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Placing Women in the Past

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Cover photo—Shipmaster with wife and children on the bark, Mozambique, *Puget Sound, WA, c. 1893-1905. Photo by Wilhelm Hester, courtesy San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park.*

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Foreword

New historical scholarship over the last three decades has transformed the way we think about the American past. The telling of the American story has evolved from largely a single story told from a single perspective to a chorus of voices presenting multiple perspectives and interpretations. Out of this new scholarship developed, among others, the woman's voice. So rich was this new scholarship that it prompted a reassessment of the basic conceptualization of American history acknowledging varieties of significance and embracing the multiplicity and complexity of the human experience.

For those who labor in the field of historic preservation, this more inclusive approach to history resulted in the designation of new historic sites and the reassessment of existing ones. A special initiative beginning in 1989 sought to increase the number of National Historic Landmarks associated with women. This cooperative venture between the National Park Service, Organization of American Historians, and the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History resulted in 39 new sites being acknowledged by the Secretary of the Interior as having national significance. More work needs to be done in this regard, however, as women continue to be underrepresented in the National Historic Landmark category.

Recognizing the need for the National Park Service to assume a leadership role in the assessment of existing historic properties to ensure that the woman's voice was heard, Marie Rust, Regional Director of the Northeast Region, sponsored a workshop in Lowell, Massachusetts in May 1995. Attended by scholars, preservationists, and educators, the meeting produced a resource guide titled *Exploring a Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service.* The pamphlet includes a review of women's history scholarship, ideas for protecting the built environment associated with women, a structure for assessing a park's interpretation of women, and a bibliography. While designed primarily for the National Park Service, managers of any historic site will find it useful. (Copies of *Exploring a Common Past* can be obtained by requesting a copy from the Chief Historian, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C. 20013-7127.)

This special issue of *CRM* reflects, in part, the effect women's history scholarship has had throughout the field of historic preservation. It will not only inform us about the possibilities that exist when we broaden our vision, but, I hope, will challenge us to add new tiles to this emerging American mosaic.

—Dwight T. Pitcaithley
Chief Historian
National Park Service

Heather Huyck

Placing Women in the Past

Historic places tell us who we are as a people, and where we have come from. Omitting any significant portion of our history distorts all of it. A few years ago, people wanting a national park in Natchez, Mississippi, approached the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands. They wanted a park that preserved the glories of the antebellum south. He argued that "the whole story"—specifically including blacks, both slave and free, must be preserved and interpreted. That "whole story" must include everybody if we are to have a history that can help us understand our predecessors and ourselves.[1] It must include the whole human race, including the female half. Or as Gerda Lerner once wrote, "the majority finds its past."[2]

In 1826, the Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, John McLaughlin, officially reported only two women and two children living there.[3] A richer range of sources estimates that a few years later "approximately 210 men, about 160 women and perhaps 210 children" were there.[4] McLaughlin was apparently overlooking all the non-European women.

Tangible history helps us "uncover" all women's presence, by beads, awls, patent medicine bottles, or pink-painted rooms. Only by "uncovering" the lives of all women—their perceptions, contributions, experiences, and interactions with the rest of humanity (men)—can the whole story be told.

Clara Barton House, Glen Echo, Maryland. Looking East. (Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, 1979)

Cultural resources are simply tangible history—remains from the past we can see, touch, even smell, hear, and taste.[5] History books tell us about the past; historic places with their tangible history evoke the past. Their sensual qualities connect us to that "foreign country" of the past[6] Making connections, helping us place our lives into a larger and longer context—that's what history is all about. Such connections can be comforting—reminders that our predecessors dealt with equally intractable problems as we do. They can also be deeply disturbing—seeing the geography of the slave landscape with its perverse owner-enslaved gender relations is painful. Tangible history bridges past and present, created historically but experienced now.[7] As such, it is particularly useful in women's history.

This issue of *CRM* focuses on women's history as found in tangible resources, in landscapes, in structures and artifacts, **in places of the past**. The articles here link women's history and tangible history in a number of different ways: preserving places, interpreting places to the public, researching places, and commemorating places. They show some of the diversity of women's history, whether as state and local sites, as properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places, as National Historic Landmarks, or as national parks. Together, these articles show how far we have come in understanding women's lives through historic places, and how very much further we have to go.

"Placing Women in the Past" seeks to use tangible resources to retrieve women's history and to suggest ways that preservationists, researchers, and interpreters can learn from and teach about that history. Three basic principles inform this effort:

- that women **were there**, both physically and by influences often stronger than recognized;
- that we need to uncover their diverse experiences using historic structures, sites, and objects, sometimes by removing the overburden of the intervening years and often by removing our own blindfolds;

- that tangible resources of historic places provide resources for both researcher and public to understand more about our past.

Twenty-five years ago, women's history was limited to the story of women suffragists getting the right to vote. Embryonic women's history courses used *Century of Struggle* and *Up from the Pedestal*, both focusing on political rights. No National Park Service units specifically preserved and interpreted women's history.

Few primary sources had been identified. Today, women's history encompasses much more. New primary sources and re-readings of older sources, such as the *Women's History Sources Survey*[8] (now in need of revision itself), oral histories, innumerable dissertations, articles, and monographs have increased the sources and references available to anyone interested.[9] An analytical framework has evolved, providing intellectual rigor and guidance.

The very understanding of women's history has been greatly expanded and redefined (as has political history itself). Women's history is no longer confined to suffragists, but is much broader; no longer limited to upper-class New England white women, but moving toward truly including all. Studying women as a group, while also discovering their wonderful diversity, poses its own challenges. As historians have delved more and more into women's pasts, they have recognized that there is no more one experience of women than there is one of men! Women's history has become engrossed with changing cultural definitions of gender and gender roles, and with understanding how those definitions are created and enforced.

Today, women's history recognizes that while some women went west, others went **north** from Mexico, and others went **south** from the Bering Land Bridge. The sheer variety of women's experiences fascinates us (using the singular "woman's" obscures that diversity). Women have been "found" most everywhere. Those quintessential individualists, the fur traders, trapped their way west with considerable assistance from Native American women, lifesaving links for their survival.[10] In those rare places where women were not much present, they were still actors influencing the past. Wives, left behind in "the states" in difficult legal limbo, financed their Gold Rush-husbands seeking their fortunes in California.[11] Women have also been "found" in previously unexpected roles. Some accompanied their captain-husbands on square-riggers, such as San Francisco Maritime's *Balclutha*. In 1899, the captain's wife, Alice Durkee, attended by an Indian midwife, gave birth to Inda Frances Durkee on the voyage from Calcutta to San Francisco.[12] Labor history, once limited to paid work—a definition never appropriate for the enslaved African American who built so much of this nation's foundation—now includes unpaid labor, in-the-home-work, as well as work that crossed the domestic-public boundaries. Colonial Pennsylvania women's butter production made significant financial contributions to their families.[13] Immigrant women toiled on New York City's Lower East Side making cigars, candy, and paper flowers. Women whose husbands worked in the steel mills and the mines kept boarders, mixing commercial activities with domestic ones.[14]

Finding and Preserving Sites

A decade ago, an NPS "parlor game" tried to identify sites bereft of women's history—assuming that such sites existed. The former federal prison on Alcatraz Island, now part of Golden Gate Park, in San Francisco, seemed most likely. But no. The wardens' families lived on the island and female relatives visited the men incarcerated there.[15] That the National Park Service accepts women's history more is apparent in its revised outline of American History.[16] National Park Service sites can easily be divided into three categories: places that focus on women's history, places that include women's history, and places that surprise us with women's history. In the first category are those five sites specifically preserving and interpreting women's history—all biographical except for Women's Rights National Historical Park; in the second, those sites such as Lowell NHP, Mesa Verde NP, and Homestead NM, where women's history should be inescapable; and in the third, all the battlefields, the presidential and Great Men sites, as well as the predominantly "natural" parks, where women's history has been too little recognized.

In the past few years, with considerable effort expended, new historic sites that preserve and interpret women's past have been found.[17] In 1992, Page Putnam Miller completed the National Historic Landmark Theme Study in Women's History and published *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*.[18] Her work added 39 designated National Historic Landmarks specifically preserving women's history. But the actual preservation and interpretation of those sites remains problematic: Mother Jones' West Virginia "prison" was recently demolished. Women have worked mightily to save places associated with women's history.

Reinterpreting Existing Sites

Various house museums, historic sites, and museums have reinterpreted existing historic places to uncover women's history.[19] Key examples include the Smithsonian's thoughtful reinterpretation of the First Ladies' Hall, and *From Parlor to Politics: Women and Reform in America*.[20] The

Bureau of Land Management's National Historic Oregon Trail Interpretive Center in Baker City, Oregon, opened in 1992, superbly integrates women's history into Trail history.[21]

Places for Research

Increased interest in women's history has created an outpouring of scholarship. That scholarship has used myriad kinds of written records (and a few oral ones), but few tangible resources. Research in tangible resources combines written and oral research with archeological and ethnographic, curatorial, and architectural analysis. Historian Jane Nylander used domestic artifacts and images to analyze "the intersection between reality and reminiscence in...everyday life in New England during the years 1760-1860," a topic fraught with females.[22] Kenneth Ames explored Victorian objects—hall stands, sideboards, needlework mottoes, parlor organs, and furniture suites to examine latter-19th-century culture and gender roles.[23] Slave history, lacking first person written documents, has used artifacts creatively.[24] Elizabeth Collins Cromley's *A History of American Beds and Bedrooms, 1890-1930* and Ruth Schwartz Cowan's *Coal Stoves and Clean Sinks: Housework between 1890 and 1930* each uses tangible history to understand gender roles.[25] The research opportunities remain significant.

Issues

Places of history share issues with the written record—the bias toward structures and artifacts created by the wealthy with the financial means to have more durable goods and homes.[26] Because many places and objects preserved are associated with the rich and powerful, with genealogical overtones (whether of individuals or, in the presidential-related sites, of the nation), they have a strong bias against being critically analyzed.[27] History and inheritance sometimes clash. Fully including women's history challenges the standard periodization and significance of American history that is so focused on military and political events rather than demographic, social, and economic trends. Barbara Clark Smith argues that "All of us who work in 'technology' museums... might lobby our institutions to deal responsibly with the technology so significant—both by its presence and its politically determined absence—in many women's lives: birth control."[28] Sometimes women's history challenges ideas of preservation. Some preservationists questioned whether the simple concrete block house of novelist and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston, author of *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, was worthy of landmark designation, or the house where labor organizer Mother Jones was imprisoned had adequate physical integrity.[29] In the past few years, much interpretation of women's history for the public has been domestic—cooking in open fireplaces, sewing—at the risk of inadvertently portraying women's roles as more limited than they actually were. Controversial and non-popular events continue to be avoided.[30]

Today, we face two major challenges—ensuring the preservation and interpretation of already identified sites, continuing to find more appropriate sites, and reinterpreting existing sites; and knitting tangible history and women's history together. Each of these goals has much to contribute to the other; both are needed if we are to tell The Whole Story.

(For Notes, see p. 57.)

Heather Huyck, NPS Director of Strategic Planning, is a cultural historian long interested in women's history and cultural resources. Her mother, Dorothy Boyle Huyck, began researching the history of NPS women over 20 years ago.

Grant-Kohrs Ranch House parlor (1988) showing the historic configuration of the room created by Augusta Kohrs around 1895. All objects, except the curtains and shades, are original to the Kohrs family. The top of the small footstool is petit point by Augusta; and its feet are cattle horn. (It is one of the few places one can see a trace of cattle in the house.) It is said to have won a blue ribbon at the 1879 Montana Territorial Fair. Augusta may also have done the turkish chairs with needle point bands down the middle and the chair scarfs.

The ranch is now a National Historic Site for the purpose of providing "an understanding of the frontier cattle era of the nation's history." Augusta arrived here as the 19-year-old bride of Conrad Kohrs. She cooked, cleaned, milked cows, made soap and candles, roasted coffee, ran the house, and began to raise a family. The furnishings she acquired over decades were reportedly the finest available. Photo courtesy Jonna Mehalic.

Daria Rose Foner and Eric Foner

Everywhere and Nowhere
Women at Ellis Island

Situated in New York Harbor, close by the statue of Liberty, Ellis Island once served as the screening station through which millions of immigrants passed on their way to new lives in America. Abandoned by the government in 1954, it was restored and opened to the public in 1990 and today, with over 1.5 million visitors a year, is one of the National Park Service's most popular historical sites. On a rainy December day, together with hundreds of other visitors, we boarded a ferry for the short ride to the island. The sightseers were a cross-section of Americans and foreign tourists, with one notable exception. There were no blacks, a reflection of the fact that Ellis Island celebrates a particular moment in American immigration history of which blacks were not a prominent part.

There is much to praise in the presentation of history at Ellis Island. Together, the exhibits offer a complex, educational, and genuinely moving account of the immigration experience. The introductory film, "Island of Hope, Island of Tears," offers remarkable footage of life in southern and eastern Europe around the turn of the century, as well as an arresting account of the voyage to America. Perhaps most impressive, the curators chose to leave the now restored central hall empty rather than cluttering it with historical presentations. As a result, the visitor receives an almost visceral impression of how imposing, and intimidating, Ellis Island must have seemed when it teemed with immigrants waiting for inspectors to decide whether they could enter the United States.

Off to the sides of the Great Hall, on three floors, are numerous exhibits on the history of immigration. On the main floor, *The Peopling of America* offers three-dimensional graphs charting basic immigration statistics from colonial times to the present. The first encountered by the visitor is a series of male and female figures representing the proportion of men and women immigrants for each period since 1820. Two-thirds during the peak period from 1900 to 1920, we learn, were men; today, two-thirds are women and children. Most immigrants from Europe and Asia are now women, while men predominate among those from Africa and the Middle East. Unfortunately, no effort is made to explain these figures. Unfortunately, too, this is virtually the last time in the entire building where gender is treated as an independent category in relating the history of immigration.

Women are everywhere and nowhere on Ellis Island. A conscious effort has been made to include women among the innumerable photographs and the many recorded reminiscences scattered throughout the exhibits. Yet because immigrants are treated as a generic category, no effort is made to isolate women or to suggest that their experiences may have differed from those of men. In some parts of the museum, this poses few problems. On the second floor, the main exhibit, *Peak Immigration Years*, traces the process of migration and the adaptation to American life from 1880 to 1920. In the section on the passage itself, with its pictures of ships, broadsides advertising, and passports, the failure to deal with gender does not weaken the overall impression. Once the immigrants get to America, however, the neglect of gender is a real problem.

"The exhibits," Daria remarked, "don't treat women as their own thing." Nowhere was this more apparent than in the section, "At Work in America." This includes a small presentation on working women, with photos of textile workers and sweatshops. But the unspoken assumption is that the "normal" immigrant worker was a man. Numerous charts break down immigrant workers in every conceivable way—by the number of native and foreign born workers in different jobs; by job categories for each nationality; by region—but not by gender, either separately or within any of these other categories. It is never mentioned, for example, that "domestic service" loomed so large among Irish employment because of the prevalence of young Irish women house servants.

Daria was very interested in how immigrant children were portrayed. There is a small section on "Child Labor," but she found the very idea too disturbing to look at the vivid photographs. (Her hesitation seemed to be linked to a book she had read in school about the trials of immigrant child workers in the contemporary Southwest.) Less disturbing was another section of the *Peak Immigration Years* exhibit, in which children are presented as "The Go-Betweeners," who negotiated the complex interaction between their parents' old world culture and American society. The idea of children being able to deal more successfully than their parents with American life is an interesting one for a child visitor. But, again, "children" were treated as a genderless category. "Was there a difference between how girls and boys experienced America?" Daria asked. The exhibit did not provide an answer. Nor did it seek to probe the tensions, including gender tensions,

inherent in a situation where children may have exercised more real power in certain realms than their parents. At Ellis Island, the immigrant family is presented as a unit, with no internal conflicts, power relations, or gender inequalities.

Indeed, if one theme predominates in all the exhibits, it is the resilience of the immigrant family. Throughout Ellis Island we are reminded that the family, as the introductory film puts it, was the core of immigrant life. Making the family the centerpiece, however, powerfully shapes how women are presented. Nowhere is this more apparent than on the third floor, in the exhibit, *Treasures from Home*, a loving presentation of items brought from the Old World to the New—photos, embroidered lace, musical instruments, and the like. This was Daria's favorite part of Ellis Island, an understandable reaction to a rich collection of three-dimensional objects after two floors of charts, photos, and broadsides. But to the historian's more critical eye, *Treasures from Home* seemed less appealing. Bathed in the comfortable glow of nostalgia, the immigrant artifacts draw us back to an imagined golden era: not of the Old Country exactly—for we have already learned how desperate life was there and how few actually returned— but to a time when families were large, stable, and coherent; when divorce was unknown; when children obeyed their parent; and when married women remained at home cooking, cleaning, and embroidering.

Like all golden ages, this one has a basis in fact, but exists mainly in the imagination. For romanticizing the immigrant family fails to recognize that it was not only a site of affection and collective survival, but also a battleground. Nowhere on Ellis Island is the possibility considered that the typical immigrant family of the early-20th-century was headed by a domineering patriarch, that many immigrant women and their daughters found Americanization a liberating experience, and that their quest for individual freedom produced tension and conflict with their husbands and parents. In the *Treasures From Home* exhibit, there is a case of artifacts from the Stramesi family, who migrated from Italy to Northampton, Massachusetts. Along with the embroidered towels and pillowcases are two photos of the Stramesi daughters as young women in the 1920s, their hair bobbed and their dresses in flapper style. Visitors are left to wonder how Mr. Stramesi reacted to the Americanization of his daughters.

Among both professional historians and nine-year old girls, it is now almost a cliché that history is experienced differently by men and women and that gender is a useful category of historical analysis. This is not, unfortunately, a lesson visitors will learn at Ellis Island.

Daria Rose Foner is in the fourth grade at St. Hilda's and St. Hugh's School in New York City.

Eric Foner is DeWitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University and former President of the Organization of American Historians.

Patricia West

Interpreting Women's History at Male-Focused House Museums

The National Park Service holds a spectacular and largely untapped resource for interpreting the history of American women—the numerous National Park Service (NPS) house museums officially dedicated to chronicling the relationship between the private lives and the public achievements of male forefathers. The fact is that women's history tends to be obscured or underinterpreted in house museums, awash in the biographical details of great men's lives. After all, domestic space, a "woman's sphere," says more about women's private lives than men's public ones. Child care, house-cleaning, cooking, shopping, receiving—are absorbing daily tasks recorded by the material culture of historic houses. People wanting insight into the lives of American patriarchs could use house museums to grasp one of the truisms of women's history—that men's lives, public and private, cannot be fully understood without reference to women, be they mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, servants, or slaves.

There are a number of longstanding reasons why this women's history resource is too infrequently used.[1] One reason is that NPS sites are especially prone to the exclusionary consequence of narrowly-defined interpretive "themes." Partly

as a result of the way sites become part of the national park system, and partly in consultation with works such as Alderson and Low's classic *Interpretation of Historic Sites*, the "clearly defined interpretive objective" has become standard. While a useful goal overall, the problem for women's history is revealed by Alderson and Low's stern warning that so-called "secondary themes" are "legitimate only as fringe benefits." This approach can be used to police against substantive interpretation of female historical occupants as diversions from the "primary objective."[2] Within the effort to maintain an interpretive focus on that part of the past considered more historically significant—that is, on "the great white male," to paraphrase Melville—wives have been included as "secondary themes." Most often wives have been interpreted in their capacity as tranquil and charming helpmates trapped in a kind of historic "feminine mystique." The solution is to broaden "primary themes." Interpreting the life of the "great man" of the house is simply not possible without independent consideration of the lives of associated women. For example, is a formal dining room on the tour route? Who planned dinner, and under the sway of what cultural assumptions about dinnerware, food, guests? Who made and served it? Women's history is hardly "secondary" if a formal dining space is to be understood.

Another reason that women's history is eliminated or subjugated at house museums is that visitors are generally treated as guests. This causes problems linked to the desire for the house to be presented in its best decorative light. Tours are usually brought in through front halls with interpretation taking place in tidy formal areas. In the case of 19th- and early-20th-century houses, the architecture itself aggravates the presentation by keeping workspaces and maintenance functions away from the eyes of guests. Those little back halls and impassable stairways, and those fascinating servants' rooms where museum staff so often find their offices or stage spaces located, were once the heart of the working house. Having these areas unavailable to the public makes it difficult to interpret the house as anything but a static entity. The opportunity to see the house as a dynamic, functioning space that could impart something of the daily lives of past women disappears. Instead of treating museum visitors as belated guests to the "primary" historic occupants, rich evidence could be gleaned from these work areas and contrasted with the formal, public spaces. Sometimes these areas are totally inaccessible because of fire codes or file cabinets. In such cases, showing the house the way its historic occupants wanted their home viewed by guests can provide insight into the house's symbolic functions, while at the same time acknowledging that its actual workings are hidden. A conscious interpretation of the display function of the Victorian house, for example, would allow us to talk about the domestic ideology of the "cult of domesticity," for while "ladies" were encouraged to cultivate a public and private "delicacy," ethnic and African-American women often assisted in the backbreaking labor of maintaining the appearance of a "proper" home. The general absence of any real sense of the enormous amount of housework necessary to maintain the lifestyles presented in most house museums exacerbates the tendency to romanticize women's past domestic role. The ubiquitous gingerbread-baking demonstration, at which Warren Leon of Old Sturbridge Village has said you learn more about gingerbread than you do about women, conjures up an image of women's domestic work lives so charming you want to quit your job and dip candles. Anyone who knows anything about how tough housework was in centuries past knows something is wrong with this picture.

These caveats are not intended to diminish the tentative steps that many house museums formerly dedicated solely to male history have undertaken to balance their interpretations. Those who have been struggling to include women's history deserve our full support and thoughtful commentary. But valid as the interpretation of a famous man's wife or of breadbaking may be, as long as women's history is seen as "secondary," interpretive problems resulting from such shallow treatment will likely haunt the best efforts. With staff training and time to rethink outmoded interpretative strategies, some of the nation's most remarkable material documents of the lives of foremothers can be unlocked.

Notes

1. For further discussion of this topic, see Patricia West, "Uncovering and Interpreting the History of Women at Male-Focused Historic House Museums," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman (Baltimore: Johns-Hopkins University Press, forthcoming).
2. William T. Alderson and Shirley Payne Low, *Interpretation of Historic Sites*, 2nd ed. (1976; Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1985), 16-17.

Patricia West is a historian and former NPS employee and author of the forthcoming Domesticating Clio: The Origins of the Historic House Museum Movement in America *(Smithsonian Press, Washington, DC, forthcoming).*

Angel Kwolek-Folland

Women and Vernacular Gendered Buildings and Sites

People bring a wide variety of backgrounds and expectations with them as they visit historic buildings or sites. As a tourist gawking at elegant mansions, large plantations, reconstructed mills, or living farms, I have been pleased by the presence and disappointed by the absence of women's experience in preservation choices. I find women's lives fascinating; and I want to know more about their history as lived in particular places, particular buildings. At a place like Mt. Vernon, visitors find the kitchens as compelling as the desk where George Washington composed his letters. Perhaps one reason for our positive response to the ordinary is that most of us have cooked an egg, but almost none of us has ever led a country. There is something about the commonness of everyday life that makes history vivid, personal, and illuminating in ways the larger affairs of the world cannot. For much of our history, most women's lives have been led in seemingly "common" or private spaces, among small and intimate things. Much of women's lives have been "vernacular"; specific to time and place, localized, and routine rather than spectacular or unique.

For this reason, focusing on the architectural and landscape expressions of ordinary people provides an excellent window to the commonalities and differences of historical experiences. Vernacular buildings and sites uniquely reveal most people's lives. Often overlooked as historically unimportant, ordinary buildings and sites can provide exciting opportunities for glimpsing something about the history of ordinary women and men. In addition, women's lives can help us understand vernacular places and structures and expand our sense of the historically important. The way gender shapes buildings and sites, both in the past and the present, is important to accurate historical presentation, to engaging public interest, and to making informed preservation choices.

