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Introduction

by Antoinette J. Lee, Editor

One of the goals in developing *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* was to address the history and development of the cultural resource management field. To this end, our inaugural issue in the Fall 2003 included an article by Lisa Pfueller Davidson and Martin J. Perschler, "The Historic American Buildings Survey During the New Deal Era." This issue offers essays by Richard West Sellars on "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks 1863–1900" and Sissel Schroeder, "Reclaiming New Deal-Era Civic Archeology: Exploring the Legacy of William S. Webb and the Jonathan Creek Site." Both provide insights into how cultural resources were identified, documented, and managed in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Why should heritage professionals be interested in how historic places were preserved in the 19th and 20th centuries? What do long-established preservation programs and institutions have to tell us about heritage challenges today? The preservation field in the United States developed in the early years of nationhood and became integral to our nation's identity.

Why should heritage professionals be interested in how historic places were preserved in the 19th and 20th centuries? What do long-established preservation programs and institutions have to tell us about heritage challenges today? The preservation field in the United States developed in the early years of nationhood and became integral to our nation's identity. Many newcomers to the United States brought objects from the "old country," keepsakes of an earlier life that they hoped to meld into an American identity. Establishing new communities meant carving out places in their environment that reminded them of the familiar, whether using traditional construction methods or reproducing signage and decorative features from their previous lives. Preservation is a powerful human force that manifests itself throughout the nation's history.

For many years, the history of preservation was compressed into several major benchmarks. Among them were the preservation of Mount Vernon in the 1850s, the protection of Civil War battlefields starting while the battles were still raging, the Antiquities Act of 1906, the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, New Deal programs of the 1930s that supported preservation

and lifted the nation from the Great Depression, and the huge post-World War II public works projects that sparked a reaction in legislation like the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. These benchmarks are well established in preservation history, but new research has enlarged the picture of the evolution of the field. Preservation was actually much more complex and pervasive in the nation's history and is subject to new interpretations.

One of the revelations of probing deeper into preservation history is that nothing was as simple as it seemed. The preservation of well-known properties such as Mount Vernon was intricately tied to the lead-up to the Civil War. The preservation of Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial, was shaped by the painful aftermath of the war. The designations of historic districts, such as the Vieux Carré in New Orleans and Georgetown in Washington, DC, were as much responses to highway projects in the 1950s as they were reactions to popular appreciation of historic architecture. Understanding the important historic forces that shaped preservation achievements enhances the educational messages that historic properties convey today.

As the preservation field examines how projects and institutions took root and evolved, new dimensions will be uncovered. Cultural groups that formerly were omitted from the narrative are now becoming visible through new scholarship and perspectives. Preserved historic districts are now examined as products of neighborhood revitalization efforts and more than three decades of supportive tax policy. Individuals who reached iconic status for having "saved" a property in the 19th and early 20th centuries are now analyzed through the prism of the times during which they lived.

Beyond the immediate satisfaction of preserving thousands of historic places and other cultural expressions, preservationists should recognize that these achievements may endure for only a few decades before active preservation is needed again. We now know that preservation successes are actually an episode in a succession of such efforts. This stratification of activity requires that each phase be seen as part of a continuum and documented at each stage. Without documenting and analyzing the history of preservation, future decisions will be based on incomplete information.

CRM Journal readers will see more scholarly work on the nature and history of preservation. We will reflect on the "culture" of those who shaped the preservation and interpretation of historic places. Just as heritage professionals today may update the treatment and presentation of historic places, so too can we expect that future stewards will reconsider our decisions. Knowing what caused historic places to be preserved and understanding the larger social context of their re-creations will not only help us better decide what we should do today, but will also lay a strong foundation for future decisions.

Preserving Ranches: Not Only Possible, but Imperative

by Ekaterini Vlahos

It is not necessarily those lands that are the most fertile or most favored in climate that seem to me the happiest, but those in which a long struggle of adaptation between man and his environment has brought out the best qualities of both.
—T.S. Eliot in *After Strange Gods*

Silhouettes of cowboys and ranches nestled into vast panoramic landscapes are powerful icons of America's Western heritage. Traditional ranches are places where struggle and adaptation have etched themselves into the ground, weaving together culture, land, buildings, homes, and lives. Ranches exemplify where the natural and manmade have collided and grown together, forming a vernacular cultural landscape over generations.[1]

A ranch is much more than the buildings that dot its landscape. It is the ranching culture, the people, the land, and the built environment coming together. The cultural landscape of the American West is embodied in the ranch and its traditions. However, Western ranches are threatened by escalating property taxes, a lack of economic viability, estate taxes, urban sprawl, and deteriorating structures. Preserving the ranching culture and ranches of the American West is imperative if we are to reverse these threats.

What Defines Ranches of the American West?

Traditional ranches are a settlement form that is unique to the American West and reflect cultural traditions that influence the building forms and land use. They are generally characterized by large acreages and disproportionately small numbers of structures. Typically, the landscape is altered and the structures comprise reused, recycled, and relocated materials and buildings that support the necessities of the ranching way of life.

The ranch complex generally includes a main house, often the original homestead expanded over time; a bunkhouse for ranch hands; a barn; a blacksmith shop; garages and storage sheds; and small outbuildings such as a privy, meat house, icehouse, and a cabin in which a teacher might reside. Landscape features include corrals, fences, hay stackers, wells, hay meadows, and grazing land.(Figure 1)

Ranches in Colorado are excellent examples of vernacular settlements that

FIGURE 1
The outbuilding in the foreground was built in 1938-1939 by Jack Redmond and his father James to store ice that was harvested from the nearby creek. Ice was stored in sawdust in the building until the introduction of electricity and refrigeration in the nearby house. (Courtesy of the author)

reflect changing regional patterns in growth, economics, development, and agriculture. Many remain from the original homesteading claims, passed down through generations in families who continue to work the land.

Why Preserve Ranches?

As a cultural resource, ranches represent an important aspect of the West's history and early settlement patterns. They have evolved and developed as unique land-use systems. Ranching activities, the spatial organization of the ranch complex and its relationship to the land, cultural traditions, vernacular architecture, and circulation patterns for livestock and people, all exhibit the history of living off the land. Traditional ranches convey early settlers' efforts to build and shape the environment for a specific use in areas that were often considered remote and uninhabitable.

Ranches also have real value as healthy environments of biodiversity, open space, wildlife hubs, and aesthetics that are unique components of this region's identity. The ranch illustrates one of the more successful ways in which people in the West coexist with natural landscapes. With the passing of each ranch, we lose a piece of history, a link to our Western heritage, and a connection to the land that we often take for granted. We can preserve these cultural landscapes, either by protecting their economic viability or by setting them aside. Preservation of the ranching culture and ranches is not only possible; it is imperative.

Pressures on Ranchlands

The American Farmland Trust has identified approximately five million acres of threatened prime ranchland in Colorado. The properties include the largest tracts of private land surrounding Denver and Colorado Springs, which are

considered ideal places for accommodating urban growth. The potential loss of land to development is the greatest threat to the long-term feasibility of ranching in Colorado.

Until the last decade, Colorado's Front Range was a landscape dominated by traditional ranches. Today, the transfer of ownership from traditional ranchers has put pressure on the viability of ranches in the area.

Three main types of ownership changes are taking land out of the hands of the region's traditional ranchers. Different preservation models are emerging from each approach. The first type transfers ownership to an advocacy group that acquires ranchland to preserve the biodiversity and open space. The second type purchases ranchlands for natural resources and recreation by government agencies, such as the Colorado Department of Wildlife, the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, and individual counties. In the third type, private buyers purchase ranches for recreation and development purposes with little interest in the activity of ranching. The move away from ownership by traditional ranch families is forcing a notable alteration in the cultural landscape of the West. This shift affects not just the ranches themselves but also the people, culture, and the entire landscape of which ranches are an intrinsic part.

Ranching to Environmental Conservation

Ownership of several ranches has moved from traditional cattle ranchers to advocacy groups and nonprofit environmental organizations in recent years. These groups and organizations recognize that ranches are critically important for their landmass, biodiversity, and complex ecosystems. The Nature Conservancy alone has conserved in perpetuity over 100,000 acres of Colorado ranchland.

Transitioning ranchlands into the stewardship of advocacy groups generally affects one or more of the essential elements that define a ranch: the culture, the land, or the structures. More often than not, the transfer in ownership brings an alteration in the cultural landscape. A change in the type of livestock or its complete elimination transforms the vegetation, land use, and small-scale elements such as fencing and corrals that contribute to the ranches' identifiable landscape. In most cases, ranching is no longer the heart of the operation. The buildings are often vacated or adapted to uses that support the organization's mission. Even though ranch complexes are often historically significant and in many cases are listed in the state historic register or the National Register of Historic Places, they are generally viewed as separate from the land, often with easements around a ranch complex to separate the complex from the land-conservation component regardless of the entire context.

Efforts to conserve land for its biodiversity are commendable and essential for ecologically healthy landscapes. One way to achieve this goal is to preserve the way of life that has successfully protected natural communities, working with local ranchers to keep agricultural land economically productive and healthy. Oftentimes, however, the ranching culture that once dominated and influenced the region is no longer an integral part of the land use.

Ranching to Open Space and Recreation

In addition to advocacy groups, government agencies have an interest in ranchlands for their natural resources and recreation opportunities. In 1997, for example, approximately 7,000 acres of historic ranchland—11 percent of all privately held land in Lake County, Colorado—went on the market. The ranches and open space that surrounded this land were critical hubs for wildlife, with migration corridors, spawning beds, nesting sites, and foraging grounds for over 250 species. The land also encompassed scenic viewsheds, significant cultural resources, and recreation areas.

Lake County enlisted federal, state, and local agencies, and organizations that shared the common goals of public education, wildlife habitat protection, the stewardship of land and water resources for open space, historic preservation, smart growth, and outdoor recreation. Initial collaboration led to the formation of the Lake County Open Space Initiative. Through shared preservation efforts, natural resources in the county have been conserved and open space made available for public recreation for the first time.

Again, while commendable, this has led to the loss of the traditional ranch. The shift in the land use, including the removal of livestock and haying activities, will change the cultural landscape as the vegetation returns to its "natural" state. The historically significant ranch complex has been parceled off from the surrounding land and the buildings are vacant. New owners will eventually manage the ranch complex independent of the land use.

Efforts to conserve the ranch for its resources and recreational value, as well as to maintain critical open space, are significant and add to a county's or region's economic health. In addition, the creation of public recreational opportunities contributes to quality of life that drives job creation and population growth, all of which contributes to the county's economic health. However, the ranching culture that once dominated and influenced the region is no longer an integral part of the entire landscape. The ranches represent the county's bygone history. The cultural landscape will continue to evolve, unfortunately devoid of the central way of life that once defined the county or region.

Ranching and Preserving a Way of Life

In response to private buyers' purchasing ranches for recreation and development, grassroots preservation programs are forming throughout Colorado to save the traditional ranch from extinction. Participants come from a community of interested ranchers and local citizens whose goal is to protect rural areas and their way of life. The grassroots method has proven to be the most successful at truly preserving ranches. Participants are keenly aware of the importance of those who work the land, the evolving ranch culture, and the structures and buildings at the heart of the operation as integral to parts of the whole cultural landscape. In addition to preserving individual properties, there is an understanding of how each property fits into the entire agricultural context of the region. Although each individual ranch may not be considered significant for historical designation, as a collective whole, they represent the evolution and heritage of working ranches. The ranches tie together the buildings, the land, and the culture that identify a region.

The success of ranch preservation programs depends on partnerships among the ranchers, communities, local preservation groups, land trust organizations, and institutions of higher education. Communities that are threatened with the loss of their agricultural lands are prompted to evaluate current zoning, development and planning easements, estate taxes, and tax incentives. Partnerships, zoning, and tax strategies can help families keep agricultural lands in production.

Through the University of Colorado at Denver, graduates students in architecture, landscape architecture, and planning are engaged in hands-on preservation processes, helping ranchers and property owners with surveys and inventories. The surveys are used for nominating properties for historical recognition, completing historic structure assessments, documenting ranch complexes, writing grant proposals, securing preservation easements, and researching tax and other incentives.(Figure 2)

The grassroots programs are incentive-based and allow owners to select options that best suit their needs. The programs ultimately allow for local historical designation of as many ranch properties as possible. For many rural areas, obtaining the information needed to determine the viability of preserving ranchlands is difficult and costly. Grassroots programs ease those burdens of such costs and provide property owners with options and information that can help preserve their ranches for future generations.

The Necessity of Western Ranches, Preservation, and Understanding

The preservation, reuse, and interpretation of ranches by advocacy groups and government agencies help in building public awareness of the history of these

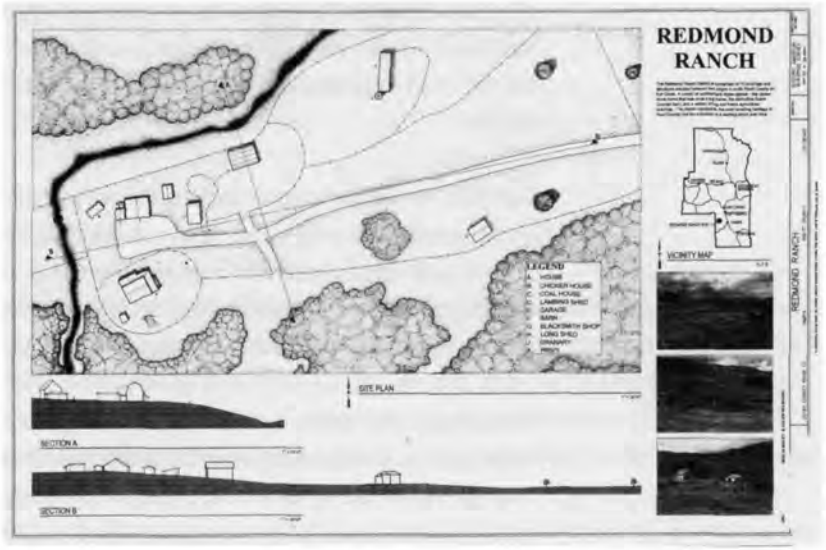

FIGURE 2
The Redmond Ranch District is comprised of 13 buildings and structures, including a variety of architectural styles from a Queen Anne residence to a Dutch Colonial barn. The drawing was developed by graduate students Brian Higgins, Merlin Maley, and Galen Nourjian as part of an architectural studio course taught by the author. (Courtesy of the author)

FIGURE 3
"The Redmond Ranch is a significant property for the ranching community in Northwestern Colorado. This family-owned ranch is a reflection of the early agricultural development of South Routt County. The ranch serves as a representation of the significant role that high country farming and ranching played in the development of the region. The Redmond Ranch individually serves as a metaphor for and exemplifies agriculture in Routt County through the homesteading and settlement period, during the agricultural activity in the 1920s, and the continuation of the ranching life-style in the area. The Redmond Ranch, more than any other community ranch, tells the story of agriculture in South Routt County and the varied range of activities that occurred on the site. The Redmond family is planning conservation easements, and have completed architectural inventory surveys, HABS drawings, and historic structural assessment and historic designation at the local and state register of historic places."—Laureen Schaffer, Redmond Ranch Nomination, Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. (Courtesy of the author)

rural sites. However, the methods used by these groups—the purchase of the ranchlands for biodiversity, open space, and recreation—preserve the lands, but fall short of preserving a seamless cultural landscape and a living ranching culture.

Carrying on the traditional ranching way of life will have the greatest impact on preserving this vernacular cultural landscape. Those who created and still occupy traditional ranches take pride in their way of life, recognize the threats, and are beginning to demand active roles in the preservation and management of their lands, many of which are ultimately historic properties.(Figure 3)

Preserving ranch complexes or single buildings as artifacts, devoid of landscape context and culture, is not a suitable preservation approach for Western ranches. Preservation must be broadened to understand the dynamic nature of ranches and to embrace change of culture, structures, and land as essential components to preserving the ranch. The rancher and ranch play a major role in this landscape evolution, making it essential to plan for the protection and management of the ranches, and to understand the significance of this culture—how it impacts our landscapes and informs our future in the West. As ranching landscapes are altered, as ranches change ownership, and as ranching culture evolves and in many cases disappears, such changes begin to redefine the landscape of the American West.

Ekaterini Vlahos is a professor of architecture at the College of Architecture and Planning, University of Colorado, Denver. She can be reached at k.vlahos @comcast.net or ekaterine@stripe.colorado.edu.

Note

1. I would like to acknowledge the organizations throughout Colorado with which I have had the privilege to work in addressing issues of ranch preservation. In a collaborative effort with South Routt County, my students, the community, ranchers, ranchers on the Barn's Etc. board, and historic preservation professionals between 2000 and 2004, 12 ranches have received local historical designation, 2 have received state designation, 8 have been documented to Historic American Buildings Survey standards, and approximately 80 ranches have been surveyed. This is testament to the success of the grassroots method of preservation. (See also Ekaterini Vlahos, "Documenting and Saving the Historic Ranches of Colorado" *Vineyard: An Occasional Record of the National Park Service Historic Landscapes Initiative* III, issue 1, [2001]: 9-12.) I would also like to acknowledge the Nature Conservancy and partners for their work on the Medano-Zapata Ranch, which has been invaluable to the conservation of over 100,000 acres of ranchlands in Colorado, and for their ongoing efforts to support the ranching culture and preservation of the vernacular architecture of the area. Lastly, I have had the opportunity to work with several government agencies to develop collaborative efforts for the transfer of ownership and preservation of key ranchlands. All of these groups have been invaluable to the development of my research on preservation issues in the West and the study of vernacular ranch settlements in Colorado.

An Interview with Dorn C. McGrath, Jr.

Dorn C. McGrath, Jr.

Dorn C. McGrath, Jr., FAICP, is an urban and regional planner whose academic and professional career influenced a generation of preservation planning practitioners. He grew up in Bradford, Pennsylvania, and received his undergraduate degree in architecture from Dartmouth College and a master's degree in city planning from Harvard University. He began his planning career in the late 1950s as a consultant in urban renewal and city and transportation planning in New England. Between 1964 and 1968, he directed offices of the federal Urban Renewal Administration and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. From 1968 to 1984, he served as chairman of the department of urban and regional planning at George Washington University. Today, McGrath is a preservation planning consultant. Constance Werner Ramirez, director of the Federal Preservation Institute, National Park Service, and Antoinette J. Lee, CRM Journal *editor, interviewed McGrath at his Washington, DC, home on September 15, 2004.*

Q: Please tell us about your family, where you grew up, and early influences that led you toward a career in planning and historic preservation.

A: I was born in Bradford in the northern part of Pennsylvania, near the border with New York State. Buffalo was the closest big city. At that time, Bradford was a city of 18,000 people and, at its prime, a center of the oil industry. My family was in the oil business. I became interested in architecture and planning at an early age. My family lived across the street from an architect, who graduated from Carnegie Technological University, studied at the Sorbonne, and operated an architectural office out of his home. I did drafting work for him in 1953 when he was designing the new headquarters building for the Zippo Manufacturing Company, which produced cigarette lighters. I remember designing a spiral staircase that led from the executive suite to the lobby. After working with him on detail drawings that he prepared from 1931 through 1935, while he was awaiting the end of the Great Depression on a Nebraska farm, I decided that I did not want to do detailed architectural work. I was more interested in broader issues.

Q: Tell us where you went to college and planning school. Who were influential professors?

A: My high school principal instructed me to fill out an application for Dartmouth College, which I did, even though I had been approached by a

scout for the Brooklyn Dodgers baseball team. At Dartmouth, I managed to play varsity baseball, but I also studied design with Theodore and Peggy Hunter and architectural history with Hugh Morrison. My teachers were scholars with strong ties to New England traditions. Professor Morrison encouraged me to continue my studies at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design.

I began my studies in city planning at Harvard in 1952. At that time, professors were interested in architecture, landscape architecture, and urban planning and did not view them as separate disciplines. At Harvard, there was an assumed respect for historic buildings. I studied at Harvard for only one year and left because of financial problems and the likelihood of being drafted. I was advised to enlist in the Navy, which I did.

Q: Tell us about your experience in the military and the travel you did while in the service. What influence did some of the locations, such as Spain, have on your thinking about planning and older cities?

A: I served on active duty in the Navy for four years. In 1953, I entered officers' candidate school in Newport, Rhode Island. After I was commissioned as a Seabee officer, I was sent to the West Coast to study military engineering. I served with the Seabees in Little Creek, Virginia, in Puerto Rico, and in Central America. In 1955, I went to Spain to become assistant to an admiral who was responsible for the construction of Air Force and Navy facilities there. I helped the admiral with negotiations for the new bases and later worked on several projects. Because I had learned Spanish in college and then worked to develop fluency while in Puerto Rico, I was relied upon for many matters. While in Spain, I traveled throughout the country with the admiral and helped to negotiate many agreements, including the rights to land for major construction projects and ammunition storage. People often ask whether I was "stationed at Rota Naval Base near Cádiz." No, actually, I was on the ground floor for *building* Rota!

In Spain, most planning was centralized in Madrid. At that time, there were no local planning authorities. Spanish architects and planners were better trained than those in the United States and had a better sense of their country's historic legacy.

My duties in Spain gave me the opportunity to travel throughout the country, and I was able to study the centuries-old legacy of Spanish architecture and town-building. Toledo, Sevilla, Segovia, Barcelona, Cartagena, Zaragoza, Mérida, Vigo, El Escoriál, San Sebastián, Aranjuéz, and Cádiz—all provided lessons in the rich heritage of a charming country. I was also a skier, and through strange circumstances, I became a stockholder in the chairlift in the Sierra de Guadarrama just west of Madrid! The stock is worthless now, alas.

My Navy duties also took me to Germany, France, and England, where I learned still more about European architecture. I was impressed especially by the frugality of most European countries, where land is relatively scarce, and by their attention to the environmental aspects of development. Europe provided a sharp contrast with the United States, where the easy availability of land and the automobile was contributing so heavily to the postwar process of sprawl.

After leaving the Navy, I returned to Harvard University where I completed my master's degree in city planning in 1959. One of my most influential professors at Harvard, whom I served for a year as his graduate assistant, was Charles Eliot, II. Professor Eliot was a noted preservationist and made major contributions to preservation law in Massachusetts. After graduating, I taught at Harvard for four years while working for a planning firm in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Q: Tell us about your early planning jobs—where were these jobs and what did you do?

In my early planning career, I was a partner in a firm that I helped to found, the Planning Services Group, and worked with clients throughout New England in cities such as Gloucester, South Hadley, Holyoke, Arlington, and Plymouth, all in Massachusetts. These towns were historic and needed comprehensive plans in order to qualify for federal grant funds for housing and urban renewal projects.

I was able to assert my interest in historic buildings in the first urban renewal project undertaken in Gloucester, Massachusetts. I was the planner for the project. It turned out that the historic Fitzhugh Lane House, once the home and studio of the now-famous luminist painter, stood on a knoll of solid rock in the middle of the urban renewal area. It was built of stout granite blocks and had seven gables. My impulse was to retain the building and the knoll as a historic site from which visitors might view the very interesting activity of a working waterfront. Local officials, however, thought that the city would be better served by demolishing both in order to create a parking lot. I managed to convince the city council that a rock-bound parking lot would cost too much to build and produce little benefit, and they voted to save the house and restore it. It stands there today as a tourist attraction and information center.

After passage of the Housing Act of 1954, rehabilitation and open space acquisition, as well as demolition, were permitted in urban renewal projects using federal funds. This was well beyond the limitations of the Housing Act of 1949 that focused primarily on demolition and clearance. Thus, my clients were interested in historic preservation plans that reflected their New England heritage. It is a misunderstanding of the evolution of planning in the post-World

War II years that urban renewal—a term that entered the language of the law only in 1953—meant tearing everything down. It never did. Not only could federal funds be used for preservation of buildings and structures but, after 1965, federal funds also could be used to relocate historic buildings within urban renewal projects.

I recall that after I had assumed the role of director of the planning and engineering branch of the Urban Renewal Administration in Washington, the agency was approached by an indignant citizen protesting the probable demolition of a historic house, the Bishop House, in the Plymouth, Massachusetts, urban renewal area. Oddly enough, I had written into the plan for that project a provision for relocating the same structure to a safe place across a street that had to be widened. The provision, however, required U.S. Congressional approval, and we were hoping for the best when I left Cambridge for Washington, DC. Happily, the protesting citizen knew Senator Ted Kennedy quite well, and the next day, she presented to the Senator the proposed legislation, which I drafted, to enable the use of federal funds for building relocation. It was adopted in 1965 and has been the law of the land ever since. The house was moved across Summer Street and stands there today. Without that citizen's indignant intervention, this important change in the law allowing for federal funds to be used for relocating historic buildings probably would not have come to pass.

Q: When did you take the job at the Urban Renewal Administration? What was the agency's track record on urban renewal? How was it evolving at the time that you arrived?

A: I left private practice because William Slayton, head of the Urban Renewal Administration, invited me to join his staff. In 1964, I arrived in Washington, DC, to become an advisor to Slayton and shortly thereafter became director of the planning and engineering branch. All of the agency's responsibilities for historic preservation were focused in my office, and I was fortunate to have Constance Werner Ramirez on my staff. Together, we published *Preserving Historic America*, which became a well-known reference for local public agencies and avid historic preservationists. Later, I was appointed as the first director of the metropolitan planning and analysis division in the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, which was established in 1966.

Through our Washington office and HUD's seven regional offices, highly qualified professional planners advised communities nationwide on the comprehensive planning grant program, established under Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, and the department's urban renewal program. We worked with communities to help them use federal funds for historic preservation planning and rehabilitation. Many local governments made good

use of federal funds for historic preservation—in New Bedford, Plymouth, and Gloucester, Massachusetts, and in numerous other cities throughout the country.

During this critical period, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was passed and implemented. I met all of the early figures in the National Park Service, including Ernest Allen Connally, later head of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. Through my office at the Urban Renewal Administration, I established the first Planning Advisory Service Team (PAST) to deal with an apparent preservation problem in Salem, Massachusetts. Connally, then a professor of architectural history at the University of Illinois, chaired that first PAST group. Many preservationists were slow to realize that HUD funds could be used to rehabilitate historic buildings. Carl Feiss, George Marcou, and other early preservationists realized this potential and used federal funds to study some important buildings and places.

Major preservation projects that HUD supported during the 1960s included the historical and architectural survey of the Vieux Carré in New Orleans. A highway was planned for the top of the levee on the river side of the city's historic Lafayette Square. Initially, planner Carl Feiss did not have sufficient funds to complete the transportation aspects of the Vieux Carré survey. I negotiated with Louisiana highway officials to provide funds from the Urban Renewal Administration's historic preservation demonstration grant program, and within 65 days, the proposed offensive highway was "de-mapped" by Hubert Humphrey, then Vice President of the United States. Earlier, in 1959, HUD supported the preservation demonstration project in the College Hill section of Providence, Rhode Island. As you know, both the Vieux Carré and College Hill studies resulted in classic preservation projects of the era.

The support that HUD provided to historic preservation projects nationwide came to an end in 1974 when the Nixon administration replaced categorical grants with block grants. The dialogue between HUD planners and local government over planning and preservation issues came to a close.

Other projects in which we invested urban renewal funds included the preservation of Gadsby's Tavern in Alexandria, Virginia, and the old Custom House in Monterey, California. For the Custom House renewal area, we convinced officials to depress the new highway under the buildings and underwrote the cost with urban renewal funds. Through a series of seminars held throughout the United States, including Puerto Rico, we discussed what was or was not eligible for HUD funding so that local governments would see how flexible these funds were.

The support that HUD provided to historic preservation projects nationwide came to an end in 1974 when the Nixon administration replaced categorical grants with block grants. The dialogue between HUD planners and local government over planning and preservation issues came to a close.

Q: Why did you decide to move to George Washington University and establish the department of urban and regional planning?

A: In 1968, the dean of the School of Government and Business Administration invited me to serve on an advisory committee and make recommendations on their graduate planning program. I recommended that the program be shut down because it was not an independent department, the entire faculty was part-time, and the program therefore could not be accredited. As a result of my advice—and to my surprise—I was asked to "do it right" and was offered the job as chairman of the new graduate-level department of urban and regional planning. I decided to leave HUD and take this position. I wanted to provide the kind of planning education that would turn out good planners. The program required 60 hours of course work, including two planning studio courses and a master's thesis. This was more strenuous than many other planning degree programs of the time.

Q: What were some of the early projects that the urban and regional planning program undertook that demonstrated the connection between planning and preservation at George Washington University?

A: Soon after I arrived at George Washington University, I met John Kinard, director of the Smithsonian Institution's Anacostia Neighborhood Museum. He invited the faculty and students to visit the historic Anacostia neighborhood and assist with the planning for its preservation. We worked in Anacostia for nearly 22 years. We prepared and helped the District of Columbia City Council adopt the city's first Small Area Plan in 1984—a plan for historic Old Anacostia. For five years, our faculty and students taught a course at Kramer Junior High School at the invitation of the principal and faculty there. We taught the students about preservation laws and the protection of historic districts, and, most importantly, how to look at the assets of their neighborhood.

The needs of the city of Washington fit in well with how I envisioned the planning degree program; the city and surrounding communities offered many opportunities for graduate students to receive a rigorous education in planning and to incorporate historic preservation in project plans. The program was a plus for the city and for the community.

Q: Who were some of the faculty that contributed to the historic preservation focus of the planning program at George Washington University?

A: From the beginning, historic preservation was an important component of the university's planning curriculum. Initially three departments—urban and regional planning, American studies, and history—supported the historic preservation degree program. This cooperative, multidisciplinary arrangement allowed us to tap into a wide range of faculty talent. An easy relationship among the departments and the two larger schools—the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences and the School of Government and Business Administration—allowed students to take courses leading to several different master's degrees.

Frederick Gutheim, a well-known urban planner and architectural critic in Washington, DC, became the first director of the graduate program in historic preservation in 1975. Gutheim and his successor, John Pearce, and the current program director, Richard Longstreth, were important contributors to this effort.

Q: What are some of the highlights of your international career?

A: One of my important involvements in the international sphere happened when we invited the former president of Peru, Fernando Belaúnde Terry, to teach in the planning program. Belaúnde was a practicing architect and former dean of Perú's leading school of architecture; he served as president of his country from 1964 to 1968. After he left Peru, exiled by a military junta, he taught at Harvard and Columbia. At George Washington University, he taught housing and planning for five years, until his exile was lifted in December 1976. A measure of the late Belaúnde was the fact that he declined to return to Peru immediately, insisting that he had classes to teach in the spring!

In 1977, Belaúnde invited an international group of scholars, planners, and architects to Peru to develop a successor document to the 1933 Charter of Athens. I was privileged to be one of the invited participants. The resulting Charter of Machu Picchu of 1977 was translated into more than 20 languages and has been adopted by the International Union of Architects, first in Mexico in 1978, then in Warsaw in 1981, and later in Barcelona and Bucharest. Thus it became a major element of several international charters. The Charter of Machu Picchu is a statement of the importance of historic preservation and ecology as fundamental elements of any urban planning activity.

The document became very influential as a statement of design and planning principles overseas, but it had relatively little effect in most architectural schools in the United States except for Harvard, where José Luis Sert was dean of the Graduate School of Design. Sert had been involved in the seminal 1933 document, the Charter of Athens, and therefore he understood how important it was in shaping the practice of post-World War II architecture and planning.

During the late 1970s and the mid-1980s, I oversaw and conducted a number of training programs for Spanish planners and architects. These were funded by HUD through the National Science Foundation pursuant to an agreement between HUD and the Spanish Ministry of Housing. Planning responsibilities in Spain were devolving to the local level, but Spain had no planners or architects properly trained to serve cities other than Madrid. More than 50 Spanish architects, planners, and economists participated in these programs, and several hold prominent positions in the Spanish government and in private practice today.

Q: What has been the legacy of George Washington University's urban and regional planning program?

A: After I stepped down from the chairmanship of the department of urban and regional planning, I became director of the Institute for Urban Environmental Research at the university and continued in this position until my retirement in 2003. In 1987, the university sought to reclaim the planning program's classroom space for new programs, and the focus of urban and regional planning shifted to real estate. The real estate/development program was terminated by the university two years later. Since that time, the university has had no program in urban and regional planning. In 1996, in addition to directing the research institute, I became chairman of the geography department and offered the university's only courses in urban planning.

I still consider planning to be essential for effective historic preservation. Planners need to have design abilities and need to be able to illustrate alternatives if they are to have any serious influence over development projects. They should learn more than policy.

Over the 16 years of the urban and regional planning program, more than 300 graduates earned the master of urban planning degree. All were well-grounded in both planning and preservation. Many of them are now working in local government planning and preservation agencies and in private firms around the country.

Q: Do you still recommend a planning background if people want to have preservation careers?

A: Yes, definitely. I still consider planning to be essential for effective historic preservation. Planners need to have design abilities and need to be able to illustrate alternatives if they are to have any serious influence over development projects. They should learn more than policy. Planning needs to be much more than administering bureaucratic processes if it is to influence the course

of development in a community. I recommend that prospective planners get a solid education in both urban design and planning.

It has been said often that any city planner needs to form a strong alliance with the city attorney. I feel strongly that any would-be preservationist also needs to form a strong alliance with the city's planner. Both planner and preservationist are likely to have open minds and they can learn from each other. Alone, each may be little more than a *vox clamantis in deserto* [the voice of one crying in the wilderness].

Young people should remember that most states now have well-seasoned laws that require urban planning of their municipalities and that all have State Historic Preservation Officers. These are part of the legacy of the past 50 years. This legacy is there to be interpreted and refined as conditions change. History needs interpretation, and together the well-trained planner and the well-trained preservationist can be a powerful combination for an enlightened society.

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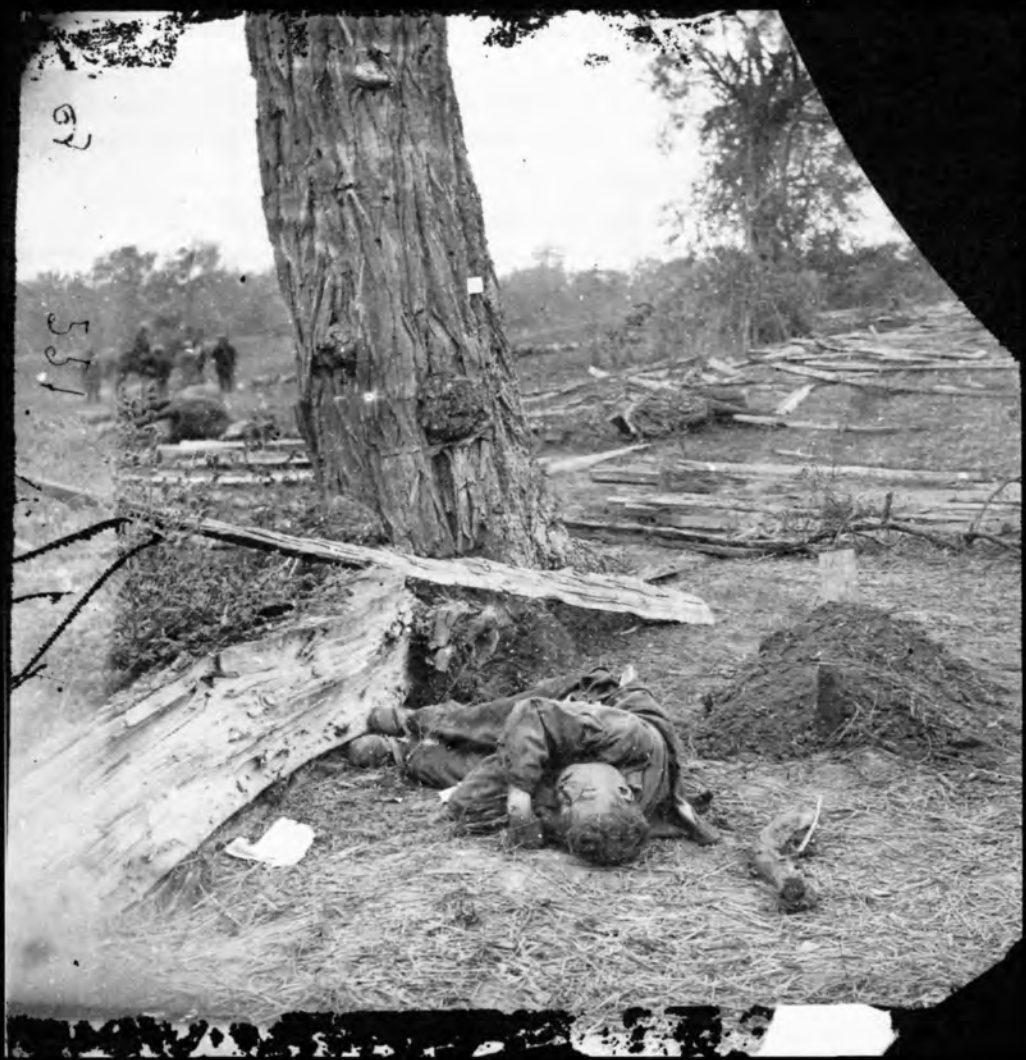

Since war takes place outdoors
and always within nature,
its symbolic status is that of
the ultimate anti-pastoral.

