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Andrew Johnson National Historic Site
Greeneville, Tennessee

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

Administrative History

Cultural Resources
Southeast Region

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

Administrative History

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Cover photo: Workmen repairing the historic flag pole at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, 1976, from the collection of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site
Administrative History

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Introduction

The year 1971 began at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site with five inches of new snow. That was the report given by Superintendent Lloyd A. Abelson in his log on January 1. Abelson was the seventh superintendent of the park set aside to commemorate the seventeenth United States president, Andrew Johnson, who succeeded to that office on April 15, 1865, after the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Another important event that January, Abelson remarked, was that "Mrs. George Rhea's car knocked down about 15 feet of Homestead fence." The superintendent was not overly upset by this minor incident at the revered site where Johnson once lived—he next jotted that "she will have Mr. Rex Cox replace the fence."[1]

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site is one of the National Park Service's smaller units. It is composed of four properties that Johnson once owned in Greeneville, Tennessee. Located near one another, these include Johnson's "Early Home," where he lived in the 1830s and 1840s; the "Tailor Shop" where he worked as a tailor in the 1830s; the "Homestead," which he purchased in 1851 and where he lived before and after his presidency; and the National Cemetery that contains his grave site and memorial. The site is located within view of the western slope of the Great Smoky Mountains in the rural east Tennessee town of Greeneville, the seat of Greene County. Both are named for the revolutionary war hero, General Nathanael Greene. Steeped in the culture and traditions of the "mid-South," Greeneville is the quintessential small town. Andrew Johnson liked it so much that he spent most of his adult life there when not serving his constituents politically. The national historic site established to honor his memory has similarly attracted a cadre of long-serving National Park Service (NPS) staffers. Lloyd Abelson served as superintendent from November 3, 1968, until his sudden death by natural causes while on duty on September 13, 1982.[2] The longest-serving employee of the historic site was Elaine R. Clark. She was hired as a museum aide in January 1962.[3] Clark went on to hold numerous other positions during her forty-four years as an NPS employee at Andrew Johnson. She retired in 2006.

Reading the first few pages of Abelson's log for 1971, the reader today knows much about the context of the historic site's management over the intervening decades. In October of that year, Abelson logged another event which offers important insight into park management—park historian Hugh A. Lawing was "putting final touches on the Park's administrative history—most of its 100 pages in final typing stage." By November, Abelson wrote, Lawing was including recollections from Mrs. Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett, President Andrew Johnson's great-granddaughter, about her family's own contributions to establishing the historic site.[4] Hugh Lawing's account of the creation and establishment of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site is summarized in the second chapter of this study. His account continues to have utility for park managers, and those desiring a greater depth of detail should consult the original version.

The present administrative history of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site takes up where Lawing left off. Broadly, an administrative history presents and analyzes the management of individual park units, associated institutions, and over-arching themes of institutional development. It provides information about past NPS operations as well as historical perspective that staff members need to

1. Lloyd A. Abelson, Superintendent, Log of Events, January 1971. For a list of all superintendents of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site and Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, see Appendices C and D.
2. Dates of superintendencies are derived from the *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, last updated in May 1991, available online at: http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/tolson/histlist.htm
3. Elaine R. Clark, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken (Appalachian State University, Boone, Tennessee, 2002), 1.
4. Lloyd A. Abelson, Superintendent, Log of Events, October and November 1971.

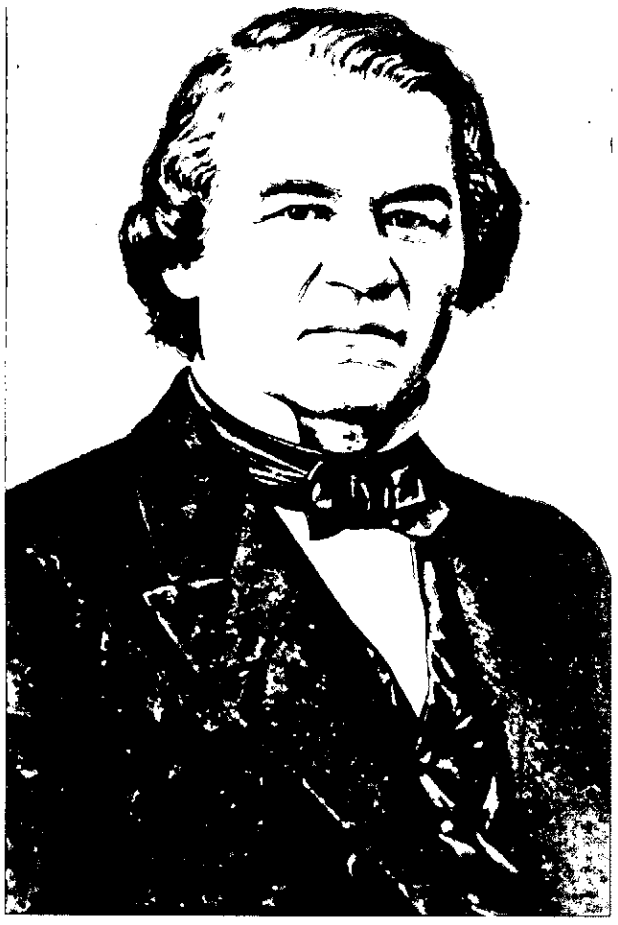

FIGURE 1. Andrew Johnson (1808-1875), seventeenth President of the United States. (Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, hereafter ANJO, archives)

make informed decisions on current policy issues. No study could cover all the events, people, and issues that are represented in the long history of a national park. Instead, an administrative history selects the most salient topics with the goal being to provide both a meaningful handbook and a long-term perspective. Built on Lawing's earlier administrative history, the present history covers the period from 1971 until the retirement of Superintendent Mark Corey in early January 2007.

The study follows a standard and straightforward historical methodology. Park documents likely to provide factual information or to shed light on important events have been reviewed and presented in a chronological fashion. Where appropriate, the chronology is subdivided by topic as represented by various section headings. This method makes the document both easier to read and to reference. Major sources of information include park annual reports, official NPS correspondence relating to the park, newspaper clippings, and oral history interviews. Various NPS studies and publications are also used, and all sources are cited by footnotes. Where bias is obvious or points of view differ, sources are weighed against each other. The author's intent is to minimize speculation and to let the record speak for itself, although inferences and conclusions are stated where appropriate.

It will not take long for the reader to recognize that several broad themes pervade this study. The first theme is patriotism. The park celebrates Johnson's principled defense of the U.S. Constitution and the National Cemetery honors the service of Americans who have worn the uniform of their country. Scholars, of course, continue to debate the Johnson presidency, and Southerners have themselves held divided views about Andrew Johnson who first remained with the Union and then ruled Union-occupied Tennessee as its military governor only to be later accused by "radical" Republicans of being too soft on the ex-Confederate states. Time has moderated some of the more extreme attitudes toward Johnson and modern Greene Countians view him as their most famous son. Many veterans or close relatives have thus sought the right to be buried near his grave and monument and this desire has helped create potent local interest in the management of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. Similarly, many employees of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site have shared a deep love and respect for Johnson, as certainly did Johnson's great-granddaughter, Margaret Bartlett, who was an NPS park guide for many decades.

A second theme of the study relates to the role that Hugh Lawing has played in park affairs, both as park historian and in retirement. After Lawing retired in 1984, he emerged as a frequent critic of subsequent park management decisions. Lawing's interest in park management was persistent and his perspective has much embellished the historical record.

The study's third theme concerns the interaction of park management with cultural resource mangers at the NPS Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta, Georgia. Over the years, that interaction has been both positive and cooperative but at times stressful as park administration and cultural resource managers have sought to negotiate solutions from competing professional perspectives.

The study's fourth and final theme is the story of how park managers and local community leaders have closely cooperated to support each other's objectives. Greeneville included the historic site as a key element in plans to redevelop its central historic district and the Park Service has encouraged that role. As a result, the town has developed a special interest in how the historic site is managed. The partnership between park and town leaders has been a consistent and vital force in supporting the mutual goals of both.

The study is organized into five chapters. In the first chapter, a summary of Hugh Lawing's *Administrative History of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site* is presented. Lawing's report covers the creation, establishment, and early development of Andrew Johnson National Monument, how the park expanded and was redesignated Andrew Johnson National Historic Site by Congress in 1963, and how the park was managed until 1971.[5] Chapter II discusses general park management issues since that time, Chapter III discusses management of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, and Chapter IV discusses park interpretation. The study concludes with a management summary of observations drawn from the historical record. The study also includes a brief bibliography as well as appendices that are intended to be useful as a management reference.

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5. See Hugh A. Lawing, *Administrative History of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site* (NPS, 1971), which also includes much information on Andrew Johnson and his family that is not pertinent to the purpose of this study. Readers interested in that topic, or for greater detail on management issues of that period, should refer to Lawing's original study.

Chapter 1: Lawing's Administrative History, 1942-1971

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site originated in the efforts to preserve the burial place of President Andrew Johnson. In 1898 Martha Johnson Patterson, the president's oldest daughter, expressed in her will her desire that whoever owned the Homestead should also be charged with maintaining the Johnson family burial plot on "Monument Hill," as the steep hill within the future National Cemetery was known.[6]

On May 24, 1900, in conjunction with the introduction of congressional legislation to create a public park in Greeneville to honor the memory of Andrew Johnson and to include his grave site, Martha J. Patterson modified her will to bind her heirs "to convey to the Government of the United States ... all interest and estate I now own in" Monument Hill if such a park bill became law.[7]

This chapter is an abridgement of the administrative history of the national historic site's first decades of existence that was produced by Hugh A. Lawing in 1971. Readers interested in a more detailed account of the park's formative years as well as additional information about Andrew Johnson and his family should consult Lawing's unabridged history.[8]

On June 12, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt approved an act of Congress authorizing appropriation of Monument Hill. The parcel to be accepted was not to exceed fifteen acres and "upon presentation of good and perfect title to said tract, the Secretary of War [was] authorized and directed to establish thereupon a National Cemetery of the Fourth Class."[9]

From that date until May 23, 1942, the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery existed under the jurisdiction of the War Department. The first Superintendent was Josiah B. Bewley who entered duty on November 13, 1908, after construction of the superintendent's residence, known as the Cemetery Lodge, was completed. By then, the War Department had constructed a wall around the property, built a stable, designed a general cemetery layout, and graded a road to the top of Monument Hill. A seventy-five-foot tall flagpole was also installed by the end of 1908. Burials of veterans began in 1909. The first superintendents struggled to encourage grass growth.[10]

In the 1930s, the War Department erected a rostrum or gazebo-like structure on the side of Monument Hill and converted the Stable for use as a public restroom and a utility shed. Martha J. Patterson had also willed a 720 foot-long right-of-way from the cemetery entrance to the main road, but War Department officials repeatedly failed to authorize funding to maintain the approach (and the land was eventually developed as residences). Under the War Department, 138 interments were made in the cemetery.[11]

Aside from the cemetery, early efforts were also made to preserve the Tailor Shop of Andrew Johnson. In 1879 both of Johnson's daughters, Mary and Martha Johnson, sought to regain title to the shop that Johnson had sold long ago. This task was accomplished in 1884 and the property remained thereafter within the family.[12] Later, Andrew Johnson Patterson (Martha J. Patterson's son) and

6. Lawing, *Administrative History,* 35.
7. As quoted by Lawing, *Administrative History,* 37.
8. Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report (hereafter referred to as "SANR") for 1983, February 13, 1984; SANR for 1984, January 18, 1985; Bob Hurley, "Hugh Hanging it Up," *Greeneville Sun,* December [2?], 1983, press clipping in Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (hereafter ANJO) archives.
9. As quoted by Lawing, *Administrative History,* 38.
10. Lawing, *Administrative History,* 38-40.
11. Ibid., 41.
12. Ibid., 44.

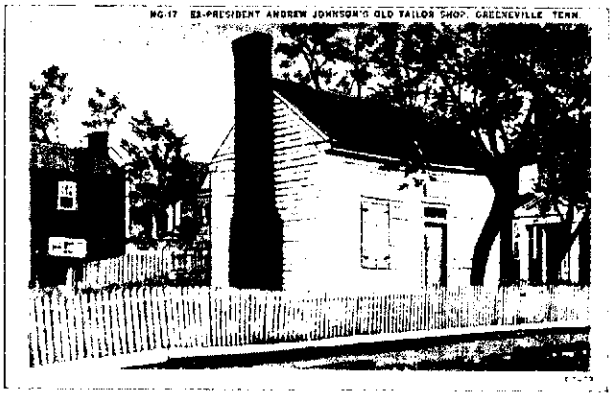

FIGURE 2. Andrew Johnson's Tailor Shop as it appeared in the early twentieth century. (Jody Cook Postcard Collection)

FIGURE 3. Andrew Johnson's Homestead as it appeared circa 1890-1900 after extensive remodeling by Martha J. Patterson, the president's daughter. (Courtesy of Eastern National Parks and Conservation Association)

his wife Mattie B. Patterson, who had inherited a stake in the property, promoted state preservation of the Tailor Shop.[13] Martha J. Patterson also sought to preserve some of her father's personal effects for a "public library," should one commemorating her father become reality.[14]

In 1921, the State of Tennessee appropriated fifteen thousand dollars to purchase and improve the property and to care for it. In fact, the state actually constructed a "Memorial Building" to enclose and better preserve the log structure. The Memorial Building was dedicated in 1923 at which time the Tailor Shop was also formally presented to the state by Miss Margaret Johnson Patterson, the president's great-granddaughter, the daughter of Andrew J. and Mattie B. Patterson.[15] The Tailor Shop was actually tendered to the custody of a local civic group—the Mothers' Club (later called the Andrew Johnson Woman's Club).[16]

The Andrew Johnson Homestead was deeded to Martha J. Patterson on December 6, 1884. She immediately initiated a major remodeling of the house, with the addition of porches, gables, and many other features not present when Johnson was alive. Later alterations ensued in the 1920s and 1930s. Additional property was added in 1905-6 while several rental structures were also built on the property.[17]

President Johnson's "Early Home," where he lived prior to purchasing the Homestead, passed from his family during Johnson's own life and had to be acquired separately by the Park Service at a much later date. Johnson lived in the house from sometime in the 1830s until 1851 when he sold the house to James Brannon. Afterwards the property was owned by several parties until 1964, although none of these significantly altered the structure.[18]

After state officials accepted responsibility for preserving the Tailor Shop, focus shifted to creating a national monument. Tennessee Congressman B. Carroll Reece and Senator Kenneth D. McKeller sponsored the necessary legislation in early 1935. On August 29, 1935, Congress approved a measure (49 Stat. 958) providing for the establishment by

13. Ibid., 60.
14. Ibid., 58.
15. Lawing, *Administrative History*, 45-47. Lawing notes that the state archivist had no records regarding the operation of the Johnson Tailor Shop between 1921 and 1941, but whether a thorough review on this matter was conducted is uncertain. Any surviving records of the Andrew Johnson Woman's Club might be consulted.
16. Lawing, *Administrative History*, 45. Lawing does not discuss the issue, but Mattie B. Patterson may have been a member of the Mothers' Club. Women's civic groups were common in the early 20th century and often involved themselves in community-oriented conservation, historic preservation, or commemorative work, which explains why the group was bestowed with stewardship of the Memorial Building. For a theoretical perspective on this topic, see Cameron Binkley, "'No Better Heritage than Trees': Women's Clubs and Conservation in Humboldt County," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Summer 2002): 174-203.
17. Lawing, *Administrative History*, 50-52. As Lawing notes, the definitive account of these alterations is contained in Ernest Allen Connally, *Survey Report: Restoration of the Andrew Johnson Homestead*, August 20, 1956, and its supplements.
18. Lawing, *Administrative History*, 56.