Many assumptions about gender (some of them unexamined) shape preservation decisions and approaches to vernacular buildings and sites. For example, in preserving, displaying, and analyzing the physical environments of women's lives, we usually assume that there is a split between public and private worlds, the "separate spheres" of men and women. So we tend to associate women's historical experience with various types of domestic space. We often associate houses with activities, attitudes, and values removed from "public" considerations. And we define the arena of women's economic activities as outside the home, in public workplaces such as a textile mill. It is easy to overlook domestic spaces of residential areas as arenas of economic production, or public places as stages for private life. This tendency to separate domestic, private places and activities from public, economic, or political places and activities is further complicated by the difficulty of viewing places like neighborhoods as integrated wholes. We tend to focus on discrete farmsteads, houses, or workplaces. Finally, sometimes we overlook the fact that gender is one among several "social categories" to which we all belong. Race, ethnicity, and class also are part of our historical, personal, and social identifies. All built spaces and sites are racially, ethnically, and culturally heterogeneous as well as gendered.

Clearly, gender is a complicated set of relationships rather than a static category. To make it more useful, we can break it down into at least three component parts, listed here in no particular order although the parts are related to one another. These pieces are useful for sorting out the gendered dimensions of vernacular buildings and sites, and for making gender a part of their preservation and presentation as historic places. Together they comprise the most important variables in the "gendering" of buildings and sites.

First, gender is a "structural" category. This means that law, culture, social expectations, and rituals all have a gendered dimension, which often also contains class, ethnic, or racial elements. For example, in most of the 19th century, a married woman had no legal right to her own earnings. They were her husband's property, just as she was. In the 20th century, we still express this sort of patriarchal notion when a bride's father "gives her away" to the groom, thus passing paternal rights onto the son-in-law. Sometimes, gendered expressions seem to have a certain timeless quality. We often associate women with interior domestic space and men with lawn mowing and car repairs. This version of "separate spheres" is rooted in our expectations about the gendered dimension of class and race that goes back to the mid-18th century and to the development of a capitalist market economy—long before the exis-

tence of lawns, mowers, or cars. This apparent timelessness, however, actually masks historical variation and important incremental changes often expressed in architectural form. For example, the classic distinction between "shanty" and "lace curtain" Irish Americans grounds notions of domesticity, gender, ethnicity, and class in the metaphor of housing styles.

Second, gender is a "fragmented" category, and fragmented in numerous ways. Gender depends on cultural approaches to the division of maleness and femaleness, ethnicity, race, and class. For example, in the Hispanic southwest, men typically make adobe bricks, but women construct and repair adobe structures. The process of building with adobe thus reinforces the mutual interdependence of men and women typical of Hispanic culture. Gender also is fragmented over time, with the structure of gendered relations changing constantly. Gender is further fragmented between the ideals about behavior and relations, and the reality of how people actually behave and relate. To use the "separate spheres" example again, the ideal of domestic women and lawn-mowing men is much more complex in the lived world. One recent Saturday afternoon, I found myself in our driveway replacing a headlight in the Chevy. At the same time, a neighbor woman to the east was mowing her lawn, while another on the west was trimming the trees in her yard. Many complex individual decisions went into this gender-bending behavior. But clearly, knowing the ideal for gender relations at a particular time will not always tell you how people actually behave.

Finally, gender is an "experiential" category, both a private understanding of who we are as gendered people and a public "performance" of our maleness and femaleness, our class position, our ethnicity, and our racial identity. In fact, the way gender combines the personal and the public gives it a particular force in historical re-creation. Buildings and sites are like "stages" where people act out complex plays about family, religion, attitudes about work—or the intricacies of social rituals like courting. In a historic site such as Mount Vernon, the social and ritual stage-setting is obvious. The complex of buildings, gardens, forests, fields, and waterways that comprise this plantation physically structured the social relations of a slave society based on race, gender, and class distinctions. However, all built forms and sites share this function even as they send different messages. A vernacular bungalow or a front yard filled with plastic deer and plaster elves is made for the edification and enjoyment of those driving by in automobiles. An African-American-swept yard in Georgia, with its tire planters, work tables, and hog butchering hoist, is designed as a neighborly gathering place and work site. Both structure social relations.

The structural, ideological, and social differences men and women have available to them mean women and men may construct and experience buildings and sites differently. The same place can, literally, be several different worlds criss-crossed by gender, race, ethnicity, or class experience and meaning. Untangling this diversity can enrich the historic presentation of a site and render even the most "average" vernacular building a potentially broad historical canvas.

The complexity of concerns intrinsic to women's history further suggests that buildings and sites must be carefully integrated into their larger context. My ideal historic site would be an entire 19th-century residential neighborhood, envisioned not just as a collection of homes or domestic spaces, but as a complex of locations for public social activities and economic enterprise as well as domestic lives. Women raised chickens in their yards and sold eggs, took in sewing or boarders to support themselves and their children, or ran a neighborhood laundry in their sideyards. The solitary example of a large and well-designed vernacular residence is a useful historic document. More useful, however, would be the complex of outbuildings, dirt lanes, tree swings, churches, and grocery stores that together made up a social and economic world.

Historically, women's lives are both ordinary, in the vernacular sense of common and locally-specific, and part of a much larger social and cultural world of patriarchy, racial hierarchies, ethnic differences, and class stratification. The specificity and very ordinariness of most women's lives throughout history can bring an immediate and visceral reality to such broad historical themes. The preservation and presentation of vernacular buildings and sites would be infinitely enriched by incorporating the many histories of women.

Angel Kwolek-Folland is Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

Carol D. Shull

Women's History in the National Register and the National Historic Landmarks Survey

How have the contributions of women been recognized through listings in the National Register of Historic Places? How can the National Register be used for further research in women's history? With nearly 67,000 listings, the National Register is the only source of information on historic places of national, state, and local significance nationwide. It is the single inventory which recognizes the historic and cultural units of the national park system, the National Historic Landmarks (NHLs) designated by the Secretary of the Interior, and the places nominated by States, federal agencies, and American Indian tribes. A computerized index to listings, the National Register Information System (NRIS), contains about 45 data elements which can be queried individually or in a variety of combinations to find listings associated with women. The NRIS is available on the World Wide Web, and information from both the NRIS and the National Register files can be obtained on request. National Register and National Historic Landmark documentation are rich sources of information about the contributions of women in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. The descriptions, statements of significance, and bibliographies can be invaluable to researchers of the same or related subjects.

St. Mary's Church, Fairfax Station, Virginia. After the second battle of Manassas, Clara Barton, with three women volunteers and donated supplies, traveled out from Washington by train to care for the wounded. A field hospital was set up in this church. Photo by Ed Lattau, 1976.

Having been around a long time, I remember how, after seeking advice from nominating authorities, scholars in a variety of disciplines, and others, the National Park Service determined which data elements to computerize on each National Register listing. Our goal was to create an automated index with a manageable number of useful pieces of data on each Register listing to make the places and the information about them accessible to the public for a wide variety of uses, from research to preservation planning, public education, and interpretation. After considerable discussion, the National Park Service decided **not** to include a data field for significance in women's history. The fundamental reason for that decision was that the places associated with women were being nominated not because of the gender of the women associated with them, but because these individuals made contributions in areas of significance, such as architecture, art, education, literature, law, medicine, or science—regardless of their sex. Gender was not a factor in their selection. We reasoned that if a property is nominated for its significance in the field of women's history, the nomination preparer could list women's history in the "other" category provided for places possessing significance in areas different from those with given categories from which to choose. (No one has done this.) There was concern that to list a property in any area of significance just because it was associated with a woman was patronizing. We did not want to imply that standards of achievement should be lowered for women. Furthermore, it was argued that, for most listings, gender information would be unreliable because most listings are associated with both sexes in one way or another.

In hindsight, I wish we had a data field to flag listings that are relevant for women's history. It surely would have been easier to prepare this paper on how women's lives are reflected in listings and made the Register a more valuable tool for research on women's history. After reassessing the earlier decision, we have now decided to enter a flag in the database to identify those we have identified as important in women's history in order to make the collection more accessible to the researching public. While the NPS does not have

the funding to add new cross references to the NRIS very often, so much information is now available and the subject is of such great interest that it seems not only appropriate but necessary to flag those we have discovered. Now that I am reading about the growing interest in studying men's history, that is being greeted with both hope and alarm, we may eventually need a data element for sites for men's studies as well.

While the online database can serve as a guide to many subjects, this particular topic demonstrates there will always be historical dimensions that go beyond current National Register categories. To aid the researcher who wants to explore such subjects, the National Register has an Internet site (FTP.NR.NPS.GOV) which will permit downloading of the entire database for in-depth analysis. Researchers can then add their own cross references. This site is now available to the public.

Right now, obtaining a complete list of places associated with women from the NRIS is not possible, but the database can be searched using a variety of fields alone and in combination with others to find listings associated with women.

To begin, a search of the significant persons field is among the most useful. At the time of our query, the NRIS showed listings associated with 9,820 significant persons. About 360 (over 3%) of these are women. A researcher can pick out the names of women of interest and then pull the NRIS record on each listing and the National Register or NHL file to obtain more detailed information.

The significant person field can also be searched by the name of any individual of interest. Researchers on Clara Barton will find four listings: Clara Barton National Historic Site, one of the five units of the national park system primarily about women; Clara Barton Parkway, a commemorative property; Clara Barton Homestead; and St. Mary's Church, where Barton treated the wounded after the Second Battle of Manassas. A researcher might do a more detailed query of just those records finding where the properties are (Maryland, Massachusetts, and Virginia); the different periods or dates of and areas of significance that they reflect in Clara Barton's life; whether they are administered by the NPS, are NHLs or are nominated by a state; and so on. The National Register registration documentation provides the detailed information about what these places tell us about Clara Barton.

In our research, we were not as interested in the famous women whose names we knew, like Jane Addams, Susan B. Anthony, Mary McLeod Bethune, Helen Keller, Annie Oakley, or Eleanor Roosevelt—the "female icons." Many of them are represented in the National Register, and their impact is well known. Instead, we were curious about the women whose names we did not recognize.

A sampling of what we found gives some indication of the breadth of the National Register.

- The Hulda Klager Lilac Garden in Washington state was the private laboratory and showplace of the nationally-recognized horticulturist, a leading authority on the hybridizing of lilacs, who developed over 250 varieties.
- The Joslyn Mansion in Omaha was the home of a well-known philanthropist, Sarah Joslyn and her husband.
- By 1816, when she was granted her medical license, Sarah Clark Case of the Daniel Case/Sarah Case Farmstead was the first licensed woman physician in Hunterdon County and one of the first in New Jersey.
- Susan Blow helped create the Des Peres School in St. Louis, the first successful public kindergarten in the United States.
- Anna Beir, who bequeathed her home to the City of Greenville, Ohio, for an art museum, was the founding spirit behind the Greenville Art Guild, art supervisor in the Greenville schools, an artist, teacher, and patron of culture.
- The most famous resident of Casa de los Ponce de Leon in Puerto Rico was the 19th-century poet and educator, Lola Rodriquez Ponce de Leon.
- The well known Polish Shakespearean actress, Helena Modjeska lived at Arden, California.
- The Montanez Adobe chapel became the village sanctuary and its owner, Polina

Des Peres School, St. Louis, Missouri. Historical photograph taken for the U.S. Centennial Celebration, 1876. Inspired by the teaching of Friedrich Froebel, a German educator, Susan Blow founded the first kindergarten in this building in 1873. Photo courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

Montanez, the spiritual leader of the community in San Juan Capistrano, California.

When we queried the database for architects and builders, we found 25,000 names. From the printout, some 90 of these are women. Several are well known, Julia Morgan, the architect of William Randolph Hearst's St. Simeon, with 16 listings, and Mary Jane Colter with 6, including buildings she designed at the Grand Canyon. Who were these women, and what were their contributions?

In her introduction to *Reclaiming the Past, Landmarks of Women's History*, editor Page Putnam Miller gives the best survey to date of what has been done to identify, recognize, and interpret nationally-significant historic resources associated with women. These are either units of the national park system or National Historic Landmarks. While some were designated as part of earlier National Historic Landmark theme studies on social and humanitarian movements, American writers, and the African-American study, most resulted from the congressionally-mandated theme study on women's history landmarks. Recent NHL theme studies now underway, such as the labor history study coordinated by the Newberry Library, use the more encompassing approaches to American history reflected in the new NPS theme structure and build on current scholarship about women's history.

A search of any one of the 30 areas of significance in National Register Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, will result in a list of all the properties of national, state, and local significance recognized in the National Register for that area of significance. Those in each category that have the woman's name in the name of the property will be obvious. To identify others, a query can be run coupling area of significance with another field, such as significant person or architect/builder, to allow

The Polonina Montanez Adobe, San Juan Capistrano, California, has a great deal of spiritual significance to the city. From 1886 to 1910, Mission San Juan Capistrano stood open and empty, a victim of politics, looters, and rain. The tiny chapel in the Montanez Adobe became the village sanctuary and Polonina Montanez, its owner, became the spiritual leader of the community. Photographer unknown, c. 1930.

women's names to be picked out. More listings associated with women can be identified by pulling National Register files that are likely to be associated with women, but researchers may miss places which do not have an individual in the name, unless they read each nomination.

Research by areas of significance will identify the most prominent fields in which properties associated with the contributions of women have been recognized. For literature, the best represented area, 105 places are registered for literary women, such as a recent listing for the home of Angie Debo, scholar and writer on Oklahoma and Native-American history. Art includes listings reflecting 38 women artists. Among the most interesting is Grandma Prisbrey's Bottle Village in Simi Valley, California, an exceptionally significant and rare folk art environment created by a self-taught American folk artist who has received high acclaim. Performing arts has 21 listings.

We also did sample searches of the historic functions data field. In "College" we found that of the approximately 700 National Register listings, 28 are associated primarily with women.

The NRIS can also be searched by key word. We searched for "women." The result was 58 listings with women in the name. Most were women's clubs, along with some homes, schools, a monument to Confederate women, a hotel, a fountain, a gymnasium, and even a ladies restroom.

Having organized the National Register files she was using chronologically, Gail Dubrow found that listings until the mid-1970s tended to recognize notable women of major cultural significance, such as Juliette Gordon Lowe, the founder of the Girl Scouts, and Harriet Tubman, or literary figures, like Louisa May Alcott. Beginning in the mid-1970s, organized initiatives consciously sought to broaden the range of NHLs associated with women like those done by the American Association for State and Local History and the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation. The women's theme study has the most systematic approach to cover a wider range of subjects, areas

Wendover, Hyden, Kentucky. Wendover was the home of the Frontier Nursing Service founded by Mary Breckenridge (foreground) in 1925. While working as a volunteer for the American Committee for Devastated France following the end of World War I, she was inspired by the work of the nurse-midwives in France and England and thought that they might be able to meet the problem of medical care for mothers and children in rural America. Photo by Warren Klosterman, 1961.

of significance, and resources types. States have been nominating a few miscellaneous resources, usually associated with individuals or a relatively large number of women's clubs. That pattern has continued with a few exceptions. One unusual thematic group of nominations, submitted by the Nebraska State Historic Preservation Officer, includes listings for 30 places in Webster County which Willa Cather used in her writings. Another multiple property submission was for 10 buildings designed by California architect, Lillian Rice. Several states (Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Oregon, Vermont, and Wisconsin) are making a conscious effort to identify women in the names of listings.

More needs to be done to recognize historic places associated with American women. Thematic surveys sponsored by state historic preservation offices, certified local governments, and other communities should result in additional multiple property nominations in women's state and local history. The new Tribal Preservation Programs should be encouraged to prepare nominations for places on Indian lands associated with women. Existing listings can be reinterpreted to provide better documentation on the role of women. The National Park Service's recently published *Exploring A Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service*, is a joint effort between the NPS and the Organization of American Historians. Based on current scholarship, it provides information on women's history useful in identifying new sites and in reinterpreting others in areas such as work, family, life cycle, ideologies about women, dynamics of difference, public life, and education. Many of these themes can be documented and interpreted at specific historic places. They can also be used in other public education initiatives, such as the National Register's lesson plans relating to women in the *Teaching with Historic Places* series. Where significant, associations with women at historic places should be reflected in National Register listings.

Pavelka Farmstead, vicinity of Bladen, Nebraska. This house was the site of Willa Cather's novel, My Antonia. *The fruit cave that she described in the novel is in the foreground of the picture. Photo by R. Bruhn, 1978.*

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Information on National Register listings is from the National Register registration files and the National Register Information System database.

Carol D. Shull is Keeper of the National Register and Chief of the National Historic Landmarks Survey, National Park Service.

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Antoinette J. Lee

Supporting Working Women
YWCAs in the National Register

The eight Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) buildings listed in the National Register of Historic Places provide insight into the status of working women from the mid-19th century to the present. YWCAs are significant in American history for their role in providing crucial social services to working women. Many also are significant for the architectural qualities of the buildings themselves. The National Register documentation for these buildings provides an introduction to this important organization and illuminates key aspects of women's history from the late-19th through the 20th century.

YWCAs eased the transition of women from rural areas to the cities, from home to the world of work, and from domestic pursuits to careers in offices and factories. Prominent women in their respective communities established YWCAs, raised funds to construct YWCA facilities, furnished the facilities, and served on YWCA boards of directors. The organization continues today to serve the cause of working women.

The YWCA movement began in England in 1855, as two separate organizations: the Prayer Union and the General Female Training Institute. The two organizations united to become the YWCA and worked to improve the working conditions of women brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Three years later, in 1858, the Ladies Christian Association was established in New York City. Thereafter, YWCA organizations spread rapidly throughout the United States, further fueled by the evangelical movement in Christian churches and increased educational opportunities for women. The world YWCA, founded in 1894, is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland; the YWCA of the U.S.A., founded in 1906, occupies offices in New York City.

The Central YWCA building in Richmond, Virginia, was constructed in 1913-14 to serve young women who came to Richmond to work in its tobacco factories, department stores, and offices. Photo courtesy H. Christopher Slusher.

For much of the 19th century, YWCA organizations in the United States operated out of existing buildings, such as churches. Starting in the early-20th century, YWCA organizations in the nation's cities and larger towns constructed new facilities designed to meet their unique requirements. The facilities usually housed a cafeteria, a gymnasium, offices, a library, and lounges on the public floors and dormitory rooms on the upper floors or in an adjacent block. In appearance, the YWCA buildings were designed to provide more than functional spaces; they were monuments to the women who supported the YWCAs and those who were served by them.

Many YWCA buildings were similar to academic buildings that could be found at women's colleges during this period. Revival styles, most often colonial or Georgian revival, were the styles of choice. Their domestic institutional atmosphere provided familiar, welcoming, and homey surroundings, even if the lobbies were on a grand scale. Several YWCA buildings aspired to even greater statements. For example, the Richmond YWCA building was considered comparable in scale and design treatment to the established men's clubs in the downtown area. Overall, because of the need to provide similar functions, the YWCA buildings of the early-20th century were similar to YMCA buildings of the same period, except for the strong accent on domesticity with the former.

The YWCA offered the first boarding house for female students, teachers, and factory workers in New York City. In other cities, vocational training was offered in typewriting and sewing machine operation; employment assistance was provided to thousands of women; and English-as-a-second-language was offered to immigrant women. During World War I, programs were provided for armed services personnel in the United States and abroad, which led to the formation of the USOs. During the Great Depression, YWCAs provided safe and healthy living and dining arrangements for women displaced from their homes because of economic dislocation. During World War II, YWCAs served women war workers. Interestingly, several YWCAs extended services to Japanese-American women and girls incarcerated in World War II relocation centers.[1]

Each YWCA property listed in the National Register embodies the organization's major goals in assisting working women. Each also provides its

own unique and local dimension to the national movement. The Central YWCA in Richmond, Virginia, is an important example. Constructed in 1913-14, it provided employment referral services, room and board facilities, and physical fitness programs. The travelers aid program met trains carrying young women to Richmond to work in its tobacco factories, department stores, and offices. The Beaux Arts Palazzo style of the building was compatible with the other private, mostly male, clubs in downtown Richmond.

The Central YWCA in Richmond operated similar programs for women and girls in the city's African-American population at the Phyllis Wheatley Branch. Despite the separate facilities, efforts to promote interracial cooperation began in 1925, when a member of the Wheatley branch was invited to sit on the Central board of directors. In the following decades, the Central YWCA fostered studies of the economic and social needs of the black community. By the mid-1960s, the YWCA integrated all of its programs and facilities and promoted the elimination of racism in other areas of Richmond life.[2]

The sizeable 12-story neo-Gothic YWCA in Cincinnati, Ohio, represents the scale of accommodations needed for women in a major urban area. The Cincinnati YWCA featured a chapel, meeting rooms, gymnasium, and individual dormitory rooms. During the Great Depression, the Cincinnati YWCA provided training classes and facilities for WPA projects. During World War II, a USO Center hosted thousands of military personnel. The Cincinnati YWCA cooperated with the Red Cross in organizing the "Contact Club," which met "the recreational needs of Japanese-Americans who relocated in Cincinnati."[3]

Constructed in 1934, the YWCA in Yakima, Washington, illustrates other aspects of women's history in the United States. The Yakima YWCA president Mary Remy devised the design for the buildings, which was then finalized by Yakima architect John Maloney. This building also can be viewed as an appropriate expression of the nation's interest in the roots of American architecture, which was embodied by the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.[4]

Understanding of the YWCA movement in the United States can be enhanced through the examination of National Register nominations of related institutions. For example, the 1930 Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association Building in Baltimore, Maryland, was the first Jewish "Y" in the nation. It provided educational and social services and bridged the cultural gap between the older and newer Jewish communities in Baltimore. Another related National Register property is the Barbizon Hotel for Women in New York City, constructed in 1927. The Barbizon was a dormitory-like residential hotel for women that supported their entry into adult careers in the business and the arts. Today, the building serves as a hotel. The many parallel women's philanthropic clubs listed in the National Register can also expand our knowledge of and appreciation for the theme of working women during much of the 20th century.

Although they operate today within a context different from their historical roots, YWCAs continue to provide vital services to working women today.

Based on their central role in women's history, there are doubtless many more YWCA facilities that could be nominated to the National Register. While all can be related to the national and international YWCA movement, they also reflect their times and embody the special circumstances of the women and communities that they served.

The YWCA building in Yakima, WA, was constructed in 1934. It was designed by the organization's president, Mary Remy, who admired the architecture of Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia. Photo courtesy Leonard Garfield.

Notes

1 "YWCA Historic 'Firsts' & Other Milestones," YWCA of the U.S.A. homepage on the World Wide Web, <http://www.cybergirl.com/dv/ywca/history.html.>

2 Elizabeth S. Brinson and H. Christopher Slusher, "Young Women's Christian Association," Richmond, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, October 31, 1983.

3 Winston E. Folkers, "Young Women's Christian Association of Cincinnati," Cincinnati, Ohio, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, February 26, 1982.

4 Letty Ann Ginn, "Young Women's Christian Association Building," Yakima, Washington, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, July 10, 1992.

Antoinette J. Lee is Senior Historian for National Programs, Heritage Preservation Services, National Park Service.

Leslie N. Sharp

The Role of Women in Preservation
A Georgia Perspective

The Historic Preservation Division (HPD) of the Georgia's State Historic Preservation Office, is grappling with many questions relating to the preservation of historic places associated with women.

- Is there a need for emphasizing the preservation of historic places associated with women?
- What is a women-related historic place?
- What is the best way to begin a preservation effort involving women's history?

Is There a Need?

