Each camp housed a company of 150 to 200 enrollees, unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 22.

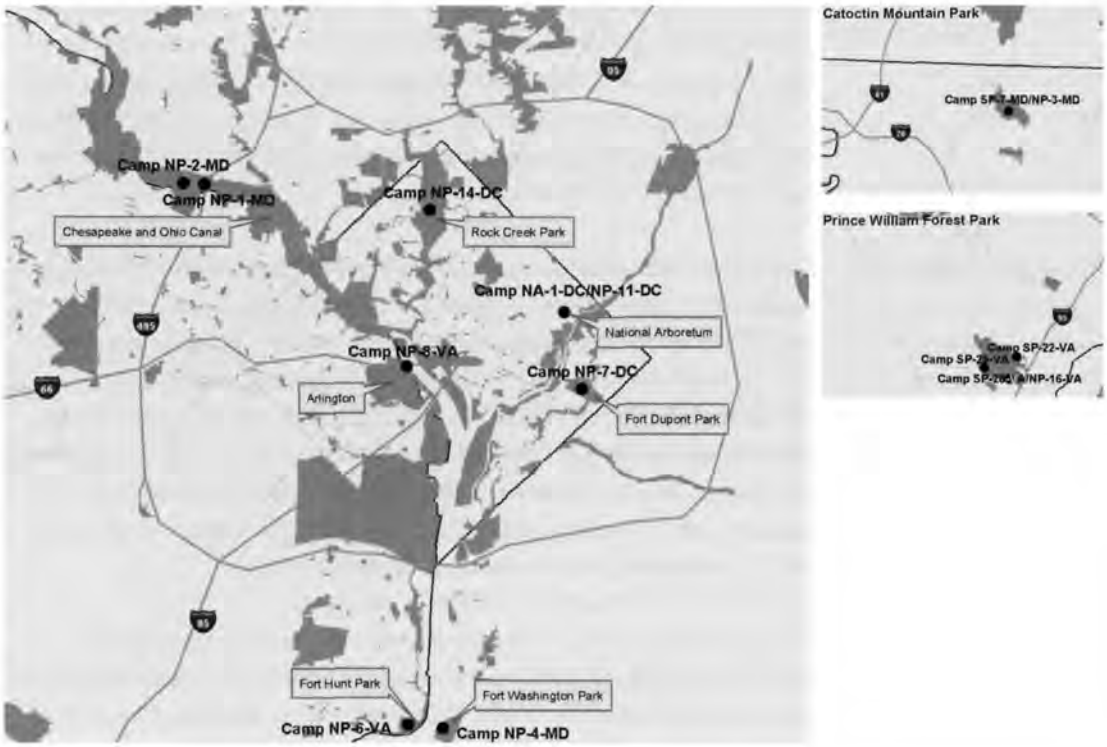
The majority of enrollees in Washington-area camps came from the mid-Atlantic or upper Southern states. As at most camps in the nation, segregation was practiced in Washington with three of the camps designated for African American enrollees—one at the National Arboretum and two at the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.

Historical Overview and Inventory

The historical overview included both the CCC camps and the projects completed by the enrollees. The typical CCC camp was a modest assemblage of wood structures. After 1936, CCC buildings were constructed using military specifications for lightweight, portable structures. Very few remnants of the temporary CCC camps survive, most notably the former education building at one of the Chopawamsic camps, now Prince William Forest Park. Documents and photographs created as part of inspection or progress reports and maintained in the National Archives provide detailed information about many aspects of CCC camp activities.[3]

The inventory uncovered projects that were often ephemeral, particularly when compared to the products of other New Deal programs. Frequently, even where resources such as parking lots, access roads, picnic areas, tennis courts, and ball fields are still evident or in use, day-to-day maintenance, upgrades, natural degradation of materials, repair, and replanting have rendered little of the CCC-era fabric extant and visible. The fieldwork was guided by two key documents, "Inventory of Work Accomplished by CCC Camps Under the Jurisdiction of National Capital Parks, October 19, 1933—January 1, 1942," generated from period work-completion records submitted by each

FIGURE 1: HABS INVENTORY OF CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS RESOURCES IN THE CAPITAL REGION OF THE NPS



This Geographic Information System map of CCC camp locations in the National Capital Region of the National Park Service reflects the widespread imprint of the New Deal-era work camps. (Map by Deidre McCarthy, Courtesy of the Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems Facility, National Park Service.)

camp, and the "Report of Civilian Conservation Corps Operations in the National Capital Parks, October 15, 1933—June 30, 1942," which was based on but also moved beyond the scope of the earlier report.[4]

Information in the reports was organized for the inventory using an electronic database created in FileMaker Pro software. Data describing the location of each item inventoried was tied to geographic information systems (GIS), allowing the spatial distribution of CCC resources to be examined. The field survey team consisted of three historians, one with a strong knowledge of both geographic information and global positioning systems. The team identified existing CCC resources from period documentation, and then collected information on their locations using a global positioning system (GPS). A satellite-based navigation system, GPS provides one way to collect accurate geographic coordinates for geographic information system map layers. Achieving submeter detail, GPS works by triangulating the position of a receiver on the earth using satellite signals. Once located, information about each CCC resource was attached to the GIS feature for use in analyzing the inventory results.(Figure 1)

In addition to the digital inventory, a methodological essay described selection factors that influenced the content of the survey. Individual projects occurring at sites not originally or no longer part of the National Capital Region were

FIGURE 2
This ca. 1935 view shows a nearly completed parking area at Roaches Run Bird Sanctuary in Arlington, Virginia. (Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration)

eliminated. Some CCC projects, such as seeding and sodding grounds or laying drainage pipes, were beyond the inventory's scope because they were ephemeral in nature or now accessible only through subsurface investigation. Proceeding from the selected list of sites and projects, the inventory identified those that are still visible.

Examples of CCC Projects in the National Capital Region

In 1934-1935, Camp NP-6-VA in Fort Hunt developed Roaches Run Bird Sanctuary along the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway (later the George Washington Memorial Parkway) in Arlington, Virginia.(Figure 2) In addition to intensively grading and landscaping around a lagoon near the tidal Potomac River, the CCC constructed a bituminous concrete parking area with log guard rails, connected to the parkway by an approach and an exit spur; a bituminous concrete sidewalk on the lagoon side of the parking area linked to two miles of foot trails; a gamekeeper's residence and feed storage house; and a tide gate controlling water flow between the lagoon and the Potomac River. Although now completely refurbished with contemporary materials, the overall form of the existing entrance and exit spurs and the parking area accurately represent what the CCC constructed at the site to accommodate automobiles. The stone superstructure of the tide gate also survives, but no other aspects of the site, including the footpaths, residence, or storage house, survive.

Camp NP-11-DC at the National Arboretum worked at Fort Bunker Hill Park, an irregular one-block site located in a neighborhood of single-family houses in northeast Washington. With the help of two other camps, NP-6-VA (Fort Hunt) and NP-14-DC (Rock Creek), the CCC transformed a sharply sloping site into a community amenity with a picnic ground at the highest point and an amphitheater in a depression near its lowest, which were tied together by wooded foot trails and serviced by four water fountains. The field survey

FIGURE 3
This CCC enrollee is constructing a cabin at the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area, now Prince William Forest Park in Virginia. (Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration)

found a mostly intact but essentially unused urban ruin. No picnic tables remain and two extant (though likely not original) water fountains are no longer plumbed, but pathways still criss-cross the site, and stone retaining walls that define the amphitheater's stage are extant and its terraced log seating is discernible.

Between 1935 and 1941, three CCC camps contributed to the creation of the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area (now Prince William Forest Park) in Triangle, Virginia.(Figure 3) Their primary efforts resulted in five recreational camps each with a central kitchen-dining hall, administrative building, infirmary, service buildings, staff quarters, and a washhouse (laundry), with some also containing a crafts lodge. Multiple satellite camp units, each composed of camper cabins, "leaders" cabins, unit lodges, and latrines shared the central structures. In developing the site, the CCC also established water and sewage systems, constructed roads and bridges, planted trees, dammed Quantico Creek to create swimming areas, and built a main administrative building and a park superintendent's residence.

Prince William Forest Park's CCC legacy has been well documented on the National Park Service's List of Classified Structures[5] and in nominations of four National Register of Historic Places historic districts that are also components of a multiple property nomination for the park. This inventory focused on a single representative cabin camp (Camp 2—"Mawavi"). The structures at this camp are well maintained and have seen few, if any, alterations. Places of obvious repair show that care has been taken to match materials, such as in-kind replacement of waney-edged siding. In general, this camp and others from the CCC period at Prince William have been and remain well looked after, despite heavy use during the summer season—a testament to both the quality of the original design and construction and careful maintenance.

Conclusion

While the rustic cabins and organized camping facilities at Chopawamsic match the perception of CCC construction, Roaches Run parking area along George Washington Memorial Parkway and the now-neglected urban park at Fort Bunker Hill illustrate the variety of CCC projects in the Washington, DC, area.

Through conservation of natural resources, development of recreation facilities, and preservation of cultural resources, CCC activities helped the National Park Service meet its diverse stewardship responsibilities at a time of significant expansion. While many of the projects completed by the CCC enrollees in Washington were ephemeral in nature or have been altered, the collective effort helped to establish the National Capital Region's first generation of modern recreation infrastructure. By merging a contextual overview with detailed site-specific information, this study establishes a foundation for understanding the CCC's institutional influence and the significance of CCC cultural resources within the region.

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Notes

1. The National Capital Region is one of seven regional offices of the National Park Service. The CCC study was initiated by Darwina L. Neal, Chief, and Gary Scott, Regional Historian, Cultural Resource Preservation Services. In addition to the authors, Deidre McCarthy, Virginia Price, Martin Perschler, and Catherine Lavoie worked on this project for HABS.

2. By January 1, 1942, 885,500 man days and $282,300 for work project materials had been expended by the National Park Service CCC camps in Washington, DC, and adjacent areas. The value of the CCC labor, at $2 per day, was calculated at $1,771,000. These figures do not include the extensive construction projects at the Recreation Demonstration Areas. See Robert M. Coates (for Ray M. Schenck, Field Supervisor), "Inventory of Work Accomplished by CCC Camps Under the Jurisdiction of National Capital Parks, October 19, 1933—January 1, 1942," 1942, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, DC, Folder—Progress Reports, Box 44, Entry 20, RG 79, National Archives and Records Service.

3. HABS researchers accessed the archival sources mainly through Record Groups 35 (Civilian Conservation Corps), 79 (National Park Service), and 77 (Army Corps of Engineers) at the National Archives and Records Service.

4. See Robert M. Coates, "Inventory of Work Accomplished"; Charles H. Gerner, "Report of Civilian Conservation Corps Operations in the National Capital Parks, October 15, 1933—June 30, 1942," June 1950, Washington, DC, photocopy in Virginia District Office and Library, George Washington Memorial Parkway, location of original unknown.

5. The List of Classified Structures is a computerized inventory of all historic and prehistoric structures located on National Park Service property that have historical, architectural, or engineering significance.

Florida's New Deal Historic Resources

by Sidney P. Johnston

Seldom mentioned in studies of New Deal architecture or history, Florida is typically associated with beaches, citrus, sunshine, and tourism. Even students of Florida history too often give scant attention to the state's growth patterns and built fabric developed during the New Deal period. In the past several years, however, inquiries to Florida's State Historic Preservation Office from building owners and local governments about New Deal resources in their communities prompted a statewide study and the preparation of a National Register of Historic Places multiple property nomination that revealed some surprising results.

The multiple property format permits the State Historic Preservation Office to associate scattered resources that share a common link in history, prehistory, or architecture. The multiple property format also reduces the amount of time and paperwork required to prepare individual National Register nominations in the future. The multiple property format is flexible because additional property types and historic contexts may be added over time.[1]

The methodology used to prepare Florida's "New Deal Resources" multiple property nomination consisted of a literature search of past surveys and primary and secondary sources. The research yielded significant information about the extent and nature of the New Deal in Florida. Historical contexts and property types for evaluated properties were developed emphasizing important activities, individuals, and significant themes in the development of Florida during the Great Depression. Florida's New Deal resources were analyzed and evaluated for architectural themes and the agencies that contributed to Florida's built environment. Existing National Register nominations of New Deal resources suggested contextual frameworks and methodologies for organizing the multiple property document. Architectural styles were identified, and three general property types were developed: buildings, structures, and objects. A period of development between 1933 and 1943 was selected to reflect the traditional period of significance of the New Deal.

The multiple property format serves as a research tool with its extensive bibliography and a predictive model to help locate resources built throughout Florida with New Deal dollars. The document also assists Florida's State Historic Preservation Office with reviews under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which requires that federal agencies identify and

assess the effects of their activities on historic resources. In addition, a National Register nomination for the St. Augustine Civic Center, a Federal Emergency Relief Agency project with Mission Revival influences, was prepared.

During the New Deal, the Federal Government established numerous "alphabet agencies" to construct buildings, conserve natural resources, establish recreation facilities, and improve infrastructure using grants, loans, and matching funds. Nearly two dozen agencies became known to millions of Americans by familiar initials, including the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Civil Works Administration (CWA), Federal Art Project (FAP), Federal Housing Administration (FHA), Federal Writers' Project (FWP), National Recovery Administration (NRA), Public Works Administration (PWA), Resettlement Administration (RA), Rural Electrification Administration (REA), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and U.S. Housing Authority (USHA).

While criticized by some, the New Deal provided federal funding for thousands of improvement projects across the United States. In Florida, this included airports, armories, bridges, city halls, civic centers, courthouses, dams, fire stations, gymnasiums, hospitals, and public housing. The New Deal employed thousands of Floridians and provided local and state governments and federal agencies with new infrastructure, some of which displayed the latest in construction technology and reflected Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, and other architectural influences.

New Deal programs also yielded thousands of government documents and publications, many of which pertain to Florida. In 1939, the Public Works Administration published *Public Buildings: A Survey of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies between the Years 1933 and 1939 with Assistance of the Public Works Administration.*[2] The agency published the treatise, in part, to promote the PWA and help silence the New Deal's critics. Replete with photographs of projects throughout the nation, the volume included black-and-white pictures and descriptions of approximately 15 buildings and structures that showcased the agency's contributions in Florida, including the Apalachicola River Bridge near Blountstown (Figure 1); the Overseas Highway to Key West; Tallahassee's National Guard Armory; and Miami's Liberty Square, one of the nation's first federal low-cost housing projects.(Figure 2)

Florida contains a surprisingly large number of New Deal resources, in part, because of the state's staunch support of Roosevelt and his programs. Several notable Florida politicians supported the New Deal, including the indefatigable Claude "Red" Pepper and Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, and lesser known personalities, such as Ruth Bryan Owen and Bert Fish, whose contributions to the Roosevelt campaign were later rewarded with diplomatic posts. Florida's

FIGURE 1
Replacing a private ferry crossing one of Florida's significant rivers, the Apalachicola River Bridge was a Public Works Administration project completed at a cost of $843,322 in September 1938. Built with a reinforced concrete deck, steel beams, and a distinctive bowstring arch truss, the bridge was one of the largest New Deal projects in Florida's rural panhandle counties. (From Public Buildings, *1939).*

FIGURE 2
Occupied in February 1937, the Liberty Square Housing Development in Miami was the first federal housing project in Florida. Financed by the Public Works Administration and a precursor to the U.S. Housing Authority's residential projects, the development was designed by architect Phineas Paist and built at a cost of $908,500. Part of a federal response to housing America's poorest citizens, Liberty Square was among the nation's earliest federal housing projects for African Americans. (From Public Buildings, *1939).*

rewards came in the construction of several large military installations, such as Naval Air Station Jacksonville and MacDill Air Force Base, numerous post offices with murals by artists working in the Federal Art Project, and massive funding for one of the nation's largest New Deal undertakings, the ill-fated Florida Ship Canal. An addition to the state capitol in Tallahassee, an expansion of the state hospital at Chattahoochee and construction of facilities at the Port of Miami were notable New Deal projects.

The Florida Park Service developed seven state parks during the New Deal, providing recreation opportunities for residents and out-of-state visitors. Following the tradition established by the National Park Service, the state park system employed rustic architecture in the construction of pedestrian bridges, palmetto-log overnight cabins, and limestone visitor centers. The Public Works Administration awarded the National Park Service a grant to build a visitor center at Fort Matanzas National Monument, another project with rustic architectural influences.

Research for the multiple property nomination project was conducted at various repositories, including the Florida Master Site File and the National Register Section at the Bureau of Historic Preservation, Florida State Archives, State Library of Florida, and the Florida State University Library. Holdings at the University of Florida also provided useful information, including the Government Documents Department, Map Library, and P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Newspapers contained vital information about the state's development during the Great Depression and the impact of the New Deal.

In addition, National Register nominations, including multiple property nominations from other states and individual resources previously listed in Florida, held important contextual information about the New Deal. Previous multiple property documents prepared in other states typically addressed only a few New Deal agencies or otherwise limited the scope of the investigation. Florida's "New Deal Resources" is one of few multiple property documents to address the full range of New Deal programs and resources associated with Federal Government spending statewide.

Research was also conducted on the Library of Congress and National Archives websites. Record groups at the National Archives that hold useful research materials include RG 31 (Records of the Federal Housing Administration), RG 35 (Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps), RG 69 (Records of the Works Projects Administration), RG 119 (Records of the National Youth Administration), and RG 135 (Records of the Public Works Administration). Files at the Florida State Archives containing important information include RG 192 (Florida State Planning Board), RG 150 (Florida Park Service Project Files), RG 590 (Florida Construction Program), and correspondence files of New Deal-era governors.

At the local level, school board and city and county commission minutes yield information about public buildings developed with New Deal resources. The Congressional Serials Set also contains valuable sources; an entire document is devoted to the Florida Ship Canal. Other contextual and site-specific information is available in government publications and reports issued by New Deal agencies. Filled with black-and-white pictures taken by photographers working in the Farm Security Administration and narratives composed by writers in the Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State*, provides a graphic account of the Sunshine State near the close of the Great Depression. Articles in *American City, Engineering News-Record, Florida Historical Quarterly, Florida Municipal Record, Tampa Bay History,* and *Tequesta* furnish primary and secondary documentation about Florida in the Great Depression.

Compiled from these sources and the Florida Master Site File, approximately 450 resources previously inventoried in Florida have direct New Deal associa-

tions including public buildings, structures, and objects. Perhaps another 500 resources have yet to be documented. The review indicated that all of Florida's 67 counties enjoyed some level of New Deal development.

Project research also revealed some of Florida's Jim Crow segregationist culture. The U.S. Forest Service used CCC labor to develop Juniper Springs in the Ocala National Forest. There tensions between local whites and visiting African Americans from the North resulted in the Forest Service creating a "separate but equal" facility for blacks at Doe Lake Recreational Area elsewhere in the national forest. Other African American resources developed in Florida include Lake Wales's Roosevelt School, Tampa's Clara Frye Hospital, and low-cost public housing complexes in Jacksonville, Miami, and several other cities.

Florida's New Deal multiple property nomination establishes the framework for nominating additional properties to the National Register without preparing architectural and historic contexts for individual properties. In addition, the multiple property nomination serves as a predictive model, providing information about potential New Deal-era resources throughout Florida.

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Notes

1. Information on multiple property nominations may be found in the *National Register Bulletin: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*, at www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16b/; accessed on April 5, 2005.

2. C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration* (Washington, DC: Public Works Administration and U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939).

Georgia's Historic Landscape Initiative

by Mary Ann Eaddy

An understanding of the history of the American South is incomplete without an appreciation of the importance that land has held for the region's inhabitants. In Georgia, the landscape changes from mountains to coastline, from fertile farmland to inland swamps. As people have lived on the land, they have altered it, sometimes enhancing its beauty. Like historic buildings, the historic landscapes that remain are tangible links to the past.

One important type of historic landscape is the garden. While these historic places provide both beauty and enjoyment, they also represent significant cultural and social aspects of Georgia's heritage. By their nature, historic gardens are often fragile, and it is important to identify and record them. A recognition that these resources need to be formally acknowledged and their preservation encouraged was the impetus for Georgia's Historic Landscape Initiative.

For over a decade, the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources and the Garden Club of Georgia, Inc., a nonprofit organization with approximately 16,000 members, have collaborated on projects to promote an appreciation of the state's landscape heritage. Since 1996, the two organizations have cosponsored a Historic House and Garden Pilgrimage in communities across Georgia. Tour and ticket proceeds support the Garden Club's Historic Landscape and Garden Grants—matching grants available to local governments and nonprofit organizations to rehabilitate or restore historic landscapes and gardens. The Historic Preservation Division worked with the Garden Club to develop this program and serves as an advisory member of the grants awards committee. Proceeds exceeding $70,000 have resulted in funding for over 30 projects to preserve Georgia's historic gardens.

From the beginning of the partnership, the Historic Preservation Division and the Garden Club recognized the need for a statewide inventory of historic gardens and landscapes. This information would be valuable in several ways: to identify often overlooked resources and record some that may be lost in the coming years, to use gardens and landscapes as an educational tool and an opportunity to promote awareness of cultural landscapes, and to identify properties potentially eligible for the National Register and Georgia Register of Historic Places.