Presidential Proclamation of the Andrew Johnson National Monument once title to the Andrew Johnson Homestead and Tailor Shop was vested in the United States.[19] The property had to be purchased from the Johnson heirs and the National Park Service was asked to appraise its value. Negotiations began to reach an agreement for the two properties as well as certain items of furnishings. The family had originally asked $100,000, then $75,000. In 1938, however, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes ruled that the National Park Service would not pay more than $44,000.[20]

In early 1939, Rep. Reece sought to alleviate the stalemate over the price differential "by suggesting a custodial position for Miss Patterson," which would allow the government to maintain its acquisition cost at $44,000. Mrs. Andrew J. Patterson agreed on July 3, 1940, to sell the property for this price provided that she and her daughter, Margaret J. Patterson, receive appointments as custodians of the site. Director Newton B. Drury accepted this condition in July 1941 and notified Tennessee Gov. Prentice Cooper that negotiations between the Service and the Pattersons had been successful. He sought to finalize arrangements with the state to acquire the Tailor Shop. On February 15, 1941, the governor authorized the trustees of the Tailor Shop to transfer its deed to the United States for inclusion in a proposed Andrew Johnson National Monument. This act was accomplished on November 26, 1941. With both the Homestead and the Tailor Shop under Federal ownership, Andrew Johnson National Cemetery was transferred to the Park Service from the War Department. This final act allowed President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue a Presidential Proclamation on April 27, 1942, establishing Andrew Johnson National Monument.[21]

George F. Emery was the first superintendent of the historic site, entering on duty on March 6, 1942, a few weeks before the proclamation. He was joined in April by Assistant Historical aides Margaret J. Patterson and her mother Mattie B. Patterson. Emery immediately faced two problems. A street-widening plan on South Main Street "meant the loss of the shade trees planted by A. J. Patterson, and the Service's policy of no burials in the Cemetery was

19. Ibid., 61.
20. Ibid., 62.
21. Ibid., 47, 63-65.

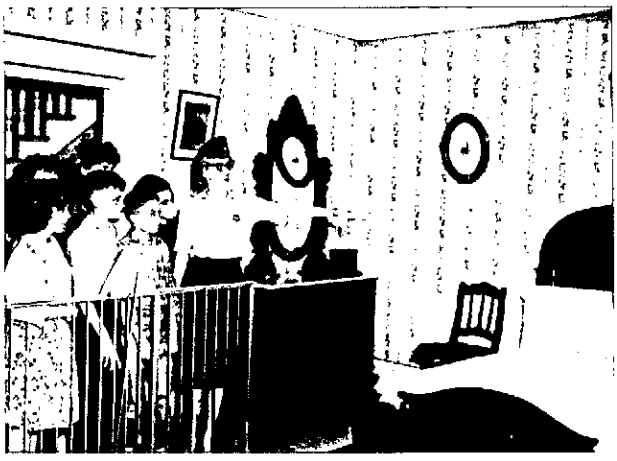

FIGURE 4. Interpreter Elaine R. Clark (l) shows visiting children a bedroom in the Andrew Johnson Homestead in 1965. (ANJO Coll.)

not being accepted by local civic and patriotic groups."[22] That action on the trees was delayed several years, but landscape management and burial policy would become long-term management concerns.

Emery was called to service during World War II. Margaret J. Patterson served briefly as custodian until Superintendent Ross Holland arrived on April 26, 1943. With limited funding, the years between 1942 and 1954 were absorbed by fairly routine activities.[23]

In the late 1950s, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site received important new funds to restore the Homestead and to create other appropriate visitor facilities. The funding was a result of "Mission 66," a special program to upgrade NPS services nationwide in response to growing pressures on park resources by the post-war generation. The Homestead was the center of this project at Andrew Johnson, although a "Visitor Center" was also constructed adjacent to the Memorial Building, primarily to create space for a small museum and public restrooms. At the time, it was considered impossible to interpret the Johnson Homestead due to the many subsequent remodelings by Johnson's descendants. Minimal development was necessary at the National Cemetery, however, except to construct an equipment storage shed.[24]

22. Ibid., 67-68.
23. Lawing illustrates this point by setting forth several pages of superintendent's log entries for those years. See, Lawing, *Administrative History,* 68-77.
24. Lawing, *Administrative History,* 78-79.

FIGURE 5. Rangers provide interpretation before the new park visitor center in 1960. (ANJO Coll.)

In 1956 architectural historian Ernest Allen Connally, a luminary of the historic preservation movement, drafted his survey report for the restoration of the Johnson Homestead. Restoration work began that summer.[25] Museum Curator Vera Craig later produced a historic furnishing plan for the building. Henry A. Judd, an NPS architect, oversaw the extensive restoration and compiled an additional restoration report. It was decided that the period of restoration should be 1869-1875, the last years of Johnson's life. The new visitor center and the restored Homestead were dedicated on April 26, 1958.[26]

As early as 1945, the Park Service had set a goal to obtain the last important piece needed to complete the historic site—the early home of Andrew Johnson which was not owned by a Johnson descendant. Congress had to authorize funding if the property was to be purchased, and several years passed without action. It was not until 1963, that Tennessee Congressman James Quillen introduced a measure that resulted in an appropriation of $66,000 to purchase and restore the "Kerbaugh property" to its period of significance while owned by Andrew Johnson. The same legislation also changed the name of the park from Andrew Johnson National Monument to its current designation, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. The "Early Home" was subsequently acquired by the Park Service on February 3, 1964. Almost immediately after the property was purchased, remaining appropriated funds were exhausted due to the steep cost of restoration. Complete restoration of the Early Home, and public access to it, had to be postponed.[27]

25. Ibid., 78. See Connally, *Survey Report: Restoration*. Incidentally, Connally was later hand-picked by Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., to establish and direct the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation.

26. Lawing, *Administrative History*, 80-81; The Connally and Judd historic structure reports have long constituted fundamental park management documents for the Homestead. See Henry Judd, *Restoration of the Andrew Johnson Homestead: Second Supplement to the Survey Report* (National Park Service, 1959).

27. Lawing, *Administrative History*, 65-66, 85.

Chapter 2: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

All of the primary components of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site were in place by 1971. Similarly, Congress has passed no legislation related to the site since it authorized the National Park Service to purchase Andrew Johnson's Early Home in 1963. Nevertheless, important management decisions have been made since 1971. These have brought significant change to the park, its operations, and interpretive programs. In this chapter, general park management issues will be discussed as they have developed since 1971. The topics include the preservation and rehabilitation of the Andrew Johnson Homestead, the Visitor Center complex, which includes the Early Home of Andrew Johnson, his Tailor Shop within the Memorial Building, the Lodge located in the National Cemetery, and the Visitor Center. Management of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery is discussed in Chapter III and interpretive programs in Chapter IV.

Getting to Andrew Johnson—Park Signs

In 1972, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site began to survey and plan for the location of signs and markers to aid the traveling public in finding the park. This activity is an important undertaking for small national parks, which are often especially difficult to find from main roadways. Superintendent Lloyd Abelson hoped to complete 50 percent of the sign program in 1973, with the balance in 1974. Another reason that the park was renovating its signage was the construction of a new highway, Interstate 81, which when completed would actually bypass Greeneville. Abelson immediately requested that signs be placed along the new corridor to alert passing motorists to the location of the historic site.

In 1974, Superintendent Abelson reported completing the conversion of NPS signs and markers. Some thirty-eight new directional signs were installed to replace or supplement the old sign system.[28] However, updating old signage at the historic site and around the town was one thing; Abelson soon found that getting state highway department approval to place historic site signs along Interstate 81 to be quite an exercise.

By May 1973, Abelson had learned that state Transportation Department officials would not allow road signs on interstates for attractions that were beyond five miles in distance. He thought, however, that an exception surely could be made for the presidential site. Abelson contacted the Tennessee Historical Commission for help, which played a role in determining the location of roadside historical markers. However, the Commission merely returned the request to the state Transportation Department. In July, Earl Williams, Jr., a state traffic engineer, wrote Abelson stating that there was now a "new policy" passed by the state legislature and that because the Andrew Johnson site was eleven miles from the interstate, it would have to have visitation of 480,000 per year to qualify for signs. That figure was far above the annual visitation for Andrew Johnson.[29] Abelson soon realized that political pressure would be needed to get action.[30]

The park's sign problem actually affected the entire community. Interstate historic park signs not only alerted passing motorists to the location of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, but of course served to attract tourists in general into the now bypassed downtown area. Even Tusculum College was deemed too far out of range for a sign. State Senator

28. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
29. Vickie Tweed, "Signs for Johnson Historic Site Went Up on I-81 this Week," *Greeneville Sun*, no date [ca. 1977], press clipping in AJNHS archives.
30. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.

Tom Garland and State Representative Joe Bewley quickly entered the fray of Nashville politics to champion the commercial interests of their Greeneville constituents. Reports were printed that their efforts met stiff resistance by state highway officials who were unwilling to get up the signs indicating where drivers could leave the interstate to find the historic Andrew Johnson site, but they persisted.[31]

"Incredibly," noted the local paper in May 1976, "there are no public signs at all on I-81 indicating that the former President's home, tailor shop, and burial place are here, in a well preserved, well administered national monument!" The paper went on to say "that this omission could have occurred in the first place is amazing. That it continues, after so much talking and evidence-producing, is almost unbelievable." According to the paper, the lack of highway signs meant that many visitors already intent on seeing the historic site were having a hard time finding their way. For example, park guides were told stories about visitors having to drive twenty-five miles out of their way because of a missed park sign. The paper was furious: "What does it take to get some results on this reasonable and much needed item?" It urged the governor himself to press Federal highway officials for action.[32] But the issue seemed to boil down to red tape. After political leaders expressed optimism for getting the sign problem handled, especially with regard to those directing travelers to the Andrew Johnson site, one local paper admitted that "the wheels of government grind as slowly as any, and highway matters are no exception."[33]

Around this time, the park's main problem was a decline in visitation. In 1973, 55,164 guests visited the cemetery. By November 1976, however, only 44,838 visitors had been logged as visiting the cemetery. Abelson specifically attributed this decline to "lack of signs on the Interstate and road work on 11-E."[34]

Finally, in 1977, efforts by Abelson, Bewley, Garland, and others paid off and the state approved the placement of highway signs along I-81 to alert travelers to the whereabouts of the park in Greeneville. Contacted for his reaction, Rep. Bewley probably summed up the view of many when he stated that "I'm so glad the project is completed and so many people's efforts have been realized. It's good too that everyone was patient and remained in a good humor, and I hope the people come over from the interstate and visit Greene County."[35]

However, one problem remained—the Greeneville-Baileyton road exit. The issue here was purely jurisdictional, because the state and county officials played tug-of-war over who was responsible for funding road maintenance. At the time, Federal highway funds were used to assist state counties with road maintenance as long as the road was classified as secondary. If the road was classified as primary, the state stepped in with aid. State officials thus claimed they could not use state funds on a secondary road, and could not fund park directional signs even though Superintendent Abelson claimed that such signs had existed at the intersection prior to construction work done on the road, which he called the 11E Bypass.[36] Somehow this bureaucratic conundrum was overcome and in 1979 new signs announcing "Historic Site—Home of Pres.—Andrew Johnson—Next Right" were erected at the Greeneville-Baileyton exit of I-81.[37]

Meanwhile, new entrance and directional signs at the park itself were added for the parking lots of the Visitor Center and Homestead. These were apparently needed to address changes in traffic flow.[38] The signs, purchased from Prison Industries and erected in 1978, were supposed to bring the park's sign program fully up to date.[39] However, the very next year, "Visitor Only" signs were added to the Visitor Center parking lot to help address the continuing problem of the lot being used by visitors to the state's human services offices.[40] In 1982, visitation hours were added to park directional signs at the north and south exits of Interstate 81. Local signs were also modified to adjust for longer hours during the Knoxville World's Fair that year.

31. Tweed, "Signs for Johnson Historic Site."
32. "Action Badly Needed on I-81 Signs," [*Greeneville Sun?*], May 31, 1976, press clipping in AJNHS archives.
33. "Progress, Still Work to Do," [*Greeneville Sun?*], no date [late 1976], press clipping in ANJO archives.
34. SANR for 1976, December 1, 1976.
35. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979.
36. Tweed, "Signs for Johnson Historic Site."
37. SANR for 1979, February 5, 1981.
38. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
39. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979.
40. SANR for 1979, February 5, 1981.

A decade later, the Park Service conducted a visitor survey of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. The 1991 survey found that some 97 percent of park visitors found the site "very good," "excellent," or "perfect." The survey, which was based upon random sampling techniques and interviews with park visitors, also found that only 4.3 percent of visitors had trouble finding the site, indicating that past management struggles to post adequate signs along nearby roads and interstates were definitely worthwhile.[41]

The Park's Historic Structures

The List of Classified Structures (LCS) was created in 1960 based upon the recommendations made at a meeting of the Regional Directors and the Chiefs of the Eastern and Western Offices of Design and Construction. The need for an "Inventory of Historic Buildings and Structures" led to a draft inventory that was distributed to the field for review in November 1960, and finally, to a "Historic Structures Inventory" that was disseminated to the field in May 1963. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, this inventory evolved into the List of Classified Structures, which was updated, computerized, and augmented with new management data elements in 1975-1977. The LCS remains an electronic database that compiles information on all park buildings and structures that are listed or eligible for listing in the National Register.[42]

41. Douglas Watson, "Johnson Sites Win Praise from Visitors," *Greeneville Sun*, December 11, 1992, 1, 7. The largest number of park visits occurred on Wednesdays and Thursdays due to school groups accounting for about 45 percent of site visits. Whether or not students, or local bus drivers, as factors, were computed by the survey is unknown. Incidentally, when the author first visited the historic site in December 2006, he noted exceptionally well placed signage along obscure country roads and was easily able to find the Visitor Center, which has not always been his experience in trying to locate small parks in rural settings.
42. Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Director, Southeast Region, June 6, 1973, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register Nomination files, Cultural Resources Division Office (hereafter CRD), Southeast Regional Office (hereafter SERO).