Although women are half of the population, not much is known about historic places associated with them or about women's roles in commonly studied historic places such as residential, commercial, industrial, and community landmark buildings. Of the more than 1,500 National Register listings comprising over 38,000 historic properties in Georgia, less than 3% are listed **because** of their association with women. Similarly, of 1,965 Georgia historical markers, less than 70 relate to women. Many of these markers are based on legend or myth or mention a female only because of her husband. The other 1,400-plus listings or 1,900 historical markers may be related to women, but the role of women in these places has not been identified, evaluated, or even understood. Essentially, we as historians, architectural historians, preservationists, and planners have been short-changing history and our historic environment by not taking a comprehensive view that fully includes women in evaluating and interpreting our historic places.

What is a Woman-Related Historic Place?

Although the need for studying women-related historic places is apparent, the task is daunting. There are many issues which need to be addressed, including simply defining a women-related historic place. Such a place is defined as **a historic place significant for its association with a particular woman or the activities of women.** Although this definition sounds straightforward, it brings up more questions related to how important the association with women must be before a historic place can be considered significant in the area of women's history.

Obvious examples of historic places with a direct association with women's history in Georgia are the Rockmart Woman's Club building, the Athens YWCA, designs of architect Lelia Ross Wilburn, or the buildings and sites associated with Juliette Gordon Lowe, the founder of the American Girl Scouts. These places are undoubtedly significant in terms of women's history in Georgia. There are other places with less direct associations whose connections to women tend to be more tenuous and less understood. Places with indirect associations with women include industrial complexes (such as the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills in Atlanta) which may have employed women; education-related buildings, such as schools where the teachers were often women, or houses with kitchens and garden spaces commonly associated with women.

If there is a clear differentiation between direct and indirect associations, then should efforts be devoted to re-interpreting already-known historic places to include the roles of women or should efforts focus on identifying places whose significance is more directly associated with women? These questions further confirmed the Historic Preservation Division's belief that a special initiative was needed to understand women's roles in Georgia's historic environment.

The Block Candy Company, Atlanta, Georgia, with its large number of women workers, symbolized the growing employment opportunities for women outside the home during the late-19th and early-20th century. Because of this association, should the Block Candy Company building have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its significance in women's history? Photo by Jim Lockhart, Georgia Historic Preservation Division.

Where to Begin?

In 1995, HPD recognized the lack in the understanding of women's roles in historic places. With the leadership of Beth Gibson, AIA, rehabilitation architect, and this author, the National Register Coordinator, HPD began a Women's History Initiative to address the topic of women's history in the identification, documentation, evaluation, and preservation of historic places.

The first major project of the initiative was a regional conference on women's history and historic preservation. Held in March 1996, "Telling Her Story: Expanding the Past of Georgia's Women Through Historic Places" brought together 12 scholars and over 100 people from a wide variety of backgrounds. The three main sessions were case studies of particular women in Georgia and their associated places, the identification of new landmarks in women's history, and cross-cultural perspectives of women and historic places.

Feedback from the closing discussion and the conference evaluation forms revealed a desire among the participants for projects focusing on women and their associated historic places. A majority of the responses centered on the need for greater activity in and awareness of preserving women-related places. For example, one conference participant pointed out that women's history is not a historical theme in the Georgia Historic Resources Survey (the state's ongoing, survey program of historic resources). Furthermore, women's history is not included in the National Register of Historic Places "areas of significance," although it can be added in the category of "Other." This again underscores the fact that gender is not routinely considered in the evaluation of historic places.

To help meet the needs identified by the conference participants and to further Georgia's understanding of places associated with woman, HPD is developing a historic context on historic places associated with women in Georgia. Catherine Lewis, a University of Iowa doctoral candidate, working with this author, is seeking funding for researching, writing, and publishing the historic context. This study will include six chapters and appendices.

The first chapter will provide a general overview of women's history in Georgia as it relates to historic places. The second chapter will define what constitutes a historic place significant for women's history. This chapter will include a discussion of the differences between the direct and indirect historical associations with women and try to resolve some of the issues concerning significance mentioned earlier.

The third chapter will describe and provide photographic examples of different kinds of places associated with women. These places will be divided into categories including residential, environmental, religious, cultural, industrial, educational, and institutional. Chapter 4 will discuss resources available to researchers interested in women's history in Georgia. Catherine Lewis has completed the first bibliography of primary source material on Georgia women to be included in Appendix B.

Evaluation techniques and preservation strategies for places associated with women will be included in Chapters 4 and 5. The appendices will include a list of National Register listed properties in Georgia associated with women, the bibliography, and a directory of public and private agencies and organizations familiar with the preservation of women's places.

The mission of the Georgia's Women's History Initiative and the historic context is to integrate women's history and the preservation of historic places associated with women into the state's existing programs which record, document, interpret, and preserve historic places representing Georgia history. This mission will be accomplished by:

- actively seeking to identify and document historic places associated with women in Georgia—including specific places associated with a particular woman or event, as well as resources that collectively reflect broad themes associated with the roles of women in the state's history;
- reinterpreting historic places already identified in Georgia based upon a better understanding of women's history in Georgia; and
- promoting the awareness, appreciation, and preservation of historic places associated with women in Georgia through publications, heritage education programs, and tour guides that will increase public awareness.

The Women's History Initiative in Georgia is in its infancy. Its first steps may serve as a model for other states as the awareness of women's history and its relationship to historic preservation is more appreciated.

Leslie N. Sharp is the National Register Coordinator for the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Dept. of Natural Resources (SHPO), Atlanta.

Sharon L. Bollinger

How Women Saved South Pass City, Wyoming

It all began quite innocently. As the State of Wyoming approached its 75th statehood birthday in 1965, it seemed sensible planning for the state to appoint a Commission to direct commemorative activities. Little did anyone realize that the end result would be an unusual "birthday present" to the State of Wyoming—the historical town of South Pass City, birthplace of women's suffrage. By the time the drama ended, women were the key characters while additional roles were played by the Department of the Interior, three state agencies, two governors, and the Wyoming State Legislature.

Concurrent with the Legislative Act which created a 75th Anniversary commission, Legislator Edness Kimball Wilkins (D-Natrona County) co-sponsored a bill which appropriated $50,000 to the Wyoming State Parks Commission for the purchase and repair of buildings at South Pass City. Support for the bill did not represent a sudden impulse on the part of Mrs. Wilkins. She was an avid amateur historian and a believer in both preservation and conservation. Along with a few sympathetic friends, she had long considered South Pass City a unique historic site, worthy of preservation. Mrs. Wilkins and her friends received appointments to the 75th Anniversary Commission and found an unexpected opportunity to preserve this endangered site.

Designated members of the legislature, along with State Parks Commission representatives, started purchase negotiations with the many South Pass City property owners. These negotiations faltered as legislative intent was questioned, the proposal's language needed the Attorney General's interpretation, and the necessity for additional funding became apparent. Months passed, and no concrete action toward the purchase took place.

Mrs. Wilkins, busy with her duties on the 75th Anniversary committee, knew negotiations had gone slowly. She also realized there was a possibility that the purchase could not be completed by the July 1, 1965, expiration date in the original appropriation bill. Accordingly, she introduced a bill during the 1965 Legislative session for a continuation of the appropriation. Unfortunately, the bill went down in defeat. Wilkins and her friends now formulated alternative plans.

Earlier, the 75th Anniversary Commission had filed incorporation papers, borrowed money to finance their activities, sold commemorative items, and ultimately ended the celebration year with a comfortable profit. By their January 1966 meeting, Commission members were contemplating alternative uses for the surplus funds, which would be under the control of the Commission until 1968, when the Commission would be disbanded in accordance with the initial legislation.

Other agencies and groups had ideas about how the surplus monies should be spent. However, the Attorney General declared the funds must be returned to the General Fund. Members of the 75th Anniversary Commission met with the Attorney General and the representative of the Wyoming Travel Commission, then briefly adjourned for lunch. When they returned, the Commission members disclosed that they would use the funds to purchase South Pass City for the State of Wyoming as a "birthday present" and passed a resolution supporting the proposed acquisition. What a luncheon that must have been!

The Attorney General expressed doubt that the purchase could be made legally and suggested that the money be returned to the State of Wyoming with the *recommendation* that it be used to purchase South Pass City. The 75th Anniversary Commission members decided not to follow his advice.

It seemed nothing could dampen the enthusiasm of the Commission. Through the services of a local attorney, they completed the purchase of approximately three acres and a number of South Pass City historic buildings by the time of their next meeting in May 1966. However, the intervening period was not without drama. Mrs. Wilkins later recalled, "The way we saved it was unbelievable."

The day following that determined 75th Anniversary Commission resolution to purchase South Pass City, Mrs. Wilkins and Mrs. Messick

paid a visit to the Attorney General. He continued to express doubt about the legality of the purchase, stating that the action went against the intent of the Legislature, which had recently defeated the bill to extend the funding.

Nonetheless, both Mrs. Alice Messick, of Douglas, Wyoming, and Mrs. Wilkins, along with the local attorney who represented the 75th Anniversary Commission, conducted purchase negotiations with the primary property owners, Mr. and Mrs. Woodring. After vigorous bargaining, the Woodrings, who operated a small store and private museum at the site, finally accepted the $25,000 price offered by the 75th Anniversary Commission members.

Tensions increased during the ensuing days as an assistant to the governor attempted unsuccessfully to stop payment on the escrow check, and legislative members called to protest the purchase. The Attorney General called and told Commission members that they could not purchase the historic city and that he would render an opinion to that effect. The Commission members told him they did not want his written opinion and they had disregarded his verbal opinion. Ultimately, the Commission members stood firm.

By the time the Commission met again on May 26, 1966, passions had cooled somewhat; and both the Attorney General and the Governor appeared to be resigned to the purchase. The Secretary of State actually sent a letter of congratulations to the Commission. Meanwhile, the Bureau of Land Management, a federal agency, offered technical assistance, land leases, and generally was most supportive and encouraging in the upcoming years.

Meanwhile, at the request of the newly elected Governor, Stanley Hathaway, the Legislature formed the Old South Pass Historical Preserve to administer the site. Many members serving as part of this new group were previously members of the 75th Anniversary Commission. From 1967 to 1969, this group of intrepid volunteers, including Mrs. Wilkins, Mrs. Messick, and Dorothe Cable, a former employee of the Wyoming Travel Commission, fought to keep the South Pass City operation financially solvent. They did not receive any state appropriations for operating expenses because the Legislature created the Preserve, but then refused to fund it.

Political motives? Probably not. Legislative indifference in the 1960s to the preservation of this and other historic places played a larger role than politics. As late as 1983, Mrs. Cable believed that this indifference continued since the Legislature seemed unaware of the significance of Wyoming's history and repeatedly refused to fund the operation and preservation expenses of South Pass City and other state historic sites. It was not until the mid-1980s, when the Legislature sought to develop a nascent tourist industry, that the value of historic places such as South Pass City was fully recognized. Finally, funding requests for interpretation and preservation received thoughtful legislative consideration.

The members of the Old South Pass Historic Preserve Commission arrived at the site. Trash and debris filled many of the buildings. Other structures had been vandalized, while some buildings were partially dismantled by local residents who pirated construction materials for their own use.

The Ladies Club of Lander immediately offered their services to help with cleaning, cataloging, and moving articles from the many abandoned buildings to the general store, which was considered a safe structure. Many families with close ties to South Pass City searched their attics and homes, seeking antiques and other artifacts associated with the historic site. They donated these items in a burst of enthusiasm and generated local support for the creation of displays and museum interpretations.

Initially, the volunteers took inventory, gave tours to visitors, cleaned up the site, and preserved the buildings. At least one volunteer remained at the site at all times in the early days. Mrs. Cable remembers that the mostly female volunteers occasionally felt uneasy about staying alone at the site, but they believed they had a public trust to uphold.

Living on the site offered challenges in daily living for the three women. There was no running water in the buildings. The cold and refreshing solution was to wash their faces and hands in the nearby creek when they hauled water to their living quarters for other purposes. The sanitary facilities consisted of a few outdoor structures. The women slept in the old hotel one of the few buildings immediately habitable.

The initial plan for the site's interpretation focused primarily on Esther Hobart Morris, first female justice of the peace in the United States, and the story of women's suffrage in Wyoming. Publicity about the town and the region began. As news of the public ownership of the site spread, members faced a busy tourist season, completely dependent on volunteers. They fought offers to commercialize the site, relying only upon the proceeds from the sale of a cookbook and a $.25 admission fee. By the end of the first year, they had enough funds to hire a caretaker, which relieved some of the burden on the volunteers. But the task nonetheless proved to be too enormous.

Reluctantly, the Preserve members requested that the property be administered by an established state agency—the Wyoming Recreation Commission (WRC). In 1969, the legislature gave responsibility for the buildings to WRC and for the museum/interpretation function to the Archives, Museums and Historical Department (AMH). The ensuing jurisdictional confusion often led to embarrassing public arguments about the site's future.

Finally, in 1981, the responsibility for long-range planning and restoration was transferred to the Historic Preservation Division of the Wyoming Recreation Commission. This transfer gave the agency architectural control of the preservation process. Limited interpretation responsibilities fell to the division also. Gradually, interagency disagreements and feuds faded until ended by their merger into the Department of Commerce in the late 1980s.

In recent years, legislative support for South Pass City restoration and preservation and for programs and special events has been forthcoming. Regardless of the legislative reasons for not supporting both the purchase and the later operation of South Pass City in the early years, the historic site was saved from either commercialism or total decay through boldness and perseverance. As Mrs. Wilkins said in retrospect, "It was about the proudest achievement of my life that we saved South Pass City."

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Sharon Loughlin Bollinger is a history instructor at El Paso Community College, El Paso, Texas. Previously, Ms. Bollinger worked for the Wyoming Recreation Commission as a historian and also worked as a history instructor at Laramie County Community College, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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Rebecca Joseph

Cranberry Bogs to Parks
Ethnography and Women's History

Why are today's Iroquois and New England farm women critical to preserving the landscape of the Revolutionary War? Why is Cape Verdean women's knowledge of traditional production methods essential to accurately interpreting an early-20th-century cranberry bog on Cape Cod? What can African-American and white women tell us about the recent history of Saint Paul's Church and its surroundings in Mount Vernon, New York, that is not revealed in diocesan and other official records? How can Women's Rights National Historical Park increase visitation by women of color and their families?

These and other questions linking women in present-day communities with cultural resources in national parks in the Northeast are being answered in recent ethnographic studies and related undertakings of the National Park Service's Applied Ethnography Program. By working with parks, neighboring communities, and other associated groups, the Applied Ethnography Program can ensure more inclusive, culturally informed protection and preservation of the resources required to fully appreciate our national heritage.

Ethnography offers both a conceptual basis for studying human groups and a methodology for studying one or more aspects of a living group's way of life from that group's perspective. Cultural anthropologists work from the premise that **culture** is a central, if not the most important, factor in human behavior. Cultural anthropologists practicing ethnography can identify and address the potential shortcomings of culture-bound frame-

works for documenting and interpreting the beliefs and meanings of diverse peoples' practices.

Ethnography demonstrates and describes the existence of alternative group realities. The practice of ethnography requires direct interactions, usually over a sustained period of time, between anthropologists, who may be cultural insiders (but usually are not) and diverse group members. Good ethnography is not haphazard, but requires professional training and experience.

The National Park Service (NPS) undertakes ethnographic studies in parks throughout the country to support and strengthen management efforts to preserve resources important to present-day American communities because of their close and multi-generational associations. NPS cultural anthropologists, along with academic colleagues and independent scholars, identify and document relationships between culturally-significant resources and traditionally-associated groups in close collaboration with members of those groups. Ethnography describes and explains socially-constructed meanings and traditional uses of NPS cultural resources, including historic structures, archeological sites, cultural landscapes, and museum objects.

Ethnography directly serves planning and operational needs at the field level. Park ethnographic studies provide baseline data for resource management, and cultural data used in National Register nominations for interpretive materials and programs. Equally, if not more important, ethnographic studies facilitate and enhance relationships between the National Park Service and park-associated groups. In many cases, these groups represent communities whose histories and associations with park cultural resources have been unknown or poorly understood by both the NPS and the general public due to these groups' historically limited power to participate in or influence decision making in the public sphere. Ethnography aids parks in recognizing and filling gaps stemming from race, class, ethnicity, gender, and/or sexual orientation-based prejudices.

Ethnography contributes to the identification, protection, and preservation of sites, structures, landscapes, and objects of particular significance to women. It can enhance all cultural resource management undertakings by recovering "lost" information from living women and introducing alternative perspectives from women of diverse cultural and class backgrounds. Ethnography also lays the groundwork for continuity between women today and their future descendants.

One of the principal ways ethnography strengthens resource management in national parks is by introducing into planning and operational decisionmaking previously unrecognized women's knowledge and roles in traditional activities. "Foregrounding" previously obscured information is often critical to designing and implementing effective protection, preservation, and public education strategies. Recent projects in the Northeast Field Area illustrate several important uses of ethnographic approaches and applications of ethnographic data that can be used elsewhere.

Ethnographic studies have uncovered essential information about women's paid and unpaid labor. For instance, farm families that lease acreage from Minute Man National Historical Park assist the Park in preserving historic resources, especially the open agricultural landscape associated with the beginning of the American Revolution. A traditional use study of contemporary farming showed that within farm families, "the farmer" is perceived as a male role. The greater visibility of men in the fields and the tendency for men, rather than women, to represent farm interests in public contexts (such as interactions with Park Service and local officials) communicates this view to the larger community. The ethnographic data reveals a more complex reality. Along with men's farming skills, profitable farm stands and good financial management—largely female domains—are critical to the economic viability of the few farms remaining in the now upscale suburbs of Boston where the Minute Man National Historical Park is located (Parish 1996). By understanding the gendered division of labor within farm families, the park can better preserve the cultural landscape in an informed, cost-effective manner while supporting the local farmers who carry on the area's agricultural traditions which supports the park's mission.

In order to prepare its nomination of the Pamet cranberry bog to the National Register of Historic Places, Cape Cod National Seashore needed to evaluate the site and its structures as a traditional cultural property associated with Cape Verdean communities in southeastern Massachusetts. From the early 20th century until the 1960s, Cape Verdean immigrants comprised most of the cranberry industry's manual labor force. Cape Verdean ethnic identity remains closely connected with this experience today. In addition to preparing the National Register nomination, an ethnographic assessment revealed information about women's traditional work that can inform planned restoration of the bog to active production and be used in education programs. For example, community members identified an unusual implement in the park's collection as a woman's harvesting tool (Pires-Hester 1994).

Living women with personal knowledge of commercial cranberry work maintain a strong interest in preserving the Pamet Bog. While a small number of Cape Verdean women became bog owners, several generations of poor immigrant women and girls weeded the bogs, picked and screened berries, and counted and marked the filled crates as paid laborers. Newer immigrant women of color, mainly Latinas, have succeeded previous groups as screeners, indicating persistence of a historically gendered and racialized division of labor, despite technological advances in commercial cranberry cultivation.

The extensive archival records for Saint Paul's Church in Mount Vernon, New York, provide detailed documentation of the site's 20th-century history within the Episcopal Diocese. They reveal relatively little about its roles within the changing community since its 1805 completion and consecration. An ethnographic overview and assessment identifying traditionally associated groups and the resources they value amassed baseline data while starting to address the most apparent information gaps. Interviews with African-American and white community members demonstrated that women's extensive volunteer work provided a strong thread of continuity at the site before and after its transfer to the National Park Service in 1980, as does women's participation in activities associated with major life passages—such as weddings held at St. Paul's and caring for family graves within its still active cemetery. They also indicate diverse experiences within and between the two groups that can assist the Park in developing a more active and effective adult outreach in Mount Vernon and neighboring communities.

Sensitive to domestic population demographics, many national park managers are seeking to attract a broader range of visitors to their sites. In a landmark study of African Americans and national parks, Dr. Helán Page, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and past President of the Association of Black Anthropologists, cites Women's Rights National Historical Park as a "gem," one of the parks "operating with practices that entail more inclusive preservation objectives, new interpretive strategies, and strong commitment to minority hiring and minority outreach" (1966a: 9). Using ethnography for an internal needs assessment, Page recommends further developing interpretation of the interwoven relationships between the people, events, and products of the suffrage and abolitionist movements. Increases in regional and national visits by blacks could be also achieved by introducing programming that includes African-American women critical of the Women's Movement (1996b).

Ethnographic studies can place relationships between communities and park resources within larger cultural contexts at varying levels of analysis ranging from local to global. The projects described in this article were undertaken by applied cultural anthropologists—female and male, cultural "insiders" and "outsiders"—in partnership with community members, park staff, and other disciplinary specialists.

Reading history is not the same as standing on the ground or performing traditional activities at the appropriate location in the proper manner. There is an emotional connection with the places where your ancestors, relatives, and community once stood and continue to value today. Well done and properly used, ethnography greatly increases the likelihood that women's histories and the resources associated with them will be preserved for, and cherished by, future generations.

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Rebecca Joseph is the Applied Ethnography Program Manager, Northeast Region, National Park Service, based in Boston. She is a feminist anthropologist.

Vivien Rose

Preserving Women's Rights History

On two warm days in July 1848, 300 people gathered in a small church to discuss the "social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women." On the second day, 100 men and women signed a "Declaration of Sentiments," demanding for women "all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States." Local papers reported that the meeting was "marked by great order and decorum," and that "some of the speeches were very able." Even so, the convention was "novel in its character" because "the doctrines broached in it are startling to those who are wedded to the present usages and laws of society."[1]

That small church, the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, along with the Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Amelia Bloomer, Jane Hunt, and MaryAnn M'Clintock Houses, form the core of Women's Rights National Historical Park created in 1980. The park opened its first visitor center in 1982, the restored remains of the Stanton House in 1985, and the preserved remnant of the historic fabric of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in 1993. The M'Clintock House is scheduled to open in July 1998 as part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the First Women's Rights Convention. The park's legislation authorizes cooperative preservation and interpretation with the owners of the Hunt House. Later amendments removed the Bloomer House, which had only minor significance to the park story. The 17-year history of the park is a good case study of changing cultural resource management practices based on research providing new understandings of the past.

Creation of the Park

Women's Rights National Historical Park was created, in part, to fill a perceived gap in the representation of social and humanitarian movements. Under the old NPS "thematic framework," the category included one line for the women's rights movements. In 1978, no NPS units preserved and interpreted the resources associated with the women's rights movement in the United States. The convention held in Seneca Falls marked the beginning of the movement—wide-ranging in its demands and impact on American life—that waged a 72-year campaign for women's suffrage culminating in the 1920 ratification of the 19th Amendment.[2]

Interest in the history of the women's rights movement coincided with the formation of "the new social history" as a sub-field of U.S. history. This sub-field, sometimes characterized as "history from the bottom up," stressed the economic and political relationships among groups of people. Urban studies, labor history, and the history of social movements focused on networks of ordinary people. In this framework, the women's rights movement was the result of a combination of economic, political, religious, and social forces: growing industrialization, the burgeoning middle class, enfranchisement of unpropertied males during the Jacksonian period, religious revivalism, and the separation of women's and men's work.[3]

Using this model of scholarship, Women's Rights NHP included a combination of sites that could adequately explain the relationship among the groups and forces that precipitated this movement. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton home demonstrated Stanton's growing discontent with her position as a woman in the

1840s and her work as theorist and agitator. Wesleyan Chapel, whose congregation was open to all kinds of reform speakers, illustrated the religious revivalism and other social movements that fed and coexisted with the early women's rights movement. Hunt House in nearby Waterloo, NY, where Jane Hunt hosted the tea party that led to the convention, represented the reform interests of the rising middle class—exemplified by her husband, Richard Hunt, a wealthy woolen mill proprietor, landowner, and town booster. M'Clintock House, home of a Waterloo Quaker family involved in abolition, spiritualism, health reform, and educational reform, was where the "Declaration of Sentiments," the convention's manifesto directly based on the Declaration of Independence, was drafted.[4] The Bloomer home embodied the contribution of Amelia Bloomer, who published the first self-consciously women's reform magazine, *Lily*.

