



# CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

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# CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

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*Correction*

“Gazetting and Historic Preservation in Kenya,”  
Winter 2007 issue: The credit lines for Figures 14-17  
should read “Courtesy of Akbar Hussein.”

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## Introduction

by *Martin Perschler, Editor*

This year marks the 400th anniversary of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in the Americas. Preparations for celebrating this milestone began as early as 1996, when the Commonwealth of Virginia's General Assembly established the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation as that state's lead agency responsible for planning the quadricentenary. A number of archeological discoveries at the historic Jamestown site on the James River over the past few years have generated excitement and contributed to the celebratory atmosphere of the commemoration, which began officially in May 2006 and will conclude this fall. Queen Elizabeth II's visit to Jamestown—reprising her first visit to the United States as Queen for the 350th anniversary—in the days leading up to the anniversary weekend (May 11-13, 2007) added gravity to the occasion.

Jamestown 2007—the foundation arm directly responsible for the commemoration—has seized the moment to remind Americans and the world that “the very essence of modern America took root on the banks of the James River in 1607, at Jamestown, Virginia. . . 13 years before the pilgrims founded Plymouth in Massachusetts.” Boosterism aside, Jamestown 2007 has also sought to capture the “spirit, imagination, and diversity of Americans” and to honor the English, Indian, and African cultures that converged on that remote site on the James a distant four centuries ago.

For its part, the U.S. Mint launched a Jamestown 400th anniversary commemorative coin program, and the U.S. Postal Service issued a new first-class stamp depicting the *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*—the three English ships that arrived at Jamestown in 1607 that also appear on the Virginia state quarter from the Mint's 50 State Quarters® Program. A replica of the *Godspeed* sailed on a goodwill tour along the Eastern Seaboard of the United States in 2006, and all three ship replicas figured prominently in the anniversary weekend. They will participate in other quadricentenary events through the fall of 2007.

This year also marks the 200th anniversary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act. Passed by the British Parliament on March 25, 1807, the act made it illegal for British ships to be involved in the transatlantic trafficking of human beings. The British act followed by 23 days U.S. President Thomas Jefferson's signature of a bill abolishing the importation of slaves from outside the United States. At the initiative of the government of Jamaica, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution in November 2006 commemorating the 200th

anniversary and urging member states to develop programs to “educate and inculcate in future generations an understanding of the lessons, history, and consequences of slavery and the slave trade.”

In the United Kingdom, the commemoration includes a number of national, regional, and local events through 2007, and the Royal Mail and the Royal Mint have produced commemorative stamps and coins. The British have also joined with groups on the other side of the Atlantic to mark the bicentenary.

One such collaboration deserves special mention here. On June 21, 2007, the Freedom Schooner *Amistad* (a replica of the 19th-century Spanish ship commandeered in 1839 by its African captives) departed New Haven, Connecticut, for an 18-month voyage to retrace the Middle Passage of the transatlantic slave trade with stops in Canada, England, Portugal, and the west coast of Africa. Dubbed the 2007-2008 Atlantic Freedom Tour, the schooner and a crew of British and American college students will arrive in Liverpool to mark the opening of the International Slavery Museum. The opening—August 23rd—is UNESCO’s International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and Its Abolition and the anniversary of the 1791 slave uprising on the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo (today, Haiti and the Dominican Republic) that resulted in the establishment of Haiti as the first free black republic in the world.

The parallels between these two commemorations are astounding. Both involve, for instance, sailing ships conjuring up myriad images and emotions tied to transport (both voluntary and involuntary) on the high seas. Both connect continents and cultures across the Atlantic Ocean. Both mark a moment in time when the world turned towards change. Both serve as reminders that, in the course of human history, courageous decisions and actions abide by few—if any—boundaries, neither political nor geographical.

In commemoration of the anniversary of the British Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, the Canada Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, hosted a panel on the African American experience in Canada. From that panel emerged an appeal for an “Historians Without Borders” or similar mechanism for reaching a more profound understanding and appreciation of the shared stories, historical experiences, and differences between and among nations and cultures—stories that do not necessarily begin or end at borders. If the Jamestown and Abolition of the Slave Trade commemorations are any indication, then the heritage community is already taking bold steps in that direction.



## Coming to Terms with the Civil War at Gettysburg National Military Park

by John Latschar

Established in 1895 and transferred to the National Park Service in 1933, Gettysburg National Military Park in Pennsylvania preserves and protects the resources associated with the Battle of Gettysburg and the Soldiers National Cemetery and provides understanding of the events that occurred there within the context of American history.<sup>1</sup> Within the second half of that mission statement—to provide understanding of the events that occurred there within the context of American history—lurks a challenge and an opportunity inseparably intertwined with that “most peculiar institution” of American history—racial slavery. As President Abraham Lincoln mused in his second inaugural address in March 1865, “All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war.”<sup>2</sup>

All may have known it then, but Lincoln would be saddened to know that all surely do not know it now. Therein lies the challenge as the National Park Service seeks to provide understanding of the significance of the Battle of Gettysburg and the Civil War era’s lasting impact on the development of the nation.

### OPPOSITE

*The High-Water Mark of the Rebellion Monument at Gettysburg National Military Park, a detail of which is shown here, marks the farthest point reached by Confederate infantrymen during their July 3, 1863, assault on Union positions on Cemetery Ridge. Known as “Pickett’s Charge,” the failed attack on Union positions marked the end of the Battle of Gettysburg and Confederate general Robert E. Lee’s campaign into Pennsylvania. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)*

Generally speaking, the National Park Service faces two related, yet distinct, challenges. The first challenge is educational. Many park visitors are devoid of a basic understanding of American history. They are not aware that the Civil War era was “the most momentous era in American history;” that the Civil War defined the United States as a nation, both then and now; and they are unsure what beliefs are held to be “self-evident.” Most know that the Civil War was important and that Lincoln was a great President, but they cannot explain why.

Simply put, during the Civil War era, the United States underwent fundamental changes that transformed the country forever. Before 1861, Americans grappled with the permanence or impermanence of the Union as a major political and constitutional question, with respected public figures taking opposing sides. The Civil War decided the question of union or disunion. Although arguments about states’ rights did not end in 1865, discussion about the permanence of the Union halted abruptly. After 1865, only fringe groups talked about the legitimacy of breaking up the Union.

In 1861, racial slavery kept four million people in bondage. Slavery claimed the protection of the Constitution and was legal in 15 states and the District of

Columbia. This “peculiar institution” based on human property shaped the economy, society, politics, and ideology of a substantial portion of the Union and influenced all of it. In 1857, the United States Supreme Court even ruled that black Americans—whether slave or free—could not be citizens under the Constitution.

The Civil War decided the question of slavery once and for all. The 13th amendment to the Constitution prohibited slavery, while the 14th and 15th amendments defined and nationalized citizenship for former slaves and banned race as a reason for disfranchisement.<sup>3</sup> Repealing any of these amendments, or returning to an un-free labor system, is unthinkable today.

Viewed in these terms, the Civil War era saw not only the nation’s greatest military struggle, but its greatest social revolution. Granted, Americans still struggle after 140 years to define this concept of citizenship and to meet Lincoln’s challenge of a “new birth of freedom.”

Today, both adults and children habitually repeat the phrases “one nation” and “with liberty and justice for all” without necessarily thinking about the vast sacrifices in blood and treasure that were required to achieve Lincoln’s dream of a “new birth of freedom.” Furthermore, rarely do Americans contemplate how different their development as a nation—or nations—would have been had the outcome of the Civil War been different. The Civil War was truly a turning point in the nation’s development, and Gettysburg was a turning point in the Civil War. Providing that understanding is part of the park’s educational challenge.

As powerful as these thoughts are, there is another aspect of the Civil War era that is astounding to contemplate: the level of involvement, the depth of commitment, and the scope of sacrifice that the citizens of the 1860s were willing to endure in the pursuit of their beliefs—

- In 1860, the total population of the United States was 31.4 million;
- 3.8 million men—12.4 percent of the total population—were enrolled in military service;
- 620,000 lost their lives (2 percent of the total population) in the war.

If there were another Civil War today, and those same percentages held—

- Today’s population is 301.1 million;<sup>4</sup>
- 373 million people would be enrolled in military service;
- 6 million Americans would die.

Another way to illustrate this point is that the death toll at Gettysburg, measured as a percentage of the nation’s population, was 21 times that of the terrorist

attacks of September 11th, 2001. In fact, measured as a comparative percentage of the American population, there were 42 Civil War battles in which the death toll exceeded that of September 11th, or almost one a month, for four long years.<sup>5</sup> One cannot even begin to comprehend how the nation could cope with such a horrific and prolonged struggle today.

How did Civil War era Americans cope? Never before or since have the American people been so thoroughly engaged in such a monumental struggle. For each of those nearly four million men enrolled in military service in the 1860s, there was a home affected by his absence. For the homes of those 620,000 who lost their lives, the impact was both permanent and tragic. The Civil War was a dramatic national conflict that touched the lives of every American alive then, and it affected every aspect of American life—economic, political, and social. Providing an understanding of this astounding level of commitment is part of Gettysburg's educational challenge. Understanding what people of that time lived through helps give perspective to the issues and struggles of today.

The second challenge the National Park Service faces in interpreting the Civil War and its impact relates to the nation's collective cultural memory of the era. In order to understand the cultural challenge faced at Gettysburg and other Civil War sites, one must understand the historical struggle for the memory of the Civil War era in the United States. The first 100 years of that struggle for memory—or roughly from the end of the war in 1865 to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—is aptly summed up by the adage, “The North may have won the war, but the South won the history,” or, in this case, the memory. Generally speaking, the defeated typically spend more time analyzing their losses than the victors spend analyzing their success. One need only to follow football coaches and political parties after a defeat to observe this phenomenon in action. In the American case, the North tended to move on to other issues, such as the settlement of the west and the expansion of industry, whereas the South tended to look back in search of a way to understand and cope with what it took to be an unprecedented tragedy.

The Southern version of memory that had emerged in the aftermath of the Civil War prevailed for almost a century. Classically labeled “The Myth of the Lost Cause,” it explained that the Civil War was a struggle over “states’ rights,” (slavery was not a cause of the war, in other words), that the Confederacy was defeated only because of the overwhelming industrial and manpower advantages of the North (thus, defeat did not mean dishonor), and that slavery was a benign institution necessary for protecting the well-being of an inferior race.

Over the last 40 years, the “Myth of the Lost Cause” has been systematically challenged and thoroughly discredited within the academic world; not so in the collective memory of the nation, where it persists. For example, the

Immigration and Naturalization Service exam for prospective citizenship includes the question: “The Civil War was fought over what important issue?” Either of two answers—slavery or states’ rights—is accepted as correct.<sup>6</sup> The popular debate continues unabated, whether it is about the propriety of a statue of Abraham Lincoln in Richmond, Virginia, the new state flag for Georgia, the “Lost Cause” overtones of the movie *Gods and Generals*, or the purpose and content of National Park Service interpretive programs at Civil War battlefields.

Historian David Blight’s book, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American History*, has helped the park understand how the nation’s collective memory of the Civil War era evolved. In his exhaustive account of the shaping of American memory of the Civil War era between 1865 and 1915, Blight describes how—

*Three overall visions of Civil War memory collided and combined over time: one, the reconciliationist vision, which took root in the process of dealing with the dead from so many battlefields, prisons, and hospitals. . . ; two, the white supremacist vision, which took many forms early, including terror and violence, locked arms with reconciliationists of many kinds, and by the turn of the century delivered the country a segregated memory of its Civil War on Southern terms; and three, the emancipationist vision, embodied. . . in the politics of radical Reconstruction, and in conceptions of the war as the reinvention of the republic and the liberation of blacks to citizenship and Constitutional equality.<sup>7</sup>*

Reading Blight’s book was both an intellectual and an emotional experience because what he wrote rings so true in those parts that touched upon the development of Gettysburg as the symbol of commemoration and reconciliation. His work speaks directly to the park’s current interpretive challenges, for there is no doubt that the park is dealing with some of the problems of the history of memory about which Blight has written so eloquently.

In 1995, the park celebrated the 100th anniversary of its creation as a national military park with a symposium examining the history and development of the park. Being relatively new to the position of superintendent, I accepted an invitation to speak on the topic of “Gettysburg—The Next 100 Years.”

In my remarks, I suggested that it might be a mistake to assume that Gettysburg National Military Park would still exist 100 years hence and that anyone would care about the battle of Gettysburg, or the Civil War, in the year 2095. It was not meant to be a doomsday prediction but to question the presumption that Gettysburg or the Civil War would always be relevant to the American people. Indeed, all one had to do to question that relevance was to look at the profile of the American public that visits Gettysburg.

Park visitors are predominantly adult white males. Males far outnumber females and white visitors far, far outnumber black visitors and all other minorities.

If the park is going to survive as a public institution supported by taxpayer funds, I suggested that it might want to appeal to a broader cross-section of the American taxpaying population.

Generally speaking, Civil War parks have failed to appeal to the black population of America. A portion of this failure may be the fault of the parks themselves. In an effort to honor both the Union and the Confederate forces that fought on the battlefields, park interpretive programs had been avoiding discussions of what they were fighting about. For African Americans, I suggested, it has always been abundantly clear what the Civil War was about. In their view, both then and now, the sole purpose of the creation of the Confederate States of America, and the sole purpose of the Confederacy's attempt to withdraw from the Union, was to protect and preserve the institution of slavery.

Of course, the people who actually seceded agreed with them. South Carolina seceded from the Union because a "geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery."<sup>8</sup> Alexander Stephens, vice-president of the Confederate States of America, infamously declared that the Confederacy "is founded upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. This, our new Government, is the first, in the history of the world, based on this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."<sup>9</sup>

In 1995, statements of this kind were nowhere to be found in the interpretive programs at Gettysburg. Nor were there any discussions of the causes and consequences of the Civil War. Unless the park started talking about causes and consequences, it would not make Civil War battlefields relevant to those visitors and constituents who are interested in those issues.

Excerpts from this speech were picked up and reprinted in *The Civil War News*. When all was said and done, the United States Secretary of the Interior had received 1,100 postcards from the Southern Heritage Coalition, condemning the park's plans to "modify and alter historical events to make them more 'palatable' to a greater number of park visitors."<sup>10</sup> The postcards demanded that the National Park Service "return to its unaligned and apolitical policies of the past, presenting history, not opinions."<sup>11</sup> The reaction was a surprise. After all, the speech only presented the obvious: that slavery had something to do with the Civil War and the park ought to talk about that.

With a new awareness, I started to look at Gettysburg and what the park was presenting to the public. The battlefield itself is a perfect example of what Blight has described as commemoration through reconciliation. The park

has more than 1,400 monuments, memorials, tablets, and markers primarily erected by the veterans themselves between the 1870s and the 1920s. These 1,400 monuments describe the order of battle, disposition and movements of troops, and (almost invariably) their casualty lists. The majority of the monuments call particular attention to the bravery, the courage, the valor, and the manliness of the soldiers. A few commemorate the preservation of the Union. Not one commemorates the ending of slavery.

In other words, the monuments of Gettysburg are a physical manifestation of the reconciliationist memory of the Civil War. The park is visible proof of the overwhelming “forces of reconciliation. . . in the national culture” as “the inexorable drive for reunion both used and trumped race.”<sup>12</sup> As a somewhat natural consequence, park interpretive programs in the past have traditionally emphasized reconciliationist topics. The interpretive programs discussed battle and tactics, the decisions of generals, the moving of regiments and batteries, the engagements of opposing units, and tales of heroism and valor. All of this was central to the park’s mission and seemed to be what the majority of visitors wanted to hear.

Of course, there are those veterans’ reunions for which Gettysburg is so renowned. The story of the famous “hands across the wall” at the 50th anniversary of the battle at Gettysburg in 1913, which symbolizes the reconciliation of the veterans themselves, brought tears to visitors’ eyes. Stories directly related to the consequences of that reconciliation—Woodrow Wilson’s forced segregation of the federal bureaucracy in 1913, or the 70 lynchings of black Americans that took place that year—might also have brought tears to visitors’ eyes, but park interpreters did not tell those stories.

In 1998, the park sought expert advice on how to put the Gettysburg campaign into the context of the political, social, and economic environment of the mid-19th-century United States, that is to say, how to present the story of Gettysburg within the larger story of the causes and consequences of the Civil War.<sup>13</sup> Because the park had traditionally related the reconciliationist version of the Civil War to visitors, its interpretive programs had a pervasive—although unintended—southern sympathy. That is why, the experts pointed out, Gettysburg was most commonly known as being the site of the Confederate major general George Pickett’s charge (rather than the Union major general Winfield S. Hancock’s defense), and as the “High Water Mark of the Confederacy” rather than “the Battle that Saved the Union.”

By emphasizing the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers without discussing why they were fighting, the park was presenting the reconciliationist recollection of the Civil War to the exclusion of the emancipationist vision. It was presenting that “segregated memory of the Civil War” of which Blight wrote.

Since then, the park has revised its themes. Instead of emphasizing only the battle itself, park interpreters also stress the meaning of the battle that is eloquently preserved in President Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address. The park’s new interpretive themes emphasize Gettysburg as the place of “A New Birth of Freedom.”

In 1998, the superintendents of all National Park Service Civil War sites met in Nashville, Tennessee, to discuss a mutual “recognition that our interpretive efforts do not convey the full range and context of the stories our sites can tell.” On the subject of interpreting Civil War battlefields, the superintendents unanimously agreed to broaden park interpretive stories to “establish the site’s particular place in the continuum of war; illuminate the social, economic, and cultural issues that caused or were affected by the war; illustrate the breadth of human experience during the period; and establish the relevance of the war to people today.”<sup>14</sup> On an agency-wide basis, the National Park Service made the decision to ground stories of battles and tactics in the larger issue of “causes and consequences.”

The new general management plan for Gettysburg National Military Park, adopted in 1999, states—

*The enduring legacy of Gettysburg and its place in the nation’s history provide a rare opportunity to discuss the social, cultural and political changes that brought about the Civil War and that were occasioned by it. The Civil War was a dramatic national struggle that touched the lives of every American alive then. The war, this battle, and the Gettysburg Address helped define the ideals of freedom that we, as a nation, still strive to achieve today.*<sup>15</sup>

The same year, Congress encouraged the National Park Service to broaden its interpretive scope, declaring that—

*The Service does an outstanding job of documenting and describing the particular battle at any given site, but . . . it does not always do a similarly good job of documenting and describing the historical social, economic, legal, cultural and political forces and events that . . . led to the . . . war . . . In particular, the Civil War battlefields are often weak or missing vital information about the role that the institution of slavery played in causing the American Civil War.*<sup>16</sup>

As a result, Congress directed the Service “to encourage Civil War battle sites to recognize and include in all of their public displays and . . . educational presentations the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War . . .”<sup>17</sup>

## Constituency Concerns

As Gettysburg National Military Park moves in this direction, it will continue to tell the stories of battles and tactics, illustrated by the experiences of military leaders and individual soldiers. These will always be fascinating subjects. However, Gettysburg and other parks are now presenting these stories within the important historical context of why they were shooting and why it mattered. By whatever measure—the events of September 11th notwithstanding—the Civil War was the greatest disaster in the history of the nation. The outcome of the war—its consequences—was the greatest factor in the nation’s subsequent development. If the park introduces its visitors to the story of what the war was all about, it will provide a deeper understanding of why those men fought and died on the fields at Gettysburg.

The introduction of “contextual history” into Civil War battlefield interpretation has made some people nervous. Some military buffs are concerned that any time spent talking about causes and consequences would be time taken away from the true purpose of battlefields, which they define (in clear reconciliationist terms) as “commemorating the battle and honoring the men who fought there.”<sup>18</sup> They argue that battlefields were established only to commemorate and interpret individual battles, not to interpret the Civil War. “Interpreting the broader scope of Civil War history” wrote one critic, “was NOT in the ‘mission statement’ of the battlefields.”<sup>19</sup> That sort of stuff, they reasoned, ought to be left to the academic historians.

The park has no intention of downplaying the military history of the campaign. Rather, it wants to make that military history more meaningful to visitors by providing an understanding of the social, political, and economic influences that produced the soldiers and the armies in which they fought. After all, as Sir John Keegan, the most acclaimed military historian of our time, wrote—

*an army is . . . an expression of the society from which it issues. The purposes for which it fights and the way it does so will therefore be determined in large measure by what a society wants from a war and how far it expects its army to go in delivering that outcome.*<sup>20</sup>

In other words, in order to understand armies, good military historians must first understand the societies that produced those armies. In order to understand the battle front, they must first understand the home front. In order to understand the significance of Gettysburg, they must first understand what was at stake—and why—as the armies prepared for battle.

Other constituents have expressed a more personal concern about how the memory and honor of their ancestors will fare in this type of contextual history. In the words of one correspondent from North Carolina—

*I see the political climate as becoming very dangerous for anything Southern and white. I have never condoned discrimination, I have never denied slavery was A cause of the War. But, slavery was NOT the ONLY cause. And I'll be damned if I will sit idly by and let revisionist historians tell me MY ancestors, who owned NOT one slave. . . fought to keep them in bondage.<sup>21</sup>*

This question of “honor” is still incredibly important to these constituents. How does one approach this subject without dishonoring ancestors? First, do “good history.” Ensure that 19th-century events are not interpreted through the lens of 21st-century values. The participants must be understood within the context of the values of the times and the societies in which they lived. The decisions they made must not be judged by the contemporary values of society 140 years hence.

Second, explain, as James M. McPherson has pointed out in his book, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*, that the reasons nations and men go to war are often entirely different.<sup>22</sup> By 1863, when the armies clashed at Gettysburg, the Civil War had evolved into a war for union *and* freedom. Yet, the majority of the 75,000 Confederate soldiers at Gettysburg were not slave owners. Nor were the majority of the 88,000 Union soldiers abolitionists. In the 1860s, a man enlisted under the banner of his individual state, but to assume that he automatically supported the reasons his government went to war is bad history. The truth of the matter is there were a number of personal, familial, and other reasons why a man would have chosen to go to war in the mid 19th century.

In an effort to do good history, Gettysburg National Military Park is introducing questions of causes and consequences of the Civil War into the interpretation of the Battle of Gettysburg. How is the park going to get it done? In part, by using Lincoln’s own words from the Gettysburg Address. Phrases from the Gettysburg Address will identify each of the galleries in the park’s new museum, scheduled to open in 2008.

“Conceived In Liberty?” will discuss the root causes of war. Like Lincoln, the park will compare the promise of the Declaration of Liberty with the imperfect compromise of the Constitution. “A New Nation” will cover growing pains, the mounting tensions between free and slave states, the powder keg of western expansion, the 1860 election, and secession. Covering the period from 1861 to 1863, “Now We Are Engaged In A Great Civil War” will relate how a war to save a Union became a war for Union and Freedom. “Testing Whether That Nation Can Long Endure,” “Now We Are Met On A Great Battlefield Of That War,” and “A New Birth Of Freedom” will focus on the Gettysburg Campaign, the Battle of Gettysburg, and the Gettysburg Address respectively.

“The Brave Men Living And Dead” will focus on the aftermath of battle, the treatment of dead, wounded, and captured, and the impact upon civilians. “The Great Task Remaining Before Us” will carry the story of the Civil War from Gettysburg to Confederate general Robert E. Lee’s surrender to Union general Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox courthouse in Virginia. “That These Dead Shall Not Have Died In Vain” will address the results of war and how the nation settled the questions of Union and slavery but failed to settle the new question of citizenship. Finally, “Never Forget What They Did Here” will present the preservation of Gettysburg as a place of commemoration, reconciliation, and a new birth of freedom.

If, at Gettysburg, the National Park Service can explain why the North and South went to war, introduce the myriad personal reasons that caused the citizens of both the North and South to support that war, and talk about the consequences of those decisions, then it shall have succeeded in doing “good history” that should dishonor no one. It will have taken a small step forward in reconnecting the cultural memories of the Civil War era in America, including memories of both reconciliation and emancipation. It will also have given visitors a better understanding of the historical context of the events that occurred on the fields of Gettysburg and how those events shaped the future of the nation.

Lincoln once stated that “If we could first know where we are, and wither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it.”<sup>23</sup> Therein lays the relevancy of history. If people can better understand the issues, the trials, the sacrifices, and the struggles that past generations endured, they can better “judge what to do, and how to do it” today, and in the future.

If, in the future, after visiting Gettysburg, more visitors understand that the United States has survived great crises in the past, that it has been far more divided in the past than it is today, and that, compared to the issues of the past, today’s issues are well within the nation’s ability to resolve, then the park shall have done its job. Finally, if, some years from now, Gettysburg becomes renowned throughout the world as the place of “A New Birth of Freedom” rather than the “High water mark of the Confederacy,” or the field of Pickett’s Charge, then the park shall be pleased.

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- 3 The 14th and 15th Amendments did not initially pertain to Asians and other racial groups.
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- 21 Don Johnson to author, e-mail communication, May 17, 2000.
- 22 James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- 23 Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided," speech delivered at Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858.

## An Integrated Architecture for Effective Heritage Site Management Planning

by Dirk H.R. Spennemann

Heritage managers typically identify potential heritage sites and establish the public value of those places using predetermined cultural significance criteria. Current historic preservation theory maintains that this process ensures that important aspects of the past are identified, protected, and managed for the benefit of present and future generations.<sup>1</sup> The aim of heritage site management is to maintain these identified places intact and unchanged from their determined period (or periods) of significance to the extent feasible.

The integrity of such places, however, is impacted by a number of factors, from environmental decay to sudden impairment by natural or anthropogenic disasters, gradual or sudden impact by visitors and owners, and intentional damage through acts of vandalism, terrorism, or war. These threats to the integrity and survival of heritage sites can be restricted in their magnitude—and on occasion completely removed—through appropriate intervention.

Currently, each of the states in Australia uses its own planning processes and documents, all of which are based on the principles of the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter but go by different names.<sup>2</sup> In the state of New South Wales they are called conservation policies and conservation management plans;<sup>3</sup> in Victoria, conservation plans and maintenance plans;<sup>4</sup> in Queensland, conservation management plans and asset management plans;<sup>5</sup> in South Australia, conservation management plans and heritage asset management plans;<sup>6</sup> and in Western Australia, conservation plans.<sup>7</sup> In the United States, they are customarily called preservation plans.<sup>8</sup>

Conservation management plans typically contain a description of the extant fabric, a brief history, a statement of significance, and an array of conservation options usually recommended by the consultant completing the plan. Such documents seldom make any provisions for an expansion of management activities. Nor do they allow in their structure for easy review and revision. As a result, many conservation management plans, once completed, languish on the shelves. Because of the effort and resources involved in writing these plans, few incentives exist to revise them regularly in response to changing conditions.

Although generally viewed as site management plans, most conservation management plans fall short, addressing only certain management responsibilities. Among the most common lacunae are visitor and disaster

management plans. Places that are open to the public may have interpretation plans, but their visitor management corollary is often lacking even though visitor use can result in damage through unintentional and intentional impact.<sup>9</sup> Disaster management is likewise largely absent. A review of conservation management plans in New South Wales and Victoria, for instance, showed that very few actually address issues of disaster management<sup>10</sup> even though heritage sites are prone to disaster impact.<sup>11</sup> This situation is due in part to attitudinal barriers among heritage professionals that discourage their formulation.<sup>12</sup> That review also uncovered extensive uncritical copying of text sections from other previously completed plans<sup>13</sup> and called attention to the complex language used in writing them.<sup>14</sup>

If heritage managers wish to manage these places effectively, they must acknowledge that the context in which a heritage site exists is subject to change. Political and economic conditions, public funding options, social expectations, and environmental conditions are among the variables that heritage managers must take into account. None of these variables changes at the same rate, however, and some parts of an original plan might require immediate or frequent updates whereas others might not. All too often, heritage managers keep plans well past their “use-by” or expiration dates. Without a strict regime of plan review, chances are good that conditions will develop that can adversely affect the integrity of a place.