FIGURE 6. This 1973 photograph of Andrew Johnson's "Early Home" accompanies the park's National Register Nomination.

Initially, the park's inventory of historic structures was limited to the Homestead, the Early Home, the Memorial Building, Tailor Shop, and a few other site features. A baseline of data was established in conjunction with updating the National Register Nomination in the early 1970s. In 1983, Superintendent Grady Webb reviewed the initial LCS structure records and told regional officials that he did not have "any revisions or additions at this time."[43]

The next LCS survey, conducted in May of 1994, documented all structures in the park constructed prior to 1950. This expansion of historic scope for the park's LCS was driven by the potential for the existence of other historic contexts and areas of significance beyond those that were stated in the park's enabling legislation. Before the new survey, only eight structures were listed on the LCS as contributing to the park's historic significance. The 1994 survey found up to twenty structures that the team determined eligible for listing in the National Register, most of them in the national cemetery.

As noted, one of the main reasons for the update was to identify historic structures associated with the War Department and NPS development between 1906 and 1941. The new survey thus captured such items as the rostrum and the stable,

43. Superintendent, Memorandum to the Regional Director, Southeast Region, March 3, 1983, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register Nomination files, CRD, SERO.

as well as landscape features such as roads, walkways, a flagstaff, culverts, individual markers, and fencing.

When the original National Register documentation was completed in the 1970s, the historic context of War Department and NPS administration of the National Cemetery was not considered an important part of the site's historical significance. By 1994, however, the National Register and NPS management recognized that commemorative movements were also important historical themes requiring consideration and preservation. Because the LCS survey identified numerous resources that were potentially eligible for the National Register within this context, an amendment to the original nomination was appropriate.[44]

Another reason to update the park's LCS was to chart the condition of the park's resources. By the early 1990s, the old cemetery stable was being used as a maintenance building, and while it had structural integrity, its setting had been severely compromised by adjacent construction of a garage and parking lot. According to Carroll, the scene presented "a cluttered atmosphere in proximity to the entrance gate," which negatively affected the "solemn approach achieved by Monument Avenue." Carroll also felt that the effects of nearby residential development along Monument Avenue needed to be evaluated. At the Johnson Homestead, she surveyed the "spring wall" that sheltered the spring and which once may have been the site of a spring house. She also noted that there was little documentation on the Tailor Shop and the 1830 Home, but that these buildings were already listed and did not need additional documentation.[45]

In August 1994, Karen Rehm, as Acting Chief, Cultural Resources Division, Southeast Region, wrote to Superintendent Corey about the LCS update and the amendment to the park's National Register nomination to be prepared by her division. Rehm outlined plans to update the park's National Register nomination to include all the National Cemetery features and the "Homestead Spring Wall," while identifying the "Machine Gun Marker" as a non-contributing feature. This captured German weapon had been placed in the park by a veteran's group but was not associated with the cemetery's historic development.[46] The park's new approved List of Classified Structures was signed by Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul Hartwig on September 15, 1994.[47] More recent research for a CLR indicates that the spring wall is not the original dating to the Johnson Family period, but rather a 20th century springhead that re-used historic fabric, and the feature has been removed from the park's LCS.

The National Register of Historic Places

By way of a memorandum dated March 19, 1973, the Director of the Southeast Regional Office instructed Andrew Johnson National Historic Site to prepare a National Register of Historic Places nomination for historic resources in the park. The historic resources of the park were, of course, well known; in fact they were already listed in the National Register, but they had not been documented to the standards that had been developed in the seven years since the National Register was expanded.

Before passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, the national historic preservation program outside the National Park System revolved around two programs established by the NPS in the 1930s, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and the Historic Sites Survey. The 1935 Historic Sites Act authorized NPS

44. Maureen A. Carroll, LCS Team, Memorandum to Karen G. Rehm, Senior Historian, June 10, 1994, trip report in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register Nomination files, CRD, SERO.
45. Ibid. In forming her opinions of the National Cemetery, Carroll was likely influenced by a recently completed cultural landscape report (CLR) for the cemetery by Lucy Lawliss, discussed extensively under the section with that heading.
46. Karen M. Rehm, Acting Chief, Cultural Resources Planning Division, SERO, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, August 11, 1994, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register Nomination files, CRD, SERO.
47. Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul B. Hartwig, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, September 15, 1994, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO. She also requested cost estimates for restoring the stable and the fence around the Johnson Monument, as recommended in the park's cemetery Cultural Landscape Report.

to survey historic sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and to work in cooperation with other government agencies, organizations, and individuals to preserve the nation's heritage. These programs were suspended during World War II and not reactivated until the late 1950s, when large, new Federal programs for urban renewal, dams and river basins, and the interstate highway system began to destroy irreplaceable historic resources. In 1960, NPS officially announced a new program to list historic buildings and sites surveyed under the Historic Sites Act as Registered National Historic Landmarks.

There were wide-ranging efforts in the early 1960s by the Federal government as well as by organizations, businesses, and citizens to address growing concerns about environmental issues, natural and cultural. By then nearly half of the buildings and structures listed in the original HABS survey had been lost. In 1965, the United States Conference of Mayors created a Special Committee on Historic Preservation to investigate the country's historic preservation needs. In January 1966, the committee published their findings in a book-length report entitled *With Heritage So Rich* that recommended an active role for the Federal government in historic preservation, including establishment of a national register of historic sites and structures. Heavy lobbying led to passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), signed by President Johnson on October 15, 1966. The NHPA authorized the Secretary of the Interior "to expand and maintain a National Register of Historic Places composed of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture."[48]

While the NHPA offered little protection for historic buildings and sites from the actions of private property owners, it included a provision that offered some protection for significant historic resources from actions of the Federal government, which itself was often responsible for their destruction by funding projects that failed to consider the importance of preserving historic sites, buildings, and structures. Section 106 of the NHPA established a process that required all Federal agencies to consider the effect of their actions on historic properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places prior to undertaking any action that involved Federal funds, lands, permits, or licenses.

The National Register of Historic Places initially consisted of the National Historic Landmarks listed prior to October 1966, and all of the historical units of the National Park System, including Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, which were automatically listed as of October 15, 1966. The NHPA authorized grant funds for states to conduct statewide historic surveys and to prepare preservation plans for historic resources. Each state had a "liaison officer," who became known in the early 1970s as the "state historic preservation officer" or SHPO, but actual appropriations to support the program were negligible, and the new partnership with the states barely survived.

Expansion of the National Register to include properties with local and state significance required the development of new criteria, standards, and procedures, which were not available until the fall of 1968, and a standard "National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form," which appeared in December 1968. After the states received their first grant funds in the spring of 1969, the national historic preservation program slowly evolved, but in those early years, documentation that later became a routine part of the National Register nomination process was often, at best, limited.

In 1971, President Nixon strengthened the national historic preservation program with Executive Order 11593, "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment," which directed all Federal agencies, "with the advice of the Secretary of the Interior, and in cooperation with the liaison officer for historic preservation for the State or territory involved, [to] locate, inventory, and nominate to the Secretary of the Interior all sites, buildings, districts, and objects under their jurisdiction or control that appear to qualify for listing in the National Register of Historic Places."[49] The required surveys and nominations were to be completed no later than July 1, 1973.

48. NHPA Section 101 (a)(1)(A).

49. Most of the Executive Order's provisions were later incorporated into the NHPA when it was amended in 1980. Liaison officers became the State Historic Preservation Officer or SHPO.

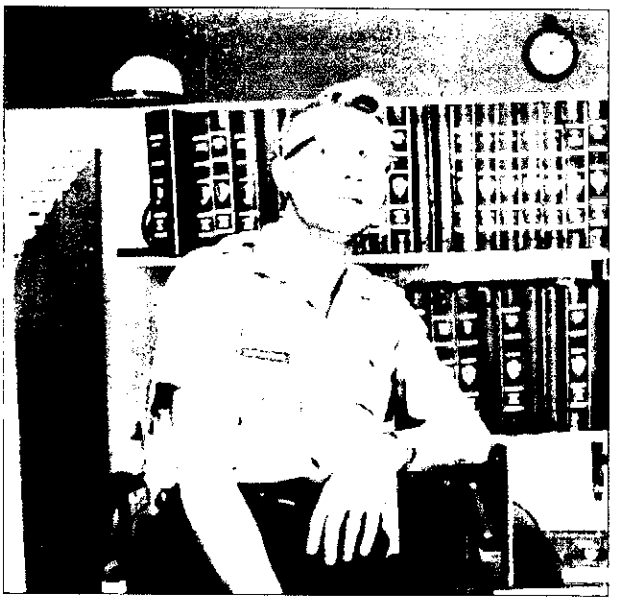

FIGURE 7. Park Historian Hugh A. Lawing prepared the original National Register nomination for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, which was accepted for listing on March 3, 1977.

In early 1973, well in advance of the deadline, park historian Hugh Lawing submitted a draft National Register nomination for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. His first attempt was rudimentary: Lawing simply listed the buildings in the park along with some technicalities relating to them on a draft form. He did not supply a narrative statement documenting the significance of the buildings. Although this component of the nomination was and remains a key reason for completing a nomination, specific standards and guidelines were still evolving in the early years of the National Register. Still, a narrative statement of significance was required and the Southeast Regional Office returned the nomination for revision.[50]

Lawing resubmitted the nomination in July 1973. He improved upon his first attempt by supplying narrative text (along with a lot of technical data that was not ultimately required) for each of the historic resources. After some initial confusion over terminology, a consensus was apparently reached that the park should be nominated as a historic district encompassing a number of separate but related historic resources.

However, upon the advice of Charles Herrington of the National Register staff in Washington, and Regional Historian Len Brown, Associate Regional Director L. Boyd Finch recommended that instead of a single district nomination, three separate nominations should be submitted for the individual historic resources, each with a map to clearly delineate the resources included and with a statement on each form noting that "this particular unit is one of three units that make up the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site."[51] Lawing revised the nomination once again. In December 1974, he submitted separate National Register nominations to the regional office along with detailed maps for the National Cemetery, which was classified as a district in itself; the Tailor Shop/Memorial Building and the1830s House, which were also classified as a district; and the Homestead, which was classified as a building.[52] Both Regional Historian Len Brown and Lawing found the whole nomination process a bit bewildering. In a personal note to Brown, Lawing remarked that "it might be that if the Lord puts off his return to earth long enough and we don't run out of forms that I might get these things submitted right eventually (ha)."[53]

The nominations were officially submitted to NPS headquarters in Washington for review and acceptance of formal National Register documentation. One of the reviewers was Chief Historical Architect Henry Judd, who had directed the restoration of the Homestead in 1957 using a "Survey Report" drafted in 1956 by Ernest Allen Connally and updated by Judd himself in 1959. He was clearly familiar with the site.[54] Judd recommended, however, that because the park consisted of three sites within walking distance of

50. Copy of original National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form for AJNHS, no date, which supplied only statistical data and no narrative information, in "ANJO Draft Nominations" folder, Park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO.

51. Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, November 1, 1974, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register Nomination files, CRD, SERO.

52. Copy of draft National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination form; and Hugh Lawing, Acting Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, Southeast Region, December 8, 1974, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO.

53. Hugh Lawing, Note to Regional Historian Len Brown, December 8, 1974, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO.

one another, there should be a single National Register district nomination. The Chief Historian, Dr. Harry W. Pfanz and the Chief Archeologist (acting), Jackson W. Moore, Jr., agreed with Judd's opinion. Robert M. Utley, then the Chief of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation which administered the National Register Division, accepted these recommendations and the three separate nominations were returned for re-submittal as a single, combined National Register district.[55]

Superintendent Lloyd Abelson approved the park's National Register district nomination in June 1976. Despite the multiple iterations of its draft, the nomination was fairly basic, as was typical at that time. Abelson noted that the nomination would not affect park operations or planning as all the National Register buildings and structures were already within the park's historic zone, and that park boundaries and those of the National Register historic district were identical.[56] The nomination was forwarded to Washington and signed by the Keeper of the National Register on March 3, 1977.[57]

In 1994, work by staff in the Cultural Resources Planning Division, SERO, to update the LCS led to an amendment to the park's National Register nomination the following year. The 1977 nomination, typical of nominations compiled in the early years of the National Register program, required additional information to document the park's historic resources to current standards and guidelines, and by July 1995, a draft amendment had been prepared for the park. Superintendent Corey recommended additional research to explain references to the "Cemetery Wall and Gate," and to markers placed by private parties prior to NPS administration.[58] The final amendment was submitted to the National Register in October and officially accepted on December 1, 1995.

The 1995 amendment provided a historic context for the development of the National Cemetery and clarified its periods and areas of significance. It also added other historic resources that contributed to the site's significance under this context, and identified contributing historic landscape features at the Homestead that were not included in the original nomination. The original 1977 National Register nomination and its 1995 amendment now document all of the historic resources in this park, including those associated with the life of Andrew Johnson and those associated with the National Cemetery, and establish a period of significance of 1830-1942. The district is a "discontiguous" historic district, a special type of district "composed of two or more definable significant areas separated by non-significant areas." The 1995 amendment made no changes to the district boundaries documented in the original nomination, which contained approximately 16.5 acres and which correspond exactly with the boundaries of the park.[59]

Acquiring More Space?

In 1979, Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield made an unexpected visit to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. He was interested in discussing the possibility of adding to the park the "Brumley Apartments," which were located adjacent to the Homestead grounds on Main Street in downtown Greeneville. The Park Service was not interested in the property, but Superintendent Abelson nevertheless followed up the senator's visit and met

54. In 1973, Connally was then Associate Director for Professional Services, the highest ranking professional in the Park Service, and essentially Judd's boss.
55. Routing and Review slip for Andrew Johnson Visitor Center Complex, February 26, 1976, in "ANJO Draft Nominations" folder, Park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO.
56. Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Assistance, SERO, June 24, 1976, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, Park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO.
57. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form for AJNHS, March 3, 1977.
58. Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Associate Regional Director, Resource Stewardship, Southeast Region, July 7, 1995, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO.
59. Associate Regional Director, Resource Stewardship, Southeast Field Area, Memorandum to Chief of Registration, Interagency Resources Division (WASO), October 12, 1995, in "ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder, park National Register nomination files, CRD, SERO. The Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office was notified but its concurrence was not required because the documentation updated existing forms. All sites described were already listed in the National Register and no boundary changes were involved.