Attempts to pass the legislation establishing the park coincided with the creation of a historic district by the Village of Seneca Falls and the designation of Seneca Falls as an Urban Cultural Park in the New York State Heritage Areas system. The historic district protected the streetscape and some of the homes and businesses associated with their 19th-century owners who had signed the "Declaration of Sentiments." Emphasizing the themes of industrialization and social reform, the Urban Cultural Park visitor center, the wayside exhibits, and the walking tours were coordinated to explain development along the Seneca-Cayuga canal, local background to the First Women's Rights Convention, and architecture preserved in the historic district. The creation of the historic district, the state park, and the national park reflected the scholarship of the period. By themselves, none of these non-contiguous sites—spread through two towns and over 10 miles—could have explained the origins of the women's rights movement.[5]

Exhibits in the first park visitor center, opened in 1982, also rested on this scholarship; Judith Wellman and Nancy S. Hewitt served on the park staff in that summer. Their work on Stanton and the community participants in the First Women's Rights Convention and on women's reform efforts in Rochester informed exhibits that explained the convention in terms of industrialization, religious revivalism, and community activism.[6]

Preserving the Home of the (lost) Leader

Efforts to understand women's roles and participation in society have included discussions of prescriptive literature and women's roles, economic and community history, and a search for "great women." Susan B. Anthony was already well-known as the author of the federal amendment giving women the right to vote. She had joined Elizabeth Cady Stanton in organizing for women's rights in 1851. The home she shared with her sister, Mary, in nearby Rochester, New York, was already preserved and included her collections from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Unlike the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, the Stanton House, or the other houses associated with the First Women's Rights Convention, Anthony's home was preserved by the suffrage leaders she trained and nurtured through the NAWSA. "Aunt Susan" never married, dedicating her life to the cause of woman suffrage and to training the young women who supported suffrage work through the NAWSA. The home and its furnishings, owned by the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, had been open to the public for decades.[7]

Local interest in the Women's Rights National Park also reflected a need to commemorate "great women" leaders. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, host to the first visits of NPS personnel to Seneca Falls, incorporated to save Elizabeth Cady Stanton's home. Although "marked" in 1934 by the New York State Department of Education, the home had remained in private hands. Between 1847 and 1862 when they moved to New York, Stanton raised children and planned campaigns with various co-agitators on the issues of abolition, married women's property rights, temperance reform, and access to education and to work. Her life-long friendship with Susan B. Anthony was cemented in this house. Anthony regularly came to help with childcare and to report various reform meetings.

During her residence in the house in Seneca Falls, Stanton and her allies organized her first convention, published her first articles, and gave her first addresses before national women's rights and anti-slavery conventions and before the New York State Legislature. With Anthony, she developed the "arguments that have stood unshaken through the storms of long years" and the strategies to pursue women's rights in property, in marriage, in child custody, in education and employment, and in suffrage.[8]

After receiving the house from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, the National Park Service restored the remaining structure, which includes two parlors, a dining room, and three upstairs rooms. NPS policy did not support conjectural restoration of the house's two missing wings, although footprints, architectural evidence, and one later exterior image were available. Grey paint on the house exterior "ghosts" the missing north and east wings. Unfortunately, these missing portions of the house carry two interpretive stories

essential to understanding Stanton's early involvement in the women's rights movement—the assistance of her housekeeper of 30 years, Amelia Willard, and the visits from reformers and supporters, including Anthony and the abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Lucretia Mott.[9]

Partly because very little was known about the historic furnishings, the house opened in 1985 with Stanton's piano, some china and books, and a chaise lounge. Research by Foundation President Corinne Guntzel, Wellman, and Elisabeth Griffith shaped an interpretative program that focused on the relationship between Stanton's reform activities and her childrearing and housekeeping practices. Stanton shared many characteristics with other middle-class wives—including a husband absent 6-10 months a year and seven children in 17 years. Her children were boarded at schools when they reached appropriate ages. She had the devoted services of Amelia Willard from 1851 on, and many other temporary helpers. But Stanton also differed in her willingness to experiment with new methods of diet, dress, childrearing, education, and household management. During her residence in Seneca Falls, she became equally willing to propose social experiments to increase women's rights—often years ahead of even her most vocal supporters. In Seneca Falls, Stanton learned to lead.[10]

M'Clintock House

Between 1836 and 1856, MaryAnn and Thomas M'Clintock and their family leased this Waterloo home from his brother-in-law, Richard Hunt. The elder M'Clintocks were active Friends (Quakers), serving on women's and men's committees for "Indian Concerns," drafting petitions to Congress against slavery, and writing to other Quaker meetings. They helped found the new Congregational Friends of Human Progress in June 1848, when they left their Friends' meeting over religious practice and political action. Thomas M'Clintock co-wrote and published their defense, *The Basis of Religious Association*.[11]

The Thomas and MaryAnn M'Clintock House, Waterloo, New York. Photo courtesy Women's Rights National Historical Park.

In addition to being active in Quaker meetings and reform, the M'Clintocks operated a drugstore in the Hunt block of buildings directly behind their home. Thomas M'Clintock, with help from daughter Elizabeth and son Charles, offered books and nostrums of all sorts, including Vaughn's Vegetable Lithontriptic Mixture and Phelph's Tomato Pills, and "free produce" (products not made by slave labor). They also hosted lectures and temperance meetings in the classroom above the store. Although Elizabeth M'Clintock had worked in the store for years before her younger brother joined her, her brother opened a branch store in Seneca Falls as "M'Clintock and Son" in the early 1850s. After searching for opportunities to open stores in Rochester and Syracuse in the mid-1850s, the M'Clintocks returned to Pennsylvania in 1856.[12]

Elizabeth M'Clintock sought entrepreneurial opportunities of her own. As the only woman listed in the Waterloo 1850 census who claimed an occupation, she had been assisting or organizing fund-raising "fairs" for anti-slavery societies in western New York for seven years, in addition to her work in the family store. A member of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, she met and worked with white and African-American abolitionists like Abby Kelley Foster, Amy Post, Frederick Douglass, and William Nell. Elizabeth M'Clintock delivered speeches before the First Women's Rights Convention and worked with Elizabeth Cady Stanton between the convention and 1851, co-authoring letters to editors, editorials, and appeals for women's rights. Her special concern was equal access to work opportunities and equal pay. Her marriage in 1852 removed her from her father's store, but not from involvement in regional, state, and national women's rights conventions. The importance of access to equal work for women came up again when her husband died in a fall in 1854.[13]

The 1848 M'Clintock House was a simple brick structure. The back door leading to the drugstore was moved in 1852 when the M'Clintocks added a new wing for their growing family. When the park acquired the building, the wing had already been destroyed by fire. Initial NPS plans included restoring the 1848 exterior and parts of the first floor of the interior, emphasizing the front parlor where the "Declaration of Sentiments" was likely written. The pantry and an adjoining small

room, probably the bedroom of two free African Americans living with the M'Clintocks in 1850, would become a bathroom. Upstairs rooms would become offices and storage space.[14]

New research about the M'Clintocks demonstrates the close connection between their work for abolition, their religious practices, and their support of women's rights. Frederick Douglass attended the First Women's Rights Convention; African-American reformers were invited to Elizabeth M'Clintock's wedding; African Americans lived in their home. When the Congregational Friends formed, they eliminated separate committees for women and men to allow them to work together as equals. Large numbers of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Association and the Congregational Friends attended the First Women's Rights Convention.

These stories were already embodied in the M'Clintock House. The small room and the upstairs rooms gave evidence of many visitors and of the abolitionist fervor of the M'Clintocks. The rear door leading directly to the M'Clintock store tied economic hopes to their religious belief in equality. New research showed that altering the interior of the 1848 structure would impair the ability to explain the integral importance of the M'Clintocks to the First Women's Rights Convention and the early women's movement. Thanks to new research on Elizabeth M'Clintock, the interpretive focus at the M'Clintock House has been widened from the day the "Declaration of Sentiments" was drafted to include the entire period of residency. New park plans include the reconstruction of the missing M'Clintock House wing for use as office space and restrooms, while the interior will be restored in its entirety.

Much of the research that impacted interpretive and preservation decisions at the Stanton and M'Clintock Houses has been done since the creation of the park. The relatively general explanation of the causes of the Convention—waves of social reform, industrialization, religious revivalism—which informed the creation of the park are gradually giving away to sharper, more detailed explanations based on new research. As this research is used to make preservation and interpretation decisions, the park story is enriched.

Notes

1 *Seneca County Courier*, July 12, 21, 1848.

2 Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Women's Rights Historic Sites: Study of Alternatives* (October 1979).

3 Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975), looks at the "scattered beginnings" of the 19th-century woman's rights movement; Ellen Carol Dubois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America. 1848-1869* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978) marked Seneca Falls as the birthplace of women's rights in the U.S.

4 *Women's Rights Historic Sites.*

5 Ibid.

6 Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Judith M. Wellman, "Women's Rights National Historical Park Interpretive Concepts," (September 1982) and "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: A Study in Social Networks," *Journal of Women's History* 3 (Spring 1991), p. 9-37.

7 Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Dubois, ed. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton/Susan B. Anthony: Correspondence. Writings. Speeches* (New York: Schocken Books, 1981).

8 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences 1815-1897* (1898, rep. ed. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993) 166.

9 NPS-28 (*Cultural Resource Management Guideline*).

10 Corinne Guntzel and Paul Grebinger, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Domestic Economy," in G. David Brumberg, Margaret H. John, and William Zeisel, eds., *History for the Public* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983) 119-129; Elisabeth Griffith, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

11 Sarah Fatherly, "Survey of Research Collections: The M'Clintocks, The Hunts, and the; Progressive Friends of Waterloo," Research Files, Women's Rights NHP.

12 *Seneca County Courier* July 14, 21, 1848; Andrea Constantine Hawkes, "Feeling A Strong :Desire to Tread A Broader Road to Fortune: The Ante-bellum Evolution of Elizabeth Wilson McClintock's Entrepreneurial Consciousness," Master's Thesis, University of Maine, 1995.

13 Ibid.

14 Department of Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan: Women's Rights National Historical Park* (March, 1986).

15 Hawkes, "Feeling a Strong Desire;" *Seneca County Courier*, August 4, 1848.

Vivien Rose is a historian at Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York. She can be reached via cc:Mail, Internet at Vivien_Rose@nps.gov, or at 315-568-0007.

Catherine Holder Spude

Engendering the Klondike Gold Rush

Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska, was established to commemorate and interpret the 1897-1898 gold rush to the Klondike River in Yukon Territory, Canada—the last of the gold rushes participated in by single prospectors (mostly men) using the simple tools of gold pan and one-man rockers. Set in the frigid north at a time of economic downturn, the rush captured the imagination of a nation. From it came images that stay with the popular culture today, everything from Jack London's *Call of the Wild* to Klondike© ice cream bars.

Using artifact data from five excavations in Skagway, combined with information from 31 other historical archeological sites from mining throughout the North American West, I constructed statistical "profiles" of six types of archeological assemblages. These typical assemblages helped solve some specific problems related to **who** was throwing trash into a gold-rush era trash dump. They also yielded some interesting observations about the differences between assemblages that originated in households or businesses in which there were women and those that were generated by men.

I divided the 36 artifact collections into six groups or "assemblages": Transient Males, Families, Saloons, Brothels, Hotels and Restaurants, and Military. These groups were typical of the types of households and businesses that could have been using our dump in Skagway. Using 14 categories of artifacts not associated with building construction, repair, or demolition, I constructed typical statistical profiles for these groups. In so doing, I discovered that there were real, reliable, and statistically-significant differences between the artifact assemblages of households that contained only men and those that also included women; and between saloons, that were patronized only by men, and brothels, that had a considerable female influence on the generation of archeological assemblages.

The most obvious groups to compare were the Family and the Transient Male assemblages. Most of the differences are easy to understand and interpret (see the accompanying table for the numbers). The Family Assemblage had higher frequencies of food storage items, decorated dishes, undecorated dishes, other household items, pharmaceuticals, and female-specific items (including jewelry, cosmetic bottles, and items of women's clothing). The Transient Male assemblage had statistically higher frequencies of Male-Specific items, including suspender buckles, cuff links, collar stays, shaving creme jars, and items of men's clothing; tobacco-related items; armaments; and other artifacts, especially those specific to certain occupations.

Of some surprise was the relatively high frequency of liquor-related items in the Family Assemblage. In contrast, and just as unexpectedly to those of us who were raised on the westerns of Hollywood, a very small proportion of the assemblage from transient male households contained liquor bottles. What could account for this unexpected juxtaposition?

When examined in the context of turn-of-the-century morality, gender roles, and the boom town phenomenon, the explanation for the low frequency in the transient male households is almost self-evident. The successful miner was gregarious, depending heavily on the whiskey-lubricated tongues of his comrades to inform him of the richest areas to prospect. He needed a willing service sector of restaurants, saloons, and brothels to provide him with the comforts of home. Because he expected to be coming into great riches sometime soon, the expense of eating and drinking away from "home" did not particularly bother him. A bachelor's cabin or room was simply a place to sleep. Therefore, artifacts associated with a man's residence did not contain items associated with cooking, eating, or drinking.

In this context, it is also possible to understand the much higher frequency of liquor-related items in the family home. Despite the social sanction against "respectable" women drinking alcohol, the archeological evidence suggests that they probably imbibed within the privacy of their own homes, either directly through the use of wine and other spirits, or indirectly through the use of medicinals, which often had a higher alcohol content than distilled liquors. The mister probably drank more often at home than in the saloons once the missus came to town.

Two other artifact assemblages that, when contrasted, provide evidence of the gender-related differential use of material culture are the Brothel

and Saloon Assemblages. On the western mining frontier, the saloon and the brothel met very similar needs: they were "the poor man's club," functioning to provide a social sphere for men far from friends and family. Most western saloons provided some sort of sexual entertainment, and most brothels provided liquor for sale to their customers. If one is to believe the reminiscences of miners and prostitutes, the alcohol and conversation were indeed more important than sexual commerce in both institutions.

However, there are some very important differences between the brothel and saloon artifact collections. By 1900 in Alaska, and in much of the rest of the North American West, women were forbidden from entering saloons. Those who defied the law were assumed to be prostitutes and treated accordingly (usually by being able to conduct their business rather than by being arrested). Women in saloons, by the nature of their illicit status, had little choice in the purchase or use of material culture. The brothels, on the other hand, were almost entirely owned, operated, and occupied by women. While men were the customers in both establishments, women dominated the selection of material culture only in the brothels.

Not surprisingly, the incidence of liquor-related items and bottle closures is very similar in the two assemblages: the provision of alcohol was very important in both establishments. The differences, however, are much more interesting than the similarities.

The most obvious link to gender is in the frequency of female-specific items, which are more than 40 times higher in the brothel assemblage than in the saloon assemblage. In addition, there are greater frequencies of food storage containers and pharmaceutical bottles in the brothels, probably because the prostitutes were living at their place of business (prostitutes employed in saloons generally lived elsewhere).

Surprisingly, the saloons exhibited higher frequencies of decorated dishes than in the brothels, and the brothels a higher frequency of undecorated dishes, exactly the opposite of what I expected. While 19th-century saloons usually served meals to their customers, food service in brothels was more likely to be reserved to the employees. The unlikely juxtaposition of decorated and undecorated dishes can only be explained in the context of the institution of prostitution. In particular, prostitutes were often transient women working a circuit, women whose possessions were limited to personal items. The madam supplied the food service in an institutional setting and was apparently reluctant to provide fancy, and presumably more expensive, dishes for her employees (at least in the case of the working-class brothels that provided the data for this study).

Other interesting contrasts and comparisons can be made, but through this study, the archeological record independently demonstrated what historians of the mining west already knew, at least intuitively. The appearance of women on the mining frontier tended to correlate with greater social and residential stability, and hence a larger, and more varied material culture. Services earlier provided by the saloon keepers and madams, such as providing food, drink, and companionship, were taken home when families and wives came to town. Women used alcohol, but only at home or in the form of medicinals, many of which were prepared specifically with her in mind. And, not surprisingly, the presence or absence of women in the archeological manifestation of a household or business is best predicted by the presence or absence of items used primarily by women (it is amazing how many archeologists fail to describe their buttons, or note whether a shoe was a man's or woman's!).

Table: Relative Frequencies of the Artifact Categories in Each of the Assemblages

Type	Family	Male	Saloon	Brothel
Food Storage Items	20%	3%	4%	7%
Decorated Dishes	8%	1%	2%	1%
Undecorated Dishes	8%	2%	7%	14%
Lighting Devises	2%	2%	2%	2%
Other Household Items	7%	4%	10%	2%
Pharmaceuticals	6%	2%	2%	6%
Liquor-Related Items	18%	5%	36%	21%
Bottle Closures	4%	1%	25%	25%
Generic Personal Items	10%	43%	5%	9%
Female-Specific Items	4%	0%	<1%	8%
Male-Specific Items	3%	6%	<1%	<1%
Tobacco-Related Items	<1%	10%	2%	1%
Armaments/Military	3%	10%	1%	2%
Other Artifacts	6%	11%	2%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Catherine Holder Spude is an archeologist at the NPS Intermountain Cultural Resource Center in Santa Fe. She has worked for the NPS Denver Service Center for over 20 years, first as a staff archeologist, then for the past year and a half as a Quality Leader for Cultural Resources in the Resource Planning Group.

Kristin Herron

Re-discovering Lost Lives
Domestic Servants at Glenmont, Edison NHS

In July 1994, the tour at Thomas A. Edison's home, Glenmont, changed. For the first time, much of the first floor service area was opened to the public as part of the regular tour. Although these rooms—the service hall, servants' dining room, kitchen, refrigerator room, and butler's pantry—were not restored, staff at Edison National Historic Site recognized strong visitor interest in them. For many years, the servants' work area had only been shown during "An Edison Family Christmas" and for Women's History Month. Because of their popularity and their importance to Edison's story, it seemed appropriate to keep them open all of the time. Park rangers could now better answer the oft-asked question: "Where's the kitchen?"

When Glenmont is interpreted to the public, stories of Edison family life are vital to bring the now-static interiors alive. The same is true of the service areas. Glenmont's architect, Henry Hudson Holly, wrote that, "The comforts and accommodations for servants in the country are matters which should receive more consideration than is usually accorded them." Holly followed his own advice, designing a house with nearly one third of its space devoted to domestic servants. Aside from the butler and assistant butler, all of Glenmont's house staff—which grew as large as 10—were women.

Who were these women? To make Glenmont's story more compelling, we needed to know more about the women who were most intimate with behind-the-scenes work. But discovering information about actual domestic servants was a seemingly impossible challenge. Although the archives at Edison National Historic Site (NHS) include Mrs. Edison's payroll lists for her staff, only the names of male grounds workers appear. In an 1892 note, Mina Edison directed Mr. Randolph, Thomas Edison's financial secretary, to: ". . . simply state department of girls as there are often changes, thus constantly altering names. The amount will always be the same unless I tell you differently."

Her words seemed an enormous obstacle. How could we unearth information on unnamed women? Diligent research, collaboration between curatorial and interpretation staff, and a good dose of serendipity, have uncovered a much more substantial record of some of these women. As new information is found, a separate file on each person is created in Glenmont's research files. Initially, federal and state census records from 1895-1920 provided names and small details. Although Mina Edison indicated that names of the "girls" should be left off payroll lists, sometimes they found their way in. Private family letters—even one written to Thomas Edison from a dismissed Swedish maid—added depth to the files. Contemporary newspaper and magazine articles about the Edisons occasionally mentioned their servants. An oral history with Mrs. Edison's social secretary (who worked at Glenmont between 1931-1936) gave insight into the role of hired help and named additional staff members.

Curiously, some of the richest resources have come when least expected. For example, while on a public tour, June Mates mentioned that she had grown up on the Glenmont estate. Park ranger John Warren spoke with her and learned that her father was Sidney Scarth, the Edison's long-time chauffeur.

We quickly arranged for a meeting, where she recounted memories of growing up on the estate out of sight of the "big house." June Mates remembered women who worked at Glenmont—an "Irish woman with an accent," "Mrs. Tom" (the gardener's wife) who occasionally did the laundry, and Queenie Adams, the Edison's cook from 1926 until her death in 1937. She "could make the best ice cream you could ever want to taste" and always saved some for the chauffeur's children. June Mates and her mother used to walk with Queenie down Honeysuckle Lane, the road on the north side of the estate, with June holding on tightly to the cook's hand. As Queenie's obituary stated, she was a "favorite of the family" as well.

Such contacts have even led us to reevaluate the role of another woman who served the Edisons. Miss Lucy Bogue, the children's piano teacher and later Mrs. Edison's secretary/companion, was long believed to have been the children's governess as well. But a research query from her great-nephew led to regular, ongoing correspondence with him and a great-niece. Information from their private, family history shows that she could not have been a governess at Glenmont.

Instead, she owned her own business in New York City. Later, she became a virtual member of the Edison family, moving in permanently around 1930. Other sources, like the *New York Times*, introduce an actual governess, Canadian Ethel K. Pardoe, who appeared in the paper because of the unfortunate circumstance of her suicide "induced by worry over the safety of the children of Mrs. Thomas A. Edison." The stress she felt tending to the children of a world-famous man provides an unexpected and telling dimension to the daily roles of these seemingly silent women.

Personal recollections and details from contemporary written sources provide intimate glimpses that enrich the story of Glenmont's domestic servants. The lives of these real people are now shared with visitors to Edison NHS in a variety of ways. The Glenmont site brochure notes the important role of domestics and lists a few specific names. Regular displays for Women's History Month at the laboratory complex of Edison NHS introduce Miss Bogue and maid Lena McCarthy Doyle Philips. A new traveling trunk will also feature some of these women. With names, faces, and more details, the service areas are now more alive. While artifacts belonging to those women are rare, the display of a few such objects from the park's collections—Miss Pardoe's sheet music, Lucy Bogue's hand towel—make connections more tangible. As we continue forward with our research, always eager for more information, it is very exciting to see that discovering these lost lives is not nearly so impossible as we had thought.

Kristin Herron is the curator at Glenmont, Edison National Historical Site.

Kim Moon

"Raising Our Sites"
Integrating Women's History into Museums

In her 1989 essay, "Speaking of Women: Museums' Representation of Women's History," Barbara Melosh suggests that women's history doesn't ask "How do women fit into history?" but rather, "How can the discipline of history be re-imagined to take account of female experience?" This question gets to the heart of a challenge currently facing many of the country's historic sites and museums: how to move beyond token programming and predictable exhibits to make the story being conveyed to the public fully inclusionary of both men's and women's experiences.

A few years ago, the Pennsylvania Humanities Council (PHC) began to develop statewide programs that reflected the growing public interest in women's studies. Historians and museum professionals acting as advisors to the Council on potential projects commented on the absence of women's history at the state's historic sites and museums. These Pennsylvania sites number over 500 and annually serve hundreds of thousands of Americans—schoolchildren, families, adults—who come to learn about our collective national history. These advisors reasoned that improvements in the presentation of women's history were essential if the state's historic facilities were to truly represent the full range of American life.

In response, the Council developed "Raising Our Sites: Women's History in Pennsylvania," a three-year project to incorporate women's history into the interpretation of 14 historic sites throughout the state of Pennsylvania. Funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the project served to foster collaboration between academic scholars and museum staff.

The sites selected to participate in "Raising Our Sites" were chosen mainly on the basis of interest—they had already begun some work in women's history or expressed a strong interest and capacity for doing so. Comprising a diverse sample of Pennsylvania historic sites in terms of geographic locations, subject matter, and facility structure, they included one National Park Service site, five sites of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, six private historical societies and museums, one research library, and one college.

In preparation for participation in "Raising Our Sites," staff from each of the sites worked with a project advisor to devise a workplan that detailed specific objectives in the integration of women's history into their existing and/or planned

"Raising Our Sites" participants gather at the final statewide meeting to discuss issues relating to project implementation at their sites. Photo courtesy Pennsylvania Humanities Council.

interpretive programs and exhibits. These workplans were then reviewed and revised on a yearly basis over the course of the project. Many of the sites saw their goals and direction change as new information on the lives and experiences of women related to their site was uncovered.