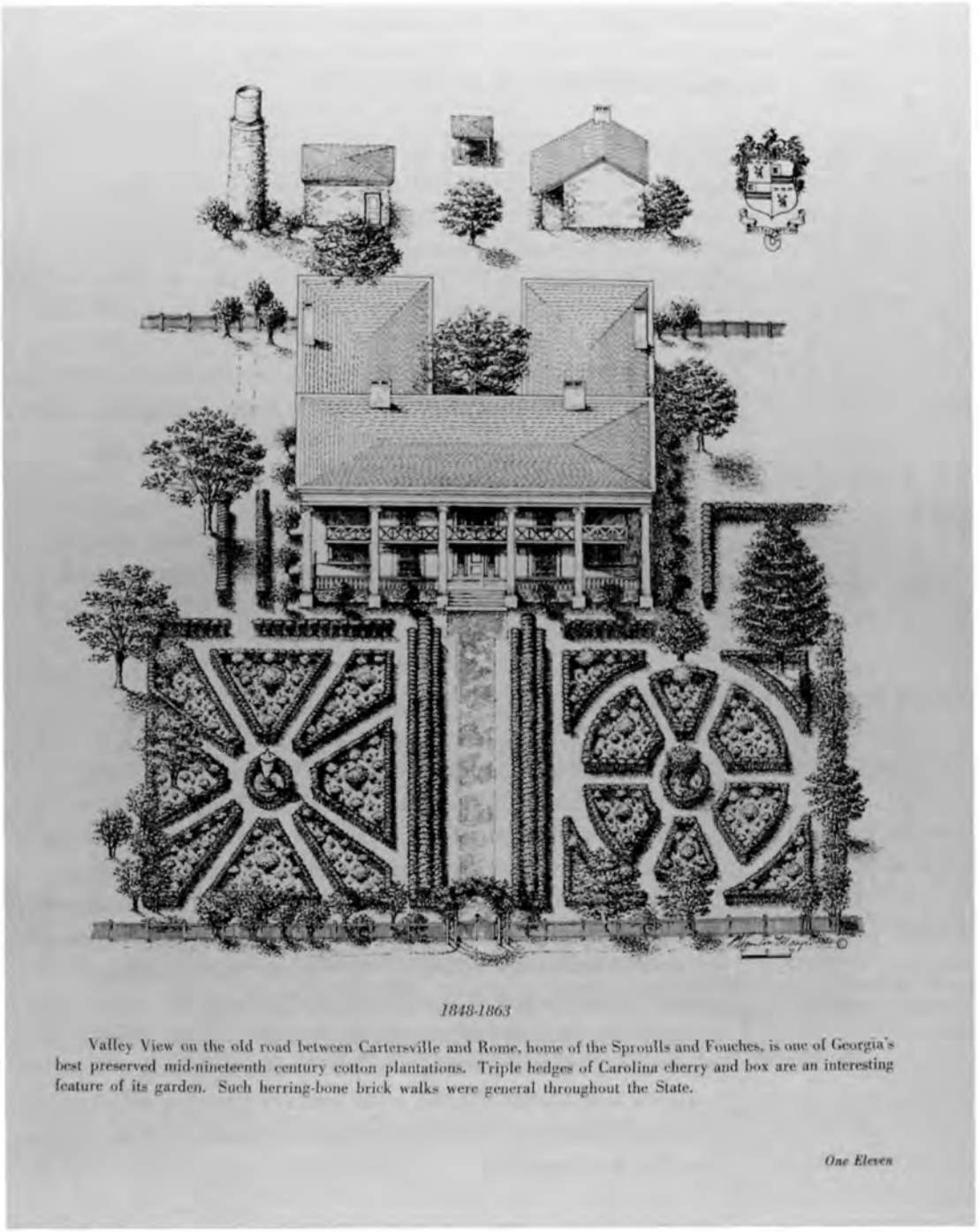

FIGURE 1
Plans such as this one of Valley View in Bartow County are found throughout the Garden History of Georgia *publication. (Illustration by P. Thornton Marye, AIA, Courtesy of the Garden Club of Georgia, Inc.)*

FIGURE 2
Savannah's squares are distinctive features of the city's historic plan and are popular with tourists and local citizens. (Courtesy of the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources)

With the pilgrimage and the grants program underway, the Garden Club sought ways to identify Georgia's historic gardens and landscapes. After forming the Historic Landscape Initiative Committee, the main question was how to approach such an inventory, considering its broad scope and the lack of funding.[1] After much discussion, the committee decided to narrow the scope of the inventory and to rely primarily on volunteer efforts.

In 2002, the Garden Club, working with the Historic Preservation Division, the Cherokee Garden Library at the Atlanta History Center, and the National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, launched the Historic Landscape Initiative to identify, record, and promote Georgia's garden heritage.[2] Using the publication *Garden History of Georgia: 1733-1933* as the foundation, garden club members are determining which significant gardens remain, which are changed, and which are destroyed.(Figure 1) Inventory documentation is housed in the Cherokee Garden Library in Atlanta. Library interns have been assigned to assist in garden surveys and records maintenance, and records are available to anyone interested in Georgia's garden and landscape heritage.

Garden History of Georgia was the logical starting point for the project. In 1933, Atlanta's Peachtree Garden Club produced the book in recognition of Georgia's bicentennial. The goal was "to make this a comprehensive record of gardening in Georgia from Oglethorpe's day, 1733, to the most modern garden of 1933." [3] (Figure 2) In 1976, the Garden Club of Georgia reprinted the book as part of the national bicentennial celebration. *Garden History of Georgia* is one of seven publications produced in the South from 1923 to 1939 that contribute to a statewide garden survey.[4]

FIGURE 3
The antebellum Boxwood or Kolb-Pou-Newton House in Madison, Morgan County, is known for its formal gardens. (Courtesy of Janet L. Coleman)

Garden History of Georgia is divided into three sections: early gardens (before 1865); modern gardens (as of 1933); and garden club projects, institutional gardens, and school gardens and campuses. The publication contains 163 entries.

As an organizational approach, the decision was made to divide the entries into geographic areas that coincide with the Garden Club of Georgia's seven districts. A historic preservation district chairman is responsible for coordinating efforts among clubs and for encouraging clubs to compile information on their communities' historic gardens.

The committee developed a survey form for use by volunteers. After an initial field test, changes were recommended and the survey form was revised. In March 2002, three of the committee members participated in a National Park Service, Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS) Documentation Guidelines symposium in New Orleans. The symposium was helpful to ensure that the information requested for Georgia's project was, as much as possible, consistent with recordation needs being discussed for HALS documentation needs and standards.

From the beginning of the project, training for volunteers was essential. In August 2002, the first workshop was held at the historic Hay House in Macon. Recent landscape preservation activities were summarized. An overview of Georgia's garden heritage provided context. An explanation of the survey form and resources available from the Cherokee Garden Library followed. Workshop participants tested the survey form using a nearby historic garden as a case study. Two other workshops followed, one at Dunaway Gardens in 2003, the other in Milledgeville in 2004. Workshop content expanded to include project status reports and resources available for researching individual gardens.(Figure 3)

FIGURE 4
The H. B. Tompkins House and Gardens in Atlanta, Fulton County were designed in 1922 by architect Neel Reid. (Copyright by and courtesy of James R. Lockhart)

What has been discovered since the initiative began? Thirty-eight gardens have been surveyed. Twenty-five are listed in the National Register of Historic Places, either as a component of an individual listing or as part of a historic district. Listing is usually based on association with a historic house. Eighteen gardens identified in 1933 no longer exist or are in extremely poor or neglected condition. Some are parking lots; others faded away due to neglect. Some, however, have evolved over time, retaining remnants of their early form, but changing with the tastes of new owners. Eight gardens not mentioned in 1933 also have been surveyed. Four of these are listed in the National Register; another is being nominated.

Now, the initiative's goal is to complete the inventory based on *Garden History of Georgia*. The Historic Landscape Initiative Committee is evaluating the most effective way to accomplish this. Even in this early stage, however, it is clear that the project has a wide range of research challenges. Gardens identified through the initiative are only a small portion of what once existed and what still may exist.(Figure 4)

More emphasis on landscape survey is needed. Many individual gardens justify further research, from both historic and design perspectives. Because gardens often were associated with significant houses and individuals, they provide insight into social and cultural history. Further archeological and document research may offer clues to historic landscapes, particularly where restoration is desired. Landscape architects and horticulturists interested in garden design and heirloom plants would find a wealth of information through further investigation. The impact of development and changes in land ownership and use may interest planners. Many of the gardens are linked to the women who nurtured them and, in some cases, brought them back to life. Their stories need to be told. The role of African Americans in

the development of many of these gardens is largely unknown, but undoubtedly significant, which also opens the question of gardens developed by African Americans for their personal use. More research is required.

Certain observations can be made at this point in the initiative. One is the valuable discovery of the wealth of Georgia's landscape heritage and the people and organizations concerned about preserving that heritage. Another is the value of pulling together the resources and expertise of various groups to accomplish a goal that otherwise would not have been possible. Working with dedicated members of the Garden Club of Georgia has resulted in better appreciation of the power of volunteers and a continuing respect for an organization committed to service.

As a result of this project, knowledge about Georgia's historic gardens continures to be discovered, and information useful for future research is being made available to the public.

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Notes

1. Members of the Historic Landscape Initiative Committee include Mabel Milner, Brencie Werner, and Lee Dunn of the Garden Club of Georgia, Inc.; James R. Cothran, FASLA; Staci Catron-Sullivan, Director of the Cherokee Garden Library at the Atlanta History Center; Susan Hitchcock, landscape historian, National Park Service Southeast Regional Office; and Mary Ann Eaddy of the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

2. The Cherokee Garden Library was founded in 1975 by the Cherokee Garden Club. Now part of the Kenan Research Center at the Atlanta History Center, the library contains over 6,500 volumes on Southern gardening and horticulture.

3. Loraine M. Cooney, *Garden History of Georgia: 1733–1933* (Atlanta, GA: Peachtree Garden Club, 1933), n.p. The quotation is included in "A Message from the Georgia Bicentennial Commission."

4. Davyd Foard Hood, "'To Gather Up the Fragments that Remain,' Southern Garden Clubs and the Publication of Southern Garden History, 1923–1939," in *The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape: Proceedings of the Tenth Conference on Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes, October 5–7, 1995, Old Salem, Winston-Salem, North Carolina* (1997), 172. This excellent article identifies garden surveys in Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Kentucky.

Micropolitan: A New Statistical Tool for Preservationists

by John Robbins

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) defines geographical categories and designates geographical areas used in Federal Government statistics. OMB's four current categories are Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Micropolitan Statistical Areas, Combined Statistical Areas, and New England City and Town Areas. Of these, Micropolitan Statistical Areas is a newly defined and designated category. The micropolitan category may be useful to preservationists for statistical research and analysis.

Metropolitan and micropolitan areas are the two types of what OMB calls Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSA). According to OMB definitions, metropolitan areas are a county or counties that have a core city with a population greater than 50,000, and micropolitan areas are a county or counties that have a core town or city with a population between 10,000 and 50,000. Counties beyond metropolitan or micropolitan areas, rather than being specifically defined or designated, are considered "nonmetro noncore" or simply "outside CBSAs."[1]

Journalists and scholars agree that the revised federal statistical categories probably will affect government programs.[2] This report describes the micropolitan statistical category in its historical context and summarizes an initial inquiry into using the new tool to gauge the distribution of public participation in preservation activities nationwide.

Background

The need for standard geographical statistical categories is recounted by OMB: "Prior to [the 1940s], Federal agencies defined a variety of statistical geographic areas at the metropolitan level (including 'metropolitan districts,' 'industrial areas,' 'labor market areas,' and 'metropolitan counties')... Because of variations in methodologies and the resulting inconsistencies in area definitions, one agency's statistics were not directly comparable with another agency's statistics for any given area."[3] To minimize inconsistencies, OMB's predecessor, the Bureau of the Budget, defined the "standard metropolitan area" in 1949. Over the past half-century, as recounted by the U.S. Census Bureau, federal statistical categories have evolved, most recently towards the definition of a micropolitan category: "The term [standard metropolitan area] was changed to 'standard metropolitan statistical area' (SMSA) in 1959 and to 'metropolitan statistical

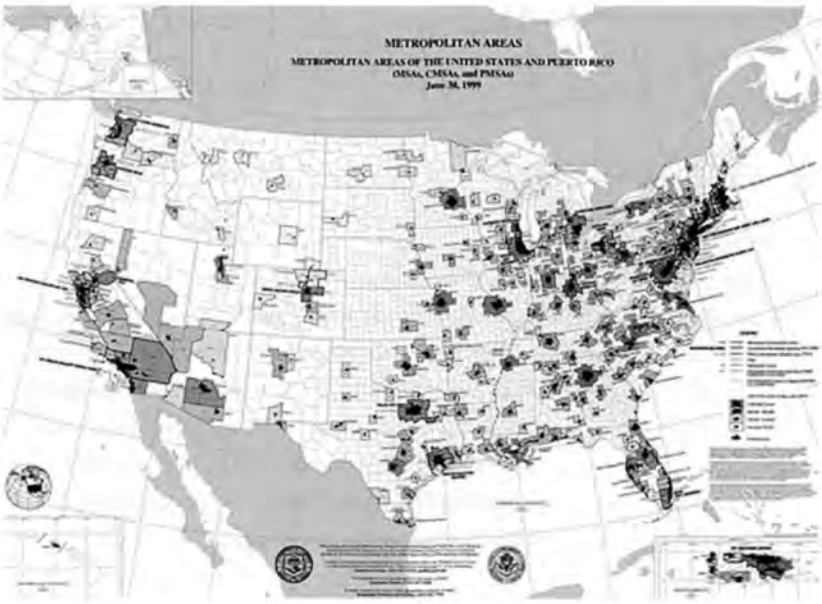

FIGURE 1
This map shows Metropolitan Areas in 1999.

Source: http://www.census.gov/geo/www/mapGallery/macb-page.html.

FIGURE 2
This map shows Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas in 2003.

Source: http://www.census.gov/geo/www/maps/msa_maps2003/us_wall_0603_rev.htm.

area' (MSA) in 1983. The term 'metropolitan area' (MA) was adopted in 1990 and referred collectively to metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSAs), and primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs). The term 'core based statistical area' (CBSA) became effective in 2000 and refers collectively to metropolitan and micropolitan statistical areas."[4]

In 1950, as now, 50,000 or more population was the threshold for metropolitan designation, and, for the first time, metropolitan designations were county-based. In the 1950 census reports, 169 Standard Metropolitan Areas were designated nationwide. By 1999, based on the same county criterion and 1990 census data, 286 Metropolitan Statistical Areas were designated. Differences

from 1950 to 1999 mostly are attributable to new combinations of existing metropolitan areas and the designation of additional metropolitan areas, both due to population movement and growth. Consistent through the permutations since 1950, all lands outside metropolitan areas were undifferentiated as nonmetropolitan.(Figure 1)

OMB recently reconsidered statistical categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau and other bureaus and organizations to develop statistics that are precise, meaningful, and useful. In 2000, following a 10-year study, OMB inserted the new micropolitan category between the old twins of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan. In December 2003, OMB issued the current list of Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas.[5] The 2003 list expands the number of metropolitan areas—an expansion again attributable chiefly to population growth and movement—and identifies the new micropolitan areas. Counties in the expanded metropolitan areas and the new micropolitan areas were drawn from counties previously considered nonmetropolitan. (Figure 2) OMB's 2003 list is the structure for more comprehensive and seamless national statistics that bring into clearer focus the populations and resources of large and small cities, large towns, and areas outside of cities and large towns.

Public Participation Demographics of Four National Historic Preservation Activities

As Robert Lang and Dawn Dhavale of the Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech explain, the United States population is a moving target: "In 1890, America's census-designated frontier closed as settlement swept into remote corners of the nation. By the 1920s, the US was for the first time majority urban. At mid-century (1950), more than half lived in metropolitan areas. As of the 1970 census, America had become a suburban-dominated nation—with more than half of all metropolitan residents living outside central cities. Now a new milestone has been reached: as of 2000, rural areas cover less than half of the Continental US."[6]

As demographics change, recurring questions for preservation program managers include "Who is our audience?" and "Where should we target our efforts?" Such questions arise regarding a wide variety of preservation activities, including publications such as this journal.

Towards answering such questions, and to test how metropolitan, micropolitan, and outside-CBSA data might reflect public participation in preservation activities, I compared the distribution of the United States population and the distribution of four preservation activities administered by the National Park Service. My inquiry could be phrased several ways, such as "Do historic preservation programs reach the public in a distribution comparable to the overall distribution of the population?" or "How does the distribution of

preservation activities compare to the distribution of taxpayers who fund the activities?"

The four programs selected for analysis are Save America's Treasures grants, Certified Local Governments, the National Register of Historic Places, and federal historic preservation tax incentives.[7] The sample of preservation activities are Save America's Treasures grants awarded in the years 1999-2004, all designated Certified Local Governments, National Register actions in 2004, and tax incentives Part 2 applications in 2004.

Save America's Treasures grants were first available in 1999 to federal agencies and nonprofit owners to preserve and conserve nationally significant historic properties and collections. The grants are administered cooperatively by the National Park Service, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute for Museum and Library Services, and the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, with assistance from the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The National Register of Historic Places, established by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, is the nation's official list of prehistoric and historic resources worthy of preservation. Anyone may prepare a nomination for consideration by state, federal, or tribal historic preservation officers regarding properties in their jurisdictions. Proposals for listing and other actions are forwarded to the Keeper of the National Register in the National Park Service for final action.

Since 1985 local governments have been certified to undertake certain historic preservation activities and, in return, Certified Local Governments are eligible for federal funding and other assistance. The program is administered cooperatively by the National Park Service, State Historic Preservation Officers, and local governments.

Begun in 1977, the federal historic preservation tax incentives program is administered cooperatively by the National Park Service, State Historic Preservation Officers, and the Internal Revenue Service. Owners or developers of certain types of historic properties may apply for certification of rehabilitation projects to qualify for federal tax credits.

Overall, the sample analyzed represents the range of our national historic preservation partnership activities. While the four activities share important characteristics, the activities are also dissimilar in substantial ways. All four activities are administered collaboratively by the National Park Service and partners such as other federal agencies and state and local governments; all activities have a large number of potential participants throughout the United States; all public participants self-identify their interest in participating; and all

FIGURE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN FOUR NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM ACTIVITIES.

Sample set	Sample	Sample sorted by statistical areas					
		Metropolitan		Micropolitan		Outside CBSAs	
2000 U.S. population[9]	281,423,000	231,319,000	82%	28,561,000	10%	21,543,000	8%
1999-2004 Save America's Treasures grants[10]	354	276	78%	42	12%	36	10%
Current Certified Local Governments[11]	1,401	887	63%	263	19%	251	18%
2004 National Register actions[12]	1,623	1,095	67%	246	15%	282	17%
2004 federal historic preservation tax incentives Part 2 applications[13]	737	609	83%	82	11%	46	6%
Averaged percentages of the four preservation activities	—	—	73%	—	14%	—	13%

Using federal statistical categories of metropolitan and micropolitan areas and outside CBSAs, the table compares the distribution of public participation in four historic preservation activities and the distribution of the U.S. population.

activities provide benefits directly to the public participants. On the other hand, each activity has distinct restrictions. Only nationally significant properties and collections are eligible for Save America's Treasures grants, and most grants require dollar-for-dollar nonfederal matches; Certified Local Governments must meet specific competency criteria; National Register listing requires substantial research and documentation; and projects eligible for tax credits must meet several tests and applicants must pay a fee for Part 2 review.

The sample analyzed represents historic preservation activities in all 48 contiguous states and the District of Columbia.[8] The sample for each activity was selected to assure adequate sample size. All funded Save America's Treasures projects and all Certified Local Governments were included in the analysis. For National Register actions and Part 2 applications for tax incentives, program activity in 2004 provided adequate samples.

Figure 3 shows the correspondence between the distribution of public participation in the four activities and the distribution of the population in the 48 contiguous states and the District of Columbia.(Figure 3) Preservation professionals and many in the public might expect that our national preservation programs and activities have a metropolitan focus or bias. Factors such as the location of universities that teach historic preservation, the location of govern-

ment agencies and nonprofit organizations that guide and support historic preservation, and assumptions about where historic resources are concentrated might influence this expectation. A different picture emerges when samples of public participation in preservation activities are sorted by metropolitan, micropolitan, and outside CBSAs categories.

Figure 3 shows that, by percentage, distribution of public participation in the Save America's Treasures and historic preservation tax incentives programs closely matches the distribution of the population nationwide. For Certified Local Government and National Register activities, participation is skewed towards the micropolitan and outside-CBSA population at twice the rate for Certified Local Governments in micropolitan areas, and over twice the rate for Certified Local Governments and National Register actions outside CBSAs. Averaged percentage participation in the four activities is also skewed towards the micropolitan and outside-CBSA populations, with participation nine points below metropolitan distribution by population, and four and five points above micropolitan and outside-CBSA distribution respectively.