### **An Integrated Architecture**

This paper proposes a model integrated architecture for a heritage site management plan that will provide site managers and staff with clear guidance on overarching aims and on-the-ground management action, along with objectively verifiable indicators of management success.<sup>15</sup> The model architecture in Figure 1 shows a correlation between a plan’s effectiveness and its currency (that is to say, its up-to-dateness). It is based on the idea that heritage site management is a process that involves a number of steps and routines, namely identification, documentation, evaluation, formulation, implementation, and review. The flow chart in Figure 2 shows these steps in relation to public consultation.

### **Site Management Plan**

The heritage site management plan is both hierarchical and modular and made up of an array of elements that are subject to periodic review depending on their place in the hierarchy. At the top of the hierarchy is the heritage site management master plan.

The master plan contains a brief physical description of the place, a concise contextual history, and a statement of significance. It includes a management

FIGURE 1. This model integrated architecture for a heritage site management plan can provide clear guidance on overarching aims and on-the-ground management action.

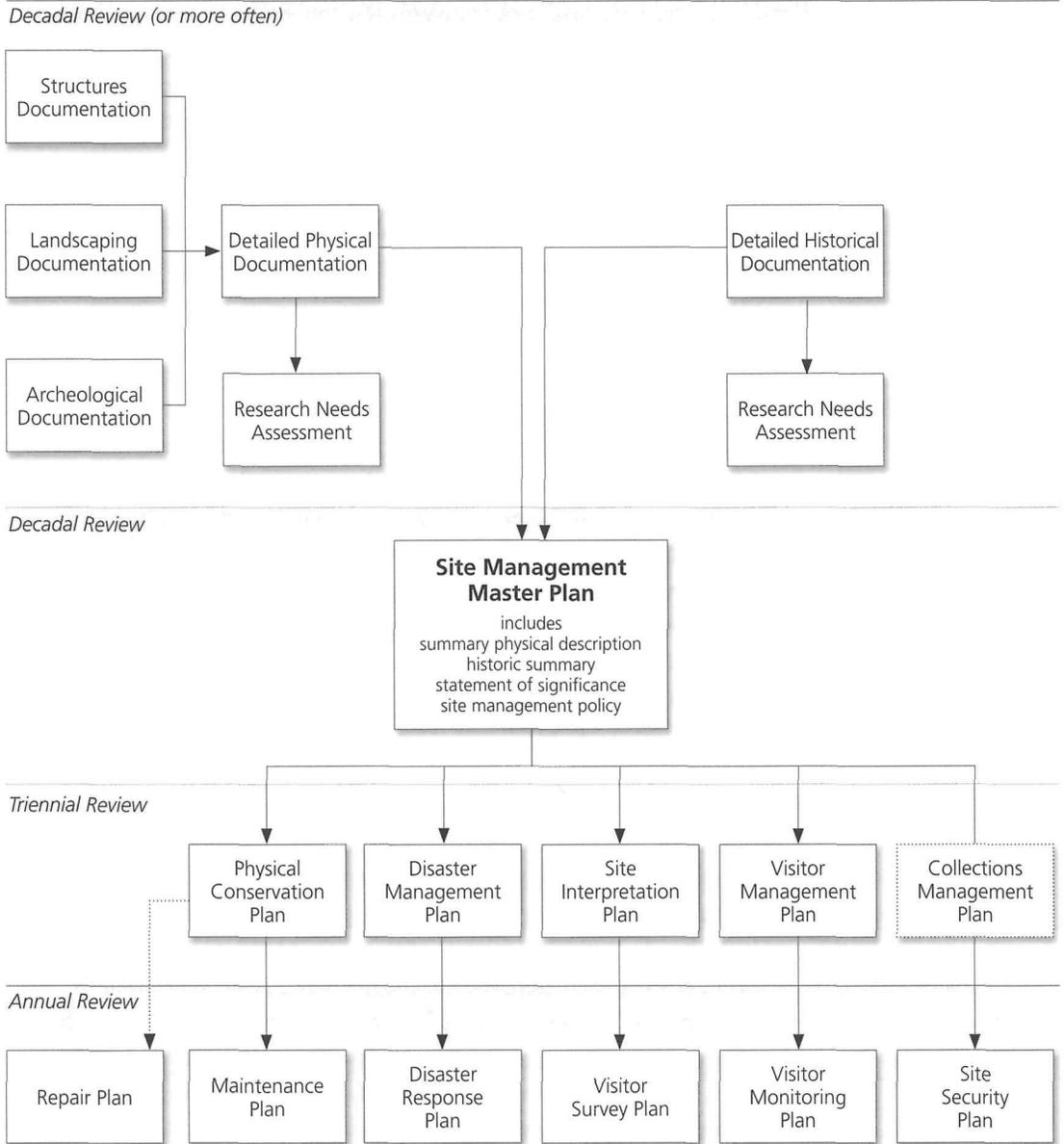
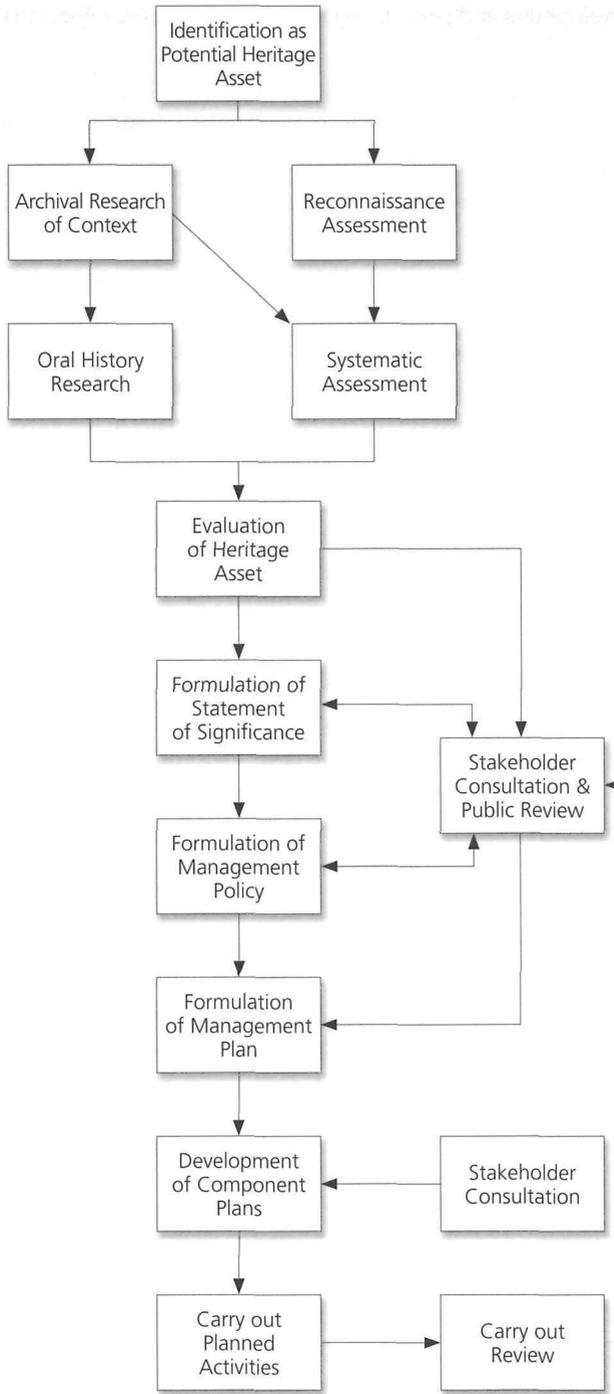


FIGURE 2. This flow chart shows the steps in the heritage site management process in relation to public consultation.



policy that sets out the future use of the place, management objectives, and priorities in case of value conflict (for example, conservation versus access). It establishes conservation standards and priorities, and it provides for the development and periodic revision of components subject to the policy.

The master plan relies on in-depth documentation of the history and physical fabric of a place for direction. This documentation may take the form of a single document or a set of subdocuments on the structures, landscapes, and archeology that define the place. The master plan abstracts pertinent facts from these documents, to which it refers readers for more information. In the model architecture, each document has a subordinate research needs assessment that spells out the shortcomings in the knowledge base and identifies corrective measures. The history and physical fabric documents are subject to the same review cycle as the site management master plan, although they might be revised in the interim if new discoveries add substantially to the knowledge required for making management decisions.

The management objectives articulated in the site management policy will determine the nature and number of component plans. At a minimum, each place should have a physical conservation plan and a disaster management plan. If the site management policy encourages or requires visitation, then site interpretation and visitor management plans are in order. If the place involves moveable objects, then a collections management plan is imperative. That plan should contain acquisitions and curatorial policies spelling out how and whether objects are to be obtained, exhibited, stored, conserved, and made available for study. At the very least, such places should have a security plan even if the place is not accessible to the public.

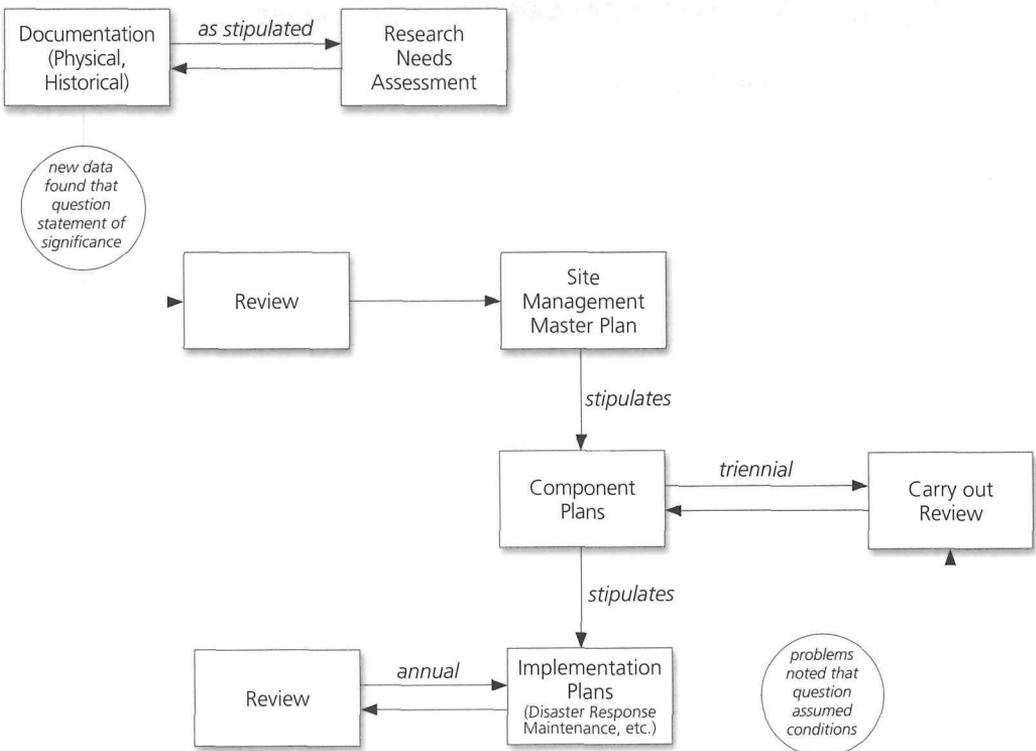
The component plans are based on assumptions that will change over time because of evolving social and environmental conditions. The triennial review and revision cycle for a component plan proposed in the model architecture strikes a reasonable balance between the urge to stay current and the need to keep planning in check. Figure 3 shows a development, implementation, and review sequence for a hypothetical site management plan based on the model.

The component plans in this model include brief implementation plan documents. The physical conservation plan features a maintenance plan that spells out, for example, how often the gutters should be cleaned, or how often the place should be checked for mud wasp infestation. A separate repair plan sets out the nature and specifications of work related to major repair needs that are identified in the physical conservation plan. The disaster plan includes a response plan that a heritage site manager and staff will consult and implement when necessary. As another example, the visitor management plan has a subordinate visitor monitoring plan for assessing whether visitor behavior and impact turn out as forecast.

FIGURE 3. The heritage site management planning process begins with a master plan, followed by physical conservation and other component and implementation plans.

Plan	Year 1				Year 2				Year 3				Year 4				Year 5			
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4																
Site Management Master Plan	●																			
Physical Conservation Plan		●												●						
Maintenance Plan		●				●				●				●					●	
Repair Plan		●				●				●				●					●	
Disaster Management Plan			●												●					
Disaster Response Plan			●				●				●				●				●	
Interpretation Plan				●												●				
Visitor Survey Plan				●				●				●				●				●
Visitor Management Plan					●												●			
Visitor Monitoring Plan					●				●				●				●			
Collections Management Plan					●												●			
Site Security Plan					●				●				●				●			
Site Management Strategy					●												●			

FIGURE 4. The heritage site management master plan and component and implementation plans are subject to periodic review.



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FIGURE 5. *This outline for a master plan is based on the model integrated architecture for a heritage site management plan.*

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## **Executive Summary**

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### **1 Introduction**

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- 1.1 Background
- 1.2 Location and Ownership
- 1.3 Heritage Status (listings and previous assessments)

### **2 History**

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- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Site/Place Context
- 2.3 Site/Place
- 2.4 Use of the Place
- 2.5 Historical Associations
- 2.6 Documented Alterations to the Fabric

### **3 Physical Evidence**

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- 3.1 Setting
- 3.2 Site/Place
- 3.3 Services (sewer, water, etc.)
- 3.4 Changes to the Fabric
- 3.5 Areas of Archeological Potential

### **4 Cultural Significance**

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- 4.1 Analysis
- 4.2 Assessment of Significance
- 4.3 Statement of Significance
- 4.4 Graded Significance of Components (if required)

### **5 Site Management Policy**

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- 5.1 Constraints
- 5.2 General Policy (rationale)

### **6 Site Management Plan**

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- 6.1 Constraints
- 6.2 Current and Future Uses
- 6.3 Physical Conservation
- 6.4 Disaster Management
- 6.5 Site Interpretation (state if not required)
- 6.6 Visitor Management (state if not required)
- 6.7 Collections Management (state if not required)

### **7 Sources**

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In the scenario, these implementation plan documents are subject to an annual review. The component plans should have a mechanism in place for an unscheduled review in the event that implementation results in some unexpected and potentially counterproductive impacts. Figure 4 shows how the review of the implementation plan and other documents can affect the overall site management plan.

### **Basic Outline of a Site Management Master Plan**

Figure 5 shows the outline of a site management master plan organized according to the model.

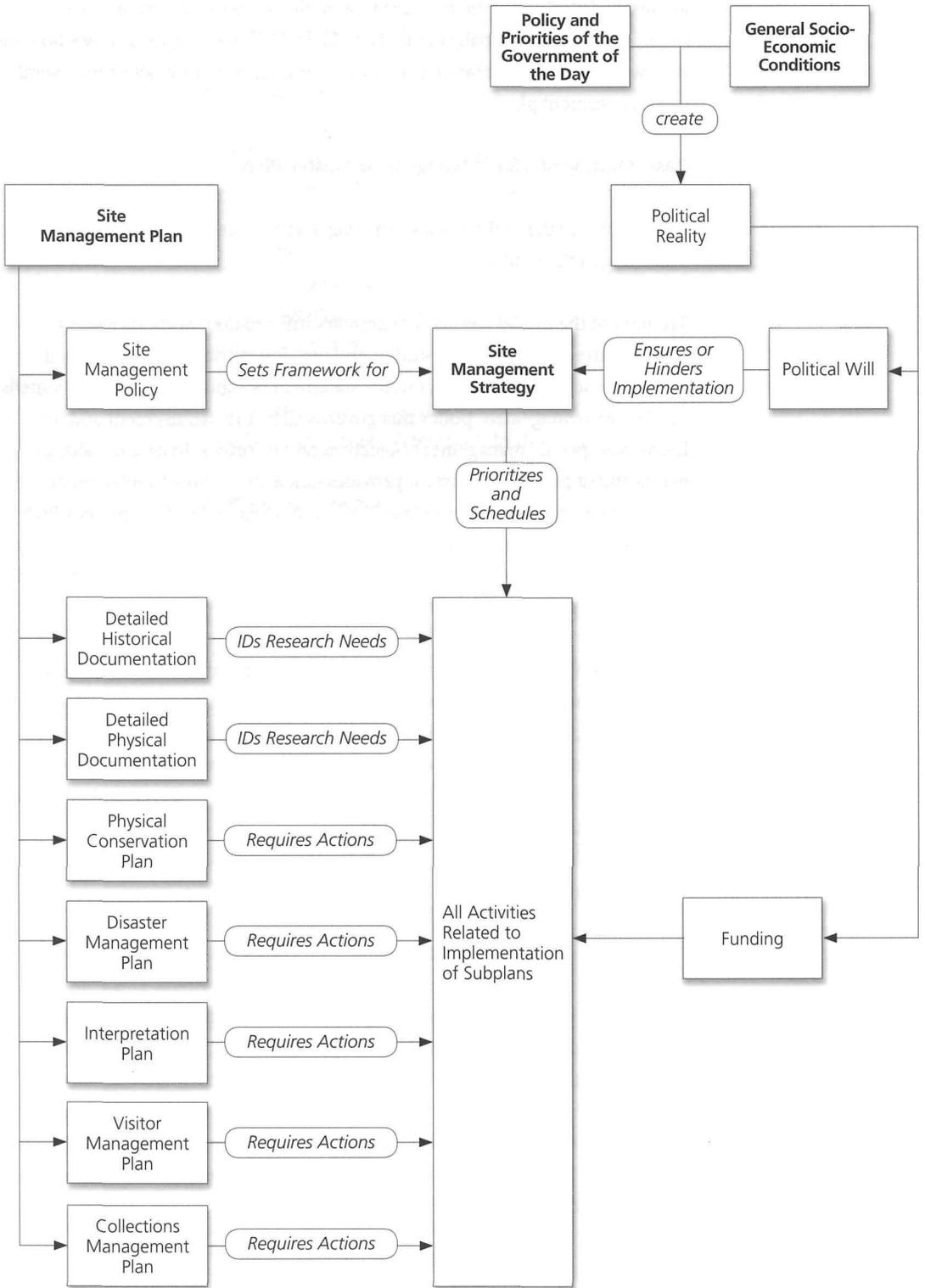
Section 1 of the model consists of summary information. Sections 2 and 3 include extracts from history studies and physical fabric documents, along with references. Section 4 sets out the statement of significance. Section 5 spells out the site management policy that governs all future management and use. It involves specific management objectives and priorities. In case of value or management priority conflicts, it provides guidance on how to solve them. Section 5 also sets out the constraints on the management of the place, which might involve staffing, training, access, or use issues. Current and future uses are described next. Together with the policy, they provide the practical framework in which the place is to be managed.

The next sections consist of general comments and critical information on physical conservation and disaster preparedness extracted from the related component plans. Interpretation, visitor management, and security plans are essential if the site is to be accessible to visitors.<sup>16</sup> If the site contains valuable moveable objects, then collections management and security plans are in order even if the site is not open to the public.

### **Strategic Plan**

The strategic plan represented in Figure 6 collates all the actions identified in the component plans and prioritizes them based on economic and political realities. The strategic plan looks at all aspects of management, including capacity building. Each action included in the strategic plan should have a specific launch and completion date, along with objective and verifiable performance indicators. Heritage site managers should review the strategic plan halfway through the plan cycle to ensure that their planning assumptions (funding levels, for example) and performance goals are still valid. Typically, a strategic plan's life cycle parallels public funding and political cycles.

FIGURE 6. The heritage site management strategy takes economic and other factors into account.



## Outlook

Using this model integrated architecture, heritage site managers can ensure that the cultural significance of a place can be maintained and that all impacts are controlled or minimized. Its modular approach acknowledges that only parts of the plan may require revision at any point in time, which will help ensure that the plan remains current and can be implemented. There is nothing magical about managing heritage sites for people to enjoy: It is just a matter of adequate and diligent planning.

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## Notes

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- 4 *Preparing a Maintenance Plan* (Melbourne, Australia: Heritage Victoria, 2001); *Conservation Plan Standard Brief* (Melbourne, Australia: Heritage Victoria, 2003).
- 5 *Heritage Guidelines* (Brisbane, Australia: Queensland Department of Public Works, 2003)
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- 16 A site management plan should include all headings as placeholders even if not applicable.

## Frances Benjamin Johnston's Legacy in Black and White

by Maria Ausherman



FIGURE 1  
This undated portrait of Frances Benjamin Johnston and her view camera captured the photographer in her prime. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864-1952) was one of the first American photographers to achieve a successful career in photography.<sup>1</sup> (Figure 1) She published and lectured extensively, exhibited her photographs nationwide, organized several large comprehensive photographic surveys of historic buildings and sites, and helped establish architectural documentation standards at a time when there were few professional opportunities for women outside the home. Trained as an artist like most early photographers, Johnston believed that photography rivaled painting as an art form and encouraged others interested in the medium to “learn early the immense difference between the photograph that is merely a photograph, and that which is also a picture.”<sup>2</sup> She placed equal emphasis on composition, lighting, and subject matter. Revered as a pivotal figure in the pictorial photography movement, she believed that the best art always imitated the effects of nature on the eye, and that the task of the photographer was not any different than that of any other artist.<sup>3</sup>

Over the course of more than six decades, Johnston photographed countless designed and cultural landscapes, seascapes, historic buildings and towns, international expositions, public events, celebrity portraits, and still life arrangements for institutional sponsors and corporate and individual clients. She understood the importance of detailed documentation, and, unlike many of her contemporaries, who seemed more concerned with impressions or truths beyond appearances, she placed a high priority on the accurate depiction of her subjects.

At the same time, she endeavored to give meaning to her photographs and made use of the suggestive powers inherent in photography to convey a social message. She was strongly committed to the preservation of historic buildings and sites and a variety of social issues. The camera enabled her to express her opinions subtly through images and motivate her audience to action when words alone seemed inappropriate or insufficient.

Johnston's personal material legacy, a lifetime of illustrated articles, books, correspondence, and thousands of photographic plates, negatives, and prints at the Library of Congress, rivals that of institutions like the early Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS; 1933-present) and the Farm Security Administration (FSA; 1935-1942), two federal work relief programs that documented American architecture and the American scene in photographs

and other media during the Great Depression. Johnston participated in the HABS program, maintaining contact, working side by side, and exchanging information with HABS photographers and architects in the spirit of common cause. The documentation she produced in partnership with historical and patriotic societies, municipalities, state universities, museums, and federal agencies and programs, including the Library of Congress and HABS, endures as evidence of her genuine interest in the nation's architectural heritage and concern for its preservation.



FIGURE 2  
Washington, DC, artist Mills Thompson designed this advertisement in 1895 for Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographic illustration and journalistic writing business. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

### Artist, Journalist, Photographer

Johnston was born January 15, 1864, in Grafton, West Virginia, a small Appalachian mountain town and an important rail junction for timber transportation during the Civil War.<sup>4</sup> Raised in Rochester, New York, where her maternal grandmother lived, the family moved some time before 1875 from Rochester to Washington, DC, where her father worked for the United States Treasury Department and her mother worked as a political journalist. Her parents and especially her aunt, Cornelia Hagan, supported her emotionally, and at times financially, throughout her life. Raised in an atmosphere of privilege that included early education in her home and additional studies in a Washington, DC, private school, Johnston graduated from Notre Dame Academy, a religious school for women at Govanstown (now part of Baltimore), Maryland. At her request, her parents sent her to Paris, France, to study drawing and painting at the Académie Julian, a well-known school for international students and one of few European academies open to women at that time.<sup>5</sup>

Johnston studied at the Académie Julian from 1883 to 1885. Her studio teachers, notably the French Academic painters Adolphe William Bouguereau (1825-1905), Gustave Boulanger (1824-1888), and Jules-Joseph Lefebvre (1836-1911), tended toward traditional subject matter, which carried over into the academy curriculum. Johnston herself was particularly proud of her formal art training. Like other American artists who had studied in Paris, she enjoyed a certain amount of prestige in the United States over non-Parisian trained artists of her generation and became part of an elite network that later helped advance her career.

Upon her return to Washington, Johnston joined the Art Students' League, a membership-based organization for artists in the national capital region.<sup>6</sup> She made the league her second home, maintaining a studio space, attending lectures, teaching classes, and playing an active role in the business of the organization.<sup>7</sup> She also studied art at the Corcoran School of Art and frequented the Smithsonian Institution. She later admitted that it was during her time with the league when she realized that her heart was neither in painting nor sketching but rather in journalism and photography.<sup>8</sup>

Johnston began her journalism career in the mid 1880s with a series of short newspaper and magazine articles—often called “sketches”—that she illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings.<sup>9</sup> (Figure 2) Around 1887, she asked inventor, businessman, and family friend from Rochester, George Eastman, for a camera to use for her journalistic pieces. Eastman responded by sending her one of the world’s first roll-film Eastman-Kodak cameras. A dramatic improvement over earlier, heavier sheet-film cameras and ideally suited for press photography, the compact and lightweight Kodak roll-film camera stored enough film for approximately 100 images.<sup>10</sup> Johnston quickly turned to the camera and away from pen and ink for illustrating her magazine articles.