The Structure of "Raising Our Sites"

One of the crucial elements of the project was the relationships that developed between the site staff and the scholars with whom they worked. Each site worked first with a designated "local" scholar, who was based near the site and whose particular area of expertise was one in which they were otherwise lacking. The role of the local scholar varied from site to site, but included assisting the staff in uncovering resources carrying out specific research projects, overseeing research projects by volunteers, and reviewing materials in collections and archives both at the site and at others nearby. In general, they provided the roll-up-your-sleeves labor necessary to do the research-related tasks that overworked site staff often could not accomplish themselves.

In addition to the local scholar, many of the sites utilized the expertise of the project's advisors, which consisted of academic and public historians affiliated with universities, the Smithsonian, and other museums and research institutions. The advisors worked with individual sites in a consulting capacity, usually reviewing current exhibits and tours, examining collections and other holdings, and then brainstorming with staff about possible sources and direction for exhibits and programs. Interestingly, as the link between scholars and museum personnel grew, many site staff members were galvanized to pursue their own scholarship—an interest that brought many of them in the museum field initially but had been subsequently put aside by the day to day demands of museum operations.

The other important aspect of the project was a series of meetings open to all site staff and volunteers, advisors, and local scholars participating in the project. These meetings occurred at least once or twice yearly. In both the first and final years of the project, two-day statewide conferences for all participants featured nationally-known speakers and were structured for maximum interaction among the participants. In addition, seven thematic meetings on topics identified by the sites as critical to their work—industrial history and women's lives, inclusionary and innovative exhibiting strategies, and methods for getting women's history materials into school settings—were hosted by the various sites during the project.

These meetings were crucial to the success of "Raising Our Sites." They not only enabled participants to gather new information and renewed inspiration, but also served as a basis for a network of historic sites that shared a similar goal. Many historic sites and museums work in isolation, reaching out only to those resources in their immediate communities or existing networks. "Raising Our Sites" provided a way for participating sites to share their successes and challenges with others across the state, take a leadership role in a particular aspect of programming—archival usage, audience development, or educational outreach—and exchange resource information and expertise with other sites that were attempting similar work. This model of cooperation and

A docent discusses women's varied roles with visitors at Pennsbury Manor, William Penn's restored summer home in Bucks county. Photo courtesy Pennsylvania Humanities Council.

exchange was a vital component of the way women carried out their work throughout history; its inherent value was reinforced by its use in this project.

Sample "Raising Our Sites" Activity

By involving themselves in "Raising Our Sites," the participants were not simply jumping on a revisionist history bandwagon. In some cases, the work coincided with the site's overall planning effort for the coming years. Both the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the Chester County Historical Society were in the process of transforming themselves into state-of-the-art history centers and were anxious to make their depiction of their community's history more representative. The staff at Pennsbury Manor, the reconstructed summer home of William Penn, used the opportunity to expand their focus to include information about specific servants and slaves who lived and worked at the site. The necessary research, done by local scholar Jean Soderlund of Lehigh University, involved a detailed search of local probate records, wills, inventories, and court minutes from the 17th century. Cynthia Andes, the local scholar for Drake Well Historic Site in Titusville, which interprets the oil history of northwestern Pennsylvania, stumbled upon boxes of period letters, lists, diaries, clothing, and other artifacts, which will now be included in tours and exhibits as well as special events. Meanwhile, the staff of the Joseph Priestley House, in conjunction with local scholar Jane Dupree-Begos, developed a special tour, entitled A Woman's Place, and added the bedroom of Elizabeth Ryland Priestley to the regular tour. These additions provide the public with its first real glimpse into the lives of the women, children, and servants who once lived there.

Next Steps

After three years of planning and activity, the pilot phase of "Raising Our Sites" was completed in April 1996. The next phase of the project, which will expand to include other historically under-interpreted groups such as laborers and servants, religious and ethnic groups, African Americans and Native Americans, will begin in 1998. Currently planning for the next phase, which includes the recruitment of new sites for participation, is underway.

The goal of the Pennsylvania Humanities Council is to bring scholarship in humanities topics, such as history, to the out-of-school American public. The focus on interpretive development at historic sites is critical to the achievement of this goal. Once most American adults leave school, visiting these sites is often the sole source of formal history instruction that they receive. Therefore, these sites need to provide as complete and accurate a depiction of history as possible. "Raising Our Sites" provides a vehicle for sites to examine and enhance the stories that they tell and, in the process, find ways to challenge their visitors to reflect on history **as it really was.**

Kim Moon is Assistant Director, Pennsylvania Humanities Council. She was Project Director for "Raising Our Sites: Women's History in Pennsylvania," from 1993-1996.

Participating Sites in "Raising Our Sites"

Chester County Historical Society, West Chester
Drake Well Historic Site, Titusville
Folklife Documentation Center for Gender Studies, Seton Hill College
The Library Company of Philadelphia
Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania
Lycoming County Historical Society, Williamsport
Lehigh County Historical Society, Allentown
Lackwanna County Historical Society, Scranton
Landis Valley Museum, Lancaster
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, Elverson
Hershey Museum
Old Economy Village, Ambridge
Joseph Priestley House, Northumberland
Pennsbury Manor, Morrisville

Beth M. Boland

Keeping Women in their *Historic* Places
Bringing Women's Stories to the Classroom

Historic places connect us to, and teach us about, the past. They have interesting and important stories to impart which they convey with an often surprising immediacy and power. The power of these places can be brought into the classroom. Many educators have echoed the words of John Patrick, professor of education at Indiana University, who said that historic places "can be used by teachers and students as objects of inquiry, in the same way that written primary sources are used in the classrooms of good history teachers."[1]

Using properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the Teaching with Historic Places program has created instructional materials that reflect the richness, complexity, and diversity of the historic and cultural resources around us. Our experience offers some insights into using places to teach women's history.

While the National Register of Historic Places has included places associated with women since its beginning, places recognized **because of** those associations with women came shockingly late—not until the 1970s[2]—and still make up only a small percentage of the whole (see Carol Shull's article, p.12). There remains a great need to identify and recognize additional historic properties important in women's history and to re-examine other properties for previously unrecognized significance.

Eleanor Roosevelt holds a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *a document considered by many to be her greatest achievement. How could this document be used in conjunction with Roosevelt's home, Val-Kill, to help students understand her better? Photo courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Museum and Library Collection.*

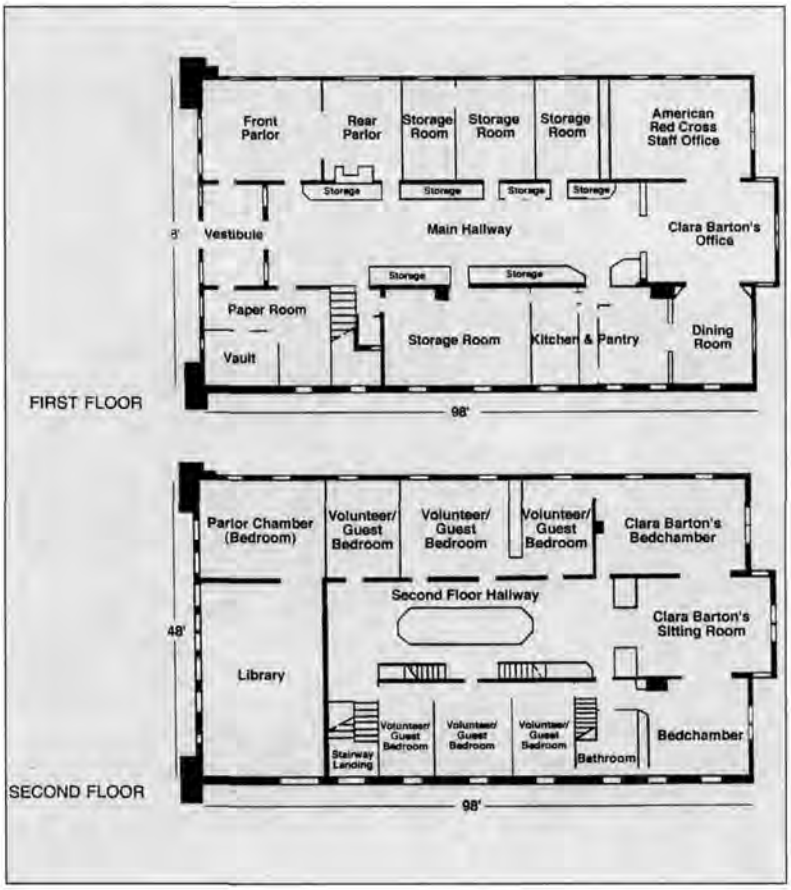
Like the National Register properties on which they are based, the lessons created by the Teaching with Historic Places program vary in the extent to which they discuss women. Five of the 92 lesson plans published or currently in draft focus on famous women. Another tells the story of a woman homesteader in Colorado, and five more include women as key figures in the main theme. For example, the lesson on John Marshall's Richmond, Virginia, house focuses on the degree to which Marshall's personal values—reflected in part through his home life and relationship with his wife, Polly—influenced his public actions and decisions. The lesson on Montpelier emphasizes Dolley Madison, as well as her husband, James, in examining both the daily life of the ex-president and the various contemporary views on slavery.

While not all Teaching with Historic Places lessons deal directly with the lives of individual women, many clearly acknowledge women's contributions or have obvious potential for broadening the lesson's main message.

- Knife River Indian Villages (National Historic Sites) in North Dakota explain the matriarchal traditions of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes. Men entered their wive's households when they married. Women built, owned, and maintained the lodges and gardens.
- The Old Courthouse in Saint Louis, (Jefferson National Expansion Memorial) site of the Dred Scott Trial, includes his rarely-mentioned wife, Harriet, who was also a party in the lawsuit.
- The lesson on the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens (National Historic Site) includes information on the Cornish Colony, a group of artists and literati who settled around Saint Gaudens' New Hampshire home and which included a number of women. Women active in the Cornish Colony included actress Ethel Barrymore; Lucia Fuller, a painter known primarily for miniatures who also created murals for the Women's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893; and Maude Howe Elliott, a writer whose 1915 *Julia Ward Howe, 1819-1910* won a Pulitzer Prize.

Sometimes an important part of teaching about women occurs simply in recognizing female presence. Many Teaching with Historic Places lessons deal with broad themes, such as ways of life associated with specific cultural or economic groups, areas of the country, and/or time periods in which women clearly played important roles. A reading on the later history of the Decatur House in Washington, DC, contains telling information on the lives and employment of early-19th-century widows. The Saugus Iron Works lesson relates the types of duties women occasionally took over as "deputy husbands" at that colonial Massachusetts site. In the Acadia lesson, readers learn what 18th- and 19th-century life was like for whole families living on islands off the coast of Maine. The lesson conveys the characteristically isolated and self-sufficient life of early settlers through the story of William and Hannah Gilley, who transformed a previously uninhabited island into a farm. The Gilleys and their 12 children caught, raised, or grew their own food; produced material from which to make their own clothing; and purchased only a few essentials from a store seven miles across the water. Hannah taught her children to read and, on most summer Sundays, took them to church seven miles each way in an open boat. Opportunities abound for expanding traditional interpretations to find women's contributions to the events, associations, and qualities that make a place significant.

First and second floor plans of Clara Barton's home in Glen Echo, Maryland. What insight does the disposition of rooms provide into Barton's lifestyle? How much distinction is there between her professional and personal space? Photo courtesy Clara Barton National Historic Site.



It is not enough, however, to identify the role of women and learn their interesting, even important, stories. To reach classrooms, materials must clearly fit within established curricula. Teachers regularly lament the "extra" topics they are requested to add to what they are required to teach. Obtaining state or local curriculum is always useful; perusing major textbooks also can provide information on basic topics and themes. Seeking input from educators, developing working relationships with them, and enlisting them to review and comment on educational materials also helps ensure the usefulness of place-based lessons in the classroom.

The Teaching with Historic Places approach to selecting topics and places has been to design lessons as case studies of topics already covered in typical textbook chapters, while providing those perspectives lacking or covered only briefly. Everyone teaches about the antebellum South, but the plantations discussed mostly grew tobacco and cotton. We selected rice plantations in South Carolina. While not primarily about women, this lesson mentions that the daughter of one of the plantation owners, Elizabeth Waties Allston Pringle, later wrote two books about plantation life. After the Civil War, the widowed Pringle purchased and ran two plantations of her own, including her father's.

The lesson on the Adeline Hornbek House in Colorado complements units on the 1862 Homestead Act, Western migration and settlement, and Manifest Destiny, yet tells that common story from the less commonly-told perspective of a female head-of-household. Widowed in her early 30s while living in Colorado with three small children, Adeline Hornbek took advantage of the 1862 Homestead Act to purchase 80 acres. Later, as a single mother separated from her second husband, she built a ranch in the Flourissant Valley and increased its value nearly five times in seven years. Her log house was the first in the valley with two stories.

The lesson on millionaire entrepreneurs J. C. Penney and Madam C. J. Walker is appropriate for units on turn-of-the-century business, while providing a contrast to typical textbook coverage of "robber barons" in the Gilded Age.

Places themselves are primary documents that convey information through their materials, design, craftsmanship, location, spatial arrangement, relationship with other resources, associated furnishings and artifacts, and other characteristics. Places neither represent the whole story nor embody the whole truth, any more than written documents, photographs, objects, or other single

types of evidence do. Places and documents used together help create what many educators call an "empathetic understanding" of the past, something essential if we are truly to comprehend the lessons of history. Documents studied before visits help students prepare for what they will see, experience, and learn at the place. Used after a visit, they reinforce what was learned. When visits are not possible, documents become the key to making places real and relevant to students.

Documents complement places in many ways. They can help enliven the place and the events that occurred there. Photographs showing row after row of sowers in fields that fade into the horizon bring a jolt of awareness that words alone cannot convey about the scale of "bonanza" wheat farming in North Dakota in the 1880s. Excerpts from Mary Dodge Woodward's diary, who helped her son manage one of these immense farms, illustrates the links between them, the railroads, and the Minneapolis flour mills.

By helping us understand the personalities and qualities of people who make places important, documents also make these people more dynamic and real to us. The lesson on the Madam C. J. Walker Building in Indianapolis includes her comments at the 1912 Convention of the National Negro Business League. No women were scheduled to speak there. Seizing the podium from Booker T. Washington, Walker said, "Surely you are not going to shut the door in my face. I feel that I am in a business that is a credit to the womanhood of our race...."[3] Madam Walker was on the convention's 1913 agenda.

Lessons about places can use documents to provide historical context for the events or people associated with the place. Excerpts from articles in *Godey's Lady's Book Magazine* of the 1860s provide both context for—and contrast to—the life of homesteader Adeline Hornbek. Finally, documents provide factual information, fill in gaps, and raise additional questions for further inquiry. Charts of U.S. Census data from 1860-1880 show the 20-year evolution of the upper-middle class Cincinnati household that nurtured William Howard Taft in the virtues of public service. A glance at the gender, age, and turnover of the Taft household staff helps us understand his upbringing and raises possibilities for additional research on households of various periods and classes. In the lesson on California's Rancho Los Alamitos, a series of five floor plans dating from the early 1800s to 1925 show the evolution of a 4-room adobe into an 18-room ranch house, mirroring both the ranch's growing prosperity under a series of owners and the broader cultural transformation taking place throughout the state.

Primary documents, along with artifacts, are the most exciting and evocative supplemental materials to a place; but secondary sources are vital too. Places and their meaning must be placed in their historic context, and narrative is often the most efficient way to accomplish that. One of the benefits of using National Register properties in the classroom is that these places are already identified, researched, and documented—some more thoroughly and reliably than others, and some reflecting more recent scholarship than others. Some contain ready-to-use documents already in the public domain. All National Register properties have modern photographs, maps, and bibliographies. If there are no adequate primary documents, then maps, drawings, or renderings of places and their environments during their historic periods may need to be created. If not overdone, color slides, videos, and sound recordings also can enhance students' understanding of places.

Teaching with Historic Places lesson plans end with a section, "Putting It All Together." Through three-to-four activities, students put together the facts and ideas they have learned from the documents to form "the big picture," practicing higher-order thinking skills of synthesis and analysis. These projects are also the principal means by which students become historians and engage in the excitement of discovery about the past. This sense of excitement is the most powerful tool we have for motivating people—children or adults—to learn history.

Activities may include research, writing (reports, letters, journals, newspaper articles, etc.), debates, dramatic productions, exhibits, artistic creations, inventions, time lines, oral histories, or group discussions—according to the students' ages. An obvious activity asks students to conduct additional research on the person studied, with

Drawing of Boott Cotton Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts, as it appeared c. 1850. What does this drawing reveal about the work environment and living conditions of the famous Lowell mill girls? Courtesy Lowell National Historical Park; Kirk Doggett, Illustrator.

Visitors to Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, pose with their guide, c. 1900. Would students be surprised to learn how some turn-of-the-century women chose to spend their leisure time? Photo courtesy Mammoth Cave National Park.

the results of that research taking many forms. Even more creative activities are also possible:

- The lesson on Madam C. J. Walker asks students to design a new successful business today and to create an advertisement for a product.
- Eleanor Roosevelt's life and visitors at Val-Kill reveal her interest in peoples throughout the world. That interest was also reflected in her role as chief author of the United Nation's *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, a document included in the Val-Kill lesson plan in which students compare it with the *Bill of Rights* and write their own declaration of human rights as a class. Not only does this lead students to contemplate basic concepts of humanity, but also it demonstrates the complexity and difficulty of the task and the extent of Roosevelt's achievement.
- The lesson on Clara Barton asks students to hold a class discussion on the differences between jobs for men and women and on the meanings of equality and to write a letter on that topic to the editor of a local newspaper.

A characteristic Teaching with Historic Places activity directs students to compare and contrast their communities' histories and places with those in the lesson. This process, as well as activities such as those in the Roosevelt and Barton lessons, also relate to citizenship, a topic of increasing interest to today's educators, strengthening the appeal to teachers.

Even a curriculum-based lesson based on an important place, filled with fascinating documents and stimulating activities, falls short if it does not reach its intended audience of teachers and students. Partnerships between educators and content-specialists in the creation of instructional materials result in stronger products and can help get these products into the classroom. In the development of the Teaching with Historic Places program, we have relied on many partners. These include, among others, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, with whom we initiated the program; historian-educator Fay Metcalf, who developed our lesson plan format; the National Council for the Social Studies, whose professional journal—estimated to reach tens of thousands of teachers—has reprinted some of the lesson plans; National Park Service units and other historic sites on which lessons have been written; the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers and historic preservation officers of individual states; education departments of George Mason University and Boston University; the National History Education Network; National History Day; and many individual classroom teachers and other educators. Through an agreement with the National Park Foundation, Jackdaw Publications, a publisher well known among teachers for its portfolios of facsimile primary documents, now publishes and distributes Teaching with Historic Places lesson plans.[4]

The goals of Teaching with Historic Places are to make places and the information about them natural tools for classroom teachers to use as textbooks, wall maps, and worksheets and also to open both teachers' and students' eyes to see and appreciate the places in their own communities in new ways. We believe that using places to study the well-known and to discover the lesser-known stories of women will help accomplish those goals.

Notes

1. John J. Patrick, "Prominent Places for Historic Places: K-12 Social Studies Curriculum," *CRM: Teaching with Historic Places*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1993.
2. Page Putnam Miller, ed., *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 4.
3. *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League*, Chicago IL, August 21-23, 1912, William H. Davis, Official Stenographer (Washington, DC, 154-55); from the draft Teaching with Historic Places lesson plan, "Two American Entrepreneurs: Madam C. J. Walker and J. C. Penney."
4. For information on ordering lesson plans, contact Jackdaw Publications, P.O. Box 503, Amawalk, New York 10501; telephone 800-789-0022.

Beth Boland is a historian and the National Register of Historic Places Coordinator for Teaching with Historic Places.

From Her Arms to His
Making Women's History Come Alive

Since the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, education has played an important preservation and political role in the management of national park sites. Since 1991, the NPS has received funding from the National Park Foundation for the Parks as Classrooms® program which focuses on a specific theme or moment in time to make it come alive. The funding has developed curriculum, teacher workshops, traveling kits, and A/V programs. Parks as Classrooms programs are based on established curriculum with specific learning goals and a "hands-on" experience. Women in History programs include the following:

- At **Boston National Historic Park**, sites focus on the events and ideas associated with the American Revolution. "Patriots in Town: The Reveres" provides fifth graders with insight into the roles of Mrs. Rachel Revere and her children during the American Revolution. Students learn how the family provided vital assistance to Paul Revere after his famous midnight ride.
- At **Adams National Historic Site**, the "Patriots in the Countryside: The Adams" program has students look at the life of the Adams family during the Revolution. Students learn how Abigail Adams and her children watched refugees fleeing British-occupied Boston to the countryside and how they helped many refugee families survive.
- **Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site** (PA) and at **Lowell National Historic Park** (MA) depict early industrial America. At Hopewell, "They Were What They Ate" provides a unique perspective on the women who cared for workers at a rural 19th-century ironmaster's plantation, using cooking demonstrations to present the life and dignity of the ordinary women of Hopewell Furnace. Lowell offers several programs, including "Yankees and Immigrants" which emphasize the world of Lowell's workers: the early Yankee "mill girls," agents, and the successive groups of immigrants. "Bale to Bolt" also examines the story of women mill workers and the types of technology they used. "The World of Barilla Taylor," a primary-source-based curriculum-kit, introduces students in grades 8-12 to a teenage woman who left a Maine farm in 1843 to work in the Lowell textile mills.
- Parks such as **Kennesaw Mountain National Historic Park** (GA) have curriculum-based programs presenting the roles of women during the Civil War. At **Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial** (VA), a high school program examines the Lee women, their values, choices, and consequences during the Civil War. Students do primary research on a particular person and then write a short play which is presented in period clothing on the front portico of the Arlington House. The **Clara Barton National Historic Site** (MD) has three curriculum-based programs that deal with the life and times of Clara Barton.
- Working women during World War II are represented in at least three parks. **Springfield Armory National Historic Site** (MA) has a Teaching Guide and audio cassette program, "From Her Arms to His," which depicts women ordnance workers during World War II. Women shipyard workers are featured in the "Rosie the Riveter" program for fifth graders at Boston NHP's **Charlestown Navy Yard**. **Steamtown National Historic Site** (PA) celebrates the legacy of women railroaders through an educational first person living history program called "Rosie the Railroader." The program for grades 4-12 shows students the important roles women played on the railroads and other industrial jobs during World War II.

The Parks as Classrooms© program can help both students and educators move beyond textbooks and classrooms to make learning a positive and fun experience.

—Robert A. Huggins
Servicewide Education Coordinator, NPS
Division of Interpretation and Education,
Washington, DC

Kazimiera Kozlowski and David A. Poirier

"...To Get A Little More Learning"
Prudence Crandall's Female Boarding School

In 1830, the town of Canterbury, in northeastern Connecticut's Windham County, was a thriving community of some 2,500 residents, including 69 blacks. Socially, early-19th-century Canterbury, as with other New England towns, had a superficial harmony—if not equality—between the races. Town businesses were frequented by both blacks and whites. Both worshiped in the same churches—though blacks were relegated to sitting in the rear pews or upper galleries. Though the majority of adults did not mix socially, their children sat side by side in the district schools.

By then, industrialization was changing the face of the area, with more than a dozen mills operating in the town and many successful families residing in Canterbury. In the summer of 1831, these residents asked Prudence Crandall, aged 28 and a graduate of the Friends' Boarding School in Providence, to open a private academy within their community to instruct young women. In the fall of 1831, Crandall purchased the Luther Paine house, a 16-room Georgian home located on the Canterbury Green, and opened her academy, with the community's complete support and encouragement.

In opening her academy, Prudence Crandall joined the ranks of countless women who opened female seminaries during the late-18th and early-19th centuries in order to provide education to young women, to broaden their understanding, and to prepare them for suitable intellectual and social positions. Such also were the goals of Catherine Beecher, who opened the Hartford Female Seminary in 1823. Crandall was no doubt familiar with the education Beecher's school offered.