FIGURE 8. In 1995, this property adjacent to the park Visitor Center (extreme right) was briefly considered for acquisition by the park to provide additional space. (ANJO Coll.)

with him in his Washington office. "It was difficult to disagree with a Senator," reported Abelson, "but he was realistic as he saw the impracticality of adding a buffer zone to a buffer zone." Abelson felt that Senator Hatfield's real aim in visiting the park was to obtain a field-level view of the care and maintenance of presidential homes.[60]

In April 1988, Andrew Johnson staff again considered the possibility of adding a new building to the park. John E. Ehrenhard, Acting Deputy Associate Regional Director for Cultural Resources, informed the park that the regional office was willing to consider its request to acquire the brick building on the same side of the street as the Early Home to help meet park space needs. However, Ehrenhard warned that the process was difficult, requiring both a legislative amendment and problematic funding for property acquisitions.[61] Acquisition of the property was not pursued.

The same issue rose again in April 1995. Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul B. Hartwig advised the Associate Regional Director for Operations on a potential donation to the historic site that might contribute to the "historic district." The building was adjacent to the park Visitor Center. It had a historic exterior in good condition, but extensive modification of the interior had already occurred. The already-compromised interior could be cost effectively rehabilitated and adapted for curatorial and administrative needs. Hartwig, however, thought that the building contained more space than the park needed and, when considered in the light of other regional priorities, Hartwig concluded, "I do not think it will come out very high."[62] No new structures have been added to the park since the Early Home in 1963.

Andrew Johnson Homestead

NPS Architectural historian Ernest Allen Connally conducted extensive research on Andrew Johnson's Homestead in the 1950s, and architect Henry Judd later added important supplementary information on its restoration, which he oversaw between 1957 and 1958.[63] Hugh Lawing discussed the context of their work in his administrative history and these studies, along with an amendment to the HSR in 2001, remain the primary sources of information for park management about the Homestead. After the major restoration work was completed, the Homestead was opened to the public and stayed open without major interruptions for over four decades. Little more than routine maintenance was the norm for most of the 1960s and 1970s.

On May 12, 1978, one small addition was made to the Homestead when a plaque was mounted on a wall to honor Andrew J. Patterson and his wife Martha for their efforts in promoting and acquiring the Homestead for the National Park Service. Mrs. Paul Metcalf of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and Neal Guse, Southeast Region Deputy Director, attended the ceremony.[64]

During the renovation of the late 1950s, the Park Service had been very careful in its restoration of the presidential home and recreation of its historic

60. SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.
61. John E. Ehrenhard, Acting Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, April 25, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
62. Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul B. Hartwig, Memorandum to Associate Regional Director, April 25, 1995, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
63. Connally's Historic Resource Study was extensive, but even more detail was added by Henry Judd in his 1959 supplement. Together, their work has formed the basis of NPS efforts to restore and preserve the Andrew Johnson Homestead as it appeared during the life of President Johnson. See Connally, *Survey Report: Restoration*, and Judd, *Restoration of the Andrew Johnson Homestead.*
64. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979.

interiors. Most of the furnishings in the Homestead were not museum reproductions or period pieces but actually belonged to Johnson and were supplied to the Park Service by his descendants. At that time, the use of air-conditioning was not yet widespread, even in the South, and rigorous climate control of house-museum environments was still relatively rare. As a result, little thought was given to the lack of modern environmental controls in the building and how that might affect the long-term care and preservation of these museum-caliber artifacts. By the 1980s, however, there was a growing awareness of the curatorial issues at historic-house museums, including the Homestead, particularly the inherent conflict between preservation of the historic building, authentic presentation of the building to visitors, and appropriate curation of historic furnishings and decoration.

By 1981, the Southeast Region had acquired its first Regional Curator, Dale Durham, who made his first visit to Andrew Johnson in December of that year. He commended the park "for having the most complete catalogue of Museum items" he had seen but still had a few concerns, one of which was security. After he estimated the value of the park's artifact collection to be about $1.5 million dollars, staff began to think more seriously about park security needs.[65] Durham made it a point to return the following year to work on artifact curation with Hugh Lawing and Elaine Clark.[66] He made several other visits to the park during his tenure. In 1989, park staff, to address Durham's concerns, installed an enhanced lock system and "significantly improved" staff accountability for keys.[67]

In January 1988, William Sites, a plant pathologist with the U.S. Forest Service, was called to the park to investigate its pest and preservation problems stemming from moisture. Sites concluded that "the Tailor Shop, 1830's House, Andrew Johnson Homestead, and their contents are in excellent condition." Sites did find some pest problems related to furniture stored on dirt floors at the Homestead but thought thorough annual inspections, routine maintenance to keep out liquid water, and better dehumidification (also recommended by NPS architect Rene Cote), were the park's main preservation needs.[68] The Sites

65. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
66. SANR for 1982, February 23, 1983.
67. SANR for 1989, February 16, 1990.

FIGURE 9. View of Homestead just prior to its restoration in 1956. (Judd HSR, 1959)

report reduced the priority placed on solving the curatorial space problem.

In April, Regional Curator Durham followed up the Sites visit. He reviewed the park's curatorial program, assisted staff with accountability issues and cataloguing, and made several minor recommendations. Most importantly, Durham said that the park needed a Collection Condition Survey completed by professionally trained staff. The survey was to help ensure that the best possible treatment was available for the park's museum collection, which Durham had already assigned a high intrinsic value for association with the life of President Andrew Johnson. Durham was also concerned that, despite repeated conversations, park staff were still storing cleaning items, Christmas decorations, and interpretative literature in the drawers and cabinets of the historic furnishings within the Homestead. Such behavior resulted in unnecessary wear and tear on those furnishings and was against NPS policy.[69]

In August 1990, a draft Resource Management Plan (RMP) was developed for the historic site and reviewed by regional office staff. Regional Historian Len Brown was particularly critical:

68. William H. Sites, Department of Agriculture, Letter to Grady, Superintendent, AJNHS, January 14, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
69. Dale Durham, Regional Curator, Memorandum to Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, April 20, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

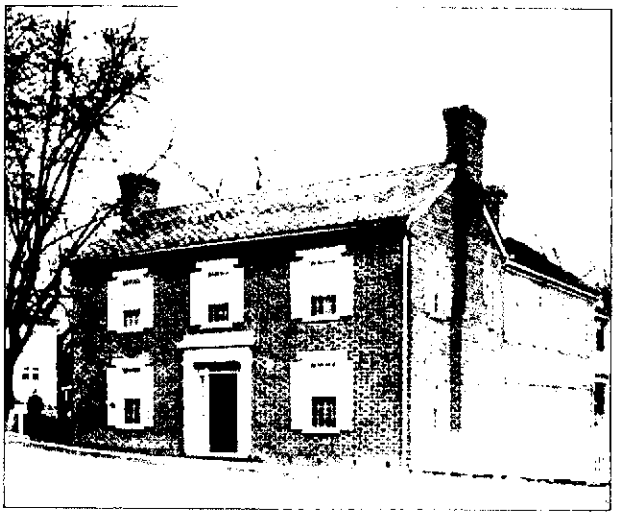

FIGURE 10. View of Homestead after its restoration in 1956. (Judd HSR, 1959)

> Reading the first several pages of this plan, and remembering what has occurred or not occurred at Andrew Johnson over the past 15 years, it is an indictment of past and present management. Documents have been fading for years, but nothing is done. The Homestead was brought to maintenance condition a dozen years ago, but has deteriorated. There has been no routine maintenance on the collections.

Brown asserted that the project statements supported his contention, and he noted that "Project C-002 indicates that no one realized the shutters were deteriorating until one fell off or if they did nothing was done." Certainly, Brown thought staff shortages were a problem, but he also asserted that "the need of the park for preservation and maintenance of resources far outweighs the need for baseline data" recommended by the RMP. Brown advised more training for park staff in resource preservation and more staff time devoted to painting shutters, cleaning out gutters, and dealing with minor problems.[70] With regional office criticism of park care for the Homestead and especially park collections growing, funding for more preservation work was approved. In 1992, the Collection Condition Survey was completed.

The Collection Condition Survey identified a number of artifacts in need of conservation treatment and improved storage conditions. According to park managers, "the objects on display at the Homestead were identified as being in the most danger to environmental damage due to uncontrolled temperature and humidity." Park staff placed some of these in better storage, but many items had to remain on display at the Homestead, which was the park's central interpretive venue. These items were subject to continued deterioration due to the lack of effective climate control.[71]

In April of that same year, Mark Corey transferred from Ocmulgee National Monument near Macon, Georgia, to become the tenth superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.[72] Corey soon realized that the park had a number of pressing issues to resolve. His first priority was to address contentious issues at the National Cemetery where he also soon began pushing for an extensive rehabilitation of the Cemetery Lodge. Moreover, the Early Home had just been restored and still needed an expensive interpretive plan. Because of these competing issues, Corey placed solving the moisture problems at the Homestead on the back burner.

Solving curatorial problems at the Homestead presented a conundrum. Greeneville experiences hot, humid summers and cold, damp winters. That environment can promote the deterioration of poorly maintained masonry as a result of freezing and thawing of water that can accumulate in cracks and other voids within the masonry and the deterioration of exterior wood from rot due to moisture penetration However, this problem can be and has been effectively mitigated by routine maintenance. The most important issue was how to improve the environmental conditions needed to preserve the historic furnishings in the Homestead,

70. Regional Historian Len Brown, Review Comments: AJNHS, August 13, 1990, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

71. "Rehabilitation of President Andrew Johnson Homestead," PMIS Project 68569, Created February 2, 2001 (a statement in an internal NPS database called the Project Management Information System).

72. Corey began as a seasonal NPS employee at Grand Teton National Park in June 1973 where he first worked as a fee collector. After ranger training, he found positions at Grand Canyon and Everglades National Parks before becoming chief ranger at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, near Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1977. In 1984, after over six years at Guilford, he became a district ranger at Cape Hatteras National Seashore. He became superintendent of Ocmulgee in 1988. Mark Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley (SERO: National Park Service, 2006), 2-8

which itself was not at significant risk for lack of a modern heating, ventilation, and air conditioning (HVAC) system. Installation of a conventional climate-control system, as well as fire suppression equipment, which was also being recommended, could significantly jeopardize the material fabric of the historic structure. Installing wires, pipes, and insulating materials would mean punching through or tearing out walls or else leaving such components exposed, which would diminish the value of the building as a house museum. Moreover, improperly designed and installed cooling systems could actually induce condensation within walls, thus creating a new source of potential problems. Nearly all historic house museums face this dilemma. With reduced staff, Corey transitioned the park's interpretive regime to a guided-tour set up in 1992. This change, which also improved security and staff management, helped to keep dust and insects out of the building, which was now closed and locked unless a tour was actually in progress, but it also exacerbated the existing problems with the building's interior "climate."

By the end of the 1990s, park staff began pushing to resolve the curatorial problems at the Homestead. Funding was more likely since other pressing issues had been addressed. Concern with park curation had existed at least since Durham pointed out how valuable the Homestead's furnishings actually were, and these only became more valuable with time. The next step was to take another look at the historic structure information developed by Connally and Judd between 1956 and 1959.

In 1999 and 2000, a multi-disciplinary team from the Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta conducted a series of visits. Specialists included Christian Bookter, an exhibit expert, Steve Sherwood, an engineer, Bill Russell, a structural engineer, and John Gopaul, a mechanical and electrical engineer, as well as Regional Curator Allen Bohnert and historical architects Dan Scheidt and Jon Buono. The latter produced an amendment to Connally's original Historic Structure Report, or HSR, for the Johnson Homestead. Michael Henry, a specialist in interior environmental control with the firm of Watson & Henry Associates of Bridgeton, New Jersey, was also hired for the project.

When completed in 2001, the *Andrew Johnson Homestead, Historic Structure Report Amendment*

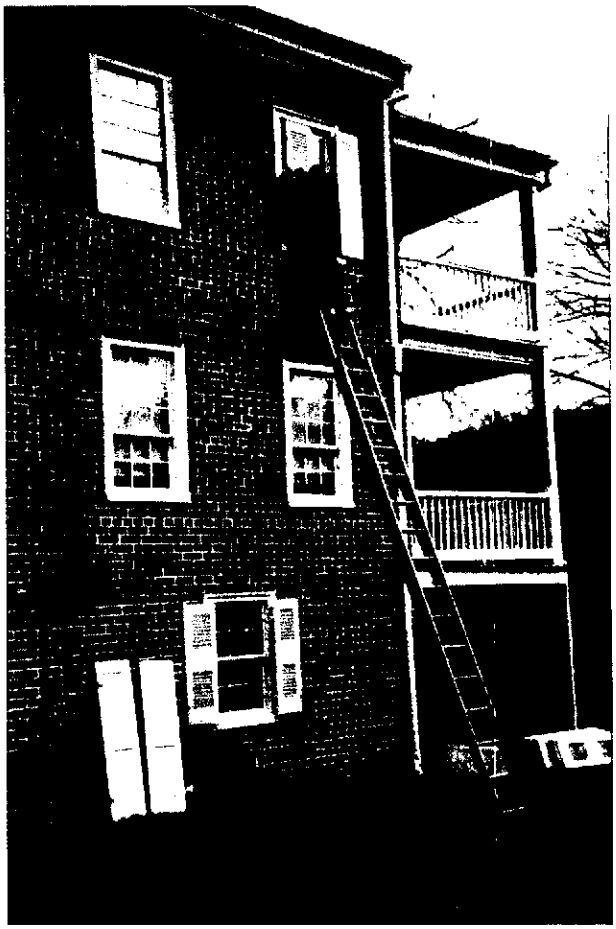

FIGURE 11. Workers repairing shutters on the Homestead. In 2001 Park staff began using these shutters to help moderate heat gain as Andrew Johnson would have done himself.

much praised the original restoration and rehabilitation by Connally and Judd for having "endured remarkably well." Nevertheless, the team's examination of the Homestead structure found a variety of problems needing special attention, many stemming from the difficult environment of Greeneville. Buono specially noted the team's concern with the structural stability of the second floor and roof, water penetration along the west wall, and hazards to the building's historic furnishings from lack of climate control.[73] Indeed, Henry's measurements of interior temperature and humidity indicated "extreme fluctuations in environmental conditions," which are a "primary cause of deterioration of many historic objects." According to the preservation team, "erratic fluctuations in relative humidity are responsible for problems that range from cracking of furniture finishes . . . to growth of molds and mildew."[74]

73. Ibid., 1-3.

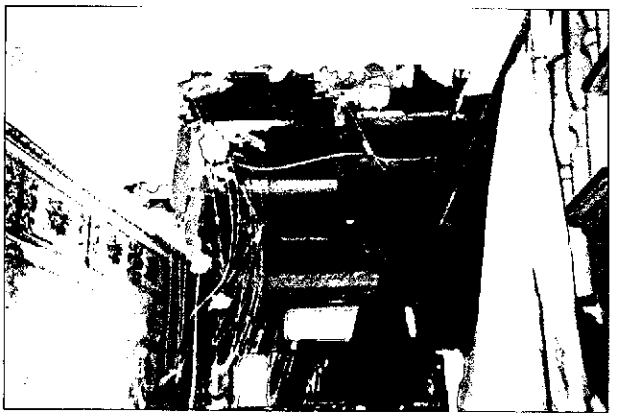

FIGURE 12. Between September 1, 2004 and August 3, 2005, workers installed modern climate control and fire suppression systems in the Homestead to protect the historic structure and its furnishings. As a prelude, shown here, antiquated ceiling heat coils had to be removed.