—Paul Fussell

Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900

by Richard West Sellars

Today, well over a century after the Civil War ended in 1865, it is difficult to imagine the battlefields of Antietam, Vicksburg, Shiloh, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga had they been neglected, instead of preserved as military parks. As compelling historic landscapes of great natural beauty and public interest, these early military parks (established by Congress in the 1890s and transferred from the United States War Department to the National Park Service in 1933) have been familiar to generations of Americans. Their status as preserved parks is far different from what would have ensued had they been left to the whims and fluctuations of local economics and developmental sprawl, with only a military cemetery and perhaps one or two monuments nearby. Certainly, had these battlefields not been protected, the battles themselves would still have been intensively remembered, analyzed, and debated in countless history books, classrooms, living rooms, barrooms, and other venues. But there would have been little, if any, protected land or contemplative space in which to tell the public that these are the fields upon which horrific combat occurred—battles that bore directly on the perpetuation of the nation as a whole, and on the very nature of human rights in America.

FIGURE 1 (OPPOSITE)
Following the bloodiest day of the Civil War, September 17, 1862, at Antietam, the Confederate army retreated across the Potomac River with little time to bury its dead, including this young Southerner who lies beside the fresh grave of a Union officer in a Maryland landscape laid waste by battle. (Courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

Yet in the final decade of the 19th century, Congress mandated that these battlefields be set aside as military parks to be preserved for the American public. The sites became major icons of the nation's historic past, to which millions of people have traveled, many as pilgrims, and many making repeated visits—ritualistic treks to hallowed shrines. How, then, did these battlefields, among the most important of the Civil War, become the nation's first national military parks?

Gettysburg and the Stratigraphy of History

For the first three days of July 1863, more than 170,000 soldiers of the United States Army (the Union army) and the Confederacy fought a bloody and decisive battle around the town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, ending with a Union victory and with more than 51,000 killed, wounded, and missing. Later that month, less than three weeks after the battle, David McConaughy, a local attorney, began efforts to buy small segments of the battlefield, where grim evidence of combat still lay on the devastated landscape, and the stench of death from both soldiers and horses remained in the air. A long-time resident and civic leader in Gettysburg, McConaughy was seeking to preserve the sites and

protect them from possible desecration and land speculation prompted by the intense interest in the battle. He also acquired a small segment of the battleground that seemed appropriate as a burial site for those soldiers of the Union army whose bodies would not be carried back to their home towns or buried elsewhere. The plan to establish a military cemetery simultaneously gained support from other influential individuals and would soon meet with success. But it was McConaughy who took the initial step that would ultimately lead to preserving extensive portions of the battlefield specifically for their historical significance.

McConaughy later recalled that this idea had come to him "immediately after the battle." And as early as July 25, he wrote to Pennsylvania governor Andrew Curtin, declaring his intentions. He recommended entrusting the battlefield to the public: that the citizens of Pennsylvania should purchase it so that "they may participate in the tenure of the sacred grounds of the Battlefield, by contributing to its actual cost." By then, McConaughy had secured agreements to buy portions of renowned combat sites such as Little Round Top and Culp's Hill. In August, he led in the creation of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association to oversee the acquisition and protection of the battleground. (He would later sell the lands he had purchased to the cemetery and to the Memorial Association, at no personal profit.) Also in August, he reiterated what he had told Governor Curtin, that there could be "no more fitting and expressive memorial of the heroic valor and signal triumphs of our army...than the battlefield itself, with its natural and artificial defen[s]es, preserved and perpetuated in the exact form and condition they presented during the battle."[1] David McConaughy's decisive response to the battle was pivotal: It marked the pioneer effort in the long and complex history of the preservation of America's Civil War battlefields that has continued through the many decades since July 1863.

With the support of the State of Pennsylvania, the Memorial Association's purchase of battlefield lands got under way, albeit slowly. Acquisition of land specifically intended for the military cemetery continued as well, beyond what McConaughy had originally purchased for that purpose. At Gettysburg, despite the carnage and chaotic disarray on the battlefield after the fighting ended, care for the dead and wounded could be handled with relatively moderate disruption and delay, given the Confederate army's retreat south. Re-burial of Union soldiers' bodies lying in scattered, temporary graves began by late October in the military cemetery. And on November 19, President Abraham Lincoln gave his dedication speech for the new cemetery.

Surely the most famous public address in American history, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address became the symbolic touchstone for the remarkable succession of commemorative activities that would follow at the battlefield. In his brief comments, Lincoln stated what he believed to be an "altogether fitting

and proper" response of the living: to dedicate a portion of the battlefield as a burying ground for the soldiers who sacrificed their lives at Gettysburg to preserve the nation. Lincoln then added, "But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract."[2] Yet in attending the dedication and giving his address, Lincoln himself participated in—and helped initiate—a new era of history at the battlefield, one in which both his and future generations would perpetuate the dedication, consecration, and hallowedness of the site.

The history of the Battle of Gettysburg differs from the history of Gettysburg Battlefield. The first is military history—the cataclysmic battle itself, when Union forces thwarted the Southern invasion of Northern territory in south-central Pennsylvania. The second—the complex array of activities that have taken place on the battlefield in the long aftermath of the fighting—is largely commemorative history: this country's efforts to perpetuate and strengthen the national remembrance of Gettysburg, including McConaughy's preservation endeavors, the cemetery dedication, and Lincoln's address. After dedication of the cemetery, the nation's response to the battle continued, through such efforts as acquiring greater portions of the field of battle, holding veterans' reunions and encampments, erecting monuments, and preserving and interpreting the battlefield for the American people. Most of these activities have continued into the 21st century.

In the deep "stratigraphy" of history at Gettysburg Battlefield—decade after decade, layer after layer, of commemorative activity recurring at this renowned place—no other single event holds greater significance than Lincoln's address contemplating the meaning of the Battle of Gettysburg and of the Civil War. And in April 1864—well before the war ended—commemoration at the battlefield was further sanctioned when the State of Pennsylvania granted a charter to the already established Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association to oversee and care for the field of battle. The charter's declaration "to hold and preserve the battle-grounds of Gettysburg...with the natural and artificial defenses, as they were at the time of said battle," and to perpetuate remembrance of the battle through "such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect" very much reflected McConaughy's own convictions, as stated the previous summer.[3] The act chartering the nonprofit Memorial Association and authorizing its acquisition, preservation, and memorialization of the battlefield was passed in a remarkably short period of time—about 10 months after the battle itself. It set a course toward common, nonprofit ownership of the battlefield for patriotic inspiration and education.

Moreover, as battlefield commemoration evolved, the town of Gettysburg prospered economically from the public's increasing desire to visit the site. Almost immediately after the fighting ended, the hundreds of people who

poured into the area to seek missing relatives or assist with the wounded and dead created further chaos in and around the town. But many who came were simply curious about the suddenly famous battlefield, and their visits initiated a rudimentary tourism that would evolve and greatly increase over the years. As soon as they could, entrepreneurs from Gettysburg and elsewhere began to profit from the crowds, marketing such necessities as room and board, in addition to selling guided tours, battlefield relics, and other souvenirs. Gettysburg's tourism would expand in the years after the war, secured by the fame of the battlefield, but also re-enforced by such added attractions as new hotels, a spa, and a large amusement area known as Round Top Park. African American tourists joined the crowds at Gettysburg beginning in the 1880s. And improved rail service to Gettysburg in 1884 greatly enhanced access from both the North and South, further increasing tourism. One guidebook estimated that 150,000 visitors came in the first two years after the new rail service began.[4]

Located in Pennsylvania, far from the main theaters of war, and the site of a critical and dramatic Union victory that repulsed the invasion of the North by the Confederate forces under General Robert E. Lee, the battlefield at Gettysburg clearly had the potential to inspire creation of a shrine to the valor and sacrifices of Union troops. The conditions were just right: Gettysburg quickly emerged as a hallowed landscape for the North, as it ultimately would for the nation as a whole.(Figure 2) In the beginning, the commemoration at Gettysburg was strictly limited to recognizing the Northern victory by preserving only Union battle lines and key positions. It was of course unthinkable to preserve battle positions of the Rebel army, with whom war was still raging.

FIGURE 2:
Among the hundreds of monuments at Gettysburg, these stand near the Copse of Trees on the right–the apex of the famed Pickett's Charge, the Confederate assault against massed Union forces on the final day of the battle. This site, long known as the "High Water Mark of the Confederacy," is shown in a ca. 1913 image. (Courtesy of Gettysburg National Military Park)

The Memorial Association's many commemorative activities would provide a singularly important example for other Civil War battlefields, as thousands of veterans backed by their national, state, and local organizations would, especially in the 1890s, initiate similar efforts to preserve sites of other major engagements. By that time, the North and South were gradually reconciling their differences in the aftermath of a bitter and bloody war that took the lives of more than 600,000 combatants. This growing sectional harmony brought about greater injustice against former slaves. But with reconciliation underway, the South would join in the battlefield commemoration.

The Civil War remains perhaps the most compelling episode in American history, but especially during the latter decades of the 19th century it was an overwhelmingly dominant historical presence that deeply impacted the lives and thoughts of millions of Americans. In the century's last decade, Congress responded to pressure from veterans and their many supporters, both North and South, by establishing five military parks and placing them under War Department administration for preservation and memorialization—actions

intended to serve the greater public interest. Known also as battlefield parks, these areas included Chickamauga and Chattanooga (administratively combined by the congressional legislation), in Georgia and Tennessee, in 1890; Antietam, near the village of Sharpsburg, Maryland, also in 1890; Shiloh, in southwestern Tennessee, in 1894; Gettysburg, transferred from the Memorial Association to the Federal Government in 1895; and Vicksburg, in Mississippi, in 1899.[5] Of these battlefields set aside for commemorative preservation, the South had won only at Chickamauga.

...the efforts to preserve the first five Civil War military parks constituted by far the most intensive and widespread historic preservation activity in the United States through the 19th century.

Beginning at Gettysburg even during the war and rapidly accelerating in the 1890s, the efforts to preserve the first five Civil War military parks constituted by far the most intensive and widespread historic preservation activity in the United States through the 19th century. The battlefield parks substantially broadened the scope of preservation.

Background: Pre-Civil War Preservation Endeavors

The event in American history prior to the Civil War that had the most potential to inspire the preservation of historic places was the American Revolution. Yet, between the Revolution and the Civil War, historic site preservation in America was limited and sporadic. The efforts that were made focused principally on the Revolution and its heroes, but also on the early national period. Even with a growing railway system, poor highways and roads still hindered travel; thus, for most Americans, commemoration of historic sites was mainly a local activity.

Celebrations of historic events and persons (especially at the countless gatherings held on the Fourth of July) included parades, patriotic speeches, and, at times, the dedication of monuments in cities and towns. It is significant also that the Federal Government—which was far less powerful than it would become during and after the Civil War—was uncertain about the need for, and the constitutionality of, preserving historic sites or erecting monuments in the new republic at government expense. It therefore restricted its involvement, leaving most proposals to state or local entities, whether public or private. The State of Pennsylvania, for example, had plans to demolish Independence Hall—where the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were debated and drawn up—to make way for new construction. But the City of Philadelphia (the local, not the national government) interceded in 1818 and purchased the building and its grounds out of patriotic concern.

During the 19th century, George Washington, revered hero of the Revolution and first president of the United States, received extraordinary public acclaim, which resulted in the preservation of sites associated with his life and career. In 1850, following extended negotiations, the State of New York established as a historic-house museum the Hasbrouck House in the lower Hudson Valley—General Washington's headquarters during the latter part of the war. Mount Vernon, Washington's home along the Potomac River and the most famous site associated with his personal life, became the property of a private organization, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. Ann Pamela Cunningham, a determined Charlestonian, founded the Association in 1853 to gain nationwide support to purchase this site, which was accomplished in 1858. The Ladies' Association's success with Mount Vernon ranks as the nation's most notable historic preservation effort in the antebellum era.[6]

Among the efforts of pre-Civil War Americans to commemorate their history, erecting monuments to honor and preserve the memory of important events and persons was at times viewed as being a more suitable alternative than acquiring and maintaining a historic building and its surrounding lands. Only a few days after the defeat of the British army at Yorktown in October 1781, the Continental Congress passed a motion calling for a monument to be built on the Yorktown battle site to commemorate the French alliance with the colonies and the American victory over the British. The Congress, however, being very short of funds and focusing on the post-Revolutionary War situation, did not appropriate monies for the monument. Interest eventually waned, and construction did not get under way until a century later, with the laying of the cornerstone for the Yorktown Victory Monument during the centennial celebration in 1881. The tall, ornate granite monument was completed three years later. The effort to erect a monument to commemorate the 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill, in the Boston area, was not begun until shortly before the 50th anniversary of the battle, but unlike Yorktown it did not have to wait a century for completion. Only two years after the 1823 founding of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to spearhead the project, the cornerstone was laid by the aging Marquis de Lafayette, esteemed French hero of the American Revolution. Delayed by funding shortages and other factors, completion of the monument came in 1843. Construction of the Washington Monument in the nation's capital also encountered lengthy delays, including the Civil War. Begun in 1848, the giant obelisk was not completed until 1885.[7]

These and other commemorative activities did not reflect any intense interest on the part of 19th-century Americans in the physical preservation and commemoration of historic sites. Only after extended delays were the efforts with the Yorktown and Washington monuments successful. The lengthy struggle in Boston to preserve the home of John Hancock, the revered patriot and signer of the Declaration of Independence, failed, and the building was demolished. Even the State of Tennessee's acquisition in the 1850s of The Hermitage,

Andrew Jackson's home near Nashville, did not guarantee preservation. The State considered selling the house and grounds long before the property finally gained secure preservation status by about the early 20th century. Partly because of cost considerations, Congress had rejected petitions to purchase Mount Vernon before the Ladies' Association was formed. And despite national adoration of George Washington, numerous obstacles (including inadequate funding) delayed the Association's purchase of the property for about half of a decade. Overall, during much of the century, a lack of funding and commitment undercut many preservation efforts, indicating a general *indifference toward historic sites.*[8]

Nevertheless, during the 19th century, an important concept gradually gained acceptance: That, in order to protect historic sites deemed especially significant, it might be necessary to resort to a special type of ownership (a public, or some other kind of shared, or group, ownership, such as a society or association) specifically dedicated to preservation. Such broad-based, cooperative arrangements could serve as a means of preventing a site from being subject to, and perhaps destroyed as a result of, the whims of individuals and the fluctuations of the open market. Private, individually owned and preserved historic sites, some exhibited to the public (but vast numbers of them preserved because of personal or family interest alone), would become a widespread, enduring, and critically important aspect of American historic preservation. Still, the State of New York's preservation of the Hasbrouck House, and especially the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association's successful endeavors, exemplified the potential of group ownership, both public and private, in helping to secure enduring preservation commitments.

As one supporter stated during the effort to preserve Mount Vernon, the revered home and nearby grave of the Revolutionary War hero and first president should not be "subject to the uncertainties and transfers of individual fortune." The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, as a remarkably enterprising and broad-based organization determined to preserve Washington's home and grave site, held the promise of a dedication to its cause that could remain steadfast well beyond one or two generations. Living up to this promise meant that the Ladies' Association would become an acclaimed archetype of a successful, cooperative preservation organization.

Furthermore, the Ladies' Association's goals focused squarely on serving the greater public good: it would make the home and grounds accessible to the public, in the belief that generations of people might visit the site and draw inspiration from Washington's life that would foster virtuous citizenship, benefiting the entire nation. Explicitly revealing the concern for a guarantee of public access, a collection of correspondence relating to the Ladies' Association's effort to acquire Mount Vernon was entitled, "Documents Relating to the Proposed Purchase of Mount Vernon by the Citizens of the

United States, in Order that They May at All Times Have a Legal and Indisputable Right to Visit the Grounds, Mansion and Tomb of Washington."[9]

Similarly, concerns for public access and benefit, ensured by dedicated common ownership, would become key factors underlying the Civil War battlefield preservation movement in the latter decades of the century. The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, the first organizational effort to preserve and commemorate a Civil War battlefield, clearly intended to render the battleground accessible to the people and thereby serve the public good through patriotic inspiration and education. Moreover, battlefield preservation came to involve local and state governments, and ultimately the Federal Government, as representatives of the collective citizenry in the direct ownership and administration of selected historic places.

Civil War Battlefield Monuments and Cemeteries

As with the southern Pennsylvania countryside surrounding the town of Gettysburg, the struggles between the United States and Confederate armies from 1861 to 1865 often brought war to beautiful places, with many battles fought in the pastoral landscapes of eastern, southern, and middle America—in rolling fields and woods, along rivers and streams, among farmsteads, and often in or near villages, towns, or cities. Following the furious, convulsive battles, the armies often moved on toward other engagements, or to reassess and rebuild. They left behind landscapes devestated by the violence and destruction of war, yet suddenly imbued with meanings more profound than mere pastoral beauty. The battlefields would no longer be taken for granted as ordinary fields and wooded lands. For millions of Americans, intense emotions focused on these sites, so that while local farmers and villagers sought to recover from the devastation, the battlegrounds, in effect, lay awaiting formal recognition, perhaps sooner or later to be publicly dedicated, consecrated, and hallowed. Once the scenes of horrendous bloodletting, the preserved battlefield parks, green and spreading across countrysides ornamented with monuments, would come to form an enduring, ironic juxtaposition of war and beauty, forever paradoxical.

... the preserved battlefield parks... an enduring, ironic juxtaposition of war and beauty, forever paradoxical.

And the carefully tended battlefields remain forever beguiling: The tranquil, monumented military parks mask the horror of what happened there. Walt Whitman, whose poetry and prose include what are arguably the finest descriptions of the effects of Civil War battles on individual soldiers, wrote that the whole fratricidal affair seemed "like a great slaughter house...the men mutually butchering each other." He later asserted that the Civil War was

"about nine hundred and ninety-nine parts diarrhea to one part glory." Having spent much of the war nursing terribly wounded soldiers in the Washington military hospitals and seeing sick and dying men with worm-infested battle wounds and amputations that had infected and required additional cutting, Whitman knew well the grisly costs of battle. The poet encountered many soldiers who seemed demented and wandered in a daze about the hospital wards. To him, they had "suffered too much," and it was perhaps best that they were "out of their senses." To the unsuspecting person, then, the serene, monumented battlefields can indeed belie the appalling bloodletting that took place there. Yet from the very first, it was intended that the battlegrounds become peaceful, memorial parks—each, in effect, a "pilgrim-place," as an early Gettysburg supporter put it.[10]

The historical significance of the first five Civil War battlefield parks was undeniably as the scenes of intense and pivotal combat, but by the early 20th century they also marked the nation's first true commitment to commemorating historic places and preserving their historic features and character. Restoration of the battle scenes, such as maintaining historic roads, forests, fields, and defensive earthworks, was underway, to varying degrees, at the battlefield parks. The parks were also becoming extensively memorialized with sizable monuments and many smaller stone markers, along with troop-position tablets (mostly cast iron and mounted on posts) tracing the course of battle and honoring the men who fought there. Erected mainly in the early decades of each park's existence, the monuments, markers, and tablets in the five military parks established in the 1890s exist today in astonishingly large numbers. The totals include more than 1,400 at Gettysburg, approximately 1,400 at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and more than 1,300 at Vicksburg. Following these are Shiloh, with more than 600, and Antietam with more than 400. The overall total for the five battlefields is nearly 5,200.[11] Although tablets and markers comprise the greatest portion of these totals, the battlefields have become richly ornamented with memorial sculpture, including many large, impressive monuments. Altogether, they are the most striking visual features of the military parks, and they provide the chief physical manifestation of the battlefields' hallowedness. The early Civil War military parks are among the most monumented battlefields in the world.

Virtually all of the monuments were stylistically derivative, many inspired by classical or renaissance memorial architecture, with huge numbers of them portraying standing soldiers, equestrian figures, or men in battle action. They recall heroism, the physical intensity of battle, and grief—rather than, for instance, the emancipation of the slaves, a major result of the battles and the war. From early on, some critics have judged the monuments to be too traditional and noted that many were essentially mass-produced by contractors.[12] Nevertheless, with veterans themselves directly involved in the origin and evolution of the Civil War battlefield memorialization movement, the earlier

monuments reflect the sentiments of the very men who fought there. And the veterans were highly unlikely to be artistically avant-garde; rather, they tended to follow the styles and tastes of the time.

Even while the war was ongoing, soldiers erected several monuments on battlefields. In early September 1861, less than five months after the April 12th firing on Fort Sumter, Confederate soldiers erected the first Civil War battlefield monument, at the site of the Battle of Manassas, near the stream known as Bull Run, in Virginia. There, in July, the Confederates had surprised the United States forces (and the Northern public) with a stunning victory. Little more than six weeks later, the 8th Georgia Infantry erected a marble obelisk of modest height to honor their fallen leader, Colonel Francis S. Bartow. (Only the monument's stone base has survived; the marble obelisk disappeared possibly even before the second battle at Manassas took place in August 1862.)

The Union army erected two battlefield monuments during the war. Still standing is the Hazen monument—the oldest *intact* Civil War battlefield monument—at Stones River National Battlefield, near the middle-Tennessee town of Murfreesboro. There, in a savage battle in late 1862 and early 1863, Northern troops forced a Confederate retreat. In about June 1863, members of Colonel William B. Hazen's brigade (men from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky) began erecting a sizable cut-limestone monument to honor their fallen comrades in the very area where they had fought and died. The monument was located in a small cemetery that held the remains of the brigade's casualties. The Union army's other wartime monument, a marble obelisk, was erected on the battlefield at Vicksburg by occupying troops on July 4, 1864, to commemorate the first anniversary of the Confederate surrender of this strategic city.[13]

At Stones River, the Hazen monument's location in the brigade cemetery at the scene of combat testifies to the often direct connections that would evolve between military cemeteries and preserved military parks. Each of the battles had concluded with dead and wounded from both sides scattered over the countryside, along with many fresh graves containing either completely or partially buried bodies—the hurried work of comrades or special ad hoc burial details. (The wounded, many of whom died, were cared for in temporary field hospitals, including tents, homes, and other public and private buildings.) Reacting to growing public concern about the frequently disorganized handling of the Union dead, Congress, in July 1862, passed legislation authorizing "national cemeteries" and the purchase of land for them wherever "expedient." By the end of 1862, the army had designated 12 national cemeteries, principally located where Northern military personnel were or had previously been concentrated—whether at battlefields (Mill Springs, Kentucky, for instance); near army hospitals and encampments (such as in Arlington and Alexandria, Virginia); or at military posts (such as Fort Leavenworth in Kansas). All were

administered by the War Department. These newly created military cemeteries were predecessors to those that would be established on other battlefields, such as Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Antietam.[14]

At Gettysburg, the site selected for a military burial ground lay adjacent to the city's existing Evergreen Cemetery and along a portion of the Union battle lines on the slopes of Cemetery Hill. There, Northern forces, in desperate combat, at times hand-to-hand, had repulsed a major Confederate assault. Locating the military cemetery where Northern troops had scored a crucial victory surely heightened the symbolism and the sense of consecration and hallowedness that Lincoln reflected upon in articulating the Union cause and the meaning of the war, and in validating the "altogether fitting and proper" purpose of battlefield cemeteries.

During and after the 1863 siege of Vicksburg, the Union army hastily buried thousands of its soldiers killed during the campaign. The burials, some in mass graves, were in the immediate vicinity of the siege or were scattered throughout the extensive countryside in Mississippi and in the Louisiana parishes across the Mississippi River where the campaign took place. In the chaos of battle, the army kept few burial records, left many graves unmarked, and did little to arrange for proper re-burial. At Vicksburg, as elsewhere, erosion often uncovered the bodies, making them even more vulnerable to vultures, hogs, and other scavengers. An official report in May 1866 noted that, as the Mississippi had shifted its course or spread out into the Louisiana floodplains, it carried downriver many bodies, which "floated to the ocean in their coffins or buried in the sand beneath [the river's] waters." After delays resulting from wartime pressures and protracted deliberations about where to locate an official burial ground (even New Orleans was considered), the national cemetery at Vicksburg was established in 1866, and the re-burial efforts moved toward completion.[15](Figure 3)

Antietam National Cemetery was officially dedicated on September 17, 1867, the fifth anniversary of the battle. Following Antietam's one-day holocaust, which resulted in more deaths (estimated between 6,300 and 6,500) than on any other single day of the war, most of the dead were buried in scattered locations on the field of battle, where they remained for several years. In 1864, the State of Maryland authorized the purchase of land for a cemetery. A site was selected on a low promontory situated along one of the Confederate battle lines, and re-burial of remains from Antietam and nearby engagements began in late 1866. Following contentious debate (Maryland was a border state with popular allegiance sharply divided between the North and South), it was decided that only Union dead would be buried in the new cemetery. Re-burial of Confederate dead would come later, and elsewhere.[16]

FIGURE 3
The national cemetery concept emerged during the Civil War to provide for the proper care of thousands of Union dead. Like formal military cemeteries on other Civil War battlefields, Vicksburg National Cemetery, established in 1866 and shown here ca. 1905, was gracefully landscaped to honor the Union soldiers and sailors buried there. Confederate dead were interred elsewhere, many of them in the Vicksburg city cemetery. (Courtesy of Vicksburg National Military Park)

After the war ended, a systematic effort to care for the Northern dead led to the creation of many more military cemeteries, most of them established under the authority of congressional legislation approved in February 1867. This legislation strengthened the 1862 legal foundation for national cemeteries—for instance, by reauthorizing the purchase of lands needed for burying places; providing for the use of the government's power of eminent domain when necessary for acquiring private lands; and calling for the reimbursement of owners whose lands had been, or would be, expropriated for military cemetery sites. The total number of national cemeteries rose from 14 at the end of the war to 73 by 1870, when the re-burial program for Union soldiers was considered essentially completed. Although many of the new official burial grounds were on battlefields or military posts, others were part of existing private or city cemeteries. Also, two prominent battlefield cemeteries that had been created and managed by states were transferred to the War Department: Pennsylvania ceded the Gettysburg cemetery in 1872, and Maryland transferred the Antietam cemetery five years later.[17]

Of the five battlefield parks established in the 1890s, all would either adjoin or be near military cemeteries. Even as they were being established and developed, the national cemeteries stood out as hallowed commemorative sites. And they provided an early and tangible intimation that the surrounding battlefield landscapes were also hallowed places, perhaps in time to be officially recognized. The national cemeteries were thus precursors to the far larger military parks—which themselves were like cemeteries in that they still held many unfound bodies.

The first of the truly large memorials on Civil War battlefields were two imposing monuments erected in national cemeteries—one at Gettysburg, the other at Antietam. In 1864, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association requested design proposals for a "Soldiers' National Monument" to be placed in the cemetery's central space, as intended in the original landscape plan. The selected design featured a tall column topped by the figure of Liberty, and a large base with figures representing War, Peace, History, and Plenty. The monument was formally dedicated in 1869. At Antietam, plans for the national cemetery also included a central space for a monument—a design feature apparently inspired by the Gettysburg cemetery plan. The contract was let in 1871 for the monument—a large, off-white granite statue of a United States Army enlisted man. Insufficient funding helped delay its completion, so that formal dedication of the "Soldiers' Monument" did not occur until 1880, on the 18th anniversary of the battle.[18] Like the monuments erected during the war itself, those erected within the Gettysburg and Antietam national cemeteries were harbingers of the extensive memorialization that would in time take place in the early military parks.

Some of [Shiloh's] mass burials, although mentioned in official reports, have never been located.

In the aftermath of Union victories, most Confederate bodies were buried individually or in mass graves on the fields of battle, and most did not receive formal burials until much later. Such was the case at Gettysburg, where huge numbers of Confederate dead lay in mass graves until the early 1870s, given the Northern officials' strict prohibition of Rebel burials in the military cemetery—a restriction put in place at other Union cemeteries located on battlefields. At Shiloh, hundreds of Southern dead were buried together in trenches. (Some of these mass burials, although mentioned in official reports, have never been located.) Early in the war, well before the siege of Vicksburg got under way, the Confederate army began burying its dead in a special section of Cedar Hill, the Vicksburg city cemetery, which ultimately held several thousand military graves. And following the Confederate victory at Chickamauga, a somewhat systematic attempt to care for the bodies of Southern soldiers was disrupted by the Northern victory at nearby Chattanooga about two months later. In many instances, however, the Confederate dead were disinterred and moved by local people or by the soldiers' families for formal burial in cemeteries all across the South, including town and churchyard cemeteries. Much of this took place after the war and through the efforts of well-organized women's memorial organizations and other concerned groups and individuals.[19]

At Antietam, a concerted effort to remove hastily buried Rebel dead from the field of battle did not get under way until the early 1870s, about a decade after the battle. Then, over a period of several years, those remains that could be

found were buried in nearby Hagerstown, Maryland. Concern that Antietam National Cemetery should in no way honor the South was made especially clear by the extended debate over "Lee's Rock," one of several low-lying limestone outcrops in the cemetery. Located on a high point along Confederate lines, the rock provided a vantage point that, reportedly, Robert E. Lee used to observe parts of the battle. After the war, the rock became a curiosity and a minor Southern icon. But Northerners viewed it as an intrusion into a Union shrine, and wanted this reminder of the Rebel army removed. The final decision came in 1868—to take away all rock outcrops in the cemetery.[20] Still, this comprehensive solution makes the removal of Lee's Rock seem like an act of purification, erasing even the mere suggestion of Southern presence in the national cemetery.

Reunions, Reconciliation, and Veterans' Interest in Military Parks

Once the national cemeteries were established, they were effectively the only areas of the battlefields in a condition adequate to receive the public in any numbers, and they became the focal points for official ceremonies and other formal acts of remembrance. Most widely observed was Decoration Day, begun at about the end of the war in response to the massive loss of life suffered during the four-year conflict. Known in the South as Confederate Decoration Day (and ultimately, nationwide, as Memorial Day), this special time of remembrance came to be regularly observed on battlefields and in cities and towns throughout the North and South.[21]

As remembrance ceremonies spread across the United States and as battlefield tourism grew in the years after the war, another type of gathering also gradually got underway: the veterans' reunions. Usually held on the anniversary of a particular battle, or on Decoration Day, these reunions began early on in communities around the country. They were initiated by local or state veterans' groups, or by larger, more broadly based veterans' associations that formed after the war in both Northern and Southern states. Chief among many such associations in the North was the Grand Army of the Republic, founded in 1866 in Springfield, Illinois. Aided by, but sometimes in competition with, other Union veterans' organizations, such as the Society for the Army of the Tennessee and the Society for the Army of the Potomac, the Grand Army did not reach its period of greatest influence until the late 1870s. Due mainly to extremely difficult conditions in the postwar South, Confederate veterans organized more slowly —for instance, the establishment of the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia occurred in 1870, five years after the war. Others followed, including the United Confederate Veterans, established in 1889 and ultimately becoming the most influential Southern veterans' association. These organizations were supported by a number of women's patriotic groups, such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy and, in the North, the Woman's Relief Corps.[22]

Gettysburg, much as it did with national cemeteries and other commemorative efforts, played a leading role in the emergence of veterans' reunions on the battlefields. For some time after the war, few reunions were held on any battlefield, given the vivid recollections of bloodletting, the veterans' need to re-establish their lives and improve their fortunes, and the expense and logistics of traveling across country to out-of-the-way battle sites. In the summer of 1869, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association hosted a well-attended reunion of officers of the Army of the Potomac. Yet, reunions held at the battlefield in the early and mid-1870s, and open to Union veterans of any rank, attracted few. More successful was a reunion in 1878 sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic. Two years later, the Grand Army gained political control of the Memorial Association, giving the Gettysburg organization a much stronger national base. The Memorial Association then began promoting annual reunions, including successful week-long gatherings on the battlefield between 1880 and 1894. These reunions included huge encampments: tenting again on the battlefield, with comradery such as songfests, patriotic speeches, renewal of friendships, and much reminiscing—war stories told and retold.[23]

The growing attendance at reunions in the 1880s increased interest in transforming Gettysburg into a fully developed military park, much as had been envisioned in the 1864 charter of the Memorial Association. Such features as monuments, avenues, and fences were to be located at, or near, key Union battle positions. By the end of the 1870s, however, little development had taken place, and the purchase of major sites by the Memorial Association had proceeded very slowly. But by the mid-1880s, with the 25th anniversary of the battle approaching, and with the Grand Army of the Republic's backing, the Memorial Association was re-energized and revived its original concept of a monumented battlefield. It encouraged new monuments to commemorate prominent officers and the many army units that fought at Gettysburg, as well as each of the Northern states whose men made up those units. Memorialization on the battlefield escalated during the last half of the decade. For example, in 1888, the 25th anniversary year, the veterans dedicated almost 100 regimental monuments. The decision to allow large numbers of monuments and markers at Gettysburg stands as a landmark in that it set a precedent for extensive memorialization in the other early military parks.

In addition, by the 1890s, with greatly improved transportation and expanded middle-class leisure travel, Gettysburg Battlefield had become one of America's first nationwide historic destination sites for tourists.[24] In retrospect at least, the crush of tourism and entertainment attractions that flooded into the Gettysburg area in the years after the war demonstrated a need for a protected park to prevent the onslaught of economic development from overwhelming a historic shrine. At Gettysburg, the connections that had developed between tourism and the historic battlefield foreshadowed similar relation-

ships that would be a continuous and important factor in many future historic preservation endeavors, both public and private.

Surely during the Civil War, the vast majority of soldiers at Gettysburg and elsewhere were strangers on the land—recent arrivals to the different scenes of battle and unfamiliar with the overall landscapes in which they were fighting, except perhaps during extended sieges. In most instances they had lived hundreds of miles away, had rarely traveled, and were geographically unlearned—thus many would have been disoriented beyond their most immediate surroundings, a situation almost certainly exacerbated by the confusion of battle. And most soldiers were moved quickly out of an area and on toward other engagements. The creating, studying, and marking of a battlefield park should therefore be viewed as not only a commemorative effort, but also as an attempt to impose order on the past, on landscapes of conflict and confusion —a means of enabling veterans of a battle, students of military affairs, and the American public to comprehend the overall sweep of combat, and the strategies and tactics involved.

Accurate placement of monuments, markers, and tablets required thorough historical research and mapping of a battleground, which was no easy task. The leading historian at Gettysburg was John Bachelder, an artist and illustrator who had closely studied earlier battles and arrived at Gettysburg only a few days after the fighting concluded. Bachelder's in-depth investigation of the battle area extended over a period of 31 years, until his death in 1894. In the process, he used his accumulating knowledge to prepare educational guidebooks and troop-movement maps to sell to the visiting public. In 1880, his intensive research and mapping of the battlefield benefited from a congressional appropriation of $50,000 to determine historically accurate locations of principal troop positions and movements during the battle, which encompassed extensive terrain. Similar to what would be done at other battlefields, this survey was carried on in collaboration with hundreds of veterans and other interested individuals. Their research directly influenced the positioning of monuments, markers, and tablets, and the routing of avenues for public access to the principal sites and their monuments.[25]

Historical accuracy was of great importance; and, not infrequently, veterans hotly disputed field research conclusions. Shiloh, for example, experienced a number of protracted, highly contentious arguments over the positioning of monuments and tablets. Two Iowa units even disagreed over what time of day they had occupied certain terrain on the battleground—the time, to be inscribed on the monuments, being a matter of status and pride to the units' veterans. This dispute lasted several years and involved appeals to the secretary of war before a settlement was finally reached. Similar disputes occurred at the other battlefield parks. At Gettysburg, the positioning of one monument was litigated all the way to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court: In 1891, the Court

ruled against the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, granting the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry the right to place its monument in a front-line position, where its veterans insisted they should be honored for their role in confronting Pickett's Charge on the climactic day of the battle.[26]

Significantly, during the 1880s the South gradually became involved in commemoration at Gettysburg. As initially practiced at the battlefield, the marking and preserving of only Union positions presented a one-sided view of what took place there, confusing anyone not familiar with the shifting and complex three-day struggle and the unmarked positions of Confederate troops. The Memorial Association, firmly dedicated to commemorating the Union army's victory at Gettysburg, did little to encourage participation by former Rebels until about two decades after the battle. Four ex-Confederate officers, including General Robert E. Lee, were, however, invited to attend the 1869 Union officers' reunion at Gettysburg and advise on the location of Southern battle positions. Lee declined the invitation; and with minimal Southern involvement no sustained effort to commemorate the Southern army ensued.

Significantly, during the 1880s the South gradually became involved in commemoration at Gettysburg.