FIGURE 3  
This 1890 photograph of the State Dining Room in the White House was among Johnston’s photos for Demorest’s Family Magazine. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

About the same time, Johnston started studying photography at the Smithsonian under the direction of pioneer photographer, scientist, and archivist, Thomas William Smillie. That contact resulted in a lifelong friendship and several important commissions for the Smithsonian, the United States Fish Commission (now the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service), the United States Geological Survey (USGS), the U. S. Navy, and the 106-acre National Zoological Park (the National Zoo) in Rock Creek Park in Washington.<sup>11</sup>



FIGURE 4  
Johnston photographed these “breaker boys” at the Kohinoor Mine in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, in 1891. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Johnston’s first major photo-illustrated article appeared in two parts in *Demorest’s Family Magazine* in 1889. Entitled “Uncle Sam’s Money,” the article described currency production in the United States and featured photographs and a series of engravings showing the U.S. Mint in Philadelphia, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington, DC, and the steps in the process of producing coins and paper money.<sup>12</sup> This commission quickly led to several others for the magazine, including an illustrated feature on the White House, a series on the homes of the members of the 51st United States Congress and President Benjamin Harrison’s administration, photojournalistic essays on the Kohinoor coal mines in Pennsylvania, and an illustrated travel piece on Mammoth Cave (now Mammoth Cave National Park) in Kentucky.<sup>13</sup> (Figures 3-4) During this time, Johnston also accepted an appointment as one of the official photographers of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois.<sup>14</sup> (Figure 5)



FIGURE 5  
Johnston took this photograph of the Palace of Mechanic Arts at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Shortly after her entry into photojournalism, Johnston established a professional connection with George Grantham Bain, founder of the Bain News Service (also known as Bain’s Correspondence Bureau), the first photographic news service or news picture agency in the United States. The syndicate furnished articles and photographs to more than 14 major newspapers nationwide, including the *New York Sun*, the *Philadelphia Times*, and the *Kansas City Times*. Early on, Johnston and Bain collaborated on a series of articles for *Cosmopolitan* magazine, and by 1893 Bain was acting as her agent. That professional relationship, which lasted until around 1910, landed Johnston many photographic commissions.<sup>15</sup>



FIGURE 6 *Johnston photographed these two stagecoaches passing on Mountain Road in Yellowstone National Park in 1903. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*



FIGURE 7 *Johnston's photograph of buildings near the Carnegie Corporation's open pit mining operations in Minnesota's Mesabi Range dates from 1903. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*



FIGURE 8 *Johnston took this portrait photograph of President William McKinley at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, on September 5, 1901—one day before McKinley's assassination. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*



FIGURE 9 *This circa 1923 photograph of Edward T. Stotesbury's suburban Philadelphia estate, Whitmarsh Hall, is typical of the architectural photographs Johnston took for wealthy American clients. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*

Johnston's photographs, letters, and other documents reveal that she was extremely busy completing freelance projects across the country during the 1890s and early 1900s. She traveled to Chicago for the Exposition, for instance; to Wyoming to photograph Yellowstone National Park; to central Pennsylvania to document the Kohinor coal mines; and to northern Minnesota to record the open pit iron mining operations in the Mesabi Range owned by the Carnegie Steel Company. (Figures 6-7) Most of her income during this period actually came from portrait commissions from members of Washington society. Through family connections she gained access to high-level government officials and their families. Her social connections were not lost on magazine editors, who frequently looked to her for portraits of major figures and other photographic work. Over the course of her career, she knew and photographed five U.S. Presidents.<sup>6</sup> (Figure 8)

*Johnston later admitted that she lost interest in portraiture once it had become commercial and stressful. She felt the hectic pace required to meet business demands and the limited interests of the general public threatened to compromise her art.*

Johnston later admitted that she lost interest in portraiture once it had become commercial and stressful. She felt the hectic pace required to meet business demands and the limited interests of the general public threatened to compromise her art. A European tour in 1905 also influenced her decision by awakening her traditional aesthetic sensibilities and interest in architecture and designed landscapes. With the daily newspaper staff ever ready to make frequent editorial decisions for greater public appeal, and at the urging of architects John Carrère, Charles Follen McKim, and others who increasingly turned to her for photographs of their recently completed buildings and country estates, she decided to move to New York City where she could have greater artistic control and pursue other outlets for her art.<sup>7</sup>

Johnston and business partner and close friend, Mattie Edwards Hewitt, opened a photographic studio at 536 Fifth Avenue in 1913, and for the next four years they collaborated on architectural and garden photography projects. Johnston herself explained that she “wanted to specialize and Mrs. Hewitt wanted to help. We looked over the field and decided that there was great work to be done in photographing beautiful homes.”<sup>8</sup> Their list of clients included the architects and firms of Carrère and Hastings, McKim, Mead and White, John Russell Pope, Charles A. Platt, and Cass Gilbert. They also did work for the City National Bank and the North German Lloyd Company, a major transatlantic steamship line. Through it all, their main emphasis remained country estates, many owned by clients or friends of clients such as John Pierpont Morgan, John J. Astor, Edward T. Stotesbury, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and other members of society. (Figure 9)

Johnston's decision to move to New York also had to do with the city's emergence as the commercial and artistic center of American photography. She and Hewitt opened their studio a few blocks from Alfred Stieglitz's fine art photography gallery, Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession (later known simply as 291), and photojournalist Jessie Tarbox Beals's studio. Other photographers with portrait studios on Fifth Avenue included Gertrude Kasebier (with whom Johnston had traveled to Europe in 1905) and Rudolf Eickemeyer, Jr., a leader of the pictorial movement in photography.<sup>19</sup> As one critic of the time observed, "There is a glamour over Fifth Avenue, New York, such as is over no other photographic center in America."<sup>20</sup>

During this partnership, Johnston acquired knowledge of horticulture and the history and folklore of gardens, and she developed a series of lectures on American gardens that she illustrated with lantern slides made from her own photographs. She also began to build her own collection of garden books, later claiming to "know the garden and flower shelf of every secondhand book store in the country."<sup>21</sup> Her collection of more than 100 books included works by British landscape gardeners Gertrude Jekyll and Sir Humphry Repton, British architects Edwin L. Lutyens and H. Inigo Triggs, the American landscape architect Platt, and noted author and critic Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer. By 1920, she was giving slide lectures to garden clubs and other civic improvement organizations across the United States.

Johnston returned to Europe in 1925 for a seven-month stay, during which time she photographed, in her words, "mainly the Spanish castles, Italian palaces and French chateaux of the Vanderbilts, Astors, Whitneys and Goulds"—all of whom had made their fortunes in the United States and owned estates in Europe.<sup>22</sup> Back in the United States, she exhibited 150 prints of her European photographs in a private show entitled "In Old World Gardens" at Ferargil Galleries on East 57th Street and later at the Brooklyn Botanical Garden. She returned to lecturing and publishing regularly in *Munsey's*, *Vogue*, *Town and Country*, *Arts and Decoration*, *House Beautiful*, *Studio*, and other leading art and women's magazines of the period.<sup>23</sup>

### Focus on Southern Architecture

In the summer of 1926, Johnston visited a number of places in the eastern United States as part of an assignment to photograph gardens for *Town and Country* magazine. On this trip, she became deeply interested in the colonial architecture of the South. "It was though my travels after gardens," she later explained, "that I noticed the fine old houses which figured so importantly in colonial history and which are falling to wrack and ruin unhonored and unsung."<sup>24</sup>

During a stop in Fredericksburg, Virginia, she met Helen Devore, who commissioned her to photograph Chatham Manor, Devore's recently restored

FIGURE 10

Johnston photographed these warehouses at 301-307 Sophia Street in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1927 as part of her area survey. (Courtesy of Gary Stanton, University of Mary Washington)



estate just outside the city limits.<sup>25</sup> Johnston expanded this single commission from Devore into a more extensive photographic survey of the historic architecture of Fredericksburg and the old Falmouth region of Northern Virginia. The survey took three summers to complete and resulted in a small exhibit at the Fredericksburg Town Hall.<sup>26</sup>(Figure 10)

One of the first comprehensive photographic surveys of the historic architecture of a single American town, Johnston's Fredericksburg survey led to other Virginia projects. In the late 1920s, she collaborated with author Henry Irving Brock on the book, *Colonial Churches in Virginia* (1930).<sup>27</sup> She also helped raise funds for improvements to the grounds at Stratford, Civil War Confederate general Robert E. Lee's birthplace, later photographing the house for the architectural historian Fiske Kimball at the University of Virginia.

Eager to promote and continue her Virginia work, Johnston contacted Lester B. Holland, chair of Fine Arts at the Library of Congress and chair of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Committee on Preservation of Historic Buildings, and Edmund S. Campbell, head of the Department of Architecture at the University of Virginia, in 1932 with the hope that they might petition the Carnegie Corporation of New York, a philanthropic trust founded by the 19th-century industrialist Andrew Carnegie to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding," to fund a more extensive photographic survey of historic buildings in the commonwealth.<sup>28</sup> Holland and Campbell, in turn, submitted a successful joint proposal to the corporation for funding for six more months of Virginia fieldwork and new study prints for the University's School of Fine Arts.<sup>29</sup>

By the time Johnston began this first round of Carnegie-funded fieldwork in Virginia in 1933, she had already taken more than 1,000 views of buildings in

FIGURE 11

This photograph of the Burnside plantation house (also known as the Hunt-Hamilton House) in Vance County, North Carolina, was among the nearly 800 photos Johnston took of historic buildings in the state during the 1930s. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)



67 Virginia counties and had established a solid survey methodology.<sup>30</sup> She researched each region, spent considerable time studying published books on local history and architecture, and consulted maps and unpublished documents. She routinely contacted local historians and architects, homeowners, and community leaders for information. She searched through deeds and old plats for dates and chains of title. She used U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle maps for orientation and kept meticulous photographic logs. In Virginia alone, she traveled several thousands of miles. Upon the completion of the Carnegie survey of Virginia architecture in 1936, she exhibited a selection of the 2,500 photographs she had taken over the course of the project at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond.<sup>31</sup>

Johnston drew inspiration for her photographic surveys from architectural publications, notably the White Pine series of architectural monographs published by Weyerhaeuser Mills of Minnesota.<sup>32</sup> Like contemporary books such as *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina* by Alice Ravenel, Huger Smith, and Daniel Elliott (1917), and Fiske Kimball's *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (1922), the series interspersed descriptive text, plans, elevations, perspective views, and evocative sketches of selected historic buildings, along with signature architectural details.<sup>33</sup> Johnston was particularly impressed that the White Pine Series publishers acknowledged architectural photographers as "craftsmen, who made this publication unrivaled in distinction."<sup>34</sup> She owned her own copies of the series and frequently referred to them when explaining to others the nature of her documentary work.

Johnston followed up her statewide survey of Virginia with smaller scale projects, including one in St. Augustine, Florida, and a larger Carnegie-funded survey of North Carolina. She took nearly 400 photographs of historic buildings along the Carolina coast and, with money from another Carnegie grant, doubled the number of photos and made 180 prints for an exhibit at the University of North Carolina art museum in Chapel Hill. (Figure 11) The following year, North Carolina textile mill owner Charles Cannon and his wife commissioned 200 photographs of historic buildings in western North Carolina to round out the survey.<sup>35</sup>

By September 1938, Johnston had visited more than 40 counties across the state. With nearly 800 negatives in hand, she approached the American Council of Learned Societies and the Colonial Dames of America with a book project.<sup>36</sup> Published in 1941 by the University of North Carolina Press, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* featured more than 240 of Johnston's views, along with text she had co-authored with HABS historian Thomas T. Waterman, who independently had spent a fair amount of time in North Carolina photographing historic buildings for HABS.<sup>37</sup>

Of all her publications, Johnston considered the North Carolina book to be her "very own."<sup>38</sup> She oversaw the research, finances, writing, photography, design, and publication. For his part, Waterman contributed information from HABS field notes and other documentation.

At the invitation of Lawrence Vail Coleman, director of the American Association of Museums, Johnston took her collection of Carnegie survey photographs to New Orleans, where in 1938 she organized an exhibit at the historic Cabildo next to St. Louis Cathedral in the French Quarter.<sup>39</sup> Her work helped raise public awareness and support for historic preservation in the city.

The Big Easy captivated her and she lent her name and prestige to historic preservation efforts there long before moving to the city in 1944. While visiting in 1937, she told Harnett T. Kane of the *New Orleans Item*—

*In the old French Quarter, there flourishes something that has no American counterpart. There is a certain kinship among Charleston, St. Augustine and your city. But New Orleans surpasses them in rare beauty of iron work, of outdoor and indoors arts and crafts in a romance of aspect and spirit, of character and charm that are unique in America.*<sup>40</sup>

Her comparison of those cities comes as no surprise since she worked extensively in all three, bolstering the efforts of local preservationists with her photographs and testimonials in support of historic buildings and streetscapes. In 1931, two years after Johnston had photographed the city, Charleston passed the first city zoning ordinance in the United States to protect historic buildings.

FIGURE 12

*Photographs like this one showing the architectural ironwork on buildings at the corner of Dauphine and Orleans Streets in the French Quarter of New Orleans, Louisiana, taken by Johnston in 1937 or 1938, captured the attention of city leaders, who created the second historic district in the nation. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*



New Orleans followed suit in 1937, establishing the nation's second historic district and the Vieux Carré Commission to preserve the historic character of the French Quarter.<sup>41</sup>(Figure 12)

Preservation efforts in St. Augustine, Florida, picked up in 1936—the same year Johnston had accepted an invitation from the St. Augustine Historical Society to document historic buildings and then mount a photographic exhibit at the city's Ponce de Leon Hotel.<sup>42</sup> John C. Mirriam, the president of the Carnegie Corporation of Washington who had helped Johnston obtain funding for this project, stressed to the St. Augustine Chamber of Commerce that Johnston's photographs were good publicity for the city. "I have felt," he wrote to the chamber, "that Miss Johnston's photographs and the work which she is doing showing things of interest and beauty in St. Augustine, are of great importance. We need exact records, detailed pictorial presentations, and also the evidence of what is beautiful and interesting" in the city.<sup>43</sup> As in Charleston and New Orleans, Johnston's photographic inventory of historic buildings in St. Augustine attracted considerable public attention, financial assistance, and ultimately legislative support for historic preservation.<sup>44</sup> Society director



FIGURE 13  
*Belle Grove plantation in Iberville Parish, Louisiana, shown here in 1938, was one of several Louisiana plantations photographed by Johnston between 1938 and 1944 as part of the Carnegie survey. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*

Verne Chatelain, a former National Park Service historian and assistant director who had supported Johnston in Virginia and helped secure Carnegie funding for the St. Augustine survey, kept Johnston informed of local preservation developments, writing her months later that—

*As to my own plans, I hope to be here until the final drafting of the Zoning Ordinances, which we have been working on for the past two to three months. The state [legislature] passed five restoration bills, all that we asked for, and fifty thousand dollars, so that whole-hearted state cooperation is now fully assured.*<sup>45</sup>

He attributed much of this activity and success to Johnston's photographs and exhibit.

Johnston continued her Carnegie-funding survey of the South with a photographic survey of Louisiana plantation houses along the Mississippi delta, arranged with the help of Louisiana architect and HABS district officer Richard Koch.<sup>46</sup> (Figure 13) She received another Carnegie grant in December 1938 to photograph historic buildings in Georgia and Alabama, marking the end of the fieldwork in typical fashion with an exhibit of 70 photographs of Savannah at that city's Telfair Gallery. She also delivered 150 prints to the Association for the Preservation of Savannah Landmarks. The Georgia survey resulted in a book co-authored by Frederick D. Nichols, a young architect and architectural historian at the University of Virginia who had worked for HABS until 1940. Published in 1957, several years after Johnston's death, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* remains one of the standard works on Georgia architecture and a model for statewide studies.<sup>47</sup>

### Technique, Equipment, Philosophy

Later in life, Johnston downplayed the intricacies of her photographic technique by casting herself as someone who did not care for technical matters. At the age of 85, she boasted there was "nothing retiring in my disposition. I wore out one camera after another, and I never had any of those fancy gadgets. Always judged exposure by guess."<sup>48</sup> She said about her subterranean photographic expedition at Mammoth Cave in Kentucky in 1892: "As to the difficulties, disasters, but ultimate triumph of the photographic campaign, when I sought to vanquish the archenemy darkness with flash powder, it is too long a story;" yet, she was an innovator for her early use of magnesium powders in lighting the cave interiors.<sup>49</sup> (Figure 14)

Although she made her photographic technique sound effortless, its intricacies were, in fact, numerous. She was very meticulous about lighting and viewpoint in her architectural and other photographs. She made sure that conditions were exactly the way she thought they should be—

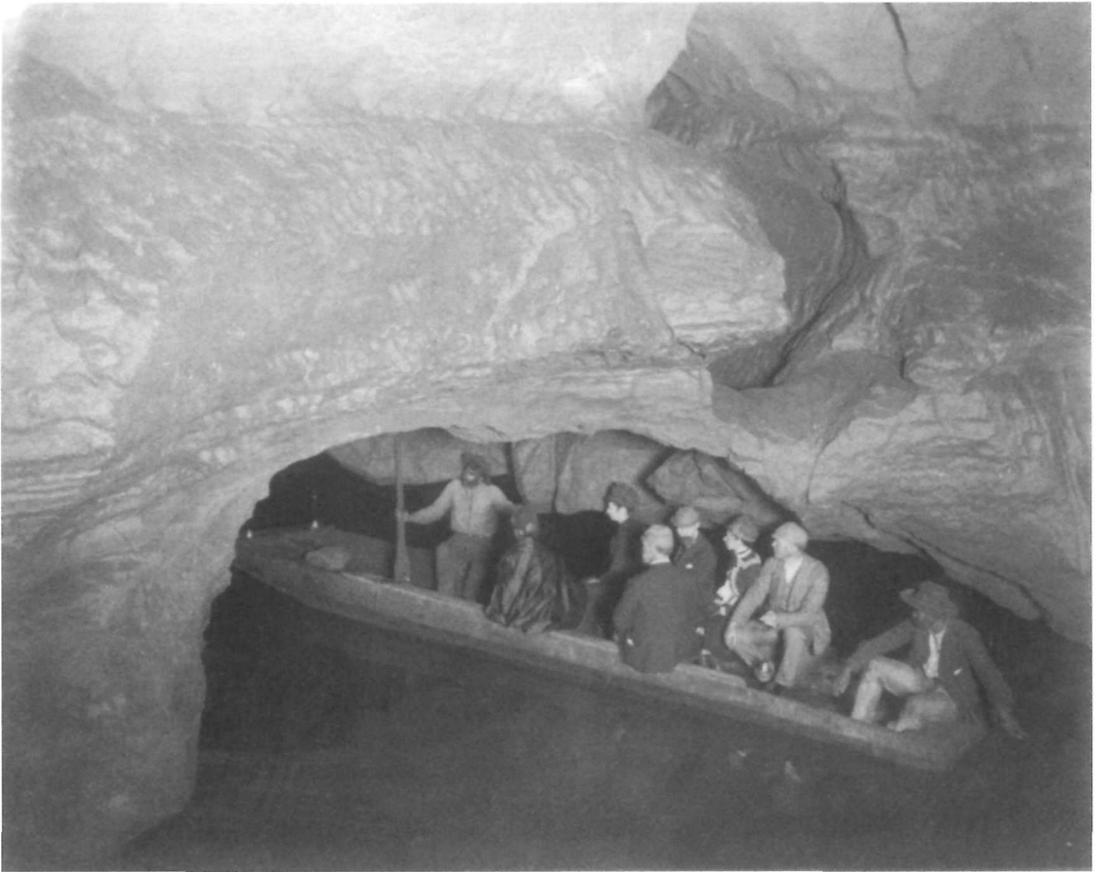


Figure 14. Johnston took this photograph, "On Echo River," using magnesium flash powder during her 1892 visit to Mammoth Cave (now Mammoth Cave National Park) in Kentucky. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

*I won't make a picture unless the moon is right, to say nothing of the sunlight and shadow! Most of the time I have to be excruciatingly patient waiting for the light to get precisely right. Sometimes I have a tree cut down, a stump removed, or a platform erected to get the proper perspective. I have shot pictures from on top of boxcars, and loaded trucks. If I'm in a city street, I often call the police to hold up or detour traffic while I photograph a place. When I photograph an interior, I usually shoo the family out, lock the door and buckle down to business.<sup>50</sup>*

In the field, she took great pride in arranging the scene and adjusting her camera settings to get exactly the image she wanted. In this respect, she differed radically from modernist photographers, who preferred to manipulate their images afterwards in their laboratories and then publicize their techniques as original. Johnston maintained that she was an exponent of "straight," that is to say, un-manipulated, photography, leaving what she called trick angles to her contemporary, the photographer Margaret Bourke-White, and surrealism to the artist Salvador Dali.<sup>51</sup> Occasionally, though, she manipulated the point of view so that she could employ a particular photographic angle. She also made decisions spontaneously, a practice that Sadakichi Hartmann referred to in 1904 as "composition by the eye."<sup>52</sup>

Johnston used an 8 by 10 inch view camera with the shutter speed “slowed way down” to reduce the aperture, allowing for greater depth of field and detail.<sup>53</sup> The typical, fully equipped view camera of her day had a rising, sliding, and tilting front standard and a swinging and tilting back standard for framing the view and correcting for perspective distortion. To set the camera level, she raised the front and then tilted the camera upward until satisfied with the location of the object on the ground glass. She then adjusted the rear standard to eliminate the distortion. Next, she focused the camera and stopped down the aperture until the definition was “good all over the plate.”<sup>54</sup>

Johnston took as many photographs of a single subject as possible so that she might have a good set from which she could choose the most evocative images. While on site, she jotted down physical descriptions, historical notes, and personal observations and thoughts. She tempered the scientific precision of her recording method with personal insights and emotions that she expressed in unaffected and accessible prose. As for the subject matter, she firmly believed that houses and historic architecture were reflections of people and their culture. Quoting from the book *Houses in America* by Ethel Fay and Thomas P. Robinson, she told a crowd at a North Carolina art gallery in March 1937 that “When you build a house, you make a record of yourself, and experts in houses can tell by the house you building and live in what kind of person you are.”<sup>55</sup>

By the end of her career, Johnston preferred the overlooked 17th- and 18th-century buildings of an everyday sort, which she called “primitives,” to the colonial mansions, country estates, and other major monuments that had absorbed much of her attention in her earlier years.<sup>56</sup> (Figure 15) She was interested in the changes made to these buildings over time by successive generations of inhabitants. In her photographs, she emphasized the bucolic and picturesque aspects of the South to show the region as a civilized, if not necessarily urban, place. She knew that neglected buildings often became lost, and she considered her photographs the next best thing to restoring or preserving the buildings themselves. She often intimated that the decay of buildings due to indifference and neglect was comparable to destruction caused by the ravages of war, and she used photography to promote their preservation.<sup>57</sup> On at least one occasion she described herself as “hurrying on the road ahead of the march of neglect and progress.”<sup>58</sup>



FIGURE 15  
*The 17th-century Huggins House in Princess Anne County, Virginia, photographed by Johnston between 1933 and 1942, calls to mind the “primitives,” or the overlooked 17th- and 18th-century vernacular buildings, that attracted the photographer’s attention later in life. (Courtesy of the author)*

Johnston attempted to serve society through her art. Her photo-documentation of the Hampton Institute, an historically black institution, and the Washington, DC, public schools, completed at the turn of the 20th century, helped shed much-needed light on contemporary institutions working for the betterment of American society. (Figures 16-17) Her Carnegie survey of the architecture of American South influenced how Americans saw and treated themselves and their physical surroundings.

FIGURE 16  
*Johnston took this photograph of a Washington, DC, public elementary school cooking class around 1899. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*



FIGURE 17  
*This photograph of Johnston's showing a cooking class for African American women at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, dates from around 1899. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*



Johnston's later work for the Carnegie Corporation was the culmination of her life-long interest in American buildings and landscapes. Taken together, her various projects—from her earliest sketches of buildings in Washington, DC, to her many exhibits and publications—measure the depth of her commitment to raising public awareness and appreciation of historic architecture and its preservation. One of the first American photographers to specialize in architectural documentation, Johnston also helped set the technical standards for the profession in the United States.<sup>59</sup>

### Johnston's Material Legacy

Johnston's material legacy is measured in her many newspaper and magazine articles and books, and in the collections of photographic negatives, prints, stereopairs, and papers left to the Library of Congress and other archives. The Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers at the Library include her diaries, correspondence, speeches, manuscripts, notes, maps, financial papers, and newspaper and magazine articles. Johnston gave copies of all the photographs she made during her lifetime (from about 1888 to 1947) to the Library's Prints and Photographs Division. This collection of images, known as the Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, also includes photographs she collected. Among the photographic materials are approximately 20,000 silver gelatin and cyanotype photographs, 37,000 glass and film negatives, 1,000 lantern slides, 17 tintypes, some autochromes, along with photo albums, scrapbooks, architectural and other drawings, business cards, newspaper clippings, Johnston's camera, and her typewriter.<sup>60</sup>

The Carnegie Survey of Architecture of the South Collection, also housed in the Prints and Photographs Division, consists of nearly 8,000 photographs (negatives and prints) of historic buildings and sites in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia that Johnston had produced under successive Carnegie Corporation grants between 1927 and 1943.<sup>61</sup> Her photographs of Fredericksburg and Falmouth, Virginia, formed the foundation of the Library's Pictorial Archives of Early American Architecture (PAEAA).<sup>62</sup> Begun in 1930, PAEAA solicited negatives and prints of historic buildings from donors across the country. The PAEAA materials, in turn, formed the foundation of the Historic American Buildings Survey collection at the Library.<sup>63</sup>

The Baltimore (Maryland) Museum of Art, the Enoch Pratt Free Library (Baltimore, Maryland), the University of Virginia (Charlottesville), the Virginia Museum of Art (Richmond), Duke University (Durham, North Carolina), the Art Institute of Chicago (Illinois), the Carnegie Institute (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), the Museum of Modern Art (New York City), the California Museum of Photography (Riverside), the Louisiana State Museum (New Orleans), and the Huntington

Library (San Marino, California) also preserve collections of Johnston's photographs.

In 1966, the Museum of Modern Art published *The Hampton Album*, a collection of 44 photographs Johnston had taken in 1899 and 1900 of the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, a training school for black and American Indian youth.<sup>64</sup> One of several such early photojournalism projects of hers that addressed issues of social justice and equality, the Hampton photos attracted critical attention and inspired a rigorous study of her life and work that continues to this day.

Johnston died in New Orleans on May 16, 1952, at the age of 88. *TIME Magazine* described her as a "onetime news photographer who had an inside track to the White House because of her friendship with Presidents Harrison, McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt."<sup>65</sup> Her Washington, DC, social connections may have impressed her contemporaries during her lifetime, but her material legacy—writings and thousands of images—endures as a lasting record of American society at an important time in its history.

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### Notes

- 1 This essay is based on a forthcoming book, tentatively titled "A Record in Black and White: The Legacy of Frances Benjamin Johnston, American Photographer." For more information on Frances Benjamin Johnston's life and work, see also Bettina Berch, *The Woman Behind the Lens: The Life and Work of Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1864-1952* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); and Pete Daniel and Raymond Smock, *A Talent for Detail: The Photographs of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1889-1910* (New York, NY: Harmony Books, 1974).
- 2 Frances Benjamin Johnston, "What a Woman Can Do with a Camera," *Ladies' Home Journal* (September 1897): 6-7.
- 3 First defined by Peter Henry Emerson in 1886 and then developed by photographers such as Alfred Stieglitz, the term "pictorial photography" refers to photography that goes beyond contrived studio scenes and endeavors to achieve pictorial representation through painterly effects of line, light, and composition. A pictorial photograph, rather than being either a work of art or science, was considered a union of the two.
- 4 Johnston traced her own family history, records of which survive in the Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (MDLC).
- 5 Lincoln Kirstein, "A Note on the Photographer," *The Hampton Album* (New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 53. For more information on female American artists in France, see Elizabeth Brown, "American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," Ph.D. Diss., University of Kansas, 1976), 284-5; Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Académie Julian and Its Founder," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 103 (1984): 207-16; Katherine de Forest, "Art Student Life in Paris," *Harpers' Bazaar* 33 (July, 7 1900): 628-32; Mary Alice Heekin Burke, *Elizabeth Nourse, 1859-1938: A Salon Career* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, 1983); Geraldine Rowland, "The Study of Art in Paris," *Harpers' Bazaar* 36 (September 1902): 756-61; Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth Century France and England*, 2 vols. (New York, NY: Garland, 1984); Theodore E.