Other Inquiries

Micropolitan area data and other statistical data can help researchers with inquiries about relationships among people, resources, and places in a changing statistical environment. From my analysis comparing national demographic data and national participation in four preservation activities, geographical distribution of public participation in the activities appears to be consistently comparable to the distribution of potential participants nationwide, at rates beyond what preservationists might have expected.

My analysis does not answer questions such as why the distributions correspond closely or what factors might affect the geographical distribution of public participation in preservation activities, nor does my analysis address finer-grain issues such as public participation in national preservation activities by region or state. Colleagues may wish to pursue these and other questions.

Considering the history of designated metropolitan areas, one might predict a continued increase in the number of metropolitan areas, an increase in the number of micropolitan areas, a decrease in the number of outside-CBSA counties, and ongoing recalculation of the three categories. In tracking demographic shifts, statistics are and will be available that may particularly interest preservationists, especially regarding changes within and among statistical areas. For micropolitan areas, Lang and Dhavale have already highlighted volatile types of micropolitan areas to watch: boomtowns ("fast growing Micros"), dwindlevilles ("fastest shrinking Micros"), nearburgs ("closest to big metropolitan areas"), and lonesometowns ("most remote Micros").[14] The four

types indicate potential for change and, for preservationists, possible historic-resource hotspots. Prehistoric and historic resources are sensitive to both population growth (often meaning development pressure and destruction of heritage resources) and decline (often meaning abandonment and destruction of heritage resources). Growth could affect heritage resources in boomtowns and nearburgs, and decline could affect heritage resources in dwindlevilles and lonesometowns. Tracking such trends may help preservationists in calculating and planning regional and national distribution of our research, education, protection, and preservation efforts.

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Notes

1. Commenters are reluctant to equate "outside CBSAs" and "rural." Jason Henderson and Stephan Weiler note that "this newly designated classification of rural counties is defined by what the counties are *not*—namely nonmentro noncore—rather than what they are," and offer that "[t]hese counties, with towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants, might also be called *town counties*." See Jason Henderson and Stephan Weiler, "Defining 'Rural' America," in *The Main Street Economist*, July 2004, 2, Center for the Study of Rural America, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, online at http://www.kc.frb.org/RuralCenter/mainstreet/MSE_0704.pdf. Kathleen Miller cautions that while the new OMB designation scheme provides greater detail than past categories, "[t]his still, though, lacks a complete picture showing the diversity across rural America … While OMB's revised standards do address many previous concerns with the former metropolitan/nonmetropolitan classification system, shortcomings still remain." See Kathleen K. Miller, "What is Rural?," in "Rural by the Numbers," January 20, 2004, Rural Policy Research Institute, online at http://wwww.rupri.org/resources/rnumbers/rbtn1.pdf.

2. For example, the *New York Times* reported that "[t]he point of the micropolitan category is not so much to give government agencies extra data to crunch. It's to track the growth—as well as the character—of a type of influential urban area that already exists but is barely understood by demographers." See *New York Times Magazine* (December 12, 2004): 83. The Brookings Institution reports that "[a]n overhaul of the widely-recognized metropolitan classification system by the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) will refashion the way research is conducted and federal dollars are spent." See William H. Frey, Jill H. Wilson, Alan Berube, and Audrey Singer, "Tracking Metropolitan America into the 21st Century: A Field Guide to the New Metropolitan and Micropolitan Definitions," November 2004, online at http://brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20041115_metrodefinitions.htm.

3. Office of Management and Budget, "Standards for Defining Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas." *Federal Register* 65, 82228, online at http://www.gpoaccess.gov.

4. U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2004-2005, 901, online at http://www.census.gov/prod/www/statistical-abstract-04.html.

5. OMB Bulletin No. 04-03, Appendix, online at http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/bulletins/fy04/b04-03_appendix.pdf.

6. Robert E. Land and Dawn Dhavale, *Micropolitan America: A Brand New Geography*, Metropolitan Institute at Virginia Tech Census Note 5 (May 2004), 2-3, online at http://www.mi.vt.edu/uploads/micropolitan%20census%20note%2005%2001a.pdf; accessed April 29, 2005.

7. Information about the four activities is available online at http://www.cr.nps.gov; select "A Cultural Resource Subject" or "A Cultural Resource Program."

8. CBSAs in the 48 contiguous states and the District of Columbia share characteristics (county structure, CBSAs that cross state lines, etc.) not shared with Alaska and Hawaii, and are therefore more directly comparable. Note that the District of Columbia and the entire States of New Jersey and Rhode Island are designated Metropolitan Statistical Areas. There are no Micropolitan Statistical Areas or "outside CBSAs" in the District of Columbia, New Jersey, or Rhode Island.

9. For the 48 contiguous states and the District of Columbia only; for populations of the states and the District of Columbia, see http://www.census.gov/statab/www/pop.html; for populations in Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas in the states and the District of Columbia, see http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t29/tab04b.xls.

10. See http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/treasures/search.htm

11. See http://grants.cr.nps.gov/CLGs/Get_All_CLG.cfm; accessed January 10, 2005.

12. See http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/nrlist.htm for the weeks of January 2-December 31, 2004. The sample of National Register actions comprised properties and districts that were "listed," "removed," "additional documentation approved," etc., but excluded the small number of multiple-county actions. For example, the sample did not include "ALABAMA/TENNESSEE, MULTIPLE COUNTIES, Paint Rock Valley, 1820-1954, MPS COVER DOCUMENTATION ACCEPTED, 9/02/04."

13. The source of this information is program records.

14. Robert E. Land and Dawn Dhavale, *Micropolitan America: A Brand New Geography*, 7-9.

Reviews

BOOKS

The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917

By Jon A. Peterson. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004; xxi + 431 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, index; cloth $59.95.

Jon Peterson, professor of history at Queens College, City University of New York, has written a solid history of the city planning movement in the United States from the beginning of significant urban growth in 1840 to the onset of World War I. This book can take its place alongside planning classics such as John Reps's *The Making of Urban America* (1965), Mel Scott's *American City Planning Since 1890* (1969), William H. Wilson's *The City Beautiful Movement* (1989), and Martin Melosi's *The Sanitary City* (2000).[1] The book concentrates on the genesis of the City Beautiful movement that flourished from 1893 to 1910. The book also documents conflicts of dogma between planners and civic reform activists who were involved in the emergence of city planning as a profession. Peterson analyzes American city planning within the context of the political beliefs of progressive urban reformers, and returns to those themes repeatedly.

Peterson distinguishes city planning, the focus of this book, from earlier "townsite planning" about which John Reps has written. According to Peterson, American city planning "dealt with already built cities, such as New York, Chicago or San Francisco." By contrast, townsite planning, including colonial planning, was to sell building lots by subdividing a single property owner's land. Indeed, as Peterson observes, this focus on development is what distinguished American city planning from its European counterparts, which were concerned with undeveloped tracts for the purpose of building garden suburbs or town extensions. In that sense, American comprehensive city planning looked at the totality of the urban built environment. It was both aspirational—presenting a unified vision of a future city—and corrective, directed at fixing problems of inadequate sanitation, housing overcrowding and blight, insufficient park and recreational facilities, and traffic congestion. European planning typically had much narrower political and geographic aims.

The book identifies three themes influencing American planning. The first is sanitary reform, which recognized that cities needed pure water, good sewage, storm drainage systems, and other measures, such as the elimination of privies, to create a healthful, disease-free environment. Peterson's discussion of the sanitary reform movement is crisp and to the point in summarizing its central characteristics.

The second theme is landscape values, expressed through the creation of parks commissions and the development of large-scale park systems. Here the emphasis was on creating parks that offered opportunities for exercise and recreation, communing with nature, and contemplating pastoral beauty. A democratic spirit underlay the establishment of the great public parks, like New York City's Central

Park, which were to be the lungs of the city, to be enjoyed by all, not just the wealthy.

The third theme is civic art, and it is here where Peterson turns to the influence of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Overseen by the architect-planner Daniel Burnham, the fair featured great white classical buildings, grand vistas, ponds, fountains, and flamboyant sculpture. "What enthralled the architects," Peterson writes, "was the prospect of fulfilling, in almost pure form, their belief in art as a value in its own right—and as a counterpoint to the materialism of its age." In keeping with the architects' objectives, the fair was an edifying experience that intended to inspire and uplift, and refine the ideals of the nation's people.

The three themes Peterson outlines form the background for the central part of the book—the City Beautiful movement and its eventual decline. Peterson traces the major City Beautiful efforts: the McMillan Plan for Washington, DC, described as the nation's first comprehensive plan, and urban designs for Philadelphia, Kansas City, St. Louis, and other cities. Peterson then turns to profiles of planners and their projects, including Daniel Burnham, John Nolen, Charles Mulford Robinson, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Harland P. Kelsey.

Of the various accounts in the book, the most provocative and illuminating is Peterson's treatment of the career of Benjamin Marsh, "the brash young social progressive who would suddenly streak like a comet through the American planning skies." In 1907, at age 30, Marsh was selected as the executive secretary of the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York. Marsh became enamored with German town planning, which involved purchasing land beyond a city's limits as a reserve for future needs, planning for the conversion of reserve land to urban use, and enacting detailed zoning regulations. In one speech at the nation's first city planning conference in Washington, DC, in 1909, Marsh attacked American planning as "a bonus to real estate and corporation interests, without regard for the welfare of its citizens," clearly aiming his words at City Beautiful advocates. At the conference, John Nolen and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., were skeptical of adopting German city planning approaches in their entirety. "Although we have an immense amount to learn from Europe, and especially from Germany, in regard to city planning," Olmsted said, "it would be very foolish for us to copy blindly what has been done there. . . .There is need for some caution lest we copy the mistakes."

The anticongestion crusade advocated public control over private property through zoning, and zealous attacks on real estate speculation and the "exploitation of land." Marsh's obsession with the anticongestion crusade proved to be his undoing. Opposition to Marsh by Olmsted and others, including housing reformer Lawrence Veiller, led to Marsh's departure in 1912 from New York City. From there he went to the Balkans as a war correspondent, and never returned to planning advocacy.

Peterson also addresses the emergence of the zoning movement, which began in Los Angeles and New York City, and reached full flower after the endpoint of this book's chronology. Zoning gained ground in New York City, he comments, because planner-lawyer advocates "assiduously cultivated every category of landholder through the entire city, making sure no significant interest group took offense." Zoning, Peterson observes, had a critical flaw; in most cases, it had been established without referring to a city plan for guidance. Peterson quotes St. Louis planning consultant Harland Bartholomew who declared that, in the absence of a plan, a zoning ordinance "becomes largely an instrument of expediency subject to constant and often whimsical change."

The book's has two shortcomings, however: lack of attention to urban planning in the West and the South and to the relation between planning and immigration and race. Peterson touches briefly on western and southern planning efforts, downplay-

ing them because of their apparent lack of significance or effectiveness. The absence of any thorough discussion of immigration and race is more serious. American city planning grew up during a period of increasing anti-immigrant bias that resulted in federal immigration quotas in the 1920s. It was not a coincidence that cities that embraced zoning had substantial, growing immigrant populations. Moreover, the initial goal of zoning was racial segregation, rather than control of use conflicts or overbuilding. Baltimore (1910), Richmond (1911), Atlanta (1913), and other cities adopted racial zoning ordinances.[2] (Peterson mentions race briefly in a discussion of Harlan P. Kelsey's plan for Greenville, South Carolina, where Kelsey "pleaded for racial segregation in residential areas.") A complete treatment of early American city planning needs to account for regional and social factors as context and motives for the movement.

The Birth of City Planning in the United States is an important book for the heritage field because groundwork laid in the early years of the planning profession continues to influence the survival of historic resources throughout the nation. The book also defines the types of planning heritage that can be found in the nation's cities and towns, which may be worthy of documentation, preservation, and interpretation.

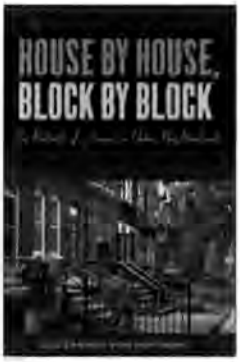
Stuart Meck
American Planning Association

1. John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Martin V. Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

2. See for example, Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning: Southern Cities from 1910-40," *Planning Perspectives* 6 (1991): 189-205.

House by House, Block by Block: The Rebirth of America's Urban Neighborhoods

By Alexander von Hoffman. New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003; xii + 306 pp., illustrations, tables, notes, index; cloth $30.00.



In this fine book, Alexander von Hoffman chronicles the near death and amazing revival of depressed inner city areas in several of the nation's largest cities: New York, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, and Los Angeles. Inner city neighborhoods, home to important architectural and cultural landmarks, were nearly abandoned in the 1970s after government-sponsored urban renewal, public housing, and other urban-oriented programs of the 1950s and 1960s failed to reverse their decline. In the following decades, through a number of fortunate experiments, these neighborhoods were reclaimed and reborn. How this happened holds lessons for urban areas in the United States and other countries.

A professor at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design, von Hoffman provides historical background to this riches-to-rags-to-riches saga. He summarizes the accelerating forces of decentralization after World War II and the sequence of national legislation that sought to rebuild the inner city, such as the housing acts of 1949 and 1954. The historical perspective includes the Great Society's Model Cities Program and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 that ended the urban renewal and Model Cities programs and replaced them with Community Development Block Grants to local governments. Additional programs included Section 8 of the 1974 act that provided funds to private landlords for families needing low-cost housing and the Urban Action Development Grant program for severely econom-

ically distressed areas. During this time, banks and insurance companies "redlined" whole sections of cities and denied the lifeblood of new investment.

Unlike the polished grey-flannel-suited professional city planners of the 1950s and 1960s, the saviors of the cities in later decades were from the communities themselves. Some were religious leaders who served the impoverished. Others were community activists or former campus radicals. The vehicle of their work was community development corporations, or CDCs. Community-based organizations were established after experience with Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS) organizations that provided owner-occupied home repair loans from revolving high-risk funds provided by banks, foundations, and government sources. The Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 stimulated the creation of these loan pools because banks were required to demonstrate to federal regulators that they were serving their home communities. In 1986, the low-income housing tax credit became another critical tool for urban revitalization because it allowed developers to sell credits to investors and create large pools of capital.

The partnership and collaborative model established by NHS organizations spurred the creation of thousands of CDCs and other like-minded nonprofit community groups throughout the country. New waves of immigration, new technology-based industries, and real estate booms augmented the CDC phenomenon during the last decades of the 20th century. By century's end, the five case study cities—New York, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, and Los Angeles—had experienced urban renaissances and were in a position to market themselves to new investors and the middle class.

The author examines these cities for the unique contributions that each made to late 20th-century urban rebirth. In the 1970s, the South Bronx was an icon of America's worst slums. Ten years later, the Bronx was coming back to life, thanks to the efforts of charismatic people like Father Louis Gigante, who used a nonprofit organization and government funds to redevelop and manage apartment buildings and build new single-family homes. The development of Charlotte Gardens, a subdivision of prefabricated ranch houses plunked down in the middle of the South Bronx, revealed that the borough still possessed life. These faint stirrings became more pronounced as major foundations, such as Ford and Rockefeller, provided financial support and Mayor Ed Koch's Ten Year Plan committed the city to 250,000 new units of housing for the poor and working classes. The Local Initiatives Support Corporation and the Enterprise Foundation worked with CDCs to raise large sums of money from corporations, largely through investments in low-income housing tax credits, and transformed relatively small CDCs into highly experienced housing developers.

In Boston, as von Hoffman describes, a thriving economy in the 1980s and a rising real estate market influenced the reclamation of the city's central core. Taking advantage of these trends, community activists established CDCs to rebuild housing and revive commercial life in older neighborhoods of Roxbury and Dorchester. CDC organizations also addressed arson, health care, grocery stores, crime, and drugs as part of establishing safe urban villages. The State of Massachusetts created its own programs of loans, grants, and consultations, and helped underwrite CDCs. As major rehabilitation projects were undertaken and new residents arrived, government and banks increased their belief in the ability of CDCs to turn the tide in low-income areas. After 20 years of collaboration, an enduring relationship cemented between private community-based organizations and public and private funding sources. Despite successful results, none of Boston's community revitalization achievements was preordained. Rather, positive developments were marked by years of experiments and setbacks.

Chicago's South Side (south of the Loop and north of the University of Chicago) was nearly forgotten

in the post-World War II years. The author recounts how, as older buildings were demolished, high-rise public housing was erected or lots were left empty. Revival of the area hinged on the rediscovery of African American historic, architectural, and musical legacies and collaboration with large institutions, like the Illinois Institute of Technology, the city of Chicago, and major foundations. Designation of historic buildings in the Black Metropolis-Bronzeville district provided official recognition to the area and made historic buildings eligible for federal tax incentives. With the success of new housing projects south of the Loop and demolition of high-rise public housing blocks starting in the 1990s, city and community leaders anticipate that vacant lots in the South Side will be developed with new housing and, over the long haul, serve as the engine for reviving a long neglected area.

Atlanta personifies the opportunities of boomtown cities of the Sunbelt, although it traces its roots back to the mid-19th century. In the late 20th century, Atlanta exhibited many of the urban ills that proved resistant to government and corporate intervention. Several events of that period, however, offered new promise. For von Hoffman, the most important of these was the 1996 Summer Olympic Games. Planning an international event prompted the city to improve its transportation and public works infrastructure and revitalize inner-city neighborhoods. Dressing up the city involved building new facilities for sporting events and improving neighborhoods that would be seen by international visitors. In the rush to create "civic showpieces," however, historic buildings were demolished and replaced with new housing. A notable exception, in the Old Fourth Ward, the childhood home of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. served as the centerpiece of a renewed Auburn Avenue district redeveloped through a "block by block" strategy of rehabilitation and new construction. An enduring effect of the Olympics was corporate and foundation funding for CDCs and similar organizations. The Olympics also spurred a back-to-the-city movement that lured middle-class residents to downtown lofts, former factory buildings, and older houses.

Los Angeles became one of the nation's most important immigrant gateways in the 1980s. The flood of immigrants who poured into the city established small businesses. The dispersal of these enterprises across the metropolitan area shaped urban revitalization. The author describes these as "hidden hives of business activity." Rather than organizing communities by area, community development officials engaged in what the author calls "creative unorthodoxy." Constituents were organized by interests, regardless of location, and included a range of ethnic and cultural groups. Community development efforts focused on pulling together business owners to share information and develop greater business networks. In order to remain relevant, African American community organizations expanded their constituency to include the Hispanic and Latino groups. Established Asian assistance groups likewise redefined the populations they served.

For heritage practitioners, this book serves as a reminder that preserving historic buildings and other elements of the built environment constitutes a critical element—but by no means the only important ingredient—in a successful recipe for community revitalization. Other essentials include jobs, transportation networks, retail establishments, public schools, crime prevention, and health care. Successful community preservationists establish connections with CDCs and related organizations and work with them to advance the improvement of whole communities.

In the title *House by House, Block by Block*, von Hoffman sums up an incremental approach to urban revitalization that worked. Unlike the grand plans of City Beautiful architects of the early 20th century or the highly theoretical and radical city rebuilding of the 1950s and 1960s, the salvation of the nation's great cities resulted from the agglomer-

ation of small projects initiated by locally based community organizations in the last decades of the 20th century. The process was a gradual one, undertaken with small steps with few guideposts to mark the way. In the end, a gradual process was the best approach, one that could withstand the test of time and ensure the preservation of the nation's urban legacy.

Antoinette J. Lee
National Park Service

Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings

By James M. Goode. Second Edition, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003; 539 pp., photographs, illustrations, notes, index; cloth $69.95.

The 1979 publication of James Goode's *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings* was ground breaking and helped to raise awareness of the destruction of many noteworthy District of Columbia buildings since World War II. As a history teacher at George Mason University, and later as a curator at the Smithsonian Institution, Goode personally witnessed the loss of dozens of landmarks. In the first edition, Goode examined significant buildings that had been lost, ranging from federal-style buildings of the 1790s to landmarks of the Modern style of the 1930s.

Goode's book served as a call for preservationists to step forward and ensure the preservation and management of the city's architectural legacy. Since its initial publication, public awareness of historic preservation has risen, and the passage of the Historic District and Historic Landmark Protection Act of 1978 has significantly slowed loss. The destructive process has not ended, however; instead, it has warranted the publication of a second edition. The new edition encompasses the original 252 structures, and adds 18, including Valley View, a historic country home, razed in 2001.

The format of the second edition is identical to the first, with lost structures organized in two groups: residential and nonresidential. The groups are further divided into 19 categories based on architectural style. The categories include commercial buildings, row houses, temporary government buildings, and, perhaps most intriguing, street furniture, such as lampposts, streetcar tracks, and gates.

One of the book's strengths is the clear and concise narrative that includes a description of each building or feature, what made it significant, an overview of its history, and the circumstances of its destruction. Goode manages to convey the key data in a straightforward manner, without excessive technical jargon. Generally, the entry for each building and feature is limited to one page, although some merit multiple-page extended histories.