Beginning in the early 1880s, what became known as Blue-Gray reunions were held on battlefields and in cities and towns around the country, bringing Union veterans into periodic social contact with their former adversaries from the South. Southern participation in the Gettysburg reunions increased considerably during this decade. At the 1888 reunion marking the 25th anniversary of the battle, both sides collaborated in a re-enactment of Pickett's Charge (one of the earliest in an amazing succession of remembrance rituals at the site of this renowned Civil War engagement). The former Confederate troops made their way in carriages across the open field toward Union veterans waiting near the stone wall and the Copse of Trees that marked the climax of the Southern charge. The cheering and handshaking when they met reflected the ongoing reconciliation between Northern and Southern veterans.[27]

Yet, the gathering at the Copse of Trees reflected more than just reconciliation among veterans. Across the country, attitudes in both North and South were shifting from the bitterness and hatred of war and the postwar Reconstruction period toward a reconciliation between the white populations of the two sections. The existence of slavery in the South had been a malignant, festering sore for the nation, and the most fundamentally divisive issue between the North and South as they edged toward war. Yet, as the war receded into the past, the North relented, opening the way for the end of Reconstruction and the move toward reconciliation. In so doing, white Northerners revealed a widespread (but not universal) indifference to racial concerns, and they aban-

doned the African American population in the South to the mercy of those who had only recently held them as slaves. This situation opened the way for intensified discrimination against, and subjugation of, recently freed black citizens of the United States. In the midst of such fateful developments, the North-South rapprochement fostered a return to the battlefields by both Union and Confederate veterans—an echo of the past, but this time for remembrance and reconciliation, not combat.[28]

FIGURE 4
At Shiloh, this detail of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument erected in 1917 depicts three allegorical figures–The South, Death, and Night–symbolizing the course of the battle and expressing profound grief. (By Timothy B. Smith, courtesy of Shiloh National Military Park)

The Blue-Gray reunions, with the co-mingling of one-time foes who were becoming increasingly cordial, moved Southerners toward the idea of battlefield preservation and development. Proud of its military exploits against the more powerful North, the former Confederacy exalted the glory, heroism, and sacrifice of its soldiers on the battlefields. Yet glory, heroism, and sacrifice were dear to Northerners as well, and this they could share with Southerners in their memories of the Civil War while avoiding the moral and ideological questions associated with slavery, the war, and postwar human rights. Thus, after considerable controversy, including angry opposition from some Northern veterans, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association approved proposals to erect two Confederate monuments of modest size: one in 1886, on Culp's Hill; and another in 1887, near the apex of Pickett's Charge—a highly significant location. These were the only Southern monuments erected on the battlefield before the end of the century, even though in 1889 the Memorial Association stated its intention to buy lands on which the Confederate army had been positioned, and to erect more monuments to mark important sites along Southern battle lines.

Although it lost the battle and the war in its attempt to split the United States into two nations, the South was gradually being accepted by Northerners as worthy of honor in recognition of the heroism and sacrifice of its troops at Gettysburg. The huge 50th anniversary reunion held on the battlefield in 1913 would become a landmark of reconciliation between North and South, but the urge toward reconciliation had been clearly evident at Gettysburg three decades earlier.[29](Figure 4)

The African American Role

In marked contrast to the involvement of Confederate veterans, African American participation in Civil War battlefield commemoration was minimal in virtually all cases. Prior to President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, effective January 1, 1863, some blacks served as soldiers (and sailors) for the North. But most blacks were strictly limited to their enforced roles as servants and laborers—their status being either as freedmen or contraband for the Union army, or as slaves for the Confederacy. However, the Northern success at Antietam in September 1862 spurred Lincoln to issue the Proclamation; and, beginning in 1863, blacks became increasingly active as soldiers in the

FIGURE 5
Until recent decades, African American contributions to the North's war effort received little public attention. Yet following the Emancipation Proclamation, nearly 180,000 blacks enlisted in the United States Army, including the troops shown here at a war-torn battleground in west-central Tennessee in 1864. (Courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

Union army. It is estimated that nearly 180,000 blacks joined the United States Army before the end of the war, more than half of them recruited from the Confederate states. They served mainly in infantry, cavalry, and heavy and light artillery units.

Yet African American soldiers did not fight on any of the battlefields destined to become the earliest military parks. Blacks were mustered in too late to see combat at Shiloh and Antietam in 1862, before the Proclamation. And they did not fight in the siege of the city of Vicksburg, or at Gettysburg, Chickamauga, or Chattanooga—each of which occurred in 1863. Their principal involvement was in the broader Vicksburg campaign, where they fought with distinction at the battles of Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson.(Figure 5)

The Vicksburg campaign thus provided the most likely possibility for any significant African American involvement in postwar commemorative activity at the early military parks. Black veterans did, indeed, take a very active part in Vicksburg's 1890 reunion, even in organizing it. It was, however, a rigorously segregated event, as were most reunions held at other battlefields, including Gettysburg. There, blacks marched in segregated parades, dined separately, and worked mainly as laborers and servants—this time not in support of soldiers at war, as in the past, but of white reunion participants. Due to widespread racism in the South and North, African Americans would, through the decades, face discrimination in all types of Civil War battlefield commemoration.[30]

Creating the First Military Parks

With the exception of Grover Cleveland, every United States president from Ulysses S. Grant through William McKinley was a veteran of the Union army, as were many congressmen. Following Reconstruction, the sectional reconciliation paved the way for ex-Confederates and their political spokesmen in Washington to join Northern leaders in supporting battlefield commemoration. Moreover, each of the major battles was very much *national* in scope. The involvement of troops from many states, plus the impact of each battle on the outcome of the war, made battlefield preservation a matter of importance to the nation as a whole, and ultimately to the national government itself. Support also resulted from efforts by veterans' societies representing the different armies (for instance, the Union armies of the Ohio and the Potomac, and the Confederate armies of Tennessee and Mississippi) to ensure that they would be honored at battlefields where they had gained special distinction. The aging veterans from both sides sought to create permanent tributes to their wartime valor.

Cooperation between Northern and Southern veterans played a direct role in the Federal Government's formal preservation of the battlegrounds at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. By an act of Congress signed on August 19, 1890, these two battlefields were combined to form the first federal military park in the United States. Earlier, the Grand Army of the Republic had sponsored reunions at Chattanooga; and during the September 1889 gathering (which included Confederate veterans and a huge barbeque held near Chickamauga that hosted 12,000 people), an agreement was reached to form a "Joint Chickamauga Memorial Association." This association included veterans from both sides, who recognized that Chickamauga Battlefield had no formal protection, and that its farms, fields, and woods had been steadily losing their 1863 appearance. The veterans were also aware that, at Gettysburg, the Memorial Association had not yet acquired the battle lines of the Southern armies. At Chickamauga and Chattanooga, with Northerners and Southerners participating, the opportunity existed from the very beginning to commemorate *both sides* at each of the two battlefields. Benefiting from the support of politicians in the nation's capital who were veterans of the war, including President Benjamin Harrison, the legislative effort succeeded quickly. A bill to combine both battlefields into a single military park was introduced in Congress in May 1890 and enacted the following August, with actual deliberation taking less than 30 minutes in each house.[31]

The law called for acquiring extensive land areas, up to 7,600 acres just for Chickamauga, almost all privately owned, for the purpose of preservation. Moreover, it also authorized the use, when necessary, of the government's power of eminent domain to acquire privately owned lands for historic preservation purposes. The fact that the park was to include so much acreage, and

that land condemnation powers were specifically authorized, demonstrated the strength of the commitment to protect the battlefield. And, indeed, the eminent domain authority would be used extensively in acquiring private lands for the park. With the backing of both the South (victorious at Chickamauga in September 1863) and the North (victorious at nearby Chattanooga the following November), the legislation was clearly in keeping with the ongoing reconciliation between the two sections. In this regard, it called for the marking of battle lines of "*all troops*," and by "*any State* having troops engaged" in either battle [emphasis added].[32]

On August 30, 1890, only 11 days after the Chickamauga and Chattanooga legislation, Congress authorized very limited acquisition of Antietam battleground in northern Maryland near the Potomac River. Veterans' reunions at the site had gained popularity by the late 1880s, and the Antietam Battlefield Memorial Association was being organized when the legislation passed. However, of the military parks established during the 1890s, Antietam garnered the least political support—a factor that would greatly affect its size, as well as its subsequent preservation and development. Reasons for this lack of support seem to have included the already strong commitment to the preservation of Gettysburg by veterans of the North's Society of the Army of the Potomac, with increased support from ex-Confederates who had served there with Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Thus, veterans of the very armies that had fought one another at Antietam were focused elsewhere. Also, antipathy had increased toward General George B. McClellan, the Union commander at Antietam, stemming partly from the general's off-putting demeanor, but also from the fact that he had run against Lincoln in the president's re-election bid of November 1864—a particularly critical setback for McClellan's popularity once Lincoln's martyrdom occurred the following April. Additionally, Antietam's chief congressional sponsor was not a Civil War veteran, and therefore could not muster sufficient influence with veterans' associations. Without strong backing, the park got its start through no more than a one-sentence clause added to a congressional "sundry appropriations" bill. This was in stark contrast to the much more fully articulated legislation enacted for Chickamauga and Chattanooga and subsequent military parks of the 1890s.[33]

Of the two military parks created by Congress in August 1890, the Chickamauga and Chattanooga park established the most expansive legislative precedent: It marked the Federal Government's first statutory commitment to preserving a historic site, including acquisition of a very large tract of land for that purpose. Except for Antietam, the other military parks created before the end of the century were also large. When Shiloh became a military park in late 1894, its authorized size of about 6,000 acres resulted not only from the veterans' intent to preserve large portions of the battleground, but also from the intent to include the still-unfound mass graves. Coming shortly after Shiloh, Gettysburg's legislation was passed in early 1895, having been delayed

by disagreements among the veterans. Beyond acquisition of lands that the Memorial Association controlled, Congress authorized expansion at Gettysburg on a somewhat open-ended basis: not to exceed the tracts shown on a specially prepared map of the battle areas, except for "other adjacent lands...necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battlefield." The 1899 legislation for Vicksburg National Military Park authorized up to 1,200 acres that were important in the siege and defense of the Mississippi River town.[34]

The 1890 Chickamauga and Chattanooga legislation established other important precedents by mandating an array of actions that would not only be reflected in subsequent military park legislation, but would also, in time, become familiar aspects of historic preservation endeavors across the country. In this law, Congress was remarkably inclusive: It called for broad-based landscape preservation on the battlefields, for instance, to keep intact the "outlines of field and forest," even specifically mentioning the protection of trees, bushes, and shrubbery. Also to be preserved were earthworks and other defensive or shelter sites "constructed by the armies formerly engaged in the battles." Farmsteads were to be protected through use-and-occupancy arrangements, whereby current occupants could continue farming and living on the land, "upon condition that they will preserve the present buildings," as well as the roadways. The law authorized fines for the vandalism of both natural and historic features, including damaging fences and stealing "battle relics." And Congress clearly intended that monuments and markers were to be an integral part of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga battlefield landscapes, with participation by both the North and South. (Indeed, especially during the late 1890s and the next decade, Southerners would erect a number of monuments and markers—the first sustained effort to honor the Confederacy on a Civil War battlefield.) To oversee all aspects of managing the new military park, Congress authorized a three-man commission (to be comprised of one Confederate and two Union veterans of either of the battles), which was to report to the War Department.

The Chickamauga and Chattanooga legislation authorized historical research on the battle to ensure accuracy in developing the park, and it declared that this preserved battleground would also serve the purpose of "historical and professional military study." A critical factor in securing political support for creating the park, the authorization for military study (for instance, the analysis of strategy and tactics) would be expanded by Congress in 1896 to allow training maneuvers and related activities at all federal military parks. This would result in extensive military use of the parks—most particularly at Gettysburg and at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, where military posts would be established, and remain active for a number of years. The 1896 act also brought about educational visits by military personnel and other interested profession-

als repeatedly through the decades. Even today, special park tours (known as staff rides) are regularly provided to the military.[35]

It is significant, however, that most of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga legislative precedents were reflections of what had already taken place at Gettysburg under the guidance of its Memorial Association, backed by the Grand Army of the Republic. Starting with the Association's efforts in 1863, Gettysburg had set the basic standard for the ways in which the early military parks, as well as the battlefield cemeteries, would be developed, commemorated, and presented to the public. To begin with, of those cemeteries associated with battlefields that were destined to become the first military parks, Gettysburg's cemetery was both the earliest and the most noteworthy. Formally developed soon after the battle, the cemetery had quickly gained renown in the North, heightened by the special distinction of being the site of Lincoln's address. Also, by the mid-1890s, each battlefield had hosted one or more veterans' reunions and had become the focus of a memorial association. But here again, the standard had been set with the organization of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association in the summer of 1863; its charter by the State of Pennsylvania the following year; and its many commemorative activities, such as overseeing the placement of a truly impressive array of monuments and hosting successful reunions. The Memorial Association was itself a forerunner of the War Department's commissions that were to oversee each of the early military parks. And at Gettysburg, indications of the North-South reconciliation came early, with the Blue-Gray reunions held there beginning in the 1880s, which were highlighted by the 1887 and 1888 gatherings, and by the two Southern monuments erected during that decade.

Overall, by 1890, when Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Antietam were authorized to become military parks, the Memorial Association had already purchased several hundred acres of land at Gettysburg; acquired the historically important house used as headquarters by the commander of the Union army, General George G. Meade; established almost 20 miles of roads; and overseen the erection of more than 300 monuments. Almost all of the Northern states had contributed to these efforts, with a combined total of close to $1 million. With its miles of avenues and increasing number of monuments, the ongoing development at Gettysburg was very much what the proponents of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga military park intended to emulate. Indeed, as they moved toward the legislation of August 1890, they envisioned their park becoming a "Western Gettysburg."[36]

Before the Civil War, Congress had harbored strong doubts that federal involvement in historic preservation had any constitutional basis; yet the century closed with the Federal Government having a substantial statutory commitment to preservation. Of special importance to the military parks—and,

indeed, to the future of federal preservation of historic places in general—the United States Supreme Court, in a landmark decision of January 1896, confirmed the constitutional legitimacy of the government's battlefield preservation endeavors. Except for Vicksburg, by 1896 all of the early Civil War parks had been established; and the preservation actions of the federal legislative and executive branches were now validated by the judicial branch.

The case before the Court involved the government's use of its eminent domain authority to halt development by the Gettysburg Electric Railway Company that would intrude on Devil's Den, Cemetery Ridge, and other famed combat sites at Gettysburg. Unanimously, the Supreme Court decided in favor of the Federal Government, supporting government preservation of these sites, and making clear the connections between the military parks and the general public good. The Court declared that the importance of the Civil War, including Gettysburg, "cannot be overestimated," in that, among other things, the "existence of the government itself...depended upon the result." To the Court, erecting monuments and taking possession of the battlefield "in the name and for the benefit of all the citizens of the country for the present and for the future" is a "public use...closely connected with the welfare of the republic itself." Moreover, the costs and sacrifices of the battle are rendered "more obvious and more easily appreciated when such a battlefield is preserved by the government at the public expense."

"No narrow view of the character of this proposed use [of the battlefield and the cemetery] should be taken. Its national character and importance...are plain."

The Supreme Court also held that taking land for military cemeteries "rests on the same footing" as does taking land for the battlefield, and is "connected with and springs from the same powers of the Constitution." To the Court, it seemed "very clear that the government has the right to bury its own soldiers and to see to it that their graves shall not remain unknown or unhonored." The Court declared that "No narrow view of the character of this proposed use [of the battlefield and the cemetery] should be taken. Its national character and importance...are plain."[37]

In the first case involving historic preservation to be decided by the Supreme Court (and for a long time the only decision specifically addressing this subject), the Court confirmed the constitutional foundation for federally sponsored preservation of historic sites and places. What had begun as a spontaneous commemorative effort by David McConaughy and other citizens of Gettysburg and the State of Pennsylvania, had evolved into a broad, popular movement backed by powerful organizations and by leading political figures of the times. The Civil War battlefields were becoming huge memorial land-

FIGURE 6
During the Chattanooga campaign, intense fighting took place on Lookout Mountain, long renowned for its spectacular views of the Tennessee River Valley. The Ochs Memorial Observatory, shown here ca. 1950, is dedicated to the memory of Adolph S. Ochs, one-time resident of Chattanooga and owner and publisher of the New York Times, who helped add nearly 3,000 acres to the national military park in 1934. (Courtesy of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park)

scapes—scenes of horrific warfare transformed into pastoral shrines. They were, in effect, canonized by the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Federal Government. Preservation of the military parks, the first federally managed historic sites, had been deemed to be closely tied to the "welfare of the republic."

Beyond the 19th Century

After Vicksburg's establishment as a military park in 1899, it was not until 1917 that Congress authorized the next Civil War battlefield park at Kennesaw Mountain, northwest of Atlanta, where the Confederates stalled, if only for a while, the Union army's southward march through Georgia. In the mid-1920s, other famous Civil War battlefields became military parks, including Petersburg and Fredericksburg, in Virginia. And in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt transferred the military parks from the War Department's administration to the National Park Service, which was already deeply involved in the preservation of historic places associated with early Native Americans, Hispanics, the American Revolution, and westward expansion. The Civil War military parks thus joined a growing system of preserved historic sites, along with a number of well-known, large natural areas, including Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, and Great Smoky Mountains national parks.(Figure 6)

Through the rest of the 20th century, numerous other military parks were added to this national system, including sites significant in the Union army's extended siege of Richmond, Virginia; the battleground close by Bull Run and near Manassas, Virginia, where the Confederate army won important victories in 1861 and 1862; and Wilson's Creek and Pea Ridge, sites of closely contested battles in the Trans-Mississippi West. Also, Civil War-era sites other than battlefields came into the system, such as the home of the great African American leader Frederick Douglass in the District of Columbia; Andersonville, the Confederate military prison in Georgia; and the Lincoln Home in Illinois.[38]

At the Civil War battlefields, the stratigraphy of history has been rich, complex, and often controversial. Looking back through the decades, the preservation and public attention given the national military parks (and the huge number of other Civil War sites, both public and private) reflect a continuing ritual—a long rite of passage that began during the war and has remained strong into the 21st century. The nation and its people, Northerners and Southerners, black and white, and from academics to battle re-enactors, have contended with the memories and the meanings of the vast, tragic four-year struggle. Compelled by the war and its times, each generation has commemorated—and celebrated—the battles and the war in a sequence of activities that forms an extended, multi-layered commemorative history founded on enduring remembrances that will reach far into the future.

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Notes

1. The epigraph is from Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 231. David Wills, another Gettysburg attorney and a rival of McConaughy's, became the chief proponent for creation of the military cemetery. Quotes and detail are found in Kathleen R. Georg [Harrison], "'This Grand National Enterprise': The Origins of Gettysburg's Soldiers' National Cemetery & Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association" (Gettysburg National Military Park, 1982), 8-10, 19; and Kathleen Georg Harrison, National Register of Historic Places form, "Statement of Significance for Gettysburg National Military Park and Soldiers National Cemetery," typescript, section 8, Gettysburg National Military Park files, 2004, 8, 29-32; McConaughy's extended quote, from the *Adams Sentinel*, [Gettysburg], August 19, 1863, is found in Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 30; see also, Harlan D. Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery, Pennsylvania" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, July 1991), 3-13.

2. Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon and

Schuster, 1992), 19-40, 191-203. See 263 for the "Final Text" of the address, used above; see also, 205-210 for an account of the quest to locate the exact site where Lincoln delivered the address. Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 22-23, 32-33; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 5-12, 41-65. See also David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 460-466; and Mary Munsell Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes: Federal Preservation of Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1990" (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, 1996), 33-57, for discussions of the cemetery dedication and Lincoln's address.

3. *An Act to Incorporate the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association, Approved April 30, 1864*, quoted in Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 24; see also, Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes," 70-76; and Richard West Sellars, "Vigil of Silence: The Civil War Memorials," and "The Granite Orchards of Gettysburg," *History News* 41, no. 4, (July-August 1986): 19-23.

4. Jim Weeks, *Gettysburg: Memory, Market, and an American Shrine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2003), provides an analysis of tourism at Gettysburg; see 1-111, *passim*; visitor numbers and African American tourism at Gettysburg are discussed on 67, 92-98. In a sense, Civil War tourism may be said to have begun in July 1861, at the first Battle of Manassas, little more than three months after the war began. Hundreds of curious people, including members of Congress, rode out from Washington and nearby areas, many with picnic lunches and champagne, to watch the fighting take place, but soon hastily retreated from the battle area, as did the defeated Union troops. See John J. Hennessy, "War Watchers at Bull Run," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 40, no. 4 (August 2001): 40-47, *passim*.

5. Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973), 27-37.

6. G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1995), 10-46; Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 65-67; Gary Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of American Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 2-3; William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1997, rev. ed.), 28-30, 52; Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 29-30, 35-37, 41-52.

7. National Park Service, "Outline of Development at Colonial National Monument, Yorktown, Virginia," Colonial National Historical Park files, typescript, n.d., 14; National Park Service, "National Register of Historic Places documentation for Yorktown and Yorktown Battlefield," Colonial National Historical Park files, n.d., typescript draft, n.p.; Piehler, *Remembering* War, 25, 27. In a bit of a twist, the Battle of Bunker Hill actually occurred on nearby Breed's Hill, where the monument is located—but the battle and the monument were given the "Bunker Hill" designation. Wonder Cabinet Interpretive Design, "Bunker Hill Museum," final contract/fabrication documents, Lexington, Massachusetts, November 2003, n.p.; see also, Louis Torres, *The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Construction of the Washington Monument* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1984). Similar to the delays with the Washington Monument, a tall obelisk commemorating General Andrew Jackson's victory in early 1815 over the British army in the Battle of New Orleans (fought at nearby Chalmette Plantation) was begun with the laying of the cornerstone in 1840, but not completed until 1908. See also Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Random House, 1991), 11, 71.

8. Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 38-40, 59, 69-72; Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women & Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 124-133. Kammen, in *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 48-61, discusses the "widespread indifference to historic sites, which often resulted in neglect or actual damage" in pre-Civil War America. The quote is on page 53.

9. The quotes are from Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 41, 307-308 n. 3; see also, 36-38. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted*, 126, 130; Laurence Vail Coleman, *Historic House Museums* (Washington, DC: American Association of Museums, 1933), 25-33. Murtagh, *Keeping Time*, 25-30, discusses early private preservation efforts for historic houses.

10. The Whitman quotes and related details are found in Roy Morris, Jr., *The Better Angel: Walt Whitman and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 84, 171-173; and Walter Lowenfelds, ed., *Walt Whitman's Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 1961; reprint, New York, Da Capo Press, n.d.), 144, 163. Morris states (p. 84) that diarrhea affected more than half of the Union army and almost all the Confederate troops, taking the lives of nearly 100,000 soldiers during the Civil War. Examples of Whitman's writings on the Civil War are found in John Kouwenhoven, ed., *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose by Walt Whitman* (New York: Random House, 1950), including Whitman's "Drum Taps" poems, 222-281, and prose pieces, "Specimen Days," 573-636. The "pilgrim-place" quote is from an editorial in *The Bivouac, An Independent Military Monthly* 3, no. 11 (November 1885): 431-432, in Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 36.

11. In addition, several hundred artillery pieces have been positioned on the battlefields. Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 24; electronic mail to author from superintendent Susan W. Trail, Monocacy National Battlefield, May 21, 2004; and from national military park historians Timothy B. Smith, Shiloh, May 1, 2004; Terrence J. Winschel, Vicksburg, May, 1, 2004; and James H. Ogden, III, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, May 4, 2004.

12. Jill K. Hanson and Robert W. Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Historic Resources Study," unpublished, National Park Service files, Atlanta, 1999, 38; Piehler, *Remembering War*, 81-86. An extensive study of Civil War monuments is found in Michael Wilson Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Delaware, 1988).

13. Robert E. L. Krick, "The Civil War's First Monument: Bartow's Marker at Manassas," *Blue and Gray Magazine* 8, no. 4 (April 1991): 32-34; Daniel A. Brown, "Marked for Future Generations: The Hazen Brigade Monument, 1863-1929," National Park Service, July 1985, *Stones River National Battlefield files, typescript*, 4-14; *Terrence J. Winschel*, "Administrative History of Vicksburg National Military Park," Vicksburg National Military Park files, partial draft, typescript, chapter 2, n.p., n.d.

14. In order to cope with the growing number of casualties, Northern military officials in September 1861 and April 1862 had issued orders for identifying and recording names of the dead and their place of burial. Edward Steere, "Early Growth of the National Cemetery System," in *Shrines of the Honored Dead: A Study of the National Cemetery System* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, Office of the Quartermaster General, 1953-1954), 1-11, 13-17; Abroe, "'All the Profound Scenes'," 20-35; Barry Mackintosh, "The Birth and Evolution of the National Cemetery System," Washington, DC, National Park Service, Division of History files, n.d., unpublished, typescript, 1-7; Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 19.

15. Georg [Harrison], "'This Grand National Enterprise'," 4-6; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 3-11; Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 17; John S. Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground: Gettysburg as a Historic Site," in *History Museums in the United States*, ed. Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 131-132; Richard Meyers, "The Vicksburg National Cemetery: An Administrative History" (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1968), typescript, 1-21 (the quote is found on p. 5; and a listing of the many sites in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, from which Union dead were moved to Vicksburg National Cemetery, is found in appendix B, 202-204); Christopher Waldrep, "Battleground: The Civil War and Race in Vicksburg, 1861-1947," draft typescript, 2004, 103-111; Winschel, "Administrative History of Vicksburg National Military Park," chapter 1, n.p. The situation at Shiloh regarding the initial burials and the official military cemetery (established in 1866) is discussed in Timothy B. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 9-15.

16. James M. McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3-5; Susan W. Trail "Remembering Antietam: Commemoration and Preservation of a Civil War Battlefield" (Ph.D. dissertation, draft, University of Maryland, College Park, June 2004), chapter 3, 1-44; Charles W. Snell and Sharon Brown, "Antietam National Battlefield and Cemetery, Sharpsburg, Maryland: An Administrative History" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986), typescript, 1-20.

17. Abroe, "'All the Profound Scenes'," 57-66; Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 19-21; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 24-26; Trail, "Remembering Antietam," chapter 3, 47-49.

18. Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 15-17; Wayne Craven, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (Harrisburg, PA: Eastern Acorn Press, 1982), 11-18; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 25; Trail, "Remembering Antietam," chapter 3, 44-46, 51-55.

19. Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 93; Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 9-10, 76; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 36-46; Winschel, "Administrative History of Vicksburg National Military Park," chapter 1, n.p.; Hanson and Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 27-29.

20. Trail, "Remembering Antietam," chapter 3, 8-12, 40-43.

21. A large memorial ceremony made up mainly of African Americans and held in Charleston, South Carolina, May 1, 1865, appears to have been the first formal observance of what became known as Decoration Day. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 64-97, see especially 68-71; see also Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 102-103; and Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003), 23-26, 31.

22. Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 30-41, 74-76; Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground," 134-135; Hanson and Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 27-29.

23. John M. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now* (1899: reprint Dayton, OH: Morningside Bookshop, 1983), ii; Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground," 134-136; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 46-47; Hanson and Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 28-29.

24. Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 46-58; Weeks, *Gettysburg*, 66-111; see also Waldrep, "Battleground," 190-199, for the Illinois Central Railroad's involvement in creating a military park at Vicksburg.

25. Richard Allen Sauers, "John B. Bachelder: Government Historian of the Battle of Gettysburg," *Gettysburg Magazine*, no. 3 (July 1, 1990): 115-119; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 47-48, 53-59; Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 24-25, 33-34, 37-39; Kathleen R. Georg [Harrison], *The Location of the Monuments, Markers, and Tablets on Gettysburg Battlefield* (Gettysburg National Military Park in cooperation with Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1982), 1-46; Patterson, "From Battle Ground to Pleasure Ground," 133-137; Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 120, n. 15; Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes," 114-115.

26. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*," 81-89; Sauers, "John B. Bachelder," 121-126; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 58-59; John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, "Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park" (Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983), 22-23, 152-153.

27. Lee's response to the Gettysburg request expressed his lack of support for preserving and marking battlefields. The famed general stated that it seemed wiser "not to keep open the sores of war, but to follow the example of those nations who endeavored to obliterate the marks of civil strife and to commit to oblivion the feelings it engendered." Quoted in Emory M. Thomas, *Robert E. Lee: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 392. See also Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 32; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 58.

28. David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 93-115, 170-188, 223-251, 278-280, 298;

Shackel, *Memory in Black and White*, 28-36; Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 89-126; see also, John Hope Franklin, "A Century of Civil War Observances," *The Journal of Negro History* 47, no. 2 (April 1962): 97-107. Extensive examinations of postwar race and reconciliation issues are also provided in Blight, *Race and Reunion*; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*; and Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

29. Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes," 118-147; Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 40-41; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 59-62; Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield*, 177-179; Carol Reardon, *Pickett's Charge in History and Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 87-102; Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 95.

30. James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*, rev. ed.(New York: Random House, 1991), 145-196; Richard Lowe, "Battle on the Levee: The Fight at Milliken's Bend," and Lawrence Lee Hewitt, "An Ironic Route to Glory: Louisiana's Native Guards at Port Hudson," in John David Smith, ed., *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 78-100, 107-129, see also p. 8; Shackel, *Memory in Black and White*, 33; Waldrep, "Battlefield," 140-143, 257-258; see also, Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield*, 170-183.

31. Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 16; Paige and Greene, "Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 9-18; Hanson and Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 30-32.

32. Paige and Green, "Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 24-28; for full text of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga legislation, see Hillory A. Tolson, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), supplement II, 227-232.

33. Trail, "Remembering Antietam," chapter 4, 21-22, 27-28, 31-35; for full text of the Antietam legislation, see Tolson, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*, 333. Because of its initially very limited size, Antietam was referred to as a national battlefield "site," rather than park.

34. For full texts of the legislation for the last three military parks of the 1890s, see Tolson, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*, 282 (Shiloh); 254-258 (Gettysburg); 290-294 (Vicksburg); Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 45-46; Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now*, i. At Shiloh, the initial acquisition of only about 3,300 acres was considered sufficient. See Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 18, 25, 50-52.

35. Tolson, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*, 227; Paige and Green, "Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 17-28, 42, 171-199; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 116-119; Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 35-37; Hanson and Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga," appendix c, 1-16.

36. Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes," 208; Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 22; Paige and Greene, "Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga," 10-11; Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 18-21. During the war, the "Western" theater referred to the action taking place mostly west and south of the state of Virginia, except for the trans-Mississippi area.

37. *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Company*, 160 US 668, 681-683 (1896); Harrison, "Statement of Significance," 42-43; Unrau, "Administrative History: Gettysburg," 75-77; Lee, *National Military Park Idea*, 14-15.

38. For a discussion of the growth of the national park system, see Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991), 10-109.

Reclaiming New Deal-Era Civic Archeology: Exploring the Legacy of William S. Webb and the Jonathan Creek Site

by Sissel Schroeder

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, antiquarians and archeologists focused on ancient monuments and documented numerous mound and earthwork sites across eastern North America.[1] Many of these highly visible places subsequently were destroyed by development and dam-building projects, while others were preserved for public edification. Eminent sites that were the focus of early attention, like Moundville in Alabama, Etowah in Georgia, and Cahokia in Illinois, became icons in American archeology, serving to define regional archeological cultures and stimulating inquiry into diverse aspects of mound construction and use.[2]

Early investigations at many of these important places established interpretive frameworks that persist today in popular and even scholarly reviews, part of a disciplinary situation in which "tradition oversees both the production and legitimation of archaeological knowledge."[3] However, the original stories created by archeologists sometimes were based on sketchy impressions of evidence or studies of small, often biased, samples of materials. When fuller analyses were performed, they were conducted within the prevailing paradigms of the times—classification and description, functionalism, culture history, and chronology building.[4] The foreshortened chronology that existed prior to the early 1950s and the first applications of radiocarbon dating[5] facilitated widespread attempts to draw analogies between archeological materials and living or ethnohistorically documented Native American societies. This prompted many scholars to explain similarities and differences in terms of relatively simplistic notions of migration.[6]

Over the past decade or more, many archeologists have chosen to reinvestigate old collections that would be impossible to duplicate today because the sites have been destroyed or the scale of the original excavations could not be achieved due to high costs.[7] This reclamation of curated collections is conducted within new interpretive frameworks that consider ancient social, political, and ethnic diversity; the actions of individuals; and the impact that internal and external sources of variation can have on the establishment of communities and their development. These approaches have come to replace traditional models of cultural evolution that focused on external sources of change. New studies of old collections are significantly altering our understanding of many of these iconic places, even though multiple inferences may still arise from the available evidence. Future studies may disclose fresh

information about the ancient past when old collections are reexamined in light of new developments in archeological method and theory, underscoring the importance of the long-term curation of archeological materials and archives.

To examine changing approaches to heritage studies, we can look at the recurring investigations at Jonathan Creek, a Mississippian-era (ca. A.D. 1000-1600) mound site in western Kentucky and the different ways in which archeologists have interpreted time and the use of space at the site.(Figure 1) The Jonathan Creek site is one of those places that has, since its partial excavation in the early 1940s, assumed iconic significance in the archeology of the lower Tennessee and Ohio valleys and the central Mississippi Valley. The site is referenced in most publications dealing with the Mississippian Tradition in this region, mentioned in synthetic overviews of eastern North American archeology, and its name has been used to designate a regional, temporally restricted manifestation of Mississippian.[8] The Mississippian Tradition initially was defined on the basis of artifacts, particularly shell-tempered pottery.[9] Since the 1960s, descriptions have shifted to stress an agricultural adaptation to resource-rich riverine settings, hierarchical sociopolitical systems classified by many archeologists as chiefdoms, and a settlement hierarchy in which the community of the leader or chief often is distinguished archeologically from smaller communities by the presence of flat-topped pyramidal earthen mounds and other monumental architecture of the sort seen at Jonathan Creek.[10]

FIGURE 1
Map showing the location of the Jonathan Creek site. (Courtesy of the author)

FIGURE 2
While conducting a geological survey of western Kentucky, Robert Loughridge visited the Jonathan Creek site and sketched this map. (From Loughridge, Report on the Geological and Economic Features of the Jackson Purchase Region *[1888], 193)*

History of Investigations at Jonathan Creek

The first published account of Jonathan Creek appeared in a late-19th-century report on the geology of western Kentucky. The surveyor, Robert Loughridge, who recognized the ancient earthworks as constructions of American Indians, identified, described, and mapped six earthen mounds situated on a terrace overlooking Jonathan Creek, as well as a seventh mound in the floodplain of the creek.[11](Figure 2)

The site was mentioned again in the early 20th century, this time by a man of wealth and distinction from Philadelphia, Clarence Bloomfield Moore, who, aboard his riverboat, the *Gopher of Philadelphia*, plied the waters of major valleys in the southeastern United States between 1891 and 1918 in search of significant and visually prominent archeological sites.[12] Moore stopped at Jonathan Creek in 1914-1915, reported the presence of mounds that had been impacted by more than a century of plowing, and noted that two of them had the flat tops typical of Mississippian mounds.[13] The Henson family, who had owned the property on which the site was located since at least the time of Loughridge's visit, told Moore that they never noticed any artifacts or bones on the mounds. When Moore's limited testing failed to turn up many cultural materials, he quickly moved on to explorations elsewhere.

Jonathan Creek is next mentioned in early statewide summaries of Kentucky's heritage resources produced by University of Kentucky zoologist, William D. Funkhouser, and physicist, William S. Webb,[14] who visited the Jonathan Creek site in September 1924.[15] In 1927, these two scientists established the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Kentucky to obtain a truck from the National Research Council to use in their statewide archeological survey. By 1931, they had created the Museum of Anthropology to exhibit the results of their research and house the growing quantity of artifacts that they were systematically collecting on their expeditions around the state.[16] Serious archeological investigation of Jonathan Creek was renewed by Webb in the late 1930s, this time in the context of impending site destruction.

Civic Archeology of the New Deal Era

Shortly after Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as president in 1933, he delivered on his campaign promise of a New Deal for all Americans by establishing federally funded relief agencies to stimulate the economy, reduce poverty, and provide jobs. One of these agencies, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), was responsible for dam construction along the Tennessee River.[17] Proposed TVA activities produced an urgent crisis for archeologists when they realized the extent to which heritage resources in the Tennessee drainage basin were in danger of destruction. Archeologists began petitioning the TVA to support a program of salvage archeology using labor provided by other federal work relief agencies. Archeologists in the Southeast successfully tapped into several of these programs, most notably the Works Progress Administration (WPA), in part because they were able to employ and train unskilled laborers, the tools of the trade (e.g., shovels) were simple to use and inexpensive, significant archeological sites were readily identified in many of the areas where unemployment levels were especially high, and the mild climate made it possible to do archeology year-round.

In 1938, TVA asked Webb to document archeological resources in the Kentucky Basin, which was to be created by the construction of the Kentucky Dam across the Tennessee River at Gilbertsville, Kentucky.[18] In 1939, an archeological survey of land that would be flooded by the dam was conducted, and the Jonathan Creek site was designated for further intensive investigation. Excavations were initiated on October 23, 1940, with Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) labor under the direction of Webb, who corresponded with site supervisors James R. Foster, Glenn E. Martin, and Joseph Spears from his office at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. CCC laborers were young men from across the country who typically worked in the national forests, parks, and range lands.(Figure 3) Webb was reluctant to use them for an archeology project, but western Kentucky lacked a suitable WPA labor pool and Frank Setzler and Matthew W. Stirling of the Smithsonian Institution convinced Webb that CCC laborers could be productively used and were less costly than WPA workers.[19] The plan was to excavate the entire Jonathan

FIGURE 3
CCC laborers from Unit B at Jonathan Creek, May 16, 1941. (Courtesy of the William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky)

Creek site, but fieldwork prematurely terminated on March 20, 1942, when the laborers and site supervisors were mobilized for World War II. Less than half the site had been excavated revealing 89 house structures and 8 stockade lines, or palisades, with bastions.(Figure 4)

A brief report was published in 1952, and, astonishingly, it remains the definitive work on Jonathan Creek. Unfortunately, the artifact analyses are based on a very small fraction of the more than 100 cubic feet of cultural materials recovered. Only 150 stone artifacts and 2,685 ceramic rims, sherds, and other items were tabulated in the report.[20] The analyses are largely descriptive, with some functional interpretation of certain artifact types. Furthermore, the feature contexts from which the inventoried objects came are not known. Webb, like many of his colleagues at the time who also did not have formal training in archeology, did not fully appreciate the extent to which the context of artifacts could help solve some of his questions about time and the use of space, and instead relied on architecture to make these kinds of inferences.