- Stebbins, Carol Tryen, and Trevor Fairbrother, *A New World: Masterpieces of American Painting, 1760-1910* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1983) 160-61; and Helene Barbara Weinberg, *The American Pupils of Jean-Leon Gerome* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1984), 91, 93 and no. 6.
- 6 The Washington Art Students' League also went simply by the name of the Art Students' League. See Clarence Bloomfield Moore, "Women Experts in Photography," *Cosmopolitan* 14 (March 1893); "Art Students at Work," *The Washington Post*, October 16, 1888; "Frances Benjamin Johnston," *Macmillan Biographical Encyclopedia of Photographic Artists and Innovators* (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983), 310-311; Frances Benjamin Johnston, diary entry, January 10, 1911, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC; *Catalogue of the Paintings in The Corcoran Gallery of Art* (Belmont, MA: A.W. Elson & Company, 1913), 7-11; Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington Village and Capital, 1800-1878* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), 339-362.
  - 7 "Art Students at Work;" Susan Hunter, "The Art of Photography: A Visit to the Studio of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston" (c. 1895), Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
  - 8 Hunter, "The Art of Photography."
  - 9 Around 1887, Elizabeth Sylvester, a friend from the League, asked Johnston to stand in for her temporarily as a Washington correspondent for a New York paper. It was a short-term commitment, but it led to offers with other newspapers and periodicals.
  - 10 William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1987), 303.
  - 11 Thomas W. Smillie, "Smithsonian Institution: History of the Department of Photography," July 24, 1906, RU55, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, DC; "History of the Section of Photography of the Smithsonian Institution: Its Establishment and Early Activities," 1965, RU55, Smithsonian Institution Archives; Thomas W. Smillie to Frederick W. True, December 29, 1899, RU55, Smithsonian Institution Archives; Hunter, "The Art of Photography;" Moore, "Women Experts in Photography;" Thomas Smillie to G. Brown Goode, July 26, 1890, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
  - 12 Frances Benjamin Johnston, "Uncle Sam's Money," *Demorest's Family Magazine* (December 1889-January 1890), n.p.
  - 13 Frances Benjamin Johnston's illustrated essays for *Demorest's* included "The White House" (May 1890); "Some Homes Under the Administration: Levi P. Morton, Vice President" (July 1890); "Some Homes. . . : John Wanamaker, Postmaster General" (August 1890); "Some Homes. . . : Senator Hearst of California" (October 1890); "Some Homes. . . : Senator Sawyer of Wisconsin" (December 1890); "Through Coal Country" (March 1892); "Mammoth Cave by Flashlight" (March 1893); and "A Day at Niagara" (August 1893).
  - 14 "The Evolution of a Great Exposition," *Demorest's Family Magazine* (April 1892). Under the direct supervision of Charles Dudley Arnold, the exposition's chief photographer, Johnston traveled back and forth between Washington and Chicago to record the site of the future exposition, the construction of the exposition buildings, and, finally, the activities of the fair itself. In 1901, she and Smillie photographed the U.S. National Museum exhibits at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Johnston served on the international jury of awards at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri.
  - 15 For more on Bain, see Emma H. Little, "The Father of News Photography, George Grantham Bain," *Picturescope* 20 (autumn 1972): 125-132.
  - 16 Johnston photographed Presidents Grover Cleveland (1885-1889; 1893-1897), Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893), William McKinley (1897-1901), Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909), and William Howard Taft (1909-1913).
  - 17 She received commissions from Bertram G. Goodhue, John Russell Pope, Charles A. Platt, Grant LaFarge, Charles McKim, and others responsible for recently constructed houses on

- private estates. The New York-based architectural firm of McKim, Mead and White used Johnston's photographs of the White House and the Octagon House for restoration purposes.
- 18 Miss Impertinence, "They Photograph the Smart Set," *Vanity Fair* (n.d.), 18-19, quoted in Amy S. Doherty, "Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1864-1952," *History of Photography* 4 no. 2 (April 1980): 108.
  - 19 Ben Yusef, Rudolf Eickemeyer, Jr., the leader of the Pictorial Movement in photography, and the successors to the firm of Napoleon Sarony.
  - 20 Edward L. Wilson, *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* 37 (April 1900): 152. Johnston and Hewitt ended their partnership in 1917. Hewitt continued photographing gardens and estates for magazines and other publications through the 1930s.
  - 21 Frances Benjamin Johnston to Mr. Barron, October 14, 1923, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
  - 22 Library of Congress, "Press Release," no. 448 (n.d.).
  - 23 Johnston retained an interest in travel and other journalistic writing even though private garden and estate commissions dominated her work. By 1924, she had developed the idea of publishing a garden guide to Europe and by January 1927 claimed to have had the first two chapters "well on the stocks." Although this publication was never realized due to the expense, she managed to incorporate much of her research into her lectures and photo captions. Captions she provided for photos published in *Town and Country* magazine during the late 1920s, for instance, were usually three pages long, single-spaced, and included historical and descriptive information of the site. For the guide to Europe, see Johnston to Helen Fogg, January 12, 1927, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
  - 24 Frances Benjamin Johnston, interview with Mary Mason, WRC National Broadcasting Company, February 12, 1936, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
  - 25 Built for William Fitzhugh between 1768 and 1771, the Georgian plantation house, Chatham Manor, is now part of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Helen Devore and her husband, Daniel, bought Chatham Manor in the 1920s and restored the building and grounds. They sold the property in 1931 to industrialist John Lee Pratt who, in turn, donated it to the National Park Service. "Chatham Manor," <http://www.nps.gov/frsp/chatham.htm>, accessed May 15, 2007.
  - 26 A member of the Women's National Press Club, Johnston made certain that her work received coverage in the national media. She mailed sets of photographs to the *Washington Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Philadelphia Ledger*, the *Boston Transcript*, and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* for publication as features in the Sunday editions. The Fredericksburg exhibit eventually made its way to the Library of Congress in Washington, where it attracted the attention of Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of Congress, Leicester B. Holland, the Chair of Fine Arts at the Library, and several Members of Congress.
  - 27 Henry Irving Brock, *Colonial Churches in Virginia* (Richmond, VA: The Dale Press, 1930).
  - 28 Frances Benjamin Johnston to Leicester B. Holland, May 20, 1930; and Johnston to Edmund S. Campbell, June 5, 1932, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC. Information about the Carnegie Corporation of New York is available online at <http://www.carnegie.org/>.
  - 29 Others who wrote to the Carnegie Corporation on Johnston's behalf included the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, the Virginia Library Association, the library at the College of William and Mary, and state historical institutions in Richmond, Virginia. All emphasized the significance of Johnston's work for places that had never been surveyed. See Frances Benjamin Johnston to Leicester B. Holland, May 20, 1930; Johnston to Edmund S. Campbell, June 5, 1932; Campbell to Frederick P. Keppel, October 14, 1932; Campbell to Johnston, October 26, 1932; and Keppel to Johnston, January 26, 1933; Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.

- 30 Robert M. Lester, Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation, to Frances Benjamin Johnston, November 6, 1934; Johnston to Lester, December 16, 1934, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 31 Zelda Branch, "Preserving a Nation's Architecture," *Christian Science Monitor* (November 11, 1936): 12-13; Frances Benjamin Johnston to John Lloyd, President of the University of Virginia, December 2, 1933, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 32 See Charles Magruder, "The White Pine Monograph Series," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22, no. 1 (March 1963): 39-41. Frank Edwin Wallis, *Old Colonial Architecture and Furniture* (Boston: G.H. Polley & Company, 1887); *American Architecture, Decoration and Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, NY: P. Wenzel, 1896); *An Architectural Monograph on Houses of the Southern Colonies* (Saint Paul, MN: White Pine Bureau, 1916); also Fiske Kimball to Leicester B. Holland, November 22, 1932; Holland to Kimball, November 23, 1932; Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 33 Alice Ravenel Huger Smith and Daniel Elliot Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina* (New York, NY: Diadem Books, 1917); Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the American Republic* (1922; New York: Dover Publications, 1966).
- 34 Frances Benjamin Johnston to Leicester B. Holland, June 20, 1935, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 35 Frances Benjamin Johnston to Mr. and Mrs. Cannon, February 6, 1939, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 36 Mrs. Charles Cannon facilitated the Colonial Dames contact.
- 37 Francis Benjamin Johnston and Thomas T. Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941).
- 38 Frances Benjamin Johnston to the Daughters of the American Revolution Regents of Lexington, KY, August 1, 1942, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 39 Johnston had told Lawrence Vail Coleman that the Cabildo provided the "proper setting" for her show. Johnston to Coleman, April 21, 1937, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 40 Harnett T. Kane, *New Orleans Item*, November 19, 1937, and August 4, 1939, quoted in Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, vol. 1 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1981), 303.
- 41 For more information on the commission, see "Vieux Carre Commission," <http://www.cityofno.com/Portals/Portal59/portal.aspx>, accessed May 15, 2007.
- 42 This St. Augustine Historical Society exhibited 125 of Johnston's photographs of about 40 historic buildings at the Ponce de Leon Hotel in January 1937.
- 43 John C. Merriam to M.H. Westberry, President of the St. Augustine Chamber of Commerce, January 19, 1937, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 44 Along with her contemporary, the historian Talbot Hamlin, Johnston strongly urged architectural survey as the first step in the historic preservation process. In 1940, Hamlin pressed for a comprehensive inventory of New Orleans architecture. Despite the efforts of Johnston, Hamlin, and many others, a systematic building by building inventory was not completed until the early 1970s. Hosmer, 1:260.
- 45 Verne Chatelain to Frances Benjamin Johnston, September 24, 1937, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC. When he was with the National Park Service, Chatelain had supported Johnston's work in Virginia. The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission (now the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board) was established in 1959.

- 46 That project resulted in an exhibit at the New Orleans Arts and Crafts Club in 1940. Fortier to Frances Benjamin Johnston, October 12, 1937; Richard Koch to Johnston, December 28, 1940, Kane quoted in Hosmer, 1: 303.
- 47 Frederick D. Nichols, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957).
- 48 "Speaking of Pictures," *Life Magazine* (April 25, 1949): 14-16.
- 49 Johnston, "Mammoth Cave by Flash-Light;" William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years 1839-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 309-313. Johnston's photo journalism piece on Mammoth Cave, published in *Demorest's*, highlighted the journey to the cave, the natural beauty of the cave interior, and the gargantuan scale of the place. It is considered to be the first successful, thorough photographic record of the cave's large interior spaces. As Johnston explained in her essay, the cave system is spread across hundreds of acres and consists of more than 220 avenues having an aggregate length of 200 miles, 47 domes, 23 deep pits, 8 waterfalls, and several bodies of water including 3 rivers, 2 lakes, and a sea. Johnston's Mammoth Cave essay was an instant success and led to an exhibit at the University of Nebraska and the publication of 25 of the photographs as a book in 1893.
- 50 Harnett T. Kane, "New Orleans Architecture Is Being Saved In Pictures," *The Sunday Item-Tribune* (New Orleans), May 22, 1938.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Sadakichi Hartmann, "A Plea for Straight Photography," *American Amateur Photography* 16 (1904): 101-9; also Hartmann, "On the Possibility of New Laws of Composition," *Camera Work* 30 (1910): 39; Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 167-197.
- 53 Frances Benjamin Johnston, "What a Woman Can Do With a Camera," *Ladies' Home Journal* 14, no. 10 (September 1897): 6.
- 54 W. X. Kincheloe, "On Photographing Homes," *Photo Era* 50, no. 4 (April 1923): 177-184.
- 55 Ethel Fay and Thomas P. Robinson, *Houses in America*, as quoted by Johnston in a lecture dated March 21, 1937, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 56 See Zelda Branch, "Preserving a Nation's Architecture," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 11, 1936. Johnston's own life and her correspondence with homeowners of historic residences show that she understood the importance of adapting buildings for modern use. Paul Kester and Kate Doggett, homeowners in Fredericksburg, Virginia, wrote to Johnston that deaths in their families made them consider giving up the buildings associated with the deceased. Yet, Johnston encouraged them to persevere lest other owners let the buildings fall into ruin. See Frances Benjamin Johnston, interview with Mary Mason, WRC National Broadcasting Company, February 12, 1937, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC; Paul Kester to Frances Benjamin Johnston, June 25, 1927, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC; Kate Doggett to Frances Benjamin Johnston, January 20, 1928, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, MDLC.
- 57 Kane, "New Orleans Architecture is Being Saved in Pictures."
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 See Helen Powell and David Leatherbarrow, eds., *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing* (New York, NY: Abbeville Press, 1982), 68.
- 60 Information about the Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection at the Library of Congress is available online at <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/131.html>, accessed May 12, 2007. The Library has also digitized more than 1,600 images from the Frances Benjamin Johnston collection. These images are available online from the Library's Prints & Photographs Division website, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/>, accessed June 6, 2007.

- 61 Information about the Carnegie Survey of the South Collection at the Library is available online at <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/039.html>, accessed May 12, 2007.
- 62 Information about the PAEAA is available online at <http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/186.html>, accessed May 12, 2007.
- 63 Information about the HABS Collection at the Library of Congress is available online at [http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/145\\_habs.html](http://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/145_habs.html), accessed May 12, 2007.
- 64 Lincoln Kirstein, *The Hampton Album* (New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).
- 65 *TIME Magazine* (June 2, 1952), <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,857255,00.html>, accessed May 30, 2007.

## Three Models for Managing Living Landscapes

by *Brenda Barrett and Michael Taylor*<sup>a</sup>

Around the world, people are beginning to appreciate the value of living landscapes, namely those places that retain the imprint of traditional uses of the land, conserve the natural environment, preserve historic landmarks, and tell stories of the past. They are also beginning to recognize that those living landscapes deemed to be of national or regional interest or importance require special recognition and management approaches based on partnerships between local communities and national governments.<sup>2</sup>

The idea that such places—regional landscapes—can be designated and conserved is relatively new and inherently challenging. Regional landscapes are by definition large, constantly changing, and inhabited, claimed, and managed by multiple owners. Currently, there is no one professional discipline dedicated to managing regional landscapes as there are for preserving historic properties or conserving natural resources. Yet, national programs for conserving regional landscapes now exist in several countries. The following comparative analysis of the management models of three living landscapes programs—the Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) in the United Kingdom (specifically England, Wales, and Northern Ireland), the *Parcs Naturels Régionaux* (Regional Natural Parks, or PNR) in France, and National Heritage Areas (NHA) in the United States—marks an important step towards building an international understanding of the process of landscape scale planning and management.<sup>3</sup>

Although the three programs developed independently of each other, their objectives, legislative framework, scale, and partnership-based approaches are remarkably similar, as are the roles of the national governments, local management entities, and nonprofit organizations in implementing each program. Not surprisingly, they now face similar issues and challenges. There are, of course, other models for managing regional landscapes in Europe and around the globe. The Europarcs conference, entitled “Living Working Landscapes,”<sup>4</sup> held in Oxford, England, in September 2006 brought together government agencies and managers of protected areas from 25 countries to focus on this topic.<sup>5</sup>

### Conserving Living Landscapes

In each country—the United Kingdom, France, and the United States—the national government created a program to designate and conserve nationally

important working landscapes. All three designations are similar in that they involve both natural and cultural resources and recognize the role people have played in shaping the landscape and conserving its natural and cultural characteristics. Nearly all the designations are at a large scale, cross local political boundaries, and encompass watersheds, river valleys, and agricultural regions that establish the area's distinctive character. They include open space, settled communities, and many modern-day conveniences, from shopping centers to motorways.

Most of these areas are under some kind of measurable stress from global shifts in agricultural markets or changes in the demand for industrial products. The measures include population loss and changes in the demographics of a region from traditional inhabitants to retirees or second homeowners.<sup>6</sup> The communities in these areas seek sustainable economic development and regional revitalization in the form of heritage tourism, new markets for local products, or compatible new economic opportunities. Underlying their efforts is the desire to create opportunities for young people who might otherwise leave the region and to build a new future on the assets of the past.

### **Relationship to International Designations**

The creation of frameworks for recognizing and conserving landscape scale resources has been slower to develop than other preservation schemes. However, over the past several decades, some organizations have made substantial progress in creating standards and criteria for defining landscapes—and cultural landscapes in particular—at the international level. Their work has gone a long way in establishing a vocabulary for discussing designated landscapes and their management without regard for national boundaries.

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) has attempted to categorize the wide variety of protected areas across the globe through its system of protected area management categories.<sup>7</sup> These categories range from natural and wilderness areas that are strictly managed for environmental and ecosystem values (Category Ia and Ib) to protected landscapes and seascapes (Category V) and areas for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems (VI) that recognize the importance of human interaction with the land in creating a valuable resource. Category V landscapes recognize the importance of places “where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character” and where support for the social and cultural fabric of communities is a recommended management objective.<sup>8</sup> This landscape category is, by definition, focused on areas of high scenic value—a value that may not be reflected in the range of possible heritage resources or thematic story of a designated region.

The most recognizable international evaluation standard is the World Heritage List. Both IUCN and the International Council on Monuments and Sites

(ICOMOS) advise the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on additions to the World Heritage List—IUCN for natural values and ICOMOS for cultural values. Sites inscribed on the World Heritage List have traditionally been individual historic sites or historic districts. In 1992, the World Heritage Committee added cultural landscape categories that address either clearly defined landscapes designed or created intentionally by humans, such as gardens or parks (Category 1); organically evolved landscapes, which can be both relict (fossil) or continuing (Category 2); and associative landscapes valued for the powerful religious, artistic, or cultural associations with a natural resource rather than material culture evidence (Category 3).<sup>9</sup>

Several Category 2 landscapes (most of them rural and agricultural) are living places that represent the combined interaction of humans and nature. At this time, the only World Heritage landscapes that overlap with the national landscape designations in either the United Kingdom, France, or the United States are the Cornish Mining World Heritage Site overlapping the Cornwall AONB, Dorset and Devon Jurassic Coast in Dorset AONB and East Devon AONB, Studley Royal Fountains Abbey in Nidderdal AONB, the Giants Causeway and Causeway Coast in Causeway and Antrim Glens AONB in Northern Ireland, and the Loire Valley World Heritage Site between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes, which is in the Loire-Anjou-Touraine PNR in France.<sup>10</sup>

The European Landscape Convention of 2004 recognizes the importance of landscape planning on a territorial level in the countries of the Council of Europe. It aims to promote landscape protection, management, and planning in all aspects of public policy, including agriculture, energy, and housing.<sup>11</sup> The United Kingdom and France are both signatories to the convention. However, the convention's application to protected areas like AONBs and PNRs remains undefined. The current international designations and other conventions offer a vocabulary and important principles for management planning but are no substitute for programs that are adapted to national needs and regional circumstances.

### **Program Similarities**

Despite the development of unique programs for landscape designation and conservation in the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, key similarities exist among them. (Table 1) In all three countries, the national governments established the overall program framework. The designation and recognition of living landscapes is by legislative or ministerial action, but the impetus for designation and the subsequent management of the area are locally driven. All rely on a partnership approach and an association of program managers for sharing best practices.

TABLE 1. *Living Landscapes Programs Compared*

	<b>Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB)</b>	<b>Parcs Naturels Régionaux (PNR)</b>	<b>National Heritage Areas (NHA)</b>
Number of designations	49	45	37
Population	2 million	3 million	62 million
Percentage of land area	13.9 (England)	13	9.7 (excluding Alaska)
Number of listed historic properties	50,000 Listed Buildings; 5,000 National Historic Monuments	4,800 listed sites (sites inscrits); 2,620 classified sites (sites classés)	16,170 National Register listings; 500 National Historic Landmarks
Administering agency	Natural England	Ministry of Ecology and Sustainable Development	National Park Service
Authorizing legislation	National Parks and Access to Countryside Act of 1949; Countryside and Right of Way Act of 2000	Decree of 1967	no authorizing legislation; each area is designated by an act of Congress; Congress designated the first NHA in 1984
National funding support	£12 million; £3.5 million for project funding	mixed public funding (national, regional and local)	\$10-15 million annually
Matching funds requirement	75-25% match	match required; varies by park	50% match
Funding authorization	no limits, but funding determined on an annual basis	12 year based on a compact, with the option of reauthorization (initially 10 years)	10-15 year funding authorization
Planning and management requirements	management plan subject to 5 year review	compact for 12 years (initially 10 years)	management plan required 3 years after designation
Partner organization	National Association for Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty	Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux	Alliance of National Heritage Areas
Established	1998	1971	1997
Conference	annual	annual	biannual
Staffing	1.5	20-25	1.5

In the United Kingdom, the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act created the National Parks Commission and authorized it to designate areas of natural beauty in England and Wales as national parks and AONBs, which are confirmed by ministerial order.<sup>12</sup> Both designations follow a model in which the land stays in private ownership, but in the case of AONBs, local authorities oversee planning and development control functions, whereas national park authorities control planning, development, and management in designated national parks.<sup>13</sup> The first designated AONBs, Gower and Quantock Hills, date

FIGURE 1

*Designated in 1958, the Northumberland Coast Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB), which includes Bamburgh Castle, covers 39 miles of England's coastline on the North Sea. (Courtesy of the Association for AONBs)*

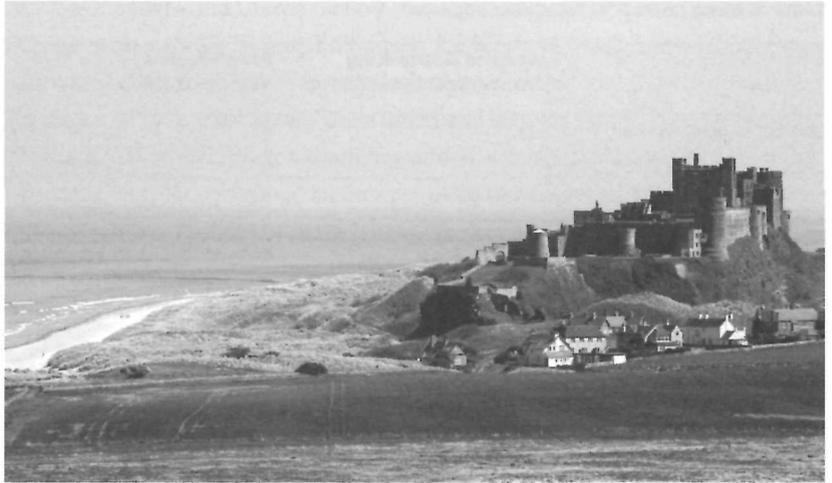


FIGURE 2

*Established in 1977, the Luberon Regional Natural Park in southeastern France, which includes more than 70,000 acres of varied terrain, is home to more than 150,000 inhabitants. (Photograph by Suzanne Copping, courtesy of the National Park Service)*



from 1956. Today, there are 49 such areas in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. (Figure 1)

The Countryside and Rights of Way Act of 2000 updated the 1949 legislation in England and Wales. A different legislative approach applies in Northern Ireland, where the program is currently under review. Today, the national policy in England is the responsibility of Natural England, a government agency that guides local AONB partnerships and decision-making through funding protocols and agreements. The Countryside Council for Wales and the Environment and Heritage Service cover rural issues in Wales and Northern Ireland respectively.<sup>14</sup>

Former French President Charles de Gaulle established Regional Natural Parks (PNR) by governmental decree in 1967. These designated parks are primarily working rural landscapes recognized for their exceptional scenic, cultural,

FIGURE 3

*Congress designated the Illinois & Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor, which extends 97 miles from Chicago to Peru, Illinois, as a national heritage area in 1984. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)*



FIGURE 4

*The Cane River National Heritage Area in northwestern Louisiana, which includes the early 18th-century city of Natchitoches, is 1 of 37 designated national heritage areas in the United States. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)*



and natural qualities.(Figure 2) The PNR mission is to protect, manage, and interpret cultural and natural heritage and to work with local governments to encourage economic and social development.<sup>15</sup> Regional and local governments must request the PNR designation. The French Ministry of Ecology and Sustainable Development provides national oversight and funding for the program.

In the United States, Congress designated the first national heritage area—the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor in Illinois—in 1984 and assigned responsibility for NHA oversight and financial assistance to the United States Secretary of the Interior, who, in turn, delegated that responsibility to the National Park Service (NPS).<sup>16</sup>(Figure 3) Since then, Congress has established 36 additional NHAs through individual legislation tailored to the requirements of each locality.(Figure 4) Unlike national parks, which are owned or controlled by the NPS, NHAs are living, working, predominantly privately-owned

landscapes, where the cultural and natural resources tell stories of national importance.<sup>17</sup>

### *Designation*

In all three programs, local governments and communities play the lead role in securing national designation for the region and in managing the area after designation. This grassroots approach is essential for dealing with the complexities of lived-in areas. The individual management entities are usually regionally based partnerships, councils of local government agencies, or nonprofits. The local management entity sets budgets and assembles a staff, which directs projects and provides expertise.

One key difference among the national programs is that in France and the United States, local communities request and initiate PNRs and NHAs, whereas in the United Kingdom, the government identifies potential AONBs through studies. Even in the United Kingdom, however, local governments and communities must trigger the AONB designation process by requesting it. In all three countries, the designation process may involve several consultation exercises at the national, regional, and local levels to determine boundaries and the scope and intent of the designation.

In the United Kingdom, partnership committees composed of the local councils (representatives of local governments, including parishes) and special interest groups, which may include farmers and other residents, manage the AONBs. These partnership committees may include representatives of Natural England, English Heritage, the Forestry Commission, or other national or regional development agencies. In Northern Ireland, trusts now act as contractors to the national agency responsible for AONB oversight. The Countryside and Right of Way Act of 2000 authorized a new management model called a conservation board.<sup>18</sup> Two AONBs, the Chilterns and the Cotswolds, have adopted the conservation board model, which gives them more autonomy from the local authorities for day-to-day activities. However, conservation boards remain firmly embedded in the local government system and still depend on the constituent local authorities for funding.

In France, regional councils usually initiate proposals for PNR designations. The PNRs are managed by committees of local governmental leaders and representatives from departmental and regional councils. They may have executive, scientific, and user advisory subcommittees. The committee oversees an executive director and staff of technical experts.

In the United States, local communities request, and occasionally undertake, feasibility studies prior to NHA designation. Once designated by Congress, NHAs adopt the management model defined in their authorizing legislation. These models may include federal commissions appointed to represent the

interests and expertise of the local community, agencies of state government, or nonprofits.<sup>19</sup> These management entities are responsible for hiring an executive director who, in turn, hires support staff. Each area bears responsibility for matching the federal funds it receives.

#### *Planning and Management*

In all three programs, the local management entities develop a planning document to guide future decisions. Variouslly called management plans or compacts, these documents are not land use plans for the region; rather, they are locally developed and nationally reviewed and approved special purpose plans that establish the vision for the landscape entity and set program goals and strategies. The national government agency's imprimatur is another important characteristic.<sup>20</sup>

In the United Kingdom, the Countryside Right of Way Act of 2000 also added a requirement that each AONB prepare a locally based management plan. As of April 2007, all AONBs have complied with this new requirement, which involved lengthy consultation with local and national interests. The local authorities must adopt the plans as official policy for the AONB. Central government agencies and departments scrutinize AONB activities, but AONB activities are not subject to formal approval by the central government. These plans, in effect for 20 years and subject to review every 5 years, form the basis of the annual funding arrangements for the AONBs. They direct management activities and programming and influence the land use planning decisions for the AONB.

The proposed PNRs draft a charter that defines the character of the region and identifies project priorities. The charter must be adopted by local officials and approved by the state and the Minister of the Environment for the area to be designated a PNR. The charter is in effect for 12 years and then reviewed. If the objectives of the charter are not met, the charter may be withdrawn.<sup>21</sup>

Each NHA in the United States must prepare and submit a management plan to the Secretary of the Interior within two to three years after designation. After review and approval, the management plan guides the activities of the areas for the next 10 to 15 years. The management plan describes the goals and strategies for telling the story of the NHA and encouraging long-term resource interpretation, conservation, development, and funding. Identifying partners and coordinating existing plans and program are an important part of the plan. All plans are prepared with extensive public participation.

#### *Nonprofit Organization Support*

All three programs receive support from a national nonprofit organization, which provides advocacy, develops educational programs, websites, and publications on best practices, and sponsors an annual or biannual conference

for staff and supporters of the designated areas. These nonprofits serve as links between the authorizing environment of the national government and the designated areas.

Established in the United Kingdom in 1998, the National Association for AONBs is a membership-based association made up of AONB partners, most of the local government authorities with AONBs, and other groups interested in specific AONBs or national issues involving the countryside and rural affairs. The national association promotes AONB interests at the central government level, publishes a magazine, and holds an annual conference. It also provides a national training program for AONB partnership staff and supports an all-party group in the United Kingdom Parliament.

The Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France (PNR Federation), established in 1971, serves 44 PNRs, provides technical assistance, produces publications, and sponsors an annual conference. It has the largest staff of the three organizations and is the most active in shaping the program through studies, advocacy, and staff assistance.<sup>22</sup> In the United States, the Alliance of National Heritage Areas represents the interests of NHAs, publishes a monthly electronic newsletter, produces an annual report and other materials, and holds quarterly meetings and a biannual international heritage development conference. Created in 1997, the Alliance has taken a more active role in recent years in developing orientation workshops and evaluation strategies for the growing program.

### Program Differences

The AONB and PNR programs recognize rural landscapes for the high quality of their scenery and natural values, and they focus on the long-term conservation of landscape character. Both programs also incorporate the social and economic interests of local communities, having learned over time that landscape conservation cannot succeed without the support and assistance of the people who live in the region. In the United Kingdom, AONB designations remain tied to specific landscape criteria, but they also take recreational opportunities and development pressures into account. In France, the focus is increasingly on the conservation of traditional agricultural products and practices.<sup>23</sup>

Whereas NHAs encompass some of the most iconic landscapes in North America (the Hudson River Valley and the Blue Ridge Mountains, for example), a landscape's scenic value is just one of several considerations. Unlike the European programs, the NHA program emphasizes areas that tell nationally important stories or illustrate themes, such as the development of the automobile industry, the Civil War, or the contributions of the Gullah Geechee culture along the Atlantic coast.<sup>24</sup> Many of the NHAs are in the nation's former industrial regions or in areas where development pressures are intense.