The NPS preservation team concluded that "to create a more stable environment for museum holdings within the Homestead, a more aggressive mechanical system must be installed." There was an important caveat—modern air conditioning was not advisable. Instead, the team recommended a new mechanical system that was to work in conjunction with park staff operating the historic home as its builder had intended by using shutters and airways to control heat gain and improve air circulation.[75] Excessive humidity was the primary threat to the collection inside the house, and so the temperature set point for heating would be based on desired interior relative humidity level and not necessarily on what might be comfortable for the building's occupants. Finally, the team recommended installation of a fire suppression system as well, a system that would require sensitive installation. As Buono stated, insensitive installation "can quickly destroy the historic character of a building like the Homestead." The entire project had to be conducted by a firm with demonstrated skill in working on historic preservation projects.[76]

During the humid summer of 2001, park staff attempted to combat the deleterious effects of humidity upon the historic furnishings and artifacts within the Andrew Johnson Homestead by shuttering the structure's windows from June through September while leaving the windows themselves open during business hours to allow air movement.[77] This use of the Homestead's shutters to control heat gain and improve air circulation would have been familiar to Andrew Johnson. The park submitted an initial funding request that year for $397,700, but the cost rose as time went on. An increase of over $85,000 was granted in 2003, and the project was bid to contractors in 2004.[78]

Eventually, Hartrampf, Inc., of Atlanta, Georgia, was chosen to do the design work while Keystone Restoration, Inc., of Palm Beach, Florida, was chosen as the general contractor. Their work was overseen by architect Jim Creech in the regional office and contracting officer Sonya Armstrong.[79]

In 2002, Superintendent Corey explained to the press that the rehabilitation was badly needed to prevent "rapid fluctuations in humidity and temperature" that was causing damage to historic objects and furnishings within the building. He had actually wanted to do it some ten years before but, as discussed, installing a new HVAC system was complicated by concerns that such a system might cause significant damage to the building's historic "fabric." Resolving those concerns had taken time, money, and the new study. Corey promised that the rehabilitation project would "ensure the continued preservation of the Homestead for the next generation of visitors."[80]

The Homestead was closed for renovations between September 1, 2004, and August 3, 2005, by far the longest period the structure had ever been closed to the public while under NPS-care. There was a significant negative impact on park visitation and sales from the bookstore.

One interesting aspect of the Homestead's rehabilitation was the discovery of Civil War graffiti during removal of wallpaper from the interior. This graffiti was noted by Henry Judd in 1957 during the original restoration of the building, and when the same graffiti was again uncovered, staff took the opportunity to photograph and map their findings. For interpretive purposes, they also left an area with

74. Ibid., 25.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 1-3.
77. Amy Overbay, "AJ Visitor Center Upgrades Facilities and Services," *Greeneville Sun*, March 16, 2001, B21. For security reasons, the windows were monitored during the day and closed at night.
78. "Rehabilitation of President Andrew Johnson Homestead," PMIS Project 68569.
79. SANR for Fiscal Year 2005.
80. Amy Overbay, "Johnson Homestead Upgrading to Cost Estimated $402,894," *Greeneville Sun*, October 18, 2002, A1, A7.

such graffiti exposed on a wall in Mrs. Johnson's room.[81]

As envisioned, renovations were extensive, costing $629,100.[82] The building's entire electrical system and its antiquated but non-historic heating system were replaced. The recommended environmental-control system was installed to deal with persistent humidity problems and new security and fire suppression systems were installed as well. Some structural repairs were also made, the non-historic porch decking and cedar roof were replaced, and new wallpaper was hung on the interior. A ceremony was held to open the building after its "rehabilitation."[83]

Long-time employee Elaine Clark, who had served at the park for forty-three years, was chosen to cut the ribbon for the opening. She had held important responsibilities for preserving the Homestead's historic objects and furnishings and had also performed numerous and well-remembered living history presentations at the site.[84] The tailoring shears she used to cut the ribbon had belonged to Andrew Johnson and were from the park's collection.[85]

The Role of Margaret Bartlett at Andrew Johnson

As ably told by Hugh Lawing in his account of the park's first years, Margaret Bartlett was a key influence on the creation and operation of the historic site named after her great-grandfather President Andrew Johnson. Indeed, she always insisted that her full name, Mrs. Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett, be used to connote her direct link to her famous ancestor. After helping to create the historic site, Bartlett went on to serve as a park guide, interpreting the Andrew Johnson Homestead, in which she herself was born and raised, for countless park visitors. She was and will forever retain a special place in the annals of NPS history for her lifelong enthusiasm and efforts to preserve the legacy of President Andrew Johnson. Bartlett served as Acting Superintendent from October 7, 1942 to March 3, 1943, and briefly as Custodian from March 4, 1943 until April 24, 1943.[86] It was uncommon for women to serve as superintendents in this period.[87]

In 2006, Curator Elaine R. Clark retired after serving forty-four years at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. She began her career on January 23, 1962. She was first hired as a GS-4 Museum Aide, but served in numerous positions. In 1973 Clark organized the Homestead piano living history demonstrations that took place for many years. She made the dresses for the young girls who performed and worked overtime to oversee them. She retired as park Curator, GS-9, the position she most loved and which she learned mostly on the job with the help of NPS training courses. In a 2002 interview, Clark recalled that one of her most memorable experiences was accompanying park historian Hugh Lawing on their trip to Harpers Ferry Center where they recorded the oral memoirs of Margaret Bartlett.[88] On July 3, 2005, Clark received special recognition for her long service to the historic site when NPS Director Fran Mainella visited to present her with a special plaque during a "covered dish picnic."[89]

On September 9, 1974, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton presented Mrs. Bartlett with the thirty-year Meritorious Service Award at his offices in the Interior Building in Washington, DC. The award and special ceremony was a suggestion made by park historian Hugh Lawing. The Department sought to honor Bartlett for her accomplishments, her aid to the National Park Service, and her unique link to President Andrew

81. SANR for Fiscal Year 2005.
82. "Andrew Johnson Homestead to Reopen this Wednesday," *Greeneville Sun*, August 2, 2005, A7.
83. "Andrew Johnson Homestead to Reopen this Wednesday," *Greeneville Sun*, August 2, 2005, A7.
84. "Andrew Johnson Homestead to Reopen this Wednesday," *Greeneville Sun*, August 2, 2005, A7.
85. SANR for Fiscal Year 2005.
86. Mark Corey, e-mail to Cameron Binkley and John Beck, December 20, 2006.
87. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975; "Recognition Shown Mrs. Bartlett by National Park Service in Washington," *Greeneville Daily Sun*, August 9, 1974; "Mrs. Margaret Bartlett Recipient of Special Service Awards in Washington," unidentified press clipping, September 10, 1974, in AJNHS archives.
88. All information obtained from Clark, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken, passim.
89. SANR for Fiscal Year 2005.

FIGURE 13. In 2005 Director Fran Mainella (l) presented Elaine R. Clark (r) a special award for her long service at Andrew Johnson historic site. Rep. William L. Jenkins and Superintendent Mark Corey are also shown. (ANJO Coll.)

Johnson. Superintendent Abelson, Director Ronald H. Walker, and Tennessee Rep. James Quillen, among others, were all present when Bartlett received her award. Unfortunately, by the day of the ceremony, Bartlett had already retired due to mandatory age limits. After September 30, 1973, however, she continued to interpret at the Homestead part-time. She retired fully on October 9, 1976, after 34 years, 3 months, 17 days of service. Bartlett's full retirement from the park ended an era. As the last direct descendent of President Andrew Johnson, she was highly influential in prompting action to preserve Johnson's physical legacy and commemorating his historical one. As the *Greeneville Sun* observed upon her retirement, "it was Mrs. Bartlett herself whose conviction and determination eventually led to the establishment of the Andrew Johnson National Monument." Thereafter, the paper continued, "it has been unusual not to find her slightly battered black car parked beside the Johnson home on Main Street, and not to find her inside guiding visitors from far and near through the home where she herself lived so many years." In fact, the paper held that Bartlett's presence in the parlor of the Homestead, retelling family stories about the "tailor-President," almost made it seem as if Johnson were there in person.[90]

In one of her last acts prior to retirement, "Mrs. Bartlett used her influence" to get the Greeneville Light and Power Company to place a light to illuminate the Homestead parking lot while removing one which impeded use of the Homestead's front door, which opened directly to the street. Certainly, Bartlett's day-to-day presence at the park was missed. After her resignation, the park had to downgrade her GS-7 Museum Technician position for budgetary reasons.[91] That position was filled by Ronald B. Pyron, who started on June 7, 1977, as a GS-5 Museum Technician.[92] Of course, Bartlett remained in touch with park affairs after her retirement, especially through her cousin Ralph Phinney, who often represented her at various ceremonies, especially Memorial Day observances and the laying of presidential wreaths on Andrew Johnson's birthday.

One important ceremony that Bartlett participated in after her retirement was the unveiling of a bronze plaque at the park to honor her own parents, Andrew Johnson and Mattie Patterson, for their contributions to establishing the historic site. Deputy Regional Director Neal G. Guse, Jr., and Mrs. Paul Metcalfe of the DAR spoke briefly in dedicating the plaque, which was placed on the wall of the porch of the Homestead. Bartlett's mother had served as Regent of the Nolichuckey Chapter, DAR in its infancy. After returning to Tennessee after serving as U.S. Ambassador to British Guyana, Andrew Johnson Patterson and his wife prodded the state to take responsibility for the Tailor Shop, which it did in 1923. By then the Federal government had already accepted the Johnson family burial grounds as the nucleus for a national cemetery. With these accomplishments, the cornerstone of the future national monument was laid. When Mattie Patterson and her daughter later offered to transfer the Andrew Johnson Homestead to the National Park Service, it enabled the creation of Andrew Johnson National Monument. Mrs. Patterson served as a historical aid to the park after it was created in 1942 and until her death in March 1948. Margaret Bartlett followed in her mother's

90. Editorial, "Margaret Patterson Bartlett: A. Johnson Would be Proud," *Greeneville Sun*, October 12, 1976.

91. SANR for 1976, December 1, 1976.

92. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978. Pyron held a degree in Park and Recreation Administration from the University of Tennessee, had served as a seasonal ranger at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument and Crater Lake National Park, and was a former Marine Corps helicopter pilot. See "Ron Pyron Joins Staff at Andrew Johnson Site," Greeneville Sun, June 20, 1977; and "Miss Cuttshall, Mr. Pyron to Wed," unidentified newspaper clipping, June 22, 1977, in AJNHS archives.

footsteps by supporting the park through donations of the family's Johnson-related artifacts and her interpretive assistance over many decades.[93]

One of the most important events relating to the relationship between Bartlett and the Park Service was Hugh Lawing's effort to interview and record for posterity her memories and the family traditions of the life of her famous ancestor. Bartlett had refused many attempts by Lawing to be interviewed over the years while she worked at the park, but such reluctance was not particular to the Park Service. Bartlett had equally frustrated the editor of the *Greeneville Sun,* whose entreaties "to sit down with one or more reporters and help us tell *Sun* readers her story" were similarly rebuffed.[94] "After eight years of effort," stated Superintendent Abelson in his annual report for 1980, "arrangements were made for Great-Granddaughter Mrs. Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett to tape her recollections." Historian Lawing and Park Technician Elaine Clark made a trip to Harpers Ferry Center where six hours of tapes were eventually produced.[95]

During her interviews, Bartlett made some interesting observations about the Homestead, its restoration, grounds, and furnishings. She felt that a smokehouse and other outbuildings needed to be re-established for interpretation. Such structures were typical of a Civil War-era residence. Bartlett also recalled that there had been a vegetable and flower garden to the rear of the Homestead as well as a grape arbor that went the length of that garden. Based upon these recollections, the Park Service later added a vegetable and flower garden. In 1980, a small herb garden was established. Bartlett also expressed hope that the Park Service would restore the "old gum" spring that had been the reason the Johnson family first camped on the property upon their arrival in Greeneville. Bartlett also discussed the Early Home, and noted that its basement had once been used as a kitchen. She also thought that a spring had been located outside the kitchen door there. Bartlett acknowledged that no authentic Johnson furnishings existed from the Early Home, but she hoped the Park Service would restore the building, supply it with a library of Johnson-related books and papers, and open at least part of the building as a public reading room. After spending several days recording, the trio also visited the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, where Bartlett advised staff there on a display of former first ladies that included her great-grandmother.[96]

FIGURE 14. Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton presented Margaret Bartlett with two service awards at the Interior Building on September 9, 1974.

It was probably no coincidence that Bartlett mentioned during the oral history interview her desire for the Park Service to open a reading room in the Early Home. She was, in fact, hoping to donate a collection of family books and documents, known as the "Johnson-Patterson law library," to the Park Service. She wanted this collection to be placed in the Homestead, or as suggested in her interview, the Early Home. Superintendent Abelson wanted to accept her offer but sought guidance from Southeast Regional Director Joe Brown.

93. "Patterson Plaque Unveiled in Ceremonies at AJ Home," *Greeneville Sun,* May 13, 1978, 1, 6; "Patterson Plaque to be Dedicated at AJ Home," *Greeneville Sun,* May 11, 1978. The plaque was made by the Michaels Art Bronze Company of Covington, Kentucky.
94. Editorial, "Margaret Patterson Bartlett: A. Johnson Would be Proud," *Greeneville Sun,* October 12, 1976.
95. SANR (for 1980), February 5, 1981. The tapes were transcribed by park interpreter Kendra Hinkle between 2001and 2002.

Maintenance of the collection would likely require additional funding or have other implications.

Brown consulted a committee of Southeast Regional experts and Assistant Director Ross Holland in Washington on the proper care and best manner in which to assure the long-term preservation of Bartlett's library, which was composed of many nineteenth-century volumes once owned and used by her grand-father and great-grandfather, President Andrew Johnson. Some of the volumes, whose bindings were deteriorating, needed immediate conservation care.