Post-World War II Archeology

Following the completion of the Kentucky Dam in 1944,[21] the waters of Kentucky Lake inundated most of the Jonathan Creek site leaving a small portion, including the two largest mounds, which had not been investigated during the CCC project, exposed on a narrow island. During the past couple of decades, recurring shoreline surveys have documented erosion and looting of the site, but no further major field investigations have been undertaken.[22]

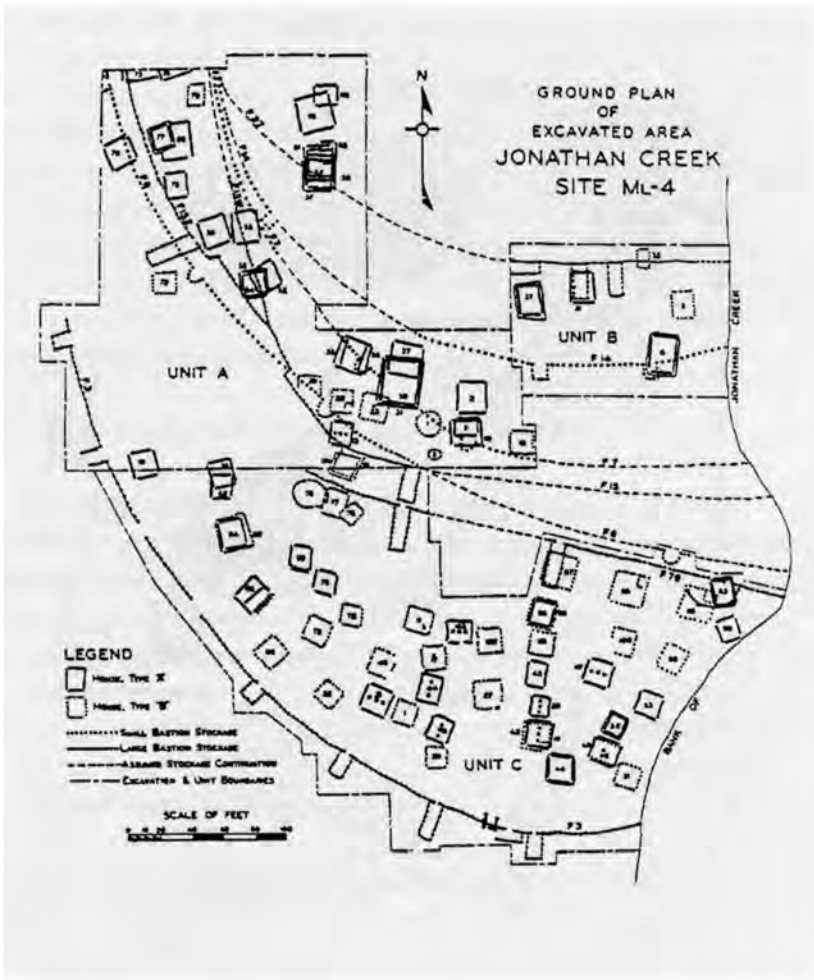


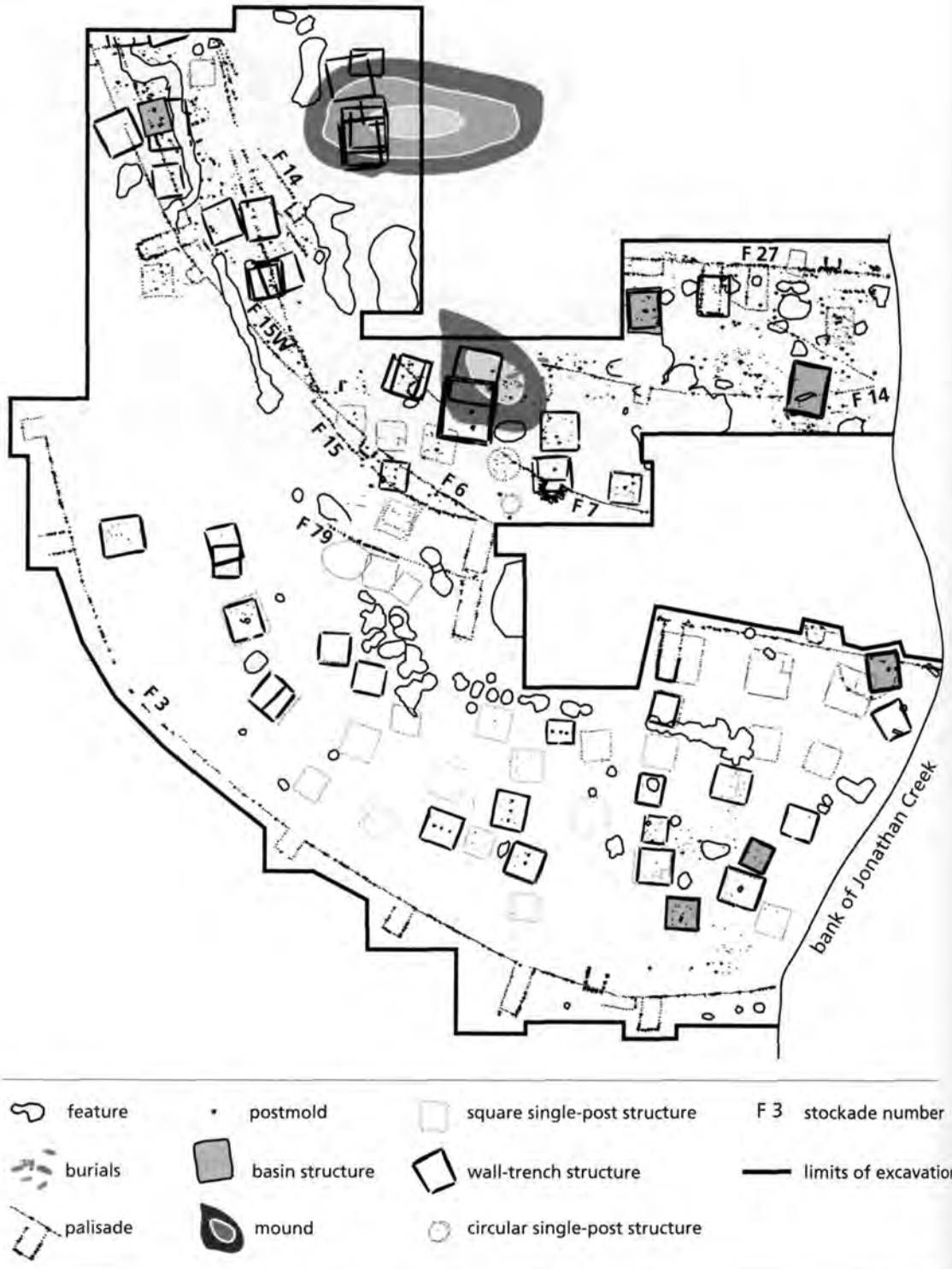
FIGURE 4
Webb prepared this map of excavations at the Jonathan Creek site, which emphasized village residential space and omitted numerous post, pit, and hearth features in order "to present an overall general picture of the relative arrangement of major features." (From Webb, The Jonathan Creek Village [1952], 15-17)

The collections produced by the CCC project at Jonathan Creek have been curated at the University of Kentucky Museum of Anthropology (renamed the William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology in 1995) since the fieldwork ended. Various scholars periodically have viewed portions of the excavated materials and earlier survey collections with the goal of establishing a chronology for the site. Because most of the materials were not washed until the late 1990s, much of this work proceeded in an unsystematic fashion that relied on the relatively small number of ceramics, exotics, and other materials that had been pulled when Webb was preparing his final report. In conjunction with analyses of excavated assemblages from a nearby stratified site, one such study of a sample of Jonathan Creek ceramics established the basic ceramic chronology for the region,[23] which, with minor alterations, continues to be used.[24]

Reclaiming New Deal Archeology: The Present Project

Several years ago, I initiated a major new analysis of Jonathan Creek by mapping the various features excavated in a Geographic Information System (GIS) including those omitted by Webb from his 1952 map, correlated these with

FIGURE 5: JONATHAN CREEK SITE NEW DEAL ERA EXCAVATIONS



The first comprehensive GIS map of Jonathan Creek shows stockades, architecture, features, and the limits of excavation as well as two small mounds. The topography has been simplified to show only the mounds, which are mapped with a 6-inch contour interval. (Courtesy of the author)

topography and established a spatially-based data structure to guide the artifact inventory, which has only recently been initiated. The work that was accomplished would have been impossible without the use of GIS technology to digitally process more than 1,000 topographic measurements taken across the site and manage the data recorded on thousands of postmolds (impressions left in the ground by rotted wooden posts) and more than 100 excavated features and structures. The mapping phase of the research has clarified some of the spatial and temporal relationships among architectural features and led me to re-evaluate Webb's inferences about space, time, and community layout, and formulate new interpretations of the site.

Origins of a Controversy over Houses and Stockades

The Webb-era excavations uncovered a remarkable range of architectural styles that includes single-post circular structures, single-post square or rectangular structures, rectangular pithouses (basins with interior wall trenches), and square or rectangular wall-trench structures, some of which have three large roof support posts running down the center.[25](Figure 5) In addition, at least eight separate walls were constructed around the village and another was built through a portion of the community. At the time of the excavation in the early 1940s, there had been little investigation of sites so intensively protected by massive defensive constructions.

Webb's detailed descriptions of the stockades are a major contribution to regional culture history. In his monograph, Webb stressed the diverse architecture and numerous stockades, some with long bastions, others with short bastions, and the extensive evidence for rebuilt structures and the repair of stockades.[26] Webb focused his discussion on examples of superimposed architecture as a means to determine the residential history of the village. Webb split the history into two separate occupations based on differences in architectural style and bastion design, thereby sowing the seeds of a controversy over the connection between architectural style and ethnicity.

It was not feasible in the 1950s to create one map that illustrated all excavated areas or a detailed topographic map with a narrow contour interval to show subtle shifts in the topography at the site. With the aid of computer mapping programs, and using the meticulously drawn field maps of individual features, I created a comprehensive map of the residential area of Jonathan Creek that includes all features recorded. This was overlaid on a detailed topographic map reconstructed from the original survey readings.(Figure 5)

As I explored this new map, I noticed several previously unrecognized spatial patterns. In the northwest corner of the map are two long, narrow linear pit features, or trenches, which Webb interpreted as erosional gullies. However, both features run parallel to and just outside one of the stockade lines. They

do not appear to follow the entire length of the wall, and consequently may not represent ditches of the sort found surrounding some palisaded Mississippian villages, like King in Georgia, Snodgrass in Missouri, and a number of sites in the Lower Mississippi Valley.[27] Instead, I suggest that these represent pits created as people excavated dirt used to possibly reinforce this extensively repaired segment of the wall that had deteriorated or been damaged in an attack on the community. An area with a continuous line of partially conjoined pit features running east-west through the southern half of the map, parallel to another stockade line, may be the consequence of similar activities. Other large pit features may be places where soil was removed to construct earthen mounds.

I also find it notable that there are relatively few overlapping features and extraneous postmolds in the southern half of the excavated area in contrast to the quantity of extraneous postmolds and intersecting features and stockade walls identified in the northern half, where Webb focused much of his efforts to separate construction sequences. In two places, however, when I overlaid the GIS map on the topographic map it became clear that the sequentially constructed buildings were located on top of low mounds.(Figure 5) One of these mounds, in the northwestern corner of the excavation, had five superimposed wall-trench structures, the most extensive amount of structure rebuilding apparent at the site. These features were excavated near the end of the field project when remnants of the crew were rushing to complete as much work as possible. As a consequence, there are no notes or detailed maps.

I have been able to reclaim more information for the other small mound near the center of the excavation, which was investigated mostly between March and June 1941.[28] In the location of this small mound, at one time on the margins of the community, a burial was placed in a shallow grave and covered by the first stage of mound construction, actions I interpret as indicating a dramatic change in the activities conducted in this part of the site from secular/domestic to ritual/sacred. Once the mound was erected, a wall-trench structure was constructed on the summit. It was later replaced with a second structure, which was destroyed by fire. Following the addition of a thin layer of earth to the mound, a third structure was erected, and it, too, catastrophically burned but was never rebuilt. In addition, nearly a dozen individuals were buried on the mound in shallow graves just outside the structures.

The three structures on top of this small mound are the largest at the site, which I argue signals a sacred and special use, possibly as charnel houses where the bodies and bones of deceased ancestors were stored before being buried in the mound or elsewhere. The final two structures built on this mound may have burned accidentally or been intentionally destroyed as part of a ritual, following a defeat in battle, or upon the death of a particularly beloved leader.[29] Alternatively, these events may have happened during an

attack on the community by enemies intent on desecrating the burial place of the ancestors of community leaders.[30] The reasons for the destruction are not entirely clear, but after the last conflagration, the mound was no longer used.

Webb's Interpretive Framework

The Jonathan Creek report was published shortly after the first application of radiocarbon dating and widespread acceptance that the ancient history of the Americas extended back at least 10,000 years, yet Webb's interpretive framework remained entrenched within a sense of foreshortened time depth that characterized American archeology prior to World War II. Webb sought to interpret architecture at the site (Figure 6) in terms of chronology and migration. He also used analogy with the chronicles of the 16th-century de Soto entrada,[31] which described similar kinds of palisaded villages, and ethnohistoric accounts of the Chickasaw, who claimed lands in western Kentucky where Jonathan Creek is located, and the Natchez, who had historic connections with the Chickasaw.[32] He noted the absence of European trade goods from Jonathan Creek and that the ceramics differed from those recovered from known 16th- and 17th-century sites, like Chickasaw Old Fields in

FIGURE 6
Photograph of a segment of the outermost stockade at Jonathan Creek that was excavated with CCC labor. Postmolds that are part of a stockade line, gate, defensive tower, and long bastion are visible. (Courtesy of the William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky)

Mississippi,[33] leading him to rightly conclude that the site predated European contact.[34] Webb, however, was reluctant to reconstruct ancient lifeways, possibly because of his lack of formal training in anthropology, which seems to have hampered him more than other archeologists of the time, many of whom also did not have strong anthropological backgrounds.[35]

Webb did not describe the site as belonging to the Mississippian Tradition, even though this cultural classification had been in use for nearly half a century.[36] Instead, he drew analogies with other sites in the Southeast on the basis of similar ceramics, house styles, and stockades. The material culture descrip-

tions provided in the report are relatively simple, conforming to an approach Webb had used since he first began archeological research in Kentucky in the 1920s, and focused on a limited inventory of the materials recovered, stressed functional interpretations, and avoided accepted typologies.[37] This trait list approach to archeological classification, common practice before World War II, later came under heavy criticism.[38]

The story related by Webb in a section of his report appropriately and cautiously entitled, "Speculations," is that the Jonathan Creek site had been occupied by two distinct sets of people. According to Webb, the first residents of the community lived in wall-trench structures and pit houses and built the stockades with the large, rectangular bastions.(Figure 4) Webb argued that the innermost of these stockades was constructed first and the community gradually expanded in size.[39] He further suggested that the people responsible for the first occupation were Chickasaw. He hints that the site was then abandoned for a period of time.

Webb posited that the second occupation of the site started out small, by people who built the square single-post structures and the stockades with the small bastions. He suggested that the first wall erected was the innermost small-bastioned stockade. Subsequent stockades reflected slight but insignificant increases in community size. Webb associated this second occupation of the site with the Natchez.

A Reconsideration of Webb's Evidence

Structures

Webb used several lines of evidence for his inferences about two occupations at the site, most of which are equivocal or have not been confirmed by a thorough reinspection of the field notes, maps, and photographs. Webb treated the wall-trench buildings as a diagnostic trait of the first occupants of the site and associated the single-post structures with the second occupants.[40] However, very few examples of overlapping buildings of different types exist. When I reexamined the field maps and notes, I identified at least two wall-trench structures that were built over abandoned single-post structures. Other attempts to distinguish consistent sequences in architectural style have been unsuccessful.[41] The evidence for significant temporal differences in structure style at the site is ambiguous, and explanations for architectural variability need to be sought elsewhere.

Different building styles may instead reflect functional distinctions such as seasonal occupations, menstrual huts, public buildings, and small structures used to store corn and other resources.[42] However, at Jonathan Creek different styles that might represent summer (single-post) and winter houses (wall-trench and pithouses) are not clearly paired together as is the case at

other Mississippian sites like Chota-Tanasee, Toqua, and Ledford Island in Tennessee.[43] Alternatively, some of the distinctive architecture may symbolize membership in a particular social group or represent ethnic or other differences among contemporaneous occupants of the site.

Stockades

Webb asserted that each of the stockade lines with long bastions[44] was constructed across undisturbed areas and argued that such a pattern would result only from sequential expansion of the village. I have found one exception to his observation of a village expanding across previously unused land—a wall-trench structure on the western margins of the site that had been abandoned before one of the long bastioned stockades was constructed across the same area. It is possible that a few houses were located outside the early stockaded community,[45] and the people who lived there were expected to raise a cry of warning when enemies were approaching the village. However, in all other cases where structures overlap long-bastioned stockade lines and the chronological ordering of the features can be teased apart, the structures were built after the stockades had been dismantled, confirming Webb's conclusion about a community that had grown over time.

In contrast to the walls with the long bastions, the stockades with small bastions[46] were constructed over many features and structures. Because of the different design of these bastions, Webb reasoned that they were built by other people who, he argued, were responsible for the second occupation of the site. After reviewing the maps and field notes, it is clear that one stockade line with small bastions (Feature 6) was definitely constructed after one of the long bastioned stockades, but it is not possible to determine the temporal relationships among the other small-bastioned stockade lines and any of the long-bastioned stockades.

Webb also argued that the three stockades with small bastions were the last three walls to be erected. While I agree that they probably postdate most of the long-bastioned stockades, I think that the outermost wall (Feature 3), which has both long and short bastions, was the final stockade.[47] It is the only wall with no evidence for rebuilding, post replacement, or intentional dismantlement. It was constructed of the largest posts of any stockade at the site, and the posts were sunk deeper into the ground. In short, the construction sequence for the stockades at Jonathan Creek is probably more complex than recognized by Webb, the shifting placement of walls reflects either community growth or a southward shift in the center of the community, and the bastion styles cannot be used reliably to distinguish a temporal order for the stockades.

Cultural Affiliation

In making inferences about the source of variability in architecture, Webb stressed ethnicity and time. The association between the first occupation, rep-

resented by wall-trench structures and long-bastioned stockades, and the Chickasaw was based in part on an assumption, common before World War II, of continuity between late prehistoric and early historic times in terms of the geographic distribution of tribes. An 1818 treaty between the United States Government and the Chickasaw Nation recognized the Chickasaw claim to territory that included western Kentucky where the Jonathan Creek site is located. In addition, Webb had been involved in the excavation of a Creek village in Guntersville Basin in Alabama where a stockade with long bastions was uncovered. Because both the Chickasaw and the Creek are Muskhogean speakers, Webb located the origin of the stockade construction in the common history of these two tribes.[48]

Webb's suggestion that the Natchez were responsible for the second occupation of the site, represented by single-post structures and short-bastioned palisades, is based on an 18th-century account of a Natchez fort built of wooden logs and "at every forty paces along the wall a circular tower jets out."[49] Webb found this an apt description of the Jonathan Creek stockades with small bastions, including the distance between bastions, which, at 125 feet (38 m), is roughly equal to 40 paces. As was common in the mid-20th century, Webb assumed that similar material traits between archeological contexts and ethnohistoric and ethnographic descriptions reflected "common origins, history, and ethnicity," failing to recognize, as we do today, that evolutionary convergence and independent invention can produce material similarities.[50] Furthermore, he noted that when the Natchez were defeated and displaced by the French in 1730-1731, some survivors joined with the Chickasaw, reflecting in his view, a deep history of association between the two tribes.[51]

Interpretive Frameworks

Webb's interpretive framework, strongly influenced by his interest in connecting prehistory and history and common in Americanist archeology before World War II, has since been strongly criticized and fallen out of favor.[52] His inference of a historical link between Jonathan Creek and the Chickasaw was predicated on assumptions of regional settlement continuity and cultural stability that are not confirmed by the archeological record.

Archeologists working in the confluence region of the lower Ohio River Valley and western Kentucky have found few sites with radiometric evidence of occupations after about A.D. 1400 or 1450.[53] Radiocarbon dates from Jonathan Creek place a substantial portion of the occupation history of the site between A.D. 1200 and 1300.[54] These data support the notion of regional settlement abandonment in the Mississippi-Ohio confluence area and western Kentucky after circa A.D. 1450 and weaken Webb's direct historic analogies with the Chickasaw. In recent decades, Mississippian societies have been recognized as inherently dynamic and unstable political organizations prone to formation, expansion, cycling back and forth between different levels of complexity,

fission-fusion, collapse, migration, and settlement and regional abandonment.[55] This view of Mississippian societies and the regional radiocarbon data is incompatible with the assumption of cultural stability that underlies Webb's approach to connecting prehistory with the historic ethnographic record. Along with the possible multi-ethnic composition of these ancient communities, this poses considerable challenges for scholars and others concerned with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) who are interested in determining specific tribal affiliations for archeological materials from sites that predate European contact.

Implications of Stockades

Most scholars presume that stockades are equated with concerns for security and war,[56] but it is important to consider alternative explanations of variation in wall construction that go beyond those focused strictly on military engineering. Webb, building on the evidence for a heavily fortified site, asserted that the people who established the community were recent migrants into the region. The differences between his first and second occupations can also be attributed to migration.

In the mid-20th century, it was common for archeologists to ascribe major change to migration.[57] However, in the case of Jonathan Creek, the migration question cannot be adequately addressed with the available evidence. The stylistic attributes of the ceramics from the site, although incompletely analyzed, are typical for Mississippian assemblages in western Kentucky and do not hint at an influx of people from a place distant enough to be ceramically distinctive. The investment in stockade construction certainly indicates a great concern for security, but the reasons that lie behind this are more difficult to identify. At their most fundamental level, the stockades demonstrate a serious concern for controlling access to and from the community. These substantial exterior walls, with narrow and protected entryways, enabled community members to control the movement of resources and people in and out of the town.

The substantial walls that surround entire communities, like Jonathan Creek, may have been another way of displaying status. A leader must have the resources and access to labor necessary to construct such an awe-inspiring feature.[58] Such planned and massive constructions also may have been a strategic response to conflict and threats of war. The constructions would have provided a measure of protection against siege attacks and may have been an offensive strategy to intimidate the enemy.

Conclusion

By virtue of the quality of the records and maps developed by the supervisors in charge of the 1940-1942 excavations at Jonathan Creek, which have been curated at the University of Kentucky since 1942, it has been possible to

reclaim and expand their interpretive potential more than half a century later. Modern GIS-based analyses of these New Deal-era archival documents, long overlooked and underappreciated, enable a reevaluation of William S. Webb's conclusion that ethnic migration accounted for Jonathan Creek's architectural variability, and to consider the effects of politics and functional, social, and ethnic differences on architectural style.

It appears that the leaders and occupants of Jonathan Creek, a Mississippian-era settlement occupied primarily in the 13th century A.D., were encircled by a precarious political and social landscape, concerned about security and controlling the movement of people and goods into and out of the village, and preoccupied with displaying their status in a fashion that intimidated outsiders. With these reclaimed data, my work has reinterpreted Jonathan Creek, an iconic site in eastern North America that had remained frozen in mid-20th-century archeological frameworks, to consider how the unstable and dynamic nature of interactions among diverse peoples played out through war and conflict, alliance-building, and demographic expansion. Thus, as a result of my work, the significance of the site is extended beyond interpretations framed by culture history to encompass broader contemporary anthropological issues about cultural heterogeneity and complexity. Like the work of other scholars who are reinvestigating New Deal-era archeological materials, the ongoing Jonathan Creek research clearly demonstrates the potential of old collections to answer new questions and augment our understanding of ancient peoples. The Jonathan Creek site has a new kind of iconic status as an emblem of the benefits of archeological curation and the quality of New Deal-era archeology, underscoring how collections can be the foundation of past, present, and future knowledge.

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12. Lawrence E. Aten and Jerald T. Milanich, "Clarence Bloomfield Moore: A Philadelphia Archaeologist in the Southeastern United States," in *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology*, ed. Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 113-133; Vernon J. Knight, Jr., ed., *The Moundville Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996), 1-20; Richard R. Polhemus, ed., *The Tennessee, Green, and Lower Ohio Rivers Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 1-45.

13. Moore, "Aboriginal Sites," 189.

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15. Webb and Funkhouser, *Ancient Life In Kentucky*, 159.

16. Edwin A. Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996), 20.

17. Ibid.

18. Lyon, *Southeastern Archaeology*, 158; George R. Milner and Virginia G. Smith, *New Deal Archaeology in Kentucky: Excavations, Collections, and Research*, Occasional Papers in Anthropology no. 5 (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1986), 19; Tennessee Valley Authority, *A History of the Tennessee Valley Authority*, 50th Anniversary Edition (Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1983).

19. Lyon, *Southeastern Archaeology*, 164; Milner and Smith, *New Deal Archaeology*, 19.

20. Webb, *Jonathan Creek Village*, 87, 109.

21. Lyon, *Southeastern Archaeology*, 158; Tennessee Valley Authority, *The Kentucky Project*, Technical Report no. 13 (Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1951), 1; Tennessee Valley Authority, *The Tennessee River Navigation System: History, Development, and Operation*, Technical Report no. 25 (Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1964), 34.

22. Updated site forms on file at the Office of State Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky; see also Lynne M. Wolforth, "Six House-Basin Structures: The Jonathan Creek Site and its Depositional History," in *Current Archaeological Research in Kentucky* vol. 1, ed. David Pollack (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, 1987), 101-119.

23. R. Berle Clay, "Ceramic Complexes of the Tennessee-Cumberland Region in Western Kentucky" (M.A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1963).

24. Butler, "Kincaid Revisited" and Clay, "Mississippian Sequence."

25. Three single-post circular structures, 6 pithouses, 33 single-post square/rectangular structures, and 47 wall-trench structures. The numbers of each structure type differ slightly from that presented in Webb, *Jonathan Creek Village*, 58. Feature 18, Unit A, was described in the field notes and by Webb as a single-post rectangular structure, but wall trenches are clearly apparent in the photographs taken of this structure just before it was excavated. Feature 72, Unit A, was classified by Webb as a single-post circular structure, but based on the field maps it is a single-post rectangular structure.

26. Webb, *Jonathan Creek Village*.

27. David J. Hally, "Archaeology and Settlement Plan of the King Site," in *The King Site: Continuity and Contact in Sixteenth-Century Georgia*, ed. Robert L. Blakely (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 3-16; Philip Phillips, James A. Ford, and James B. Griffin, *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley, 1940-1947*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology no. 25 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1951), 329-324; James E. Price and James B. Griffin, *The Snodgrass Site of the Powers Phase of Southeast Missouri*, Anthropological Papers no. 66 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology, 1979).

28. Sissel Schroeder, "Angelly Phase Mound Construction at Jonathan Creek," *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Kentucky Heritage Council Archaeology Conference*, ed. Richard D. Davis and Richard V. Williamson (Frankfort: Kentucky Heritage Council, forthcoming).

29. Such a conflagration is depicted in a 16th-century engraving of Timucua Indians mourning a dead chief and described in Theodor de Bry, *Narrative of Le Moyne, An Artist Who Accompanied the French Expedition to Florida under Laudonnière, 1564*, trans. Frank B. Perkins (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Company, 1875), quoted in Emma Lila Fundaburk, *Southeastern Indians: Life Portraits, A Catalogue of Pictures, 1564-1860* (Luverne, AL, 1958), 102.

30. See similar descriptions for Pacaha, Cofitachequi, and Anilco, three communities visited by Hernando de Soto, as described in Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca*, trans. John Varner and Jeannette Varner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), 292-293, 437-438, 493.

31. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds., *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).

32. Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana or the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina* (Baton Rouge, LA: Claitor's Publishing, 1774); John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 43 (Washington, DC, 1911).

33. Jesse D. Jennings, "Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures of Northeast Mississippi," *The Journal of Mississippi History* 3 (1941).

34. See Webb, *Jonathan Creek Site*, 136. For an introduction to contact-era archeology in the Southeast, see David Hurst Thomas, ed., *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

35. For example, Milner and Smith, *New Deal Archaeology in Kentucky*; Schwartz, *Conceptions of Kentucky Prehistory*.

36. Holmes, *Aboriginal Pottery*.

37. Schwartz, *Conceptions of Kentucky Prehistory*.

38. Lyon, *Southeastern Archaeology*, 42; Milner and Smith, *New Deal Archaeology*, 15-16. For a historical discussion of the problems with the trait-list approach see Albert C. Spaulding, "Fifty Years of Theory," *American Antiquity* 50 (1985): 301-308.

39. On Webb's published map in *Jonathan Creek Village*, the labels for 15E and 15W are reversed.

40. Webb, *Jonathan Creek Village*, 67-74.

41. Clay, "Mississippian Sequence" and Wolforth, "Six House-Basin Structures."

42. For ethnohistoric descriptions of building uses, see William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, The Cherokee Country, The Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws* (Philadelphia, PA: James and Johnson, 1791), 189-190, 365; James Hall, *A Brief History of the Mississippi Territory* (1801; reprint, Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, 1976), 3-4; Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, eds., *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 154-186; and Patricia Dillon Woods, *French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 14. On menstrual huts, see W. David Baird, *The Chickasaw People* (Phoenix, AZ: Indian Tribal Series, 1974), 6; Woods, *French-Indian Relations*, 14; and Patricia Galloway, "Where Have All the Menstrual Huts Gone? The Invisibility of Menstrual Seclusion in the Late Prehistoric Southeast," in *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*, ed. Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 47-62.

43. Richard R. Polhemus, *The Toqua Site: A Late Mississippian Dallas Phase Town*, Report of Investigations 41, Tennessee Valley Authority Publications in Anthropology 44 (Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1987); Gerald F. Schroedl, ed., *Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee*, Report of Investigations 38, Tennessee Valley Authority Publications in Anthropology 42 (Knoxville: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1986); Lynne P. Sullivan, "The Mouse Creek Phase Household," *Southeastern Archaeology* 6 (1987): 16-29; Lynne P. Sullivan, "Mississippian Household and Community Organization in Eastern Tennessee," in *Mississippian Communities and Households*, ed. J. Daniel Rogers and Bruce D. Smith (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 99-123.

44. Features 27, 15/15E, 15W, 79, and 3.

45. Excavations at the Toqua Site in Tennessee revealed two structures located just outside the stockade. See Polhemus, *The Toqua Site*, 84, 1245.

46. Features 6, 7, and 14.

47. Sissel Schroeder, "Walls as Symbols of Political, Economic, and Military Might," in *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*, ed. Paul Welch and Brian Butler (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, forthcoming).

48. Webb, *Jonathan Creek Village*, 135. Webb was self-conscious about his lack of formal training in anthropology and consequently was especially conscious of establishing the anthropological relevance of his archeological interpretations. See Lyon, *Southeastern Archaeology* and Milner and Smith, *New Deal Archaeology in Kentucky*.

49. Webb, *Jonathan Creek Village*, 116.

50. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 191. See also R. Lee Lyman and Michael J. O'Brien, "The Direct Historical Approach, Analogical Reasoning, and Theory in Americanist Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8 (2001): 303-342.

51. This defeat occurred following more than a year of war, 1729-1731. See du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 356.

52. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 186-195.

53. Cobb and Butler, "Vacant Quarter Revisited" and Stephen Williams, "The Vacant Quarter and Other Late Events in the Lower Valley," in *Towns and Temples Along the Mississippi*, ed. David H. Dye and C. A. Cox (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 170-180. For an alternative perspective on persistence of occupation in the region, see Lewis, "Late Prehistory of the Ohio-Mississippi Rivers."

54. Schroeder, "Walls as Symbols."

55. David G. Anderson, *The Savannah River Chiefdoms: Political Change in the Late Prehistoric Southeast* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994); John H. Blitz, "Mississippian Chiefdoms and the Fission-Fusion Process," *American Antiquity* 64 (1999): 577-592; George R. Milner and Sissel Schroeder, "Mississippian Sociopolitical Systems," in *Great Towns and Regional Polities in the Prehistoric American Southwest and Southeast*, ed. Jill E. Neitzel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 95-107.

56. George R. Milner, "Palisaded Settlements in Prehistoric Eastern North America," in *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 46-70; Karl T. Steinen, "Ambushes, Raids, and Palisades: Mississippian Warfare in the Interior Southeast," *Southeastern Archaeology* 11 (1992): 132-139; Mary Beth D. Trubitt, "Mississippian Period Warfare and Palisade Construction at Cahokia," in *Theory, Method, and Practice in Modern Archaeology*, ed. Robert J. Jeske and Douglas K. Charles (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 149-162.

57. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 194.

58. Schroeder, "Walls as Symbols."

Historic American Buildings Survey: North Carolina Audit

by Martin J. Perschler

The National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) has produced one of the largest architectural archives in the world. Since it was established in 1933, HABS has documented over 25,000 structures and sites in a combination of measured drawings, large-format photographs, and written historical reports, all of which are on permanent deposit at the Library of Congress and are available to the public. As a quantitative measure of its success at upholding the principle of preservation through documentation, the number of documented sites that have entered the HABS collection since the 1930s (more than 300,000 items in all) is also one of HABS's reddest herrings: While a reliable indicator of HABS's activity across the country, the number of recorded sites sheds little light on the quality of the documentation produced by HABS or on HABS's success at meeting one of its chief goals: to serve as a "complete resume of the builders' art."[1]

Recent changes at the HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS (Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/Historic American Landscapes Survey/Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems) Program have made it possible to extract new information from the collections. An effort begun in 2001 to catalog all HABS records has already led to a clearer understanding of the range of building types documented by the program since 1933. The introduction of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) as another collections management tool in the spring of 2004 has contributed towards creating a more accurate and meaningful picture of HABS's work. Time and again, cataloging and GIS are proving their mettle as highly effective tools for measuring HABS's progress and charting new courses and documentation priorities.

In the summer of 2004, HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS combined cataloging and GIS in a pilot study—an audit—of HABS documentation. Using the HABS records on sites in North Carolina, Romola Ghulamali, a student at the University of Maryland and a participant in the National Park Service's Cultural Resources Diversity Internship Program, and I completed several significant cataloguing tasks. We catalogued close to 400 HABS records; cross-checked them against North Carolina's lists of National Historic Landmarks and state historic sites; consulted architectural guidebooks for information on the architectural character and history of the state's three distinct geographical regions; searched HABS's administrative history files for correspondence, lists,

and other records relating to HABS's first efforts in the state; and consulted with the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office for information on current surveying and other preservation priorities. We used GIS to represent the distribution of recording activities and to locate landmarks, historic sites, and other buildings and building types that might be considered suitable for future surveys.

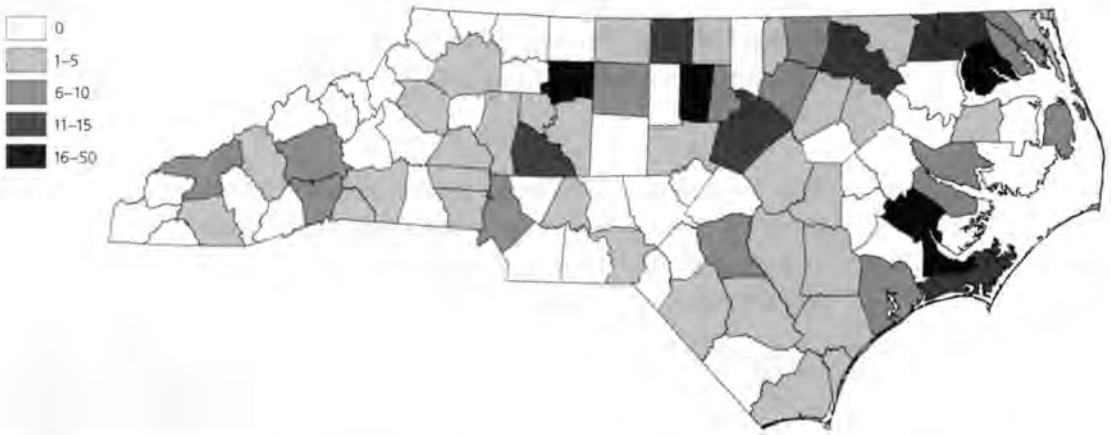
While some of the North Carolina audit findings are predictable given the way in which HABS has evolved as a program over the years, others are unique to North Carolina. For instance, nearly 30 percent of the HABS records for North Carolina now at the Library of Congress can be attributed to one man.