The Prudence Crandall House Museum, a National Historic Landmark, is located in the rural community of Canterbury, Connecticut, along Route 169 (a National Scenic Byway). Photo by Drew Harty.

The community had only positive and supportive comments to describe Crandall and her academy during the spring and summer of 1832. The school's Board of Visitors stated that they "... recommend to the public patronage of Miss Crandall's school, and cheerfully add that she has already acquired a high reputation as an instructress and the assiduity and attention which she devotes to the health and morals of her pupils renders her school a suitable place for education." Such positive public comments came to a dramatic end in November 1832, when Sarah Harris, a 20-year-old free black resident of Canterbury, asked to become a student at the Canterbury Female Boarding School. Her parents, William and Sally Prentice Harris, had recently moved there from nearby Norwich, Connecticut, where Harris had attended school. As difficult as it was for white children to receive an adequate education, Connecticut's free black students faced additional problems in the state's public schools because of discrimination by white teachers. Wanting to return to the black community of Norwich as a teacher someday, Sarah Harris approached Crandall sometime in November 1832 and informed her that she "wanted to get a little more learning."

Crandall was not naive concerning the implications to granting Harris' request and knew there would be opposition to it. She believed that if she kept Harris' mind in bondage when she could free it, she was no better than a slaveholder herself. Her Quaker upbringing had also taught her not to fight with those who were wrong, but to come to the aid of those who were oppressed. Sarah Harris was admitted to the Academy.

Within days, many parents threatened that if Harris were not dismissed they would withdraw their children. With great care, Crandall weighed her options, knowing she could never dismiss Harris. The solution soon became clear. She needed to contact other black families who might

be interested in sending their daughters to the school. The one person who could help her make these contacts was William Lloyd Garrison, editor of *The Liberator*, a Boston abolitionist newspaper. On April 1, 1833, after conferring with Garrison and other abolitionists, Prudence Crandall reopened the academy for the purpose of instructing "young ladies and little misses of color," using a curriculum identical to that used for white students, and thus establishing the first academy for young black women in New England.

Crandall's actions directly challenged Catherine Beecher's so-called "Natural Order," a then popular theory of separate spheres for the sexes which held that the goodness of women in the home somehow legitimized men's aggressive behavior in their world.

Over the next few months, the new students, who ranged in age from 10 to their late teenage years, began arriving. They came from New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island to Crandall's academy.

Hand painted pearlware bowl, circa 1805, recovered from archaeological excavations at the Crandall House. This artifact was featured on Connecticut's 1993 Archaeology Awareness Week poster. Photo by Drew Harty.

As the new academy was organizing, so were the enraged residents of Canterbury. Andrew T. Judson, a lawyer and former Secretary of the Board of Visitors of the Canterbury Female Boarding Academy, quickly organized and circulated petitions in 16 Connecticut towns stating that the introduction of people into Connecticut from other states was an "evil of great magnitude" and "a calamity that would greatly increase upon the people the burdens of Pauperism." On April 30, the petitions and their 903 signatures were delivered to the state legislature. Three weeks later, it enacted the so-called "Black Law," making it illegal to bring blacks into Connecticut to educate them or to operate a school for that purpose without first receiving the town's permission. In restricting their right to free movement and choice of residence, the Black Law implied that blacks were not citizens. (The Black Law was repealed in 1838. Blacks were not recognized as citizens in Connecticut until 1865, and not nationally until 1866.)

A month later, Prudence Crandall was arrested and charged with breaking the state's Black Law. Using a strategy of publicly embarrassing Andrew Judson and his supporters by forcing them to jail her, she willingly spent a night incarcerated. The tactic proved successful as news of her arrest spread quickly. Though local papers criticized her actions and warned that she had "stepped out of the hallowed precincts of female propriety, and now stood on common ground," many people were more supportive. At her Academy, the atmosphere remained cheerful and supportive, as one student wrote, "Love and union seem to bind our little circle in the bonds of sisterly affection."

Crandall tried to shield her students from the racism and bigotry of the local communities. One student wrote "that she took her utmost care to persuade us not to indulge in any angry feelings towards our adversaries." But harassment took many forms. The Academy was pelted with rocks, eggs, and mud. Students outside the Academy building attracted jeering and catcalling. Manure was poured down the well to foul the water. Only one of the town's shopkeepers would sell supplies to Crandall. Dr. Andrew Harris, a physician who lived across the street, refused to treat any of the building's inhabitants.

Prudence Crandall's first trial, on August 22, 1833, ended in a hung jury. A second trial, in October 1833, was presided over by Judge David Daggett from New Haven, Connecticut. Daggett had worked tirelessly in 1831 to stop a black college from opening in that city and, obviously, had very definite opinions on the constitutionality of the Black Law. This time Prudence Crandall was found guilty; primarily, because of Judge Daggett's charge to the jury in which he declared that blacks were not citizens of the United States. He argued that since blacks were not citizens, the Constitution didn't entitle them to the freedom of education. The defense immediately filed an appeal.

In January 1834, while Crandall waited for the third trial to begin, the Canterbury Female Boarding School building was set on fire. Frederick Olney, a black handyman who happened to be in the building that afternoon, was ironically charged with the arson. He was put on trial in March; but after only 15 minutes of deliberation, the jury found him not guilty.

The third trial took place at the Court of Errors on July 26, 1834. Crandall's lawyer argued that her students were not foreigners or aliens and posed no threat to anyone. As human beings born in the United States, they owed the state of

Connecticut the same obligations white citizens had. If allegiance was expected from the black population, then they, in turn, should expect the state's protection. "He, a colored person, is not a citizen to obey, and an alien to demand protection." Judge Thomas Williams rendered the final decision, reversing the lower court's ruling on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

Both sides were disappointed. The abolitionists had hoped to take the case to the Supreme Court to finally resolve the question of black citizenship. Their opponents had hoped the courts would finally put an end to the school.

On the night of September 9, 1834, a mob took the law into their own hands and attacked the Academy building. They beat the walls and doors with lead pipes and clubs and smashed more than 90 panes of glass. The school's neighbors did nothing, and the local sheriff informed the inhabitants he could give them no protection.

Samuel J. May, a Unitarian minister from Brooklyn, Connecticut, and a staunch supporter of Prudence Crandall throughout the turmoil, subsequently informed the students that the academy would close because of the threat of additional violence. "The words almost blistered my lips," he wrote in his memoirs, "My heart glowed with indignation. I felt ashamed for Canterbury, ashamed of Connecticut, ashamed of my country." The noble endeavor was over.

At the Annual Tea with Prudence Crandall, Donna Dufresne engages the public with her monologue "Voice of Conviction—the Passions of Prudence Crandall." A reproduction oil painting of Prudence Crandall hangs in the front hallway at the museum.

Though Prudence Crandall Philleo (she married Calvin Philleo in 1834) left Canterbury soon after the Academy closed, she taught throughout her life. In 1848, she left New England for the Midwest, living first in Illinois and later in Kansas. By the 1880s, as attitudes toward blacks had begun to change somewhat, Prudence Crandall and her school were seen in a new light. In 1885, a group of distinguished Hartford area residents, (including Mark Twain) wrote her. Petitions were once again distributed throughout the state in an effort to pass legislation to award her an annuity. On April 22, 1886, 56 years (almost to the day) after her Academy for black girls opened, the Connecticut legislature awarded her the sum of $400 per year, its way of making amends for the actions taken against her so many years before. Prudence Crandall Philleo received the annuity until her death in 1890.

Though Prudence Crandall's female academy lasted only a relatively short period of time, the courage and tolerance she and her students displayed remain without equal in the history of education in New England. The personalities, both famous and unknown, that her academy drew together changed the direction of education in this country; and the legal decisions from her trials affected constitutional law. "The arguments of Prudence Crandall's lawyers, William Ellsworth and Henry Goddard, were resurrected 120 years later, in 1953, when Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, used them while arguing the landmark school desegregation case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (Strane 1991).

In 1969, Connecticut took action to ensure that the work and courage of this female educator and her students would never be forgotten. The Connecticut Historical Commission acquired the building and began its restoration, rehabilitation, and interpretation—although fiscal austerity delayed the museum's public opening and ceremonial dedication until May 1984. The Historical Commission's curatorial and archeological staff have collaborated on archival and archeological research. Archeological investigations provided important knowledge of the house's original drainage system. Subsequent plantings had blocked this architectural feature, resulting in the development of a long-term moisture problem—the "root cause" of significant structural decay. Field studies also provided insights regarding historic use of yard spaces, trash disposal, and privy location. Excavations yielded tangible evidence of the community's assault on the academy—large quantities of shattered window glass were unearthed around the perimeter of the structure.

Archeological monitoring of the restoration of the Crandall House revealed a severely charred font girt and floor joists—dramatic evidence of the arson attempt of January 1834.

Extensive restoration efforts joined with the archeological study of the house's architectural fabric. The removal of upstairs flooring revealed dramatic confirmation of the extent of fire-related damage to the structure. Small-scale artifacts that were recovered beneath floor boards, including straight pins, buttons, and decorative beads, provide glimpses into students' personal lives.

A year-long exhibit, *More Than Meets the Eye—Historical Archaeology at the Prudence Crandall House*, showed the site's extensive archeological assemblage of 19th-century ceramics and personal items and provided the public with an evocative window to Prudence Crandall and her students. Recently, the Connecticut Historical Commission and the Office of the State Archaeologist unveiled *Surrounded by the Past: Uncovering Connecticut's Archaeological Heritage*, a new traveling exhibit on the state's diverse archeological heritage.

The Prudence Crandall House also has offered programs, exhibitions, and special events developed by elaborating on the broad themes that reflect the site's interpretation: women and minority history, local community history, the history of American education and female education, the beginnings of the antislavery and women's rights causes. The museum's small, but impressive research library includes publications, papers, and documents on these topics.

The museum also offers a special opportunity when hosting school field trips since the Prudence Crandall Academy's history—including incidents of bigotry, racism, and intolerance—allows teachers and students to discuss these disquieting topics in a non-threatening environment. With many schools experiencing racially motivated incidents, some teachers are using an educational visit to the Crandall Museum as a way to openly discuss students' feelings and attitudes, while at the same time clarifying historical and contemporary racial misconceptions.

In 1991, the Prudence Crandall House was designated a National Historic Landmark honoring the lifetime achievements of this female champion of human rights and the courage and determination of her students. In October 1995, Connecticut Governor John Rowland further honored Prudence Crandall by designating her as the state's Female Hero.

Suggested Readings

Prudence Crandall: A Biography, Marvis Olive Welch, Jason Publishers, Manchester, CT, 1984.

A Whole-Souled Woman, Susan Strane, Norton Press, NY, 1991.

Kazimiera Kozlowski is the museum curator at the Prudence Crandall Museum. The Prudence Crandall Museum is one of four museum properties administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission.

David A. Poirier is staff archeologist and Environmental Review Coordinator for the Connecticut Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office).

Sarah Harris Fayerweather (April 16, 1812–November 16, 1878) Hoping to one day become a teacher in the black community of Norwich, CT, her place of birth, Sarah approached Prudence Crandall in the fall of 1832 and informed her that she "...wanted to get a little more learning." If Prudence admitted her, she would forever be obliged, "...but if such action might be a means of injury, she would not insist upon the favor."

On November 28, 1832, Sarah married George Fayerweather, a blacksmith. In 1855, she and George joined his brothers in Kingston, RI. The brothers established a respected blacksmithing business in Kingston and became a major part of the town's business community. Over the years, the Fayerweather home became a center of anti-slavery activity. Sarah entertained many of the notable activists, including Frederick Douglass and William LLoyd Garrison. The Garrisons and Fayerweathers remained friends for many years. It was a custom for Sarah to send the Garrisons a cake for the holidays.

Photo from the collection of the Prudence Crandall Museum, Canterbury, CT, administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission.

Connecticut's Advisory Committee on Minority and Women's History

Realizing that certain groups were not participating in historic preservation activities associated with the Connecticut Historical Commission (CHC), and in order to provide better information on minority and women's history and associated sites, the Connecticut Historical Commission's Advisory Committee on Minority and Women's History (ACMWH) was formed in 1990. The membership of the committee is representatives of the various minority groups in the state and includes college professors, teachers, museum directors, architects, National Register and survey consultants, and ministers.

Advisory committee, Hartford, CT, November 1990.

The purpose of the committee is to provide the people of Connecticut with the opportunity to become more aware of the state's cultural diversity and identify sites which represent that diversity; to broaden the spectrum of minority participation in historic preservation activities; and to provide better information on minority and women associated properties which have generally been overlooked or under represented in historic property surveys and National Register nominations.

The information on numerous sites throughout the state has been received; and in the area of women's history, the following is indicative of the range of information received:

- Information on Lucia Ruggles Holman Tomlinson, the first American woman to circumnavigate the world. A grave monument and house were identified in Brookfield.
- Properties in New Haven and Chester were identified as being associated with Constance Baker Motley, the first black woman to be appointed to the federal bench.
- In Danbury, the former home and rehearsal studio of Marion Anderson were identified.
- In East Haddam, three women were identified: May Talbot Dougherty, the only female owner and manager of a cotton mill complex in the Moodus section; Vivian Kellems, famed industrialist and tax reformer; Dr. Emma Thompson, a charter member of the Connecticut Botanical Society who collected over 1500 botanical specimens.
- In Hampton, "The House That Women Built" stands as a tribute to the energy and courage of the women of the Revolution, and a memorial to the romance of Sarah Hammond and Uriel Mosely.
- From Hartford, The names of Ann Plato, one of the earliest black women writers to be published in America and Laura Wheeler Waring, Harlem Renaissance painter, were submitted.
- In Monroe, the home and studio of the Burr sisters were identified. Fannie C. and Jennie M. Burr were featured in a Wadsworth Atheneum show, "American Women Artist 1830-1930."
- From New Haven, information has been provided on a property associated with Julia de Burgos, considered one of the best poets of Latin America. She died in New Haven 1953.
- In Old Saybrook, the home and business of Ana Louise James, Connecticut's first black woman pharmacist, and birthplace of Ann Petry, Harlem Renaissance writer, was identified.

—Cora Murray, Connecticut Historical Commission
—Cece Saunders, Historical Perspectives Inc.

Vicki L. Ruiz

Las Mujeres
Voices from the Borderlands

In 1800, 7-year-old Apolinaria Lorenzana and her mother stepped off the ship *Concepción* onto the docks of Monterey, members of a manifest of orphans and potential wives sent by the Spanish colonial government in Mexico to the far-flung province of Alta California. As an elderly woman, Lorenzana remembered:

> Upon our arrival in Monterey, the governor distributed some of the children like puppies ... I remained with my mother and various other women ... Those that were already women, Francisca and Pascuala, were married very soon ... My mother also married an artilleryman.

Civil authorities and mission priests had high expectations for these shipboard brides. They would bear children, Catholic citizens of New Spain, and contribute their physical labor for the welfare of their kin and of their settlements. As historian Antonia Castañeda has so skillfully argued, colonial officials believed that increasing the numbers of women from Mexico would curb the rapaciousness of soldiers toward native women. While priests were truly alarmed by the sexual assaults on indigenous women, they themselves "relied heavily on corporal punishment in their programs to Christianize and Hispanicize native people." Settler women who worked at the missions, like Apolinaria Lorenzana, held dialectical roles as conqueror and *comadre*.

Diaries, memoirs, oral narratives, letters, photographs, and ecclesiastical records are among the array of materials illuminating the lives of Spanish-speaking women who journeyed to the Spanish colonial borderlands or Mexican North as early as the 16th century. This brief essay offers insights into women's roles in the initial settlement of the borderlands. It focuses particularly on women's roles inside the mission and their interactions across race, class, and social location, and highlights interpretive materials on women's lives at the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.

Beginning with the Coronado expedition of 1540, Spanish-speaking women migrated north decades—even centuries—before their Euroamerican counterparts ventured west. The Spanish colonial government, trying to secure its territorial claims, offered many material inducements to those willing to undertake such an arduous and frequently perilous journey. The Don Manuel Angel de Villegas Puente records delineate the range of equipment and supplies furnished by the government to a band of settlers bound for San Antonio. These subsidies included not only provisions, gunpowder, and livestock, but also petticoats, silk stockings, and *rebozos*.

Throughout the borderlands, the colonists themselves were typically mestizos or mulattos. Juan Agustín Morfi referred to "Spanish colonists in Texas as a 'ragged crew of all colors.'" According to historian Quintard Taylor, over one-half of the founding families of Los Angeles were of African or part-African ancestry. In northern California, the three heads of households who qualified for land, rations, and other subsidies as settlers to San José included a mulatto, an Apache, and a Spaniard. Baptismal registers and other records bear out the racial heterogeneity of those who journeyed into hinterlands of the Mexican North.

Few women ventured north as widows or orphans. Most arrived as the wives or daughters of soldiers, farmers, and artisans. Over the course of three centuries, they raised families on the frontier and worked alongside their fathers or husbands, herding cattle and tending crops. These pioneer women also participated in the day-to-day operation of area missions. The missions, particularly in California and Texas, played instrumental roles in the economic development of the area and in the acculturation (and decimation) of indigenous peoples. As historians Antonio Ríos-Bustamante and Pedro Castillo explain:

> While the primary rationale for the mission system was salvation of heathen souls, Franciscan-run frontier centers also served more earthly objectives: they effectively concentrated and contained potentially hostile Indian people in an environment of social indoctrination and acculturation. What's more, they allowed for the formation, training, and control of a relatively large Indian labor force capable of producing foodstuffs, materials, and furnished products for official purposes.

With all these functions in mind, it is not surprising to find that the Franciscans recruited women, like Eulalia Pérez and Apolinaria Lorenzana into their service. As "housekeeper" of Mission San Gabriel, Eulalia Pérez was responsible for the preparation of meals, the allotment of rations, and the manufacture of soap, olive oil, and wine. She taught Indian women to sew in the Spanish fashion, practiced midwifery and folk medicine, and acted as a quartermaster, controlling the flow of goods inside and outside the mission walls. Pérez also distributed food and clothing to neighboring troops and sewed the garments worn by mission vaqueros. In her spare time, she dipped chocolates and bottled lemonade. When the workload overwhelmed the energetic widow and her five daughters, the padre hired women from nearby Los Angeles to help with the sewing.

Apolinaria Lorenzana handled similar responsibilities at Mission San Diego. In addition to her work as a healer, she cared for the church sacristy and priestly vestments. She cut out silhouettes and embroidered for soldiers and townspeople. Lorenzana supervised the work of Indian seamstresses and served as a general clerk, boarding ships to obtain supplies needed for the mission. She also operated an informal school for the daughters of settlers. Her own education demonstrates the resourcefulness characteristic of Spanish-speaking frontier women. "When I was a young woman in California, I learned alone to write, using for this the books I saw, imitating the letters on whatever white paper I found discarded. Thus I succeeded in learning enough to make myself understood in writing ..."

Women had their own worlds of influence rooted in female networks based on ties of consanguine and fictive kinship. Historian Helen Lara Cea brings out the "lay ministry" role of women settlers who, as midwives to mission neophytes, baptized sickly or still-born babies. As godmothers for these infants, they established the bonds of *comadrazgo* between indigenous and Spanish/Mexican women. Acculturation was not a one-way street. Spanish-speaking women, such as Eulalia Pérez, adopted many of the herbal remedies used by indigenous peoples.

For women in domestic service, racial and class hierarchies undermined any pretense of a shared sisterhood. In San Antonio, Texas, in 1735, Antonia Lusgardia Ernandes sued her former patrón for custody of their son. Her testimony, now housed at the Barker History Center, bears witness to the conditions of servitude:

> I, Antonia Lusgardia Ernandes, a free mulatta residing in the presidio, do hereby appear before your Lordship in the best form according to law and my own interests and state that about eight or nine years ago I entered the home of Don Miguel Nuñes Morillo, taking a daughter of mine with me. I entered the said home without any salary whatever and while I was working in the said home of Don Miguel Nuñes I suffered so much from lack of clothing and from mistreatment of my humble person that I left the said house and went to home of Alberto López, taking two children with me, one of whom I had when I entered the home of the said Don Miguel and another which I gave birth to in his home. Just for this reason, and because his wife baptized the said creature, he, exercising absolute power, snatched away from me my son—the only man I have and the one who I hope will eventually support me. He took him from the house where I live and carried him to his own, I being but a poor, helpless woman whose only protection is a good administration and a good judicial system. Your Lordship will please demand that the said Don Miguel Nuñes, without the least delay, shall proceed to deliver my son to me without making any excuses. I wish to make use of all the laws in my favor, and of Your Lordship, as a father and protector of the poor and helpless, as well as anything else which might be in my favor ....

Admitting paternity, Don Miguel Nuñes Morillo claimed that his former servant had relinquished the child to his wife. The court, however, remanded custody of the child to Ernandes on the condition that she give her son "a proper home." Under these circumstances, the sacrament of baptism did little to promote women's networks across class and race.

The Ernandes case seemed exceptional in that a servant had challenged her former master in court. Indentured servitude was prevalent on the colonial frontier. Historian Ramón Gutiérrez persuasively argues that captive Indians pressed into bondage by New Mexican colonists formed their own caste. After serving their time, these *genízaros* (or detribalized peoples) created their own communities separate from the colonists. Indentured and domestic service brought out the fissures marking colonial society. However, women's interactions across race and social location did not necessarily revolve around a mistress/maid relationship.

Another intriguing piece of evidence is a letter written by Rosita Rodrigues, a native of San Antonio, to her father in 1846. It offers a glimpse into the relationships among Mexican women and Native Americans. In her words:

I remained a prisoner among the Comanche Indians about one year during which time I was obliged to work very hard, but was not otherwise badly treated as I was the property of (an older woman) who became much attached to me and would not allow me to be ill-treated. My little boy Incarnación is still a prisoner among the comanches. I heard from him a short time ago—he was well and hearty but he is pure Indian now ....

Bonded labor cut both ways, but as the above letter indicates, tribal adoption could soften the situation. The work of historian James Brooks illustrates how "captives" became "cousins" through the exchanges of women and children between Spanish/Mexican colonists and indigenous peoples.

The *comadre* relationship, whether established through the sacrament of baptism or the rite of tribal adoption, could foster ties between mestizo and mulatto colonists and Native Americans. "Class," as defined by a shared lifestyle, served to bridge differences in culture and social location. This pattern also holds up when examining fictive kinship within the walls of the California missions where soldier and settler wives baptized indigenous infants. The elites, with the seigneurial world view, used baptism as a way of social control whereas mestizos and Indians conferred a more policratic meaning to baptism and adoption.

Engendering borderlands history has begun, a past shaped by men and women of diverse cultures and unequal power.

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Vicki L. Ruiz is Professor of History and Women's Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

Jim McKay and Gregg Berninger

Interpreting Servants at the Martin Van Buren NHS

Martin Van Buren National Historic Site (NHS), located in Kinderhook, New York, preserves and interprets the 36-room mansion, the centerpiece of the 220-acre working farm that President Martin Van Buren (1782-1862) named "Lindenwald" after the linden trees on the property. The eighth president returned to the town he grew up in and established his own home and farm there at the end of his one term in the White House in 1841. Van Buren spent the last 21 years of his life at Lindenwald as an elder statesman, avid farmer, fisherman, and horseman. He died there in July 1862, having lived and risen to political prominence during nearly 80 formative years in the establishment of the Republic—from the end of the War for Independence to the beginning of the Civil War.

Since the beginning, the National Park Service has been committed to interpreting the servants' role in the composition of life at Lindenwald. The staff at the Martin Van Buren NHS has published articles in scholarly journals and in local newspapers and brought these integral members of the household to life on their guided tours. To accurately represent the servants is to accurately represent the president, his life, and his times. Five areas in the home lend themselves directly to interpreting the servants; most rangers refer to the predominantly female staff throughout the mansion.