After considering these issues, Brown declined to accept the Johnson-Patterson Library. To preserve the collection, he regretfully told Bartlett, "it should have early and expert care and continued attention by specialists in the library science field. In addition, suitable and sophisticated environmental controls should be provided in an appropriate building for the continued preservation of the books." In 1980, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site did not possess suitable museum-caliber storage facilities. Brown thus concluded that "our interest and yours in seeing the library kept intact in good condition and in an area suitable for scholarly use dictates that an operation other than the National Park Service be entrusted with it."

Abelson noted that many factors influenced the decision not to accept the library of the former president and his son. One factor was that the Early Home, once restored, would not be an appropriate venue to host a collection of materials that largely post-dated the building's association with the Johnson family. "Ideally," Abelson lamented, "the Park Service should have accepted the "Johnson-Patterson Law Office" some 20 years ago when it was available." Had it done so, he thought, the Service would then have had the perfect venue for the library.[97] Thus, according to Abelson, "the Park Service rejected her strings-attached donation on the basis of no funds to staff and maintain a library which we believe has no research value as far as President Johnson is concerned." Instead, Bartlett finally donated her collection to Tusculum College, where it is now housed in the President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library.[98]

In 1981, Bartlett donated additional funds to construct a replica of Andrew Johnson's birthplace at Tusculum College. This replica was dedicated on November 24, 1981.[99] Bartlett was a 1924 graduate of Tusculum College and certainly her alma mater was a viable alternative repository to the National Park Service, both in terms of public access and conservation. The President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library, which opened in 1994 on the campus of the two-hundred-year-old school, was partially a result of Bartlett's efforts to find a home for the collection. It apparently helped to inspire Harry Roberts, Brenda Knott, Ralph Phinney, and other community leaders to found the museum, which was first directed by Alvin Gerhardt.[100]

In 1983, Hugh Lawing consulted with Mary Maruca at NPS headquarters in Washington, DC, about unusual accessioned items and some unique curatorial problems at the park.[101] His concern was partially related to several Johnson items owned by Bartlett that were originally housed at the Homestead, but which she had retained when the structure was turned over to the Park Service. These items were appraised by the park in 1983, with input from Corina Booth of the Curiosity Shop in Johnson City, to help plan future park purchases. In fact, that year the park did purchase additional Johnson-related items for its museum collection.

96. "Park Personnel Visits Harpers Ferry; Mrs. Bartlett's Recollections Taped," *Greeneville Sun*, May 27, 1980. During an excavation in 1998, NPS archeologists from the Southeast Archeological Center located structural remains on the Homestead grounds believed to be the Johnson smokehouse, but no archeological evidence of other outbuildings has been found. Archeologists in 1978 and 1979 also did not find evidence to support Bartlett's assertion that the Early Home's basement was a kitchen when they examined the property prior to its restoration. See Jay T. Sturdevant and Charles F. Lawson, "Remote-Sensing and Archeological Survey of the Andrew Johnson Homestead at the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site" (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 2002).
97. "National Park Service Here Declines Library Donation," [*Greeneville Sun*], June 27, 1980, in AJNHS archives. The article was based upon a letter released by Superintendent Lloyd Abelson from Regional Director Joe Brown to Margaret Bartlett. The original letter has not been located.
98. SANR for 1980, February 5, 1981.
99. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
100. For more information about the efforts of Margaret Bartlett to find a repository for the Johnson collection, see Maria Taylor, "Tusculum Opens Johnson Museum/Library and Coffin Collection," *Greeneville Sun*, September 9, 1994, B14-B15.
101. SANR for 1983, February 13, 1984.

The effort was assisted by Wendy Chason of the Southeast Regional Office, Bartlett's cousin Ralph Phinney, her attorney John Cartwright, and park staff. At the same time, a coat supposedly made by Andrew Johnson was also donated to the park by George Wright.[102]

During the 1980s, Margaret Bartlett's health slowly deteriorated and she moved into a nursing home in 1983. Afterwards, her nearest relative, Ralph Phinney, often represented her for the annual laying of the wreath upon the grave of Andrew Johnson. Finally, in September 1991, Bartlett suffered a major stroke. She recovered enough to leave the hospital but her health further declined that summer and she died on August 1, 1992. She was 88 years old. Bartlett's death was widely reported in eastern Tennessee and preparations for her funeral necessarily and extensively involved the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. At her own request, services for Bartlett were scheduled to take place in the Homestead, where she herself was born and where in 1949 she was married to the late William Thaw Bartlett, a Presbyterian Minister from Maryville, Tennessee. Margaret Bartlett was buried in the Johnson family plot on the summit of Monument Hill in Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. She was the last surviving direct descendant of President Johnson and thus was also the last to be buried within the historic family plot in the shadow of the Andrew Johnson Memorial. Her passing marked the end of an era for Greeneville, which lost its living link to the town's most famous citizen. It was also a sad day for Tennessee, and politicians from the governor on down quickly offered public condolences.[103]

The passing of Margaret Bartlett represented a great shift for the park. Bartlett and her mother are credited with convincing political leaders to establish the Andrew Johnson presidential site, according to Superintendent Mark Corey, who had

FIGURE 15. Margaret Bartlett with Hugh Lawing at Harpers Ferry Center in 1980. (ANJO Coll.)

the awkward task of commenting on Bartlett's role at the historic site, even though he had not known her personally and had just come on staff. Hugh Lawing, retired since 1984, had supervised Bartlett for some twenty years and remembered her as "very, very effective with the public," especially children. "I will remember her affectionately always as 'Mrs. B,'" he said, "and will treasure the good relationship we enjoyed as co-workers, striving to perpetuate the memory of her great-grandfather, Andrew Johnson."[104]

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site closed at noon on Monday, August 3 so staff could prepare for the services. Margaret Bartlett's body lay in state at the Homestead from about 5:00 PM that evening until her funeral began at 6:00 PM on Tuesday, August 4, 1992. The Rev. Garland E. Long, Jr., pastor of Christ United Methodist Church, officiated the ceremony.[105] All the events were carried out as planned and the park reopened as

102. Ibid.

103. John M. Jones, Jr., "Margaret Bartlett Dies at Age 88: Was Closest Living Descendent of President Andrew Johnson," *Greeneville Sun*, August 3, 1992, A1, A5. The Nolichuckey Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), which Margaret Bartlett was a long-time member, discussed her life and work in the February 1993 issue of *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*. The article is summarized in "DAR Magazine Honors Mrs. Bartlett: She was Crucial in Establishment of AJ Historic Site," *Greeneville Sun*, February 25, 1993.

104. "Mrs. Bartlett Remembered: A Staunch Guardian of the Johnson Legacy," *Greeneville Sun*, August 3, 1992, A1, A4.

105. Jones, "Margaret Bartlett Dies at Age 88," A1, A5.

scheduled on Wednesday. Despite a rush of hectic preparations for the services and interment as well as intense public scrutiny, park staff were praised for "a job well done."[106]

Her funeral was announced to NPS employees that day in an e-mailed "SEROGram" from the Office of Communications in the Regional Office:

> (GREENEVILLE, TENN.)—Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett, who was a "human fixture" in the Homestead at the Andrew Johnson NHS until her retirement in 1976, will be buried in the family portion of the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery this evening.
>
> The last great granddaughter of the 17th President of the United States died Saturday in a Greeneville nursing home where she had been living the past several years. She had served as a guide in the Homestead for more than 34 years.
>
> Nearly 200 people paid their respects to Mrs. Bartlett yesterday at the Homestead. Her 97-year-old cousin, Ralph Phinney, of Greeneville, is her nearest living relative.
>
> Mrs. Bartlett's funeral is scheduled for 6 p.m. today.[107]

The Homestead Cultural Landscape

The earliest and most descriptive of a scattering of contemporary accounts of the Homestead's landscape during Johnson's lifetime was published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on September 23, 1865:

> As you pass along the pavement on Main Street, by looking into the lot you see several young apple trees, and in the spaces between them are potatoes growing. In the rear of the kitchen stands a small aspen shade-tree, and down there in the lower end of the lot is a grape vine, trained upon a trellis forming a pleasant bower. Scattered over the lot are a number of rose, currant, and gooseberry bushes. At the lower end of the lot and just outside stand two large weeping willows, and under their shade is a very beautiful spring.

Leslie also published the earliest known image of the Andrew Johnson Homestead to accompany the article quoted above. A few additional bare accounts and a photograph of the same scene taken the day Johnson was buried constitute most of what is known about the landscape of the Homestead from archival sources.

As previously discussed, accomplished architectural historian Ernest Allen Connally extensively researched Andrew Johnson Homestead prior to its restoration under the direction of architect Henry Judd in the late 1950s. Their work also resulted in a landscape plan for the 1.9-acre Homestead property. Neither had much more information to draw upon then than has anyone after them. Their treatment plan has never been viewed as a fully accurate representation of the historic setting in Johnson's lifetime and is more typical of twentieth-century residential landscape design. Nevertheless, Connally and Judd established a set of parameters by which to manage the landscape surrounding the Homestead. If not completely accurate, it was at least a plan.

Unfortunately, even the basic 1958 landscape plan has not always been followed by park managers. A 1967 existing conditions drawing indicates that additional plants, including climbing roses, althea, privet, Japanese holly, peonies, raspberries, tiger lilies, and a grape arbor were all added to the site in the intervening years. A subsequent 1967 drawing suggested removing many of these additions, although it would still not accurately represent the 1875 landscape. Additionally, Superintendent Lloyd Abelson noted in his log on May 3, 1971, that "Mrs. Bartlett found an aspen tree which replaced dead willow at Homestead."[108] The aspen may or may not have been appropriate, but, absent an authentic historic landscape plan, who was going to argue with the venerable keeper of Johnson's legacy?

Indeed, Abelson recognized as far back as 1974 that "a Historic Landscape Plan should be prepared for the Homestead Grounds so that by attrition the semi-modern landscape can revert to a typical

106. Hugh Lawing, "Park Service Staff Commended for Response to Bartlett Death," *Greeneville Sun*, August 10, 1992.

107. Park Files, "ANJO General" Folder, SERO.

108. Lloyd A. Abelson, Superintendent, Log of Events, May 1971.

period setting."[109] On May 23, the following year, a small tornado struck the Homestead grounds. The tornado uprooted five large trees, including a historic pecan tree at the rear of the building, and damaged seven others.[110] This was probably not the type of attrition that Abelson had in mind, but the event illustrated how difficult it was to restore or maintain a living landscape as a "typical period setting." However, Abelson was uncertain what the "period setting" was supposed to be—which trees should he replace and with what? In 1975, Abelson drafted a proposal for funding development of a historic landscape plan for the Homestead grounds. He hoped to get this "special need" study by tying it directly to the storm damage, but for unknown reasons, funds were not forthcoming.[111]

Without a plan and left to his own discretion, Abelson did engage in some landscaping at the Homestead. In April 1976, he had park staff uproot the roses around the site. In their place the park planted strains of roses which had been introduced to the United States prior to 1850.[112] In 1977, Abelson again asked for regional office support to complete "a simple 1865-1875 Period Landscape plan" for the Homestead. He noted that the existing general plan was outdated and did not reflect the historic period's conditions.[113] Again, it was not a top regional priority and Abelson received no funding.

In 1979 a wedding was held on the Homestead grounds, for which a special use permit was issued. In addition, the Greeneville Art Guild rejuvenated its long-running Hobby Fair co-sponsored by the Park Service and held at the Homestead each year. The event typically included craft demonstrations and exhibits. That year, there were bagpipes, story-telling, square-dancing, and clogging. The adjacent tobacco Warehouse was used as a flea market. "It was an outstanding success," Abelson happily reported, and he noted his desire to extend the event to two full days, "if overnight protection problem can be resolved."

A problem for park officials of the time was that local law enforcement officials were not authorized

FIGURE 16. "The Residence of President Johnson at Greenville, East Tenn," published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, September 23, 1865, made from an ambrotype by Marsh and Reiff of Greeneville, Tennessee (Source: Benjamin H. Davis, *The Home Andrew Johnson Purchased in 1851*, NPS, 1956)

FIGURE 17. This photograph of the Homestead, one of the few from the period, was taken on August 3, 1875, the day of Johnson's funeral. Note the black ribbons on the shutters. (from Benjamin H. Davis, "The Home Andrew Johnson Purchased in 1851," National Park Service, 1956)

to police park property, which belonged to the Federal government.[114] Somehow, however, Abelson made arrangements to guard vendor goods overnight, and a two-day Hobby Fair was held on October 11 and 12, 1981. It was again co-sponsored by the Greeneville Arts Guild and the park and was held at the Homestead with thirty-one exhibitors who were housed under borrowed Army and funeral home tents. The TVA Nolichucky Environmental Center provided an energy exhibit

109. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
110. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
111. Ibid.
112. "A New Look," *Greeneville Sun*, April 19, 1976.
113. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
114. SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.

FIGURE 18. Supt. Lloyd Abelson, 1980. (ANJO Coll.)

that included a small diesel tractor, electric and "gas haulsters," an energy computer, and a solar panel.[115] The following year saw even more exhibitors—forty-one, the highest ever—but unfortunately cold weather meant that "only dedicated customers" turned out.[116]

Another feature at the Hobby Fair in 1981 was interpretation of the new herb garden, planted the year before. Volunteers and exhibitors explained the garden's use and sold herbs and soap. It was known that Andrew Johnson had a garden, but herbs are not mentioned. The NPS garden included both cooking herbs, such as chives, oregano, tarragon, and marjoram, and medicinal herbs, such as marigold and comfrey.[117]

Sadly, Lloyd Abelson did not have much time to enjoy the garden as his life was cut short in September 1982. His obituary in the *Greenville Sun* ran the next day:

> *Death On-Duty of Superintendent Lloyd A. Abelson*
>
> Late in the afternoon of September 13, 1982, Superintendent Lloyd A. Abelson suffered a heart attack while working in his office. Administrative Officer Opal Coffman was the only employee on hand. She called police immediately after Abelson suddenly coughed and developed difficulty breathing. Coffman did not have first aid training, although she sought help from an unnamed pickup truck driver whom she stopped on the street. A few minutes later, an ambulance arrived and rescuers started CPR and IV treatment and rushed Abelson to Takoma Adventist Hospital, where he later died. He was sixty years old.[118]

Abelson joined the Park Service in 1956 after completing Mankata State Teachers College and teaching history in Pipestone, Minnesota. Before becoming superintendent of Andrew Johnson, Abelson served as chief historian at Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, where he began in 1960.[119] Of him, the *Greeneville Sun* said that "Abelson's involvement in community activities and personal character have brought him the respect of National Park Service personnel as well as members of the community."[120]

Abelson had overseen the National Cemetery for twelve years. He had also flown for the Navy in World War II and space was found for his interment on the southern slope of Monument Hill.[121] Abelson's casket was born by NPS pallbearers, mostly maintenance staff and Hugh Lawing, who assumed acting responsibility until a new superintendent could be found.[122]

In October 1982, Regional Director Bob Baker announced that Grady C. Webb would be transferred to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site to take over the management position left vacant by Lloyd Abelson's untimely death. Webb assumed authority on November 17, 1982. Before coming to Andrew Johnson, Webb was superintendent of Fort Pulaski National Monument near Savannah, Georgia.[123]

115. SANR for 1980, February 5, 1981.
116. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
117. "Herb Harvest," *Greeneville Sun*, June 28, 1980, 11.
118. "Lloyd Abelson Dies at 60," *Greeneville Sun*, September 14, 1982, 6.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Everett W. Chandler, "Ranger Remembers Veterans at National Cemetery," *Greeneville Sun*, November 2, 1990. Incidentally, Chandler, who was a counselor at South Greene High School, retired in 1998 as a part-time ranger after thirty-six years of service at AJNHS.
122. Hugh Lawing, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken (Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, 2002), 3.