FIGURE 1
Sandy Point Plantation, Chowan County, North Carolina, taken July 1940, is one of many photographs made by Thomas T. Waterman. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division)

Thomas T. Waterman (1900-1951), an associate architect for HABS and supervisor of recording efforts along the eastern seaboard from 1933 to 1942, photographed and researched over 100 buildings and sites in North Carolina during a three-week trip through the state in July 1940, a remarkable achievement even by today's standards. His keen personal interest in the state's early domestic architecture—an interest he cultivated while working for HABS and the driving force behind his July adventure—resulted in a beautifully illustrated book on the subject in collaboration with photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston, and an abundance of photo documentation of 18th- and early-19th-century houses in the HABS collection.[2] His interests likewise led to the establishment of an architectural canon for North Carolina in which houses occupy center stage.(Figure 1)

While the HABS collection includes records of buildings from each region of the state, half are (or were) located in eastern North Carolina, where

FIGURE 2: NORTH CAROLINA HABS REPORTS, AUGUST 2004



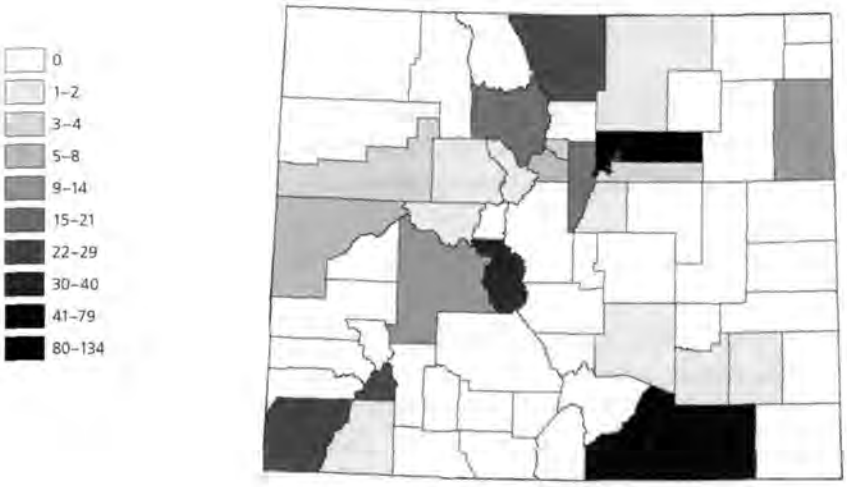
This map of North Carolina illustrates the concentration of properties per county represented in the HABS collection as of August 2004. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Waterman focused most of his energy. Although the North Carolina records represent a wide variety of building types (114 different types), frame and brick houses predominate, accounting for 61 percent of the North Carolina buildings and sites recorded by HABS. While not surprising considering Waterman's interests and those of HABS, that figure exceeds current estimates of the number of houses in the HABS collection overall (37 percent, based on a sampling of approximately 6,000 records, or 20 percent of the collection). By comparison, only 1 percent of buildings recorded in North Carolina may be classified as barns, whereas collection-wide the figure approaches 8 percent. In a state where agricultural roots run deep, a dearth of recorded barns is as good an indicator as any of the direction HABS might consider the next time it heads to the Tar Heel State.

Approximately 25 percent of the North Carolina records includes a measured drawings component, matching the average for the HABS collection overall. One third of the drawing sets are the work of students in the School of Design at North Carolina State University (previously North Carolina State College), who measured and drew 32 buildings and sites for HABS during the 1960s and 1970s. The number of photographs and historical data per report are below the collection average. Such lower figures are due in large part to the cursory nature of recording activities in the state from 1933 to 1940.

Forsyth County in the North Carolina Piedmont leads other counties in the number of recorded sites, with several of them located in the 18th-century Moravian settlement of Old Salem (part of today's Winston-Salem). Following Forsyth are Craven and Chowan Counties along the Atlantic coast, where the recorded sites—many of them photographed by Waterman—are located either

FIGURE 3: COLORADO DECEMBER 2004



This map of Colorado illustrates the concentration of properties per county represented in the HABS collection as of October 2004. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

in or around the 18th-century county seats of New Bern, founded in 1710, and Edenton, founded in 1715.(Figure 2)

National parks account for approximately 6 percent of the North Carolina records in the HABS collection. More than half (64 percent) of those records are associated with parks in the Blue Ridge Mountains or the Appalachian foothills, where they represent 44 percent of all HABS records for the region. According to current statistics, HABS has recorded 47 percent of North Carolina's 38 National Historic Landmarks, 11 percent of its 27 state historic sites, and at least 1 building or site in 58 of the state's 100 counties.

Possibilities for new recording projects abound in North Carolina, whether the projects take a geographical tack, fall along typological lines (say, a tobacco barn survey), or follow a thematic approach (a National Historic Landmarks recording project, for example). Architectural interests have evolved since the 1930s, the field of eligible survey candidates has drastically expanded, and many buildings and sites once thought to be safe from destruction—or not thought of at all—now face uncertain futures as population shifts, commercial and residential development, natural disasters, and sweeping transformations in agriculture and traditional industries press against North Carolina's historic architectural fabric. The measure of HABS's success in North Carolina and elsewhere over the next 70 years may be the extent to which HABS is able to keep ahead of these changes.

The collections management team at HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS is now applying the lessons of the North Carolina audit to other states. A report looking at the track records of both HABS and its sister program, the Historic

American Engineering Record (HAER), in Colorado is scheduled for December 2004.(Figure 3) Reports on Arizona, Maine, the Dakotas, and Oklahoma will follow.

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Notes

1. Charles E. Peterson, "Memorandum for the Director, Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations," November 13, 1933, as reprinted in "American Notes," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 16, no. 3 (October 1957): 30. See also Lisa Pfueller Davidson and Martin J. Perschler, "The Historic American Buildings Survey During the New Deal Era: Documenting 'a Complete Resume of the Builders' Art'," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 49-73.

2. Frances Benjamin Johnston and Thomas T. Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

Exploring the Contributions of the Buffalo Soldiers Through New Technologies

by Deidre McCarthy

Following the Civil War, the United States Army recognized the contributions of African American soldiers in maintaining the Union by offering placement of black troops as regular soldiers in the peacetime United States military. In 1866, Congress reorganized the military to reflect peacetime needs and to take advantage of the willing and experienced African American troops at their disposal. Creating African American cavalry and infantry units, military leadership sent these troops West to participate in the Indian Wars. According to tradition, it was the American Indians who dubbed the African American troops "Buffalo Soldiers."

The role played by the Buffalo Soldiers in the conquest of the American West is controversial. The American military studied the colonial model used in the deployment of native troops against indigenous populations. The establishment of regular black troops in the American West after the Civil War reflected many of these ideas. Today, aspects of Buffalo Soldier history are idealized or incorporated as a part of an evolving national mythology. Regardless, Buffalo Soldiers played an important role in the 19th-century history of the American West.

In 2002, the National Park Service's Intermountain Regional Office and the Desert Southwest Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CESU) established a partnership with Howard University in Washington, DC, and Haskell Indian Nations University in Lawrence, Kansas.[1] Designed to give undergraduate history students experience in inventorying significant data and sites associated with the Buffalo Soldiers and to foster cooperation among the African American and American Indian communities, the effort was entitled the Warriors Project. By opening a dialogue between the African American and American Indian communities, the National Park Service hopes to foster interest in a subject of mutual importance to a new generation, in addition to providing greater recognition to these important resources.

Through the National Park Service Director's Challenge Cost Share Initiative, the Desert Southwest CESU provided funding to Haskell Indian Nations University to create a comprehensive bibliography of documentary resources describing engagement between the Buffalo Soldiers and American Indians. Similarly, funding was provided to Howard University for the identification of a wide range of significant sites—from battlefields to campgrounds—associated

with Buffalo Soldiers. Students from the universities identified approximately 250 sites in 12 states associated with Buffalo Soldier activity between 1866 and 1891 and compiled a bibliography of primary and secondary source works.

The Role of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Technology

As part of the project, the National Park Service encouraged the use of technology to improve communication among the students and to increase public access to the data produced. The National Park Service Cultural Resource Geographic Information Systems (CRGIS) Facility offered technical support to help explore the benefits of geographic information systems and help students better visualize resource locations, make initial assessments of potential threats to the resources, and determine the existing level of protection for resources.

More than simply computerized cartography, GIS software displays real world features as individual map layers according to feature type, such as roads, camp sites, battlefields, or park boundaries. By stacking map layers, users view layers in relationship to each other and the Earth. Attribute information in a database describes each map feature, allowing user queries based on text descriptions or geography.

As part of the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/Historic American Landscapes Survey/Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems (HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS) Program, CRGIS works to apply GIS technology to traditional research and documentation projects. Combining GIS technologies with standard historical research methods allows CRGIS to perform better analysis, visualize resources in new ways, and provide new perspectives to historians, planners, resource managers, and the public. Similarly, GIS provides the students involved in the Warriors Project a powerful tool to perform meaningful analysis of their results and communicate their conclusions in a dynamic and visual way.

CRGIS provided the participating students at Howard University a two-day GIS training class on cultural resource applications of the software. CRGIS also worked with Environmental Systems Research Institute, the creator of ArcView GIS software, to donate software licenses to Howard University for the project.

CRGIS created generalized point locations for 215 of the 250 identified sites using existing data sources, such as the National Register of Historic Places, federal land boundaries, national park boundaries, and the Geographic Names Information System created by the U.S. Geological Survey. The attribute table associated with the points identified those sites already listed in the National Register, located on federal property, or protected in some way. Information

provided by the Howard University students, such as date ranges, military units, and American Indian opponents, were similarly entered into the attribute table, attaching a wealth of information to each point on the map. Definitive locations for the remaining 35 sites could not be determined from the information provided by the students.(Figure 1)

Subsequently, CRGIS helped the Howard University students use the geographic data and GIS to make maps showing the distribution of sites in the West associated with the Buffalo Soldiers. Because of the information contained in the attribute tables, students performed some basic analysis, such as color-coding the sites by date range, unit, and opponent. Through GIS, students also explored the level of protection for each resource by overlaying the site locations on national park or federal land boundaries.(Figure 2)

Maps and data produced by the Howard and Haskell students contributed to a report submitted by the universities to the National Park Service in 2004. Both groups of students found the project rewarding and informative, giving them opportunities to explore aspects of each other's cultures that they may never have previously considered.

The Future of the Warriors Project

The success of the Warriors Project may lead to additional work highlighting the lives and contributions of both African Americans and American Indians during the 19th century. Certainly, the information collected during the Warriors Project calls for more research to find the 35 sites for which no location could be determined. Students could look to other technologies such as Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to pinpoint these critical resources with more accuracy. By incorporating other technologies, students could interview tribal elders, collect oral traditions, and associate that information with specific geographic locations. Tied with traditional documentary sources, this information could be linked for the first time through GIS.

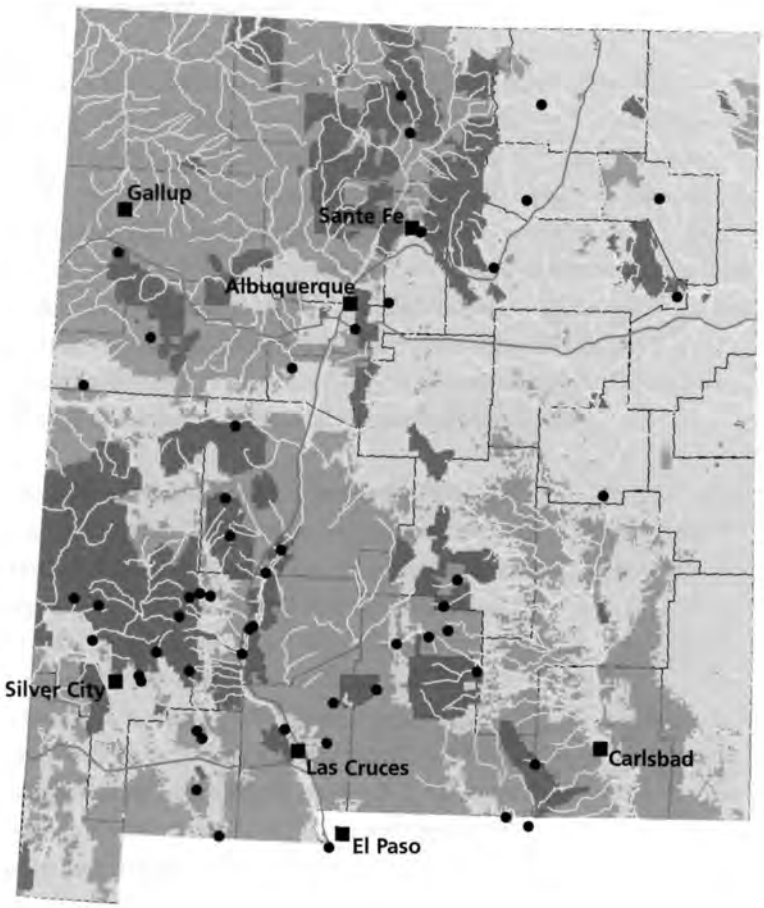
Similarly, the Warriors Project calls for a more systematic survey of resources associated with the Buffalo Soldiers, to assess potential threats to these sites and to recognize where they are already protected. The National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program conducted comprehensive surveys of this type for the Civil War, the War of 1812, and the Revolutionary War, which could serve as models. Building on the work already completed and taking advantage of the technological tools available, this type of study for Warriors Project sites would significantly contribute to scholarship in this area, as well as the protection of these often overlooked sites. Such a project could increase communication between the American Indian and African American communities as they work to identify more sites and survey known sites.

FIGURE 1: SIGNIFICANT HISTORIC SITES ASSOCIATED WITH BUFFALO SOLDIER REGIMENTS

Howard University students identified the location of the 215 Buffalo Soldier sites in the United States. The locations are classified by date range corresponding to their period of significance. (Courtesy of CRGIS, National Park Service)

FIGURE 2: SITES ASSOCIATED WITH BUFFALO SOLDIERS IN NEW MEXICO

This map shows Buffalo Soldier sites in New Mexico overlaid with national park lands and other federally owned lands. (Courtesy of CRGIS, National Park Service)



Finally, the Warriors Project will lead to more professional interest in these resources and raise public awareness of the contributions of these combatants in the history of the American West. Recent archeological investigations, funded by the Desert Southwest CESU through the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management, are addressing military sites identified during this project, such as the Guadalupe Mountains base camp in Texas. The Intermountain Region's Colorado Plateau and Rocky Mountain CESUs joined the effort and began to explore possibilities for archeological field schools and theme studies. Studies focusing on the Villista Campaigns on the United States-Mexican border and the conflicts of African American troops with border guerillas during the Mexican Revolution of 1910 are also being explored. Heritage tourism continues to play an important role as state departments of tourism work with tourism organizations to develop and market tours.

Through the application of technologies such as GIS, students can create maps to make powerful statements that can be used in state, local, and federal preservation planning processes and can help to promote the protection of these sites and raise public awareness of local history. These technologies offer additional tools to historians and students, promoting more informed scholarship. The dynamic and flexible nature of GIS will help to tell the important story of diverse peoples and their roles in American history.

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Note

1. Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Units (CESUs) are formal partnerships among federal agencies and universities to provide research, technical assistance, and education on the biological, physical, social, and cultural sciences to federal land management, environmental, and research agencies and their potential partners. CESUs address natural and cultural resource issues and interdisciplinary problem solving in an ecosystem context.

Mississippi's Historic Schools Survey

by Jennifer V. Opager Baughn

Schools are, and have historically been, at the center of their communities. Thus, an understanding of the history of school buildings must include insights into how events have shaped schools and how schools have shaped events. National movements such as Progressivism, the New Deal, and the fight for desegregation touched even the most rural counties through the schools. School buildings—through their construction, occupation, and abandonment—illustrate the rise and fall of populations, and the movement of people to the cities and towns and of African Americans to the North. Schools also demonstrate the increasing standardization of the building trades and the growing professionalism of architectural practice. The importance of these and other themes provides a solid basis for convincing school officials and the public of the significance of school buildings and of the need to preserve them.

In June 1999, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History initiated a survey of all public schools in the state built before 1960. This survey included all buildings constructed as schools, regardless of their current use. Fieldwork has been conducted in each of the state's 82 counties and should be completed by August 2005. Early results indicate that at least 800 extant schools will be documented, and information about another 3,000 non-extant resources will be added to Mississippi's Historic Resources Inventory.(Figure 1)

The historic schools survey assists Archives and History in its function as the State Historic Preservation Office for Mississippi, primarily in its task of collecting information about historic resources around the state and using that information to carry out Section 106 reviews.[1] In addition to its federal

mandate, under Mississippi's Antiquities Law of 1970, Archives and History is responsible for protecting publicly owned historic properties by designating such buildings as Mississippi Landmarks and reviewing any changes to landmarks or buildings deemed eligible for landmark status. Since public schools are the most common publicly owned buildings in the state, Archives and History has been interested for some time in obtaining a better understanding of school buildings and their historic contexts in order to better evaluate the structures under the Antiquities Law. Until this survey, documentation of historic schools was not systematic. Moreover, Archives and History did not have a framework other than architectural style within which to consider buildings already documented in the Historic Resources Inventory. Emphasis on architectural design meant that the vast majority of historic school buildings in the state were ignored because they were vernacular in character rather than impressive stylistic statements.

Although the school survey grew out of admittedly bureaucratic priorities, the extensive research and travel needed to conduct the survey has broadened our staff's awareness of Mississippi resources and has forced us to focus on subjects larger than individual school buildings, such as the history of education and segregation, and national movements that brought sweeping changes to our built environment.

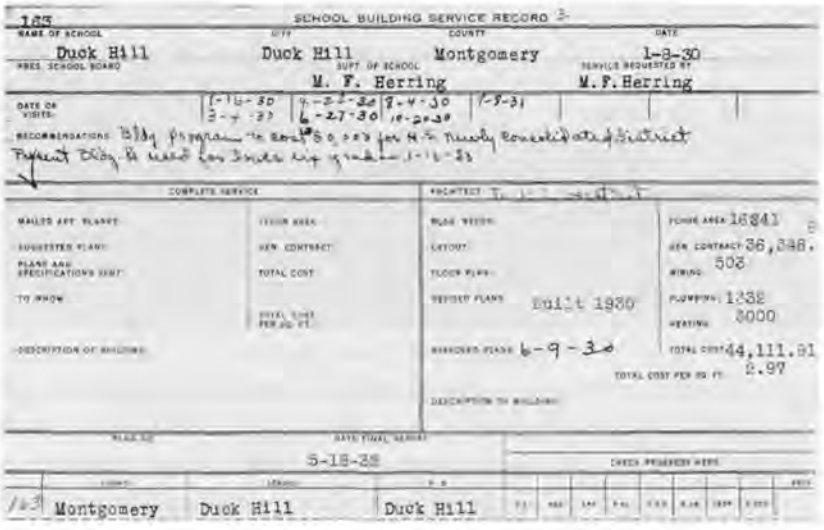
FIGURE 1
Built in 1937, Bailey Junior High School in Jackson, MS, was designed by the firm of N. W. Overstreet & A. H. Town and received national attention for its innovative concrete construction. (Courtesy of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History)

Fieldwork for the historic schools survey is organized around a valuable group of records created by the Mississippi Department of Education in the 1950s. At the center of these records is a statewide survey of public schools carried out by the Department of Education from 1953 to 1956 at the behest of the Mississippi legislature. This three-year survey was the beginning of Mississippi's attempt to bolster the state's system of racially segregated schools—which were, up to that time, separate but by no means equal—by bringing facilities for black and white children to the same standard. As part of this equalization effort, each of the state's 82 counties was required to survey its school buildings. The surveyors took photographs of each structure and documented condition, number of classrooms, date of construction, and other data. The result was a vast body of material about public schools at that time, including many that were abandoned by the end of the 1950s. Because so many small, unconsolidated schools for African Americans existed during the 1950s survey, the majority of the photographs document black schools—schools about which we previously had no knowledge because most have been lost through demolition or decay.

The photographs and reports of this 1950s survey eventually made their way to the state archives—a division of Archives and History and the official repository for public records deemed of importance to posterity. After an archivist brought this record group to our attention, we became more aware that the official archival records collected by different state agencies for their own pur-

poses might be of similar use to Archives and History in building its Historic Resources Inventory.

In addition to the 1950s school survey, the Department of Education record group also includes a card file called School Building Service Record Cards. These cards recorded standardized designs that were sent to school officials throughout the state by the School Building Service—founded in 1929 as a division of the Department of Education—and the dates of meetings between department staff and architects for each school construction project. Archives and History's research and fieldwork has uncovered much useful information about the School Building Service and its large collection of standardized building plans that were sent to school superintendents or principals upon request. Designs included schools ranging in size from 1 classroom to at least 12 classrooms, as well as vocational buildings, home economics cottages, gymnasiums, cafeterias, and teachers' houses. Unfortunately, the Department of Education apparently did not retain full sets of the designs, but recent research uncovered a number of the drawings in State Building Commission files in the state archives. Archives and History has also determined the characteristics of various standard types, previously known only by their Department of Education sequence numbers, through fieldwork on extant examples. Much work remains on this front, however, and we hope to find a complete set of drawings in the future. (Figure 2)


SCHOOL BUILDING SERVICE RECORD

NAME OF SCHOOL: Duck Hill | CITY: Duck Hill | COUNTY: Montgomery | DATE: 1-8-30

PRES. SCHOOL BOARD | SUPT. OF SCHOOL: M. F. Herring | SERVICE REQUESTED BY: M. F. Herring

DATE OF VISITS: 1-16-30; 3-4-30; 4-22-30; 6-27-30; 8-4-30; 10-20-30; 1-8-31

RECOMMENDATIONS: Bldg program to cost $60,000 for H.S. Newly created district. Present Bldg. to be used for Negro H.S. 1-16-31

COMPLETE SERVICE | ARCHITECT

MAILED APP. PLANS | TOTAL AREA | BLDG. WIDTH | POWER AREA 16841

SUGGESTED PLANS | NEW CONTRACT | LAYOUT | NEW CONTRACT 36,348.

PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS SENT | TOTAL COST | FLOOR PLANS | WIRING 503

TO KNOW | REVISED PLANS Built 1930 | PLUMBING 1232

HEATING 3000

DESCRIPTION OF BUILDING | WORKING PLANS 6-9-30 | TOTAL COST 44,111.81

TOTAL COST PER SQ. FT. 2.97

DESCRIPTION OF BUILDING

BLUE PRINTS | DATE FINAL REPORT 5-18-32 | CHECK PROGRESS HERE

1931	Montgomery	Duck Hill	Duck Hill							

FIGURE 2
The Division of School Buildings in the Mississippi Department of Education kept records of school construction projects around the state on cards like this one for the Duck Hill School in Montgomery County, MS. (Courtesy of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History)

Another source of invaluable documentary material has come from the Julius Rosenwald Fund collection at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. The Rosenwald Fund contributed money and designs for African American schools throughout the South from the 1910s through the early 1930s, and its records include photographs of many of the schools that it helped to finance. Mississippi was second nationally in the number of schools built with Rosenwald support. Over 600 school buildings, vocational buildings, and

FIGURE 3
Constructed in 1926, the Bynum School in Panola County, MS, is typical of the modest construction of most Rosenwald Schools. (Courtesy of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History)

teachers' homes were built, making the 1920s a time of great progress in African-American education in the state—a time about which Archives and History had very little information before the historic schools survey.(Figure 3)

Material from all of these sources combined to provide Archives and History with an organizing framework for our modern-day survey. Considering the rapid increase in demolition and abandonment of public schools in Mississippi during the 1990s, our first concern has been to conduct fieldwork concurrent with documentary research, since the tangible resources are disappearing from the landscape. Indeed, a number of buildings has been torn down in the few years since they were surveyed. The decision to begin fieldwork almost immediately after starting our research was the right one, but it did result in some gaps in the early stages of the survey. For instance, in the first two summers of the survey, Archives and History staff did not document any buildings built between 1955 and 1960 because the buildings did not appear in the 1953-1956 Equalization survey. However, after discovering the School Building Service Record Cards and realizing that a massive school building program had reshaped the educational landscape in the late 1950s, we began to document these later buildings. An understanding of their importance came from documentary research rather than fieldwork, and now we will have to return to the counties to document buildings that we overlooked in the early stages of fieldwork.

Our fieldwork methodology represents the culmination of a large amount of copying, sorting, and mapping. Copying the survey material from the archives, organizing all of the material by school, and mapping the location of each school is a time-consuming process, but one that must be completed to the most tedious detail to ensure a useful day of fieldwork. Mapping is an especially crucial component. Old maps from the 15-minute USGS topographic series were particularly helpful, as most 15-minute maps for Mississippi date to the 1940s and 1950s and show the locations of the schools before the Equalization period. For counties that were not covered by this series, further archival research produced a set of old county highway maps on which

Department of Education staff had marked the locations of each school documented in the 1953-1956 survey. While geographic information on county highway maps is not as detailed as that on the USGS maps, the highway maps provided at least rough school locations that could be investigated in the field.

After compiling this information for each county, Archives and History staff conducted fieldwork in the summer months, visiting the location of each school for which we had geographic data. Findings indicate that most of the African American schools and many of the white schools are abandoned or gone, their students having been consolidated into fewer centrally located schools.

After refining our research preparations and field procedures, we completed surveys in 20 counties each summer from 2001 to 2003. The resulting documentation includes detailed photography of the exteriors and interiors (when accessible) of about 800 school buildings and/or complexes; notes on architectural details such as door types, windows, and transoms; and floor and site plans noting classrooms, auditoriums, offices, later additions, and other significant features of the building or complex.[2]

Although not yet complete, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History's historic schools survey has opened new doors for preserving these important historic resources. In 2001, the state legislature approved a grant program to provide funding to preserve historic courthouses and schools in Mississippi. The grant program is now in its third round. Information gathered from the historic schools survey has been invaluable in administering these grants, as well as in other, more routine reviews. In addition, Archives and History now has an increased understanding of an important part of our state's history and architectural legacy. It is our hope that the survey will continue to aid us in our mission to preserve Mississippi's historic resources in the coming years.

Jennifer V. Opager Baughn is an architectural historian with the Historic Preservation Division, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. She can be reached at jbaughn@mdah.state.ms.us.

Notes

1. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires federal agencies to identify and assess the effects of its activities on historic resources.

2. A complex includes the main administration building and secondary buildings, such as gymnasium, vocational building, and teachers' homes.

Reviews

BOOKS

Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Suburban Growth, 1820–2000

By Dolores Hayden. New York: Pantheon Books, 2003; 248 pp., notes, bibliography, index; cloth $26.00; paper $15.00.

How did suburbia happen? That's the question that historian Dolores Hayden tackles in her latest book. Hayden first became required reading in college classrooms when she explored 19th-century architecture through women's eyes in *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (1981). She moved from history to contemporary critique with *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing and Family Life* (1984). Her subsequent book, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (1995), became a landmark in the public history movement, calling on historians, artists, and planners to create work-a-day monuments to ordinary Americans. All of Hayden's writings are informed by a spirit of activism, an insistence that history must include many voices, and a refreshing confidence that by understanding our past we can come together to create a more equitable future.[1]

In *Building Suburbia*, Hayden offers an engaging addition to the history of suburbia that began with the publication of Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* in 1985.[2] Hayden's goal is to meld ideas harvested from dozens of scholarly books and obscure articles to create a clear and accessible narrative of suburban development in America.

Where previous scholars usually pointed to transportation innovations to explain suburbanization, Hayden offers a more complex and satisfying framework. She suggests that Americans have a "triple dream" of a single-family house, access to nature, and a community of neighbors. Since World War II, government policies have played a role in realizing the dream. Hayden's book is the first to show the impact of arcane developments such as federal tax policy. Federal Government subsidies to home builders and shopping center developers created a landscape long on houses and shopping strips but short on the parks, sidewalks, and transit options that create genuine neighborhoods. While America has indeed become the land of the single-family house, the natural and community components of the "triple dream" have been shortchanged.

Hayden tracks the history of suburbia through seven phases. "Borderlands" beyond the urban edge saw construction of individual "country villas" for the elite starting as early as the 1820s. Wealthy "Picturesque Enclaves" were the next phase, such as avowedly communitarian Llewellyn Park outside of New York City. "Streetcar Buildouts" is Hayden's somewhat awkward name for the developments that popped up along late- 19th-century trolley routes, offering middle-income and even some working-class families a house with a yard. The chapter on "Mail-Order

and Self-Built Suburbs" introduces readers to exciting recent scholarship on fiercely independent self-building at the city's edge, typified by working-class African American families in Eight-Mile Wyoming, outside of Detroit. Hayden hits her stride in chapters entitled "Sitcom Suburbs" and "Edge Nodes," exploring federal actions that created places such as Levittown, Pennsylvania, and Tysons Corner, Virginia. "Rural Fringes" brings the story up to the fast-sprawling present. In a coda, Hayden examines nascent trends from "neotraditional" community planning to computer-linked "smart houses."

If *Building Suburbia*'s categories sometimes seem fuzzy—it is hard to put a finger on how "rural fringes" differ philosophically from "sitcom suburbs,"—the device works nicely to pull us through 200 years of American suburban history. Readers will be inspired to delve into books and articles cited in the 53 pages of footnotes and bibliography. And perhaps readers will ask new questions. How has federal aid to sewer and waterline extension spurred suburbanization?[3] How does the United States' experience compare with that of Great Britain, where the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 set strict growth boundaries aimed at containing sprawl?

Suburban history is a history of America. And, for all of our complaints about quality of life, suburbanization shows no sign of slowing. Hayden writes, "Since the 1980s, new development on the rural fringes...has expanded to cover more square miles than central cities, older suburbs and edge nodes combined." We continue to reach ever-outward for that elusive "triple dream."

Tom Hanchett
Levine Museum of the New South, Charlotte, NC

1. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981); originally published under a slightly different title, the book appeared in a revised edition: Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life* (New York: Norton, 2002); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

2. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985).

3. Federal aid to sewer extension began in 1956 and increased dramatically in 1972. Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Other 'Subsidized Housing': Federal Aid to Suburbanization, 1940s–1960s," in *From Tenements to Taylor Homes: In Search of Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth Century America*, ed. John Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin Szylvian (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 163–179.

In Light of Our Differences: How Diversity in Nature & Culture Makes Us Human

By David Harmon. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002; 224 pp., tables, graphs, notes, references, index; cloth $38.00.

Great movements on the verge of advances concern themselves with values, philosophies, and reasons why change is needed. The resulting forward leaps tend to produce numerous tasks to be carried out, causing a reorientation from the abstract to the practical. Philosophy prevailed when the tiny historic preservation movement was rallying itself to create the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966—the first major federal historic preservation legislation in a generation. Later, practicality dominated as more than a dozen amendments and other new laws drastically increased the work to be done. Perhaps it is significant that David Harmon's small but powerful book, *In Light of Our Differences: How Diversity in Nature & Culture Makes Us Human*, returns to philosophy and links history and nature a generation after 1966.

Forty years ago sweeping change was afoot in historic preservation. Outdated practices rooted in the Romantic era venerated historic "shrines." Often these were birthplaces or graves of men (seldom women and almost always white) to whom

virtues larger than life were ascribed. This was easily achieved by preserving and interpreting a small number of places of outstanding national significance.

In the meantime, America's cities, towns, and countryside were impacted like never before by federally sponsored dredging, damming, and channeling of rivers; construction of interstate highways and urban expressways; and wholesale demolition of cities for urban renewal. The changes threatened to make every part of the land like every other part. Preservationists began to recognize that our national well-being depends on the full spectrum of our cultural environment, including shrines and everyday places. With the National Historic Preservation Act, significance moved from birthplaces and graves to the meaningful work of individuals and groups, and the purpose of preservation grew to include benefiting from our daily surroundings as well as from contemplation of venerable achievements.

The workload of historic preservation quickly outgrew the number of people available to do the work. State historic preservation offices, federal agency programs, tribal programs, certified local governments, and private firms began to carry the burden. The movement began to focus more on how to do preservation than on why it ought to be done. Predictably, accomplishments began to outpace the philosophical foundations of historic preservation. Soon a very effective network of preservationists covered the entire country, but with little depth. Poor understanding of why we preserve often negatively affects how we preserve.

In the meantime, our colleagues who strive to preserve the natural environment also have struggled under an outdated concept rooted in the Romantic era—the idea that nature is that which is not human. This has made it difficult to rationalize, much less to coordinate, the work of two worlds of preservation—natural and cultural. Governments have wondered whether to highlight cultural resource programs in specialized agencies, to merge them with natural resource programs that protect species and habitats, or to segregate natural resource programs from all influence of the cultural forces that threaten natural resources. The problem is perfectly exemplified in the National Park Service. The bureau's mastery of both natural and cultural resource management will require thought, reflection, and erudition.

In Light of Our Differences takes both kinds of preservationists back to basics. One might expect a unified approach from Harmon, who is cofounder of Terralingua, an international nonprofit supporting the world's linguistic, cultural, and biological diversity, and executive director of the George Wright Society, an organization of natural and cultural resource management specialists. Drawing upon philosophers, biologists, anthropologists, and others who have contributed to developing Western civilization, this book forges a long overdue concept of the relationship of humans to biocultural diversity—the natural and cultural contexts that our species shapes, is shaped by, and depends upon. Natural diversity has affected who we are as a species, and cultural diversity affects who we are as cultural groups. Harmon argues that biocultural diversity affects humans and is affected by humans in parallel ways. The effects are most apparent in the extinction of individual species and in the extinction of characteristics that define individual cultures.

It is easy to agree with Harmon that languages are probably the deepest and most obvious indicators of cultural diversity. When the National Park Service took the initial steps to develop tribal preservation programs, discussions focused more on indigenous languages than on tangible cultural resources. On a global scale, Harmon says, languages now are becoming extinct at the same rate as species. Furthermore, both species and languages are becoming extinct in the same places and from the same causes.

Unlike past great extinctions of species, which resulted from cataclysms such as asteroid collisions with Earth, the extinction now under way is almost certainly due to the actions of just one species: *homo sapiens*. The wasteful consumption of resources in society that dominates the world today, the desire of the rest of the world to achieve the same level of luxury, and the increased effect of the dominant culture through globalization and other means are among the forces causing natural and cultural extinctions.

Why does philosophy matter? For the past 4,000 years, many humans have believed themselves *above* nature, exercising divinely granted dominion. Instead we are not only products of nature but are also participants in it. We are who we are because evolutionary systems have had an unlimited array of choices. The free exercise of natural choices has led to what we are as a species. The array of cultural choices has led to who we are as cultures. Unfortunately, we are overwhelmingly powerful and dangerous participants in both natural and cultural evolutionary systems. Our power also makes us responsible to ourselves and to the planet for allowing natural and cultural evolutionary systems to continue their ever-unfinished work. That means preserving the diversities of species and cultures that energize the evolutionary systems.

Readers interested in ecosystems, architecture, languages, archeology, species, or natural and cultural resources should take a break from the constant pursuit of ways to improve how you do your work, and follow Harmon through a deeply philosophical review of why the work is important. The why will help you with the how. If we are lucky, perhaps it will also help us progress toward a not-yet-apparent next great advance in the preservation of natural and cultural resources.

Jerry Rogers
New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance
National Park Service (Retired)

Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States

Edited by Max Page and Randall Mason.
New York: Routledge, 2003; 336 pp., illustrations, notes; cloth $90.00; paper $22.95.

In *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, editors Max Page and Randall Mason outline a critical examination and engagement with how a new generation of preservation scholars, activists, and practitioners might return history to the center of our field. Essays by David Lowenthal, Rudy J. Koshar, Chris Wilson, Daniel Bluestone, Robert Weyeneth, Ned Kaufman, and others begin "to sketch," as Page and Mason assert, "the approaches of a new generation of scholarship on the history of historic preservation" that "suggest how preservation today might look different if we took into account an accurate history of the movement." Interestingly, *Giving Preservation a History* in many ways responds (perhaps unintentionally) to Robert Stipe's *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twentieth Century* (2003). In that book of essays, Stipe argues that we "must move beyond the problem of saving architectural artifacts and begin to think about how we can conserve urban neighborhoods, rural landscapes, and natural resources for human purposes." Stipe continues that "this is particularly urgent at a time when some special interest and ethnic groups, in an effort to discover their own heritage, have begun to isolate themselves even more, rejecting the notion of a common heritage for all Americans and placing a new emphasis on social and ethnic differences."[1] Stipe does not see what Page and Mason recognize as critical moments in any rethinking or retelling of preservation history: the effects of the civil rights and women's rights movements beginning in the 1960s.

Despite *Giving Preservation a History*'s clarion call for a new set of "views from history" to inform a larger and more comprehensive story of American

preservation, one can argue that the story of racial oppression still remains somewhat marginalized and understated in this seminal reexamination of the discipline of preservation: the history of preservation has roots in our national discourse that begins much earlier than the 1960s. The 1890s provides a better point of departure for understanding the long-term legacy of previous social reform movements based on analytical strategies of research and practice centered on race and gender. Any discussion involving preservation cannot ignore the work of African American women reformers who, in the 1890s, argued for and worked to inscribe a social and political ideology of "race uplift" on the built environment after slavery and the ferment over black nationalism, history, and identity. The story about women and preservation is not limited to Ann Pamela Cunningham and her efforts at Mount Vernon in the 1850s.