Each entry includes at least one photograph. Some entries include other images, such as owners, interiors, or context. The photographs complement the narratives and provide stirring visual reminders of what was lost. The large format of the book allows each photograph to convey important details of each structure. In addition to photographs, the book includes architectural plans and other related items.

Another useful aspect is the foreword by architectural historian Richard Longstreth, entitled "Capital Gains, Capital Challenges: Historic Preservation in Washington since 1979." Longstreth examines the trials and tribulations of historic preservation in Washington since the 1978 preservation act, an often sobering overview. While the act preserved many structures, its weaknesses have resulted in some tragic losses and some appalling

efforts to circumvent the preservation process.

One of the more avoidable losses occurred in 1989 when the law firm of Ingersoll and Block revealed plans to build a 400-unit apartment house at the site of 7 late-19th-century rowhouses on Rhode Island Avenue. A community association sought landmark status for the rowhouses, which would have delayed action until the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Review Board could examine the case. The law firm then obtained "midnight" demolition permits for three of the houses; the next day the fronts of all seven were smashed, destroying their character. The firm was fined a paltry $500 for not waiting the prescribed 48 hours after demolition permits had been issued and for not having permits to demolish 4 of the 7 buildings. The firm had not even secured funds to build the apartment house when it began demolition, and the lot was still vacant at the time of the publishing of Goode's second edition in 2003.

The book succeeds admirably in its original mission to call attention to what has been lost in Washington since World War II; the second edition illustrates the continuing destruction. Where the book falls short is in identifying the root causes of the destruction, the social, technological, and economic changes that may have rendered some old buildings obsolete. Many of the old buildings were unsuited for modern use without extensive and expensive modifications. To be fair, identifying causes of destruction was not a stated aim of the book, but its absence reveals a limitation of the book's focus.

The book fills a void in the documentation of the loss of architecturally significant historic buildings in the District of Columbia. Other volumes have examined changes in the city, including *Washington Past and Present: A History* and *Washington, D.C. Then and Now*, but none has touched this particular subject.[1] Goode's volume remains the seminal work documenting losses in the nation's capital since World War II.

Many people will find this book interesting and useful. For those interested in historic preservation, the book will serve as a poignant reminder of what was and still can be lost due to a lack of foresight and the pressures of urban growth and renewal. While not overly technical, the book will be valuable to architects and historians as an overview of what makes a structure significant. Readers interested in the history and evolution of the District of Columbia will find the architectural perspectives helpful. Finally, casual readers will enjoy the book's fascinating subject matter presented in a simple and straightforward style.

Tim Marshall
National Park Service

1. John Clagett Proctor, ed., *Washington Past and Present: A History* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1930); Alexander D. Mitchell IV, *Washington, D.C. Then and Now* (San Diego, CA: Thunder Bay Press, 2000).

The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History

Edited by Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R. Shivers, Jr., Foreword by Richard Hubbard Howland. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004; 456 pp., photographs, drawings, notes, glossary, index; cloth $55.00.

Many things about Baltimore are peculiar, and its architectural history is no exception. The city is rich with character, with acres of vernacular fabric punctuated by high-style monuments designed by national and local practitioners. The architecture exemplifies virtually every major trend, style, and tendency in American design of the past two centuries. Baltimore has justifiable local pride in the buildings of its past, yet it is prone to self-effacement, as if it does not quite "measure up" to some Platonic standard of innovation or quality that characterizes other American cities. While Baltimore's important monuments are included in

surveys of American architecture, Baltimore has had no survey book of its own, until now.

Much anticipated, *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History*, goes a long way towards filling a void in the scholarly literature of the city and its built environment. Organized as a straightforward outline, the book divides its subject first chronologically, then by building type or style, and finally by analyzing individual buildings. Each chronological section begins with an economic sketch to establish the sources of the city's prosperity and the conditions of its wealth in a period. With the emphasis on economic determinism as historical context, it is startling that the authors do not mention slavery in the early chapters, given the growth of the port and the city's role in the plantation economy. Future scholars will need to include this economic information in their conclusions about Baltimore's social and cultural character and how the evolving character, in turn, affected building and design.

The volume collects vast quantities of useful information, including biographic and professional data on architects, formal analyses, chronologies, and images of Baltimore's notable buildings. The book should become a standard reference work for students and scholars of American architecture. Yet, perhaps because its contributors and editors are local residents, the book mirrors a characteristic ambivalence towards Baltimore's place in the larger context of American architecture and history.

The foreword by Richard Hubbard Howland points out that the last attempt to survey the architecture of Baltimore was his own pioneering work, *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History*, written with Eleanor Patterson Spencer in 1953.[1] As the title indicates, Howland and Spencer's book aimed at a popular audience of enthusiasts and its scholarly content, while still useful and solid, is tantalizingly brief. Since then, John Dorsey's and James Dilts's *Guide to Baltimore Architecture* has served both the scholar and the merely curious reader as the standard reference on the subject.[2] The self-proclaimed guidebook focuses on noteworthy monuments in a conveniently portable format, rather than striving to identify trends, themes, or characteristics.

The intended audience for the present volume is not as apparent. The introduction pauses to note the inclusion of a glossary for "lay readers." The vintage illustrations are remarkable documents gathered from a wide array of local archival repositories, but they are not in color or, in many cases, large enough to give the volume the appeal of a general-interest coffee-table book. Small images embedded in the text are reproduced at larger scale in the back material, but still too much detail is rendered illegible. For the specialist, on the other hand, the narrative falls frustratingly short in context and analytical acuity. Moreover, the book's greatest weakness is its evasion of comparisons between the architecture of Baltimore and other American cities in similar periods.

From the early 19th century to the Great Depression, Baltimore was a preeminent American urban center, with a cultural reputation for Yankee cosmopolitanism and southern gentility, qualities expressed eloquently, if sometimes inadvertently, in its built environment. In the early 20th century, the social pages of the *New York Times* featured updates from Baltimore, alongside those from other satellite social centers such as Chicago, Boston, Newport, Palm Beach, Paris, and London. Clearly, in the past, Baltimoreans were not perceived as provincial, nor did they consider themselves provincial. Thus it is somewhat surprising to find that the authors in the introduction state a *caveat* regarding the importance of their own subject—

Baltimore by and large has been content to follow rather than set architectural taste. Its patrons of architecture have from time to time preferred cosmopolitan styles; rarely have they indulged in stylistic

hyperbole, and the architects who served them have accommodated their taste.

With that self-effacing statement, Hayward and Shivers's *Architecture of Baltimore* not only pre-empts any possible accusation of local boosterism, it also passes up the opportunity to advocate for the importance of the very topic that it sets out to explore. From Latrobe's Baltimore Cathedral to important early works by the then-fledgling firm of McKim, Mead, and White, to the radical Brutalism of the Mechanic Theater and the recent Mattin Center at Johns Hopkins University by Tod Williams and Billie Tsien, Baltimore has hosted its fair share of gutsy patrons and of-the-moment design. Despite little national context to support their reticence, the volume's authors assume a posture of deference: we're sorry we're not New York or Washington. For example, in describing the end of the federal era in the city, when Mills, Godefroy, and Latrobe all parlayed local patronage into nationally recognized achievements, the authors opine, "By 1820, all the celebrated architects were gone," as if Baltimore had failed to honor a tacit promise to thrive and was left uniquely bereft of professional skills in the period that followed. Lacking a connection to the development of nearby Washington, DC, and the crucial role of Mills and Latrobe in defining a vocabulary for a new national architecture, the reader is given no sense of how Baltimore's architectural identity developed in relation to the capital's and how both contributed to developing an enduring official style of the United States.

Like kindred manufacturing cities such as Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Baltimore has maintained a vital, working-class culture, which had its distinctive environment of red-brick rowhouses, shadowed by mills, factories, and portside warehouses. With the rise of the Colonial Revival in the late 19th century, the legacy of Baltimore's federal-era past became the preferred high-style point of reference for scholars of the decorative, fine, and design arts, who paid little notice to the post-Civil War work of nationally known practitioners such as McKim, Mead, and White; Cram and Goodhue; John Russell Pope; and Carrère and Hastings.

Unlike Hayward's previous typological study, *The Baltimore Rowhouse*, where the author made a case to shift the historical emphasis toward vernacular architecture as defining Baltimore building and its character, the present volume reinforces the Colonial Revival mythology that forces of industrial modernity supplanted Baltimore's "genteel" antebellum past.[3] Indeed, the perception persists that the architectural character of pre-Civil War Baltimore was defined by its genteel aristocrats, and the post-Civil War city by its workers. Despite acknowledging the implicit racism and class bias of this perception in the book on the rowhouse, Hayward and her co-editor minimize the contributing factors of race and class in the present volume.

Hayward and Shivers's *Architecture of Baltimore* acknowledges the range of architectural forms and expression, including both high-style and vernacular examples. Industrial structures, a welcome inclusion, are treated in a separate chapter, apart from the residences, institutions, and monuments that laborers and their labors supported. While the text makes an admirable leap forward in portraying both high-style and vernacular architecture in the post-Civil War eras, it stops short of reinstating the vital dynamic of socio-economic class and architectural diversity that gives Baltimore such rich and resonant character, even today.

Laurie Ossman
Vizcaya Museum and Gardens

1. Richard Hubbard Howland and Eleanor Patterson Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, with the Municipal Art Society, 1953).

2. John Dorsey and James Dilts, *Guide to Baltimore Architecture* (1973; Centreville, MD: Tidewater Press, 1981 and subsequent editions).

3. Mary Ellen Hayward and Charles Belfoure, *The Baltimore Rowhouse* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999).

Lifeboat

By John R. Stilgoe. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003; xi +325 pp., photographs, illustrations; cloth $29.95.

The introduction to John R. Stilgoe's *Lifeboat* describes a classic winter northeast gale along the Massachusetts coast, with the author himself crouched low in the belly of a lifeboat, struggling to make needed repairs as his body chills and his fingers grow numb. One can sense Stilgoe's connection with the vessel and with the storm that he and his Yankee verbalize as a "noth'easter." One soon learns that Stilgoe and his ancient craft are in his barn on the New England coast, not on the open sea. Shortly, the reader finds the author in his kitchen, warming his hands around a cup of tea as he ponders his fascination with the venerable lifeboat built "so long ago." And well might he put his agile mind to such a question. Stilgoe, son of a commercial boat builder and son of the Massachusetts Bay, knows boats and their characteristics intimately. He has grown up with and in them. Thus, early in this intriguing work he establishes his personal link and authority which strongly influence his lengthy and broad research.

Why his intrigue? Why did this professor of landscape history at Harvard University write a volume on an arcane piece of waterborne material culture? Stilgoe is author of several classics in urban and suburban history, including *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845* and *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939*.[1] His books also include *Alongshore* and *Outside Lies Magic: Regaining History and Awareness in Everyday Places*, which provide a more tangible connection to *Lifeboat*.[2] The trigger for his study, Stilgoe tells us, was something about the physical character of this artifact of a past era.

Lifeboats, for Stilgoe, are objects that can speak to us. Ours, he explains, is an age when war against an unsuspecting civilian population might plunge a society into unthinkable chaos, when the conventions of that society and the protection of familiar technologies might fail. Such developments, the reader is told, parallel the disasters that befell unsuspecting passengers aboard doomed ships at sea. And to what did these passengers and their crews turn for deliverance? The lifeboat.

Lifeboats, Stilgoe explains, are remnants of the past. Those confronted by disaster at sea today radio the U.S. Coast Guard, check their Global Positioning System devices, launch self-inflating rafts, trigger Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacons, and await rescue. If rescue is slow in coming, they simply drift and continue to wait. Those who abandon ship into a lifeboat, like the thousands who have done so in years past, find themselves in a craft that may be allowed to drift aimlessly, but is in fact designed for ocean passage, to travel under the power of oars, sail, or both. Whether one drifts aimlessly, fails in an attempted passage to safety, or in fact succeeds in reaching safety, is, says Stilgoe, dependent largely on one's skill, knowledge, and ability to withstand the rigors of an unexpected disaster.

Stilgoe makes clear the lessons to be found in numerous emergencies that relied on the small craft for salvation. He examines a number of open boat passages of historical note. These include Captain William Bligh's incredible 3,600-mile passage when abandoned in the *Bounty's* launch, and the 4,300- mile, 43-day passage of the longboat of the doomed Yankee clipper ship, *Hornet*. Numerous other open boat feats of survival are investigated as Stilgoe taps personal accounts of survivors of harrowing experiences, many of which occurred during the great wars of the last century. He also draws upon a variety of books written explicitly to inform mariners about lifeboats, and their characteristics and use. His discussion of these life-and-death matters, unfortunately, did not draw on *In the Heart of the Sea*, the subtle work of Nathaniel Philbrick that so success-

fully explored the internal struggle of those imperiled on the sea.[3]

Stilgoe has little sympathy for blithe and ignorant passengers who, like those on airplanes, never take even the simplest and most important step toward self-preservation—a glance to notice the nearest exit. Such people are for Stilgoe, nascent victims awaiting slaughter. Perhaps even less sympathy is shown for members of the black gang—coal heavers, stokers, and trimmers who though making their life on the sea, were never of the sea. Stilgoe refers to the sinking of steamers like *Lusitania* to exemplify how laborers pushed women and children aside in the scramble to survive.

Joseph Conrad might nod approvingly at Stilgoe's view that technology has separated seafarers from their natural element and eroded their "fellowship of the craft." Stilgoe cites observers like Robert Bennett Forbes and George Templeton Strong who, like Conrad, mourned the loss of the traditional knowledge and skills that were part and parcel of seafaring under sail. The separation, says Stilgoe, was evident in the three stages of a survivable disaster at sea: launching the boats, the "waterborne moment" (the time between entering the boats and the departure from the site of the sinking), and the open-ocean passage. He looks closely as the three stages. His message is that those who had knowledge, understanding, skills, and equipment to meet these challenges could succeed. Those who did not often would fail.

Lifeboat is a well-crafted paean to a misunderstood and largely invisible piece of the seafaring environment. The book's readers will be awakened to both the intricacies of the object's design, appurtenances, and operation, as well as to the lessons learned by and the guidance available to mariners. The depth and breadth of Stilgoe's research are impressive, and his style is engaging. *Lifeboat* is a fine example of the value of close analysis of a remnant of a culture fast slipping away.

Glenn S. Gordinier
Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies

1. John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982) and *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

2. John R. Stilgoe, *Alongshore* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994) and *Outside Lies Magic: Regaining History and Awareness in Everyday Places* (New York: Walker and Co., 1998).

3. Nathaniel Philbrick, *In the Heart of the Sea: The Tragedy of the Whaleship* Essex (New York: Viking, 2000).

Seaport: New York's Vanished Waterfront

Photographs from the Edwin Levick Collection; Text by Philip Lopate. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books in association with the Mariners' Museum, 2004; x + 182 pp., photographs; cloth $34.95.

When Edwin Levick and his colleagues were photographing the New York waterfront in the early decades of the 20th century, merchants and workers in the city's commercial core were supplied through nearby docks, and in turn sold, packed, and shipped locally produced and transported goods, profiting from the value added by their labor and brokeraging. Teaming mobs of longshoremen and sailors moved goods on and off all manner of watercraft, from barges floating down the Erie Canal and Hudson River to large steamships destined for Europe, South America, and Asia.

Beverly McMillan, this volume's developer and editor, deserves praise for serving these slices of early to mid-1900s New York to a wider audience, and steering the themes towards both elite and populist activities simultaneously. *Seaport* is divided into three parts, an introductory essay by Phillip Lopate that contextualizes the photographs, anno-

tated reproductions of 136 photographs from the Edwin Levick Collection at the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia, and notes found on the photographs themselves. Lopate's essay provides the right amount of context for a photographic volume, with sections on the New York waterfront, the photographers' histories, New York as a world port, shipbuilding, passengers, other uses of the New York harbor, military activities in and around New York City, and systems of ship loading and unloading.

Lopate's text is interspersed with photographs. Overall, the quality of reproduction is good, with variations in photographic contrast and exposure faithfully reproduced. While some of the compositions are unremarkable, several photographs like the one of the Queen Mary and one featuring barge pets show both artistic talent and mastery of the medium.

From an archeologist's perspective, the most interesting images are those of ship construction and launching. Large format photographs show technical details that would allow a nautical archeologist or historian to confirm where and when a particular construction technique or material was used. Along the same lines, some of the images of labor gangs loading goods and socialites gathering for sailing races and cocktail parties would be very interesting to social historians. Architectural historians of New York City would find in the images of the now largely rebuilt waterfront important clues to the location and appearance of early 20th-century buildings. Transportation historians could use photographs of the rail lines along the docks to reconstruct the network used to ship goods.

In addition to being useful, the photographs reproduced in this volume provide a tantalizing glimpse into the Edwin Levick Collection of 46,000-plus images. The Levick Collection archives images of a wide range of specialized subjects ripe for additional studies of the commercial and social life of maritime New York.

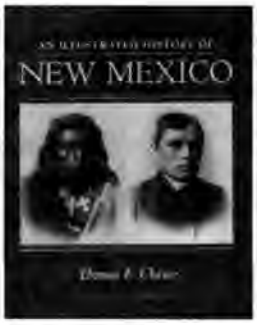
Through the lens of post-September 11, 2001, these images not only document historic New York, they also highlight that in the contemporary period such a study is, for all intents and purposes, impossible. Imagine a photographer hanging around New York City's LaGuardia or Kennedy airports taking pictures of airplanes embarking or disembarking, or of cargo being loaded or unloaded. The same holds for someone who might want to document the loading and unloading of container ships or New York's elite flying in and out of the area's private airports.

This photographic essay of maritime New York evokes memories of vanished ports, but with the quality and diversity of images, the volume affirms that knowledge of this era will not be lost.

Brinnen S. Carter
National Park Service

An Illustrated History of New Mexico

By Thomas E. Chávez. 1992. Reprint. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003; illustrations, maps, index, 253 pp; paper $24.95.



In this book, Thomas Chávez, longtime director of the Palace of the Governors Museum in Santa Fe and more recently director of the National Hispanic Cultural Center in Albuquerque, appeals to the sensory side of his readers. A compilation of nearly 250 well-chosen photographs, illustrations, and maps presents a fascinating visual journey through New Mexico's adventure-packed history from the eve of the Spanish *entrada* in the late 1500s to the last-minute landing of NASA's Space Shuttle in Alamogordo, New Mexico, in 1982.

Together with the engaging images, the author opted to employ many quotations throughout the book to literally "illustrate" the New Mexico saga to his audience. In the preface, Chávez alerts us that his work "is not intended to feed the reader with information so much as to stimulate questions, connections, and ideas, from the words and images of yesteryear's New Mexico."

The illustrations and quoted text, he tells us, are sometimes harmonious and sometimes not, but cumulatively they present a "score that is about New Mexico." Fortunately, the author provides a concise but informative overview of New Mexico history that guides the reader through the pages. From this narrative we conclude that New Mexico's story is one of episodic change and unceasing cultural and political adaptation. "Over the years," writes Chávez, "New Mexicans learned to do things on their own, and in the process they developed independent attitudes along with a culture somewhat different from the strong neo-Aztec strains of Mexico proper." This point is consistently validated as the reader is swept through Spanish colonization, American military occupation, the transition from provincialism to progressivism, and the advent of the nuclear age.

The strength of the book lies in the thoughtful selection and quality reproduction of both the illustrations and often poignant quotations. Especially intriguing are the numerous photos that depict the daily lives of New Mexico's multicultural citizenry—snapshots of a predominantly working-class society in historical transition. One weakness, however, lies in assuming that most readers are familiar with the region's story. To enhance his visual essay, the author might have provided a broad historical overview, followed by narratives to introduce each period. Also lacking is a bibliography (although the notes at the end partially address this oversight) for readers not especially well-versed in the subject. Finally, inasmuch as this edition is a reprint of the original publication (University of Colorado, 1992), the author missed an opportunity to advance the story beyond the 1980s.

In the main, the book is factual and readable and fills a noticeable void in regional scholarship. Chávez provides an enjoyable, no-nonsense illustrated history that teachers, students, scholars, and history devotees will embrace for years to come.

Art Gómez
National Park Service

Philadelphia Graveyards and Cemeteries

By Thomas H. Keels. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003; 128 pp., illustrated, index; paper $19.95.

Arcadia Publishing has been producing small and well-illustrated books on local history. Varying in quality, the series' format emphasizes archival photographs and images that celebrate America's often forgotten past. Most of these little books are useful because they reproduce and annotate many obscure pictures rescued from the oblivion of personal photograph-postcard collections or selected from large, mostly unpublished, archives. *Philadelphia Graveyards and Cemeteries* is among the best of this genre and does not disappoint the reader who seeks unusual and important images.