Webb had grown up in the nearby town of Cosby, Tennessee, and lived only a mile or so from the entrance to Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Despite the sad circumstances, he was happy to return to the area where he and his wife Estelle enjoyed hiking and fishing. Webb told a local reporter two weeks after arriving that "I saw most of the world in the Navy. I've seen every continent except Antarctica, and viewed a lot of beautiful places. But to me, East Tennessee and Western North Carolina [sic] are among the most beautiful places in the world." He admitted, however, that prior to taking the position at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, he knew little about Greenville's presidential history. When asked if it was a handicap to come to a historical site without any knowledge of its background, Webb replied that it was debatable. He had known little about Fort Pulaski either prior to becoming manager of that park. "You pick up information like that very quickly," he said. Webb explained that every historical site had a distinct flavor; and speaking about management, Webb added "you have a little different way of operating wherever you are." He noted that more staff was required to run the Andrew Johnson site than the park's size indicated, because it was broken into three major components spread out over a mile in distance. Webb inherited a park staff of eleven personnel, although not all were full-time. These included administrative assistant Opal Coffman, historian Hugh Lawing, park technicians Ron Pyron, Elaine Clark, Ed Spear, and Everett Chandler. Sarah Wilhoit continued her long-standing position as housekeeper for the Andrew Johnson Homestead, while maintenance employees included Tony Reaves, Douglas Jones, and Bill Teilman.[124]

In early 1983, new Superintendent Grady Webb notified the regional office that a past manager had apparently replaced a willow near the historic spring on the Homestead property with an aspen, although the willow was one of the few landscape

123. SANR for 1982, February 23, 1983; "Park Service Appoints Webb," *Greeneville Sun*, October 9, 1982.

124. Cameron Judd, "Back to the Hills: Grady Webb is Back in the County He Loves," *Greeneville Sun*, December 15, 1982.

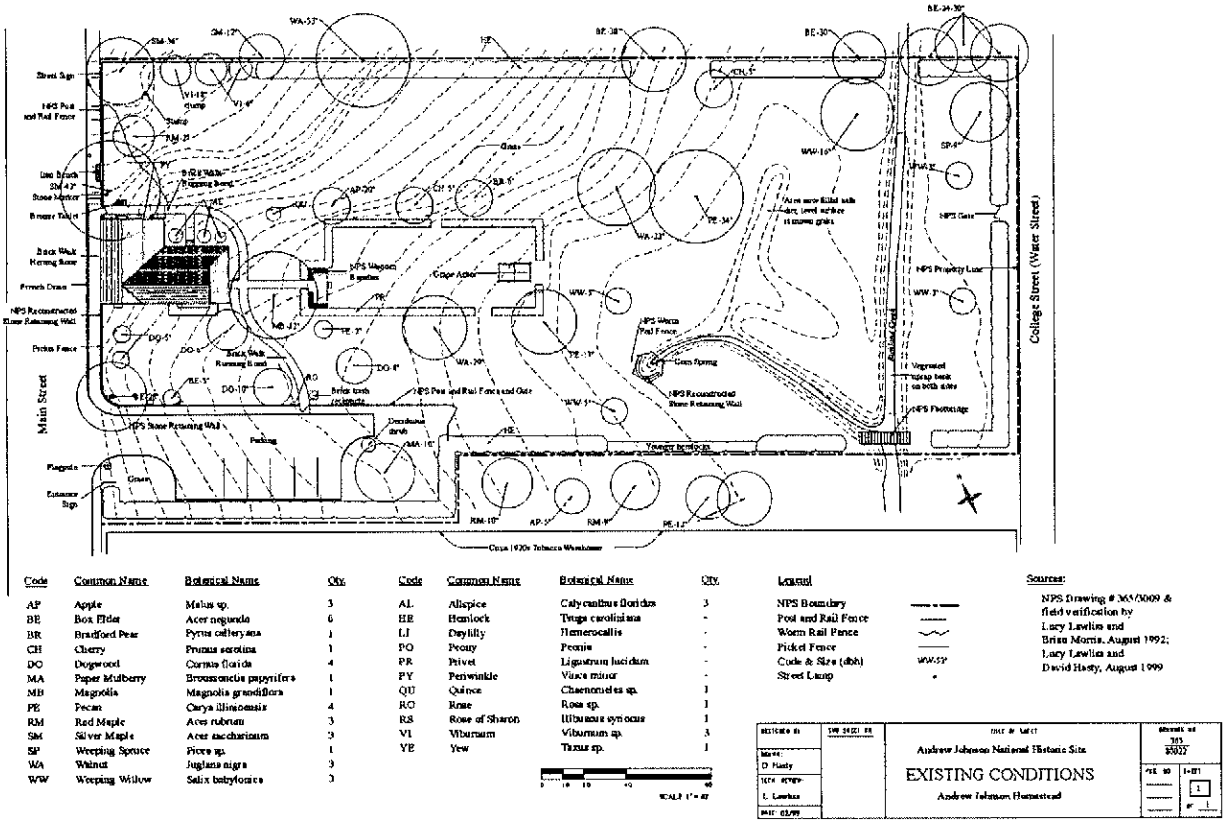

FIGURE 19. Plan of the Homestead grounds, showing existing conditions in August 1999.

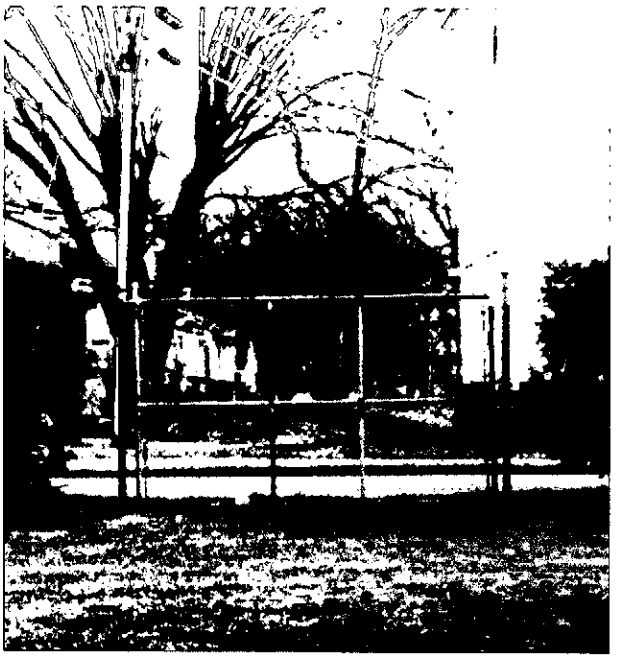

FIGURE 20. Photograph showing non-historic chain link fence along the eastern boundary of the Andrew Johnson Homestead that Supt. Gordon Wilson had removed in the early 1990s.

features known to have existed in Johnson's time.[125] Was this the aspen selected by Margaret Bartlett in 1971?

Based upon Webb's revelations, Acting Regional Director Neal G. Guse, Jr., concluded that "the original landscape plan of 1957-58 has been severely modified by park managers over the past 25 years." "We heartily agree," he went on, "that the landscaping of a historic area should not be left to the 'whims of the person momentarily in charge,'" and he approved Webb's "Development/Study Package Proposal" to prepare an 1865-1875 period landscape plan. "Hopefully," Guse concluded, "the new landscape plan will rectify that mistake and not become subject to the tampering that negated the earlier plan."[126]

In May 1983, Webb set out to prepare an 1865-1875 period landscape plan for the Homestead property. As with Abelson, he did not get far. His own proposal hinted at a difficult mission. According to Webb, the park planned to "review existing research which has shown that few details of the original layout exist." To mitigate what was expected to be insufficient information about the Homestead's historic landscape, Webb sought to "research typical period East Tennessee landscaping and adapt to existing layout, considering the practical, no frills character of President Johnson."[127]

In the 1980s, the landscape problem faced by Homestead managers was that its grounds retained only a few original plantings "overshadowed by post-family additions and typical modern Park Service landscaping." According to Webb, the pecan, azalea, rhododendron, periwinkle, Baltic ivy, and yew on the property were not contemporary with Johnson. Webb hoped to get an NPS historic landscape architect or an "A & E contract with an accredited university" to draft the landscape plan. Then, again like Abelson, he expected park staff to implement the plan through "attrition, gradual elimination or addition."[128]

One thing that was known about the Homestead landscape was that several of its willow trees descended from those alive in Johnson's time. The aspen planted by Bartlett notwithstanding, the willows had usually been replaced as they died with cuttings from the originals. A few historic references, notably the Civil War-era report in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* described a garden at the Homestead kept by Johnson. This was the reason, along with Margaret Bartlett's prodding, that Abelson had park staff create a small herb garden on the grounds in 1980. More extensive research would be needed, however, to recreate a more authentic landscape. The Park Service also knew the location of several outbuildings, but NPS policy opposed restoring such structures unless they were key to the site's interpretation.[129]

Webb and Guse apparently had hoped to use operational funds to finance the landscape plan

125. Aspens were also noted in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* account of the ground in 1865. Acting Regional Director, Memorandum (entitled "Historic Landscape Plan, Andrew Johnson Homestead") to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson, June 22, 1983, in Andrew Johnson National Historic Site files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.

126. Ibid.

127. Grady Webb, "Development/Study Package Proposal: Historic Landscaping Plan: A. Johnson 1851 Homestead," approved June 22, 1983 by Acting Regional Director Neal G. Guse, in Andrew Johnson National Historic Site files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO. The fairly subjective statement by Superintendent Grady Webb about Johnson's "no frills character was later scratched out.

128. Ibid.

proposal. However, the Regional Comptroller returned the application with a cryptic statement that the project was a park and regional responsibility and thus "this package would not be entered into the multi-year [funding plan]."[130] Webb never got funding for the study, and the problem remained unresolved under the park's next superintendent, Gordon Wilson. When later asked to describe how he had managed the landscape of the Homestead between 1988 and 1991, Wilson merely noted the loss of "a willow tree that was probably four or five feet in circumference." Unable to recall if the tree was actually replanted or not, he stated: "I don't think at that time that we had a Landscape Plan done for the Homestead grounds themselves."[131]

Wilson was not operating by any plan, but in 1990, he executed a positive change in how the Homestead landscape appeared. He developed a proposal to remove a non-historic chain-link fence at the Homestead and to extend an existing wooden rail fence. His concern was simply to improve the property's appearance.

Wilson filed his proposal on December 17, 1990, and asked to obtain the necessary Section-106 clearance. The non-historic chain-link fence along the property's northern boundary was certainly an eyesore, and Wilson wanted to replace it with a wooden gate and an extension of an existing hedge. The other action was to extend an existing split-rail fence that was constructed along the eastern boundary of the property during the restoration of the Homestead in 1958. The extension would trace the path of an earlier, modern fence that was removed during construction, leaving a forty-five-foot gap that was unsightly.[132] Regional cultural resource specialists supported the proposed action as did the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office. The Southeast Regional Office wrote the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for its concurrence on February 5, 1991, explaining "that the landscaping of the Homestead is more of a background for the house than the actual period setting," as stated in the Homestead's National Register nomination.[133] The Advisory Council concurred on March 28, 1991, that the project would have "no adverse effect," and Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul Hartwig authorized Wilson to proceed when funds were available.[134] Although the park and regional office cultural resources staff sometimes clashed as they tried to identify and develop the appropriate standards and treatments for historic properties, Wilson noted that "everybody was glad to see the chain link go."[135]

In 1992, under Superintendent Mark Corey, the park again sought to develop an authentic landscape plan for the Homestead. Corey pushed the issue farther than any of his predecessors. Because the park lacked a current plan for the historic landscape, Corey was left in a murky situation and decided to replace the Homestead's trees "in kind" as they died. His request was approved on October 28, 1992.[136]

The next year, Corey, who was more familiar with the site by then, amended his proposal for replacing trees in kind to instead base Homestead planting decisions on the 1958 planting plan, still the only

129. Project Statement: Historic Landscape Plan, Andrew Johnson, 6, in Andrew Johnson National Historic Site files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.
130. Chief, Program and Budget Division, SER, Memorandum (entitled "Historic Landscape Plan, Package 107...") to Chief, Cultural Resource Management Division, SER, June 29, 1983, in Andrew Johnson National Historic Site files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.
131. Gordon Wilson, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken (Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, 2002), 12.
132. Gordon Wilson, "Assessment of Actions Having an Effect on Cultural Resources" form for the fence removal, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, December 19, 1990, in Section 106 files, "Replacement of Fence at the Johnson Homestead" folder, Division of Cultural Resources, SERO.
133. John E. Ehrehard for Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, Letter to Robert D. Bush, Executive Director, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, February 5, 1991, in Section 106 files, "Replacement of Fence at the Johnson Homestead" folder, Division of Cultural Resources, SERO.
134. Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, Memorandum (entitled "Section 106 Clearance, replacement of fence at the Johnson Homestead") to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, April 8, 1991; and Don L. Kima, Director, Eastern Office of Project Review, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Letter to Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, March 28, 1991, both in Section 106 files, "Replacement of Fence at the Johnson Homestead" folder, Division of Cultural Resources, SERO.
135. Gordon Wilson, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken (Appalachian State University, Tennessee, 2002), 12.

formal NPS-approved planting plan for the site. Although, as noted above, the problem with that plan was its generic nature due to the lack of historical documentation, Corey proposed to use it as a base map for replanting trees "until a complete historic landscape plan can be developed for this site."[137] Some historic trees needed to be replaced in kind when they died, but others had in fact been planted by previous NPS managers or post-Johnson occupants and were thus not historic. The 1958 plan, though flawed, was at least better than replacing trees in kind that had been planted without regard to the historic landscape at all. Corey had discovered, as had Webb before, that arbitrary decisions had been made in the past. Regional staff, including cultural resources staff, readily supported Corey's proposed amendment, which was approved on January 22, 1993.[138]

Some disagreement later arose over Corey's subsequent proposal to propagate replacements for the Homestead's long-lived but old and declining willow trees by taking cuttings from the historic willows and planting them in a row along the east side of Richland Creek. Since a row of willows in that location was neither a part of the original historic landscape nor of the 1958 plan, Regional Historical Landscape Architect Lucy Lawliss rejected the proposal. Noting that willows tend to sprout wide-ranging roots, making them difficult to transplant, Lawliss suggested that the park contract with a local nursery or college to propagate historic cuttings from the existing trees known to have been present on the property during Johnson's time. This strategy would ensure that appropriate stock remained available to replace those that would eventually die.[139]

This debate increased awareness that Andrew Johnson National Historic Site still lacked a proper plan for managing the Homestead's grounds. Lack of funding continued to delay development of a cultural landscape plan for the site, but a step toward developing a landscape plan was taken in December 1997 when the regional cultural resources staff completed a draft Cultural Landscape Inventory (CLI) for the site. The CLI is a database of information on the historically significant landscapes within the National Park System. It identifies and documents each landscape's location, size, physical development, condition, landscape characteristics, character-defining features, as well as other information useful to park management. The CLI is typically a prelude to the development of a cultural landscape report (CLR) which provides a master plan for treatment of the cultural landscape.