In his essay, "Historic Preservation, Public Memory, and the Making of Modern New York City," Mason provides important groundwork for establishing race as a new vantage point for historic preservation practice: "Preservation was among the several types of social-environmental reform that took hold under the rubric of the Progressive movement around the turn of the twentieth century." A new methodology therefore requires us to consider the built environment as a kind of repository of African American women's strategies for self-empowerment and for remembering the impact of enslavement on their communities and American society. While many white Victorians were primarily interested in promoting an appropriate history after the Civil War and consolidating their moral authority over the past, African Americans used space-making as a way of expressing their new-found social, political, and economic independence.

Daniel Bluestone's essay, "Chicago's Mecca Flat Blues," best reflects the kind of work that responds to Mason's challenge, arguing that race can become the critical narrative in a building's history. Bluestone writes that architectural historians have focused far too long on Chicago's skyscrapers and single-family houses while ignoring late-19th-century apartment buildings. Chicago's apartment houses combined public space and the private realm into a kind of hybrid model that some believed inappropriate for modern urban social life. Designed in 1891 by Willoughby J. Edbrooke and Franklin Pierce Burnham, the Mecca apartment building reflects the changing role of natural light and landscape in turn-of-the-century Chicago architecture. The building, once a showcase for Anglo-Saxon "flatseekers" with its glazed interior courtyard, was rented to black tenants by 1919.

The growth of the city's Black Belt and racial violence against African Americans on Chicago's South Side allowed apprehensive whites to label the building "a prime example of the worst slum tenements." Bluestone writes, "Over time, race intersected with urban space to alter the history and fragment public perceptions of the Mecca." The Mecca's decade-long preservation struggle, ending in its demolition to make way for Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Crown Hall at the Illinois Institute of Technology, helped to emphasize the "alternative priorities" of housing and neighborhood over Chicago School aesthetics.

Bluestone, along with other contributors like Chris Wilson, helps to challenge established values and standards of American architectural history. Unfortunately Wilson, in "Place Over Time: Restoration and Revivalism in Santa Fe," waits until almost the end of his essay to critically engage with issues related to working-class Hispanic residents, gentrification, and heritage tourism—issues that are central to reexamining preservation and its future as a tool of civic engagement. I would second Ned Kaufman's concluding remarks in his essay, "Moving Forward: Futures for a Preservation Movement"—

I do ask preservationists to commit themselves and their practice to a social ideal appropriate to the

dawn of the twenty-first century: a revitalized notion of citizenship within an equitable society, a public policy based in values of place, an invigorated concept of history, and a healthy skepticism toward growth and market forces. In short, to a passionate struggle to change how society imagines, preserves, and inhabits its heritage—a preservation movement.

Mason and Page argue that expanding solely on existing canons or historiographic conventions may serve only to legitimize the work of historians who have excluded the experiences of marginalized groups. By broadening the fields of architectural history and preservation, and, in particular, by incorporating the experiences of African American women, scholarship will effect a more inclusive dialogue that considers the role of the disempowered to preserve their heritage while initiating change through the built environment.

Angel David Nieves
University of Maryland, College Park

1. Robert E. Stipe, ed., *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), xv.

Building the Nation: Americans Write About Their Architecture, Their Cities, and Their Landscape

Edited by Steven Conn and Max Page. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003; 424 pp., illustrations, index; cloth $59.95; paper $24.95.

In recent decades, scholars of vernacular architecture, urban history, and cultural geography have embraced interdisciplinary approaches to the built environment. Scholarly works that attempt a broader survey of architectural history, however, continue to rely on stylistic narratives and shopworn accounts of famous landmarks and architects. A notable exception is Dell Upton's *Architecture in the United States*, which provided an important thematic revision of the typical chronological survey. The editors of *Building the Nation* also reject the traditional architectural survey emphasis on style and personality to present a more inclusive picture of the cultural and social forces shaping the built environment of the United States.

Conn and Page gather firsthand accounts and commentary about American architecture and landscapes from a variety of newspapers, magazines, and books published between 1790 and 2001. The authors include well-known critics and scholars such as Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs, Ada Louise Huxtable, Paul Goldberger, and Vincent Scully. Prominent writers not normally associated with architectural commentary—including Mark Twain, Washington Irving, Betty Friedan, John Dos Passos, and W.E.B. DuBois—as well as anonymous and lesser-known voices lend interdisciplinary breadth to the collection. Because the editors seek to present the "lively public conversations that have taken place over the course of the nation's history about the built environment," sources written by architects for other architects are conspicuously absent.

The first of eight thematic chapters sets the tone for the volume by recasting the aesthetic question of "what is American architecture?" to consider the constantly evolving relationship between national identity and our man-made surroundings. Each chapter contains a short analytical essay and a few sentences of explanation for each selection as the editors trace the theme from the early years of the nation to nearly the present. Chapters on the American view of the world, landscape and nature, regionalism, urbanism, suburbanization, architecture and social reform, and monuments and memory offer a wide range of perspectives on the built environment while returning frequently to defining cultural themes.

Chapter 3, "So Glorious a Landscape: Shaping Nature the American Way," for instance, highlights the unique qualities of America's natural landscape, and its subsequent abuse and homogenization. Chapter 5, "Urbanism, Real and Imagined," emphasizes the deep cultural ambiguity towards the city in a society founded on agrarian and frontier ideals. Chapter 7, "Better Buildings, Better People: Architecture and Social Reform," and chapter 8, "Monuments and Memory: Building and Protecting the American Past," are two of the strongest. In chapter 7, Conn and Page question the facile architectural determinism that has informed public policy at key moments, while still acknowledging the intimate connection between architecture and American social reform movements. Charles Dickens's 1842 description of Eastern State Penitentiary and a 1998 piece on the new federal "supermax" prison bookend this chapter, persuasively reinforcing the argument.

Perhaps of most interest to *CRM Journal* readers, the "Monuments and Memory" chapter takes issue with the cultural stereotype that Americans are ahistorical, since "in few places has the tension between looking backward and looking forward been greater than in the United States." Selections in this chapter begin with an 1822 description of an Indian mound in Ohio and proceed to key examples of a developing historical consciousness among Americans, including preservation of Mount Vernon, establishment of Civil War battlefield parks, Colonial Williamsburg, and reaction to the destruction of New York's Pennsylvania Station. The commercialization of history is an important subtheme of the late-20th-century pieces on topics such as the retro baseball stadium trend.

Building the Nation's interdisciplinary sources make this volume particularly useful for integrating cultural, social, and architectural history in academic settings. Conn and Page's thematic discussions offer concise primers on the major cultural and social forces shaping American architecture, cities, and landscapes. While more expert readers may find that the sometimes heavily excerpted pieces diminish *Building the Nation*'s effectiveness as a tool for in-depth study, all readers will discover expected and unexpected source material on the built environment helpfully placed in context.

Lisa Pfueller Davidson
National Park Service

1. Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, Volume 9

Edited by Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003; 312 pp., illustrations, notes, index; paper $30.00.

The latest anthology of papers presented at the 1998 (Annapolis, Maryland) and 1999 (Columbia, Georgia) annual meetings of the Vernacular Architecture Forum continues the tradition of earlier volumes by pushing the boundaries of traditional architectural history.[1] Significant attention is paid to common buildings and landscapes, building and landscape typologies, and construction techniques in essays written by scholars from diverse fields including historic preservation, art and architectural history, history, urban planning, and historical archeology. Following another trend for the series and the field in general, this volume contains essays on uncommon spaces such as the Taconic State Parkway in New York and the Cherry Hill Mall in New Jersey.

For those of us who identify with the field of vernacular architecture studies, such inclusions are no great surprise. The current editors echo sentiments of their predecessors (and much of the forum

membership) by insisting that the field is defined less by subject matter than by "method," which they characterize as investigations "fixed on the *social* function of building"—the production and use of buildings as part of social contexts. Most essays fit these broad parameters, but the mix of topics and approaches is so broad that understanding the volume as the product of a unified field proves quite challenging. Although the diversity of essays might suggest a field in the process of definition, it seems problematic to do so, given that the forum has been established for a quarter of a century. Instead, it reflects a lingering uncertainty about what precisely those who study vernacular architecture do. The field is still struggling to define itself, its relation to its parent disciplines, and perhaps even its contemporary relevance.

While this volume provides enriching scholarly essays, it is disappointing that the editors' introduction offers little in the way of an explanation of where it fits among evolving concepts of vernacular architecture. Several previous editors of *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* used their introductions to reflect on changes in historiography and method. Essays by Camille Wells (*PVA* 2, 1986) and Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (*PVA* 4, 1991) have become standard fare for undergraduate survey courses that teach "vernacular" to budding preservationists.[2] Given that the subject matter of vernacular architecture studies has expanded dramatically in the last 15 years, according to the editors, beyond its "core fascination with 'common' buildings," it seems problematic to celebrate diversity without considering the implications of the field's expanding boundaries for forum members as well as for the larger *Perspectives*' audience, which includes preservationists making decisions vital to the survival of vernacular resources.

These criticisms do not detract from the individual essays, most of which are fascinating, well-written examples of historical scholarship that will be interesting and potentially useful to preservation professionals. Essays on lesser-known building types, such as Shannon Bell's essay on drive-in theaters in the Middle Atlantic states, Mark Reinberger's study of sharecropper houses in the Georgia Piedmont, and Robert W. Blythe's study of Alabama mill villages, may help preservationists in evaluating these types of resources in preservation planning or perhaps in developing typologies for similar structures and landscapes in other regions. Essays by Willie Graham on the Chesapeake region's pre-industrial framing technologies and by Jason D. Moser, Al Luckenbach, Sherri M. Marsh, and Donna Ware on archeological evidence of 17th-century domestic building practices in Providence, Maryland, contain important data that will be useful to fieldworkers in the Mid-Atlantic region.

Other essays offer fascinating interpretations of the built environment that go beyond explaining particular buildings or landscapes and may serve as models for interpreting various resources—vernacular or otherwise. Camille Wells's examination of the relatively restrained classical ornament of Menokin, a Virginia plantation house constructed by John Tayloe II, expands upon work by Dell Upton and others in explaining how style reflected as well as enacted power hierarchies among the colonial elite. Her findings offer us richer ways of interpreting extraordinary resources, as well as the not-so-extraordinary ones, beyond the identification of the stylistic features of their facades.

Jennifer Nardone's essay focuses on the coded exteriors of juke joints in the Mississippi Delta—inexpensive places to eat, drink, and dance to the music of juke boxes during the 1930s and 1940s—and considers how different audiences viewed these buildings (which were often existing structures converted into use as juke joints) in a landscape marked by racial segregation. Nardone's insights ask us to look beyond the traditional architectural "codes" gleaned from style books to understand the use and significance of these buildings. She reminds us that interpreting buildings

requires looking at how they functioned in a social context—something all of the essays stress but which is highlighted in this fascinating case study.

Carl Lounsbury's essay on Anglican Church design in the Chesapeake region offers a field-based examination of a building type, examining the tensions between a "pure" design style and its regional derivatives. Lounsbury's approach is rooted in the core values of the forum members, which emphasize field research in buildings and archives. At the same time, his essay allows us to understand a range of alternatives within a type, which typological studies, especially style guides, often neglect in stressing the "norm."

Worth noting in this volume are the number of studies devoted to landscapes. Two essays address the history of parkways: Kathleen LaFrank discusses the Taconic State Parkway and Timothy Davis looks at the parkway movement. Two others, Blythe's and Reinberger's essays mentioned earlier, look at the complicated labor landscapes of the South. Other authors explore the early-20th-century San Francisco commercial streetscape, the factory tour landscape, and Civil War encampments. Other essays in the volume look at buildings as part of landscape ensembles rather than as isolated entities, reflecting a trend in vernacular architecture scholarship since the mid-1980s.

It seems ironic that the latest volume of *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* deals with "high style" architecture and landscapes at the same time that preservationists are trying to come to grips with the importance of preserving truly ordinary kinds of buildings. Perhaps vernacular architecture studies and historic preservation are struggling to address just what precisely "vernacular" is and the relevance of studying or saving vernacular resources. This volume does not help to resolve the dilemma for historians of vernacular architecture; if anything, it points to the need for those working in the field to think more about what distinguishes them from other students of architectural history, or from historians of material culture generally.

If such questions seem merely a matter of ivory tower intellectual debate, they become important when we remember that preservation professionals rely upon books such as this to help make decisions about *what* to preserve and *what* stories are worth telling. Taken as a whole, this volume may seem at first to offer preservationists little in terms of their dilemma; the inclusion of high-style buildings and landscapes subjected to a "vernacular architecture approach" might be seen as complicating matters by suggesting that all buildings are common—at least to someone at some point. But this, after all, is the point of the vernacular architecture movement: to insist that all buildings have stories to tell—whether "high style," vernacular, or somewhere in between.

This volume continues to push the forum's core message. In making decisions about *what* to preserve, preservation professionals must remember that "integrity," particularly in terms of style, is only one factor to consider; an extraordinary resource might have low integrity but have an important story behind it (jukejoints, for example). The latest volume of *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* reminds us that we need to keep our eyes open to all kinds of resources and the potentially fascinating stories they have to tell because often the "vernacular" stories are the most interesting.

Anna Vemer Andrzejewski
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1. For information on the Vernacular Architecture Forum, see http://www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org.

2. Camille Wells, "Old Claims and New Demands: Vernacular Architecture Studies Today," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 2 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 1-10; and Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, "Introduction: Toward a New Architectural History," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 4 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 1-6.

The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution and Distribution in North America

By Robert F. Ensminger. Second Edition, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003; 348 pp., diagrams, photographs, appendices, glossary, bibliography, index; paper $28.00.

Scholars can be an intellectually persistent lot, especially when the subject before them is as visually inviting and iconographic as the Pennsylvania barn. Fortunately for serious material culture practitioners, Robert Ensminger, folklorist, lecturer, and cultural geographer of considerable credentials, has elevated the weekend practices of "barn crawls" and "barnstorming" to a new level of study and appreciation. Reading the second edition of *The Pennsylvania Barn* is like sitting at the kitchen table with an old friend.

Ensminger's meticulous 1992 study of the Pennsylvania barn has been extensively revisted and reaffirmed. Additional barns have been studied, experts consulted, and classifications refined. As a result, one-third of the original text has been updated. A central conclusion of the first edition continues to hold up, namely that Pennsylvania barns "remain surprisingly constant over considerable distances." True of almost any serious investigation, the book answers several questions while raising others. 1790 tax records, for example, reveal that most structures in Pennsylvania were built of log, and in those counties with the highest percentage of stone buildings, stonemasons tended to be primarily of English and Scots-Irish ancestry rather than German as is widely assumed.

Among the volume's more fundamental conclusions is how cultural assimilation and simple labor-saving techniques in the Pennsylvania hearth, particularly during the late 18th century, influenced subsequent barn structure and form. Such social and material diffusion is evident through the use of lighter English rafter systems, stone closed-forebays, and Anglo-influenced barnyard enclosures. Through diagnostic elements, Ensminger traces barn evolution from the continental *stehender Stuhl* to the canted-queen-post triangular truss, a simple yet profoundly successful roof frame that took hold during the 19th century and spread westward. Out of this Anglo-German cross-fertilization also emerged several notable American innovations, as Greg Huber and other barn trailblazers have shown with the swing beam.

Ensminger is at his authoritative best taking readers through the timbered maze of structural nomenclature, diagnostic features, and the evolution of barn-framing technology. The author's explanation for the location of granary outsheds along the ramp or back side of the barn as a result of proximity to new power sources is both simple and profound in its logic. Physical appearances can be deceiving, so the experienced barn surveyor is advised to understand dairy laws and look beneath the strawshed or other later accretions that frequently disguise the original barn morphology. What may be obscured from outside view is a forebay or an enclosed-forebay variant, two distinct barn forms sharing Pennsylvania origins.

In broadening his 1992 conclusions, Ensminger reaffirms the claim that Lancaster County can be credited with the introduction of the forebay barn, and posits the Pennsylvania barn is significantly wider in its distribution than previously acknowledged, with Ohio having the greatest density outside the core and domain. One seemingly obvious methodological approach for redefining the distribution in western Pennsylvania was based on county atlases. Historic atlases and ongoing field surveys have shown an enclosed forebay variation of the standard Pennsylvania barn originating in western Pennsylvania. One persistent problem lim-

iting the consistent professional documentation of historic resources is the lack of a standardized building and framing terminology, a point Ensminger addresses diligently. The attention to detail and assiduous explanation of structural terminology in *Pennsylvania Barn* can help to rectify this pitfall and raise the professional standing of material culture studies.

Such an ambitious if occasionally heavily detailed morphological analysis allows readers little opportunity for observing substantive shortcomings. Historians may have welcomed better use of population and agricultural censuses to link specific agricultural production and practices to the Pennsylvania barn and its remarkable distribution as far as the Pacific Northwest. The distinctive and aesthetically beautiful hand-crafted features of the Pennsylvania barn leave this reviewer wanting to learn more about local barn builders and their role in creating what many farmers probably perceived as utilitarian form. Was it an agricultural system that dictated the selection of certain barn types, was it the traditional skills and cultural know-how of the individual builders, or did the farmers themselves ultimately influence the final choice of barn types? Did soil types and choice of livestock have any influence?

Pennsylvania Barn's final chapter is both sobering and encouraging in acknowledging that "the rate of barn loss will accelerate" and by recognizing the growing interest in barns. Ensminger's final plea calls for establishing a central barn archive. The National Barn Alliance has taken a step in this direction by serving as an information network for State Historic Preservation Offices and state extension programs. Disseminating such information and teaching our nation's future farmers, land stewards, land use planners, and barn contractors about the intrinsic value of historic barns can only help stem their mortality rate.

Stephen Gordon
Ohio Historical Society

Patterns from the Golden Age of Rustic Design: Park and Recreation Structures from the 1930s

By Albert H. Good. Reprint, Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 2003; 632 pp., illustrations, photographs; paper $29.95.

This classic work, primarily illustrating park structures built in the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps, has been reprinted in a handsome paperback edition as *Patterns from the Golden Age of Rustic Design: Park and Recreation Structures from the 1930s*. Originally a single book published in 1935 as *Park Structures and Facilities*, it proved so popular that it was expanded and reissued in 1938 by the National Park Service as a three-volume work, *Park and Recreation Structures*—hence the subtitle of this edition. Part I covers Administration and Basic Service Facilities, Part II details Recreational and Cultural Facilities, and Part III presents Overnight and Organized Camp Facilities. (The book also was reprinted by Princeton Architectural Press in 1999 in a hardcover format.)

The extensive, humorous text was written by architect Albert H. Good, a consultant to the National Park Service. The illustrations—black and white photographs and renderings, showing well over a thousand structures from more than 300 parks—were selected by a Works Progress Administration-funded committee of leading architects and landscape architects, including Good, engaged in directing work in the parks. Over two-thirds of the structures are from state parks, reflecting the focus of most of the Civilian Conservation Corps's work. Thirty-six national parks, monuments, and historic sites are represented, with the rest of the illustrations depicting structures in municipal parks and other sites that were judged similar in style and purpose. Among the states with the greatest

number of features illustrated are Arkansas, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Texas—states with well-developed park systems that exhibited a consistently high level of design. The West and upper Midwest are the most well-represented areas of the country.

Good analyzed thousands of photographs, deriving a set of standards and principles to guide and inspire future designers of park structures, such as designing in harmony with the site and relying, where possible, on native materials and traditional building techniques. He writes, "It is believed that by making the subjects herein widely available for comparative study, the influence engendered by each will merge into a forceful composite to the advancement of park technique." Good also supplied the clear and elegant renderings of floor-plans, elevations, and site plans.

The buildings run the gamut of structures and features needed to outfit parks: signs, drinking fountains, and privies; steps, culverts and bridges; picnic tables and fireplaces; refuse receptacles and incinerators; bathhouses and boathouses; furnishings, markers, museums, tent and trailer campsites; and lodges, washhouses, and camp structures for recreation, dining, and sleeping. Most designers are not identified; this was an editorial decision made for consistency because not all names were known.

The selected structures display not only a wide range of building types, but a variety of stylistic influences as well, from the ubiquitous log cabins of the East and Midwest to the missions and pueblos of the Far West. Referring to past builders, Good states, "In fitting tribute we seek to grace our park structures by adaptation of their traditions and practices as we come to understand them." All, however, are consistently designed in the style that came to be known as "rustic" or, more informally, as "parkitecture." The majority employ wood and stone, usually in combination, although adobe appears in the Southwest. Innumerable cabins, shelters, and administration buildings employ many different types of log construction: round timbers, squared timbers, and different kinds of notching. (Good is careful to note such matters as the importance of removing bark from logs, to prevent deterioration.) The stone buildings and the stone foundations of log structures are built of irregular, rough-faced stones, often surprisingly massive to convey strength and tie a building more emphatically to its site. Good commends masonry designs that reflect strength appropriate to the size and purpose of the structure, or designs that recall the natural layering of local stone, while criticizing work that was laid too randomly or otherwise appears weak.

The final section is notable for documenting buildings in recreational development areas, the ambitious New Deal attempt to reclaim degraded agricultural lands and establish, in their place, rural retreats to serve underprivileged children and families (among others) from nearby metropolitan areas. Good discusses such matters as preferred camp layouts, the proper placement of cabins in relation to service and administration buildings, and issues underlying the design of swimming and other recreational facilities. Most of these areas soon became state parks.

Throughout the book, it is clear that the designs derive from the tenets of the Arts and Crafts movement. This is evident in the massive scale of even small structures; the broken, irregular surfaces of stone walls; the "waney" boards and rough-hewn logs—all of which evoke a romantic image of tamed wilderness. Plans are supplied for many of the buildings illustrated, and these exhibit a clarity and logic in the arrangement of spaces and functions.

Also deriving from the Arts and Crafts movement is the presumption of moral fitness underlying the presentation and text. Good and his colleagues clearly believed such structures represented the correct way to design for so-called "natural" parks

in the United States. This exhaustive survey not only celebrates the achievements of the designers employed in such work, but inculcates the inevitability of such stylistic choices and the social benefits derived from them.

Kay Fanning
National Park Service

Fletcher Steele, Landscape Architect: An Account of the Gardenmaker's Life, 1885-1971

By Robin Karson. Second Edition, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003; 368 pp., illustrations, bibliography, notes; paper $34.95.

Robin Karson, in this revised edition, has truly captured the life and aspirations of Fletcher Steele. Steele's artistry in estate gardenmaking (and a few public spaces), from the 1920s into the 1960s, influenced modern landscape architecture. Karson traces the phases of his career from the earliest influences in his life to the last designs he completed, spanning nearly a century. With each phase, Karson provides ample descriptions through 50 of the most noteworthy garden designs utilizing Steele's own photo library, his original plans and sketches, correspondence, and articles in which he expressed his design theories. The design process is clearly articulated from inception through completion, combining his artistic intent, his patron's desires, and the site constraints to ensure that the patron and designer are satisfied with the outcome. This book is a rare glimpse inside the life of one of the great early American landscape architects who bridges the gap between Beaux-Arts and modern landscape design.

Before this first edition was published in 1989, Steele was largely forgotten. Karson's book renewed interest in his work and the notable designs that he created. His most well-known project, Naumkeag, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, was the cornerstone of his career. For Naumkeag, Karson provides an insightful presentation of the 30-year design development of Mabel Choate's property and Steele's relationship with his "great design partner, patron, and friend." Starting in 1926 with the design of the Afternoon Garden and ending in 1955 with the completion of the Moon Gate in the Chinese Garden, the most recognizable feature of the garden became the Blue Steps. In 1938 Choate announced that she was tired of risking her neck on her daily treks to the cutting garden. Choate stated: "I...told Mr. Steele he must make me some steps that would be both convenient and easy.... Little did I realize what I was in for." Steele created four sections as he describes it, "each one having a couple of steps and turns, two ramps...and a graduated flight of half a dozen steps to a platform. The latter go up over an arched opening in which is a dripping fountain and pool." White iron railings accentuated the sweeping curves of the steps and archway descending down the slope. Surrounding the staircase, Steele planted a grove of white bark birch trees. The final idea was to paint the steps and archway openings a bright blue. Hailed as the signature work of Steele's career, the steps are featured on the cover of the book.

Choate's and Steele's concern over Naumkeag's future preservation resulted in Choate's bequest of the property to the Massachusetts conservation organization, Trustees of Reservations. Steele certainly influenced this decision since he acted as an advisor and committee member for the organization for a number of years. The foresight of Choate and Steele some 50 years ago left Steele's most notable design preserved for future generations.

Karson's very readable book captures the voice of Steele and the patrons that accepted him as family. As a charismatic writer and speaker, he was sought out by the foremost landscape architecture programs to provide his always insightful, though not always popular, viewpoints. His association

with the Garden Club of America was his most lucrative, leading to a number of designs for club members.

Through his speaking engagements and writings, he also influenced a new generation of landscape architects, including Daniel Kiley and Garrett Eckbo, who became leading modernists after World War II. Steele was ahead of his time and presented his ideas on modern garden design in several articles starting in 1929 for *House Beautiful* and in 1930 and 1932 for *Landscape Architecture*. In his 1932 essay titled "Landscape Design of the Future" he wrote—

In my opinion, the architect is primarily interested in the objects which he is designing: the landscape architect with the relation of things and the compositions of the spaces between them... I believe that successful space composition will be the next serious preoccupation of landscape architects. The difficulties of composing space are greater than the mere design of objects in and around its enclosed volumes, especially in our art which rarely offers us more definite roof than sky....

Steele was known as a perfectionist, dominating, and very unpredictable, yet he was loved by "rich little old ladies." For the most part, he lived as he preached in his quest for beauty through the artistic arrangements of the gardens he designed.

Karson presents an engaging biography, gracefully written and supported by numerous photographs, plans, and sketches. Although beyond the scope of this book, Karson nonetheless expresses some concern about the current condition of Steele's designs. She laments the destruction of two of his most treasured designs, where wrecking crews wiped away everything that took years to create, removing them in a matter of days. This leaves the reader with questions about the fate of Steel's other 700 landscape designs. Karson's extraordinary book serves to encourage the preservation of Steele's other significant landscape designs. All in all, Fletcher Steele valued quality and would be pleased with Karson's presentation of his work.

Maureen DeLay Joseph
National Park Service

African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary, 1865-1945

Edited by Dreck Spurlock Wilson. New York: Routledge, 2004; 505 pp., photographs, illustrations, tables, bibliography, appendix, index; cloth $95.00.

The story of the professional architect in America follows a carefully contrived narrative. Amid a sea of local building traditions, dilettantes such as Thomas Jefferson spearheaded dramatic aesthetic innovations based on European classicism. Immigrant architects such as the English-born Benjamin Henry Latrobe and American followers and students like Robert Mills, the first native-born trained architect, sought to distinguish themselves from dilettantes and protect themselves from builders. In 1857, the American Institute of Architects was founded; in 1865, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology established regular programs of study based on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts model; and beginning in 1897, state licensing required meeting standards of education and practice. By contrast, the story of early African American architecture has no architects. We know much about shotgun houses and Creole cottages but in the traditional canon of American architecture, the term African American professional architect has been an oxymoron.

Traditional storylines celebrate architecture with a capital "A" as an increasingly rarified discipline led by privileged stars and focused on aesthetic monuments. We simply forget the builders and contractors who were actually responsible for most

buildings, and who were called architects. We forget the economy, technology, and politics. We forget the struggle for recognition in a highly competitive setting and the many designers who did not make the grade. We forget women and minorities. We forget ordinary buildings. Indeed, recent scholarly concerns about the gaps and limitations of such a narrative have literally reshaped the study of architectural history.[1] *African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary, 1865-1945*, edited by Dreck Spurlock Wilson, is a major force to continue that reshaping, giving much needed presence to a large but essentially invisible group of designers, to innumerable but largely unknown buildings across the land, and to an awesome force of educational initiative, community spirit, and pride.

The first step in appreciating the magnitude of African American contributions to our built heritage is simply to look at all the schools, churches, commercial buildings, houses, and neighborhoods across the American landscape, and discover that many more of them were designed by African American architects than one might have thought. The second step, and the one that this dictionary is so good at emphasizing, is to realize that with each building come stories of its time and place and its architect's personal dedication. Every structure, its scale, detail, and placement, speak of our society's economy, its acceptance or renunciation of discrimination, its recognition of needs both public and private. *African American Architects* is the most comprehensive dictionary of these architects to date with over 160 detailed and well-documented entries, a thorough bibliography, and an appendix of all buildings listed by place and cross-referenced by architect and date. The entries reveal the African American men and women who shaped their lives and found official recognition by insisting on getting an education, finding employment, and using their skills on par with the best design professionals in the United States.

The architectural press's discrimination against and refusal to write about African Americans is one of the main prompts for this volume. Julian Abele, the first architect presented in the volume, designed 48 buildings for Duke University in the 1920s and 1930s, but dared not visit the campus because of Jim Crow practices. Robert Buffin received a job to work at Pearl Harbor in 1929 only to arrive and have his employer say "I asked for a draftsman, not a colored man." Leon Quincy Jackson, a black Seminole in 1950s Oklahoma was denied the right to take the state licensing exam. He convinced the governor to intercede, but still had to use a segregated hotel, enter through the back door, ride the freight elevator, and take the test in an unoccupied room. Indeed, being an African American architect has come with frightening and dismal challenges.

The most common and persistent manifestations of racism were entrenched poverty, ignorance, and the resulting diminished opportunity to fulfill one's talents. Finding steady employment was rare, much less being able to devote oneself to architecture. John Merrick's story exemplifies the challenges. Born a slave to his master's son in 1859, Merrick was freed after the Civil War and worked his way from hod carrier to brick mason to boot black to barber. Merrick eventually opened a string of barbershops, gained enough money to go into real estate, and then found the opportunity to design buildings. Even when doing this, he still acted as his own drayman, foreman, and carpenter. Many blacks just settled for construction or decoration work while whites designed the buildings. Others doubled as waiters, bellmen, or valets through times of "underemployment."

Although uniform in their presentation—illustrations consist of small grey headshots and usually one grainy shot of a building—the stories in the dictionary are captivating. This is not a coffee-table book about beautiful design, but rather a book about architecture and the social warriors who fought their way to usefulness and recognition. While the book is peppered with American Institute of Architects fellows and at least one presidential award, the real reward for the majority in

the book seemed to be their first full-time job and the opportunity for service as architect, teacher, and other community leadership roles.

Given the social climate of the United States, the ultimate success of African American architects has been a mixed affair. Some were standouts. Paul Revere Williams, "architect to the stars," was probably the most prolific black architect with some 3,000 buildings, including one of the great icons of the 1960s, the spaceship-like Theme Building at Los Angeles International Airport. But success in many cases was far more muted. Georgia Louise Harris Brown, thought to be only the second African American woman to be licensed as an architect in the United States, landed a job with an exclusive Chicago engineering firm and had her most notable professional success preparing specifications for Mies van der Rohe's Lake Shore Drive and Promontory apartment buildings. So capable and yet so limited, Brown ultimately decided to learn Portuguese and moved to Brazil for the rest of her career to escape the color line.

While the traditional academic achievement and professional success of whites is the usual model, this book celebrates a different trajectory to success and a different finished product. Black high schools like Armstrong Technical in Washington, DC, and Sumner in St. Louis—the first black high school west of the Mississippi—served as the bedrock of opportunity for many. These schools fed eager students into black colleges such as Claflin College of Agriculture and Mechanics Institute for Colored Students (now Claflin University in Orangeburg, South Carolina), which in 1890 offered the first architectural drawing classes for African Americans. Howard University and Tuskegee Institute also were common choices as were early integrated institutions such as Cornell University and the University of Illinois.

For African American graduates, organizations such as the National Technical Association and the Colored Men's Business League helped confront racial discrimination. Indeed, black institutions like the Knights of Pythias, Masonic lodges, and churches were often valuable clients. Mentoring also provided much needed support in an intimidating professional world. L.O. Bankhead, who cut hair to pay his way at Voorhees College in Denmark, South Carolina, designed houses for Hollywood stars like *Bonanza*'s Loren Green, and mentored as many as 40 young designers in his Los Angeles office.

As defeating as the environment was, casting a pessimistic shadow over African American architectural endeavor would be false. The challenges faced by African American professionals provided benchmarks for the successes achieved. Howard University served as a virtual think tank of designers with nearly a dozen architects teaching and designing campus buildings. A couple of the greatest projects mentioned in the dictionary were for model large-scale low-income housing. Lewis Mumford described the 1930s Public Works Administration-sponsored Langston Terrace public housing in Washington, DC, as looking "better than the best modern work in Hamburg or Vienna." That project's success helped lead to the passage of the first United States Housing Act of 1937. The Harlem River Houses of the same era provided the first federally funded housing in New York, comprising 574 units with extensive landscaping, a nursery school, children's indoor recreation, a health clinic, and social rooms for adults.

The dictionary's greatest benefit derives from its focus on an important, elusive, and often overlooked topic. This topic deserves further inquiry. Apparently some 80 architects were not included for lack of information. Black neighborhoods merit investigation as settings for professional fulfillment. The dynamics of African American places of business and entertainment like U Street, the "Great Black Way" in Washington, DC, and Deep Deuce in Oklahoma City, are far from clear. More information on black organizations would be valuable. The inception and life of black communities like

Fairmount Heights in Maryland, Eastgate in Columbus, Ohio, and American Beach in Florida, deserve attention. Also needed is more information on the interaction of black and white professional cultures.

In the introduction, the editor of this volume asks whether there is an African American architecture. After reading nearly 200 stories about 1,000 designs, this clearly is a more complicated question than one might think. Only one African link is made in the entire book. There are no entries describing African traditions in Creole or shotgun houses. Instead, the volume seems to document exclusively the suppression of distinctive African American traits in favor of national design norms. Trying to fit in, showing their skill with prevailing aesthetic trends, and being economically strong and respected in their communities, these designers largely conformed to design standards, but not to stereotypes of what it meant to be African American. What we see is not African American architecture as a distinct style or type, but rather architecture by dynamic and creative blacks in the United States. While African American architecture it is, it is not an architecture for African Americans to claim alone but for society as a whole.

E. G. Daves Rossell
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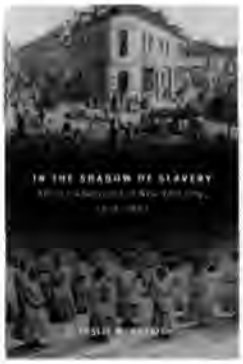
1. Most notably, the last 30 years have seen a dramatic expansion of works on folk and popular traditions and on social aspects of design. See the Vernacular Architecture Forum's bibliography for a sense of the range: http://departments.mwc.edu/hipr/www/vafbib.htm. For the best recent overview of architecture and professionalism, see Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863

By Leslie M. Harris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003; xii + 380 pp., illustrations, maps; cloth $42.50; paper $25.00.



Leslie Harris's *In the Shadow of Slavery* offers a powerful story of New York City's African Americans from the colonial period through the Civil War. The strength of the book lies in its capacity to synthesize a tremendous amount of scholarship on antislavery and black activism while simultaneously offering novel interpretations.

The book is built on an ambitious narrative with broad implications for understanding antebellum black activism. The trajectory of the narrative is not unfamiliar to specialists in the field. Drawing on a tradition of work stressing self-guidance and agency, Harris describes how African-descended people became African Americans in the colonial period, developing communities that established collective strategies for coping with and resisting oppression. The ideology of the Revolutionary War era loosened the fetters of enslavement, as paternalistic whites sought to enhance liberty's scope while preserving the moral well-being of the fragile republic. White reformers' efforts to expatriate American blacks to the African colony of Liberia illustrated the anxieties about emancipation. The limited benevolence of the early republic thus transmogrified into the hardened racial lines of the antebellum period.

In the 1830s, popular response to black activism and white radical abolitionism coalesced around fears of "amalgamation," spurring the riots of 1834 and fostering new caution among antislavery activists black and white. The new generation of

black activists that emerged in the 1840s and 1850s was more dedicated to independent action and more willing to discuss potentially divisive questions of class culture within the movement. While their solutions failed to mobilize the full spectrum of black classes, their concerns were more than justified by the reemergence of white fears of interracial sexuality embodied in the Draft Riots of 1863.

For interpreters of historic sites, Harris's study suggests important nuances in presenting a narrative of black activism as well as the broader context of abolitionism. Far more than a case study, it is the story of the black antislavery movement writ large. Harris's key players conflict with black Philadelphians, shake off the paternalism of Boston abolitionists, establish institutions throughout the Mid-Atlantic and New England, and nurture ties to the plantation South and to Africa and other parts of the diaspora. The convention movement spearheaded by black New Yorkers in the 1840s was a national movement, and it responded to national events, like the Supreme Court's 1857 decision in *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford*.

In the Shadow of Slavery also offers highly original research and analysis. Few have done the job as well as Harris in illuminating the ambivalent, qualified "freedom" of black northerners in the early republic, or of the role of sexual fears in further qualifying that freedom in the antebellum years. Her discussion of the manual labor movement and black abolitionism constitutes some of the strongest work we have on northern blacks and questions of labor. Her study of the Colored Orphan's Asylum deftly illuminates class tensions inherent in white reformers' efforts on behalf of African Americans.