Keels provides an astonishing amount of historical and visual commentary on the entire range of Philadelphia's cemeteries over time and space. In nine crisply annotated chapters Keels describes Philadelphia's legacy: colonial and federal graveyards, Laurel Hill Cemetery, the Woodlands, other Victorian cemeteries, neighborhood graveyards, African American burial sites, Catholic and Jewish cemeteries, the trappings of death, and vanished cemeteries. Keels's work is a primer on how rich an

aspect of heritage can be if we take the time to examine it more closely. While this book is not the large contextual study that many of us who study such material might wish, Keels provides a tantalizing overview of the richness of Philadelphia's graveyards.

Keels introduces us to important examples of Philadelphia's neglected past. Scholars have previously examined the great cemeteries of Laurel Hill and Woodlands. Keels boldly summarizes these histories and then leads us into an examination of Philadelphia's lesser known burial grounds. For example, the Pennypack (Pennepek) Baptist Church cemetery is illustrated by a ca. 1910 photograph of a stone dating to 1702. The stone presents the image of a skull, hourglass, and a pair of crossed long bones. The Federal Government established a much larger Philadelphia National Cemetery in the Pittville section of Germantown in 1885 for Civil War soldiers.

Keels includes a photograph of the famous Confederate Monument erected in 1911 during the latter years of the national reunion of the North and the South. Another photograph shows a party of World War II German prisoners tending to the graves of American soldiers. Philadelphia's Jewish community receives much attention in Keels's work as well. The author describes the recent restoration of the Hebrew Mutual Burial Ground in the Eastwick section of the city. Keels also includes many of the most imposing grave monuments in Philadelphia: Alexander Calder's eerie sculpture of a woman lifting the lid of a sarcophagus in order to release its spirit can be contrasted with the more imposing 20th-century carving of the famous ironclad *U.S.S. Monitor* at Mount Moriah.

The chapter on African American burial sites is exemplary. The author begins by concisely describing the cultural context of these burial places: "African American burial sites were particularly prone to obliteration. This was a reflection of the vulnerability of the city's African Americans during much of their history, as they struggled to build and maintain their community in the face of economic, social, and racial oppression." Important images include a woman interred with a ceramic plate placed on her body at the site of the First African Baptist Church. A map shows that 140 graves were discovered on the site, which is one of the most important examples of African American cemetery archeology in the country. Its analysis demonstrated burial practices different from those of white contemporaries.[1] Individuals from the first African Baptist Church site were reinterred in Eden Cemetery in 1987. By including this site, Keels captures an important moment in the history of Philadelphia's preservation movement. The burial place of some of Philadelphia's veterans of the Civil War, the United States Colored Troops, recalls the role of Philadelphia as the training camp for several regiments.[2]

In his chapter "The Trappings of Death," Keels provides holistic perspectives on his subject. Here he quite accurately emphasizes the importance of funeral product manufacturers in Philadelphia. Numerous marble yards produced the great variety of Victorian monuments that are still in situ in many Philadelphia cemeteries. One such example is the Henry Clay sarcophagus by John Struthers, the chief marble mason for William Strickland's Second Bank of the United States and the Merchant's Exchange. Left out of this book is Strickland's own designed monument for Benjamin Carr, who established the first music store in the United States. Erected in 1830, it consists of a classical urn supported by three reversed torches and is still in St. Peter's churchyard on Third Street at Pine.[3] Photographs of embalming products and embalmers, casket makers, hearse manufacturers, and even the black crepe that draped the coffins and decorated funeral parlors are included.

The final section of the book, "Vanished Cemeteries," warns readers about the conse-

quences of neglect. Images offer a powerful portrait of cemeteries that were damaged and destroyed by neglect and vandalism. This chapter should have been followed by recommendations for the care of this important aspect of Philadelphian heritage. Nonetheless, this little book attests to the importance of cemeteries in chronicling the evolution of a city and provides readers with insights into how cemeteries' ethnic and cultural diversity can enrich their lives.

David G. Orr
Temple University

1. John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 284-288.

2. Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1961-1865* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1966), 220-221 and 248, and James M. Paradis, *Strike the Blow for Freedom: The 6th United States Colored Infantry in the Civil War* (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Books, 1998).

3. Agnes Addison Gilchrist, *William Strickland: Architect and Engineer, 1788-1854* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 9 and Plate 28.

Drawing on America's Past: Folk Art, Modernism, and the Index of American Design

By Virginia Tuttle Clayton, Elizabeth Stillinger, Erika Doss, and Deborah Chotner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003; 256 pp., illustrations, bibliography, appendices, index; cloth $45.00.

Compare the simple, abstract forms of a rooster weather vane and a Shaker knitting needle case with the complex, detailed weaving of a Boston coverlet and the tiny stitches of an "Old Maid's Ramble" quilt. In this stunning compendium of Americana from the Index of American Design, one can do just that. Textile designer Ruth Reeves and Romana Javitz, head of the New York Public Library's Picture Collection from 1929 until her retirement in 1968, developed the initial idea for the Index in the mid-1930s. By capturing images of American design, the Index would enlighten the public about the development of American culture.

After the pair proposed their idea to the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project, the Index became an official endeavor to provide a pictorial record of America's artistic heritage. Created between 1935 and 1942, the Index celebrates the quality and vitality of American design. Although the Index excluded architectural ornament and Native American artifacts because they were being recorded by other New Deal-era projects, it sought to include humble artifacts and fine examples of decorative art from public and private collections throughout the country.

Administered by folk art authority, Holger Cahill, the project employed approximately 1,000 artists to depict examples of American folk, popular, and decorative arts created from the time of the country's settlement to about 1900. Today, the Index is viewed as the most comprehensive survey of Americana, allowing researchers to compare objects from daily life and appreciate their unique character.

Although Cahill originally considered using photographs in the style of Walker Evans and Edward Steichen to document the objects, photographic processes available at the time were not cost-effective, permanent, or accurate enough to record object colors in a way that would meet Index goals. Instead, over 18,000 watercolor portraits of objects were created, all of which are now curated by the National Gallery of Art.

To generate goodwill throughout the project, Cahill, also a former journalist and publicist, organized exhibitions of the original renderings at libraries, department stores, hotels, and banks. Long after the project's conclusion, major shows of the Index's work continue. From November 2002 to March 2003, the National Gallery of Art exhibit-

ed 82 exemplary Index renderings. *Drawing on America's Past* is the catalog for the exhibition.

The book opens with essays on American folk art, cultural nationalism, and the background of the Index by Virginia Tuttle Clayton, associate curator of Old Master Prints at the National Gallery of Art, and Erika Doss, professor of art history at the University of Colorado, Boulder. Elizabeth Stillinger, a historian of American decorative arts, takes an insightful look at American folk art collecting and how influential individuals like Henry Francis Du Pont, Electra Havemeyer Webb, and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller proclaimed folk art as examples of fine American craftsmanship. Deborah Chotner, assistant curator of American and British paintings at the National Gallery of Art, contributed to catalogue entries and information on artists.

Following these introductory essays, the catalogue presents examples of carvings; domestic artifacts; furniture; textiles; toys; trade signs and figures; weather vanes and whirligigs; and one drum. Comprehensive descriptions of artistic techniques and decorative art forms enlighten readers about popular motifs found in redware and how "japanning"—a technique in which black enamel or varnish is first applied to wood, and then is painted, gilded, and polished to produce a durable, glossy finish—was used to imitate Oriental lacquer. Short discussions of the origin of ship figureheads and the types of wood used in their construction enhance the nostalgic appeal of nautical carvings.

Entries also place the objects recorded in the Index in historical context. Details about the Island Park Carousel in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, give meaning to the carousel goat depicted by Index artist Donald Donovan. Detailed notes on the data report sheets that accompanied each Index rendering provide additional information about objects, such as the type of game a decoy would have attracted. Compiled by a librarian and Index administrators, the data sheets are rich research resources that include the artist's name for each rendering, the original object's maker and owner, and its classification number for the Index.

Careful historical research is evident throughout the book. Descriptions of newspaper articles and local histories provide information about the object's provenance, while oral histories with Index artists bolster to the book's sound research. As an example of the careful presentation of facts, Chotner's catalogue entry for a late-19th-century-toaster describes examining United States Patent Office records for the patent number burned into the toaster's handle. The text reveals that the patent indicated was assigned to an 1837 blast furnace, not a toaster. The book's illustrations are a dramatic complement to its sound textual construction. Photographs of Index artists at work bring the project to life, while watercolor illustrations are often paired with photographic images of original objects.

The catalogue reveals that the most skilled Index artists shared their methods of making renderings with other artists through demonstration drawings and the Index of American Design manual. From pencil outlines to color washes, the drawings demonstrate commonly employed artistic techniques. Consistent with the Index's commitment to detail and accuracy, the demonstration drawings show the kinds of brushes, colors, and boards that artists used.

Studying the demonstration drawings leads to a greater appreciation of the skill with which the watercolors were executed. The sheen of worn varnish, crackled paint surfaces, and even rust marks around nails on the original objects are captured in the renderings. For example, when depicting the Uree C. Fell Sampler, a piece of needlework that was completed by a woman named Fell from Buckingham, Pennsylvania, Index artist Elmer Anderson drew white lines on a dark background in order to provide the illusion of the woven cotton background of this 1846 sampler. After precisely

painting tiny cross-stitches on the intricate background, Anderson signed his work and provided notes on its scale in a hand reminiscent of 19th-century cross-stitch sampler verses.

Drawing on America's Past concludes with a bibliography of books, articles, exhibitions, and archival documents, and biographies of Index artists. The information that *Drawing on America's Past* provides about the works of folk, popular, and decorative arts depicted in the Index helps researchers understand artistic techniques and discover more about objects so prevalent in and meaningful to our past. The book also enlightens those seeking information about the Index and how it contributed to our present-day concept of American art.

The Index of American Design remains the most extensive pictorial representation of American folk, popular, and decorative arts. This attractive, well-researched and finely written publication perfectly complements the expressive content and valuable cultural meaning of the objects that the Index celebrates.

Betsy Butler
Ohio Historical Society

Appalachian Folkways

By John B. Rehder. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004; 353 pp., illustrations, notes, glossary, bibliography, index; cloth $39.95.

John Rehder, a cultural geographer at the University of Tennessee, presents an informative and entertaining look into the "culture hearth" of the southern Appalachian Mountains, a region he defines as ranging from southern Pennsylvania to northern Alabama. The volume crosses the disciplines of cultural anthropology, social identity, and ethnography, but the author necessarily clarifies the cultural geography emphasis of his work. His discussion of culture (the learned and shared lifeways of the cultural hearth of Appalachia) identifies southern Appalachia as a distinctive cultural center in America.

Important Appalachian cultural traits are presented in chapters on the history and composition of the region's ethnicity, architecture, economy, food and subsistence methods, folk medicine and religion, music and art, and language. Rehder provides an academically rigorous and entertainingly informative perspective on a "cultural milieu" that is uniquely American, but deeply rooted in a primarily Anglican ancestry of the Scottish, Irish, British, and German. Rehder takes particular issue with negative stereotyping of mountain people evident in earlier literature by environmental determinists and "color-writers"—the generation of post-Civil War writers who characterized the Appalachian region as backward and portrayed its inhabitants as "yesterday's people."

After a condensed discussion of the topography and geology of the Appalachian Mountain ranges, Rehder examines its population by ethnic group, including a thorough discussion of the Cherokee Indians and the enigmatic Melungeons. He does an excellent job of describing historic settlement routes and patterns of occupation. He identifies the most common surnames in specific locales creating associations of particular interest to genealogists.

Rehder provides a wonderful account of the origins and variations of the architecture and cultural landscape of Appalachia. Not only does he provide detailed descriptions of the many types of structures of the region, but he also gives the reader a visual understanding by including photographs and floor plans. The discussion of log cabins,

including spatial and temporal distributions, is comprehensive. Rehder also considers Appalachian folkways of making a living by looking at both past and current regional economies, including agriculture, sanging (ginseng collecting), logging, mining, and outlaw ways (bootlegging and guerilla farming).

The most entertaining chapter is an informative study of the origins of Appalachian cooking. Discussions of the origins of the region's unique cuisine are accompanied by recipes and a delightful discussion of the American Indian contribution to the American diet, corn. The discussion partially addresses tribal contributions to the folkways inventory. Of particular interest is a discussion of the origin and preparation of the classic southern breakfast mainstay, grits, creating a mouth-watering desire to sample the recipes. The chapter, rich in ethnographic content, is the heart and soul of the entire volume, adding a wonderfully human dimension to the book.

The author's discussion of folk remedies is informative, although it lacks information about their preparation. The same chapter also discusses the region's religious sects. Rehder includes a list of the most popular church groups, descriptions of their dogmas, the history of their founding, the identity of the founders, and descriptions of what to expect at a service.

Music lovers will no doubt favor Rehder's chapter on music and language. Readers interested in the roots of bluegrass music, and country music in general, may be surprised at the details of the development of the genre that Rehder's research reveals. Rehder closes his discussion of the "culture hearth" with the origins of Appalachian speech. He posits that it is founded in the British Isles but enriched with "linguistic contributions from southern English, German, French, and Native American sources." The chapter concludes with a glossary of terms.

Scholars of Cherokee studies may take issue with the discussion of the important figure, Sequoyah. Rehder correctly describes Sequoyah as a patriarch (the accompanying descriptive term *ancient* aside) because he assumed a leadership role among his kinsmen in relocating his family to Indian Territory. However, Sequoyah never achieved the national political leadership role of Chief of the Cherokee Nation. Sequoyah was a veteran of the Creek War as a member of Chief Junaluska's Cherokee brigade that served with Andrew Jackson at the battle of Horseshoe Bend. He was also an accomplished silversmith. His most important contribution to the Cherokee, however, was the invention of the Cherokee writing system. It is correctly termed a "syllabary," not an alphabet, and is a most amazing linguistic accomplishment. The 85 characters in the set represent the vowels, consonants, and consonant-vowel clusters comprising the Cherokee language.

In summary, Rehder presents an insider's look into North America's southern Appalachia. The author is a native North Carolinian whose career and life have focused on this region and whose ancestry is both Cherokee and Scots-Irish. Throughout the text, the author conveys his sense of loss of the lifeways that he recounts. Forces of change are altering the lifestyles of the people of Appalachia. Rehder closes by expressing his desire to see that more is done to preserve and display Appalachian folkways in museums, folk festivals, and other interpretive forums. The strong academic foundation of the book and its broad cultural subject are certain to appeal to a wide audience of cultural resources specialists.

James E. Bird
National Park Service

Local Identities: Landscape and Community in the Late Prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region

By Fokke Gerritsen. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 9, Amsterdam University Press, 2003; x+6 pp., figures, tables, index; cloth $52.00.

Research for Fokke Gerritsen's publication *Local Identities: Landscape and Community in the Late Prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region* began in 1996 and was completed in 2001 as a successfully defended doctoral dissertation. The work was sponsored by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research, known by its Dutch abbreviation, NWO. The organization's statutory mission is to enhance the quality of research, stimulate new research, ensure strong Dutch scientific programs, facilitate the public's use of research results, and allocate funds to accomplish NWO's goals. Gerritsen's *Local Identities* is true to this mission, integrating his research findings with contemporary issues of cultural heritage management. The book is an outstanding example of the process from research to publication and applied management efforts.

In his work, Gerritsen draws on a range of archeological materials to present a dynamic interpretation of the Late Bronze Age and early Roman-period communities that thrived in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region of northwestern Europe which today covers portions of the southern Netherlands, southwestern Germany, and northeastern France. Gerritsen's main objective is to explain the primary social and cultural transformations that occurred from approximately 1100 B.C. to A.D. 100. Gerritsen claims that at the core of his history are dynamic relationships among households, communities, and villages, and the landscape within which they lived and interacted.

Gerritsen targets information that can help readers understand the household unit, both socially and symbolically. Although not specifically addressing the influence of the individual in his approach, the influences of small social groups and customs practiced and reinforced by direct contact with one another are at the heart of Gerritsen's narrative.

Gerritson's research is perhaps unique. His approach differs from other researchers in that he uses data on small-scale social dimensions as it occurs over time across the landscape. This depth of time releases the reader from the common snapshot approach to site and landscape interpretation and provides a refreshing historical component to analysis of social transformations through time. Gerritsen asserts that the combination of a diachronic approach and a focus on local contexts holds the most promise for interpreting and understanding fundamental social transformations evident in the archeological record that may otherwise be subtle and challenging to decipher.

To convey the thoroughness of his research and the breadth of evidence observed, Gerritsen provides a comprehensive review of the social environment of the Late Bronze Age family. This includes sociological and physical ordering of a typical house and associated domestic architecture, construction types, and siting considerations. Spaces adjacent to the house, including the farmyard, the farmstead, and outbuildings, are meticulously reviewed. Next, the construction of the community is mapped. Data on ritual and religious space, burial practices, and cemeteries are presented with discussion of their importance to the community. Finally, fields, arable land, and agricultural systems are reviewed. Evidence of ditch construction and the effects of land division among communities indicate a transition to a new agricultural regime in the Late Iron Age.

Considerations of community location and structure, territoriality, land tenure, and ownership provide meta-narrative for how a community is incor-

porated into the local landscape and society. Regional patterns of settlement, population clusters, and land use are discussed in context of environmental constraints and subsequent ramifications to demographic trends. Finally, Gerritsen discusses how the constructed space feeds a sense of social identity and community, social dynamics, and communal reciprocity in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region during the Late Bronze Age and early Roman period.

Gerritsen comprehensively accounts for data collected during his research and competently interprets the data in light of specific research questions crafted to maximize the information that results from his work. With *Local Identities*, Gerritsen disseminates what is learned about these early settlers of northwest Europe. How this information will be used by the cultural heritage management community is not fully addressed. One can hope that, in time, new knowledge will facilitate better preservation through improved understanding of resource use and settlement patterns during the study period. Scholars in the field will look forward to future updates by Gerritsen.

Delivered in an easy-to-follow format, Gerritsen's book methodically provides both the layperson and the professional a case study of careful archeological investigations and thoughtful analysis and conclusions. Well illustrated with maps, plans, and figures, the book is a fine example of public archeology that is intended to engage and enlighten regardless of the reader's previous knowledge of the topic. The work is extremely insightful and highly recommended for readers interested in archeology, landscape studies, and cultural heritage interpretation.

Wm. Brian Yates
Florida Division of Historical Resources

Guardians of the Trail: Archeological & Historical Investigations at Fort Craig

By Peggy A. Gerow. New Mexico Bureau of Land Management Cultural Resources Series, No. 15, 2004; 452 pp., maps, tables, illustrations, notes, references, appendices; paper, no charge.

Fort Craig, 25 miles south of Socorro, New Mexico, is one of a series of fortifications built to protect settlers, control Indians, and guard travel routes across the New Mexico Territory. Established in 1854, the fort consisted of rock and adobe buildings. The fort closed in 1884. Since 1981, Fort Craig has been under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Guardians of the Trail describes archeological excavations between 1990 and 1994 by the Archaeological and Historical Research Institute. It includes the results of an extensive search of historical records by Marion Cox Grinstead.

The report is arranged in six sections and four appendices. The core of the report is covered in sections II to IV, which describe data recovered from five excavations of various buildings and structures, historical investigations, and artifact analysis.

Research issues and excavation strategies are established in the first section of the report. The issues and strategies for investigations at Fort Craig are similar to those for investigations at two other southwestern frontier forts, Fort Fillmore and Fort Cummings. Research is directed towards developing a better understanding of daily life at Fort Craig and focuses on the economic status of the personnel, the status of black soldiers, reliance on the local economy, effectiveness of the army's shipping of goods, the role that the railroad played in the latter years of the fort, and environmental adaptation. Gerow also addresses the impact of vandalism.

The chapters of the data recovery section are arranged in chronological order with a separate chapter devoted to each season's work. Within each chapter there are subsections for specific areas such as rooms and trash concentrations. Descriptions of data recovery are supported by black-and-white photographs and grayscale figures. The figures are clear, making it easy to distinguish the location of individual artifacts, which helps greatly in understanding the narrative. The photographs are of lesser quality than the figures and it is not always easy to distinguish details that are important to understanding their significance.

The six chapters of the historical investigations section follow the same order as the data recovery chapters with an additional chapter on "Army Doctors and Frontier Medicine." Grinstead has done a thorough job in pulling together sources that paint a picture of daily life at Fort Craig. Readers will have a good understanding of the buildings and the constant battle to maintain them. Roofs were a continuing source of problems and the attempts to repair and maintain them are well documented. Each chapter is fully annotated. The lack of clarity of some of the figures in these chapters, however, is troubling. Readers need to refer to reproductions of historic plans to fully understand the narrative, but the quality of the plans also is very poor and it was difficult to identify important text such as room names.

In the artifact analysis section, 10 chapters are divided by material or artifact type. Each assesses the range of activities represented by the artifact to place the artifacts within a chronological framework. Gerow used specialist authors for these chapters who have done a thorough job of describing and presenting the data. The chapter, "Glass Artifacts," is excellent. The narrative, tables, and figures combine to tell the story of life at the fort. The analysis of the bottle glass includes illustrations of all of the embossed body pieces found at the site, including remains of beer, wine, and patent extract bottles. This one chapter helps considerably in painting another picture of daily life at Fort Craig.