The first area is the servants' dining room, located in the unusually bright and airy basement, where we first introduce the visitor to the four or five Irish women who worked in the home as well as the man or two who may have also been domestic workers. The dining room is an appropriate place to talk about the potato famine that delivered so many Irish to our shores and how they would have sent a large portion of their monthly salary of five or so dollars back to Ireland to help bring another family member across the Atlantic. We also often mention how the nearest Catholic church was 10 miles away in Chatham, which would have prevented them from attending formal worship, a great hardship indeed. The dining room is decorated with cheerful wallpaper and sports an attractive, yet inexpensive at the time, set of Flow Blue China from the Davenport company in England. It is a most pleasant atmosphere where the servants could relax—at least until the call bell rang.

The kitchen, also in the basement, is next on the tour. We see Van Buren's epicurean flair—and how the cook would have to have been a marvel to have satisfied his taste! Here Van Buren brought his morning catch of rainbow trout from the Kinderhook creek for the cook to prepare for breakfast. In the kitchen, we tell how the cook would have judged when the Dutch-style brick oven was hot enough to bake in. Imitating the cook, we bend down, insert our right arm in the oven, and start to count. By pulling away on the count of three, we demonstrate the 19th-century technique for high temperature measurement.

The laundry room, next on the tour, is possibly the best place to illuminate another element of the president's character with a servant's activity. Mr. Van Buren enjoyed wearing rather fancy clothing. For this he was often mocked by his Whig opponents as being a "dandy." The Italian ruffle iron found in this room shows visitors how meticulous the laundress had to be to provide for Van Buren's sartorial splendor. The toil of the laundress—filling and emptying copper boilers with water, agitating the wash by hand, maintaining the fires to heat the water and the irons in all seasons, hanging clothes to dry, ironing and folding clothes and, at the end of the day, waiting on tables—is detailed in this room.

In the cook's bedroom, we ask why the cook was the only domestic who slept in the cellar. Most visitors will correctly guess part of the answer; that is, that the cook had to rise early to prepare breakfast. With a bit of prodding, it will usually occur to them that the cook also would have had to get up early to start the fires in the oven and the coal cook range and to keep the coal burning hot air furnace stoked throughout the night. Here we also mention that most of the servants slept on the third floor of the home. Leaving the cook's bedroom, visitors are frequently asked to compare it to the family's bedrooms seen later in the tour.

The way back to the first floor from the basement is, most conveniently, the beginning of the servants' staircase. Once the first floor is reached, visitors look up at the remainder of the 88-step staircase that served as the main means of transportation for the servants. The staircase, located in the tower, gave the servants access to the first, second, and third floors. The visual impact of this seemingly endless staircase, along with our description of what servants carried up and down the staircase while wearing long skirts, dramatizes the hard work that servants did in the house.

Visitors find the domestic side of the story at Lindenwald appealing and easy to relate to. In addition, by understanding the domestic servants at President Van Buren's home, visitors have a fuller understanding of the president's life here—an important part of our history.

Jim McKay is the Chief Ranger, and Gregg Berninger is a park ranger at Martin Van Buren National Historic Site.

Marie Tyler-McGraw

Arlington House, Slavery, and the Plantation Mistress

"Dear Madam," the letter begins, "According to my promise I take this opportunity to write you a few lines . . . ." Mrs. Rosabella Burke was writing to Mrs. Mary Custis Lee from Clay-Ashland. "During my stay of two months at Monrovia I was very much pleased, except that the people were too gay and fashionable for me. I being not able to rank with them."* These sentences may well have caused a brief, satisfied smile to cross the face of Mrs. Lee. Rosabella Burke's response to the faux high society of Monrovia, Liberia, in 1854, mirrored precisely the disdain with which the socially secure—but financially pressed—women of Arlington House viewed all strivers and boasters. While the American world was changing rapidly outside their doors, the Custis/Lee family held to values of inherited status, republican manners, and evangelical Protestantism.

The Custis/Lee women sought to embody both their civic and Christian virtues in their devotion to the African Colonization Society, and its colony of Liberia. This organization, founded in Washington, DC, in 1816 to encourage and to fund free black migration to West Africa, merged the dominant social ideals of their national generations. Mary Lee Fitzhugh Custis, the wife of George Washington Parke Custis, grew up in a post-revolutionary era which emphasized the "Republican Mother"—a woman educated and knowledgeable who could transmit appropriate civic virtues to her children. For her daughter, who became the wife of Robert E. Lee, the cultural ideal from the 1830s on was the home-as-a-haven from an increasingly commercialized world with the mother as its moral guardian. The republican mother and the moral exemplar united in opposition to slavery in a way disruptive to neither the nation nor the domestic circle. It did involve personal sacrifice.

One of the few pleasures the Custis women permitted themselves was a subtle and ironic ridicule of those who sought the attention and approbation of the public. For Rosabella Burke, a former Custis family slave raised with the expectation of her eventual freedom, to say that she lacked rank served as both an expression of her piety and an acidic reflection on the pretensions of Monrovian society. It was a comment worthy of the plantation mistresses with whom she and her family had lived in close connection. The majority of African Americans, free and slave, rejected the notion of migration to Africa. But pride of place, pride of kin, piety, and ambition caused some slave mulatto families, such as the Burkes, to believe that they might found another republic in Liberia.

Perhaps it is not quite fair to call the women of Arlington House plantation mistresses. Certainly the large house, with its imposing hilltop site and grand ceremonial approach and entrance, met the standards for planter residences; and its occupants were related to most of Virginia's planter families. They were also slaveholders and drew much of their livelihood from the toil of slaves. Their commercial crops were not planted at Arlington House, but on farms deeper into Virginia, where most of their slaves lived. Nor did the women suffer from the isolation often the lot of the planter's wife. Arlington House, near both Alexandria and Washington, had residents who suffered more from too frequent visitors than from isolation.

Despite their privileged position near the center of society in the new nation's capital, the Custis/Lee women suggest in their letters that they experienced most of the same satisfactions and difficulties as their gentry cousins scattered throughout the Chesapeake region. Not long ago the historiography of American women portrayed antebellum southern women as generally pale shadows of their northern sisters. The experiences of northern women with industrialization, public schools, and political advocacy, such as the abolition movement, clearly put them in the midst of vast and rapid changes while southern women seemed to change little between the American Revolution and the Civil War. This perspective shifted in the 1970s as scholars of the early Chesapeake region learned much more about colonial women, as social historians studied domestic slavery, as women's historians debated how women acquired both public and private space. More recently, the voices of black men and women have entered the dialogue. How to "hear" all these voices and what meanings to give their words is part of the current historical debate.

The women of Arlington House, white and black, offer an important example of the complexity of antebellum southern social relationships. Mary Randolph Custis, Mary Anna Custis Lee, and Rosabella Burke are neither unique nor entirely representative of southern women's experience in this era. Like their northern counterparts, these women used the cultural options available to them to expand their own areas of autonomy. Rosabella Burke was naive in choosing to go to Liberia for liberty. The Custis/Lee women were frustrated in their roles because they could not escape the patriarchal model. That does not mean they were not active participants and shapers of their own worlds.

The scholarship on southern women has expanded rapidly in the last decade. The work of Ann Firor Scott, Catherine Clinton, Suzanne Lebsock, Deborah Gray White, and others in the 1970s and 1980s led to further research into the ways white and black women interacted and how issues of race and social relations were constructed. Among those books which have particularly altered our thinking about the women of Arlington House and southern women in general are Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1988); Patricia Morton, ed. *Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past* (Athens, GA., 1996); Brenda Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York, 1996); Margaret Ripley Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women* (Lexington, Ky., 1995); and Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1992).

These writers and others have emphasized domestic settings and the material culture of everyday life. The work is far from complete and interpreters of southern sites within the National Park Service have much to offer in interpreting southern women whose stories were as layered and nuanced as their lives really were.

Note

* Bell Wiley, ed., *Slaves No More: Letters from Liberia 1833-1869* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press), p. 192.

Marie Tyler-McGraw is a historian in the National Register History and Education program of the National Park Service, Washington, DC. She has researched antebellum southern women and urban history.

Debbie Stetz

Maria Israel and the Old Point Loma Lighthouse

Women's contributions to the workplace have changed dramatically in the last 100 years. Career opportunities during the 1800s were typically of a maternal nature, such as nursing, teaching, or domestic service. Although today's women have climbed high on the corporate ladder, there are still only a handful of women who have held some very unusual jobs. One such woman was Maria Arcadia Alipas Israel, daughter of a prominent Spanish family in San Diego. For nearly 20 years, she helped the U.S. Lighthouse Service safely guide ships into San Diego's harbor.

The Old Point Loma Lighthouse at Cabrillo National Monument, constructed in 1855, functioned for 36 years, until it was permanently shut down and abandoned in 1891. Built at the harbor entrance high atop Point Loma, the lighthouse was usually shrouded in early morning low clouds and fog and was eventually replaced by another lighthouse built closer to the water's edge. During its life span, 11 keepers were stationed at the lighthouse. The last keeper was Robert Decatur Israel, who lived there with his family for 18 years. For three of those years, his wife Maria officially served as the assistant lighthouse keeper.

Keeping the immense Fresnel lens lit throughout the night was the principal job of the keeper. But the most difficult part of the work was maintaining the equipment and grounds to exacting government standards. Detailed manuals issued by the U.S. Lighthouse Service outlined every acceptable, and unacceptable, activity around a lighthouse, from the correct procedure for trimming the wicks and polishing the glass,to being "courteous and polite to all visitors who conform to the regulations."

Maria Israel shared lighthouse duties with her husband and often kept the nightwatch. She

placed her rocker at the base of the circular stairway and passed the hours away with sewing and knitting while a beam of light from the lens in the tower illuminated the needlework in her lap. When the light was extinguished in the morning, the keeper donned a linen apron and began immediate preparations for the detailed cleaning and polishing of the lens and equipment. In keeping with the government rules, Maria was expected to keep the lighthouse and living quarters scrupulously clean, without any speck of dirt and dust. Every hour of the day and night was precious since her time was divided between the maintenance of the lighthouse and caring for her home and family. At times, teamwork was important. Tension welled up when ships drifted too close to the rocks of Point Loma and had to be alerted to their potential danger. Maria kept watch as Captain Israel ran outside to fire off warning shots from his shotgun. On February 15, 1876, the Lighthouse Board, for unknown reasons, replaced her as the assistant keeper.

The old Point Loma Lighthouse is a prim, two-story house, built in a traditional New England style with a parlor and kitchen on the first floor, two bedrooms on the second with a flight of stairs leading to the tower that housed the lens, and a full basement with a cistern below. Its location at the tip of Point Loma offers a spectacular view of the San Diego area and, just as today, has always attracted visitors to the quaint little lighthouse. But its distance from town and lack of available fresh water made life in the lighthouse less idyllic than it may have seemed. In 1874, a woman reporter from the San Diego Union wrote about her visit:

> The lighthouse upon the extreme point of Point Loma is some fourteen miles from San Diego and is approached by one of the most beautiful drives in the world, to those who enjoy the cool, bracing breezes .... the buildings consisted of a very neat and commodious dwelling house surmounted by a tower fifteen feet high, also several immense sheds erected by the government for the purpose of catching rain-water .... Water and wood are items of considerable importance here, both having theretofore been brought from San Diego .... The vegetation around the lighthouse is very meagre consisting of very low, scrubby sage brush. Mrs. Israel told us that she had endeavored in vain to make a few of the most hardy flowers and vegetables grow, but the position was too much exposed to admit of cultivation....

Maria Israel was an industrious woman who successful created a home from very limited resources. She had a knack for decorative arts and spent a great deal of time stitching shawls, pillow shams, lace curtains and quilts. Tourists of the lighthouse often purchased the mosaic picture frames she constructed from colorful seashells her sons gathered from the tidepools. She tried to grow tomatoes, potatoes, cabbage and lettuce in the unforgiving clay soil around the lighthouse. She tended a grapevine from which she dried grapes into raisins, and grew hot peppers—a vital ingredient in her Mexican cuisine. If anyone embodied the old lighthouse, it was Maria Israel.

In 1995, the National Park Service celebrated the 140th birthday of the Old Point Loma Lighthouse with a major interior restoration. Bill Brown, Staff Curator of Historic Furnishings at Harper's Ferry, was brought in to carry out the job. He and his assistant, Andy Chamberlain, immediately embarked on a search of historic resources to help them recreate the lighthouse's interiors during its 1880 heyday. When Brown and Chamberlain chose materials and furnishings to represent that era, Maria Israel played a prominent role in their decisions. Brown explained:

> We know that Mrs. Israel did sewing and mending and a lot of hand-work, and she did these two [seashell] frames. We've tried to set up various sewing materials of the period, and various kinds of things that were popular for women to do in the home, like handwork .... I'm not saying that we like it, but that's what they did, and that is what is important, to not 'decorate'.

The National Park Service has successfully restored the lighthouse to its former glory days when it was a working lighthouse and a comfortable home. The "Light-Keeper" manuals are on the desk in the parlor. Part of the keeper's uniform is laid out on the bed upstairs, and the utility closet is filled with wicks and lanterns. Maria Israel's presence is also very apparent throughout the house with the lace curtains, Boston rocker, a basket of sewing, appliquéd pillows on the daybed, and strands of red peppers and garlic hanging in the kitchen. The beautiful furnishings throughout the lighthouse portray her role as a wife and homemaker, common positions for women of her time. But she was also a modern working woman—assistant lighthouse keeper—a position not many women, of any time, have had the privilege to hold.

Debbie Stetz is an interpretive ranger at Cabrillo National Monument. She received an MA in Public History from the University of San Diego. Her thesis was a social history and analysis of development of the early 1900s mining town, Rhyolite, NV, which will soon be published by the University of Nevada Press.

Karen Krieger

Women of Yellowstone

Yellowstone's diverse and spectacular land forms are rivaled only by its dynamic human history, a history rich in female participation. Since humans began viewing its expansive vistas and steamy thermal features, women have worked, visited, given birth, and died in this country, often sharing their feelings about this unique landscape with family and friends. Their expressions of life in Yellowstone are set in and around the natural and human-made features that distinguish America's first national park. Found in published manuscripts, family scrapbooks, photos, park archeological sites, tourist literature, railroad advertisements, personal correspondence, oral histories, and on grave markers in and near the park, these stories reveal lives as colorful as the bluest hot pots, as adventurous as the Yellowstone River in springtime, and as varied as the landscape itself.

The circumstances of women's experiences in the park varied as well. Some women lived in the park; others were visitors traveling by horse, stagecoach, rail, and auto. Their social and economic status, age, education levels, ethnic backgrounds, time period represented, and previous wilderness encounters differed greatly. Comparing the prehistoric woman to the historic, the Victorian to the industrial, the young to the old, in the context of this environment reveals the many ways women lived and constructed their lives throughout time and invigorates our understanding of humans interacting with the western landscape.

On a plateau near Specimen Ridge in the northeast portion of the park lies a ring of rocks, partially submerged in the soil, marking some of the first human experiences in Yellowstone. Tepee rings and lithic material found throughout the park provide evidence of the Paleo and Archaic big game hunters who both lived in and visited this area. Wikiups, weathered and teetering, as well as enduring oral traditions reveal the lives of the Shoshoni-Bannocks, Crow, Sioux, and Nez Perce families who hunted, prepared meals, told stories, and raised children in this area's rivers and forests through the 1870s.

The site also reminds us of Mrs. Marshall, who—with her husband—built and operated the park's first hotel and gave birth to Rosa Park Marshall there in 1881. Another kind of marker located near Nez Perce picnic area illuminates the stories of other park residents. A gravestone inscribed "Mattie S., wife of E.C. Culver, died March 2, 1889, Aged 30 yrs" commemorates the life of the wife of the Marshall's hotel winter keeper. She died of tuberculosis in a land so frozen that her body was put in halved whiskey barrels and stored in the snow until the ground thawed enough for her burial. Her 18-month-old daughter was sent to live with relatives.

The U.S. Army arrived in Yellowstone in 1886 as the park's official law enforcement and management presence. The thick, imposing walls of the married officers' quarters at Fort Yellowstone, now the park headquarters in Mammoth, once rang with the voices of military wives and children living in this outpost. The row of homes was nicknamed "soapsuds row" for the loads of laundry hung out to dry by the wives of military men who earned extra money for their families by taking in laundry. The military personnel also invigorated the economies of the nearby towns by hiring maids, laundresses, and cooks as well as by supporting local merchants and entertainment establishments.

In 1916, management of Yellowstone National Park was turned over to the newly established National Park Service, and families of rangers replaced those of officers at Fort Yellowstone. In addition, women in natural resource professions began participating in the park's management. In the summer of 1920, the park's first superintendent, Horace Albright, hired Isabel Wasson, a Columbia University graduate student in geology as an early woman naturalist/inter-

Stereocard of two women descending into Devil's Kitchen, 1907. Courtesy Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, WY.

preter.[1] She was followed in 1928 by Ruby Anderson, the first woman to work the entrance gate, and ranger-naturalists, Marguerite Lindsley and Herma Albertson.

Park concessionaires and their employees lives' also offer another way to explore the everyday lives of female park residents. Their stories are of entrepreneurs working in and running businesses and participating in the development of the burgeoning western tourism industry. They are also the stories of seasonal employees working as waitresses, laundresses, cooks, maids, and interpreters who, when not hard at work, took advantage of their unique social circumstances and outdoor opportunities. Clara Green, a waitress stationed at Lake Hotel, wrote in her journal on August 6, 1892:

> There was a dance here and some of the tourists danced too. At 10:15, 16 of the canyon surveyors arrived here. 5 girls and the rest boys danced till 12 o'clock and then we all went on the steamer to the Thumb. We all had a splendid time with music, dance and song. . . . come home at 4 o'clock after an enjoyable trip in the bright moonlight on the beautiful water."[2]

Many more of their stories wait to be revealed. Mary J. Foster's is locked up cold and hard in a grave on the hill just north of Mammoth Hotel. All that is known of her is inscribed on the windswept hill— "Mary J. Foster, died, June 10, 1883, Age 33 yrs, First to be laid to rest in Mammoth." Her date of death may reveal an association with the Mammoth Hotel constructed that same year, but her full story remains untold.

The letters, diaries, and reminiscences of tourists to the park offer some of the most diverse and insightful perspectives on the park and its history. They document food served, sleeping arrangements, accommodation and travel conditions, conversations and temperaments of other tourists, clothing, and, of course, their feelings about the spectacular and seemingly bizarre landscape. "I shall never want to live in a house again" young Flora Chase Pierce wrote home to her mother during a camping trip through the park in July 1897.[3] Many, like Hattie Shober in a letter to her aunt, September 4, 1877, reveal the often uncomfortable feelings associated with unusual natural features:

> We passed the 'Devil's Kitchen,' an extinct spring. In order to enter it you must descend a 50 ft. ladder which is there for the benefit of those desirous of inspecting his Satanic majesty's cooking utensils. I was not. I prefer "terafirma" if I know before starting that I am on the way to his majesty's apartments. I've no desire to call on him.[4]

Women from around the world enjoying modern hotel accommodations, local ranch women traveling in buggies and wagons and camping alongside the trails, and American women of modest means staying in semi-permanent tourist camps—all contribute to our understanding of park visitors' experiences and to our knowledge of past women's lives.

In Yellowstone, residents and visitors alike mingled with others of different cultures, participated in—and were sometimes exploited by—the economic growth spawned by the tourist industry, and encountered and often created situations that challenged their society's norms of female behavior. Their stories help invigorate our understanding of the park's development, the regional economic consequences of military establishments and a developing tourist industry, and how it felt, smelled, and sounded to women living in and visiting Yellowstone throughout its human history. Listening to the stories women tell, studying their writings, and learning from their experiences enrich our own lives and our understanding of Yellowstone National Park's natural and cultural history.

Tourists descending into the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1904. Courtesy Yellowstone National Park.

Notes

1. Wasson, Isabel. 1977. Typewritten account of summer working in Yellowstone. Vertical files, Yellowstone National Park Library.
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Karen Krieger is the Heritage Resource Coordinator, Utah Division of Parks and Recreation, and Yellowstone Institute Instructor.

Frank Faragasso and Doug Stover

Adelaide Johnson
A Marriage of Art and Politics

Adelaide Johnson portrait. Photo by Edmonston Studio, Washington, DC.

One of the peculiarities of our culture is that artists seldom take an interest in politics, and politicians do not come from the ranks of the artistic community. Occasionally, art and politics blend in one public person. Adelaide Johnson (1859-1955) was an artist who devoted her life's work to the advancement of equality for women and, in doing so, merged her artistic life with a major political concern. The women's movement served as an inspiration for her most monumental works. Her life-size sculptures of prominent suffragists were intended to immortalize the early movement leaders and to convey the sense that what these suffragists did for women was as courageous as the actions of the men who founded the Republic.

Photos courtesy National Women's Party, Sewall-Belmont House.

Johnson sculpted the busts of many prominent individuals, but she is best known for her marble carvings of leaders in the suffrage movement—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucretia Mott. At first, she executed individual busts of these three women, but eventually she combined theme into one monumental portrait sculpted from an eight-ton piece of Cararra marble. This work presently sits in the first floor crypt of the nation's Capitol, where it has been for over 70 years.

Adelaide Johnson (left) and Capitol Suffrage Monument, c. 1921. Photo by National Photo Co., Washington, DC.

There are currently plans to move the statue upstairs to the more prominent Rotunda to join the likenesses of other great historic figures. As a result of successful lobbying by the Women's Suffrage Statue Campaign, Congress passed a concurrent resolution intending to move the *Portrait Monument*. Because of logistical difficulties—the size and weight of the statue and its two bases are a total of 13 tons—the move has been delayed. While the date of the move has not yet been set, it is expected soon and will be accompanied by much fanfare.

As an artist, Adelaide Johnson chose a medium in which few women worked on a professional level. The very scale of Johnson's work demands attention. While not media conscious in the sense of an Andy Warhol, she created a public personality. In fact, her unconventional ways often drew more attention than her work.

The artist-as-eccentric was already a fixture in the minds of the public at the beginning of the 20th century. Bohemia was a part of the popular imagination; and the artist, by convention, was expected to be the habitual nonconformist. The flamboyant Johnson did not disappoint her public.

Born on a family farm in Plymouth, Illinois, Sarah Adelaide Johnson was educated in rural schools. No one would have been predicted she would become a world-renowned artist. She began her artistic study at the St. Louis School of Design, where her work earned her a chance to exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition of 1877. There she received two prizes for her wood carvings. Johnson refined her craft with European masters in Dresden, Germany, and Rome, Italy, and began training in sculpture with the prominent Giulio Monteverde and Fabio Altini.

Growing in confidence as a cosmopolitan woman and accomplished artist, she developed a feminist perspective and expressed great interest in spiritualism and vegetarianism, ideas that distinguished her from the crowd. She was not afraid to set her own path. Her commitment to feminism was clearly evident in her work by the early 1890s.

Johnson set up studios and worked in several major cities, including London, New York,

Washington, and Chicago. By 1893, she was exhibiting her work and executing individual busts of the most well-known suffragists at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago intending to place the busts in the United States Capitol. It never happened.

Undeterred, Johnson conceived of an even larger marble carving combining the three pioneer suffragists. For an artist to work with enormously expensive materials and on monumental scale requires risk taking and confidence, an attitude that carried over to her personal life.

At age 36, having established herself as an accomplished artist, she married Alexander Frederick Jenkins, a respected English businessman 11 years her junior. She falsified her age on the marriage certificate, presenting herself as three years younger than she was. Johnson's wedding day serves as an example of both her feminist values and her eccentricity. Presided over by a female minister with the busts of the famous suffragists silently serving as her bride's maids, she declared before the world that she would not be the traditional wife. Indeed, her husband agreed to take her name, pronouncing that his action was, "the tribute love pays to genius." The marriage lasted 12 years before ending in an acrimonious divorce in 1908.