The European and American programs differ with regard to land use. In the United Kingdom, AONBs benefit from land use protections and controls that exceed those in non-designated countryside in terms of regulatory reach. However, the level of protection is discretionary and determined on a case-by-case basis. Furthermore, there are no powers of automatic refusal of development proposals based on AONB designation. The government offers guidance, which is often one of several factors in determining final decisions. In France, the PNR designation does not include any specific regulatory powers and does not amend local land use ordinances or plans.<sup>25</sup> By signing on to the charter, each community agrees to consider the conservation of the region and its resources as part of their planning activities.

In the United States, the NHA program neither provides nor encourages land use controls; the individual designation bills and program legislation include a long list of private property assurances.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the authorizing legislation for each NHA specifies whether the area may acquire real property. At the regional level, a number of NHAs provide technical assistance on land use planning and landscape conservation as an educational service to local governments and land trusts.

### Living Landscapes and National Parks<sup>27</sup>

Many of the challenges faced by all three living landscape programs relate to where they are located within their respective national government bureaucracies. Whereas the host agency's programmatic reach may be narrow in scope, the issues affecting AONBs, PNRs, and NHAs are extremely broad and often extend beyond the remit of the responsible government agency. Agriculture and the preservation of historic properties, for example, are important concerns in many of these designated areas, yet the government programs that deal with these issues may or may not be located in the same national agency. Such situations can make service delivery difficult, especially if the national agency responsible for a living landscapes program only values outcomes that fall within its portfolio. If the responsible agency emphasizes resource conservation as a goal, for instance, it may not assign equal weight to agricultural and other outcomes that sustain the local economy.<sup>28</sup>

In all three cases, the national agencies that oversee living landscapes also oversee national parks. In the United Kingdom, the authority to designate national parks and AONBs stems from the same legislation. Valued for their remoteness, tranquility, and importance for recreation and nature conservation, national parks, like AONBs, are living cultural landscapes and classified as IUCN Category V landscapes.<sup>29</sup> Yet, unlike AONBs, they are managed by independent local authorities with development control and land use powers within the park boundaries. The funding structure is also different: 100 percent of the base funding for national parks comes from the central government.<sup>30</sup>

France currently has seven national parks, most of which are inhabited and four of which are located in mountainous non-agricultural areas near the Spanish and Italian borders. Most French national parks are IUCN Category II landscapes, though Cévennes National Park in southern France is a Category V.

In the United States, the NPS, established in 1916, manages 391 national parks that make up the National Park System. The resources in the system range from vast, iconic western parks such as Yosemite National Park in California, that are valued for their rugged scenery, to Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which is representative of the hundreds of parks in the National Park System with historical significance. National parks are administered by the NPS and supported financially by the Federal Government. Most are classified as Category II landscapes under the IUCN system. NHAs, considered National Park System related areas, represent a very small percentage of the NPS budget.<sup>31</sup>

All three programs face the challenge of measuring their impact on the landscapes or regions that they were created to conserve. In the United Kingdom, the national government regularly reviews the value for the money of AONB programs. These reviews have confirmed time and again the effectiveness and efficiency of the partnership approach. AONBs and the central government have also begun to use remote sensing and aerial photography to assess the impact of AONB programs on landscapes over time.<sup>32</sup>

In France, many PNRs now include rural development as a program objective. The PNR Federation has developed models for assessing the socio-economic impact of jobs created and maintained in the designated regions. Similar to the economic impact models used in the United States, the French model links visitor spending with regional economic growth.<sup>33</sup>

Over the past four years, the National Park Service has been tracking visitation and volunteerism, the number of formal partnerships, and various project numbers, such as historic properties assisted and miles of trail. For its part, the Alliance of National Heritage Areas has adopted a model used by the NPS to assess the economic impact of tourism on selected NHAs. The NPS has also evaluated the partnership process and networks in some of the more mature NHAs.<sup>34</sup>

### Lessons Learned

What can those who care for living landscapes learn by comparing the three management models? First, national designation validates the significance of living landscapes in the minds of residents, visitors, and the world. Boundaries, area names, and membership in national programs help establish a communal or regional identity and encourage other agencies and organizations to

recognize their value. Second, national involvement in the form of financial and technical assistance is essential for maintaining consistency and excellence across living landscape partnerships and projects. Third, local communities, specifically area residents, must play a central role if these landscapes are to be conserved. NHAs and PNRs rely on local initiatives to build community and political support for the designation. The AONBs, although identified in government surveys, consider the input and interest of the local community as a key part of the designation process. Local management of these areas strengthens the overall system by giving the people who are most directly impacted a voice in the process.

Fourth, locally developed and nationally reviewed and accepted management plans or compacts that guide future conservation efforts are vital. Whereas NHAs and PNRs have always required management plans, the AONBs have recently added the requirement.<sup>35</sup> The development of these plans helps build awareness and capacity at the community level, and the review by the national government reinforces the government's role. Finally, designated area alliances, associations, and federations are highly effective at disseminating information, promoting best practices, and advocating for support and funding.<sup>36</sup> Such organizations are far more flexible and better positioned to respond quickly to threats and opportunities than any governmental body.

## Conclusion

Can a comparison of management models do more besides confirm international trends and show public officials and program managers that things are moving in a predictable direction? At the very least, cross boundary comparisons can reassure them that they are not alone in their efforts to make sense of the *terra incognita* of living cultural landscapes.<sup>37</sup> Managing living landscapes is a complex undertaking, and recognizing that others are seeking solutions to similar problems can lead to new opportunities for exchanging information and sharing experiences.<sup>38</sup>

The future of these living landscapes hinges on a number of factors ranging from shifts in industrial economies to agricultural policy and climate change. Left alone, these areas will not survive as valued landscapes or continue to provide green space or opportunities for experiencing local heritage. Only a shared commitment at all levels will sustain their essential character for the inspiration and enjoyment of the current and future generations.

Given the shrinking inventory of open land available for parks, shifts in populations, and the rising costs of conservation and historic preservation programs, the time may be right for exploring an alternative strategy that depends heavily on the power and perspectives of local communities. Adrian Phillips, the senior advisor for IUCN, has suggested that the AONB, PNR, and

NHA approaches to managing living cultural landscapes are part of a larger trend away from bureaucratic management of protected areas to an approach that draws on the wisdom of local communities, builds on their traditions, and recognizes the sustainability of local practices. This strategy offers new opportunities—particularly for the developing world—to showcase their natural and cultural heritage for the benefit of the environment, the economy, and society. It encourages those who care about conservation to think and act on a landscape scale and view the world through local eyes.<sup>39</sup>

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### Notes

- 1 The authors wish to thank Serge Menicucci, senior advisor to the Paris-based Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France, whose presentations at the International Heritage Development Conference, June 4-8, 2005, in Nashville, Tennessee, sparked an interest in exchanging information internationally on the management of living landscapes. His assistance was invaluable in organizing meetings with Gerard Moulinas, the director of the federation. He also welcomed representatives from national heritage areas in the United States to France and arranged a study tour of Scarpe-Escaut and Luberon in November 2006. Many thanks also to Adam Wallace with Natural England, formerly with the Countryside Agency, who talked with us about the Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty program. Finally, we are very grateful to Adrian Phillips, senior advisor to the IUCN-World Conservation Union on world heritage, for his advice, assistance, and insights into new models for managing protected areas.

On June 19, 2007, at the International Heritage Development Conference (IHDC) in Detroit, Michigan, the Alliance of National Heritage Areas entered into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the French Federation of Regional Natural Parks. The agreement outlines the common activities and goals of the two organizations in an effort to promote mutual understanding and the sharing of best practices and technical expertise across international boundaries.

Following their time in Detroit, the French delegates traveled to Pennsylvania to visit three national heritage areas—the Schuylkill River National Heritage Area, the Delaware and Lehigh National Heritage Corridor, and the Lackawanna Heritage Valley National Heritage Area. After completing the tour, the French delegates and National Heritage Areas staff pledged to continue their partnership with ongoing technical exchange. In October 2007, an American delegation representing the Alliance plans to travel to the Loire Valley region of France to participate in a companion signing ceremony to the Detroit event.

- 2 For a discussion on authenticity, sustainability, the nature and definition of working cultural landscapes, and the challenges of conserving the qualities that make them significant, see Rolf Diamant, Nora J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey Roberts, "Place-based and Traditional Products and the Preservation of Working Cultural Landscapes," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 4 no. 1 (winter 2007): 6-18.
- 3 The Areas of Outstanding Beauty (AONB) designation applies to England, Wales, and Northern Ireland, although the national administering agencies are specific to each country. Scotland does not use the designation. For the purposes of this essay, the authors have used "United Kingdom" to refer generally to the geographical extent of the program. For information on the AONB program, visit, for England, <http://www.naturalengland.org.uk>; for Northern Ireland, <http://www.ehnsni.gov.uk/landscape/designated-areas/aonb.htm>; and, for Wales, <http://www.ccw.gov.uk/Splash.aspx>; for information on the PNR program in France, see <http://www.ecologie.gouv.fr/-Parcs-naturels-regionaux-.html>; for the NHA program in the United States, visit <http://www.cr.nps.gov/heritageareas/>.

- 4 The theme for Europarc 2006, held on September 20-24 in Oxford, England, was "Living Working Landscapes." Delegates explored how to manage protected landscapes to meet the varying demands of conservation, rural industries, tourism, and rural populations, and exchanged best practices for preserving designated landscapes and protected areas. For more information, visit <http://www.tcp-events.co.uk/europarc2006/>, accessed November 6, 2006.
- 5 The Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France is particularly interested in exporting the model of PNRs as a strategy for sustainable development. To that end, it has developed a publication, *La coopération internationale et les Parcs naturels régionaux*. Since 2004, the federation and the individual parks have worked in North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America, and many European countries.
- 6 Brenda Barrett, "National Heritage Areas: Developing a Model for Measuring Success," in *Preservation and Stewardship of Cultural and Ecological Landscapes* (Washington, DC: US/ICOMOS, 2004). See also H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, "Introduction," in Cotswolds Conservation Board, *Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Cotswolds AONB* (Northleach, Gloucestershire, United Kingdom: Cotswolds Conservation Board, 2006), specifically the comments on the aging population in the AONB and the low number of young people between the ages of 15 and 29.
- 7 IUCN World Commission on Protected Areas with the assistance of the World Conservation Monitoring Centre, *Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories* (Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, 1994). The guidelines are available online at <http://www.app.iucn.org/dblw-wpd/edo/1994-007En.pdf>, accessed March 7, 2007.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 9 The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention include guidelines for evaluating cultural landscapes. They are available online at <http://www.icomos.org/landscapes/index2engl.htm>, accessed February 6, 2007.
- 10 Landscapes may be governed by a variety of protocols and carry multiple designations. In England, one AONB, North Devon, is a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve, and while this designation primarily concerns nature conservation, it requires some strategic planning and social, cultural, and economic policy decision-making with regard to the landscapes and communities surrounding the reserve. Another AONB, the North Pennines, is also a UNESCO Geopark, which promotes public appreciation of area geology.
- 11 See Adrian Phillips, "Action Plan for AONBs," *Outstanding: The Magazine for Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty* 10 (spring-summer 2006), for a discussion of the potential impact of the European Landscape Convention on AONB. The European Landscape Convention is available online at [http://www.coe.int/t/e/Cultural\\_Co-operation/Environment/Landscape/](http://www.coe.int/t/e/Cultural_Co-operation/Environment/Landscape/), accessed March 18, 2007.
- 12 There is only one example where a Minister has declined to confirm the designation: the center of Wales known as the Cambrian Mountains. The reason for the refusal was opposition from farmers and other local interests. Recently, farmers in the area have pressed for AONB designation because they feel it will work to their advantage due to changes in agricultural support mechanisms in Europe.
- 13 This legislation stemmed from the work of John Dower and his 1945 survey of English and Welsh landscapes. The report, entitled *National Parks in England and Wales* (London, United Kingdom: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945), proposed a model for national parks that differed from the then well-known United States model, in which the land would stay in private ownership, and diverse local and regional interests would coordinate protection in pursuit of a common national goal. The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act of 1949 created the National Parks Commission, whose main function was to establish national parks in England and Wales. Ten parks were designated by the Commission between 1951 and 1957. The Commission was also empowered to designate Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs) and to submit proposals for the creation of long-distance routes, such as footpaths and bridleways, along public rights of way. The Commission was replaced by the Countryside Agency in 1968.

- 14 In late 2006, the AONB program in England shifted from the Countryside Agency to a new agency, Natural England (<http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/>, accessed April 25, 2007). This new agency combines English Nature, the landscape, access, and recreation elements of the Countryside Agency, and the environmental land management functions of the Rural Development Service. In Wales, one organization—the Countryside Council for Wales—fills this role. In Northern Ireland, it is the central government Department of Environment.
- 15 “Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France,” <http://www.parcs-naturels-regionaux.tm.fr/fr/accueil/>, accessed April 25, 2007.
- 16 For information on the first national heritage area, visit the websites for the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Corridor at <http://www.nps.gov/ilmi/> and <http://www.canalcor.org>, accessed April 25, 2007.
- 17 The National Park Service recognizes the need for program legislation that establishes criteria and standards for designating and managing NHAs. Program supporters have proposed legislation for many years, most recently in the form of the 2007 National Heritage Partnership Act. However, questions concerning property rights and other issues have hampered action on that legislation. See National Park System Advisory Board, *Charting a Future for National Heritage Areas* (Washington, DC: National Park System Advisory Board, 2006), <http://www.cr.nps.gov/heritageareas/NHAreport.pdf>, accessed April 25, 2007.
- 18 Countryside and Right of Way Act of 2000
- 19 The trend is towards nonprofit management as the most flexible approach.
- 20 Paul Seman, *Planning at the Landscape Scale* (London, United Kingdom: Taylor and Francis, 2006).
- 21 “Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux de France,” <http://www.parcs-naturels-regionaux.tm.fr/fr/accueil/>, accessed May 2, 2007.
- 22 Currently, both the National Association of AONBs and the Alliance of NHAs operate with one full-time and one part-time staff persons. The Federation des PNR de France has a larger staff.
- 23 Henry Buller, *The French Parcs Naturels Régionaux: Socio-Economic Impact and Rural Development*, Working Paper 52 (Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom: Newcastle University, 2000), 35-36.
- 24 Links to most of the 37 national heritage areas are available online at: <http://www.cr.nps.gov/heritageareas/>.
- 25 Louis Allie, “Les Parcs Naturels Régionaux Français: un modèle de gouvernance et de planification spatiale pour le milieu peri-urbain?” (“French Regional Natural Parks and spatial planning in urban areas?”), *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* (June 2003). The author notes the value of PNRs as a model for planning at the regional scale but questions the impact of the plans on urbanization of the countryside.
- 26 The General Accountability Office (GAO) addressed this and other issues in *National Park Service: A More Systematic Process for Establishing National Heritage Areas and Actions to Improve Their Accountability Are Needed*, GAO-04-593T (Washington, DC: GAO, 2004). The GAO concluded that despite concerns over property rights, the agency could not find a single example of heritage areas impacting private property rights.
- 27 The challenges identified in this article are only a sampling of the issues confronted by these landscape conservation programs. Other issues that might be examined in the future include branding and marketing the designation, techniques for citizen engagement, and fundraising for long-term projects.
- 28 The National Park Service mission statement reads—  
*The National Park Service preserves unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future*

*generations. The Park Service cooperates with partners to extend the benefits of natural and cultural resource conservation and outdoor recreation throughout this country and the world.*

While the mission involves work with partners to extend the benefits of conservation and outdoor recreation, it does not incorporate the goals of community and economic revitalization that drive many—if not most—of the NHAs. The NHAs must find other partners for support and assistance in those areas.

- 29 For a detailed comparison of the National Park System in the United States and the national parks in England and Wales, see Federico Cheever, “British National Parks for North Americans: What We Can Learn from a More Crowded Nation Proud of Its Countryside,” Working Paper 1556, *ExpressO Preprint Series* (August 16, 2006), <http://law.bepress.com/expresso/eps/1556>, accessed March 2, 2007.
- 30 *A Landscape Legacy: National Parks and the Historic Environment* (Swindon, United Kingdom: English Heritage and the Countryside Agency, 2006).
- 31 The National Park Service Advisory Board has recently acknowledged that NHAs offer the Service a new strategy for meeting its stewardship mandate by engaging communities and residents outside park boundaries in heritage-based partnerships. See *Charting a Future for National Heritage Areas* cited above.
- 32 The challenges of evaluating AONBs over the long term are linked to concerns about the reliability of base data, the compatibility of data sets from different sources, and variations in data collection criteria between surveys. Other, anecdotal systems are in place, however, such as repeat point photography conducted over periods of several years.
- 33 Buller, 5-6.
- 34 The National Park Service Conservation Study Institute in Woodstock, Vermont, is in the process of evaluating three NHAs to assess their progress in achieving the purposes of their authorizing legislation and management plan goals and objectives. Two of the studies have been published: *Reflecting on the Past, Looking to the Future: A Technical Assistance Report to the John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission* (Woodstock, Vermont: National Park Service Conservation Study Institute, 2005) and *Connecting Stories, Landscapes, and People: Exploring the Delaware & Lehigh National Heritage Corridor Partnership* (Woodstock, Vermont: National Park Service Conservation Study Institute, 2006). Both are available online at [http://www.nps.gov/csi/pub\\_resources/pub.htm](http://www.nps.gov/csi/pub_resources/pub.htm).
- 35 The Association of AONBs acknowledges that “Management Plans, which are owned by the local communities, are also very valuable tools. However, these need to have some flexibility built into them, be accepted by national agencies and operators and be reviewed regularly to ensure they are current and relevant.”
- 36 In the case of the Fédération des Parcs Naturels Régionaux, the organization is the primary source for management information for France’s 44 PNRs. In the other two countries, these organizations are expanding their educational offerings and influence in shaping national policy.
- 37 Michael Taylor, co-author and director of the Association of AONBs, has distilled a number of the key comparisons as follows—  
*we would argue that our Partnership approach is essential, and that the Partnerships need to have a measure of independence of action from any of the constituent authorities. Apart from the general point about Partnership, I think it is difficult to assess this aspect of our experience. Even within UK we have four different central government systems developing, so that what works in say Northern Ireland may not work in England and visa [sic] versa. The local government/central government relationships may be more relevant to what works best rather than trying to import a process that works well in a different political system.*
- 38 The Fédération de Parcs Naturels Régionaux’s publication, *International Cooperation and the Regional Nature Parks of France*, provides good ideas for international exchanges and programs.
- 39 Adrian Phillips, “Turning Ideas on Their Head: The New Paradigm of Protected Areas,” *The George Wright Forum* 20 no. 2 (June 2003): n.p.

## The Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project at the University of California, Santa Barbara

*by David Seubert*

In 2002, staff at the Donald C. Davidson Library at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), completed a feasibility study to determine the best way of preserving the cylinder recordings in the library's collection and make them available online. During the study, the library digitized a sample set of 65 cylinders and placed them online, but public interest in the recordings was sufficiently strong that the library proceeded to make plans for digitizing all the cylinders in the collection. The library's collection was ideally suited for such a project: Not only was public interest high, but the need for preservation was critical, and the material presented few copyright problems.<sup>1</sup>

The library's collection of more than 7,000 cylinder recordings ranges from brown wax recordings from the 1890s to celluloid cylinders issued as late as 1928. Nearly all the cylinders are commercial entertainment recordings produced for public consumption (not field or ethnographic recordings, such as those held by many museums). The collection consists of approximately 5,500 cylinders issued by Thomas Edison in New Jersey and 760 titles issued by the Columbia Phonograph Company of New York.

Although eclipsed by the more popular disc recordings, cylinders played a pivotal role in the development of the early sound recording industry and are considered important historical artifacts. The repertoire recorded on early cylinders includes popular songs, vaudeville numbers, minstrelsy, comedic monologues, speeches, classical and operatic music, solo instrumental recordings, band music, and foreign and ethnic recordings. Although the content was not very different from the disc recordings produced by the Victor Talking Machine Company or the Columbia Phonograph Company—the two companies that released the greatest number of disc recordings in the first decades of the 20th century—most cylinder recordings are unique to the cylinder format. Many individual performers and groups, such as Billy Murray, Ada Jones, and various bands and vocal quartets, who recorded on discs also recorded on cylinders; however, most performances recorded first on cylinders were released in only that format.<sup>2</sup>

Edison had overseas recording operations in England, France, Germany, Mexico, and Cuba, and even recorded Chinese music in San Francisco, California. These recordings are some of the most obscure and overlooked material from the early recorded sound era. Other labels, such as Indestructible Records (Al-



FIGURE 1  
A 5" Edison concert cylinder (center), a Pathé Salon cylinder (center left), and a longer 6" Columbia 20th Century cylinder (top left) are among those cataloged and digitized as part of UCSB's cylinder digitization project. (Photo by Tony Mastres, courtesy of UCSB Libraries)

bany, New York), United States Phonograph Company (Cleveland, Ohio), and Lambert Company (Chicago), are represented in UCSB's collection in much smaller numbers, as are foreign cylinders made by Edison Bell and Sterling in England or Pathé in France. (Figure 1)

In 2003, UCSB received funding from the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) for a two-year project to catalog and digitize the recordings. Fortunately, Syracuse University's Belfer Audio Archive had already created basic MARC catalog records for their cylinder holdings (some 12,000 cylinder titles), and the project staff at UCSB were able to expand those records with subject headings, uniform titles, and more detailed performer information. Although certain popular cylinder titles appear in other public and private collections, about 25 percent of UCSB's holdings are not held by other public collections.

Once the cylinders were catalogued, the project staff sent them to the library's audio preservation laboratory. Lab technicians cleaned the celluloid and some of the earlier wax cylinders with a solution of water, detergent, ammonia, and a fungicide.<sup>3</sup> Most of the wax cylinders, however, especially those with mold damage, were not cleaned because the process removes the contour of the grooves, thus destroying any remaining sound. Oddly enough, the mold damage, if left intact, preserves the shape of the groove, resulting in better sound.



FIGURE 2  
A cylinder is prepared for transfer on the Archeophone. (Courtesy of UCSB Libraries)

The lab played back the cylinders with an Archeophone designed by the French cylinder collector Henri Chamoux, digitized the audio at 44.1kHz with 24 bits of resolution using an English-made analog-to-digital converter, and saved the audio as a WAV file.<sup>4</sup> (Figures 2-3) The lab then filtered the master WAV file to reduce the pops, clicks, and crackles in the recordings and saved a second, restored WAV file.<sup>5</sup> It created service files from the restored files for patron access, including MP3 files for downloading and QuickTime (MOV) files for streaming.<sup>6</sup>

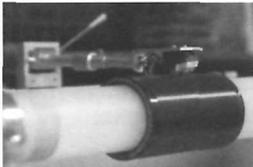


FIGURE 3  
A Blue Amberol cylinder is transferred on the Archeophone using an electrical pickup and a custom stylus designed for cylinders. (Photo by Rod Rolle, courtesy of UCSB Libraries)

With cataloging metadata stored in an online catalog (OPAC) and digitized files stored on the library's mass storage system, the next step was to tie everything together in a website that not only enabled patrons to search, download, and stream audio files but also provided contextual and other information on cylinders and their place in music history. To that end, UCSB hired a computer programmer to create a website for searching the library catalog in real time and linking to the digitized content. The programmer configured the website to connect directly with the library OPAC so that any changes to the catalog records would immediately appear on the website.<sup>7</sup>

The website includes a historical overview of the various types of cylinders, along with several "streaming radio" programs that serve as a starting point for further research. With a little publicity from the media, particularly a *New York Times* article in March 2006, the site has attracted worldwide attention, and users have downloaded audio files more than 2.8 million times from the site.<sup>8</sup>

While the project has made significant contributions to the preservation and presentation of early sound recordings, much work remains to be done. According to current estimates, more than 75,000 titles were issued on cylinders, of which the UCSB collection represents less than 10 percent.<sup>9</sup> In addition, many fragile ethnographic cylinders in museum collections or early 78 rpm shellac recordings, although well preserved, are not readily accessible to researchers. The library hopes that future projects will help make more of the world's early audio heritage available online.

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David Seubert is the director of the Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project at the Donald C. Davidson Library at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

### Notes

- 1 Nearly all cylinders were recorded before 1923, so the underlying musical works on the cylinders have passed into the public domain. There was no copyright on sound recordings before 1972, so federal copyright does not apply; however, early recordings may be protected by state laws.
- 2 Some early Columbia recordings appeared in both disc and cylinder formats, but Victor never made cylinders. Edison shifted to disc recordings in later years, and cylinder issues after 1914 were dubbed from the disc masters.
- 3 The Library of Congress Preservation Directorate developed the cleaning formula for sound recordings. That formula was under review at the time of writing.
- 4 The Archeophone plays back a cylinder with a lightweight electrical pickup, thus minimizing potential damage. The Archeophone's electric motor is also more precise than a vintage machine. The speed is adjustable to the type of cylinder (most cylinders play at 90, 120, 144, or 160 rpm), and the machine will play all major sizes of cylinders, including the unusual 5" concert cylinders and the French "Salon" cylinders.

The lab used an analog-to-digital converter manufactured by CEDAR, an English company that makes equipment for audio restoration. The company is online at <http://www.cedar-audio.com/>, accessed May 10, 2007.

A WAV (Waveform audio format) file is an audio file format standard developed by Microsoft and IBM for storing audio digitally.

- 5 The lab added cataloging metadata to the restored WAV file headers and saved the original digitized files and the restored files on the library's mass storage system.
- 6 MP3 is a common encoding format for digital audio. MP3 is shorthand for MPEG-1 Audio Layer 3. The QuickTime .mov file format is a multimedia file format developed by Apple, Inc.
- 7 The library initially considered creating a separate searchable database for the website but had concerns about database maintenance, synchronization, and staffing.

The website was programmed in PHP, and queries are sent to the UCSB Library's OPAC through the Z39.50 gateway (a protocol for searching and retrieving data from remote library databases). The OPAC returns the cataloging data in Extensible Markup Language (XML) to the web server, where it is then formatted for display. For information on the Z39.50 gateway, see <http://www.loc.gov/z3950/agency/>, accessed May 11, 2007.

- 8 Jody Rosen, "How pop sounded before it popped," *New York Times*, March 19, 2006.
- 9 Bill Klinger, "Cylinder Record Output" unpublished spreadsheet, 2005.

## Lustron House Preservation Efforts in Arlington County, Virginia

by *Cynthia Liccese-Torres and Kim A. O'Connell*

The return of millions of enlisted soldiers to the United States after World War II created a great demand for new affordable housing. Dubbed the “house America has been waiting for,” the prefabricated, porcelain enameled steel Lustron house built in the U.S. between 1948 and 1950 created a national sensation.<sup>1</sup> Available in one of four vibrant colors, Lustrons set a new standard for American housing, featuring an open floor plan, built-in cabinetry and appliances, and virtually maintenance-free all-metal construction.<sup>2</sup> Approved under the guaranteed mortgage program for returning war veterans, with \$375 million in federal subsidies, Lustrons should have gone up in every city and town in the United States. However, the Lustron Corporation was able to fill only 2,680 of the more than 20,000 orders it had received before declaring bankruptcy in 1950—the result, in part, of a highly competitive and decentralized housing industry.<sup>3</sup>

Lustron house kits consisted of factory-welded wall sections and roof trusses, hundreds of exterior and interior steel panels, and thousands of metal bolts and screws for joining the pieces together. All the building components were shipped in customized 45-foot trucks and packed in an exact order for rapid assembly at the building site. Steel walls with integrated windows and doors fit snugly into steel channels bolted to a concrete foundation. Overlapping enameled roof panels were affixed to steel roof trusses. Porcelain-enameled interlocking panels secured with concealed screws made up the exterior and interior load-bearing walls. Non-load-bearing walls and practical built-ins completed the interior.<sup>4</sup>

Lustrons pose a significant preservation challenge. Because of their modest size and the changing spatial demands of modern living, they are prime candidates for demolition.<sup>5</sup> In Arlington County, Virginia, across the Potomac River from Washington, DC, a project to preserve one of the region’s few remaining Lustrons can serve as a model for other communities considering similar efforts.