This report effectively answers important research issues related to the fort and will contribute to further understanding everyday life at other southwestern frontier forts. Construction historians, like this reader, will gain tremendous insight into military construction methods of the period, particularly the reliance on local materials, labor, and expertise. The historical investigations provide a thorough description of the work needed to keep the fort's buildings in serviceable condition.

Richard Burt
Texas A & M University

Presenting the Past

By Larry J. Zimmerman. Archaeologist's Toolkit Vol. 7, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003; 162 pp., notes, index; cloth $70.00, paper $24.95.

Larry J. Zimmerman's book, *Presenting the Past*, is the latest in a series of books published by AltaMira Press collectively entitled *The Archaeologist's Toolkit*. Although targeted at a relatively small audience, this book has the potential to affect anyone who enjoys reading, watching, or studying archeology and how it brings the past into the present.

Presenting the Past is the seventh volume in the series. Written by professional archeologists, each volume is designed to cut through the fog and mystery that surround the fundamental aspects of modern archeology such as developing research designs, survey methods, excavation techniques, artifact analysis, the principles of archeobiology, museum curation, and how archeologists present the past to different audiences and cultures. The series should be a primer for anyone who is or wants to be an archeologist.

The series is intended to be equally useful to both the student and professional archeologist. The theme common throughout the series is that archeologists are confronted with myriad intellectual choices but far too often they forget that what the public perceives depends upon presenting the right menu, to the right audience, at the right place. Throughout the text, Zimmerman skillfully uses examples of archeologists and projects that got it right—and wrong—to illustrate the principles of communicating archeology to different audiences.

Modern archeology has become vast, technical, and so complex that many archeologists are forced to adapt to technological advances by becoming jacks of all trades and masters of none. And while it is important to have a graduate degree, today's public archeologist needs, above all, to be an effective team player, team builder, and communicator. Zimmerman believes that herein lies the future of archeology: either build new, nontraditional alliances focusing on the consumers of archeological information or lose relevance in an ever-changing and rudderless world of computers and the information revolution.

Traditionally, archeologists have conveyed their discoveries through reports, articles, and books, some of which include photographs, but few archeologists can write like Henry David Thoreau or take photographs like Ansel Adams. Thus Zimmerman identifies several sure-fire methods for folks grappling with what to say when interpreting artifacts from an archeological project. He aptly demonstrates that being an effective writer is only one facet of being an archeologist, for the future will belong to those who master (or at least understand) the rapidly emerging phenomena of visual archeology targeted at nontraditional audiences.

With the computer, specialized software programs, and the Internet, archeology is now accessible to new audiences who historically have been underserved or overlooked. A surprising number of archeologists now spend more time reaching new audiences and less time preparing project reports or worrying about the publish-or-perish axiom. Zimmerman argues that the meaning of "publish" has been forever changed by technology and now includes using all types of visual media, such as video and films, public and community events, museum and digital exhibits, CD-ROMs, DVDs, websites, and yes, even cartoons and archeological fiction to show what can be found in the dirt.

Much of what Zimmerman discusses is not taught or learned as part of the university experience. Some graduate programs offer technical writing or public speaking courses, but most schools leave graduates unprepared for a vastly important aspect of modern archeology—communication. Zimmerman knows well what he preaches. His own expertise in archeological communication has been honed through years of experience in the field, both as a successful archeocrat (who dug through more paper than dirt), and as a public speaker on the social and civic organization circuit. Throughout, he has remained an academic lone wolf worshiped by fascinated attendees at national and international conferences.

Zimmerman persuasively and skillfully demonstrates that presenting the past involves explaining succinctly why archeology is important in the daily life of every citizen. Gone are the days of traditional, cloistered archeologists. Today's professionals must adapt to an ever-changing world. Zimmerman's "toolkit" offers the old archeologist new tricks of the trade and injects a new vitality into the profession.

Joe Labadie
National Park Service

The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History

Edited by John H. Jameson, Jr. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003; 304 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, index; cloth $75.00; paper $34.95.

"To reconstruct or not to reconstruct" is the dilemma pondered throughout *The Reconstructed Past*. These useful case studies address reconstructions that have been shaped by archeology. The studies draw on sites in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East. Together, the chapters mostly support the current thinking about archeologically grounded interpretations, namely that careful thinking and interdisciplinary research can produce authentic reconstructions.

The authors bring out a number of good points. Marley Brown and Edward Chappel note that time and practice—and presumably learning from mistakes—suggest that today's reconstructions are better than those of our predecessors. With regard to Colonial Williamsburg, Brown and Chappel suggest that the past can be "brought back" because we are "better able" to present it. To some degree our improved ability involves a paradigm shift towards accepting multifaceted, broader interpretations. This is seen in Esther White's discussion of a reconstructed blacksmith shop at Mount Vernon. The shop contributes to the overall story of the site, and demonstrates the commitment to present more than a narrow view of the past by interpreting everyday life and stories that would be otherwise untold. All of the chapters emphasize that reconstructions are a professional undertaking in the best interest of the public.

The book promotes the idea of authentic reconstructions as an achievable goal, but dissenting views could have been presented more fully. Numerous pro-reconstruction examples were somewhat balanced by the few counterarguments. Lynn Neal discusses a nonintrusive project at Homolovi Ruins in Arizona where emergency preservation simply buried the remains. Ronald Williamson argues the impossibility of reconstructing Iroquois longhouses due to their diversity of type and function. Here, reconstruction is equated with creating an idealized, simplified view of Iroquois culture. Other authors note the fundamental conundrum of archeologically informed reconstructions. Some sites must be destroyed in order to build their interpretations.

The discussions of computer modeling are intriguing and would have benefited from additional examples or more alternatives. Karen Brush indicates that computer-generated models of Amarna in Egypt have many of the same problems as the more traditional graphic reconstructions, but computer models have an advantage of easy modification. Models can also help visitors to visualize immense operations on a scale that visitors can manage, while hypothesizing what might have been. Despite considerable challenges of cost and technology, this kind of reconstruction offers tantalizing possibilities, particularly in conjunction with a physical site.

Issues surrounding reconstruction are a vehicle for examining contested aspects of heritage. Several case studies explicitly discuss this theme from different angles. Ann Killbrew emphasizes simplification of the past through interpretation at Qasrin, Israel. Joe Distretti and Carl Kuttruff discuss Fort Loudoun in Britain, a site with none of the original site preserved where a reconstruction was built to satisfy political and economic interests. Reconstruction is thus a tool, albeit costly and semipermanent, for staging contemporary ideas about the past and why we care about it today.

In this light, it would have been useful for more authors to discuss the impact of site evaluations on their interpretation. If reconstructions offer a stage for broader programming, particularly for education, it seems reasonable that visitor needs or desires must influence interpretation. Interpretation today encourages people to connect

with archeological resources by finding personal resonance and relevance in them. Site evaluation offers a useful perspective for archeologists who undertake reconstructions; evaluations can document whether or not the archeologists' interpretation has meaning for visitors.

As Barry Mackintosh notes in his discussion of the National Park Service's policies on reconstructions, this issue cuts to the heart of the question, "What are we here to do?" Reconstruction has had opponents and allies, another theme of the book. Bureaucracy, personalities, and, frankly, the wrong people doing the job, are repeatedly shown to tax an otherwise promising project. In Donald Linebaugh's superb discussion of Roland Wells Robbins's work, we learn that politics and personalities ultimately damaged projects despite Robbins's best intentions. For others, as Peter Fowler and Susan Mills discuss, the process offers professionals an "open air laboratory" for understanding ancient construction methods and materials. Some reconstructions enable archeologists and the public to understand sites at human scale. Overall, reconstructions are a tool for attracting and educating visitors, and linking visitors with the past.

Because this book is written without jargon and tells behind-the-scenes stories about people and places, *The Reconstructed Past* will benefit both students and professionals. The case studies and the history of applied archeology are appropriate for university or college classrooms, particularly method and theory classes. The book's themes would also interest professionals making decisions about site interpretation. The provocative case studies illuminate the dilemma of reconstruction. The chapters play off each other in a debate that encourages reader participation as the authors jostle over simplifying sites, choosing a "most significant" story at the expense of others, the contested nature of heritage, and the flexibility of presentation as an interpretive tool. While authors disagree on the finer points and, perhaps, the ethics of reconstruction, they seem to agree that reconstructions will not leave the interpretive toolbox in the foreseeable future.

Teresa S. Moyer
Society for American Archaeology

Thinking about Significance

Edited by Robert J. Austin, Kathleen S. Hoffman, and George R. Ballo. Special Publication Series No. 1, Riverview: Florida Archaeological Council, Inc., 2002; 242 pp.; paper $15.00.

The issues discussed in *Thinking about Significance* are core to the policy and practice of historic preservation. The evaluation of a property in order to make decisions about preservation (or destruction) should never be routine, as the stakes are high. The contributors to this collection of papers and proceedings from a professional development workshop sponsored by the Florida Archaeological Council in 2001 include representatives of federal and state agencies, tribes, consulting firms, and academia.

In focusing on the big question of what we consider significant and why, the editors state that the most important result of the workshop—and the clear message of this book—is that current challenges "require us to change our thinking about almost everything—the goals of archaeology, how archaeology will be practiced, what is significant, and how to incorporate the views and opinions of other ethnic groups into the decision making process."

The National Register of Historic Places, the Florida Division of Historical Resources, the Florida Department of Transportation, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation provide agency perspectives on the topic. The issues that are emphasized in the papers and discussion

include the important but imperfectly realized role of historic contexts, the critical importance of listening to Native perspectives, the challenges of evaluating redundant resources and resources from the recent past, and the need for creative strategies to protect sites.

The Miccosukee Tribe and the Florida and Oklahoma Seminole tribes provide Native American perspectives. Woven through these viewpoints are major differences and commonalities between Western and Native worldviews, including the latter's understanding of the sacredness and interconnectedness of all things, the importance of consultation, the usefulness of archeology from a Native perspective, and the advantages of working together towards the common goal of protecting resources.

Archeologists working in the private sector and in the academy provide their perspective, including professional responsibilities and innovative methods for making significance evaluations more consistent. In addition, and core to the ongoing challenges of the profession, participants argue for a more rigorous archeology that can fully and fairly evaluate the contentious site categories of archeological resources of the 20th century and surface sites comprised of undiagnostic stone artifacts—the lithic scatters familiar to archeologists everywhere.

The concluding chapter is worth the price of the book. In it, the authors challenge their profession to change the way that it thinks about the past and how it practices archeology. This collection defines three challenges: what should be considered significant, how do we determine significance, and who should make that determination.

It is clear that one of the most effective tools for deciding the first question lies in the use and continual updating of state historic contexts because they provide the framework within which significance can be evaluated. Related to this is the need to acknowledge and address individual biases of the evaluator and researcher, culturally relative values, and values other than scientific ones. The second question encompasses further questions: Where we should spend our limited resources and, more broadly, ask what is the goal of preservation? What is the role of the National Register of Historic Places, and what should we do about places that are worthy of preserving but whose values do not fit under the National Register criteria? As for the third question of who should make significance determinations, there are widely differing opinions, although there is agreement that all points of view need to be considered.

The editors have 14 recommendations for moving the profession to think differently, from expanding the significance concept to addressing inclusiveness and alternative viewpoints, and adopting a nonlinear view of the world. The editors recognize that the inclusion of Native American concerns has been the source of major changes in archeology since the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. In addition, the editors advocate that their colleagues learn from Native Americans to "truly embrace the idea that the past is very much alive today and actively informs the present, and that the present is nothing more than the future unfolding."

In addition to introductory and concluding articles, three major sections address government agency issues, Native American issues, and archeological issues. A historical overview of the development of cultural resources management in Florida provides an orientation to state-specific laws, rules, and practice, and should be useful to those who work outside of Florida as comparative information. The issues raised throughout this book, however, are relevant to practitioners across the country. An appendix summarizes applicable federal laws as well as state statutes and rules. The inclusion of transcriptions of comments and discussion for each of these three major topics is important because the Native American perspectives at the workshop were nearly entirely spoken rather than

written. The transcripts also add the workshop flavor to the publication and remind the reader that the issues are not resolved, but continue to appropriately trouble historic preservation practitioners in Florida and everywhere else.

Barbara J. Little
National Park Service

Reconstructing Conservation: Finding Common Ground

Edited by Ben A. Minteer and Robert E. Manning. Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003; xiii + 417 pp., notes, index; cloth $55.00; paper $27.50.

Reconstructing Conservation: Finding Common Ground presents a series of 21 essays on future directions in the conservation of cultural landscapes. The authors base their writings on personal insights and collective reflections from a symposium convened by the National Park Service's Conservation Study Institute in 2001 to discuss the history, values, and practice of conservation.

The workshop gathered prominent practitioners and academics to discuss how the theory and practice of conservation is changing, and what the changes portend for the future. In contrast to some contemporary assessments that the future of conservation is in danger, symposium participants felt strongly that cultural landscape preservation is flourishing. They identified key ingredients of change that are occurring in response to and in spite of obstacles presented by changing land uses, values, and ownership.

Reconstructing Conservation argues that conservation is undergoing a major transformation from a centralized, narrowly focused, top-down activity to a locally driven, highly democratic, multidisciplinary strategy for balancing growth with the human need to connect with the land. Local distinctiveness is another component of the way that communities and their partners approach conservation, as is the trend to link natural and cultural preservation goals in a long-term vision. Essays explore these major transformations through case studies and through the history and policies that have influenced the evolution in conservation thinking and action.

In the opening chapter, "Conservation: From Deconstruction to Reconstruction," editors Ben A. Minteer and Robert E. Manning present background for the authors' contributions, reflect on the symposium and its timeliness, and outline the major concepts authors will address. In "Finding Common Ground," the final essay, the editors offer a series of principles upon which they believe the future of conservation hinges. The essays inbetween reveal theoretical and practical perspectives about how and why the field is changing.

The book's mix of theory and practice lends credence to the argument that the two approaches must by necessity influence one another in order for the field to mature. The book also argues that the field has taken a more multidisciplinary approach to include advocates of community, history, culture, and heritage to achieve landscape conservation goals. In contrast with more traditionally focused environmental studies, the book invites preservationists, ethnographers, social scientists, and historians to see commonalities among disciplines. The conservation history threaded throughout provides sufficient context for a reader with little prior knowledge of the conservation field to understand the sequences that lead to reevaluating current conservation history and practice. The book also reiterates the local, publicly driven, and democratic approach that conservation is taking as communities adopt conservation tools to preserve their natural and cultural resources.

Reconstructing Conservation builds upon the work of over a century of environmental advocates and practitioners and, more recently, William Cronon's collection of essays entitled *Uncommon Ground*.[1]

It refutes the work of Cronon and his predecessors who criticized the "laziness" and ineptitude of conservation efforts. The authors' perspectives require that the reader move beyond traditional definitions of conservation to embrace the complex and multidisciplinary approach that conservation is taking in the 21st century. The movement is evolving to include landscapes with cultural and historic resources and is embracing the strengths that communities and other disciplines provide. In *Reconstructing Conservation*, the contributors frequently cite the work of earlier advocates including George Perkins Marsh and John Muir as precedents for current practices.

Due to the inevitable redundancies created by multiple authorships, sampling chapters provides adequate information to reinforce the major concepts and principles described by the editors. The various contributions give readers an opportunity to explore different approaches to conservation that match or complement their own interests. Readers with an interest in theory will enjoy essays such as Stephen C. Trombulak's "An Integrative Model for Landscape-Scale Conservation in the Twenty-First Century." Practitioners will appreciate Rolf Diamant, Glenn Eugster, and Nora J. Mitchell's "Reinventing Conservation: A Practitioner's View." Academics and practitioners can benefit from reading essays that complement their discipline. For readers interested in a supplement to the book, the symposium report, *Speaking of the Future: A Dialogue on Conservation*, provides important case studies and a discussion of the thinking that led to the conservation principles outlined in *Reconstructing Conservation*.[2]

Reconstructing Conservation is an excellent entrée into conservation for those who seek to understand the state of the field and how current thinking can enhance their work. The writings seek to embrace a broad, multidisciplinary audience by avoiding technical language and by providing historical context for current conservation practice. The book invites preservationists, social scientists, managers, and community leaders to embrace an open-minded approach that respects and engages new voices in protecting cultural landscapes. This engaging book is a useful contribution to the conservation field for its thoughtfulness, inclusiveness, and forward-thinking approach. It provokes the reader to think about how and why the conservation field is changing and argues for continuing to embrace new disciplines and local voices to enrich the policies and practice of conservation.

Suzanne Copping
National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers

1. William Cronon, *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: Norton, 1996).

2. Nora J. Mitchell, Leslie J. Hudson, and Deb Jones, eds., *Speaking of the Future: A Dialogue on Conservation* (Woodstock, VT: National Park Service, Conservation Study Institute, 2003).

EXHIBITS

Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories

Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC. Curators: Paul Chaat Smith, Ann McMullen, and Jolene Rickard

Permanent exhibit

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), which opened on September 21, 2004, is situated on the nation's "front lawn," the National Mall. The newest of the Smithsonian's 16 museums, NMAI seeks to weave voices previously missing from our historical texts into the national narrative. The new museum presents the story of Native Americans as active agents in shaping the cultural landscape of the Americas throughout the centuries. Even its architecture is part of the story, meant to convey American Indian connection to the natural world through its representation as rock shaped by wind and water.

The building for the National Museum of the American Indian was designed to represent a rock shaped by water and wind.(Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian)

Cases in the balcony areas of the third and fourth levels of the museum feature a small portion of the museum's extensive collections. *Windows on Collections: Many Hands, Many Voices* highlights beads, peace medals, dolls, arrowheads, and other objects. A changing exhibitions gallery displays contemporary Native American art. A resource center offers researchers and visitors the opportunity to further explore and enhance their knowledge of American Indians, and the museum's collection and programs.

At NMAI, native communities tell their own stories through three permanent exhibits, *Our Universes, Our Lives,* and *Our Peoples*. Each presents eight community-curated stories. The 24 galleries will periodically rotate in new stories to showcase the broad range of American Indian groups.

Our Universes: Traditional Knowledge Shapes Our World conveys Native American cosmology and how native communities interpret their relationship between the spiritual and earthly world. *Our Lives: A History of Resilience* presents the story of today's Native communities, the ways in which modern society and historical memory affect their traditions and daily lives, and the ongoing struggle of Native communities to adapt to change and maintain their traditions and culture.

The third in the permanent exhibit trio, *Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories,* presents the history of the Native peoples of the Americas since European contact over 500 years ago. The introduction to the exhibit invites the viewer to question how history is written and how the cultural biases of an author affect the telling of a story. A short video invites visitors to consider some fundamental questions: Who writes our national history? What agenda do they further by writing their interpretations of the past? How can history be more objective and holistic through the reinterpretation of old themes? The introduction encourages visitors to question the centuries-old stereotypical portrayal of American Indians in the dichotomous role of either noble or barbarian.

In an attempt to remedy some misinterpretations of Americans Indians' role in history, *Our Peoples* presents the clash of cultures that occurred when Europeans arrived on the North American continent. The impact of contact and conquest is addressed in three major themes: guns, religion, and treaties.

A panel titled Guns as Instruments of Dispossession and Resistance examines the centrality of guns to warfare among Indians and Europeans and offers a wall of firearms. A similar effect is achieved in God's Work: Churches as

In the Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories *exhibit, warfare and religion are addressed in the display of guns and bibles. (Photograph by Katherine Fogden, courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian)*

The Ka'apor community of Brazil is presented in Our Peoples: Giving Voice to our Histories *exhibit using exhibit cases resembling logs, which illustrate the impact that the deforestation has on the community. (Photograph by Katherine Fogden, courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian)*

Instruments of Dispossession and Resilience, with a wall of bibles. Stated Intentions: Treaties as Instruments of Dispossession and Survival uses treaties to remind visitors that the ultimate aim of the Europeans and later the United States Government was the dispossession of Indians from their lands. The three themes are central in shaping Native American history and culture, but also central to the Indians' strategy of survival through adaptation. The gun exhibit, for example, highlights Indians' adaptation to cultural change by incorporating guns as another tool of warfare.

Community galleries give voice to the history of eight tribes, currently, the Seminole (Florida), Tapirapé (Brazil), Kiowa (Oklahoma), Tohono O'odham (Arizona), Eastern Band of Cherokee (North Carolina), Nahua (Mexico), Ka'apor (Brazil), and Wixarika (Mexico). Using oral histories, video footage, artifacts, primary documents, and works of art, each community presents its tribal history and themes they believe best represent its historic and present-day experiences. Community curators had active roles in content development, and as a result, each gallery has a distinct flavor. The Ka'apor gallery, for example, addresses the importance of the forest to the community's history and the effects of deforestation on Ka'apor lifeways and survival.

Through the conservation, protection, and presentation of artifacts, NMAI provides exemplary stewardship and interpretation of its collections. A museum dedicated solely to the indigenous people of the Americas is a step toward the greater inclusion of groups that were previously marginalized in official histories. NMAI provides the preservation community the most up-to-date interpretation and analysis of American Indian culture and attempts to offer a more holistic view of history.