Class tensions constitute the strongest theme of the book, as Harris seeks the fullest explication yet of the role of class formation in antebellum black activism. Similar to her colleagues Shane White and Graham Hodges, Harris undertakes the formidable task of giving voice to nonelite African Americans, which inevitably yields stories of conflict with bourgeois black leaders. Figures like Samuel Cornish embraced middle-class values of self-help and moral elevation in an effort to demonstrate that African Americans deserved their precarious freedom, but often at the expense of working-class blacks whom these leaders claimed to represent. Working-class African Americans, such as Peter Paul Simons, occasionally challenged the bourgeois premises of elite black protest, only to find themselves silenced, mocked, or ignored.

Harris tends to reify class, often posing "middle class" not as the contingent product of social and ideological contestation, but as a given and thus largely the same for whites and blacks. As Harris herself notes, scanty means impelled important figures among the black elite to undertake labor that prevented them from embodying the dominant middle-class ideal. For black leaders, what did bourgeois actually mean? While Harris recognizes that black activists lacked the luxury of sundering themselves from the black non-elite, she might have more fully grasped the opportunities such paradoxes offer for interrogating divergent meanings of class among black and white activists. Was it possible for class culture to operate among blacks in the same way that it operated among whites? At the least, Harris's work suggests a tantalizing hidden history of class tension within the black community that invites further investigation.

It is no surprise that *In the Shadow of Slavery* won the American Historical Association's 2003 Wesley Logan Prize, and an honorable mention for the 2003 Frederick Douglass Book Prize from the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition. Few have done as much as Harris to challenge historians to weave the African American experience into a retelling of the national narrative. The book is a stunning achievement—an insightful and wide-ranging work that may long stand as definitive.

Patrick Rael
Bowdoin College

Getting Around: Exploring Transportation History

By H. Roger Grant. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishers, 2003; 190 pp., illustrations, appendices, index; cloth $29.50; paper $24.50.

A growing number of people seem to realize that they are products of their past, and they want to connect with that past, individually or as part of a larger community. When historical questions focus on local or regional issues, both amateur and professional historians sometimes find themselves at a loss about where to look for information about a field new to them. Big national and international topics may be covered by considerable literature and resources such as the National Archives, Library of Congress, and the various state archives are well known, but most of us live in a smaller realm. The history of our communities and their everyday life is unique, yet connected to a wider world. But where does one begin to look for information about local life? What is really important? How can useful data be assembled and analyzed?

With its Exploring Community History series, Krieger Publishing Company has provided informative guides to help historians find answers to these and other questions about community history. H. Roger Grant's *Getting Around: Exploring Transportation History* is the fourth book in this series and, as the title indicates, Grant opens windows into the study of local and regional transportation history. Humans have always been mobile creatures, and the topic is central to understanding how any community forms, grows, sometimes fails, and interacts with other communities. As a long-time scholar of transportation history, Grant's wide knowledge of available resources makes him the ideal author for this book.

This is not a history book, nor is it a book about writing history. Rather, it is a book about sources for researching a very complex industry from several points of view. The depth and breadth of Grant's knowledge of the field becomes increasingly evident the more one reads, and he has done a good job of organizing an immense amount of material into a concise, useable form.

The book is organized by transportation modes, and they appear in roughly chronological order. Grant devotes a chapter each to natural waterways, roads, canals, railroads, interurbans, urban transit, and aviation. Written in a readable narrative style, each chapter opens with a brief overview of a particular mode, then narrows to a local focus and concentrates on how individuals interacted with the mode and suggests ways that transportation influenced their lives. He notes the kinds of structures (or their remains) and other artifacts that may still exist, where to look for them, and how to recognize evidence of a past life in the transportation industry, even though a structure may have been in some other, unrelated use for years.

Grant also discusses the types of public and private records that each operation likely generated and offers sage advice on where these might be found. Within each chapter, information is grouped into subheadings, a big help for consulting the book on a specific topic. The chapter on railroads is typical, with subheadings for depots, companies, employees, rolling stock, artifacts (lanterns, keys, etc.), accidents (records and images), and additional pointers (maps, timetables, rule books, etc.). The chapter on roads deals not only with everything from trails to interstates, but also discusses sources for bus- and truck-line data and information often available from related industries, such as tire and oil companies.

Grant's approach is quite thorough. He lists major secondary works where they exist, and he notes a number of specific museums and archives. Where the resources are not well defined, Grant provides

an overview of what one might look for, such as retired employees' associations, fire insurance maps, property records, and even picture postcards. The illustrations, while often small because of the book's 6-by-9-inch format, give the reader, especially one new to the field, a good sense of the relevant artifacts. While Grant cautions that few, if any, records or artifacts may survive from an endeavor that failed, even an experienced professional historian will come away from this little book with a rejuvenated sense of what is out there, remaining to be explored. As an additional encouragement, Grant ends the book with a brief chapter outlining a variety of ways that amateur historians might utilize and disseminate the information that they gather.

This book should enjoy a wide audience. It certainly will not create a competent historian in one easy lesson, but that is not its intent. Grant tries to steer the serious researcher towards good source material about transportation, particularly sources that might be productive yet easy to overlook. Since communities grew around their transportation networks, anyone starting an exploration into community history will find it to be a valuable companion.

J. Lawrence Lee
National Park Service

Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting Women's History for Historic Sites

Essays by Sara Evans, Leslie N. Sharp, Jill Cowley, and Shaun Eyring. Second Edition, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2003; 56 pp., notes, bibliography; free of charge. Available online at www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/index.htm.

Anne M. Derousie, historian at Women's Rights National Historical Park, and Susan Ferentinos, public history coordinator for the Organization of American Historians, produced this booklet under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the organization. The booklet comprises Derousie's introduction and three short essays: Sara M. Evans's review of "Women's History Scholarship," Jill Cowley and Shaun Eyring's overview of "Women's History and Cultural Landscapes," and Leslie N. Sharp's comments on "Women's History and the Built Environment."

The publication is the first in a series that is "designed to assist historic site managers, historians and interpreters in the ongoing process of reviewing and evaluating interpretive programs and media and adjusting them in light of recent scholarship." Because the managers, historians, and interpreters likely will have various backgrounds, the National Park Service introduces them to some of the key questions that command the attention of historians of women. A comment by Sharpe that "one key to improving the documentation of historic properties in terms of women's history is to ask better questions" characterizes the goal of the publication. Each of the authors does an excellent job of synthesizing a wide variety of materials into concise articles. Evans, Cowley, and Eyring link their comments to specific sites around the country, while Sharp relies on examples from Georgia that seem more linked to National Register of Historic Places listings than to national parks.

The book concludes with a 20-page bibliography, the longest section in the booklet, which is divided among reference works on women's history, resources on women and the built environment, resources on women and cultural landscapes, general resources on women's history, and biogra-

phies. All of the citations are books, so perhaps the booklet's coordinators made a conscious decision to omit some of the excellent women's history websites. Almost every bibliographic citation in the first four sections includes a brief annotation, but why these are not available for every citation is not clear. Nor is it clear why none of the books in the biographies section has annotations. Most readers will recognize Clara Barton and Elizabeth Cady Stanton immediately, but Martha Ballard and Sarah Winnemucca, the subjects of other books in this section, are probably less well-known. Some references to local history resources (city directories, maps, diaries, census records, vital statistics, etc.) that historians and interpreters might use to research their sites would have made the bibliography more useful.

Space must have been a major constraint, though, since there are no illustrations beyond the cover photograph to help the reader understand the authors' perspectives. This is a particularly glaring omission, at least to this reviewer, in the article on cultural landscapes where the authors discuss sites like the Lockhart Ranch at Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area and the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in South Dakota, which few readers outside the National Park Service are likely to know.

Exploring a Common Past is a useful aid to historic site staff who must address a range of topics in their daily work. Although parts are inconsistent, overall the publication will help integrate the history of women into the narrative of American history.

Barbara Howe
West Virginia University

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest

Edited by Hal K. Rothman. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003; 250 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes; cloth $34.95.

In the introduction to this book, editor Hal Rothman suggests that the Southwest provided the model upon which Americans discovered tourism. While far from accurate, that observation points faithfully to the importance of the southwestern United States in demonstrating the complex and often perplexing human consequences of modern tourism. The book's interdisciplinary focus also provides testimony to the degree to which issues related to tourism and travel have begun to catch the attention of a variety of disciplines and areas of professional practice.

One of the unique features of southwestern tourism lies in the tricultural and highly racialized identities associated with the American Southwest. In her contribution, Sylvia Rodriquez describes how tourism has contributed to and reflects the construction in New Mexico of an Indian-Mexican-Anglo identity that serves to misrepresent the true complexity of ethnic differences in the region and is continually renegotiated through shifts in the ethnic power base of localities. Her insightful discussion of changes in regional tourism strategies due to increased Hispanic political influence and the development of casino gaming by several Indian pueblos is worthy of careful reading. Chris Wilson's article on the historical development of the touristic and monumental representation of New Mexico's three major "cultures" provides additional documentation.

Several of the contributions focus on the importance of material culture in structuring southwestern tourism. In her discussion of the important role played by "authentic" Indian-crafted souvenirs, Leah Dilworth describes how such objects can serve to appropriate and commodify cultural identities. In her critique of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990, Dilworth suggests that it actually serves to alienate rather than protect culturally appropriate modes of Indian production and identity. In "Anglo Artists and the Creation of Pueblo Worlds," Rina Swentzell offers a personal account of growing up Indian in a pueblo near the tourist mecca of Taos, contrasting her own feelings of Indian identity with representations of Indian culture produced by popular Anglo artists. In another article, Erika Marie Bsumek turns her attention to that form of "virtual tourism" represented by the collection from afar of ethnographic arts and crafts. The popularity of such elite collecting, Bsumek argues, has served to deprive some people of large parts of their material heritage, particularly when it has focused on rare, personal, and ceremonial objects, rather than on goods produced for the tourist market.

Articles by Phoebe Kropp and Marguerite Shaffer address issues related to the touristic making of southwestern places. Kropp's contribution describes the early-20th-century construction of the El Camino Real highway along the California coast, with emphasis on the advent of the automobile as a touring vehicle and the highly romanticized and racialized revival, if not reinvention, of California's early Spanish missions. Shaffer's particularly insightful article is based modestly enough on pre-World War II travel scrapbooks of a secretary from New York. Worth noting is Shaffer's ability to find ways that the scrapbooks reflect common tourism expectations and commercial travel products while highlighting the personality of the scrapbook maker. As a result, we are able to see the traveling secretary as a part of the tourism enterprise and as an individual with particular tastes and ideas related to her travel experiences. This is important in view of critical literature (both humanistic and social scientific) that often generalizes individual tourist motivations.

Two other articles are devoted to more practical or applied aspects of southwestern tourism. William Bryan, Jr., offers a useful critique of recent attempts to develop a more "appropriate" or sustainable approach to cultural tourism. Bryan praises three "working experiments" in Arizona, but also decries the fact that these examples are anomalies in an industry that, for the most part, proceeds with little caution for human and environmental consequences. In a more positive vein, Susan Guyette and David White describe their efforts to develop a strategy of cross-cultural tourism planning, based mostly on their work with southwestern Indian communities.

The final two articles are concerned with issues related to urban tourism in the Southwest. Char Miller offers an interesting account of economic ramifications of San Antonio's revitalization as a tourist town, and Hal Rothman provides an entertaining interpretation of Las Vegas, which might be said to have invented postmodern tourism before there even was such a term.

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture is well worth reading, both for what it has to convey about the multiple features and myriad consequences of southwestern tourism and for its interdisciplinary nature. The strengths may contribute to some relatively minor weaknesses. The essays vary somewhat in the force and credibility of their arguments. Several seem too abstract in a critical or literary sense or, in a couple of cases, a bit too self-congratulatory, offering only limited evidence for their nonetheless intriguing conclusions. It seems clear that if all of the authors talked to each other, there would be a number of significant disagreements regarding the consequences of tourism and how tourism is best studied. The disagreements are inevitable; it would have been helpful to identify and discuss some of the differences.

The book also treats issues related to authenticity and significance—in some cases suggesting that tourism is a clear threat to "the real." In other instances, the authors argue that the concept of authenticity might itself be a by-product of touristic encounters, and hint that significance and representational authority might be better measures of what is going on than authenticity. Again, sorting through these differences would be helpful.

If the American Southwest is not the model for tourism—either historically or in our time—it still provides one of the more compelling instances of the complexity of tourism's consequences. This is a thought-provoking and worthwhile book.

Erve Chambers
University of Maryland, College Park

Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach

By Jill Marie Koelling. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, in cooperation with the American Association for State and Local History, 2004; 112 pp., illustrations, notes; cloth $69.00; paper $24.95.

By the time the Library of Congress/Ameritech National Digital Library (NDL) Competition had officially come to an end in March 2003, the award program (1996-1999) had succeeded in helping 33 libraries, archives, museums, and historical societies across the country digitize collections of historical materials and make them available online as part of the library's American Memory website (http://memory.loc.gov/). Among criteria used for evaluating Ameritech NDL award applications were the significance of the collections, their usefulness to students and the general public, and technical and administrative viability. Consideration was given to geographical location and the extent to which the collections complemented or otherwise enhanced the Library of Congress's own collections digitized by the NDL program.

When all was said and done, more than 200,000 historical items relating to the American experience—photographs, sheet music, letters, diaries, and books, to name a few—had been scanned, catalogued, and released to the public over the Internet. The program also inspired a number of reports and other publications on the participants' experiences, of which *Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach* may be considered one of the most recent.

Jill Marie Koelling worked for seven and a half years as curator of photographs and head of digital imaging at the Nebraska State Historical Society, an Ameritech NDL award winner in 1997-1998, and her book is a distillation of that institution's experience with its first digital project, *Prairie Settlement: A Story of Determination*, and the many others that followed. The title, *Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach*, is somewhat of a misnomer. While practical in the "how-to" sense of the term, the book reaches beyond the technical aspects of the process to highlight the myriad decisions that must be made and the shifts in thinking about preservation and access that must occur at historical societies, libraries, and other collecting institutions contemplating an integrated digitization program. With its combination of technical information, reading list, examples, illustrations, and lessons learned—all interwoven with refreshingly comprehensible prose—the book dovetails nicely with other volumes of the American Association for State and Local History book series and will serve digital imaging novices both inside and outside the history and museum professions equally well.

Although unconventional (which the author herself admits), Koelling's idea of beginning *Digital Imaging* with a glossary of terms so that her core audience of collection managers, curators, museum directors, registrars, and collections volunteers

can "speak 'digital'" accounts for the book's effectiveness as a digital imaging primer for custodians of historical records. These days, the release of a *For Dummies* reference book is as good a gauge as any of the absorption rate into the American mainstream of what was once considered esoteric or highly specialized. While *Digital Imaging* is hardly for dummies and unlikely to help its readers "compose top-notch sports, travel, and people pictures" as *Digital Photography...for Dummies* (IDG Books, 2003) claims, Koelling's book is written and arranged in such a way that it will appeal even to those who might not need or want to eat, drink, and sleep digital imaging but who realize they can no longer ignore the virtual elephant in the room.

Koelling demystifies digital imaging by defining the technical terms up front and then presenting processes and concepts in ways that are intellectually accessible to the digital imaging novice. Readers are less likely to emerge from the book speaking digital (Koelling actually keeps the digital-speak to a minimum) than feeling more comfortable with the terminology and more confident about incorporating digital imaging and digitization programs into their daily work.

Digital Imaging covers issues central to the success and sustainability of digitization programs in libraries and museums, such as project planning and management, ethics, technical specifications, metadata, and cataloging. Whereas the NDL established specific requirements in some of these areas, award winners were on their own when it came to the others. Koelling includes alternative approaches and solutions, most notably those of the Utah State Historical Society, a 1998-1999 Ameritech NDL award recipient, and the Colorado Digitization Program, so that readers are less likely to come away from the book thinking "this is how Nebraska did it" than "this is how it ought to be done."

Metadata standards for digital imaging are probably the hardest concept to sell, but they are among the most important features of a successful and sustainable digitization program. Perhaps one reason metadata lacks the appeal of, say, a scanner or a digital camera is that the effects of a standardized method for recording information about an image file might not be seen or felt for years. Today, practically every collecting institution recognizes the benefits of institution-wide standards for organizing and describing items in its custody, even if the institution may be light-years away from integrating its collections databases (the Holy Grail of the virtual library world).

In the broader digital imaging world—where metadata is still considered esoteric and where compliance with MARC, Dublin Core, or any other standard is usually voluntary, and where inexpensive scanners, digital cameras, and database application software proliferate—any library, archivist, or collector anywhere with the financial means to do so can implement a digitization program. Although Koelling does not dwell on metadata, she leaves no doubt about the value and potential of Dublin Core and other standards over the long term. The measure of the success of *Digital Imaging* may well be the extent to which Internet searches across collections and across collecting institutions, whether large or small, are mundane realities 10 years from now because digital imagers took Koelling's practical advice to heart.

Martin J. Perschler
National Park Service

EXHIBITS

From Cambodia to Greensboro: Tracing the Journeys of New North Carolinians

Greensboro Historical Museum, Greensboro, North Carolina. Project manager: Jon Zachman; guest curator: Barbara Lau

December 7, 2003–December 31, 2005

It's like you are riding on a boat, two different boats. One leg is on the Cambodian one, one leg is on the American boat. One is going east, one's going west, you're going to fall in the middle. That's when you're trapped and don't know what to decide. Why don't you buy a third boat, which you could blend it all in together, and you'll be safe.

—Vandy Chhum, *From Cambodia to Greensboro*

In the past 25 years, refugees and immigrants from around the globe have contributed to Greensboro, North Carolina's growing cultural diversity. Asian populations, including Cambodians, represent the largest group among the area's newcomers. As the Cambodian community celebrated the 20th anniversary of the first resettlement in Greensboro, the Greensboro Historical Museum responded with the opening of an exhibit called *From Cambodia to Greensboro: Tracing the Journeys of New North Carolinians.*

Established in 1924, the Greensboro Historical Museum seeks to address the region's historical events and well-known people. The museum offers exhibits on Native Americans, decorative arts, and community life. In 2000, the museum initiated a five-year strategic plan to reach new audiences, including Greensboro's diverse population, and increase community involvement. The museum used the anniversary of the Cambodian community's arrival in North Carolina in January 1983 as an opportunity to unveil the first of several new exhibits with the new goal in mind.

From Cambodia to Greensboro addresses several questions. Who were the Cambodian (Khmer) people who first came to Greensboro? Why did they leave their country? Could they make new lives in America while retaining their culture, traditions, and beliefs? The exhibit answers these questions through historical research, oral history, and community involvement. The timelines, text, and material culture are organized around five themes: Historical Roots, War and Transition, Tradition and Change, Spirituality, and Community.

The exhibit begins its journey at the golden age of the Angkor Empire and Angkor Wat, an important cultural symbol to the Khmer people. It leads visitors to a discussion of Cambodia's role in the Vietnam War and the subsequent rule of the Khmer Rouge. The narrative examines the cost of the war to the Cambodian people in human lives (2-3 million lost) and in displacement (half a million forced to flee their homeland; over 150,000 to the United States). The story line then shifts to those who began new lives in Greensboro, aided by Lutheran Family Services and other social service organizations. *From Cambodia to Greensboro* high-

The Math Hai family was among the thousands of Cambodians who arrived in the United States after the Vietnam War. This official photograph was taken in 1983 when the family registered at Khao-I-Dang refugee camp in Laos. (Courtesy of the Math Hai family)

Every April, hundreds of Cambodian and Khmer people travel to Greensboro, NC, to participate in the Cambodian New Year festival. In 2001, Phal Sum and his young son walk in a Kathin procession at the Greensboro Buddhist Center. (Courtesy of Cedric N. Chatterley)

lights personal struggles with identity and the measures taken to retain cultural values, religious beliefs, and traditions. The exhibit ends with a discussion of the importance of maintaining old connections and creating new ones and suggests ways that visitors can learn more about Cambodian culture, including an invitation to join in the Cambodian New Year celebration at local temples.

In the book *The Presence of the Past*, historians Roy Rozenweig and David Thelen suggest that the past is personal and that people trust eyewitnesses to history, as well as the information presented in museums.[1] Responding to this idea, curator Barbara Lau and researchers Vandy Chhum and Ran Kong conducted numerous interviews with first- and second-generation Cambodian Americans. Quotes from the interviews supplement the curatorial narrative. The narrative is enlivened with photographs that trace the evolution of life from refugee camps to the United States. Official government identification photographs of melancholy newly arrived Cambodians are juxtaposed with recent images of the same people at joyous occasions, including a college graduation and the birth of a grandchild.

Objects and labels work together to reinforce the educational component of *From Cambodia to Greensboro*. One label asks the reader to imagine life as a refugee. What would you take with you if you had to leave your home tonight? One Cambodian family chose three items as they fled their country: a cooking pot, a spoon, and a piece of fabric, which are neatly arranged in a display case. A Buddhist altar and related objects offers insight into Buddhist beliefs.

In *From Cambodia to Greensboro*, gallery space is transformed into a cultural meeting place. Visitors are invited to remove their shoes upon entering the gallery. Exhibit labels are printed in English and Khmer. Exhibit design reflects a Cambodian aesthetic. The brightly-colored walls and banners, traditional music playing, and the flow of the exhibit celebrate diversity and foster understanding and respect. This exhibit contributes to fulfilling the Greensboro Historical Museum's desire to broaden the scope of its mission as a local history museum and its service as an educational and cultural institution.

Karmen Bisher
National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers

1. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

Alexander Hamilton: The Man Who Made Modern America

New-York Historical Society, New York, NY. Project director: James G. Basker; historian curator: Richard Brookhiser; guest curator: Mina Rieur Weiner; exhibit design: Ralph Appelbaum Associates Incorporated

September 10, 2004-February 28, 2005

Someone whose portrait is engraved on a billion and a half $10 bills probably deserves a blockbuster biographical exhibit, and the New-York Historical Society has obliged handsomely. *Alexander Hamilton: The Man Who Made Modern America* portrays the life and times of a figure central to the creation of our nation, a man of strong appetites averse neither to deep thought nor drama. The society has matched the scale of an exhibit to the scale of its subject, and exhibit visitors are clearly thrilled with the results.

In the course of his life (1757-1804), Hamilton suffered regular vicissitudes and enjoyed regular successes, each a mix of his own doing and the influence of others. He lived under a persistent cloud of questions—beginning with his origins ("A bastard Brat of a Scotch peddlar," in the opinion of John Adams) and ending with his impulsive and fatal duel with Aaron Burr. At many points in between, he shone radiantly as one of the creators of the unprecedented United States of America.

So what is "modern" regarding Hamilton? His foresight resulted in many institutions within which we live today, including a federal system of shared authority among a central government and the states, central currency and banking, and an economy diversified far beyond agriculture. Hamilton's vision on such matters was original, genius, and enduring.

The timeline and story may be familiar. Born on the West Indies island of Nevis, Hamilton emigrated alone to New York and entered King's College (now Columbia University) in 1773, published his first political essays ("A Full Vindication" and "The Farmer Refuted") in 1774 and 1775, joined a militia company of student volunteers in 1775, and became a captain of a New York artillery company, a colonel on General George Washington's staff, and a commander of light infantry. In 1780 he married Elizabeth Schuyler, daughter of an old and comfortable upstate New York family. Hamilton then pursued a law, political, and business career. In 1782 Hamilton was elected delegate to the Constitutional Convention. In 1784 Hamilton was part of a group of investors who founded the Bank of New York ("He offered ideas, not money: he owned only one share of stock ...").[1]

In 1785 Hamilton and others founded the New York Manumission Society dedicated to ending slavery, a vision that was active but delayed for nearly 60 years. During 1787 and 1788 Hamilton and colleagues published the 85 essays known as the Federalist Papers towards persuading New York to ratify the proposed Constitution. While authorship is still disputed, most scholars accept that Hamilton wrote 52 of the essays, James Madison 28, and John Jay 5. The essays explained "the utility of the union to your political prosperity"[2] and why a federal union was the best choice for the United States. The Federalist Papers are considered "the one product of the American mind that is rightly counted among the classics of political theory."[3]

In 1789 Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in the newly constituted government and served until 1795. In 1790 Hamilton published his "Report on a National Bank" and "Report on Public Credit," promoting the Federal Government's fiscal responsibilities. In 1791 the Federal Government assumed the states' Revolutionary War debts in exchange for centralizing major aspects of the national economy (and politics). In 1792 Hamilton led the formation of the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures to promote a

diversified national economy through skilled trades and industry: "When all the different kinds of industry obtain in a community, each individual can find his proper element, and can call into activity the whole vigor of his nature."[4] In 1798 the United States faced the possibility of war with France and Hamilton reentered military service with a commission from President Adams as Inspector General of the Army, second in command to President Washington.

In the 1800 presidential election, when Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied and the decision went to the House of Representatives, Hamilton fatefully urged Federalists—"In a choice of evils …"—to choose Jefferson. In 1801 Hamilton founded the *New-York Evening Post*, today's *New York Post*. In 1802 Hamilton began construction on the Grange, his rural retreat in upper Manhattan. In the summer of 1804, Hamilton and Burr dueled to settle an escalated series of political and personal slights. Hamilton shot high and wide. ("I have resolved… to *reserve* and *throw away* my first fire," Hamilton wrote in a farewell letter to his wife.) Burr's shot was fatal.

Later in 1804 Hamilton's peers founded the New-York Historical Society. The Hamilton exhibit is a fitting bicentennial celebration of the society and a hometown favorite son. To bring the story alive, the New-York Historical Society draws on many collections, but primarily its own. The challenge for this exhibit: Hamilton's archive legacy far outstrips his artifact legacy. Few clothes, little furniture, no artifacts as interesting as the fabled wooden teeth at Mount Vernon. But "Hamilton changed the world through writing"[5] and, with substantial help from the designer's craft, the exhibit appropriately and very successfully tells a dramatic story chiefly through dramatic documents.

The exhibit focuses on His World, His Vision, His Life, and The Duel, opening with two walls lined with portraits of prominent contemporaries and a film produced by the History Channel. The portraits and film drive home both that it is who you know matters and that Hamilton was a star in the histories, comedies, and tragedies of the period. In His Vision, the core of the exhibit, unique period documents and small objects and contemporary videos tell the story of Hamilton's ideas and accomplishments. His Life is a timeline relating Hamilton's life—by turns solid and evanescent—to what was happening in the colonies, the United States, and the world, ending with a letter from Hamilton's sister-in-law to her brother: "… General Hamilton was this morning wounded by the *wretch Burr*." The Duel is a simple vignette of life-size bronzes of Hamilton and Burr standing poised to shoot, in front of an exhibit of the actual pistols.

The story continues throughout the society's other exhibit spaces, with special labels for other Hamilton-related artifacts that further demonstrate Hamilton's deep influence on the early and continuing history of the United States. The federal union was Hamilton's seminal achievement, an opinion seconded with popular enthusiasm. In 1788, the Society of Pewterers carried a painted banner in a "Federal Procession" in New York with a verse that assented to the political innovation devised by Hamilton and his colleagues: "The Federal Plan Most Solid & Secure/American's Their Freedom Will Endure/All Arts Shall Flourish in Columbia's Land/And All her Sons Join as One Social Band." Between 1787 and 1790, each of the former 13 colonies held processions to celebrate its ratification of the Constitution. The pewterers' is the only procession banner known to survive. With the beautiful presentation of hundreds of rare and powerful objects such as this banner, *Alexander Hamilton: The Man Who Made Modern America* tells a compelling and comprehensive story of a man devoted indeed to the enduring and flourishing success of the United States.

The story of the exhibit is amplified in a tabloid-style exhibit catalog disguised as a special issue of the *New York Post*, complete with predictable

hyperbole and breathless telegraphic writing; in a website (www.alexanderhamiltonexhibition.org); and in a new play, "In Worlds Unknown: Alexander Hamilton and the Invention of America." Not withstanding the glow of exhibit and stage lighting, Hamilton and controversy will remain entwined. For other views of Hamilton and the exhibit, readers might begin with www.gothamcenter.org/hamilton.

John Robbins
National Park Service

1. Exhibit text.

2. Federalist Papers, www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/ federal/fed01

3. Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, *The Federalist Papers* (Reprint; New York: New American Library, 1961), vii.

4. Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures," 1791.

5. Exhibit text.

Separate is Not Equal: Brown v. Board of Education

Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, Washington, DC. Curators: National Museum of American History, Behring Center, staff

May 2004-May 2005

Marching Towards Justice: The History of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

Law Library, Howard University School of Law, Washington, DC. Exhibit director: Lawrence C. Mann

May 3-July 29, 2004

Museums commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* face three significant challenges. The first is the need to explain the larger context in which the fight to end segregated education occurred and the steps individuals and agencies took to resist desegregation. Covering Jim Crow, white supremacy, and the denial of constitutional provisions for equal protection is a lot to ask of the introduction to an exhibit. Second, the story leading up to *Brown* is legally complex and involves a national coalition, led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that brought five cases to the federal court system. Finally, the story continues through the immediate aftermath of *Brown* and the unforeseen consequences of ending the Jim Crow caste system. Today, any celebration of the *Brown* decision is bittersweet, given mounting evidence of broad patterns of ethnic and economic resegregation within the nation's public schools.

Separate is Not Equal: Brown v. Board of Education at the National Museum of American History provides an interesting mix of artifacts and furniture, original documents and reproductions of well known images, as well as archival television and film coverage. The historical context is provided in objects and documents that depict "Segregated America" ranging from a sign, "Japs Keep Moving," to a campaign poster from Senator Strom Thurmond's presidential bid in 1948. A period film depicts the unequal conditions found in segregated school systems. The legal campaign to combat segregation is portrayed in a series of alcoves that tell the story of the five cases brought together under *Brown*.

To underscore the landmark qualities of the *Brown* decision, the exhibit uses four photographically reproduced columns to form a triumphal arch through which the visitor approaches an imposing wooden form, meant to represent a judge's bench. Almost lost in the background as reports of the decision flash on a vintage television, is a portion of the lunch counter and seats from the Woolworth's in Greensboro, North Carolina, site of a major 1961

This image from an 1839 Boston Anti-Slavery Almanac illustrates the protests against segregation in public education before the 20th-century events leading up to Brown. *(Courtesy of the National Museum of American History Collections)*

sit-in. Visitors are left to ponder the relationship between the judicial end of segregated school systems in the mid-1950s and the struggle to integrate public accommodations in the early 1960s. A brochure and the museum's website provide complementary interpretation.

Marching Towards Justice: The History of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides an interesting contrast to *Separate is Not Equal. Marching Towards Justice* is the first in a series of exhibits called *Brown @ 50: Fulfilling the Promise.* Sponsored by the Damon J. Keith Law Collection of African-American Legal History, Wayne State University Law School, the traveling exhibit has been displayed at over a dozen institutions and conferences. Installed in a curved, well-lit space at the law library at Howard University's School of Law, the exhibit uses a variety of familiar images with some audio supplements to tell the story.

The exhibit's "central focus is the courageous struggle of persons of African descent and their allies who, for several centuries, fought to achieve justice in this land." With such an expansive mandate, it must sketch the story of the 14th Amendment with broad strokes. *Marching Towards Justice* outlines the events prior to and following the ratification of the 14th Amendment—from the arrival of Africans in America and the paradox of slavery, through the Dred Scott case to the establishment of equal protection during Reconstruction and *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the promise denied during the Jim Crow era, leading up to *Brown*. The chronology is supported by drawings and photographs, as well as a historical narrative steeped in the social and cultural history of African Americans.

The exhibit concludes with the half-century civil rights struggle leading up to the *Brown* decision in the mid-1950s. The exhibit lays out the legal strategies and highlights the participants, including attorneys Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall, in the NAACP's attempt to achieve the Constitution's promise of equal access and opportunity. The exhibit's thesis, that the 14th Amendment "*ultimately* becomes *the* weapon of choice" [emphasis in text] during the 20th century for legal battles with institutionalized racism, is well illustrated. A companion booklet provides addi-

The widely disseminated image of Nettie Hunt, sitting on the steps of Supreme Court, explaining the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision banning segregation in public schools to her daughter Nikie, reflects the resolve and pride needed to win the Brown v. Board of Education *case. (Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division)*

tional context for the story as well as supplemental bibliographic resources for those interested in a more detailed discussion.

Both exhibits are worthy and successful, each within their own context, sponsorship, mission, and venue. *Separate is Not Equal* and *Marching Towards Justice* correctly highlight the contributions of individuals, especially Houston and Marshall, in championing school desegregation in the nation's schools. One can only imagine the bravery and anguish of countless, unrecognized parents who knowingly placed their children in harm's way and who risked their own lives and livelihoods to openly confront segregation. Looking back on *Brown*, as the story passes from active memory to museum installations and historic sites, we can hope that these important events receive the consideration and stewardship they deserve. For the preservation community, exhibits that commemorate the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education* should serve to awaken us, as Thomas Jefferson noted, "like a fire-bell in the night," that the most important stories of the 20th century are often told not in architectural landmarks, but in common, seemingly unremarkable, places.

John H. Sprinkle, Jr.
National Park Service

Brooklyn Works: 400 Years of Making a Living in Brooklyn

Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, NY.
Curator: Ann Meyerson

Semipermanent

Visitors to New York City frequently overlook one of the region's most interesting communities, the borough of Brooklyn. From its agricultural beginnings to its commercial heyday, Brooklyn's history is unique. The Brooklyn Historical Society's exhibit, *Brooklyn Works: 400 years of Making a Living in Brooklyn*, follows this history through the lens of the borough's ever-changing industries and workers. Theatrical backdrops, large format photography, audio presentations, artifacts, and hands-on exercises combine to give life to each era in Brooklyn's labor history.

The exhibit was developed over five years with help from a National Endowment for the Humanities grant. The far-reaching exhibit marks the reopening of the Brooklyn Historical Society after an extensive renovation of its historic home. Curator Ann Meyerson and the society's staff compiled artifacts from industries and the society's collection.

An opening video montage sets the theme by focusing on the people of Brooklyn, depicting their work, their diversity, and their vibrancy. The exhibit is divided in four sections, each chronicling a distinct wave of immigration and corresponding trends in labor. The exhibit immerses the visitor in each era, using stage sets that recreate the architecture, artifacts, and vistas of the time. A combination of well-written text, interactive activities, audio and video recordings, and photographs make this exhibit accessible and engaging for a variety of age groups. Bounty and Bondage: King's County before 1820 depicts the region's agricultural heritage through narrations recreated from letters, diaries, and artifacts from the era.

The World Trades with Brooklyn: 1820–1880 documents the city's emerging role as a major shipping center in the 19th century. The completion of the Erie Canal transformed the Port of New York into one of the busiest in the world. By 1880, Brooklyn was the nation's third largest city. (Brooklyn was incorporated as a borough of New York City in 1898.) In one gallery, a map of the Brooklyn docks is paired with questionnaires and primary source documents, challenging visitors to take on the role of trade-goods inspector.

Brooklyn Works *uses a neighborhood barbershop to interpret the difficulties that African Americans and other people of color had with obtaining work during the early part of the 20th century. A short film features five elderly African Americans along with still photographs, archival footage, and music. (Photograph by Mike Hanke, courtesy of the Brooklyn Historical Society)*

The apex of Brooklyn's industrial might is addressed in Brooklyn: A Powerhouse of Production 1880–1950, which examines the period through the voices and artifacts of laborers. In one gallery, a barbershop becomes a peaceful place to view period photographs while listening to oral histories of African Americans' finding work and facing discrimination. Nearby, a gallery with steel plates, overhead catwalks, and industrial sounds, recreates the Dickensian world of a sugar refinery. A Domino Sugar Company movie from 1920 is paired with commentary on the quality of life for workers in the factory including descriptions of oppressive heat, occasional explosions, and poor air quality. A touch-screen computer lets visitors try "making ends meet" on the salaries of waiters or longshoremen. The role of women is included, documenting long hours in garment factories with little pay and hazardous working conditions. After marriage, their daily work included keeping their homes, raising their children, and taking in piecework for extra money.

A note of sadness underlies the last section of the exhibit, Industry Shifts Gear, Brooklyn Today: 1950-2000. A combination of factors shifted Brooklyn's labor market from an industrial to a service economy. The developing highway system reduced the need for nearby industry, product processing, and shipping facilities; governmental incentives lured businesses into the suburbs; and little room in inner cities was available for expansion. The borough's growth halted and then receded, and job losses mounted. The end of the era is punctuated by the departure of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

Large demographic maps depict the ever-changing population of the borough. A full gallery is devoted to profiling the diversity of its workers ending the exhibit on a high note, leaving visitors with a sense of Brooklyn as a vital and thriving cultural center. Although the fruit of Brooklyn's labor, from rope to cotton to sugar, are well documented, the real story is the ebb and flow of people. A century ago, Brooklyn's population was surging with waves of immigration from Europe. Today, the percentage of foreign-born residents in Brooklyn is again about 40 percent, but the new immigrants hail from Asia, Africa, the West Indies, Central America, and Eastern Europe. *Brooklyn Works* provides preservationists a look at an area's ever-evolving industrial and ethnic heritage and how such diversity manifests itself over time.