### **Arlington and Its Lustrons**

In Northern Virginia, the completion of the Pentagon for the United States Department of Defense in 1943, a growing federal presence in the region, and a pressing need for housing after World War II, created the ideal development

FIGURE 1

*This view, taken in 2005, shows the Krowne Lustron House on its original lot at 5201 12th Street South, Arlington County, Virginia. (Courtesy of the authors)*



FIGURE 2

*This view, taken in June 2006, shows the Krowne Lustron's metal shell with the bedroom windows in the foreground. (Courtesy of the authors)*



FIGURE 3

*Disassembly of the Lustron house is in full swing as the crew removes the steel framing pieces supporting the chimney flue, and the crane lifts another whole roof truss off and over the shell of the house. (Courtesy of the authors)*



conditions for Lustrons and other prefabricated houses. The United States Marine Corps base at Quantico, Virginia, built 60 Lustrons during this period, of which only 37 remain at the time of writing, including two that will be preserved on base and 35 that may be removed or demolished.<sup>6</sup> In 1949, 11 Lustrons were built in Arlington County, the second largest collection within Virginia.<sup>7</sup> As of mid-2007, however, only four remain intact.

In 2005, Lustron house owner Clifford M. Krowne, offered to donate his nearly mint-condition house to Arlington County if it could be moved off his property—either whole or in parts—and put to a new use. With the exception of the kitchen appliances and toilet, this Lustron retained its original interior and exterior features, including the wall panels, built-in cabinetry, sliding pocket and other doors, bathroom fixtures, windows, and original Gasomatic furnace.<sup>8</sup> Krowne's proposal captured the imagination and support of Arlington's elected officials, who were intrigued by the history and novelty of the building. In April 2006, the County Board accepted the donation and authorized funding to disassemble the house and temporarily store the pieces.

### **Preparing for Disassembly**

Prior to disassembly, Arlington County preservation staff, Arlington Heritage Alliance (AHA) volunteers, and Lustron experts Todd Zeiger and Erica Taylor from the Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana systematically labeled each piece of the house using painter's tape and permanent markers. The county hired Capstone Properties of Ashburn, Virginia, to disassemble the building.<sup>9</sup>

After careful study of the house and the official Lustron construction manual, the disassembly crew worked from the back of the manual to the front, disassembling the house from the inside out and in the reverse order of construction. The county rented a 44-foot trailer box for storing the house parts as they were removed. County staff and AHA volunteers thoroughly documented the project, writing daily site notes, taking photographs, and hiring a videographer to film project milestones.

### **Disassembly Highlights**

Using basic tools, the disassembly crew first tackled the interior built-ins and paneling that were bolted into the ceiling structure. They shifted ceiling panels back and forth to dismantle all the interior walls, leaving the ceiling panels themselves in place until all the walls and other parts of the interior had been disassembled. To save labor and clean-up time, they hired an insulation company to remove the fiberglass insulation material in the attic. The removal of the Lustron's radiant heating system, which consisted of a forced-air furnace and a 6½-inch thick plenum chamber located between the roof trusses and the ceiling panels, posed another challenge.<sup>10</sup>

Turning to the exterior, the crew disassembled all the wall panels, then the roof panels, gable ends, and exterior wall structure. They used a small crane to lift each roof truss off the house and stack them in the yard before placing them in the storage trailer (they used a mini-excavator to load the pieces into the trailer). Once they had finished, they delivered the trailer box to a warehouse yard, where the disassembled house is to remain until reassembly.

### Planning for Reassembly

The disassembly crew estimates that it will take at least eight weeks for reassembly, excluding site preparation (clearing and grading the land, setting up utilities, pouring a new foundation, and so on). It is likely that the original heating system, as well as the rusted bathroom panels and the roof sections most prone to rust, will need to be replaced. Because of their single-paned windows, thinly insulated walls, and the design of the heating system generally, Lustrons are not energy efficient by contemporary standards. One option is to install an updated or alternative heating and cooling system that will make the interior comfortable without sacrificing any of the house's visible historic fabric.

Upfront costs for disassembly and storage of the Krowne Lustron were around \$20,000. The estimated cost of reassembly—including site planning and setup, new mechanical systems, and reconstruction—may reach \$150,000.<sup>11</sup> Significantly, once reassembly of the Krowne Lustron is completed, the county will have gained a usable historic building for a fraction of the cost of new construction that it can use as a public gallery or community space.<sup>12</sup>

The disassembly of the Krowne Lustron is the first project of its kind in the national capital region and the first county-sponsored historic preservation project involving a piece of Arlington's modern architectural past. The project represents a strong appreciation of Lustron's architectural and historical legacy and Arlington County's timely commitment to preservation and adaptive reuse.

Other communities like Arlington are increasingly interested in Lustrons for their charm, durability, and modern appeal. Yet disassembling and reassembling them for preservation and reuse requires passion, commitment, and patience, not to mention technical expertise and funding. To paraphrase a memo from Lustron president Carl Strandlund to his employees in 1948, "It is a challenge worthy of the best in all of us."<sup>13</sup>

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Cynthia Liccese-Torres is a Historic Preservation Planner for Arlington County and has been leading the effort to save the Krowne Lustron House since spring 2005. Kim O'Connell serves on the Board of Directors of the Arlington Heritage Alliance and is a freelance writer specializing in historic preservation.

To learn more about the history of Lustrons and the technical aspects of the disassembly of the Krowne Lustron House, see Cynthia Liccese-Torres and Kim A. O’Connell, *The Illustrious Lustron: A Guide for Disassembly and Preservation of America’s Postwar Metal Marvel* (forthcoming).

## Notes

- 1 Douglas Knerr, *Suburban Steel: The Magnificent Failure of the Lustron Corporation, 1945-1951* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004), 2.
- 2 Knerr, 1-2, 137; Thomas Fetters, *Lustron Homes: The History of a Postwar Prefabricated Housing Experiment* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002), 21, 28, 74-75.
- 3 Fetters, 40-42, 141; Knerr, 2-5, 152-155.
- 4 Fetters, 139, 146-8; Knerr, 79, 114-116.
- 5 Knerr, 186.
- 6 Jennie Phipps, “Houses of Steel,” *Preservation Online*, January 27, 2006, [http://www.nationaltrust.org/magazine/archives/arch\\_story/012706.htm](http://www.nationaltrust.org/magazine/archives/arch_story/012706.htm), accessed May 1, 2007.
- 7 Fetters, 173.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 67-73.
- 9 Capstone’s chief executive officer, C. Dale Steinhauer, oversaw the disassembly, and Frank Phillips supervised the disassembly crew. Four workers assisted in the month-long effort.
- 10 Knerr, 80. Because the plenum does not extend all the way out to the exterior walls, these lengths were capped with an overlay with a metal lip attached to the ceiling panels. Using hammers, the crew carefully pried the lip out throughout the plenum’s length, about 75 linear feet in total.
- 11 These figures are based on Washington, DC, area labor costs. A similar project may cost considerably less in other areas.
- 12 The county plans to offer tours and install interpretive markers highlighting the historical significance of Lustrons in Arlington and the rest of the United States.
- 13 Fetters, 117.

## Nettleton's Addition Historic District in Spokane, Washington

by *Diana J. Painter and Kevin Brownlee*

Nettleton's Addition Historic District in Spokane, Washington, is a success story about the effectiveness of the National Register of Historic Places as a planning and historic preservation tool. In this Pacific Northwest city of approximately 200,000 people, a National Register listing changed community perceptions of a neighborhood from "Felony Flats" to "the hottest little area in town," according to local realtors. Corporate developers, citizen volunteers, and nonprofit and governmental agencies worked together to create Washington State's largest National Register historic district; the local government enacted precedent-setting legislation to protect it.<sup>1</sup>



FIGURE 1  
*Nettleton's Addition in Spokane, Washington, is an early 20th-century American streetcar suburb and Washington State's largest National Register of Historic Places Historic District. (Courtesy of the author)*



FIGURE 2  
*The Chamberlin Company supplied house plans and loans and mortgages for prospective home buyers in Nettleton's Addition. (Courtesy of the author)*

Developed between 1907 and 1911 during a period of extensive population growth and expansion in the Pacific Northwest, Nettleton's Addition epitomized the early 20th-century American streetcar suburb, from its dense assemblage of single-family homes to its orderly pattern of lots, blocks, and alleys.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1) It was first served by a cable car and later an electric streetcar line (the tracks are embedded in the pavement) that terminated at the city's Natatorium Park, a popular regional playground and recreation area.

The houses in the neighborhood—most of them based on designs published in architectural pattern books—mark the change in architectural tastes from the late Victorian to the early Arts and Crafts periods. Individual property owners and small contractors built most of the houses in the neighborhood, though several blocks have been attributed to one pattern book company—the Chamberlin Real Estate and Improvement Company. (Figure 2) The Chamberlin Company provided not only house plans but also loans and mortgages for prospective home buyers. Gilbert Chamberlin, one of the company's founders, was no novice in real estate development, having built suburban neighborhoods in Kansas, California (specifically Los Angeles), and Utah before coming to Spokane.

The developer William Nettleton's local political connections are to account in part for this neighborhood's and Spokane's growth during this period. Nettleton and his colleagues sat on the board of the local power company, which supplied electricity for the streetcars. They also served on the boards of the traction companies and speculated in real estate along proposed streetcar routes. Many of them provided mortgages for the homes built in the new suburbs. Their influential network ultimately built the city's first ring suburbs and park system.

Nettleton, who lived out the remainder of his life in Nettleton's Addition, had established new communities in the Midwest before coming to the Pacific Northwest. He founded the towns of Superior, Wisconsin, and, with others, Duluth, Minnesota, before developing a streetcar suburb in St. Paul, Minnesota. He served as the first representative of St. Louis County in the Minnesota State Legislature and, in that position, lobbied for westward expansion by rail. He donated 65 acres for a depot in Duluth to secure what became the eastern terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. He used his political connections with the Northwestern Railroad to buy 270 acres from the company in Spokane, the future site of the area that now bears his name. (Figure 3)



FIGURE 3  
The Nettleton's Addition Historic District includes more than 38 square blocks of early 20th-century houses in Spokane's West Central neighborhood. (Courtesy of the author)

This project began in 2002 when the West Central neighborhood in which Nettleton's Addition is located set aside \$10,000 in U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) community development block grant funds for a National Register district nomination.<sup>3</sup> A development project proposed for an area adjacent to Nettleton's Addition concerned the neighborhood council, which feared the loss of historic single-family houses bordering the development site. In consultation with the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP), the council and the city of Spokane decided that Nettleton's Addition was an appropriate location for a historic district.

Work began in the spring of 2003 on historic property surveys of the area. The first survey focused on one platted section known as Nettleton's Second Addition. It became apparent, however, that the historic context better suited the entire Addition, not just one section of it. The council, city, and DAHP decided to include the whole subdivision in the nomination, which ultimately resulted in an inventory of nearly 1,000 houses and more than 600 accessory structures.<sup>4</sup> During the survey, the authors and city preservation specialist Aimee E. Flinn developed criteria for evaluating the significance of each property and whether it was contributing or non-contributing to the district. The neighborhood had deteriorated over time, and it was important to have clear and consistent criteria in support of the nomination.

The project team completed the inventory in late 2005. The authors, meanwhile, prepared the National Register nomination, which incorporated a summary of all 1,592 resources in the district, including the property's location, ownership, key historic data, architectural style, significance, and integrity.<sup>5</sup> Nettleton's Addition was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in March 2006.

Speculative acquisition and demolition of Nettleton's properties near the development area was a major concern. Leveraging Nettleton's historic designation, the neighborhood worked with the City of Spokane Planning Department to rezone the area. In the late 1970s, Nettleton's had been rezoned for high-density, multi-family development, though that zoning had rarely

been utilized and the historic housing stock survived. In 2006, the Spokane City Council “down-zoned” the entire area from multi-family to single-family use in order to protect the integrity of the district. Spokane’s newly enacted demolition ordinance, which requires plans for construction of a replacement structure prior to the issuance of a demolition permit for a contributing structure within a historic district, also helped curtail speculative demolition.

The National Register listing was the high point in the process of turning around Nettleton’s Addition. The neighborhood and city used the neighborhood’s historic status to promote participation in the local tax benefit program and a variety of other revitalization projects and activities. News of its status as the largest National Register district in Washington State has generated positive statewide publicity and changed local perceptions of the neighborhood.

The research carried out for the National Register nomination successfully illuminated the historic importance of the neighborhood to the city of Spokane and placed this Pacific Northwest streetcar suburb in context. The history of Nettleton’s Addition is now a point of local pride. The century-old neighborhood continues to extend the same lifestyle benefits to a new generation of residents.

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**Diana J. Painter, Ph.D.**, is the principal of Painter Preservation & Planning, a historic preservation consulting firm based in Petaluma, California. **Kevin Brownlee** works for the City of Spokane’s Department of Community Development and as liaison to the West Central Neighborhood Council.

### Notes

- 1 The authors worked with Teresa Brum, the historic preservation officer in the City-County of Spokane Historic Preservation Office, and preservation specialist Aimee E. Flinn on this project. More about Nettleton’s Addition is available online at <http://www.spokanepreservation.org/>.
- 2 This development pattern was not unique to Nettleton’s Addition or to the city of Spokane. Cities across the United States experienced similar population growth and expansion during this period, due in part to the influx of immigrants and people from rural areas who had come to the cities in search of work.
- 3 Author Brownlee was instrumental in obtaining the HUD grant, as well as securing funding from developer Nitze-Stagen & Company. Brownlee, a resident of the neighborhood, also assisted with the survey and research for the nomination, as well as contributing to this article.
- 4 Funding for the extended survey came from several sources. Seattle-based developer Nitze-Stagen & Company, which had taken control of the development project at the south end of the neighborhood, pledged matching grant monies, as did Spokane Preservation Advocates. Washington State’s Office of Trade and Economic Development also contributed.
- 5 The nomination was completed in September 2005.

## The Historic American Engineering Record's Maritime Documentation Project

by Brian Clayton

The United States Maritime Administration (MARAD) maintains a fleet of inactive ships in anchorages in James River, Virginia; Beaumont, Texas; and Suisun Bay, California. (Figure 1) From vintage World War II craft to modern cargo ships, this “mothball” or “ghost” fleet dates back to 1946, when Congress established the National Defense Reserve Fleet (NDRF) as an emergency supply of ships in time of crisis.<sup>1</sup> Within the fleet, MARAD also maintains many ships that have outlived their military usefulness and await disposal.<sup>2</sup>

The National Park Service's Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) visited the three reserve fleet sites in 2006 to document four ships: the fleet oiler *Taluga*, tankers *Mission Santa Ynez* and *Saugatuck*, and the troopship *Private Frederick C. Murphy*. Built during World War II, the ships have lain dormant for many years and weathered in their flotillas yet offer a great deal of information about their design, operational details, and histories.<sup>3</sup>

The focus of the recording effort at James River was a T2-SE-A1 tanker, *Saugatuck*, built by Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company in Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1942. The U.S. Maritime Commission's World War II Emergency Program constructed 481 tankers in this class, for many years the workhorses for the U.S. Navy. The *Saugatuck* served the Navy on and off for 31 years as an auxiliary tanker and returned to the NDRF to stay in 1974. Her paint was worn and rusted, but she remained largely intact. Later, the ship developed leaks and required constant monitoring. MARAD disposed of the *Saugatuck* at the end of 2006.<sup>4</sup>

At the second NDRF fleet in the Neches River, just south of Beaumont, Texas, the team documented the troopship *Private Frederick C. Murphy* (formerly SS *Maritime Victory*) built by Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyard in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1945. Although architects originally designed the *Maritime Victory* as a VC2-S-AP2 cargo ship, the U.S. Maritime Commission converted it to a troopship in the summer of 1945, adding “pipe racks” (bunks) within its cargo holds to accommodate 1,597 troops. (Figure 2) War planners converted 97 other *Victory* ships as part of an invasion fleet for an assault on the Japanese home islands.<sup>5</sup> After the war, the War Shipping Administration used the *Maritime Victory* to repatriate American servicemen from Europe. In 1947, the U.S. Army acquired the ship and renamed it the *Private Frederick C. Murphy* after a Congressional Medal of Honor recipient from World War II. The Army briefly



FIGURE 1  
 This 2006 view shows the inactive vessels, including, at center, the troopship *Private Frederick C. Murphy*, that make up part of the National Reserve Defense Fleet anchored in Beaumont, Texas, and two other locations in Virginia and California. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the National Park Service)

used the ship and in 1950 returned it to the reserve fleet, where it remained for 56 years before MARAD scrapped it.<sup>6</sup>

Suisun Bay, home of the third NDRF fleet, is nestled between the foothills of Benicia and Martinez, California. There, the HAER team recorded two ships, the *Mission Santa Ynez* and the *Taluga*. The Marinship Corporation in Sausalito, California, constructed the *Mission Santa Ynez* in 1943, and Bethlehem Steel in Sparrows Point, near Baltimore, Maryland, built the *Taluga* in 1944.<sup>7</sup> Architects designed the *Mission Santa Ynez* as a T2-SE-A2 tanker.<sup>8</sup> She served the Navy for 32 years and became part of the reserve fleet in 1975.<sup>9</sup> The *Taluga* was a T3-S2-A1 fleet oiler and served the Navy for 38 years. The oiler is noteworthy because it was a test platform for a civilian-manned crew to work within the Military Sealift Command, the administrator of shipping for the Navy. The pilot program was a success, and the crew set the standard for all civilian manned naval auxiliaries. After decommissioning, the *Taluga* retired to the NDRF in 1982. Both vessels are on donation holds because of expressions of interest in using them as historic ship exhibits.<sup>10</sup>

The ships HAER recorded provide valuable insight into shipboard living conditions. The most fascinating vessel was the *Private Frederick C. Murphy*, which contained a majority of her original furniture and equipment, including the “pipe rack” bunks, mess tables, and heads (bathrooms) (Figure 3). Bakery ovens, reefers (large refrigerated rooms), and other cooking equipment and

FIGURE 2

*The U.S. Maritime Commission converted the former SS Maritime Victory cargo ship to a troopship, adding "pipe racks" (bunks) within its cargo holds to accommodate troops. The Army upgraded the beds with springs shown here in this 2006 view after World War II. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the National Park Service)*

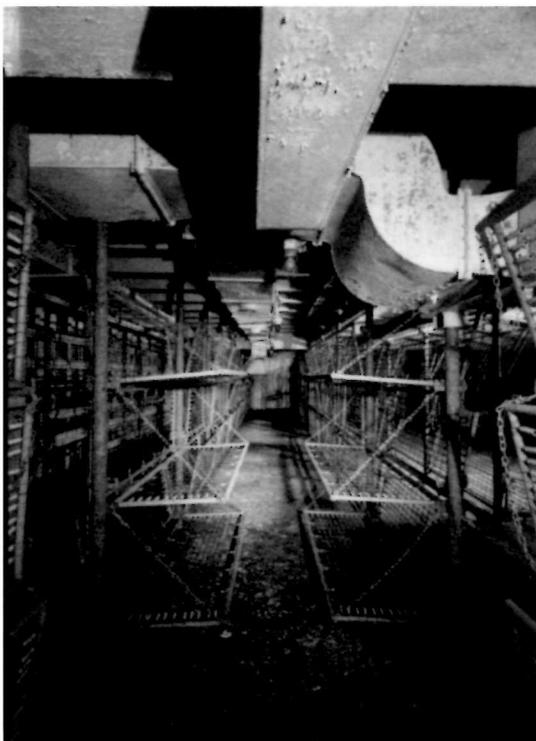
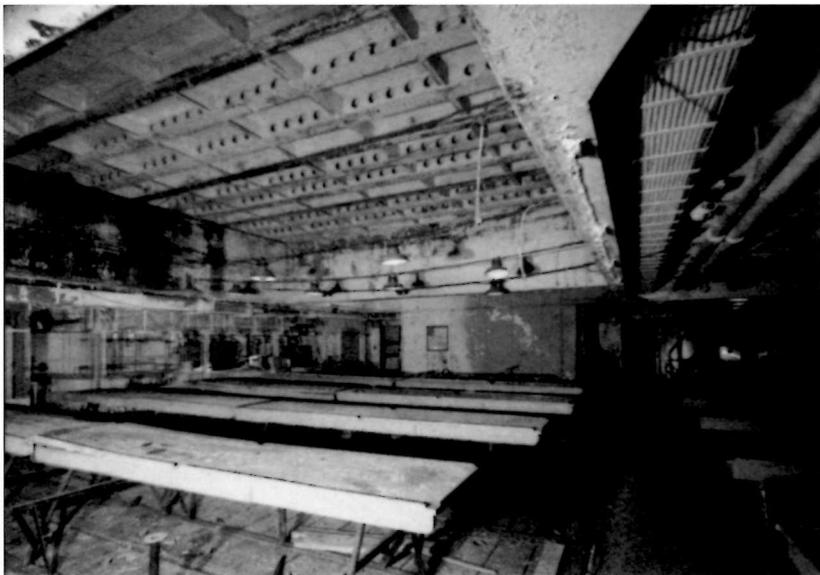


FIGURE 3

*The mess deck of the troopship Private Frederick C. Murphy, photographed in 2006, has not changed much since 1945. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the National Park Service)*



food storage areas remained in place. The reefers still had the strong scent of fresh pine inside their wooden lockers.<sup>11</sup>

The HAER recording team had to overcome a number of obstacles at each location, the biggest of which was the lack of lighting. The reserve fleets run power to the rows of ships, but mainly for high water alarms and pumps. Jet Lowe, HAER photographer, applied his years of experience in low light settings to capture most of the interior photographs through a portable flash in lieu of floodlights. Every ship contained some sort of hazardous material, and the dilapidated vessels themselves posed risks, such as weak spots in the decks.<sup>12</sup>

Each reserve fleet has a skeleton crew of electricians and deck personnel to look after the ships (52 ships in the James River, 38 in Beaumont, and 73 in Suisun Bay, not including those “outported” or in MARAD custody but owned by other government programs). The crews scour the ships each day for problems, a daunting task considering that the ships average 500 feet in length and have multiple interior decks. All of the ships use cathodic protection to prevent their hulls from deteriorating below the water line; some vessels deemed militarily useful get dehumidifiers to protect their interiors.<sup>13</sup> In 1950, the NDRF fleet included 2,277 ships. Due to attrition, only 230 ships remain, 134 of which are held in “non-retention” status.<sup>14</sup>

Even if they have outlived their usefulness in times of national emergency, the vessels are still desirable. Ten states, for example, have turned 51 ships into artificial reefs, while others have become museum exhibits. MARAD discharges most of the obsolete vessels to recycling companies.<sup>15</sup> In today’s metal market, premium steel (steel with a high nickel content) entices recyclers to bid competitively for the ships.<sup>16</sup> Since this initial project, HAER has arranged with the U.S. Coast Guard and MARAD to record 19 more vessels (3 Coast Guard cutters, and 16 additional ships) in the NDRF fleet.

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**Brian Clayton** is a National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers employee working for the Historic American Engineering Record in Washington, DC.

### Notes

- 1 The fleet has been activated for seven wars since 1946.
- 2 L.A. Sawyer and W.H. Mitchell, *Victory Ships and Tankers: The History of the ‘Victory’ Type Cargo Ships and of the Tankers Built in the United States of America during World War II* (Cambridge, MD: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1974), 28. MARAD maintains strict standards for ships slated for disposal—

*All of MARAD’s obsolete vessels are subject to the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which requires a historic assessment process to determine if they possess historic value and are eligible for placement on [sic] the National Register. Not all of MARAD’s obsolete ships have completed the historic assessment.*

See [https://voa.marad.dot.gov/programs/ship\\_disposal/standing\\_quot/docs/DTMA1Q05006%20-%20FY05\\_Ship%20Disposa.pdf](https://voa.marad.dot.gov/programs/ship_disposal/standing_quot/docs/DTMA1Q05006%20-%20FY05_Ship%20Disposa.pdf), accessed May 25, 2007.

- 3 HAER maritime documentation closely follows the initial documentation done in the 1930s by the Smithsonian Institution's Historic American Merchant Marine Survey (HAMMS).
- 4 Sawyer, 89, 97; U.S. Navy, *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, volume VI (Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1991), 110-15; site visit, April 2006; Susan Clark, MARAD Public Affairs Officer, personal communication. The *Saugatuck* was a high priority vessel scheduled for disposal due to her deteriorated state and the environmental threat she posed to the Commonwealth of Virginia. See Acting Maritime Administrator's comments at [http://www.marad.dot.gov/Headlines/newsletters/April\\_2005/April\\_2005\\_Newsletter.pdf](http://www.marad.dot.gov/Headlines/newsletters/April_2005/April_2005_Newsletter.pdf), accessed May 20, 2007.
- 5 That assault never took place—Japan surrendered to the United States following the atomic bombing of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.
- 6 Sawyer, 23-24, 42. ESCO Marine, Inc., won the bid to dismantle the *Private Frederick C. Murphy*.
- 7 Walter W. Jaffe, *The Last Mission Tanker* (Sausalito, CA: Scope Publishing, 1990), 14; U.S. Navy, *Ships' Data U.S. Naval Vessels: Auxiliary, District Craft and Unclassified Vessels* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1945), 181.
- 8 The *Mission Santa Ynez* was very similar to the *Saugatuck* but modified with a larger engine (10,000 versus 6,000 horsepower).
- 9 Jaffe, *Mission Tanker*, pp. 12, 72.
- 10 U.S. Navy, *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, volume VII (Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1991), 25-27; Sawyer, 171; Susan Clark, MARAD Public Affairs Officer, personal communication.
- 11 Site visit, March 2006. The reefers also had traces of asbestos.
- 12 Site visits, January–April 2006. Hazardous materials included asbestos, PCBs, and lead paint. The team had to follow specific health and safety instructions and use respirators on some of the vessels. Two escorts accompanied the recording team at all times.
- 13 *Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary* defines cathodic protection as “the prevention of electrolytic corrosion of a usually metallic structure. . . by causing it to act as the cathode rather than as the anode of an electrochemical cell,” <http://mw1.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cathodic%20protection>, accessed May 20, 2007.
- 14 Many vessels were sold to foreign companies for scrapping, until 1994 when the United States Environmental Protection Agency raised concerns about the transfer of hazardous material outside the United States. Since 1995, MARAD has refrained from selling ships overseas. Sawyer, 28; site visits, January–April 2006; The National Defense Reserve Fleet Inventory is available online at [http://www.marad.dot.gov/offices/ship/Current\\_Inventory.pdf](http://www.marad.dot.gov/offices/ship/Current_Inventory.pdf), accessed July 10, 2007.
- 15 MARAD pays for the scrapping because of the high costs of disposal of on-board contaminants.
- 16 U.S. Department of Transportation: Maritime Administration, “National Defense Reserve Fleet,” [http://www.marad.dot.gov/Offices/Ship/PRESS\\_NDRF\\_Current.pdf](http://www.marad.dot.gov/Offices/Ship/PRESS_NDRF_Current.pdf), accessed February 6, 2007.

## Reviews

### BOOKS

*CRM on CRM, Charles R. McGimsey on Cultural Resource Management*

By Charles R. McGimsey, III. Fayetteville: Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series, No. 61, 2004; 222 pp., photographs, illustrations, index; paper \$30.00.

This volume chronicles Charles R. McGimsey's professional career in archeology and cultural resource management over the last four decades using his own annotated papers and speeches. This period is unparalleled in the history of American archeology in terms of changing that discipline from an exclusively academic undertaking to one closely tied to government activities and policy, and McGimsey was closely associated with that change.