Caridad de la Vega
National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers

Desert Cities

Arizona Historical Society Museum, Tempe, AZ, Branch. Curators: Mary Melcher and Jean Reynolds

April 12, 2003-April 2008

Desert Cities seeks to enhance the viewer's understanding of the post-World War II growth of Phoenix and other desert cities in the Valley of the Sun. Public history, television news footage, historic photographs, sound recordings, videos, corporate brands and icons, and replicas of living spaces combine to tell the story of change and growth in the valley from 1945 to 2000. The co-curators state that *Desert Cities* is the story of how the valley landscape has been shaped and how people live, work, and play in the valley today.

In 1950, Phoenix was the 99th largest city in the nation; by 2000 it was the 6th. Today, the valley absorbs, on average, 110,000 new residents per year. Where are the people coming from? What is their impact on longtime residents and families? How are neighborhoods being transformed? What are the pluses and minuses of rapid growth and development? These are some of the questions posed by the exhibit. Through interpretation, oral histories, and material and popular culture, the exhibit invites viewers to formulate their own answers.

Entering the exhibit, visitors hear the voices of people who relocated to the valley. Some speak of the long and arduous journey to Phoenix. Some remark on the beauty of cotton fields and orange groves that seemed to extend for miles. The largest populations migrated from California and the Great Lakes region. All speak of the intense summer heat.

Since ancient times and especially since World War II, life and industry in the valley have been sustained by surface water. Rivers and their tributaries were diverted and canals and dams were built. The exhibit discusses the impacts of modern engineering feats, such as swamp coolers and refrigeration, on Arizona's landscape. *Desert Cities* uses home interiors to compare family living spaces of economically disadvantaged residents to those of affluent homes in planned communities. Habitats of desert tortoise, rabbits, hares, fowl, reptiles, and even cockroaches are examined. Conspicuously absent from the exhibit is any discussion of American Indian peoples and their aboriginal rights to lands and resources. The taking of ancestral lands and resources left American Indian farmers dependent on government subsidies and food rations. Recent legislation seeks to reverse some of the inequity.

That being said, the exhibit's most powerful presentation is on race relations. A Mexican American World War II veteran provides moving testimony that after honorably serving his country, he could not secure a home loan. An African American realtor relates how she had to ask a Greek American friend to purchase a home for her in a predominantly Anglo-American neighborhood. Other testimonies and discussions of social movements, like the national Civil Rights Movement, show how race relations and inequalities in Arizona have been and continue to be addressed.

A large section includes the brands and icons of restaurant chains, banks, planned communities, and department stores. Professional sports franchises have proved to be an effective form of branding for cities. In today's world, branding may be replacing history and historic places as markers for developing a sense of place in American society.

Desert Cities raises questions for preservationists: Can corporate branding and preserving a sense of place coexist? How will changes to the fate of the brand affect the community's sense of place? The desert cities have arrived, but how long will we be able to water the playing field?

Hartman H. Lomawaima
Arizona State Museum, Tucson

Steel, Stone, and Backbone: Building New York's Subways 1900-1925

New York Transit Museum, Brooklyn, NY.
Curator: Thomas Harrington

Permanent exhibit

At 722 miles long and 100 years old, the New York City subway system carries 4.6 million riders a day throughout the five boroughs. Built between 1900 and 1936, three private subway companies (Independent Transit, the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transportation, and Interborough Rapid Transit Companies) originated from an idea that dated from the Civil War and a confluence of technology, demographic necessity, and public support.

In *Steel, Stone, and Backbone: Building New York's Subways 1900-1925*, the New York Transit Museum focuses on the workers who built the subway and the forces that led them into the tunnels. The massive influx of people into New York during the late 19th century—especially immigrants and minorities on the lowest rungs of society—provided the labor to tunnel beneath the islands of Manhattan and Long Island with combinations of antiquated and cutting-edge technologies.

Fittingly, the New York Transit Museum is housed in an old subway station in Brooklyn Heights. Beyond the turnstiles are photographs, models, and actual pieces of the public transportation system. Developed by Thomas Harrington in 1997 and updated in 2003 for the subway's centennial, *Steel, Stone, and Backbone* uses historical film clips, artifacts, and contemporary photography to document how the subway transformed the city.

The exhibit correlates the enormous public works undertaking ($50 million and 30,000 laborers for the initial construction) with rapid development in the city. The opening panels describe how the city "threw its heart into building" parks (Central Park in 1878), bridges (Brooklyn Bridge in 1883), and skyscrapers (Flatiron Building in 1902), and detail the city's population explosion. For example, between 1900 and 1910 over 2 million Italian immigrants arrived in the Port of New York and nearly one-half stayed in the area.

The physical confines and materials of *Steel, Stone, and Backbone* simulate the feel of the spaces with which subway construction workers contended. Text and image panels are mounted on unfinished wooden walls and the ceiling is hung with burlap. Contemporary photographs show the new technology used in the subway's creation: jackhammers breaking through the bedrock, compressed air helping to support the tunnels during underwater digging by the "sandhogs," and cast iron rings to create the tube through which the trains travel. Exhibit designer Keith Godard of Studio Works features a spoil cart used for hauling the broken pieces of bedrock as a tangible example of the equipment that removed 3.5 million cubic yards of rock and earth. Next to the cart is a plastic tube filled with layers of sediment to illustrate the geology of the city. Farther along, two wheelbarrows partially filled with rocks demonstrate that, despite technological innovations, much of the work required human muscle.

The issue of ethnic diversity plays subtly throughout the exhibit. Irish, Italians, and African Americans who were responsible for the subway's construction arrived in New York in vast numbers at the turn of the century. The Irish, New York's largest ethnic group at the time and some 40 percent of city government staffing, were most of the subway's foremen, contractors, and labor leaders. Italians were the majority of the excavators or rockmen, who were 70 percent of the subway workforce. An accompanying brochure notes that shrewd negotiations by William Hunter and his Longshoremen's and Mechanics Association secured 500 jobs for African Americans at the outset of the project in 1900. Although images depict diverse workers toiling together on several occasions, the text acknowledges that ethnic segregation was the rule.

Contemporary photography and text create a portrait of men at work. Discussions of how pressure chambers prevented sandhogs from getting the bends are accompanied with images of them emerging from the chambers. Streets were peeled back and trenches dug while teams performed cut-and-cover work in traffic, their hats seen just below grade. Throughout *Steel, Stone, and Backbone*, the effects of construction on the city are highlighted, with pictures of buildings shored up with makeshift wooden scaffolding, including a building with a sign announcing "Business Going on as Usual."

The benefits of such dangerous work seem paltry—day laborer wages in 1915 were $1.50 to $2.50 per day—compared to the $4.81 per day average of 1920. However, for a largely immigrant or migrant population lacking options, the opportunities outweighed the risks. Adjacent to a life-size cutout of a man with a shovel is a sign listing the prices of sundry items and services: an apple was 1¢, a haircut 25¢, a hat $1.

The end of the exhibit illustrates the influence of the subway on the overall development of New York. When City Hall station opened October 27, 1904, people are shown hopping on the subway cars heading off to work and entertainment. The outer boroughs opened up to development and became accessible to the business centers of the city. The exhibit shows that the subway was integral to the city's growth.

The impact of the subway system extends beyond its speed and convenience. The system inspired music such as "Take the 'A' Train" and co-starred in memorable movies such as "On the Town." The subway defines New York and New Yorkers. *Steel, Stone, and Backbone* uses social and industrial history to provide interpretive insight while attaching human faces to an engineering feat that has become a cultural icon.

Brian D. Joyner
National Park Service

Ironclad Evidence: Stories from the USS Monitor and the CSS Virginia

The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, VA.
Curator: Anna Holloway

March 5, 2004-2005

From the moment the telegraphs began to clatter with news of the Civil War-ironclad duel in Hampton Roads, Virginia, on March 9, 1862, there began a non-stop river of ink written on the ships, the crews, the battle, and its influence on the course of naval architecture and war at sea. Why would the Mariners' Museum devote over 3,000 square feet to retelling a story that has been retold almost every year for the last 140 years?

The museum and its partners are now committed to establishing a $30 million *USS Monitor* Center dedicated to the display and interpretation of the history of the *USS Monitor* and the 50-plus Monitor-type ironclads after the Battle of Hampton Roads. *Ironclad Evidence: Stories from the USS Monitor and the CSS* Virginia, is the Mariners' Museum's first large-scale exhibit dedicated solely to that pivotal naval engagement in 1862. It ties the museum's previous *Monitor* artifact displays with the opening of the center's 40,000 square-foot exhibition and conservation wing in 2007.

The exhibit is divided into four broad themes that examine ship construction, life on board, the battle, and the subsequent loss of both the *Monitor* and the *Virginia*. Through original ship drawings, artwork, models, and personal accoutrements and correspondence, the curator tells the stories of the combatants. Unfortunately, little of the *Virginia* has survived—a piece of iron plate here, some wood fragments there, and more than enough artifacts with dubious provenance—only 5 of the 40 ship-related artifacts are from the *Virginia*.

The *Monitor*'s anchor at the exhibit's entrance is the herald of what follows. The most interesting

The USS Monitor *crew represented a cross section of the seafaring community. Many were foreign-born sailors; some had little maritime training; others were former slaves. Despite this diversity, all labored together to give the* USS Monitor *a place in history when it battled with the* CSS Virginia *and marked the first instance in maritime history that two ironclad ships waged war. (Courtesy of the Mariners' Museum)*

The anchor and anchor chain from the USS Monitor *are displayed together at the entrance to the Ironclad Evidence exhibit. (Courtesy of the Mariners' Museum)*

objects on display are a large section of iron deck-plate, available to satisfy tactile urges, and the red-lens signal lantern hoisted as the distress call of the sinking *Monitor*. During my turn through the exhibit, it seemed that the two small, working models of naval engineer John Ericsson's side-lever main engine and turret-rotating machinery elicited the most excitement from the young visitors.

Indeed, what animates this exhibit is the fact that only a short walk from these working models are the conservation tanks that hold the ship's main engine and turret. When out of conservation, the turret (with guns) and main engine, the innovative essence of the *Monitor*, will be the centerpieces of the *USS Monitor* Center. Although it will be many years before our children and grandchildren see these pieces in a dry environment, the painstaking and fascinating process of their preservation will become a part of the story of the *Monitor*.

The Mariners' Museum was founded in 1930 with a mandate to preserve and interpret the "culture of the sea and its tributaries, its conquest by man, and its influence on civilization." It is one of the largest maritime museums in the world, and in 1998 Congress designated the Mariners' Museum and South Street Seaport Museum in New York as America's National Maritime Museum. This alliance enables the two institutions to share collections, exhibits, educational services, publications, and other endeavors.

In 1987, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) selected the Mariners' Museum as the custodian for the *USS Monitor* archives and artifacts. Since that time the museum, NOAA, and the U.S. Navy have worked to recover and conserve the largest collection of *Monitor*-related artifacts in the world.

Ironclad Evidence offers a glimpse of a significant event in military history and the future interpretation and conservation center that will be anchored, literally and figuratively, by the archeological artifacts. Modern technology allows us to explore, recover, and preserve artifacts and occasionally entire ships from great ocean depths. Museum curators have expanded the way that museums present the history of seafaring and war at sea and educate not only through artworks, models, and manuscripts, but also with the tangible evidence of the vessels and crews. Into our understanding and appreciation of artistic technique, folkways, and philosophical musings on war and peace, curators weave archeology, architecture, engineering, chemistry, and even a little alchemy.

Ironclad Evidence uses all of these disciplines effectively in the stories it tells and the evidence it offers. But the exhibit's greatest accomplishment, perhaps, is the glimpse it provides of the new center for research, interpretation, and exhibition dedicated to one of the pivotal points in the history of modern warfare.

W. Wilson West, Jr.
Toronto, Canada

Ours to Fight For: American Jews in the Second World War

Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, New York, NY. Project Director: Louis D. Levine; Curator: Bonnie Gurewitsch

November 11, 2003-December 2005

Told almost entirely through the voices of American servicemen, *Ours to Fight For: American Jews in the Second World War* explores the story of Jewish participation in World War II. While the experience of American soldiers during World War II has been widely treated in recent years, little has been done on the experience of Jewish Americans in the war effort, both on and off the battlefield. The Museum of Jewish Heritage, dedicated to the history of the Jewish people throughout the 20th century, is an appropriate venue for this topic.

During World War II, 550,000 Jews served in all branches of the United States armed forces; 40,000 were wounded and 11,000 lost their lives. The exhibit team understood the importance of making personal connections to the individuals behind these statistics, bringing the potentially intimidating narrative to life. This was achieved by focusing on personal details through quotes, audio- and videotaped oral histories, and roughly 450 personal artifacts.

The transition from civilian to military life is demonstrated through the change in clothing and personal effects in Ours to Fight For, *with commentary by former New York City mayor Ed Koch. (Courtesy of the Museum of Jewish Heritage)*

Kiosks provide visitors with a place to record memories of World War II or impressions of the exhibit and leave pictures related to the Jewish war effort. (Courtesy of the Museum of Jewish Heritage)

Most impressive and unusual for a museum exhibition was the lack of interpretive text accompanying the narratives. The label text was almost entirely based on interviews with about 450 veterans. The exhibit developers allowed visitors to simply read or listen to first-person accounts.

The show is divided into several themes: Combat on Land, Combat at Sea, Combat in the Air, Prisoners of War, Behind the Lines, Homefront Theater, The Final Months, and Other Voices. It begins with the attack on Pearl Harbor and Roosevelt's decision to enter the war, interpreted through film and still photography. The wall text, one of the very few curatorial labels, explains the exhibit—

The bombing of Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, catapulted the U.S. into World War II. American Jews, together with millions of other Americans, joined in the war effort at home and in Europe, Asia and the Pacific. Through the stories of these young Jews this exhibition tells why it mattered, why this war was "ours to fight for."

The next gallery addresses the experience of entering the military as a Jew. The space is filled with personal artifacts, quotes from servicemen, and filmed interviews about undergoing basic training, both the generic experience as well as that specific to Jews. The beautifully displayed civilian and military objects clearly show the care curators took to collect long-treasured, personal memorabilia.

After descending a ramp and viewing a short film clip of the Normandy invasion, the visitor becomes immersed in Combat on Land. One is struck by the choice of design materials: a wire-mesh, cage-like fence, rusted in parts, is used instead of traditional glass cases to house artifacts. This beautifully underscores the gritty subject and suggests possibly a military storage area. More delicate objects are displayed in cases cut into the fence. Engaging audio-visual components are everywhere, although the sounds of the audio and video clips bleed between areas.

The synergy of the vivid accounts and objects that provide rich and often unfamiliar details offer visitors a glimpse of what it was like to serve in the war. One story tells of a soldier lighting a candle in a foxhole at night and eating his salami and wine (sent by his mother in a medicine bottle) for the Sabbath. Another tells how often Jewish soldiers were counseled to change the denomination on their dog tags from H for Hebrew to either C or P for Catholic or Protestant to protect against harsh treatment if captured by the Germans. Some of the most moving artifacts are original telegrams to parents announcing the loss of a son. However, by far the most stirring experience comes in the section called The Final Months, a slide show of the liberation of the German concentration camps with the voices of the servicemen who witnessed those moments. A soldier says plaintively, "No one gave us a hint of what we were going to see."

At the end of the exhibit, the wartime experiences of other minority groups are introduced—African Americans, Chinese Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Jews who fought in other Allied armies. Through a video-capture kiosk, visitors can record their own war experiences and impressions or leave photos of relatives in uniform to be displayed.

While the exhibit relies primarily on first person interpretation, a curatorial voice is nonetheless present. One detects an underlying decision to avoid discussing the implications of being Jewish in this particular war, in which the enemy was anti-Semitic. To be sure, the exhibit includes testimony such as, "If we weren't going to fight for the Jews, who's going to do it for us?" and "My father said, 'They're killing Jews,' and I knew there was a purpose for my going." Yet, the exhibit shies from focusing on these motivations and makes almost no mention of any organized Jewish movement to enlist. Instead, the exhibit focuses on the more universal war experiences. An assimilationist stance misses an opportunity to further explore the issue of being Jewish during this time.

In the final analysis, however, there is little doubt that the exhibit is a great contribution to an understudied subject. The Museum of Jewish Heritage's wealth of archival material and oral histories from an aging population is of great benefit to museum curators and other heritage professionals. *Ours to Fight For* provides an exciting model of exhibit interpretation that hopefully many others will follow.

Ann Meyerson
New York, New York

WEBSITES

American Society of Landscape Architects
http://www.asla.org

American Society of Landscape Architects; accessed January 2005.

Now more than a century old, the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) maintains a website as busy and varied as the organization it represents. ASLA is run by a board of elected officials and has more than 14,000 national and international members, including working professionals, future landscape architects, and interested amateurs. Like the landscape itself, ASLA is situated within a complex web of public and private entities that shapes both the built and natural environments.

ASLA's website serves multiple purposes, reflecting the organization's commitment to diverse audiences. Seven large content areas are available from the homepage. They include Membership, Products & Services, Newsroom & Publications, Meeting & Events, About Us, Government Affairs & Licensure, and Career Resources. Within each are layers of resource materials. Accessing all of the data can be time consuming, but a well-conceived web architecture makes searching easy.

The Career Resources page is one of the best aspects of the ASLA website, providing a host of resources for people interested in the field. This material is wonderful for the novice, including a definition of the field, a salary survey, job postings, and job titles. This information presents a solid sense of what landscape architecture is and how an individual might fit into the field, depending on personal interest and ability.

The ASLA website is a wonderful promotional vehicle. It highlights opportunities for landscape architects in community planning, which range from park and recreation to security and street design and notes the increase in positions and salaries since 1988. Throughout the website, ASLA notes the training of practitioners and the breadth of the projects in which landscape architecture plays a role. Opportunities for personal growth and community engagement are addressed. Several ASLA-sponsored publications are accessible, including the *LAND Online* newsletter and *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, where both excerpts and full articles are available. Some documents are available to ALSA members only; visitors can apply for membership on the website.

On its Meetings & Events page, ASLA highlights its efforts to address the concerns of contemporary landscape architecture. Annual meetings, symposia, and other events demonstrate the variety of topics engaged in by ASLA. For example, *Safe Spaces: Designing for Security and Civic Values*, looked at the need for sound planning in the wake of September 11, 2001, noting that "security and design are not mutually exclusive." Abstracts of the papers on design and security presented at the symposium are available on the website.

Throughout the website, ASLA discusses the relationship between historic preservation and landscape architecture, including its Professional Interest Group on Historic Preservation and through connections with the National Park Service's Historic American Landscapes Survey. However, the website presents few examples of projects that engage both a preservationist and a landscape architect, or projects in which a certified landscape architect tapped into historic preservation work through consulting, which could be helpful to those contemplating this aspect of the field.

Overall, the website is rich, offering materials for a variety of audiences. It is easy to navigate and graphically and linguistically clean. Interestingly, ALSA's website is lacking in images, a weakness considering the field it represents.

Recently, the landscape of life has changed dramatically, for many people very far away and quite near. With this in mind, the work of ASLA is as crucial as ever, because nothing seems more important than the creation and management of our environment, in all of its manifestations.

Laura A. Macaluso
Milford, Connecticut

Society for Industrial Archeology
http://www.siahq.org

Society for Industrial Archeology; maintained by Department of Social Sciences, Michigan Technological University; accessed on January 31, 2005 and March 21, 2005.

The Society for Industrial Archeology (SIA) is dedicated to documenting, preserving, and interpreting industrial heritage. The developing field of industrial archeology in Great Britain and the establishment of the Historic American Engineering Record in the National Park Service in 1969 inspired the formation of the SIA in the United States. Now 1,800 members strong, the SIA was formed in 1971 at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, to exchange information among disciplines working in industrial archeology; to generate bibliographic information about the field; and to educate the public about preservation, surveys, and other activities.

The SIA website is maintained by the Department of Social Sciences at Michigan Technological University, a major center of industrial archeology education. Industrial heritage sites linked to the SIA website include the Bahr's Mill woodworking and grist mill in Red Hill, Pennsylvania; the 1906 Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Powerhouse in Jersey City, New Jersey; and the West Point Foundry, Cold Spring, New York, which from 1818 to 1911, made ammunition for the U.S. Army.

SIA promotes the preservation of industrial sites through several venues, including a biannual peer-reviewed journal, *IA: The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology*, and a quarterly newsletter. The SIA awards small preservation grants, provides the General Tools Award annually to an individual for outstanding achievement in the preservation and understanding of industrial heritage, and bestows the Robert Vogel Award to the author of the best article in *IA Journal*.

Through the website, visitors can access the table of contents for the *IA Journal* from its inception in 1975 and order back-issues. For those who wish to submit an article to the journal, submission policies and instructions are included. Many past issues of the newsletter are included as well as abstracts of papers presented at past conferences.