Claire Kelly
New York, New York

The Museum of Communism
Prague, Czech Republic

The House of Terror
Budapest, Hungary

Permanent exhibits

The National Park Service and other cultural organizations struggle to tell the often-painful stories of injustices and the battle for civil rights. Empowered by the need to commemorate local landmarks and by a growing number of visitors to iconic sites like the Edmund Pettis Bridge in Selma, Alabama, museums and civil rights interpretive trails are opening or are under development in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee. A recent *New York Times* article noted that a surge of visitation at sites important to the civil rights movement has forced communities in the American South to face a difficult past.[1]

Similar desires to discuss difficult pasts have inspired interpretive efforts at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in Montana, Civil War battlefields, and newer national parks that address the abuse of civil liberties, such as Manzanar National Historic Site. While these events remain difficult topics, time has lent some perspective and distance to our understanding of the events.

But what if these painful stories happened just 15 years ago? Today, Budapest, Hungary, and Prague, Czech Republic, are cities thronged with visitors and residents enjoying their architecture, music, cafes, and nightlife. But at the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Budapest and Prague were the capitals of grim Eastern Bloc countries.

Other than a few concrete behemoths and an occasional Trabant automobile stalling in an intersection, traces of the Soviet occupation have been largely erased from the landscapes of the two cities. This year, the Czech Republic and Hungary were admitted to the European Union. Both countries have already made the transition to a capitalist economy; their streets are lined with name-brand stores and choked with traffic. Guidebooks and tours focus on the legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or the glories of Art Nouveau architecture. Only synagogues converted into small museums remain to tell the tale of the Nazi pasts. In the interest of interpreting the more recent past, two museums have opened in Prague and Budapest to address these similar stories in divergent ways.[2]

The Museum of Communism in Prague offers a chronological review of the prewar tensions of the 1930s through the collapse of the Soviet Union. Modest in scale with no state-of-the-art trappings, it relies on photographs, topical groupings of art and artifacts, and extensive captioning in Czech, English, and German. One exhibit depicts the bare shelves and shoddy merchandise of Communist-period stores. The text notes that the Czechoslovakian economy was reduced to a system of bartering for goods and services. Other exhibits provide insight into the educational system and the role of organizations such as the Young Pioneers in indoctrinating the next generation. A mock up of a Committee for State Security (KGB) interrogation room is the single attempt to provide an immersion experience.

A videotape traces the role of public dissent and demonstrations from the failed efforts of the "Prague Spring" in 1968 to the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989. It offers a different experience from the typical history-museum film in the United States. The commentary is limited, allowing the action and 1990s pop music to tell the story. The museum is located around the corner from Wenceslas Square, the site of historic demonstrations, so visitors can experience the square after touring the museum.

The Museum of Communism was the brainchild

of American Glenn Spicker and Czech designer Jan Kaplan. It revels in the irony of its location between a McDonald's and a casino and has a strong anticommunism point of view. The museum's website offers electronic Soviet-period postcards with updated slogans that visitors can send to friends. The website's guestbook offers a fascinating glimpse into visitor perception of the museum's interpretation of the recent past. Responses range from enthusiasm that the story is being told to disparagement of the museum's biased viewpoint and desire for a more traditional interpretation.

The House of Terror in Budapest offers a very different experience. Located in a large fin-de-siecle mansion that successively housed the secret police headquarters of the Nazi Arrow Cross during World War II and the Hungarian Communist Party in the following decades, the museum is both a historic site and an exhibit experience. The experience begins before entering the building, as the shadow of the word "terror" from the signage is cast on its facade. Inside, the atmosphere is made oppressive with discordant music and galleries that are more performance art pieces than traditional history museum displays.

Every gallery is designed to tell one facet of the story to maximum effect. While exhibit labels are in Hungarian, headsets providing detailed narration in English are available. (The touch screen monitors and search aids in the galleries and on the museum's website are available only in Hungarian.) The intent and implementation differs greatly from the Museum of Communism. For example, one gallery features a period car resplendent in the symbols of Communist-Party privilege and power located behind a black curtain. In another, the floor is a map of Russia with projecting cones representing the gulags where Hungarians were sent into exile, noting that the last exile returned in 2001. A cross bursts through the floor surrounded by photographs of priests and ministers who were persecuted and killed by the Communist regime.

A slow elevator ride takes visitors to the basement used by both regimes for torture. A flat screen monitor plays an interview describing the execution process. Upon exiting the basement galleries, a wall of photographs titled "The Victimizers" notes each participant's name and position in the Nazi or Communist regimes. Back upstairs, another gallery lined with uniforms shows a videotape of members of the Arrow Cross changing into Communist garb.

The House of Terror was controversial from the outset. It opened in 2002 with the financial support of the Hungarian government, just prior to a national election. Opposing political parties claimed that the museum was an attempt to link the Hungarian Socialist parties with the earlier Communist regime. Jewish organizations expressed concern that the museum's interpretation was skewed towards the Soviet period with inadequate attention paid to Nazi era and the Holocaust. Whatever your views, the museum's impact on the visitor is visceral. It is an overwhelming experience, regardless of one's familiarity with the political situation or the language.

The Czech Republic and Hungary are not the only Eastern European countries reexamining and attempting to interpret a difficult past. Similar museums recently opened in Berlin and Riga, the capital city of Latvia, and are under development in Estonia. As the United States takes steps to interpret its own difficult histories, increased contact and awareness of how these challenges have been confronted in other countries can only aid in our interpretation of the past.

Brenda Barrett
National Park Service

1. Shaila K. Dewan, "Civil Rights Battlegrounds Enter World of Tourism," *New York Times*, August 10, 2004, http://travel2.nytimes.com/mem/travel/article-page.html?res=9904E0DC1E3CF933A2575BC0A9629C8B63; accessed October 20, 2004.

2. For more information on the museums, visit the websites at http://www.museumofcommunism.com and http://www.houseofterror.hu

Liquid Stone: New Architecture in Concrete

National Building Museum, Washington, DC.
Curator: Martin Moeller

June 19, 2004-April 17, 2005

The seminal modern architecture exhibit in the United States was *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1932. In a pamphlet prepared to raise funds for the exhibit, Philip Johnson pleaded his case: "At the turn of the century, Berlage in Holland, Behrens in Germany and Perret in France and above all Frank Lloyd Wright in America, made a definite stand for originality. Such progress laid the foundation for a complete revolution in building. The revolution was based on a full realization of the possibilities inherent in the new materials-steel and reinforced concrete.... All the discoveries made by the engineers while architecture had remained stagnant were now at the disposal of the architects.... A new style of architecture had been invented."[1]

Two decades later, in a book that accompanied an exhibit of post-World War II architecture, Johnson declared victory: "The battle of modern architecture has been won. Twenty years ago the Museum was in the thick of the fight, but now our exhibitions and catalogues take part in that unending campaign described by Alfred Barr as 'simply the continuous, conscientious, resolute distinction of quality from mediocrity—the discovery and proclamation of excellence'."[2]

Now 50-plus years later, *Liquid Stone: New Architecture in Concrete* proves an excellent contribution to the tradition of modern architecture exhibits in the United States that focus on "new" materials and design, and demonstrate that the battle for quality and excellence continues to be won.

Liquid Stone features 60 structures nearly evenly divided between "historical precedents" and new projects. The precedents are selected from monuments in concrete built between the 1st century and nearing the end of the 20th century. The new projects were designed or built in the past five years. The exhibit beautifully integrates the historic and the contemporary with a message that what is old is often still new and what is new may be a hint of what is to come.[3]

The exhibit begins with an introduction to concrete construction and ends with a denouement on its future. Between are sections that focus on three characteristics of concrete: Structure, Surface, and Sculptural Form.

The exhibit media are beautifully produced photograph-and-text panels, vintage and new video footage, and models. The National Building Museum and its fine exhibits attract substantial visitation, and on my several visits to *Liquid Stone*, the diverse audience was enrapt. Audiences love architectural models, and the exhibit satisfies that desire with a wonderful range of old and new. An original model of Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp in burnished oak is a show-stopper.

The introductory text panel describes concrete's ubiquity: "Concrete, produced at an estimated rate of five billion cubic yards per year, is the second most widely consumed substance on Earth, after water." To carry it all, more than 700 million concrete delivery trucks would be queued end-to-end for over 4 million miles! Public works projects such as paving, jersey barriers, and sound attenuation walls consume most of the annual production. Comparatively little ends up as artfully arranged as the architecture on exhibit in *Liquid Stone*.

Liquid Stone begins with the Pantheon dome (ca. 126 A.D.) in Rome, and continues with the Eddystone lighthouse (Joseph Smeaton, 1756), cast concrete sculptures (James Aspdin, ca. 1850), and an apartment building at 25 bis, rue Franklin in Paris (Auguste Perret, 1902-1904), the world's

first major nonindustrial reinforced concrete building.

Perret's success was well-known, and historical precedents in the Structure section demonstrate a succession of advances in the use of concrete for its structural qualities, emphasizing both massiveness (Thomas Edison's concrete houses, ca. 1910), and thinness and structural daring (Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye, 1930; Frank Lloyd Wright's Fallingwater, 1937; and Louis I. Kahn's Salk Institute for Biological Sciences, 1965).

Contemporary structures follow history's lead, including the sublime White Temple in Japan (Takash Yamagachi & Associates, 2000) and the 1.5-mile Millau Viaduct in France (Foster and Partners, estimated completion 2005). Simmons Hall at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Steven Holl Architects, 2003), constructed with an innovative precast structural system, is also featured on the cover of the exhibit brochure.

Precedents in the Surface section focus on innovations in surface treatments such as early exposed exterior concrete at Wright's Unity Temple (1908), his "textile block" construction at the Ennis-Brown House (1924), and post-forming manipulation of the surface, such as Paul Rudolph's Yale Art and Architecture Building (1965). Some of the best contemporary buildings on exhibit have followed the artistic path of Wright's textile blocks. The Eberswalde Technical School Library in Germany (Herzog & de Meuron, 1999) is clad in large photo-engraved concrete panels. The Visiting Artists House in Geyserville, California (Jim Jennings, 2002), is a collaboration among the owner, the architect, and an artist who used concrete saws to inscribe the walls with grand gestural arcs.

Precedents in the Sculptural Form section focus on bold engineering or artistic uses of concrete to create previously impossible open spaces (Max Berg's Jahrhunderthalle [now Hala Ludowa], 1913), previously impossible expressionism (Goetheanum, based on designs by Rudolph Steiner, 1928), and sculptural and structural tours de force (Robert Maillart's Salginatobel Bridge, 1930, and Utzon and Arup's Sydney Opera House, 1973).

The exhibit features superb examples of contemporary formal creativity, such as the Jubilee Church in Rome (Richard Meier & Partners, 2003) with its three "sails" constructed of 12-ton precast blocks, an origami-like private chapel in Almaden, Spain (Sancho-Madridejos Architecture Office, 2000), and the Museum of the 21st Century (Hariri & Hariri-Architecture, estimated completion 2007) near the site of the World Trade Center in New York.

The concluding section on the future of concrete features two new products that are manufactured by Lafarge, the exhibit's sponsor: self-consolidating concrete and a fiber-reinforced concrete capable of long, thin spans. Also featured are interesting new types of concrete that transmit light via embedded plastic or glass fibers.

The exhibit is aimed at a general audience—to help the public develop a greater appreciation for the history of concrete construction and concrete's high technical and artistic potential. For those well versed in historic structures, not much will be completely new, though the historical precedents allow fresh connections to be made. Some of the exhibit materials, especially vintage footage of the construction of the Hoover Dam (an unprecedented 4 million cubic yards of concrete placed between 1933 and 1935) and the immense parabolic airship hangars of Eugene Freysinnet at Orly airport outside of Paris (1921-1923), are worth the visit for even the previously initiated.

All aspects of the exhibit, curated by Martin Moeller and designed by the firm of Tod Williams Billie Tsien Architects, are a pleasure. What could have been a forced march through 60 projects is artfully managed in a sequence of spaces that

allows visitors to pace themselves and consider what they are seeing before forging ahead.

With so many buildings to choose from, Moeller must have agonized over the selection of historical precedents. One reinforced concrete monument's absence, however, is obvious even considering the several Wright buildings on exhibit, so I end with an unfortunately still-timely quote from 1952 regarding the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York, completed seven years later: "But in respect of fantasy, no building even approaches the marvellous corkscrew Frank Lloyd Wright has planned for New York City's Museum of Non-Objective Art.... The building is to be executed in reinforced concrete and according to its architect it would, in the event of some aerially inflicted disaster, bounce like a spring but never collapse."[4]

John Robbins
National Park Service

1. As quoted in Philip Johnson, "Built to Live In" (March 1931), in *Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 29.

2. Philip C. Johnson, "Preface," in *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture*, ed. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1952), 8.

3. The online version of the exhibit at www.nbm.org/liquid_stone/home.html includes details about most of the contemporary projects featured in the exhibit.

4. Arthur Drexler, "Post-war Architecture," in *Built in USA*, 26.

WEBSITES

What Exit? New Jersey and Its Turnpike
http://www.jerseyhistory.org/what_exit

New Jersey Historical Society; accessed on June 21-24, 2004.

"So, you're from New Jersey? What exit?" is a common opening line in conversations between new acquaintances who discover a shared New Jersey background. The "exit" referred to is an exit on the New Jersey Turnpike, a highway so embedded in the state's culture that residents use its exit signs to describe where they are from and where they live.

The *What Exit? New Jersey and Its Turnpike* online exhibit explores the history of the New Jersey Turnpike from superhighway to cultural icon. Created by the New Jersey Historical Society in conjunction with the American Social History Project, the website is derived from an exhibit of the same title that opened at the society's Newark headquarters in 2001 and toured the state through 2003. Founded in 1845 and the state's oldest cultural institution, the society documents the history of New Jersey from the colonial era to the present.

What Exit? describes the experience of driving the highway and illustrates how this ribbon of asphalt is embedded in popular culture. Each of the three segments highlights the 1950s enthusiasm about the highway as well as more tempered contemporary reflections on it.

Building It discusses the history of the turnpike from its proposal by New Jersey Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in his 1947 inaugural address as a way to connect New York and Philadelphia, serve the state's industries and commercial hubs, and link the state's other major highways. Construction began in 1950 and the 118-mile road was completed in 2 years. To accomplish this extraordinary feat, work proceeded simultaneously on seven road segments. A New Jersey motorist paid the first toll on the new highway on November 5, 1951, and the last segment was opened January 1952. Upbeat press releases, brochures promising "118 miles of carefree driving," and video clips from gasoline and asphalt contractors illustrate the turnpike authority's efforts to promote the highway and elevate driver enthusiasm.

In sharp contrast to this exuberance was the early antihighway sentiments in the city of Elizabeth. The city failed in its efforts to reroute the road away from its residential areas. A postcard view shows the completed highway slashing through a

dense neighborhood of homes. While Elizabeth seems to have been alone in its opposition, in 1971 several communities opposed plans to widen the highway. Opponents did not prevent the widening, but they did succeed in forcing the turnpike authority to monitor pollution levels and to install sound barriers, concessions that have now become standard features of this and other major highways.

Driving It looks at the turnpike in the context of the American love affair with the car, with smooth roads optimized for speedy travel and services for autos and travelers. The exhibit provides background on the turnpike's predecessors, the 19th-century turnpikes and the early 20th-century "Good Roads" movement led by bicyclists and the first car owners. The automobile and highway culture began around 1900 in New Jersey and the rising number of car owners demanded better roads. Photographs from the 1910s show cars barely managing to navigate the rutted, muddy roads that were common in the countryside beyond towns and cities. In contrast, a graphic from the turnpike's 1951 annual report describes the smooth ride drivers would experience on the superhighway's new roadbed topped with a one-foot deep coating of asphalt.

Motorists driving the New Jersey Turnpike in its early days had limited access to food or fuel. Eventually, small owner-operated restaurants, groceries, and gas stations found along other roads were consolidated into "service areas" or "rest stops" run by large companies. A 1950s magazine advertisement for Howard Johnson's, the concessioner for the original nine lunchrooms along the turnpike, promised the same good food and ice cream at every location.

Telling It focuses on the people who run the highway, from 300 employees originally to over 2,000 employees today. Tales of humor and hazards and memorabilia such as photographs of a staff bowling league, a toll collector's uniform, and a poem by a toll collector, illustrate that the highway became a community—albeit a very long one—similar to many other workplaces.

Each segment includes Take a Detour, which leads the visitor to an interesting anecdote; the most amusing challenges viewers to match musicians—Chuck Berry, Simon & Garfunkel, and Bruce Springsteen—with lyrics from their songs about the New Jersey Turnpike.

The exhibit incorporates only a fraction of the society's extensive turnpike collections, but each item has been carefully selected to highlight the turnpike story. Images range from historic photographs, to promotional brochures and movies, to souvenirs such as water glasses and a pennant. Personal accounts from current and past employees and travelers run the gamut from nostalgic to negative illustrating how the turnpike has become personal for many.

The website is easy to navigate, designed to fit a standard monitor screen, with a printer-friendly option. The graphics are colorful and eye-catching, and video and audio clips enhance the experience. Viewers who explore this site will find a thorough introduction to the history and culture of the New Jersey Turnpike. The website also offers an extensive bibliography of resources about the turnpike, the automobile in American life, the history of America's roads and highways, and materials for children and teachers. Links to other websites on these topics are also provided. *What Exit?* is the society's first venture into online exhibits, and the American Association of Museums award that the society received in 2003 for outstanding achievement in museum media is well deserved.

Rebecca A. Shiffer
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MotorCities: Experience Everything Automotive
http://www.experienceeverythingautomotive.org/

MotorCities-Automobile National Heritage Area; accessed on June 20, 2004.

Since 1984, Congress has designated 24 national heritage areas to conserve, interpret, and promote regional historic resources. Although affiliated with the National Park Service, national heritage areas are consciously nonfederal. Most land and resources remain in private hands; local management entities direct and operate the heritage area; and tours, museums, and festivals are staffed primarily through voluntary efforts.

The MotorCities-Automobile National Heritage Area was authorized by Congress on November 6, 1998, to preserve, interpret, and promote Michigan's rich automotive and labor story[1] and the dramatic cultural impact of the automobile on American life. The heritage area comprises 8,139 square miles in southeastern Michigan, nearly 6 million people, 10 Congressional districts, and nearly 700 local government units. The heritage area's motto is "We Put the World on Wheels," and its new website slogan is "Experience Everything Automotive."

The homepage introduces the visitor to the heritage area and its resources with an easily navigated array of images and four links: Your Road Trip, Event Calendar, Members Area, and The Body Shop. The site takes advantage of web technology, displaying a rotating set of historic photographs each time the page loads. The organization and ease of navigation understate the website's rich and comprehensive content.

The website is tightly focused on the heritage area's cultural resources and helps the visitor to navigate a very large, unwieldy geographic area. Your Road Trip establishes a turn-of-the-century context with a series of historical and automobile-specific facts. From there, the visitor can select any of four tours packaged by the American Travel Center through a partnership with MotorCities. The prepackaged tours, including hotels and visits to a variety of automobile-related sites, make it easy for heritage area visitors to take in as many attractions as possible with a minimum of fuss and planning. Featured destinations include the baronial mansions of Ford and Fischer, the Detroit Museum of Art, and the Henry Ford Museum.

This section also links visitors to the area's significant automobile-related historical websites that provide housing, admission costs, contact information, and a brief description of what the visitor can expect to find. A list of motor cities is also available as one links to independent tour companies. This single-minded attention to visitor needs in the heritage area makes the website invaluable in fulfilling one of the mandates of heritage areas: economic revitalization through heritage tourism.

The Body Shop is the preservation section of the site. Not content merely to state the case for preservation, it asks blatantly, "What can we do for you?" and follows with examples of revitalization projects throughout the United States and Europe, information on conferences, and how to take advantage of tax incentives. Two pages discuss extensive documentation efforts: one in partnership with the National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/Historic American Landscapes Survey, and an ambitious GIS documentation of over 1,200 automobile heritage sites throughout southeastern Michigan. There is also a National Trust for Historic Preservation-like listing of the 11 most-endangered automobile heritage sites.

This website shows the value of a heritage area's investment in a website. As experienceeverything-automotive.org amply demonstrates, websites that connect visitors with resources—tours, historic sites, documentation, and revitalization

opportunities—are essential tools for presenting, exploring, and managing heritage areas.

Richard O'Connor
National Park Service

1. "MotorCities National Heritage Area," at http://www.cr.nps.gov/heritageareas/AREAS/AUTO.HTM; maintained by MotorCities National Heritage Area; accessed September 22, 2004.

Rivers of Steel
http://www.riversofsteel.com

Rivers of Steel National Heritage Area, Homestead, Pennsylvania; maintained by Levy MG; accessed on June 22-23 and August 30, 2004.

Since the 1970s, steelmaking in the Pittsburgh region has experienced a steady decline. In the late 1980s, the United States Steel Corporation began to demolish many of the company's great structures, taking with them the physical reminders of over 125 years of a way of life in the Three Rivers area. Alarmed by these events, local activists urged Congress to establish a task force to look into ways to preserve parts of the steel industry's heritage in Pennsylvania. Efforts by the Steel Heritage Task Force included preserving machinery such as the 48-inch rolling mill; compiling thousands of oral history interviews; creating collections of artifacts, photographs, and blueprints from workers; and multiple documentation projects of historic sites by the National Park Service's Historic American Engineering Record. Subsequent to these efforts, the Rivers of Steel National Heritage Area was established by Congress in 1996.

Rivers of Steel highlights some of the historical attractions, accomplishments, and ongoing initiatives related to the heritage area's mission of historic preservation, cultural conservation, education, recreation, and resource development within a seven-county area in southwestern Pennsylvania. The goal of the heritage area is to create a national historical park based in Homestead, which includes two remaining blast furnaces from the Carrie Furnace site across the Monongahela River, and the Pump House, the site of an infamous battle during the 1892 Homestead steelworkers strike.

Rivers of Steel offers an introduction to the steel industry and steel-making communities in western Pennsylvania. The heritage area and related endeavors are presented in a straight-forward fashion, with limited access to more in-depth research. The sections tie cultural and industrial heritage together. The Tradition Bearers radio series features voices of different cultural points of view within the heritage area, from African, Latin, and Native American mill workers, to church kitchen volunteers who discuss preparing local ethnic food favorites. Snippets of the interviews aired on local radio station WEDO are features with supporting text and images. The All About Us section promotes *Reel Steel*, the latest exhibit at the Rivers of Steel headquarters, the restored Bost Building in Homestead. The exhibit features screenings of three historic steel-related movies, including a film from the 1950s when steel was king.

The most interesting section is Sites and Attractions. It begins with a map of the seven-county area divided into thematic regions. The section promotes *Rivers of Steel*-sponsored field trips, with links to a dozen local historical attractions and local heritage festivals. Each region has a name to entice visitors, such as "Big Steel" for the area centering on the city of Pittsburgh, "Mountains of Fire" for Connellsville Coke, "Mosaic of Industry" for the Allegheny Valley, "Fueling a Revolutionary Journey" for the Upper Monogohela River, and "Thunder of Protest" for the Ohio Valley.

Overall, *Rivers of Steel* offers a solid introduction to

the impact of the steel industry on the heritage of the Pittsburgh region. *Rivers of Steel* is also a good resource for those interested in effects of industrialization on cultural landscapes. It is attractive, easily navigable, and has great potential as a research and promotional tool for the heritage area and western Pennsylvania region.

Christopher H. Marston
National Park Service

Across the Generations: Exploring U.S. History Through Family Papers
http://www.smith.edu/libraries/libs/ssc/atg/index.html

Sophia Smith Collection; maintained by the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Libraries; accessed June 30, 2004.

The Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College is an internationally recognized archive of women's history. Founded in 1942, the collection evolved from a body of works by women writers into a rich repository for the documentation of the broader, historical experiences of women. Today, the collection includes more than 7,500 linear feet of multiformat materials including manuscripts, photographs, periodicals, oral histories, and other primary sources. In addition to women's history, one of the other subject areas examined is the documentation of middle-class family life in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Across the Generations is an online presentation of 63 documents and images selected from the Sophia Smith Collection representing the everyday private and public lives of several generations of the Bodman, Dunham, Garrison, and Hale families. The main purpose of the website is to demonstrate how family papers can be used to study not only the lives of a single family, but to examine the broader historical and cultural context in which these and other similar families lived.

In establishing this context, the website authors acknowledge one limitation: the families represented are all white and middle class, a characteristic of many archival collections. The featured families are of some social prominence, such as the Garrisons (descendents of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison) and the Hales (descendents of Revolutionary War patriot Nathan Hale and his entrepreneur son of the same name). The content presented goes beyond the successes of these individuals and focuses on the activities and accomplishments of family members across several generations.

The stories of the families are told through four subfields of social history: Family Life, Social Awareness, Arts and Leisure, and Work. Each historical theme is developed and interpreted through images of collection materials, such as photographs, letters, accounting books, journals, games, sketches, and other documents. Collection materials are accompanied by summaries of the broader historical context that help the viewer understand how documents are used as research tools.

Using the Bodman family account book under the Work section as an example, one can see the economic growth of the family from farming and cart rentals in the late 18th century, through their first payments of the new federal income tax in the early 20th century, to the losses suffered in the Depression of the 1930s. The Arts and Leisure section features a Hale family gift chart including colorful sketches of Christmas gifts given to various family members, accompanied by a paragraph indicating how children and others kept themselves entertained before mass-produced toys and other amusements. The accomplishments of women in these families are highlighted, such as the suffrage activities of Martha Coffin Wright

(sister of Lucretia Mott and mother of Ellen Wright Garrison), who encouraged civic and political interests in the women of the next generations.

For those interested in pursuing more in depth research, the site provides extensive family trees and detailed finding aids to each family's papers. A page on Additional Sources includes bibliographies and links to other websites and archives on the featured families, as well as links to general sources on family history, social history, and women's history collections. Also of interest is a link to several classroom lesson plans involving the use of primary documents in historical research.

The website is easily navigated through a drop-down list of categories (such as by family name or historic theme) and benefits from drop-down menus to other sections on each page. Enlarged sets of images are available as pop-up windows, providing a nice browsing tool for viewing collection materials. A site map provides a clear outline of the pages and helps in finding pages within the site.

The documents themselves are well presented. Typed transcripts of handwritten letters are provided, making it much easier to read the content. One drawback is that the layout of the pages requires a great deal of scrolling up and down to view the content, which could be minimized with a reduction of space between the headers, text, and images. Despite this minor design issue, overall the site is successful. The collection materials and informative text are an excellent lesson in using primary research documents. Additionally, the site will appeal to more experienced researchers wishing to probe deeper into the rich materials of the Sophia Smith Collection. Preservation professionals will find *Across the Generations* to be a rich store of archival materials.

Ann Hoog
Library of Congress

History Matters:
The U.S. Survey Course on the Web
http://historymatters.gmu.edu

City University of New York, American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning, and George Mason University, Center for History and New Media; maintained by American Social History Productions, Inc.; accessed September 10-19, 2004.

While the majority of people get their news and interpretations of history from the popular media, it is important for historians and, more importantly, history teachers to arm themselves with as many sources and methods as possible to pique the interests of their students. This is especially true when teaching one of the broadest history courses offered in high schools and colleges, the United States history survey. *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web* provides a forum in which teachers, both new and experienced, can examine and improve their efforts to develop an effective course of instruction by reviewing the work of colleagues.

History Matters focuses primarily on the social and cultural history of the United States by providing access to "materials that focus on the lives of ordinary Americans."[1] The site is divided into eight primary features, ranging from collections of primary source documents and general reference material to course syllabi and advice from history teachers working at several levels within the educational system. Included in these features is an element that strikes right at the heart of addressing the power of popular culture's influence on interpretations of history. In Past Meets Present, the *History Matters* staff compile articles and reviews from historians on popular issues within contemporary society. Several articles, including Michael Nelson's commentary on the movie *Thirteen Days*, help teachers to combat the poetic license taken by the movie industry in presenting the interpretation of an event while taking

painstaking efforts to make sure that the actors' costumes fit the period exactly. More importantly, for new teachers, the site suggests ways to incorporate even inaccurate dramatic history in productive ways to reach students in today's ever-increasingly television-driven society.

Perhaps the site's most beneficial aspect is the numerous links to other sites and documents. Site administrators have provided guided paths for visitors and a keyword search option to navigate resources. Despite some inactive links, *History Matters* is a valuable search engine for the vast history-related resources on the Internet. The site provides introductions to most links, which have been selected by individuals specializing in the field. This makes the site valuable not only to teachers, but also to researchers and students. As more primary documents are presented on the Internet, researchers and students gain increased access to materials that previously may have been available only through great expense of travel and time.

Another beneficial feature of the website is the collection of online forums in which topics in American history are discussed. The moderators for each forum are well-established and respected historians. Examples include Linda Gordon on family history and Eric Foner on Reconstruction. At the time of this review, the last posted messages were from late 2003, giving the impression that the forums are inactive at this time. However, visitors can still access them and benefit from discussions by their peers on topics ranging from new research to methods of teaching.

Another difficulty faced by history teachers and historians is bringing the past to life for their audiences. *History Matters* provides links to archival resources including original documents, maps, and photographs. The site could benefit from more historic preservation-related links that would provide additional visual interpretation of historic places for the casual visitor or teacher in search of resources.

While professional organizations and conferences provide similar opportunities as *History Matters*, the immediacy of a website increases teachers' abilities to find materials that respond to the needs of their students. This is especially valuable to teachers at community colleges and universities where students are new to history topics. *History Matters* can also keep high school and community college teachers abreast of new ideas and research.

History Matters provides a wealth of opportunity for U.S. history teachers to enrich the classroom experience for their students, themselves, and others in the field. Moreover, it offers those interested in heritage stewardship a place to research and discuss history and interpretation.

Daniel Flaherty
Northern Virginia Community College

1. "More About History Matters" at http://historymatters.gmu.edu/expansion.html; maintained by American Social History Productions, Inc.; accessed September 10, 2004.

Letters

Readers may submit letters to the editor (see contact information on the page facing the table of contents). Letters should include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number for confirmation. Letters may be edited for publication and not all letters will be published. If a letter pertains to an article or review, the editor may forward the letter to the author for reply.

What is "Authenticity?"

In his essay, "Images of the Past: Historical Authenticity and Inauthenticity from Disney to Times Square," in the Summer 2004 issue of *CRM Journal*, Michael Kelleher takes the view that authenticity is a virtue to be found only in the original structure or site or artifact, and that subsequent alteration, emulation, merchandising, pastiche, or Disneyfication renders things inauthentic and hence wrong. No wonder he ends on such a pessimistic note! But most who work in heritage conservation today are increasingly appreciative of palimpsests, sites, and structures that exhibit the marks of their subsequent histories as well as their initial construction, along with both contrived and unconscious imitations and emulations. We always aim to theme our pasts.

Kelleher erroneously cites me in three places: On page 9, he attributes to me the quote "Disney always does things first-class, and if they set out to do American history, they'll hire the best historians money can buy...to create a completely plausible, completely believable appearance of American history." It is not in fact I who said this, but a panelist quoted by me from a statement by Colonial Williamsburg's Cary Carson.

On page 10, he writes "David Lowenthal complains that although '[s]igns and guidebooks usually specify' what is a reconstruction and what is not, 'visitors soon forget, if they ever note, differences between authentic and imitated, untouched and restored, specific and generic'." I did not complain, but just commented. Kelleher makes it appear that I share his disapproval, which I do not.

On page 18, note 28, the quote referred to is not from *The Past is a Foreign Country*, but from *Possessed by the Past*. It refers to the Cary Carson panel discussion noted above.

David Lowenthal
London, England

Response: David Lowenthal inaccurately attributes to me the view that only "original" sites or structures are authentic and that I deny the value of "subsequent alteration." I say no such thing in my essay and do not address the issue of alterations to historic sites or structures. On page 17, I explain that for purposes of the essay, authentic refers to "actual historic structures and artifacts" and inauthentic refers to "new structures made to appear old." As one who has worked on historic restoration and rehabilitation projects, I have addressed what Mr. Lowenthal calls "subsequent histories" of sites and structures and grappled with the oftentimes difficult determination of just how much subsequent alteration to preserve or remove. As for Mr. Lowenthal's contention that there is virtue in the contrived and Disneyeque, I do not deny that

these have their own merit, but will leave it to the essay to explain my view on how they relate to heritage conservation. Lastly, Mr. Lowenthal points out errors in citations. I stand corrected.

Michael Kelleher

Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites

It was with great interest that I read the article, "Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites," in the Summer 2004 issue of *CRM Journal*. I work at Sully Historic Site in Chantilly, Virginia, with the property's African American programs. Sully was built in 1794 and was the home of Richard Bland Lee, Northern Virginia's first Congressman and an uncle of Robert E. Lee. When Richard inherited the land now known as Sully, the property included 29 slaves. At times, there were as many as 40 slaves living and working at Sully.

Like national parks, many other historic places tell the story of slavery. We look forward to the results of the research project so that it will help with our continuing knowledge, understanding, and interpretation to the public.

Tammy Loxton
Historian, Sully Historic Site
Chantilly, Virginia

The Farm Tractor in History

On page 76 of the Summer 2004 issue of *CRM Journal*, a picture of two Filipino farmers in California's Central Valley is dated "ca. 1930s." A minor point, but this image is accurately dateable to the 1940s, based on the central piece of equipment, a Ford N model tractor.

Henry Ford relaunched his tractor-manufacturing interests with the production of the Ford 9N in 1939. This highly successful tractor represented one of the most significant technological achievements in agricultural tractor design, combining the mass production genius and economies of scale that were the hallmarks of Fordism, with the patented invention of the three-point implement hook-up and draft control developed by Harry Ferguson. Subject to some of the same stylistic and cultural influences as that of automobile design, the 9N bore streamlined stamped sheet metal with long horizontal lines and—for a tractor—a ground-hugging mass. It is clear Art Moderne styling.

From 1939 through the middle of 1940, with the stamping process not yet ready for the tractor grille, Ford produced cast aluminium grilles with *horizontal* slats. Those grilles became notorious for being easily broken in use but were not redesigned in steel until a shop engineer crushed one under light pressure from his foot on the shop floor, expressly for the benefit of a supervisor. In mid-model year 1940, model 9Ns rolled out of the assembly with steel grilles having *vertical* spokes. Many farmers who already had dependable early 9Ns subsequently replaced their broken original grilles by ordering new steel ones in order to protect their radiators from the impact of such hazards as bent corn stalks. Minor model changes and operation under a wartime economy led to replacement of the 9N in 1942 with the 2N.

The tractor in the photograph, at least, dates to no earlier than late 1940s. Its like-new condition places it in the early part of that decade.

The farm tractor is often presented as a ubiquitous and neglected part of the changing American landscape. Its design and appearance was, however, as culturally and temporally sensitive as that of cars and diners, which receive a lot more attention.

Bruce Bomberger
Curator, Landis Valley Museum
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Using CRM Journal *in the Classroom*

Congratulations on the new format and content of *CRM Journal.* I teach a graduate seminar in historic preservation and put the first two issues of the new *CRM Journal* to use right away. I appreciate the care and thought that went into its layout and organization. Students' first impressions about a field can be influenced by its journals because they will compare it with those in other fields.

The class used *CRM Journal* in two ways. First, I included two articles in larger reading assignments so they would be read in the context of related articles: Arleen Pabon's *"Por la encendida calle antillana:* Africanisms and Puerto Rican Architecture," and Michael Kelleher's "Images of the Past: Historic Authenticity and Inauthenticity from Disney to Times Square." Second, I asked students to review each volume and comment on what they thought the strengths and weaknesses were as well as their favorite ("best") article.

There were no negative comments. Although I did not ask them to comment on format, students volunteered how much they liked the cover photographs and the cover format. Some were disappointed that there was no article about the subject of the cover, especially the one with the two women, although the cover photograph did relate to the history of the Historic American Buildings Survey that was included in the issue.

The students were impressed with the range of subject matter, including some subjects they had not previously considered as preservation. Several were fascinated by the article on shipwrecks in Truk Lagoon. Other favorites included the Historic American Buildings Survey article and the spotlight interview with Russell V. Keune because they offered important additions to the historical narrative of the preservation field. Several commented that, as beginning preservationists, they appreciated Keune's professional story of how he became a preservationist. In addition, *CRM Journal* hit the mark with the website reviews; students use websites all the time. *CRM Journal* helps me discuss the broad range of this field with students.

Again congratulations on the new format and contents of the *CRM Journal*; it makes a strong contribution to historic preservation and provides an excellent outlet for work in the field.

David L. Ames
Professor and Director
Center for Historic Architecture and Design
University of Delaware

ON THE COVER

The creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in the spring of 1933 and the transfer of more than 40 national battlefields, cemeteries, monuments, and other sites from the War Department to the National Park Service a few months later changed the course of heritage preservation in the United States. National Park Service officials endeavored to meet their new responsibilities by applying the CCC camp model to preservation and conservation projects.

Between 1933 and 1940, more than 300,000 black students and veterans participated in the CCC program that employed more than 3 million people nationwide. The two young men shown here processing ceramic fragments at the Jamestown Island archeology field laboratory near Williamsburg, VA, were enrollees in the segregated work camp established at Colonial National Monument (now Colonial National Historical Park), one of a number of national parks to host black CCC camps in the 1930s. (H. Yorks, photographer, 1936. Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center.)

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

National Center for Cultural Resources

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