McGimsey accepted the sole position in archeology at the University of Arkansas in 1957. As Raymond H. Thompson, a colleague of McGimsey, once told this reviewer, archeologists at this time were expected to "dig in the summer and teach in the winter." Such was not to be the fate of Dr. McGimsey.

By a series of odd circumstances—some of them humorous—McGimsey received a request to draft state legislation for protecting Arkansas's archeological heritage. With no experience in drafting legislation, he relied on his academic training in classification and organization of excavated data to conduct a survey of existing state archeological legislation. He was amazed to find out how few states actually had legislation in that field and, of those that had legislation, how ineffective

that legislation actually was. From his investigation, McGimsey recognized the need not only for protective legislation in Arkansas but also for an adequately funded state archeological organization to implement that legislation. By 1967, McGimsey had helped pass state laws creating the Arkansas Archeological Survey (AAS), a state antiquities act, and, most significantly, state appropriations to support these programs.<sup>1</sup>

To build support for the programs of the AAS, of which he became director, McGimsey reached out to Arkansans interested in archeology. In 1960, he helped establish a state archeological society open to professional and amateur archeologists and, in 1972, began an amateur archeologist certification program to teach archeological techniques and foster communication between the profession and the tax-paying public. Concerned about the potential impact of proposed federal activities on the archeological resources of the Mississippi River Valley—the largest river system in the United States—he worked for more than a decade to help promote and pass important federal legislation so that, in his words, "archeologists can now work with agencies during the planning process, determine site significance, and stand a reasonable chance of obtaining funding for necessary investigations."

Building on Arkansas's state-wide archeological initiatives and emboldened by the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, which required federal agencies to assess the impact of their activities on cultural resources, McGimsey began to look at federal agency activities that might endanger archeological sites throughout

the Mississippi River Valley. As he later recounted in his book, *Public Archaeology* (1972), the extent of federal activity in Arkansas alone was poised to eradicate thousands of years of prehistoric remains in just 20 years. He became one of the first archeologists to quantify this threat and propose a national archeological research program to address it.

McGimsey's reputation and experience in cultural resource management attracted the attention of Ernest A. Connally, then in charge of the National Park Service's newly formed Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP), who called upon him to advise on the protection of archeological resources. McGimsey proposed a national program of archeology administered by the National Park Service and based on the AAS model, that would require all federal agencies to survey their land holdings and collect data from threatened sites according to OAHP standards.

In a nationwide speaking campaign that took him to every regional archeological conference, McGimsey worked tirelessly to acquaint archeologists with federal legislation and cultural resource management practices. Such efforts, as he readily admits in this volume, were only partially successful in achieving his vision of a national program. In his opinion, the failure to implement such a program was due to "the strong and powerful institutional culture of the NPS with its balkanized administration of near all-powerful Regional Directors and Park Superintendents. . . [who] were not enthusiastic about losing personnel and programs to Connally's newly formed OAHP." By the mid-1970s, most federal agencies had hired their own resource specialists, adopting many NPS standards for survey and data recovery, and developed programs more in keeping with their primary organizational functions.

That is not to say McGimsey was unsuccessful in his efforts. He played an important role in the passage of the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (AHPA, P.L. 93-291). Through this one piece

of legislation, federal agencies gained authority to expend funds for cultural resources survey in advance of public undertakings, provide up to one percent of project funds for data recovery, and produce reports and curate artifacts recovered during the excavations. The success of McGimsey's programs in Arkansas was the result of sustained funding by the state. Likewise, the success of federal archeology since the 1970s was due to AHPA, which authorized funding for archeology.

McGimsey's interests went well beyond legislation. He worked with academic institutions to train graduate students in resource management and compliance activities related to Section 106 of NHPA. This shift in emphasis changed the basic organization of many departments of anthropology. "Archeology now has three segments," McGimsey notes, "teaching, research (in academia, public agencies, and private groups), and administration." Today, archeology administration is a popular career option for many graduates. As early as 1977, McGimsey enlisted cultural anthropologists to help evaluate the effects of Section 106 on distinct communities: In short, he anticipated the growing interest in concern for Traditional Cultural Properties.

This reviewer noticed that McGimsey's published works and commentary are generally silent on the National Register of Historic Places. Some people interviewed for this review felt that McGimsey opposed listing archeological sites in the National Register. In his proposal for a national archeological program, he had called for separating archeology from history and architecture, believing that archeology ought to concentrate on "the recovery of scientific data and identification of significant archeological resources." In a paper distributed privately but inserted in this volume, entitled "The National Register and Archeological Resources: One Present View from the States," McGimsey stated that the—

*National Register is, and will become increasingly, an important planning tool. But it cannot and must not be utilized as the sole place to look in determining whether a project is going to adversely affect archeological resources. Endeavoring to evaluate every known site against Register criteria would clog the system.*

Of course, anyone acquainted with the Section 106 process today will understand that McGimsey could not have foreseen the increase in the number of archeologists working in federal agencies and State Historic Preservation Offices. Even with that expanded work force, however, the large number of resources presents its own challenges.

Those who have said that McGimsey did not support the listing of archeological sites in the National Register may have oversimplified things. His papers from the late 1970s demonstrate he recognized the importance of supporting a unified yet multidisciplinary resource management approach. In 1977, at a National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers meeting, McGimsey campaigned to keep archeology within the OAHP. This reviewer is personally aware of AAS-initiated archeological site and district nominations to the National Register, and he has worked with the AAS staff on National Historic Landmark nominations for the Menard-Hodges, Eaker, and Parkin sites in Arkansas.

This volume is interesting because it not only covers the professional career of one archeologist and resource manager who has worked at the state and national levels but also reviews the life and work of an individual who had perceived an impending crisis in American archeology and achieved a great deal over four decades to help reverse the situation. Many professional archeologists working today in administration have benefited from McGimsey's contributions to resource management legislation and policy.

McGimsey's volume will be of interest to those attempting to understand how the resource management profession has evolved over time, simply because he was so intimately involved in shaping the course of the profession over the last four decades. The reader must keep in mind, however, that *CRM on CRM* is a personal account of that evolution. This reviewer hopes that McGimsey's book will inspire those who had worked or interacted with him during this formative period in resource management to produce their own chronicles.

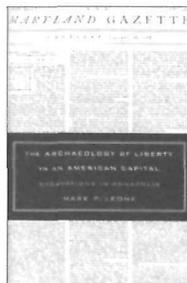
Mark R. Barnes  
Southeast Regional Office  
National Park Service

1. Arkansas ultimately established 10 regional archeological positions at public institutions around the state.

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*The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis*

By Mark P. Leone. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005; 327 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables, appendix, bibliography, index; cloth \$39.95.



Mark Leone's latest book is based on his Public Archaeology in Annapolis program that began in 1982. Through the program, Leone has trained many undergraduate and graduate students in historical

archeology, and he has opened up the worlds of archeology and interpretation to a generation of Annapolis residents and visitors. The project has always included public outreach and educational components. Over the years, it has reached beyond established preservation and historical communities into marginalized and disadvantaged communities in Annapolis.

*The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital* is not, however, a summary of 25 years of public archeology in Annapolis. Very little, in fact, is devoted to descriptive analyses of archeological features and material remains. Instead, the book uses specific examples from Annapolis to explain the virtues and fallacies of mid-20th-century economic theories of capitalism (particularly possessive individualism). The book also chronicles Leone's own intellectual journey from Marxist philosophy, through structuralism and materialism, to possessive individualism and beyond.<sup>1</sup>

Leone focuses on a range of examples of 18th-century material culture in Annapolis. Specifically, he examines colonial gardens, the city plan, the print shop and type from the *Maryland Gazette* newspaper, standardized tableware, and the spirit bundles found at several houses. He relates how the plane geometry of the colonial gardens of Annapolis's elite and the city plan, for instance, reinforced 18th-century social hierarchies and other power relations. Drawing on the writings on panopticism of the 20th-century French philosopher Michel Foucault, he relates how architectural design had a hand in normalizing societal behavior by creating an environment of mutual observation and surveillance that kept individual freedoms (expression, behavior, and so on) in check.<sup>2</sup>

Turning to type and tableware, he suggests that their standardization had similar controlling influences on individuals. The former established a uniformity of expression and gave people a false sense that they had an equal voice in the new American colonies. The latter organized personal space according to societal norms and served to condition individual behavior in accordance with those norms.

According to Leone, even the West African spirit bundles contributed to this phenomenon by acculturating people of African origin to the cosmology of their African culture. Leone is not able to connect these bundles to a single African

tradition but suggests that they are blending of several traditions developed in America. The content of the bundles vary from crystals and mirrors to pins, cloth, coins, and beads. The bundles are buried within the structure in a way that reflects this blended African cosmology. The bundles represented not only their connection to the spirit world but also how they ought to organize the world in which they lived. It is interesting to read, using Leone's description of material culture, how enslaved West Africans embraced this cosmology and strived for the norms and values of the new American society.

Leone presents the data well in all cases, but in his efforts to refute possessive individualism, he has overlooked the value of his examples as lessons in enculturation. Enculturation is the way that a culture teaches participants the accepted norms and values of its society. In the case of Annapolis, material culture helped enslaved Africans, free blacks, and western European immigrants understand what it meant to be an Annapolitan in the 18th century. The process of enculturation, furthermore, occurs in all societies, not just capitalist societies. The information collected from Annapolis ultimately demonstrates how material culture and the landscape evolved as the new American citizen emerged from a British colonial past.

While it tends to be pessimistic about the role of capitalism in democracy, the book forces the reader to think more deeply about exactly what the excavations reveal about human society in Annapolis during the colonial and early American periods.

At first glance, the book may seem of little use to cultural resource managers because of its heavy emphasis on Leone's philosophical exploration of Marxist and post-Marxist ideologies. However, Leone does ponder the question of how archeology may be relevant to the general public and whether archeology has anything useful to say. In his view,

cultural resource managers must move beyond description and preservation of material culture and explore what material culture reveals about human relationships and the different ways in which humans organize those relationships.

This reviewer may not agree with all of Leone's conclusions, but archeology can use more books like Leone's that go beyond description and challenge the reader to find relevance and meaning in the archeological record.

Susan Snow

*San Antonio Missions National Historical Park*

1. Daniel Storms, "Possessive Individualism and the Domestic Roots of International Political Theory," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 2-6 2004. Canadian political scientist C.B. MacPherson's mid-20th-century theory of possessive individualism built upon the earlier ideas of ownership of property espoused by the 17th-century English philosopher John Locke. McPherson's theory links human development, attainment, and identity with private ownership of possessions and of one's self, one's own capacities, and the fruits of one's labors (the phrase, "I own, therefore I am," is commonly used to describe the theory). Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, by contrast, argued that capitalist society defines an individual's identity and that materialism was a means of societal control over that individual.

2. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, NY: Vintage, 1977).

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*The Great Society Subway: A History of the Washington Metro*

By Zachary M. Schrag. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006; 376 pp., illustrations, maps, index; cloth, \$30.00.

Taking a quarter century and around \$10 billion to construct, the 103-mile rapid transit system in the nation's capital known as the Washington Metro ranks as one of the country's major public works. That it was conceived, funded, and built during the heyday of highway construction, and that no less than eight independent governments across two

states and the District of Columbia had to reach a consensus on virtually every facet of its design, operation, and funding, make the system's construction a remarkable achievement. Built in spite of seemingly insurmountable opposition at times, it has had a profound, albeit inconsistent, impact on the development of the national capital region.

In *The Great Society Subway*, George Mason University history professor Zachary Schrag offers a thoroughly researched and clearly written account of the Washington Metro's evolution from its privately owned transit predecessors to the current configuration. By examining Metro from the points of view of those who advocated, fought, built, funded, and use the system, he uncovered a complex set of interacting technical and political forces that ultimately accomplished what some believed could never be done. In the process, Schrag argues that Metro is a unique monument to the Great Society and a time when Americans believed in unlimited possibilities and the desirability of their government to champion and execute extraordinary projects for the public good.

Not surprisingly, funding is a thread that weaves its way throughout the book, but it is by no means the only thread. In fact, Schrag does not detail the financial story—convoluted as it is—until the seventh chapter (out of ten). Instead, he stresses the factors that led to a rail-oriented transit system, such as the geography and demographics of the region, overall planning and route selection, the establishment and functioning of the various inter-governmental agencies involved with the process, the intense opposition by highway advocates seeking to build new freeways and bridges, and the ways that planners in the different jurisdictions that Metro would serve incorporated the system's capabilities into their land-use plans. Their degree of success or failure—and Schrag argues that both are in evidence—played a major role in whether cities and counties on both sides of the Potomac River grew according to a largely preconceived, urban-oriented plan, or along more haphazard lines that ignored, and even

opposed, the whole idea of planned urbanization in their suburban and rural areas. Accordingly, this lack of planning and vision left some areas, particularly in Northern Virginia, ill-served and excessively congested with automobiles to this day, while other areas, planned with Metro in mind, have developed into urban corridors.

Schrag included topics that might not, at first glance, seem related to a complex technological system like Metro, but he clearly outlines the roles that a wide variety of social elements, such as race, neighborhood preservation, business interests, Congress, and even Washington's Commission of Fine Arts had in shaping everything from Metro's route structure to the design of its stations. If these often-competing interests did not complicate matters enough, the unexpected demise of the area's privately owned bus lines made it necessary for Metro to take over many of these routes almost overnight, a difficult complication when its primary focus was on subway construction. The long debates between conflicting interests were convoluted, full of intrigue, time-consuming, and messy, but Schrag contends that this process is what ultimately made Metro an egalitarian system that successfully serves the region's socio-economic strata.

As good as this book is, especially with the political and social aspects of the story, some topics are glaringly absent. The civil engineering, architecture, and construction of the fixed plant is covered accurately and well, but beyond basic design concepts for the first cars, Schrag makes almost no mention of Metro's rolling stock. Every order for equipment has been built by a different manufacturer, something that has caused any number of difficulties with setup, operations, and maintenance. Their varying drives and control systems can make for rough rides when these cars are intermingled in a train, as they frequently are. The design and operation of the maintenance shops are missing as well, as are most labor issues. Nothing of substance was included about the design and operation of the system's automatic control system, or of modifications

made to it over the years. The development of the automated fare-collection system and its magnetic tickets received little more than passing mention, although this, and the later non-contact "SmarTrip" cards, proved to be vital to the system's efficient functioning. These are all important areas, without which Metro could not function, and they deserve the kind of thorough attention Schrag can clearly give. In fairness, however, these topics are not his strong suits, and he was wise to focus his efforts on the social and planning history that he does so well.

Schrag has written a valuable study of the role of infrastructure in shaping the modern, urban world, and he aptly shows both the possibilities and limitations of major public investments. But as much as anything, *The Great Society Subway* offers the reader insight into the history of post-World War II urban planning and policy, and how they contributed to the attitudes and agendas of the Great Society era. Resource professionals responsible for managing resources from that era will find Schrag's insights especially illuminating. In a sense, Metro was a microcosm of the Great Society's highest ambitions fashioned in concrete and steel. Reading this book, one wonders if this monumental project would have been possible at any other time in U.S. history.

J. Lawrence Lee

*Historic American Engineering Record  
National Park Service*

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*Rogues and Runners: Bermuda and the  
American Civil War*

By Catherine Lynch Deichmann. Hamilton: Bermuda National Trust, 2003; 79 pp., photographs, drawings, prints, bibliographic notes; paper \$15.00.

During the American Civil War, a secretive struggle took place in Europe and other foreign lands far removed from the battlefields. While the southern

states sought recognition of their aspiring nation—the Confederate States of America—from world powers, the northern states tried to stymie that effort to keep the United States together. Neither side entered the war prepared for major combat: Both sides had to arm themselves by buying huge amounts of armaments and supplies in Europe.

Under British and international law, arms sales were legal and open to belligerents on both sides of the conflict. The United States shipped its purchases directly from Europe, but the Confederacy had to slip its supplies through an ever more stringent northern blockade. Once quiet island anchorages in the Bahamas, Bermuda, and Cuba teemed with ships full of arms and supplies for the South and others loaded with cotton on their way back to Europe as payment. In the process, neutral island ports in the Atlantic and the Caribbean became entangled in the American war.

Bermuda's ports filled with adventurers seeking to profit from blockade running while Confederate agents bought and dispatched cargoes of arms and military supplies. The United States vigorously protested arms sales to "southern rebels" and, although the arms purchases were legal, tried to stop them. The U.S. consul in Bermuda, Charles Maxwell Allen, kept an eye on blockade running and other rebel activities and reported on South-bound ships and cargoes to the Department of State. Allen sometimes employed spies and informants but kept within the boundaries of the law. His opponents did not: Allen's letters and records were stolen on two occasions, and, more galling to his loyal Yankee pride, someone chopped down his flag pole on the Fourth of July.

*Rogues and Runners: Bermuda and the American Civil War* is a well-illustrated book that follows an exhibit of the same name installed at the Bermuda National Trust Museum in 1996. Curated by Michael Jarvis and Catherine Lynch Deichmann with assistance from a team from the Bermuda Archives, the exhibit assembled textual research, works of art,

and artifacts not usually seen together from several different Bermuda repositories. Deichmann expanded her research to produce this gem of a historical monograph about the important role played by Bermuda in the American Civil War.

Deichmann's prose is clear and lively. The illustrations include photographs of prominent Bermudians and visitors, lovely harbor shipping watercolors, and contemporary woodcuts and engravings. A dozen of the luminous and detailed watercolors of Edward James are reproduced in full color, some over two full pages, which alone are worth the price of the book. The book also features two watercolor ship portraits by an unknown artist who had documented blockade runners calling at Cork, Ireland, on their way to the islands off the southern coast.

In the chapter "Sitting on a Powder Keg," the author recounts the precarious neutrality of Bermuda. Belligerents on both sides cared little for the law, seeking to use the islands as bases for military operations. Despite the complaints of the British island government, a U.S. squadron led by the troublesome Commodore Charles Wilkes blockaded the entrance to St. George's, Bermuda, for more than a week, boarding and examining every ship entering or leaving the harbor. More often, U.S. ships hovered offshore, waiting to snatch up blockade runners emerging from port, a marginally legal tactic. Southerners, in turn, launched attacks from Bermuda on U.S. ships, such as the Confederate naval guerillas who burned the Union mail-steamer *Roanoke* in sight of shore in October 1864. The British colonial government monitored both sides to try to maintain strict neutrality, but only the latent threat of the powerful Royal Navy fleet based at Bermuda kept the belligerents from open warfare within British boundaries.

In highlighting the Civil War era, the exhibit and book appropriately leave out other contexts that concern the same places. For instance, a photograph of the Globe Hotel notes that the

Confederate purchasing agent Norman Walker rented office space there; that building had briefly served as Bermuda's "Government House," the residence and office of the Governor from 1698 to 1700. Today, the exhibit "Rogues and Runners" is housed on the upper floor.

Another Civil War related site in Bermuda is Tucker House, for several years the workplace of Joseph Hayne Rainey, a free African American South Carolinian who, with his wife, escaped forced labor by taking refuge on the island. After the Civil War, Rainey returned to South Carolina and became involved in politics and was elected four times to the U.S. House of Representatives. The house is now a museum about the prominent Tucker family who lived there beginning in 1775.<sup>1</sup>

As is often the case with reinterpretation, *Rogues and Runners* has attracted some negative criticism from people who liked the old interpretation of the Globe Hotel and other sites. From the centennial of the Civil War in 1961 until the installation of the current exhibit in 1996, the hotel had been interpreted to the public as the Confederate Museum. Some Americans have called the exhibit an act of "political correctness." They have failed to recognize, in this reviewer's opinion, the exhibit's broader, more useful storyline and effectiveness at explaining the significance of Bermuda within the context of the American Civil War.

In some ways, *Rogues and Runners* is a local history book, but as the town's status as a World Heritage Site and an early map of sea routes reproduced in the book make clear, it is local history with international ties. Cultural resource professionals will find it a useful model for historical interpretation of a theme and a place to the public in a way that makes the most of the surviving historic fabric.

Bermuda has a long history as a maritime crossroads, where shipping routes between Europe and the Americas connected. Proximity to America helped promote steady trade between Bermuda

and the other British American colonies and encouraged early interchanges of ideas, trade, and technology. At times, this proximity to shipping routes has landed the island of Bermuda a defining role in world events many times greater than its small size. The American Civil War was one of those events. This book tells that story well.

Kevin Foster

*Maritime Heritage Program*  
*National Park Service*

1. "Joseph Haynes Rainey," in *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=R000016>, accessed March 20, 2007.

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*Super-Scenic Motorway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History*

By Anne Mitchell Whisnant. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006; 464 pp., illustrations, notes, glossary, bibliography, index; cloth \$34.95.

Historian Anne Mitchell Whisnant deserves an award for this wonderful history of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Stretching from the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in western North Carolina to Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, the 469-mile scenic motorway, begun in 1935, took more than 50 years to build. Whisnant tells the story of the parkway through the personal experiences of people affected by the construction. Hers is a frank, factual, and revealing account of a public roads project of marginal—if any—benefit to the communities through which it passed that eventually became one of the most traveled scenic routes in the United States.

Evidence of Whisnant's meticulous research is ingrained on every page. She includes several personal vignettes about the people in the parkway's path, along with first-hand accounts, quotations, letters and local newspaper reports, and many of the maps and photographs one would

expect to find in a volume of this kind. The resulting narrative is a colorful, intriguing, and insightful look into the politics of land acquisition and the controversies that defined the parkway project at its inception. To this reviewer's knowledge, no other book has focused so intently on the history of the parkway.

In the introduction, Whisnant recounts the moment she discovered the layers of controversy buried beneath the conventional narrative of the construction of the parkway. While thumbing through the library card catalog at the University of North Carolina in 1991, she came across a reference to Cherokee Indian opposition to the road. Chapter 5 focuses on that particular episode, but the book carries the theme of controversy and resolution through all seven chapters.

The story begins with a discussion of early efforts in road building, the creation of the national parks, tourism, and the New Deal. Next, the book focuses on the competition between North Carolina and Tennessee for the parkway route early on in the project. A discussion of the issues related to land acquisition, protection, access, and use in Virginia and North Carolina follows in chapter 3. That chapter also looks at the impact of the roadway project on local communities and their influence (or lack thereof) on parkway design.

Whisnant gives an account of North Carolina Supreme Court Justice Heriot Clarkson's successful challenge to the parkway's lands acquisition process. An affluent entrepreneur, property owner, and government official, Clarkson succeeded where so many smaller and less connected property owners had failed in fighting the Federal Government's taking of private property.

The author also details the five-year opposition of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, the only federally recognized Indian tribe in North Carolina, to the parkway project. The tribal council repeatedly voted down proposals to trade or sell

lands to the Federal Government in objection to the parkway's projected routes. The story of tribal opposition and federal bureaucracy is one of irony, to say the least. Vice Chief Fred Bauer held up the negotiations until the Federal Government had offered the tribe a compromise route proposal from which both parties might benefit.

In chapter 6, Whisnant tells the story of the demise of the Johnson Farm, the Hotel Mons, and the community in the area of Otter's Peak. After prolonged negotiations to acquire the peak, the National Park Service removed most of the historic structures to implement its vision of a parkway recreation area where, in Whisnant's words, the Service attempted to create "an idealized version of Appalachian regional history." The author also covers the final construction phase of the parkway along Grandfather Mountain, where entrepreneur Hugh Morton successfully defeated a proposed parkway route that he felt would adversely affect his tourist attraction on the mountain.

Whisnant has produced a very detailed account of the history of the North Carolina side of the parkway, but this reviewer wanted more information on the Virginia side and the plans for a Tennessee route. The technically inclined reader who enjoys or expects to see design, engineering, and construction details will be disappointed, as will those interested in the national politics of the era or the role of the Civilian Conservation Corps or other New Deal agencies. However, the book includes route maps of the entire 469 miles of the parkway.

Whisnant's *Super-Scenic Motorway* dispels the popular notion espoused by Blue Ridge Parkway historian Harley Jolley that the parkway was somehow a "Godsend for the needy." The book exposes the conflicts and opposition that National Park Service landscape architects and planners faced as they tried to implement their vision of a scenic parkway running along isolated mountain ridges to the detriment of communities and the

cultural landscape. The theme of controversy borne of projects for the public good ties Whisnant's individual stories together in a masterfully written volume. This reviewer recommends this book to all cultural resources professionals and land managers whose decisions affect neighboring communities and whose success depends on the goodwill and participation of those communities and the public.

James Bird

*Tribal Preservation Program*  
*National Park Service*

1. Harley Jolley, *The Blue Ridge Parkway* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969).

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*A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*

By Abigail A. Van Slyck. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006. x + 224 pp., notes, photographs; cloth \$34.95.



The *Preserve and Play* conference held in Chicago, Illinois, in May 2005, was the first national forum to explore and promote ways of preserving recreation and entertainment

heritage.<sup>1</sup> From the dedication to her parents “who sent me to camp until I liked it,” to the nationwide list of American Camping Association accredited residential camps established before 1960, Abigail A. Van Slyck's book, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*, is an excellent addition to the growing list of recreation titles that echo many of the themes of that conference. This book is a key reference for anyone interested in the history of social programming and physical planning for children.

Introduced in the 1880s, the North American summer camp concept was part of a return-to-

nature trend dating back to the mid-19th century. Like parks, summer camps not only promised relief from the presumed moral and physical degradation of urban life but, as Van Slyck's research reveals, also reinforced white middle-class American values over time.

Van Slyck looked at a fairly narrow range of private camps, camps with religious affiliations, camps organized by social service agencies, and camps sponsored by youth organizations, purposely excluding family, well-baby, and special needs camps. However, the book itself covers a 70-year period during which philosophical currents dramatically transformed American society, especially with regard to youth. Those currents ranged from changing definitions of childhood to medical theories on germs and health, programmed education, the articulation of child play spaces separate from adult work spaces, and approaches on how to safeguard essential childhood experiences for youngsters.

Initially intended to help children reconnect with their “wild or natural” sides, early summer camps mixed age groups and allowed the campers to fill their days as they pleased, with little structure aside from meals and a swim. As American society absorbed new theories on health, childhood, and education, summer camps applied those ideas to the creation of spaces outside the home that catered to the specific needs of children. By the 1920s, summer camps had not only separated ages and provided structured educational and athletic programs, but they had also modified their physical layouts in response to new health concerns and needs. The New Deal era Recreation Demonstration Areas defined a new approach to camp layout based on the “unit plan” and age-appropriate activities. Albert H. Good's three-volume National Park Service study, entitled *Park and Recreation Structures* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), had a major influence on camp layout from the moment it appeared in print. Many of the leading national men and women's professional

organizations that managed summer camps (YMCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, et cetera) published camp manuals that extensively referenced *Park and Recreation Structures*.

Van Slyck's book covers six main topics: camp landscapes and changing ideas of childhood; the serious work of play; housing and attitudes towards health; camp mealtime; camp cleanliness; and "playing Indian." The evolution of the physical layout of summer camps—that intersection between natural landscapes, built forms, and social life—coincided with changing ideas of childhood. Fearful that doting mothers might turn the nation's sons into "sissies" and thus undermine the military might of the United States, many camps emphasized adult adventure roles (pioneers, frontiersmen [or women], and Indians) and useful skills (fire building, woodworking). Eventually, they returned to the carefree child concept.

Programmed activities—the serious work of play—are the cornerstones of the camp experience. Early on, camps provided little in the way of programming, but they added structured activities to keep in step with new scientific theories of childhood development. The untrained but eager volunteer camp leader went the way of the dodo bird, replaced by the trained child-development specialist.

Discussions about camp housing, cooking, eating, and sanitation reflected the surfeit of theories on disease prevention and heightened concern for the psychological and emotional well-being of children. Early summer camps emphasized military style mess halls and group preparation of food to encourage social interaction with other campers and camp staff, including camp cooks. Eventually, this mealtime ritual of preparing the food and cleaning up afterwards came to an end: In the interests of the children, camps distanced campers from the "adult work of sanitary food preparation."