The SIA website provides a Consultants page with a list of those who work in industrial heritage documentation. A glance at the Chapters page shows that the SIA is primarily focused on the Northeast and Upper Midwest. However the website discusses a tour in Montana and contains links to a historic bridges site with information on New Mexico and Texas. This limited regional focus may be related to the historical development of the society. After reading this section of the website, the author was tempted to join the SIA and add Spanish Colonial *acequias* (irrigation ditches), aqueducts, mills, and other industrial sites to the exchange.

A visit to the SIA website will inspire visitors to look at a town's old brewery, mill, or waterworks in a new way and encourage visitors to preserve important heritage sites of the industrial age.

Susan Snow
National Park Service

The Recent Past Preservation Network
http://www.recentpast.org

Recent Past Preservation Network; accessed February 3-9, 2005

The Recent Past Preservation Network (RPPN) is a nonprofit organization established in 2000 to maintain the momentum generated by the 1995 and 2000 National Park Service "Preserving the Recent Past" conferences and other events that focused on less than 50-year-old cultural resources. Its goal is to utilize new technologies to educate and mobilize the cultural resource community in an effort to preserve and document fast disappearing modern buildings and landscapes.

In keeping with this mission, the RPPN website is the primary means of communication for the organization and a wide variety of information is presented. The site is attractively designed and easy to navigate. The homepage presents information on endangered resources, such as the Beekman Theater and Cinema I & II in New York City and W. A. Sarmiento's Glendale Federal Savings Building in California, and the most recent information on each threatened property.

One of the most intriguing pages is the National Windshield Survey page. Interested parties are invited to submit images and information about recent past resources. Entries are organized by property type such as domes, Lustron houses, bowling alleys, or Cold War-era resources. There are also entries for a number of architects and firms associated with the Modern Movement, such as Welton Becket, whose firm had an enormous impact on Southern California in the 1950s and 1960s. This will be of particular interest to anyone needing contextual information about a particular building type or historical aspect of the recent past.

The Resources page will also prove of interest to both professional preservationists and to volunteer advocates. RPPN has collected a significant amount of information on efforts to save and recognize recent past sites, including references to the 2,000+ recent past properties that have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places. There is also extensive information on working with National Register Criteria Consideration G, which requires that recent past resources be exceptionally important at the national, state, or local level in order to qualify for the National Register. RPPN does not offer publications for sale nor do they produce hard copy publications. An outstanding topical bibliography developed by Richard Longstreth of George Washington University is available on the website.

On the Network page, RPPN lists local points of contact for recent past issues—an interesting and innovative idea. RPPN is a membership organization and maintains an Internet list serve for those who join. Joining RPPN can be accomplished online and is quite simple. (Even a computer-phobe like your humble correspondent had no difficulty.) Just click on the Join link. Sponsor-level members are given space for information and advertising their mission/services. Otherwise, the RPPN site is free of advertising and pop-ups.

Recent past resources are likely to become more of an issue as time moves forward. The 50-year threshold for National Register consideration is already at 1955, squarely in the middle of the Modern Movement. The RPPN website is an excellent resource for those uninitiated in the recent past and those more familiar with the topic. Preservationists of all stripes will find much to ponder here and will come away with a greater appreciation for these under recognized and fast disappearing resources of the last half of the 20th century.

Michael A. "Bert" Bedeau
Comstock Historic District Commission, Nevada

DOCOMOMO-US Chapter
http://www.docomomo-us.org

The Documentation and Conservation of buildings, sites and neighborhoods of the Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO); maintained by DOCOMOMO-US Chapter; accessed on January 28, 2005.

DOCOMOMO or the Documentation and Conservation of buildings, sites and neighborhoods of the Modern Movement, is an international nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation and documentation of important architectural landmarks of the period 1920 to 1970. Established in the Netherlands in 1988, DOCOMOMO is an all-volunteer organization of architects, historians, preservationists, designers, and professionals in related fields. The United States chapter, DOCOMOMO-US, initially called the U.S. Working Party, was founded in 1995 at the National Park Service "Preserving the Recent Past" conference in Chicago. It now has seven local chapters.

The DOCOMOMO-US website provides information about the history of the organization, its mission, information about each chapter, and criteria about how to properly document significant examples of the Modern Movement for inclusion in the DOCOMOMO "register" of sites.

The DOCOMOMO International Register comprises about 800 buildings from 35 countries. Submissions are provided annually from each national chapter, and the documents are housed at the Netherlands Architecture Institute. The International Specialist Committee on Registers (ISC/R) reviews and approves submissions to the International Register. The United States Register parallels the International Register. Many notable icons of the Modern Movement are featured including: the United Nations Headquarters, New York, New York; the Farnsworth House, Piano, Illinois; and Dulles International Airport, Chantilly, Virginia. Local chapters submit nominations to the national committee, which reviews and approves the nominations and submits documented sites to the ISC/R for inclusion on the International Register.

DOCOMOMO-US encourages preservationists and researchers to document "significant examples of Modern Movement architecture, urban design, landscapes and gardens within the United States." There are two types of documentation formats or fiches for researchers to use. The minimum fiche documentation is a 4-page form that provides an overview of the site and records essential information. This form can be either downloaded and submitted in paper copy or completed online. The full fiche documentation is a 9-page form meant for scientific research and more detailed documentation of sites. The full fiche form can be downloaded, but cannot be submitted through the website. A black and white original photograph should be included with both minimum and full fiche applications.

All submissions are evaluated based on six criteria: technological merit, social merit, artistic and aesthetic merit, canonic merit, referential value, and integrity. Properties are not required to meet all the criteria, however the more categories satisfied, the more likely to be rated significant. A pilot database of all registered United States sites is under construction; currently there is a partial list posted on the website.

DOCOMOMO-US provides a link to each chapter in the United States, and allows users to apply for local, national, and international membership in the organization. The United States chapters are New England, the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut tri-state area, northern California, Midwest, Georgia, western Washington, and North Texas. The chapter pages provide histories of significant modern sites in each area.

As highlighted on the Publications page, DOCOMOMO-US publishes a biannual newsletter that covers significant architectural sites, upcoming con-

ferences and events of interest, as well as updates from local chapters. The newsletter is accessible through the website. Information on how to subscribe and submit articles is also provided. Links are provided for ordering DOCOMOMO-International's journal and books about the Modern Movement. The conference page lists DOCOMOMO's international biannual conferences since 1990 and links to the DOCOMOMO-International website for more information.

The DOCOMOMO-US website offers a good introduction to the organization, its mission, and membership. It is useful for preservationists, providing access to publications and materials on the architecture of the Modern Movement. At present, it has not fully developed as an a resource for researchers and preservationists who need detailed information about modern buildings in the international and domestic registers. Both DOCOMOMO-International and DOCOMOMO-US aim to have full listings of their registers available online in the near future.

With its listing of local chapters, conference information, and register of significant places, the DOCOMOMO-US website is becoming an important resource for researching and recording buildings and sites of the Modern Movement.

Monta Coleman
National Park Service

The Labor Project: Dedicated to the Preservation of Labor and Working-Class History in the Pacific Northwest
http://libweb.uoregon.edu/speccoll/exhibits/labor/

Maintained by Department of Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon; accessed January 24, 2005

The Labor Project: Dedicated to the Preservation of Labor and Working-Class History in the Pacific Northwest is an important website for those interested in the study of labor and working-class people in this part of the country. Developed in 2001, the website and collections are housed at the University of Oregon library.

The Labor Project provides a catalog and guide to resources related to labor heritage in the region. Approximately 100 sources are available including private papers, arbitration records, corporate and organizational records, and political materials. While the majority of records pertain to Oregon, several resources may be of interest to those looking at the region as a whole. There are also holdings related to labor history in the Midwest and the East. *The Labor Project* is dedicated to the preservation of documents from underrepresented portions of the Northwest's working class and aims to serve as a repository of oral histories related to labor in the Pacific Northwest.

The Labor Project recognizes a broad definition of labor and focuses on movements, organizations, and people who have operated outside of the political and social mainstream. This includes migrant workers, womens' auxiliaries, agricultural cooperatives, political movements, and organizations that worked in opposition to unions. The majority of the collection pertains to the 20th century although it also contains 19th-century materials. The goal is to create a center for labor history in the Pacific Northwest and locate and preserve additional collections through a partnership between the archival program and labor organizations throughout the region.

The website is a tremendous resource for anyone interested in the labor history of the Pacific Northwest. The homepage navigation provides links to the history of the project, related organizations, and the database. Materials have been categorized into topics, such as organizations, organizers, government, arbitration, anti-labor,

farmer/rural, periodicals, and international communities. Users can browse the categories as an online catalogue only. Making the materials electronically accessible to researchers would be beneficial.

Local and national links are available on *The Labor Project's* Resources page. These include labor studies centers at the University of Washington and Evergreen State College, the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, local and national labor archives, unions, councils, and federations. The website also links to the *Northwest Labor Press*, published bimonthly by the Oregon Labor Press Publishing Company, Inc., a nonprofit corporation owned by 20 AFL-CIO unions and councils, including the Oregon AFL-CIO.

Labor's heritage can be discerned in preserved buildings and stabilized ruins that tell the story of former industrial prowess and industrialists. Workers in the story of technology are often omitted. *The Labor Project* helps to balance the collective view of the past and support a fuller understanding of history. The story of labor is about class and the struggle for living wages and safe work places. It is also about the role of gender and race relations, and the conflict between labor and capital.

The Labor Project's inclusiveness serves as a model for other institutions that curate and protect this important part of our national heritage. The website will be useful to preservationists and cultural resource managers interested in labor history in the Pacific Northwest.

Paul A. Shackel
University of Maryland

History E-Book Project
http://www.historyebook.org

Maintained by the American Council of Learned Societies, in conjunction with the Scholarly Publishing Office of the University of Michigan Library; accessed on January 18, April 4, 2005.

Leave it to a graduate student at New Jersey's Montclair State University to offer an accomplished professor at Princeton some unsolicited advice. Fresh from having read Robert Darnton's article, "A Historian of Books, Lost and Found in Cyberspace," in which Darnton acknowledged his fear of cyberspace and then introduced a concept for structuring electronic books, grad student "Carla" turned to an online discussion forum and posted some ideas of her own.[1] She writes—

All of his concepts sound like a great idea to me, but, to me, it seems like this article was written about 10 years ago!... Nowadays, you can put music to go along with your web page, you can add links, you can put pictures up to illustrate better your subject matter. IT IS ALL THERE ROBERT, NOW stop being scared of this new technology, get yourself a tutor to guide you through the basics of constructing your 'e-book' and GET TO WORK!!![2]

Three months later, in June 1999, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation awarded the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and its partners a $3 million, 5-year grant to establish the History E-Book (HEB) Project, an ambitious effort to encourage and assist historians (including Darnton himself) in constructing e-books.

Now in its sixth year, the ACLS's HEB Project boasts over 1,000 works of major importance to historical studies. Currently, 14 of those works carry the distinction of "frontlist title," a publishing term adapted by HEB to describe new e-books ostensibly constructed for the Web, but that up to now have been written and produced for dual publication in both print and electronic formats. HEB

anticipates adding several more frontlist titles over the next two years, alongside hundreds more backlist titles (previously published works that are scanned and then posted to the HEB site).

While HEB's current lists may be of limited value to historic preservationists, they include history classics such as Charles McLean Andrews's *The Colonial Period of American History*, Zeynep Celik's *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-century World's Fairs*, other new classics, and even National Park Service publications, notably Carol Petravage's study of the Fordyce Bathhouse at Hot Springs National Park in Arkansas. Works related to heritage stewardship theory and practice are likely to appear on the lists as time and the project progress. The entire collection of e-books is available by annual subscription to HEB or by individual membership in the American Historical Association.

Few, if any, navigational surprises await the subscriber inside the HEB Project website. Users can browse or search the e-book lists by author, title, subject, or keyword. Arrows facilitate movement through individual e-books, and hyperlinks in the tables of contents provide direct lines to chapters and other sections within the publication. Working with the frontlist titles is more satisfying than the backlist titles, largely because of the flexibility that comes with having texts prepared expressly for the Web. Word searches within a frontlist title, for instance, generate results showing the word in highlight; frontlist titles also feature high-quality graphics that readers may enlarge for further study. HEB has made no provision for downloading or printing of entire works, but users may build, email, or download their own lists of citations.

Since its founding, the HEB Project's *raison d'être* has been to develop a viable and marketable standardized electronic publishing model for peer-reviewed, book-length historical studies that will neither bankrupt scholarly publishers and research libraries nor rob academicians of their chances for promotion or tenure. The project follows closely on two earlier grant-funded electronic journal publishing projects. Project MUSE, launched in 1995 by the Johns Hopkins University Press, in collaboration with the university's Milton S. Eisenhower Library, endeavored to offer the current contents of its scholarly journals in full text via the Web. JSTOR, also launched in 1995, attempted to help address the space problems faced by research and other libraries carrying back issues of scholarly journals by providing the full run of a wide variety of journals in electronic format. HEB has basically applied JSTOR's previously published journal model and MUSE's full text, current contents model to books.

If the History E-Book Project is any indication, then time and experience with editing and typesetting manuscripts in myriad word-processing and desktop publishing applications—and then having to hammer them into a standardized electronic format for the Internet—have taught scholarly presses that the most effective way of producing e-books for the Web is by getting involved with the authors at the earliest stages of the writing process.

To that end, HEB has developed specifications for the submission of e-books that show how text files are to be encoded (in this case, in XML, or Extensible Markup Language). It also established a center at the ACLS offices in New York to guide both writers and their publishers through the construction of e-books. If all proceeds as planned with the project, HEB will not only have devised a successful strategy for retraining scholars of history and other disciplines to write for the Internet, it will also have helped tremendously in changing perceptions of electronic publications.

Ten years ago, few, if any, academicians would entertain the notion of assigning equal weight to electronic publications when it came to tenure and other important career-making decisions. Attitudes appear to be changing rapidly, however,

judging from the number of articles published, papers presented, and task forces convened in recent years on the topic. By supervising the process of constructing e-books from the beginning, subjecting them to peer review, and accommodating skeptical scholars and academic presses by allowing them to pursue print versions of the electronic, the HEB Project has made electronic publishing and the e-book concept more palatable to scholars.

Perhaps the best way of ensuring the future of history research and writing is for HEB and its partners in academe to expand their focus and teach history *students* how to construct e-books, so that they will have those skills at their disposal when the time comes for them to make their lasting contributions to historical studies. Something tells me, though, that there will always be Carlas in the world to show HEB and others a trick or two.

Martin Perschler
National Park Service

1. Robert Darnton, "A Historian of Books, Lost and Found in Cyberspace," in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (March 12, 1999), at http://www.sul.stanford.edu/siliconbase/darnton.html; accessed January 24, 2005.

2. Carla, "Robert Darnton's 'e-book,'" on "Current Theories of SLA" bulletin board, posted March 12, 1999, at http://chss2.montclair.edu/sotillos/_theories/00000038.htm; accessed January 24, 2005.

Letters

Readers may submit letters to the editor (see contact information on page 2). Letters must include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number for confirmation. Letters may be edited for publication, and not all letters will be published. If a letter pertains to an article or review, the editor may forward the letter to the author for reply.

The Warriors Project

A recent article (Winter 2005) discussed the contributions of Buffalo Soldiers. Unfortunately, I looked in vain for any mention of the contributions of 24th Infantry and 9th Cavalry troops in the protection and preservation of Sequoia and General Grant (Kings Canyon) National Park or Yosemite National Park in 1899, 1903, and 1904. These soldiers constructed what is considered to be the first museum in the National Park System–a nature trail/arboretum constructed by the 9th Cavalry in the Wawona area of Yosemite National Park in 1904—as well as the first trail to the top of Mt. Whitney, the highest mountain in the United States at that time, in Sequoia National Park in 1903.

These Buffalo Soldiers rode from the Presidio of San Francisco to the Sierra in 1899 and 1903, and the Ord Barracks of Monterey in 1904. In 1903, Troop I of the 9th Cavalry was led by Captain Charles Young, the third African American to graduate from West Point Military Academy, and the first African American superintendent of a national park (Sequoia National Park) in the summer of 1903. At the time of his death, Young was the highest ranking African American in the United States Army, and the first African American to reach the rank of full colonel.

Many historians tend to look at the framework of the historical period for Buffalo Soldiers to mean 1866 to 1890 when the last Indian war ended. As someone who interprets the life of Buffalo Soldiers who served in Yosemite in 1903, I incorporate their role in the Indian wars as well as the Philippine-American War and their stewardship of national parks in California.

I recommend that Howard University students "look outside the box" and into the lives of some of these soldiers. In 1903, a 30-year veteran of the 9th Cavalry could tell stories about fighting Indians, fighting "insurrectos" in the Philippines, as well as possibly serving in China during the Boxer Rebellion prior to service in Yosemite or Sequoia. At what point would such a soldier no longer be considered a "Buffalo Soldier?" For quite a few Buffalo Soldiers, fighting in the Indian wars was a chapter in their life, but not the book. Many continued on with military life for decades.

The Buffalo Soldier history at the Presidio of San Francisco, Sequoia National Park, and Yosemite National Park is well documented, but deserves more research. I hope that the Howard University students and others will pursue this topic so that scholarship in this important aspect of the African American struggle for dignity is broadened and deepened.

Shelton Johnson
Park Ranger
Yosemite National Park

Response: My role in the National Park Service's Warriors Project was to provide technical support to the participants using geographic information systems, as was described in the *CRM Journal* article. As the title indicated, the article explored the use of technology in the documentation of cultural resources. It was not intended to provide a comprehensive history of the Buffalo Soldiers.

The National Park Service established the Warriors Project to provide undergraduate students an opportunity to inventory historic sites and examine cultural resources through new technologies. An important goal was to foster cooperation between the African American and American Indian communities in the hope of generating interest in continued study of the Buffalo Soldiers in both communities. The project leaders chose a specific time frame—ranging from 1866 to 1891—to reflect the greatest period of overlap between American Indian and African American participants, not to exclude any significant portion of the Buffalo Soldiers' contributions in the United States.

As a result of the partnership, the first phase of the Warriors Project may lead to additional work highlighting the lives and contributions of African Americans and American Indians. Additional work may include a more systematic survey of resources associated with Buffalo Soldiers, to assess threats to these resources, and to recognize them where they are protected.

As the project continues to grow, I hope that other students will participate in the project and address the full extent of the Buffalo Soldiers' legacy.

Deidre McCarthy
Cultural Resource GIS Facility
National Park Service

More on the Warriors Project

I have researched and written about Buffalo Soldiers for some time and am particularly curious about how we can consider United States citizens in regular regiments to be analogous to "native troops." I have been working on this subject for quite some time, and I have not encountered any indication that "The American military studied the colonial model used in the deployment of native troops against indigenous populations." I always thought that in the context of the Indian wars, native troops were other Indians, used as scouts or in individual companies added to regular regiments. Since you provided no documentation in your article, maybe you would not mind pointing me to the sources for this view of Buffalo Soldiers as analogous to "native troops."

Frank Schubert
Alexandria, Virginia

Response: This was an error. The reference should have been to "European troops" to reflect that the American military studied the colonial model, which deployed European troops (British, French, German, etc.) against native or indigenous populations.

Deidre McCarthy
Cultural Resource GIS Facility
National Park Service

A Note on Our Cover

Some readers are curious about the criteria used to select cover images for the *CRM Journal*. The *CRM Journal* is a prime opportunity to recognize heritage stewardship in all of its manifestations and to showcase the documentary treasures preserved in National Park Service and other photographic and archival collections. Cover images do not need to have a direct relationship to a particular essay, but

they do have to relate to themes addressed by one or more of the issue's contributors.

Image quality and other technical concerns play a role in narrowing the selection of worthy candidates. Chief among the criteria are an image's expressive power and its capacity for communicating the depth, variety, and humaneness of cultural resource stewardship in an ever-changing world. We hope that these images will prove their mettle as testaments of our efforts at all levels to preserve the nation's heritage for the benefit of current and future generations.

Martin Perschler
Photographic Collections Editor, *CRM Journal* and Collections Manager, HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS Program

Corrections to "Preserving Ranches"

The essay by Kat Vlahos, "Preserving Ranches: Not Only Possible, but Imperative" (Winter 2005) should have referred to "Historic Routt County!" instead of South Routt County. Additional information on Historic Routt County! can be found at P.O. Box 775717, Steamboat Springs, CO 80477, http://www.historicrouttcounty.org. In addition, "Barns, Etc." should replace Barn's Etc. The email address for Kat Vlahos should be ekaterine@stripe.colorado.edu.

ON THE COVER

A photographer captured this team of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) carvers repairing a Tlinglit totem pole at Sitka National Monument, now Sitka National Historical Park, in Alaska sometime between 1938 and 1942. The cedar pole, a story pole called the Raven/Shark Pole, was obtained from the former village of Tuxekan in 1903 and shipped to St. Louis, Missouri, for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The pole then traveled to Portland, Oregon, for the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition, and arrived in Sitka in 1906. In 1964, it was included as part of the Alaskan exhibit at the New York World's Fair. The pole was completely recarved in the 1970s so that the stories and heritage it represented would endure for future generations. (Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center. Special thanks to the cultural resources staff at Sitka National Historical Park for their assistance.)

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