Plans churned in her head to build a museum dedicated to women's struggle for equality as she lost hope that her *Portrait Monument* statute would ever be placed in the U. S. Capitol—especially when Susan B. Anthony opposed the idea in 1904. (Anthony was not fond of Congress. She wanted the statue to go to the Smithsonian Institution.) Through the support of philanthropist and feminist, Alva Belmont, Johnson obtained a commission from the National Woman's Party.

Returning to Carrara, Italy, she had an eight-ton piece of marble quarried and hauled to her studio. Meanwhile, the National Women's Party successfully lobbied Congress to have the statue dedicated at the Capitol on Susan B. Anthony's birthday, February 15, 1921. (The National Women's Party, which runs the Sewall-Belmont museum and archives in Washington, DC, has Johnson's famous individual busts of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucretia Mott.) Congress gave Johnson a special reception, the first time a women had ever been so honored.

For the feminist movement, this is not an ordinary statue. When it was created by Johnson, women had achieved the vote. The wind had been taken out of the sails of the suffrage movement and the broader women's rights movement. Women were not voting in large numbers and were not seriously courted for their votes. As women's issues received little attention from the public, the suffrage movement seemed to fade away. Johnson's statue and the Party's efforts to have it accepted by Congress briefly provided a rallying point. The symbolism made manifest in this ponderous piece of marble kept the movement alive. It would become the only monument in Washington honoring the women's suffrage movement.

The original inscription placed on the base of the statue by Johnson engendered such a strong negative reaction that members of Congress had it covered with whitewash. Every step of the way the statue has evoked a strong response from one group or another. Its acceptance, the inscription, and now its move to a new location have all been resisted. Still, the support for the monument has prevailed.

The completion of the statue was the high point in Johnson's career. She spent most of the next 35 years of her life struggling to find commissions and to pay the bills. There was a flicker of media attention near the end of her life. On one occasion, she appeared on a television game show. She died at the age of 96 and was buried in Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC. After more than 40 years, she and her statue continue to engender controversy.

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Frank Faragasso is the historian for National Capital Parks-East, which has a cooperative agreement with the Sewall-Belmont National Landmark, the headquarters, museum and archives of the National Woman's Party. Frank Faragasso serves as historian for that site.

Doug Stover, the curator for National Capital Parks-East, has provided longstanding curatorial services to the Sewall-Belmont house. This involvement with Sewall-Belmont has engendered an interest in women's history.

Martin Blatt

Honoring Women of Massachusetts

Honoring the Contributions of Women: A Project for the Massachusetts State House is a model program that can be replicated in state capitals and municipalities across the United States. Throughout the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, women have contributed to our government and society. Yet, women leaders have not been recognized within the walls of the State House where residents and visitors, young and old, view an extensive collection of portraits, plaques, and statues designed to honor our forbearers—but almost all those recognized are men. According to the State House Tour Office, nearly 100,000 people visited the State House last year; and one third of them were school groups.

The first State House public art project of a woman was a statue of Anne Hutchinson, a religious heretic banned from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637. The statue ended up at the State House after being rejected by other locations for technical reasons, but has never been dedicated. A statue of Mary Dyer, a 17th-century martyr to freedom of conscience, was erected on the State House grounds in 1959—the last public art tribute to a woman. This statue, like Hutchinson's, was sent to the State House as a last resort due to technical difficulties with the original site. Neither statue was originally designed or planned for the State House location.

Within the State House itself, there is only one portrait of a woman—Esther Andrews of Brookline, the first woman elected to the Governor's Council in 1927. The Civil War Army Nurses Memorial in Nurses Hall, designed in 1914 as a monument to women, does not depict or identify specific nurses. Otherwise, within the State House's extensive and historic collection of hundreds of portraits, statues, plaques, and busts, there are **no** images of the hundreds of women who have contributed to political life and public policy in Massachusetts.

In April 1995, the Massachusetts Senate established a committee to determine how to honor the many women who have contributed to the state's political life. The committee determined criteria for candidates, nominated dozens of women, and after a year of deliberation chose to honor the following:

- Dorothea Dix (1802-1887), advocate for the mentally ill and superintendent of nurses for the Union Army during the Civil War.
- Florence Hope Luscomb (1887-1985), suffragist, peace activist, and early executive of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters.
- Mary Kenney O'Sullivan (1864-1943), union organizer and advocate of legislation protecting women and children in the workplace.
- Sarah Parker Remond (1824-1894), African-American abolitionist who led a movement to desegregate Massachusetts schools and other public institutions.
- Josephine St.Pierre Ruffin (1842-1924), founder of the Women's Era Club for African-American Women and co-founder of the National Federation of Afro-American Women.
- Lucy Stone (1818-1893), noted suffragist and editor of the Women's Journal.

Our Advisory Committee recommended recognizing the six honorees with a mural depicting all six women, to be installed in a prominent location in the State House; individual portraits of the women to be placed elsewhere in the State House; and an educational

Poster, "Honoring the Contribution of Women," developed by the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities featuring Sarah Parker Remond, Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, Dorothea Dix, Lucy Stone, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, and Florence Hope Luscomb.

booklet which will include information about the six honorees, the other women nominated, and the historical context of their lives and work.

The Massachusetts Legislature allocated funds toward the project under the auspices of the Massachusetts Cultural Council. The Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities (MFH), affiliated with the National Endowment for the Humanities and supported by the Massachusetts Cultural Council and private sources, was asked to manage the project and to help raise matching funds. The MFH is a marvelous organization which supports a wide range of excellent public humanities programming—forums, conferences, lectures, documentaries, exhibits, history projects, and more. Every state has a humanities council which could undertake such a project.

The Foundation organized a successful kick-off event on October 22, 1996, and is now managing a campaign to raise the necessary matching funds. In December 1996, a Steering Committee was organized to oversee the project's implementation, which should take two years. The Steering Committee will convene a Public Art Selection Committee to oversee the process of defining specifications of the artwork, soliciting proposals from artists, reviewing their ideas, and choosing final candidates to complete their work with preference given to Massachusetts artists. Simultaneously, the Foundation will develop an educational booklet by soliciting essays from noted Massachusetts historians and women's studies specialists. The Foundation will also produce an interpretive brochure as a companion to the mural to provide visitors with information about the mural's content and history. The Foundation expects to develop programs after the project's completion to keep its spirit alive.

To find out more about this project and how your state or municipality might undertake a similar project, please write or call Ellen Rothman at the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities, 46 Temple Place, Boston, MA 02111, phone 617-451-9021.

Martin Blatt is Chief of Cultural Resources and supervisory historian for Boston National Historical Park, Massachusetts.

Placing Women in the Past

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Special thanks to Sharon Brown, Stephen Haler, and Charles Clapper.

POINT OF VIEW

No Place for Women
Interpreting Civil War Battlefields

"It is no place for women" was the constant refrain Sarah Palmer heard throughout her service as a Union Army nurse during the Civil War. Twentieth century visitors to a Civil War battlefield might be forgiven for thinking the same thing, since there is so little, if any, women's history discussed at these historic sites. Civil War battlefields have traditionally been regarded as masculine places. After all, it was men who fought the battles, men who risked injury, capture, or death. Few women were actually present at battles, and women — nurses, *vivandierès**, civilians, and soldiers — who were in the middle of the war are often regarded as exceptions, extraneous to the central story of the battle. Staff at battlefield sites have felt comfortable interpreting tactics and maneuvers, regiments and officers to their visitors, believing that because they were interpreting the battle itself, they were covering the site's complete history. Even as other historical sites began delving into social, cultural, gender, and racial history, looking beyond "great men" and their stories, Civil War sites have continued to focus on campaigns rather than communities.

Including women's history at Civil War sites would entail parks rethinking about why and how they interpret the parks' significance. How do we make these national milestones relevant to people who have no interest in the Civil War, or even in American history? Compelling stories of endurance, courage, and strength are universal human qualities with no gender or racial barriers. If one talks about the siege of Petersburg as a story of endurance, one recognizes the civilians who survived that nearly 10-month ordeal as well as the soldiers, Union and Confederate. Moreover, individuals with no military experience can appreciate such character values without having to understand a left flank attack or the minutiae of military engineering.

One of the biggest obstacles to this new approach is an attitude within the National Park Service itself. Some people believe that women's history should only be interpreted at women's history parks, such as Women's Rights National Historical Park or Clara Barton National Historic Site; they believe that if a park interprets women, it must exclude everything else. Those who continue to envision military action as the main story add women's history only as a sidebar, something on the periphery that can be taken away without being missed.

Once the need for a new strategy of interpreting Civil War sites has been acknowledged, other issues can be dealt with over time. For example, no park has the money to completely re-engineer its exhibits and audiovisual programs. But personal interpretive services can incorporate new ideas immediately. An electric map shows that details of military actions can be introduced by a park ranger who asks the visitors to keep in mind that these armies were made up of men—people just like us today who had left families behind at home, who worried about dying on the battlefield and about what their wives were doing to keep the family afloat, and that the battlefield was someone's farm, their wheat field, or peach orchard. This would give visitors who may not care about troop movements another way to approach the battlefield when they visit the actual site later. Temporary thematic exhibits (*Life in the Army*, for example) could outline a battle from different points of view — the general and the private, area residents and far away relatives of those on the field — and allow visitors to draw their own conclusions.

As public historic sites, battlefields should be interpreted, as much as possible, in terms of the entire history of their sites—the world the soldiers lived in, not only the ground they fought on, to interpret the battlefield in context, as part of the whole, not a single action or campaign. By interpreting the world the soldiers lived in, discussing the principles and beliefs they fought for—and not merely the ground they fought and died on—we would be reaching out to audiences previously ignored, because we would be recognizing the contributions of all Americans, not just soldiers, to the outcome of the conflict. Just as Sarah Palmer's endeavors proved, there has always bean a place for women at Civil War battlefields. It has just taken the National Park Service a long time to find it.

—Danyelle A. Nelson
Historian, City Point Unit,
Petersburg National Battlefield, VA

* *Vivandierès* were women unofficially attached to a regiment who performed various camp and nursing duties.

De-centering Men as the Measure

Or, What Were Women Doing During the Continental Congress?

Women's history as a field has come of age in the last 25 years. Initially viewed as compensatory history, those of us who began the field looked for "great women" to add to the great men we all know about. This early vision could be summed up as "add a woman and stir" history. It always defined women in men's terms and judged them by their comparative importance to men and men's history. Relatively soon, we began to ask fundamental questions about where women were, what they were doing, why they were doing it, and what their work allowed others to do. We also began to understand that women are both powerless and powerful, that women are both acted upon and actors. Once we began to get at the social fabric of women's lives, we began to "de-center" men as the measure of all that is normative. And that put us on the path to understanding the history of all people. Gerda Lerner said it succinctly in *The Creation of Patriarchy*:

> As long as men believe their experiences, their viewpoint, and their ideas represent all of human experience and all of human thought, they are not only unable to define correctly in the abstract, but they are unable to define reality accurately.*

Once we "de-center" men as the measure and look through either a different lens or the double lens of both men and women, we begin to conceive what might approach a truly human history. This process almost always has at least two stages. First, we must uncover what women were actually doing; and then we must synthesize it into the "traditional" history we know. Only then can we approach a true picture of the human past, one in which both women and men are the measure. In an attempt to "define reality accurately," I would like to describe my fantasy interpretation of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park.

I have twice been there and have heard the National Park Service's stirring narrative of the Continental Congress, which wrote the documents we hold so important to the founding of this Republic and our whole political life. The period is fundamental to our country, but the interpretation of the Continental Congress never even mentions a woman. After all, only men were delegates; and the soldiers in the War for Independence were predominantly male. The history of the founding of the United States is told as a male story.

However, as a women's historian, I heard the interpretation, toted up the time involved, and started de-centering the story. I immediately asked myself: What was happening to all those men's wives and children? Where were they? What were they doing? How did they manage?

No one at the time knew whether our Declaration of Independence would succeed. People supported the Revolution on faith and with pure hope in a completely unknown future. We have some contemporary examples to push us in our contemplation. For instance, Winnie Mandela showed determined perseverance and steadfast work while her husband was jailed for 20 years. But we still can only begin to grasp the level of unknowns in 1774, when the men of the Continental Congress left their homes for Philadelphia.

Think about the women "behind" the men at Philadelphia and what they were doing. I decided to examine the life of Abigail Quincy Smith Adams, wife of John Adams and mother of John Quincy Adams, to attempt to answer, for one couple, "What were the women doing, while the men were off in Philadelphia?"

Abigail Quincy Smith was born on November 11, 1744, an upper middle-class daughter of Puritans. She died in 1818 at the age of 74. Though her father was a graduate of Harvard College, class of 1725, she had very little formal education and, like all women of the time, was most certainly not allowed to attend college. She was, however, well-read. She taught herself French; and, as an adult, was an avid student of history.

The summer she was 14, Abigail became a member of her father's Congregational Church and met John Adams. By 1762, at 17, she and John were exchanging love letters. They were married on October 25, 1764, when John was 29 and Abigail was 19. Within the year, Abigail had their first daughter. Over the next nine years, she had

* Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 220.

four more children, one of whom would become the sixth president. By the age of 29, Abigail had given birth to five children, and John had a law practice and a business.

In 1774, with her youngest child less than two years old and her oldest just nine, Abigail's husband, John, set off from Boston to Philadelphia as a delegate to the First Continental Congress. John remained away for 10 years. He and Abigail were together only for brief intervals during that entire decade. In one fell swoop, Abigail took over their household, the children's educations, John's business, their farm, and the rearing of five children.

Let me be utterly clear: Abigail enabled John to follow his avocation and help realize their joint dream of declaring independence and forming a new nation. In a time when married women lacked many legal rights, Abigail made the money that allowed John to continue in politics. Without formal education herself, she educated their children. She bought the farm stock, bred the cattle, hired the help, dealt with farm tenants, and handled war refugees on their land. Independently, she bought important pieces of land as they became available, paid the bills, and greatly increased their holdings. After the war, when she joined John in Europe, New York, and Philadelphia, she continued to run the family farms, including the buying of stock and the repair and construction of new buildings. Frankly, she saved their family from the financial ruin which happened to many political men, and she supported John's dreams and avocation.

Throughout his absence, Abigail was an avid letter-writer, urging John to work for independence from Britain and writing in defense of democratic principles for all—men and women, white and black. Although known for her call to "remember the ladies," few know that she was also vehemently anti-slavery. She was, in fact, far more progressively democratic than John or most of his colleagues in the Continental Congress.

When we think about the sacrifices, the loneliness, the oppression, and the discrimination Abigail Adams endured and the acumen, the patriotism, the power, and the competence she displayed during this period when John (who might now even be called a "deadbeat Dad," or a ne'er do well, and certainly a dreamer) was working in politics without pay, hundreds of miles from his family and his responsibilities, it gives us a whole new understanding of the price of founding the Republic. It also gives us some clues about how the world looks when we ask different questions, when we "de-center" inquiry, when we simply ask, "Where are the women, and what were they doing?"

Abigail Adams suffered discrimination early and often, and she was vocal about it. She understood injustice, but she also had power which she wielded comfortably. She was victim and actor, weak and powerful. She was tied to her biology, she worked hard as a mother, and she reveled in her role as family matriarch. She was, by all accounts, a quite wonderful grandmother who took great pleasure in her grandchildren. She worked without pay in her family business and organized various community efforts. Her life reflects (though on a grand scale, perhaps) the lives of many women who daily juggle children, domestic work, household decisions, paid work, community affairs, and support of a spouse. For a contemporary instance, Hillary Clinton's law practice has allowed her husband to pursue his political career.

I would love to see Abigail's story told with the same admiration and care that John's is at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. I yearn after the stories of all those wives, mothers, and sisters who supported the men who worked so diligently in Philadelphia; and I believe some day all of those stories will be told. When that happens, our picture of the founding of the Republic will be truer and clearer. We will come closer to, in Gerda Lerner's term, "defining reality accurately." When we ask new questions, "de-center" men as the measure, uncover what women were doing, and then synthesize it into the traditional understanding to arrive at a truly human history, we will give the public the great gift of knowing the past, which will help them understand the present, and take control of the future. We can hardly hope for more.

—Mary Logan Rothschild
Director of Women's Studies and
Professor of History and Women's Studies
Arizona State University,
Tempe, Arizona

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PRESERVATION RESOURCES

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- Andrea Hinding, Ames Sheldon [Bower] and Clarke A. Chambers, eds., *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States* (Bowker, New York, 1979). The Schlesinger library at Harvard University and the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College have particularly rich manuscript collections in women's history. The Library of Congress has many collections of women's personal papers, including Clara Barton's. The National Archives has both expected and unexpected sources for women's history.
- *Exploring a Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service* (National Park Service, 1995). Write to Chief Historian, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C. 20013-7127.
- Heather Huyck, "Beyond John Wayne: Using Historic Sites to Interpret Women's History" in *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*, Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L Ruiz, and Janice Monk eds. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

Newsletters

- *The Preshervationist*. An excellent compilation of short articles and information about conferences, archival and museum resources, books and videos. Subscriptions $15/year to the Preshervationist, c/o Alice Paul Centennial Foundation, PO Box 472, Moorestown NJ 08057.
- Coordinating Council for Women in History: Newsletter. Includes articles and most comprehensive listing of regional and topical women's history organizations, Black Women, Southern, Western, Midwestern, Chicago, Cleveland Women Historians' groups as well as the venerable Berkshire Conference. See October/November 1996 issue for some excellent discussions on material culture/women's history.

Museums

- Women of the West Museum 250 Bristle Cone Way, Boulder CO 80304-0413; (303) 499-9110
- Women's Heritage Museum 870 Market St. # 3547, San Francisco CA 94102; (415) 422-3026.

Conferences

- Second National Women in Preservation Conference, Arizona, March 13-16, 1997.
- Berkshire Conference ("The Berks"), a feast of scholarship and friendship (University of Rochester, New York, June 4–6, 1999). For further information on the Berkshire Conference, contact Barbara Winslow, 124 Park Place, Brooklyn, NY 11217. Regional conferences, such as the Women Historians of the Midwest complement "The Berks." The Organization of American Historians' annual meetings (San Francisco, April 17-20, 1997; Indianapolis, April 2-5, 1998); and the American Historical Association (Seattle, January 8-11, 1998; Washington, DC, January 7–10, 1999) also have sessions in women's history—places where current scholarship is freshly available.

Book Review

The National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History

by Polly Welts Kaufman

Polly Welts Kaufman in *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* presents an impressive array of women who have cared deeply about the national parks as national treasure to be enjoyed and protected. Kaufman, who teaches women's history at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, examines women travelers, mountain climbers, environmentalists, artists, park rangers, and many more women whose lives touched and were touched by the National Park Service. Moving through almost a century and a half, Kaufman discusses literally hundreds of women who contributed to the evolution of the National Park Service. Indeed, this is a book about many women's voices. *National Parks and the Woman's Voice A History* tells a previously untold story and in so doing makes available a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the history of the National Park Service.

Kaufman has viewed her topic through very broad lenses. Women who came into contact in any way with the National Park Service are pertinent to this undertaking. Kaufman describes the first party of women to climb Long's Peak and Mount Whitney and examines the lives of women botanists and anthropologists who were attracted to the wilderness life and culture. She chronicles the contributions of many 19th-century women writers and artists who were publicists for the national parks, describing and presenting the beauty and wonder of the natural landscape of the great parks of the American West.

The strength of this book is its accumulation of information about many women's lives that have been almost forgotten. Kaufman also identifies several themes and patterns that emerge as women express their distinctive concerns and make their special contributions. These themes include women's initial contact and experiences at various parks, women advocates for the parks, the way women were affected by the National Park Service's dual goals of protecting the parks and communicating with visitors, and the National Park Service's personnel policies toward women.

This study builds on several decades of research. In the acknowledgments, Kaufman notes that this book had its genesis in the work of Dorothy Boyle Huyck, who gathered primary sources and taped 140 oral interviews to examine both the opportunities and the problems women faced in the National Park Service. Following Dorothy Huyck's early death in 1979, Kaufman continued the project building on Huyck's resources which her family made available.

Kaufman notes that by the early-20th century women had moved beyond the role of observers to that of protectors when they believed places defining the nation's history or landscapes inspiring the country's spiritual well-being were in danger. Individual women as well as women's organizations, such as the Federation of Women's Clubs and the Garden Club of America, played a key role as advocates for the parks in all regions of the country.

As Kaufman examines the 19th century and the early-20th and late-20th century, she traces the changing perceptions by National Park Service leadership toward the spouse of employees. The earliest view was that western assignments were too dangerous and that "park wives" were not welcome at parks. Later, park superintendents shifted to a position that highly valued the unpaid wife and some superintendents felt that when the park hired a married man, it got "two for the price of one." She examines the careers of early women naturalists in the national parks in the 1920s and their setbacks as more male-oriented policies limited their options. As women entered Park Service careers in greater numbers in the 1960s and '70s, some postponed marriage for fear that it would deter their careers. However, by the end of the 20th century, women had gained sufficient stature in the Park Service to recommend that the administration address the long-standing issue of dual career couples.

A theme intertwined through much of the book is the National Park Service's transformation from its early military orientation to one of public communication. A key position in the National Park Service, the park ranger, had its roots in the cavalrymen riding the range to protect the cultural and natural resources from fire, poaching, and other kinds of potential harm. These early rangers lived fairly isolated lives. The gradual shift toward an emphasis on meeting the needs of visitors and offering educational programs provided an opening for women's talents

and skills. Women's professional advancement in the National Park Service paralleled the shift from the military ranger mode to that of the park as an outdoor classroom.

This is a pioneering study. Prior to this book, only a few women such as Mary Colter, who made significant architectural contributions to the Grand Canyon National Park, have been the subject of scholarly research. There had been no previous attempt to bring together the many facets of women's experiences and contributions to the National Park Service. But like all pioneering works, it touches on many individuals and themes that would profit from further exploration. Scholars and students of the National Park Service will find in this book a wealth of information, references to extensive primary sources and archives, as well as many leads for future research projects.

—Page Putnam Miller, Director
National Coordinating Committee
for the Promotion of History

Women's History National Historic Landmarks

Prudence Crandall House, Canterbury, CT
M. Carey Thomas Library, Bryn Mawr, PA
National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, DC
United Charities Building, New York, NY
Laura Ingalls Wilder House, Mansfield, MO
Sarah Orne Jewett House, South Berwick, ME
Wendover (Frontier Nursing Service Headquarters), Wendover, KY
New England Hospital for Women and Children, Roxbury, MA
Vassar College Observatory, Poughkeepsie, NY
Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Building (Brown Building), New York, NY
Madam C.J. Walker Manufacturing Company, Indianapolis, IN
Frances Perkins House, Washington, DC
Pine Mountain Settlement School, Bledsoe, KY
General Federation of Women's Clubs Headquarters, Washington, DC
Rachel Carson House, Silver Spring, MD
Mabel Dodge Luhan House, Taos, NM
Zora Neale Hurston House, Fort Pierce, FL
Pewabic Pottery, Detroit, MI
Paulsdale, Mt. Laural Township, NJ
Ivy Green (Helen Keller's Birthplace), Tuscumbia, AL
Ellen Swallow Richards House, Jamaica Plain, MA
Angelus Temple, Los Angeles, CA
New York Studio School of Drawing, Painting, & Sculpture, New York, NY
Andrews Methodist Episcopal Church, Grafton, WV
Atalaya and Brookgreen Gardens, Murrells Inlet, SC
Harriet Taylor Upton House, Warren, OH
Alice Austen House, Staten Island, NY
Kate Chopin House, Cloutierville, LA
Birdcraft Museum and Sanctuary, Fairfield, CT
Picotte Memorial Hospital, Walthill, NE
Ida Tarbell House, Easton, CT
Margaret Sanger Clinic, New York, NY
Marie Webster House, Marion, IN
Philadelphia School of Design for Women, Philadelphia, PA
Elmshaven (Ellen White House), St. Helena, CA
Race Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia, PA
New Century Guild, Philadelphia, PA
Lukens Historic District, Coatesville, PA

—Patricia Henry
NPS

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