Finally, Van Slyck addresses the Native American influence on camp landscapes, from camp names to

community-oriented Indian council rings, ritualistic dancing and adornment, encounters with archeology and other educational opportunities, all of which promoted an appreciation of Indian culture while obscuring the impact of white domination on native societies.

This book provides a thorough historical background and expert analysis of the summer camp, which for many people was one of the most formative and memorable of their childhood experiences. This reviewer hopes that Van Slyck's pioneering work will encourage historians to research and write about recreational facilities with an eye towards their continued preservation and use.

Cari Goetcheus  
*Clemson University*

1. The *Preserve and Play* conference was sponsored by the National Park Service, National Council for Preservation Education, and the Historic Preservation Education Foundation.

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*Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park*

By Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf.  
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004;  
xvii+381 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index;  
cloth \$39.95.

Most resource managers today acknowledge the great extent to which people have shaped and otherwise changed the natural environment over time. However, this awareness has not necessarily percolated into the popular consciousness. Many people still believe, for instance, that national parks represent some primeval state of nature. In their 2004 book, *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park*, historian Peter Nabokov and anthropologist Lawrence Loendorf observe that—

*whether scientific fact or popular impression, in the American imagination Yellowstone National Park is a place in the country where one seems to be able to find the full Ark of the West's faunal history, supposedly living in the natural wilderness habitat, in situ, 'as it was' before any humans—Indian or white—took control.*

While the physical presence of American Indians in the park ended with their removal to reservations, the physical evidence of their presence nevertheless remains.

In *Restoring a Presence*, Nabokov and Loendorf refute the notion that American Indians historically avoided the area that now includes the park. They present a series of case studies involving the native groups whose activities brought them into contact with the greater Yellowstone ecosystem—that is, the Yellowstone plateau, adjacent mountain systems, and waterways that flow both into and out of the boundaries of the park. The authors' vast range of source materials includes the works of late 19th-century ethnographers, modern ethnohistory, and archeological studies. Recognizing the importance of the native voice, the authors relied heavily on Indian folklore and oral histories to dispel ghost stories and popular myths about why Indians avoided the Yellowstone area. Scholars often debate the historical accuracy of oral history, and Nabokov and Loendorf are well aware of the potential pitfalls; however, they assure the reader that they have appropriately sorted the accurate from stories distorted over time.

The authors have arranged the case studies according to location. Moving from east to west, they discuss how the Crow, Blackfeet, Flathead, Kootenai, Bannock, Nez Perce, and multiple groups of Shoshonean peoples affected the environment. Although the Shoshonean Sheep Eaters were the park's only permanent inhabitants during this period, these other groups influenced the Yellowstone ecosystem in some form or another.

Nabokov and Loendorf offer a particularly interesting interpretation of the Kiowa's transition from a Northern Plains tribe to a southern one, suggesting that tribal migration prior to forced removal brought Indians into contact with the park's ecosystem. Such connections to the park are not readily apparent in the historical record. In the end, they make a strong case for the reinterpretation of Yellowstone as a "multi-cultural habitat that has been visited, inhabited, shaped, and instilled with meaning by American Indians for millennia and Euro-Americans for centuries."

*Restoring a Presence* deserves credit as a historical study alone; and yet, its merits do not end there. Because of the style of presentation, this book is a good fit for any course on historical methodology. More than a dry recitation of the facts, the book offers a guided, behind-the-scenes tour of their research. Writing in a personal and conversational manner, Nabokov and Loendorf discuss their methodology, sharing moments of success and identifying pitfalls that other investigators may encounter themselves.

While *Restoring a Presence* is immensely informative and educational, its most important contribution is the conclusion. The authors issue a "call to arms," challenging historians and cultural resource management professionals—Native and non-Native—to continue where the authors have left off. With respect to Yellowstone National Park, Nabokov and Loendorf have merely proven the point. It is up to the entire heritage preservation community to integrate the concepts presented into the park's larger educational and preservation mission.

Daniel Flaherty  
*University of Oklahoma*

*Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness*

By Paul Schullery. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2004; 337 pp., illustrations, notes, index; paper \$19.95.

*Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* should be required reading for anyone involved in park management, conservation, and ecology; it is certainly recommended reading for anyone interested in those topics. The book sets the complexities of park management and policy development within a historical context and focuses on our understanding of nature and how attitudes towards the management of nature have evolved over time. Regarding Yellowstone National Park specifically, Schullery leaves the reader with a deep appreciation for what it takes to protect the “Last Wilderness” from three million visitors per year (and counting).

A writer and educator currently working part-time at Yellowstone, Schullery knows first hand the challenges park managers face, having himself worked 12 years for the National Park Service. He takes the reader on a memorable journey through the prehistory and history of Yellowstone, from 14,000 years ago to the present day, in an effort to understand this “exasperatingly elusive thing we call nature” and figure out how to balance nature against the ever-growing demands placed on the park. That search for Yellowstone continues today with each new visitor and will change as knowledge and attitudes change. “We say that Yellowstone National Park was established on March 1, 1872,” Schullery writes, “but in fact we have never stopped establishing Yellowstone.”

The early chapters dealing with prehistoric Yellowstone are well researched. They offer a detailed account of what archeologists and environmental historians believe the park was like before the arrival of European Americans. Prehistoric Yellowstone underwent dramatic

climatic and other ecological changes. Native peoples followed the retreating ice northward and relied on an abundance of new plants and animals for survival. Early evidence of Native Americans in the Yellowstone area includes a Clovis projectile point fragment made of local obsidian 11,000 years ago. Schullery points out that “less than five percent of the park has been surveyed for archaeological sites,” suggesting that people have barely begun to understand the relationship between pre-contact American Indians and Yellowstone.

After pre-contact Yellowstone, Schullery looks at the early accounts of explorers, mountain men, and fur trappers, and relates some of the first tall tales about the park and its establishment. Although many people were involved in the creation of Yellowstone National Park, popular myth has it that one man—Cornelius Hedges—had suggested the idea of a park during a “discovery” expedition in 1870. In reality, the park developed like many parks—out of a series of decisions and actions involving people driven by, in Schullery’s words, “love and fear, wonder and boosterism, awe and greed, with a desperate measure of high hopes.”

After considering the establishment of the park, Schullery examines its growth and evolution over time. Early on, when the purpose of Yellowstone had yet to be defined, its superintendents struggled with how to manage the park. Park managers today still struggle with how to protect the park for the next generation while at the same time accommodate increasing numbers of visitors each year. Schullery reports that Yellowstone had 52,000 visitors per year in 1915, 2 million by 1965, and 3 million annually since 1992. One measure of the human impact on the park—the number of animals killed by automobiles each year—attests to the need for a comprehensive park management plan.

Schullery writes eloquently about the struggles of managing grizzly bear, bison, elk, and wolf populations. He approaches the issues objectively and gives equal time to the opinions of different

interest groups. He suggests that most, if not all, the ecological debates at Yellowstone in recent years have been between “the people inclined to try to stabilize and control the ecological system and those inclined to let the system take its own direction.” He concludes that the “obvious lesson may be that we are a long way from solving the problem partly because we have failed even to agree on what the problem is.” Though he provides some thoughtful insight into the important issue of park management, he leaves it to future generations to solve that problem.

Katy Coddington  
*University of Idaho*

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*Biography of a Tenement House in New York City:  
An Architectural History of 97 Orchard Street*

By Andrew Dolkart. Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2006; 160 pp., b&w and color illustrations; cloth \$27.50.



In *Biography of a Tenement House*, Andrew Dolkart provides an overview of the architectural and social history of 97 Orchard Street, now the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York City. Constructed in 1864 and re-opened as a storefront museum in 1988, the tenement interprets the legacy of immigrants who transformed the urban landscape of New York and the United States. Dolkart treats the architectural history of 97 Orchard Street as the bones for interpreting that legacy.

In the book, Dolkart takes readers on a tour of the tenement, pointing out and illustrating the building’s historic wooden embellishments, wallpapers, and paint colors. He does not depend on description alone but continually returns to the topic of human interaction with the building.

He comments on many of the structure’s key elements and their connection with the passage of building codes and laws, safety concerns, and public sentiment. Late 19th- and early 20th-century changes to the building fabric came in response to laws intended to improve ventilation, sanitation, and the quality of life generally for tenement residents. Fire escapes and escape doors were among those features, for example, integrated into tenement buildings in response to disasters in other buildings.

The mid-19th-century tenement building boom in New York came in response to successive waves of European immigrants, many of whom settled on the Lower East Side. The ethnic mix of residents included Irish, German, and Russian immigrant families who worked as artisans, dressmakers, and even surgical instrument makers. Many people, however, viewed tenements as overcrowded and rife with public health problems.

The story of 97 Orchard Street is tied to the history of social activism in New York City. Dolkart describes the contributions of social reformers involved in the Charity Organization Society and the Tenement House Commission on tenement life, and he points out how those contributions affected the design of buildings. The city required skylights, for instance, to provide daylight and ventilation to the building interiors. The owners of 97 Orchard Street initially complied with this mandate by replacing wooden door panels with textured glass; the skylight came a few years later.

The Tenement Museum has done an extraordinary job of weaving together the architectural history of 97 Orchard Street and the stories of the people and families who lived there. For his part, Dolkart outlines the demographics of New York City’s Tenth Ward to show that the tenement reflected the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood. Even though the book is primarily an architectural history, more information on the specific people and families who lived and worked at the tenement would be

beneficial to illuminating the relationship between architecture and those who inhabit it.

Dolkart outlines the administrative history of the museum but only briefly describes the process of restoration and rehabilitation. No mention is made of the interesting artifacts recovered in archeological excavations conducted in the backyard. This reviewer would have liked more information on the restoration architects' and historians' use of comparable buildings in the Lower East Side for guiding the reconstruction and the selection of historic paints, wallpapers, and architectural features.

That said, *Biography of a Tenement House* is clearly written and easy to read. This reviewer has visited the Lower East Side Tenement Museum several times, and Dolkart covers more in a slim volume than any single guided tour can possibly cover in one hour. A great complement to a guided visit, the book answered many of this reviewer's questions about the development of 97 Orchard Street and the choices made regarding its interpretation to the public. Appropriate for both student and professional audiences, it can serve as a useful "how to" and "why we do what we do" case study for museum studies and related cultural resource management classes.

Cultural resources professionals involved in historical site interpretation will also appreciate this book. Dolkart has done a good job of demonstrating how architectural form has followed function, and vice versa. He has also done an admirable job of recounting the story of 97 Orchard Street's remarkable transformation from an old tenement into a new museum.

Teresa S. Moyer  
Washington, DC

#### EXHIBITS

*Modernism: Designing a New World, 1914-1939*

Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; Curator: Victoria and Albert Museum; Designer: Eva Jiricna

March 17-July 29, 2007

*Modernism: Designing a New World, 1914-1939*, on display at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, is a vast exhibition with more than 400 works and 50 film clips representative of the avant-garde art movements that both challenged and shaped contemporary culture during the first half of the 20th century. Originally organized by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the show is impressive in terms of the number and range of its contents that include works in a variety of media, objects of various dimensions, machines, and installations. Items on display include iconic pieces such as Ukrainian painter and architect Vladimir Tatlin's model of a *Monument to the Third International* (1920) and Hungarian-born architect and furniture designer Marcel Breuer's *Club Chair* (1925); as well as more rarely exhibited pieces such as Italian painter Giacomo Balla's *Futurist Suit* from the 1920s and video clips and costumes for German designer Oskar Schlemmer's *Triadic Ballet*.

*Modernism* points out how much the art movements that emerged between 1914 and 1939 influenced contemporary life. It attempts to show the many radical ideas and important historical events behind the search for a new aesthetic to challenge the prevailing European art establishment. That aesthetic involved a rejection of ornamentation, preference for abstraction, use of pure geometry, and affinity for bold colors that characterize the work of such well-known and influential movements as Cubism, De Stijl, the Bauhaus, and Purism.

Influenced by revolutionary technological developments (the electric light bulb, the automobile, the airplane, radio and telephone



The *Modernism* exhibit includes Grete Lihotzky's Frankfurt kitchen from the Am Höhenblick housing estate, Ginnheim, Frankfurt, Germany. (Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

communication) and the social, economic, and political tensions of the interwar period in Europe, many designers believed that the world was at the start of a new era and that their work might transform human life. Propelled by a desire for social progress, aided by the power and efficiency of science and technology, and guided by their imaginations, modernist artists, architects, and other designers saw no limits to how their art could help bring about a global transformation.

A superb illustration of this modernist vision is the Austrian architect Grete Lihotzky's 1926 design for a modern fitted kitchen for a public housing project in Frankfurt, Germany. Known as the Frankfurt Kitchen, Lihotzky's room featured energy efficient appliances and built-in cabinets to eliminate wasted space. The architect applied scientific principles to

improve hygiene and manage waste disposal, and, using time-motion data, arranged the furniture and appliances to reduce the amount of time and effort required to prepare a meal. Efficient home kitchen designs today use the "work triangle" concept applied by Lihotzky in the layout of the Frankfurt kitchen.

From city plans to kitchen utensils, *Modernism* shows the full range of design innovation and production of the interwar period. The show itself is organized around the themes of "Utopia," "The Machine and Mass Production," "Nature and the Healthy Body," and "National Modernism and Identity." It also examines the beginnings of Modernism through its evolution into a mass movement. A considerable portion of the show focuses on the influence of Modernism in the United States. Many influential figures such as Marcel Duchamp, Piet Mondrian, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and Marcel Breuer, fled to the United States in search of artistic freedom or to escape political persecution.

Many European émigrés quickly became part of the American design establishment. The German architects Mies van der Rohe and Gropius, for example, became the heads of prestigious schools of design in the United States (the Illinois Institute of Technology and Harvard University respectively). Their renown and influence were in large part responsible for the absorption of Modernism's formal design qualities into the American mainstream. As modern design became part of everyday life, its original theoretical underpinnings receded into the background. Whether these circumstances contributed to Modernism's end as the show suggests is a subject of continued debate.

A weak point of the exhibition is the almost complete neglect of the impact of Modernism beyond Europe and America. Modernist design had—and continues to have—a tremendous impact across the globe, particularly in developing countries where modern design symbolized

modernity and progress. Brazil and other countries invested a tremendous amount of resources into planning and building a new capital, Brasilia, according to modernist principles. This and other large-scale projects of the postwar era have generated both praise and controversy. While many of these projects postdate the period covered by the show, some treatment of this topic would have strengthened the exhibit.

If the current appreciation for Modernism's clean lines and bold forms are any indicator, then the style (if not necessarily the rhetoric) is back in fashion in everything from architecture and high-end furniture to mass-produced housewares. Its renewed popularity is a testament to the strength of the early modernist oeuvre and the optimism it embodied. One might say, too, that its popularity today is due to the inability of any other recent design movement to attract and sustain consumer attention. In either case, the renewed enthusiasm for Modernism (the aesthetic) has resulted in impressive attendance figures for *Modernism* (the exhibit) in London. The show is likewise meeting the Corcoran's estimates for a projected attendance of 100,000 by the end of July.

Antonio Aguilar  
*Technical Preservation Services*  
*National Park Service*

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*The Archaearium at Historic Jamestowne*

Historic Jamestowne, Jamestown, VA; APVA  
 Preservation Virginia and the National Park Service

Permanent

The Archaearium at Historic Jamestowne in Virginia highlights the important contributions of historical archeology to our understanding of the first permanent English settlement in North America.<sup>1</sup> Using artifacts collected over the past 14 years at the

site of James Fort, the original fort built by English settlers in 1607, the Archaearium tells the exciting story of the first English colonists, their economic aspirations, their interactions with Powhatan Indians, and the trials and tribulations they faced as they struggled to survive in the New World.

The exhibits challenge earlier document-based interpretations of the Jamestown colonists as ill prepared for their adventure. The archeological evidence suggests that the first colonists were, in fact, organized and well provisioned. Investigative in nature, the Archaearium's displays raise provocative questions about the lives of the first English colonists and leave just enough mystery about what life was like in early Jamestown to fire the imagination of visitors.

The Archaearium is part of a larger interpretive program at Historic Jamestowne jointly designed and administered by APVA Preservation Virginia (formerly the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities) and the National Park Service. The facility is a recent addition to Historic Jamestowne, and it has opened in time for this year's celebration and commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the site of the first permanent English settlement in the Americas. Modern and interactive, the museum displays the artifacts collected by the APVA's Jamestown Rediscovery archeological program directed by William Kelso.

The Archaearium is a beautifully designed one-story, copper-clad structure built over the site of Jamestown's last statehouse (1660-1698). Glass floor panels allow visitors to walk over and view the original foundations of that structure. Markers commemorate the more than 70 individuals from the mid 1600s whose skeletal remains were recovered during excavations of the statehouse site (the remains will be reinterred in a commemorative courtyard at the Archaearium). The Archaearium building itself blends with the natural landscape, and it is an environmentally friendly facility that embraces the latest in green technology.



The Archaearium's exhibits use objects discovered during archeological excavations at James Fort to tell the story of America's first permanent English settlement. (Courtesy of APVA Preservation Virginia)

This cutaway section of the reconstructed well shows the variety and location of the numerous objects found during the excavation of the well at James Fort. (Courtesy of APVA Preservation Virginia)

The Archaearium addresses a number of settlement themes. One installation highlights artisans at Jamestown and displays the artifacts of their trades, including tools used for blacksmithing, glassmaking, tailoring, leatherworking, and coopering. Crucibles recovered from the site, for example, indicate the practice of metallurgy and underscore the advanced nature of the scientific instruments used by the first colonists. Also on display are carpentry and woodworking tools recovered during the excavations that were of the type used to construct James Fort and its buildings. A cut-away model of the barracks within James Fort shows the unique mud-and-stud construction techniques used by the first colonists. This architectural style is unknown at other British colonial sites in the Americas.

The section called "The Golden Leaf" showcases the colonists' early forays into tobacco production and presents an array of clay tobacco pipes that attest to the extent of tobacco smoking among the first colonists. Among the pipes on display are those made of local Virginia clay. Some bear the maker's mark of Robert Cotton, one of the first English colonists at Jamestown.

In the section, "Small Finds," visitors get a chance to see some of the little objects of daily life that reflect the tastes and activities of the first settlers. Among the small finds are gaming pieces, jewelry, and musical instruments. Religious artifacts suggest that Catholics were among the first colonists at Jamestown, a site historically associated with the Church of England. The many early 17th-century coins on display represent pieces from around Europe and underscore the extent of economic relations spanning the Atlantic, and conch shells, limestone block, and other objects recovered at the site relate the fateful voyage of *Sea Venture*, which ran aground in Bermuda before making its way to Jamestown. The saga of *Sea Venture's* voyage and the adventures of its stranded crew provided the inspiration for William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

Whereas some of the installations emphasize the English experience at Jamestown, others focus on the interactions (both the peaceful and violent) between the English colonists and the Powhatan Indians. The section titled "Contact" displays imported glass beads and copper tinkling cones used as mediums of exchange with the Powhatan.

Visitors will also see archeological evidence of Powhatan contributions to English foodways and implements used for hunting and fishing.

Foodways figure prominently throughout the Archaearium, from the display of faunal remains to panels on the “Starving Time,” a period of food shortage during which many colonists died. The bones of dogs, horses, turtles, and bald eagles in Jamestown’s trash deposits attest to the scarcity of food during that period. The Archaearium also highlights the difficulties in finding safe and clean drinking water. A reconstructed fort well helps tell the story of Jamestown’s unhealthy water supplies. Excavations at the well site provided archeologists with a great deal of information about the first colonists. A section of the reconstructed well is cut away to show the extensive array of ceramic, iron, and leather materials recovered from this time capsule.

The focal point of the Archaearium is a room set aside for the human skeletal remains recovered from James Fort. The exhibit area includes the presumed remains of Captain Bartholomew Gosnald, one of the key leaders of the Jamestown settlement. The display tells how archeologists used grave goods and advanced forensic techniques to help link the remains to Gosnald. Also on display is a resin cast of the skeletal remains of a man known simply as JR, who was killed by a musket ball shot to his leg (the Jamestown Rediscovery archeological team found the musket ball with the skeleton). “Who Shot JR?” is one of the key mysteries of the James Fort site, and this sensational find has helped shed new light on the early hardships and conflicts at James Fort.

One of the most interesting technological features of the Archaearium is an interactive viewer that enables visitors to look out on the landscape and superimpose James Fort and its buildings on the monitor. An audio device attached to the viewer helps visitors pinpoint certain features of the fort and learn more about the archeological investigations.

The Archaearium will take one to two hours to appreciate fully. The entrance fee to Historic Jamestowne is a nominal amount, considering the experience. The visitor center offers additional information about the settlement and a 15-minute film that showcases Jamestown as a place where European, Native American, and African cultural traditions came together in North America. After the film, visitors can walk through the reconstructed frame of the 1607 James Fort, and on weekdays, observe actual archeological excavations at the site. Visitors can walk through the reconstructed foundations of New Towne, just to the east of James Fort, which became a center of trade activity for Chesapeake colonists in the mid-17th century. Guides and volunteers are located throughout Historic Jamestowne to direct visitors and help answer questions.

Jamestown Island is a beautiful place for a leisurely walk. Spring and fall are the best times to visit. The August heat can be stifling, and the winds in January can be harsh. The Archaearium will offer a nice reprieve from the elements during any season.

Frederick H. Smith  
*College of William and Mary*

1. Information about the Historic Jamestowne Archaearium is available online at <http://www.historicjamestowne.org/visit/archaearium.php>, accessed May 11, 2007.

## WEBSITES AND MULTIMEDIA

*Historic Jamestown: Unearthing America's Birthplace*  
<http://historicjamestowne.org/>

Maintained by APVA Preservation Virginia in partnership with the National Park Service; accessed April 19-23, 2007.

*Jamestown Rediscovery*  
<http://www.apva.org/jr.html>

Maintained by APVA Preservation Virginia, accessed April 19-23, 2007.

In preparation for the 400th anniversary of the first permanent English settlement in North America, APVA Preservation Virginia and the National Park Service, longtime partners and stewards of the Jamestown site, launched the Historic Jamestowne initiative to “preserve, protect and promote the original site” and “tell the story of the role of the three cultures, European, North American and African, that came together to lay the foundation for a uniquely American form of democratic government, language, free enterprise and society.” Visitors to the *Historic Jamestowne* website will find it a handsome, clearly organized, and readily accessible entry into 17th-century life at Jamestown and contemporary efforts to unearth the colony’s long-buried stories.

Visitors will have no problems navigating through *Historic Jamestowne*. Designed to read like a newsletter, the website prominently displays page links just below the banner. Each page includes a comfortable mix of information and graphics. Not too cluttered and easy to digest, the pages leave the reader wanting to dig deeper.

The *Historic Jamestowne* homepage features information on upcoming events and ongoing archaeological investigations. Especially fun for visitors is the “Featured Find” window, which shows a recovered Jamestown artifact. (Figure 1) A brief history of the object accompanies the photograph, often discussing its minute characteristics. An interac-



A signet ring attributed to William Strachey is one of the “Featured Finds” on the Historic Jamestowne website. (Courtesy of APVA Preservation Virginia)

tive magnifying glass enables visitors to zoom in for a closer look. Visitors can refresh the page to see another artifact or follow the links to a catalog page with more “featured finds,” such as a silver ear picker (a status symbol in the 17th century; not so much in the 21st) and a heraldic Bartmann Jug.

In other sections of the website, readers can learn about the history of Jamestown and buy tickets for tours of the James Fort excavations and the site of the original settlement. For a fee, researchers may access biographic information about each known colonist who came to Jamestown between 1607 and 1624. Unfortunately, the introduction to APVA’s *Jamestown Biographies Project* does not provide a summary on the Jamestown community, such as how many colonists the project historians have identified, or in what ways the records may speak to gender, race, and social status among the colonists.

The website also features interactive exercises that take visitors through the basic steps of excavation, artifact identification, and analysis. In one exercise, visitors use an “e-trowel” to uncover five artifacts in a simulated square test pit. Next, the visitor

catalogs the artifacts using a virtual lab manual, microscope, and ruler. Based on the information collected, the visitor can then determine the earliest date of the artifacts. This exercise requires a fair bit of reasoning and seems best suited to high school students and adults.

Pages about “The Dig” itself cover recent news from the archeologists excavating James Fort, the colony’s famous palisaded fortification. Readers can pull up monthly field reports from October 2003 to the current season, which is a great way for interested non-archeologists to learn about archeological method, new finds, and changing interpretations. The current excavation site plan, which is available on some secondary pages, is such a useful orientation tool that it ought to appear prominently on the main page of “The Dig.”

The popular *Historic Jamestowne* website is linked with *Jamestown Rediscovery*, the official website of the archeological investigations at James Fort. Simpler in design than its sister site, *Jamestown Rediscovery* includes historical and visitor information and links to exhibits. Readers can also download interim field reports from the site. An

interactive map and key of the fort excavation area at Jamestown helps with site orientation and makes it possible for readers to share in the archeological discoveries of the past 10 years. Elsewhere on the site, readers will find the Dale House exhibit interesting, and will learn, for example, why copper was vital to English-Powhatan relations and that the colonists dined often on turtles.

The world will travel in person and online to Jamestown this year. *Historic Jamestowne* is a good point of departure for the public to begin its journey back in time and place. *Jamestown Rediscovery* is better suited to feature professional accounts of the ongoing archeological investigations, artifact analysis, and reconsidered historical hypotheses. APVA and the National Park Service would do well to streamline *Historic Jamestowne* and *Jamestown Rediscovery* so that each website fills a separate but linked role in teaching and commemorating the Jamestown story and the remarkable archeological efforts underway.

Tanya M. Gossett  
*American Battlefield Protection Program*  
*National Park Service*

## 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 may be published. If a letter pertains to an article or review, the editor may forward the letter to the author for reply.*

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*Winter 2007 issue*

“Place-based and Traditional Products and the Preservation of Working Cultural Landscapes,” Winter 2007 issue

I thought the lead article in the most recent journal on authenticity of place was fantastic, and would like to distribute it to many of my colleagues. We just finished a charette on Daufuskie Island in South Carolina that dealt with branding, character, and all of the issues in the article. Is a digital version of the article available?

Robert W. Bainbridge  
Clemson University  
Clemson, South Carolina

I enjoyed your Winter 2007 issue of *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*. Diamant, Mitchell, and Robert's article mentions a new publication entitled, *Stewardship Begins with People*. Is the final report available? Where would I find ordering information?

Hugo Freund  
Union College  
Barbourville, Kentucky

Editor's note: The National Park Service Conservation Study Institute released *Stewardship Begins with People: An Atlas of Places, People, and Handmade Products* on March 22, 2007. For more information, or to request a copy, please contact Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historic Site (<http://www.nps.gov/mabi/contacts.htm>).

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*General Comments*

It is always such a pleasure to see *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* and *Common Ground* in my mailbox. Both are truly treasures! I hope you will always continue to print these wonderfully rich magazines.

Victoria Dugan  
Jefferson National Expansion Memorial  
St. Louis, Missouri

ON THE COVER

Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip marked the 62nd anniversary of Victory in Europe Day (V-E Day) with a visit to the National World War II Memorial in Washington, DC. Accompanied by former U.S. President George H.W. Bush, former First Lady Barbara Bush, and National Park Service Director Mary A. Bomar, the Queen placed a wreath in honor of the 400,000 U.S. troops who died in the largest military conflict in human history. In her remarks at the White House Arrival Ceremony, the Queen noted the "close and enduring associations which thrive between the United States and the United Kingdom at every level" and the common history that unites them across the Atlantic Ocean. That close association is personified by Mary Bomar, born in England and the first naturalized citizen to become Director of the National Park Service. (Kathy Kupper, photographer, May 8, 2007. Courtesy of the National Park Service Office of Public Affairs)

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