One significant finding of the CLI was that the "potential adverse impacts to the historic landscape are classified as moderate, primarily due to NPS landscape decisions over the past 20 years." To avoid further damage by the NPS itself, Kirk Cordell, chief of the region's Cultural Resources Stewardship Division, recommended a CLR for the Homestead and scheduled funding for the project for the 1998-1999 fiscal year.[140]

Work on the CLR began in the spring of 1998.[141] In May 1998, a team of seven archeologists, supervised by John Cornelison, from the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) spent a week investigating the Homestead's grounds. They uncovered various artifacts and the footprints of lost buildings, including the Johnsons' smokehouse

136. Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Southeast Region, Memorandum (entitled "Section 106 Clearance, Replace Missing Trees in Kind") to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, October 28, 1992, in Section 106 files, "Andrew Johnson NHS, October 1992-September 1994" folder, Division of Cultural Resources, SERO.
137. Superintendent, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, Memorandum (entitled XXX- ANJO-92-10 Amendment) to Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, SER, January 7, 1993, in Section 106 files, "Andrew Johnson NHS, October 1992-September 1994" folder, Cultural Resources Division, SERO.
138. Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Southeast Region, Memorandum (entitled "Section 106 Clearance, Replace Missing Trees in Accordance with 1958 Planting Plan for Andrew Johnson Homestead") to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, January 22, 1993, in Section 106 files, "Andrew Johnson NHS, October 1992-September 1994" folder, Division of Cultural Resources, SERO.
139. "Briefing Paper for Regional Director," undated [ca. mid-1990s], in Park Files, "ANJO General" Folder, Cultural Resources Division, SERO.
140. Chief, Cultural Resources, Memorandum (entitled "Cultural Landscape Inventory-Level") to Superintendent, ANJO, December 19, 1997, copy found in Cultural Resource Division digital files (J:\cultural landscapes\CLI\PARKS\ANJO: accessed February 2007), SERO.
141. "ANJO CLR Scope of Work," copy found in Cultural Resource Division digital files (J:\cultural landscapes\CLI\PARKS\ANJO: accessed February 2007), SERO.

and privy, and collected a large amount of information, some of which even showed what the Johnson family "actually ate," according to Cornelison. The crew laid out a grid and ran remote-sensing devices over the grounds to detect and map sub-surface features. Shovel tests were also conducted, which resulted in a few finds such as nails, bones, and glass. The work was intended to support the "historic landscape report," but Cornelison thought "the [archeological] potential is certainly here to make it worth coming back in a few years, if funding is available."[142]

Although the CLR was originally scheduled for completion in August 1998, completing the archeological work delayed the project, and a draft CLR was not completed and reviewed by park staff until the spring of 2001. Treatment recommendations called for preserving the few historical landscape features that remained, but it primarily called for using the landscape as an interpretive tool.

A meeting was held to discuss various issues in the report on May 15, 2001. Other than a few scant references, such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and a single photograph of the Homestead from 1875, very little was known about the Homestead's landscape during Johnson's time. Past researchers had failed to produce much else and little new information was uncovered while developing the CLR. As a result, the CLR based many of its landscape recommendations upon an account of the Homestead grounds made by Martha Landstreet Willingham, a great-granddaughter of President Johnson who lived at the Homestead as a child between 1891 and 1901. In 1956, she provided Andrew Johnson National Historic Site Supt. Benjamin Davis with a detailed account of the grounds and a not-to-scale drawing of the grounds that provided information on the circulation, fencing, buildings, vegetation and hydrology of the property as Willingham remembered it.[143]

For Superintendent Corey, the main attraction of this approach was his need to provide a clear rationale for any treatment recommendations so that he could justify to the public any changes proposed. Corey foresaw that there would be public discontent with any plan that transformed the estate-like feel of the Homestead grounds to something more accurate but perhaps less aesthetically appealing to some.[144]

Given the paucity of information on the landscape during Johnson's lifetime, the Willingham account and later accounts by Mrs. Andrew Johnson Patterson remained important sources of information. In the opinion of the CLR authors, the Willingham and Patterson accounts most likely showed a varied plant palette more indicative of their late Victorian time period; but the circulation, fencing, and outbuilding patterns were probably more consistent with the 1875 scene, a theory that future archeology might be able to prove. As is often the case with such studies, the report synthesized information from several accounts, only a few of which were contemporaneous with Johnson's tenure on the property. Historians are familiar with such problems, and although the existing information was useful in a lot of different ways, it required careful corroboration by other methods of inquiry, especially archeology. Unfortunately, as the draft CLR stated, "archaeological investigations were completed at the site in recent years but no final report has been published with findings."[145]

That was true—SEAC did not publish its findings from the May 1998 investigations until 2002, even though SEAC's researchers were cognizant that their findings might feed into a CLR. The problem was that neither investigation specifically coordinated its methodology with the other's work. Another problem was that the investigation was only a preliminary survey and not extensive enough to address a number of issues raised by the CLR.[146]

142. "Archeologists Unearthing Past at Andrew Johnson Historic Site," *Greeneville Sun*, May 16, 1998, A1, A7. SEAC eventually produced a report on this work. SANR for Fiscal Year 1998.
143. Draft Cultural Landscape Report for Andrew Johnson Homestead, undated, 11, copy found in Cultural Resources Division digital files (J:\cultural landscapes\CLI\PARKS\ANJO: accessed February 2007), SERO.
144. See "Actions Taken from ANJO Homestead CLR Meeting Notes," May 15, 2001, in copy found in Cultural Resource Division digital files (J:\cultural landscapes\CLI\PARKS\ANJO: accessed February 2007), SERO.
145. Draft Cultural Landscape Report for Andrew Johnson Homestead, undated, 1, copy found in Cultural Resources Division digital files (J:\cultural landscapes\CLI\PARKS\ANJO: accessed February 2007), SERO.

At the end of October 2001, the Homestead CLR was sent to the park. On January 14, 2002, Superintendent Corey issued a press release announcing that "significant changes to the existing appearance of the landscaping surrounding the Andrew Johnson Homestead are recommended" by the Park Service and soliciting written comments from the public. Corey also noted that once the report was completed, it would guide management actions for the Homestead grounds for many years to come.[147]

On January 26, the *Greeneville Sun* reported the news. The National Park Service, it stated, "proposes sweeping changes in the landscape surrounding the Andrew Johnson Homestead." Among others, the plan's recommendations included uncovering the natural spring that had first attracted the Johnsons to the property in the 1830s, adding fencing to distinguish lots owned by Johnson from others added later, and rotating mower schedules to allow grass to grow at differing heights to help distinguish the differing lots. Trees would be added, others removed, and garden walks and garden areas would be established.[148] Together, these changes would greatly alter the "estate-like feel" of the Homestead's grounds to which many local residents were accustomed but, at the same time, were also intended to provide a much better understanding of the Homestead's property, and surrounding lots now in NPS ownership, during Johnson's lifetime.

When asked to explain how the plan developed, Corey stated that "the Cultural Resources Stewardship Division of the National Park Service's Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta, Ga., initiated the report by suggesting to local staff members how much it was needed." The report had taken some three or four years to write, Corey noted, and would probably take another three to five years to implement. "Now is a good opportunity," he stated, "for us to consult with the community to see how they feel about this."[149]

The park received a few positive comments welcoming an "accurate" restoration of the Homestead's grounds. Local historian Robert Orr, writing to Corey about the report, thought "the general idea of returning the grounds of the Andrew Johnson Homestead to the probable use of the land during Johnson's retirement in the 1870s is a good one." He also thought that "the next step [should] be an archeological survey of the grounds." Apparently unaware that archeology had already been done, Orr hoped such a "deliberate approach" would uncover more of the outbuildings and "yield good results."[150] In theory, historical archeology might "ground-truth" parts of the Willingham and Patterson recollections; but, as the methodology section of the CLR acknowledges, archeological testing of this nature was not conducted, primarily because of the great cost for what was likely to be little new information.

A more important note arrived on February 12 from Herbert L. Harper, the Tennessee Deputy State Historic Preservation officer, who concurred with the park that the actions proposed by the CLR would "not adversely affect" the National Register-listed property. Legally, Corey had approval to proceed with the contemplated plan, but one opinion had not yet been heard.[151]

On February 15, a letter to the editor from former NPS historian Hugh Lawing was published in the *Greeneville Sun* with his thoughts on the CLR.[152] His "epistle," as he later called it, was followed by a

146. See Jay T. Sturdevant and Charles F. Lawson, "Remote-Sensing and Archeological Survey of the Andrew Johnson Homestead at the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site" (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 2002).
147. Andrew Johnson News Release, "National Park Service Requests Public Comments on Proposed Changes for the Landscaping of Andrew Johnson Homestead," January 14, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
148. Amy Overbay, "Park Service Proposes Making Andrew Johnson Homestead Site Much More Historically Accurate," *Greeneville Sun*, January 26-27, 2002, A1, A12.
149. Amy Overbay, "Park Service Proposes Making Andrew Johnson Homestead Site Much More Historically Accurate," *Greeneville Sun*, January 26-27, 2002, A1, A12.
150. Robert Orr, Letter to Mark Corey, National Park Service, February 25, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
151. Herbert L. Harper, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Letter to Mark Corey, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, February 12, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
152. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to the Editor (entitled "Retired Johnson Site Historian Opposes Landscaping Changes"), *Greeneville Sun*, February 15, 2002, A2.

more exhaustive review and even precipitated congressional inquiries. Lawing's criticism ultimately swayed public opinion against the proposed plan.

Lawing began by stating to his readers that "if I recall correctly the authorizing legislation of 1935, and the Presidential Proclamation of 1942 establishing the Andrew Johnson National Monument of 1942, the property proposed for purchase was to be used to honor Andrew Johnson and not his family that followed him as owners." Lawing reminded readers that the historic period of the Homestead was 1851-1875 and that the house itself was restored to its 1869-1875 appearance, the period Johnson lived there after serving as President. "Yet, if I read the landscape plan correctly," he continued, "it would attempt to extend the historic period to include Martha J. Patterson's Victorian alteration of the grounds in 1885---10 years beyond the historic period."[153]

The main problem, according to Lawing, was the report failed to account for the "remodeling of the house and grounds" by Martha J. Patterson in 1886. Lawing was referring to a comment by Laura Holloway made in an 1886 book.[154] Lawing found it "obvious" that the account and drawing produced by Willingham, who was born after this remodeling, and another by Mrs. Andrew Johnson Patterson, who did not live at the Homestead until 1898, could not give an accurate account of what the property looked like in 1875.[155] He accused the Park Service of planning to create "a Patterson landscape—not a Johnson landscape." Lawing especially noted that Patterson had dramatically altered the Homestead, a fact documented by the architects who oversaw the building's restoration in the late 1950s. "Would she have provided a Victorian landscaping for her Victorian house?," asked Lawing. After making a few more remarks about how best to spend taxpayers' money, Lawing concluded that "we need to accept the fact that some things can never be proved. The way the Johnson Homestead grounds looked between 1851 and 1875 seems to fall in this category, so let's accept the few accounts that we have and go from there," which is exactly what the CLR recommended with its interpretive treatment recommendations, although Lawing did not understand that.[156] Lawing followed up his opinion piece with a thorough evaluation of the report. In his analysis, given great weight by park staff, he compared the accounts by Frank Leslie and the few others that were contemporary to Andrew Johnson with those made by Willingham and Patterson dating to the 1890s. He noted several discrepancies. The draft Homestead CLR had discredited the park's 1958 planting plan by stating that it "gives only a cursory interpretation of such a landscape given what was known of the site at the time."

In addition, Lawing misunderstood the National Register nomination's period of significance, which began at Johnson's death and extended to the 1942 establishment of the park.[157] He thought that the dates were being used "to try to justify including the post-Johnson writings/drawings of Martha Landstreet and Mrs. A. J. Patterson as justification for the post-Johnson garden treatment."[158] In fact, quite the opposite was true; the CLR recommended that the period of significance be extended to include Johnson's time at the Tailor Shop and Early Home (1828-1851) and at the Homestead (1851-1875). In regard to the treatment recommendations, which acknowledged how little was known about the Homestead grounds circa 1875, Lawing further offered that "it would seem that someone is determined to a make a change and struck a plan to so do!!" [159] Lawing's sixteen-page reaction to the CLR was basically to state "we knew as much about the 1875 condition in 1958 as is known now, which

153. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to the Editor (entitled "Retired Johnson Site Historian Opposes Landscaping Changes"), *Greeneville Sun*, February 15, 2002, A2.
154. Laura C. Holloway, *The Ladies of the White House*, Vol. II. (New York, 1886), 13.
155. It is stated by Lawing that Mrs. Andrew Johnson Patterson did not live at the Homestead until 1898, but whether she ever saw its grounds prior to 1886 is apparently unknown.
156. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to the Editor, "Retired Johnson Site Historian Opposes Landscaping Changes", *Greeneville Sun*, February 15, 2002, A2.
157. Because the house and grounds had been so radically altered after his death, the Homestead had little integrity relative to Johnson's lifetime.
158. Hugh A. Lawing, "Analysis of the Draft Andrew Johnson Homestead Cultural Landscape," February 25, 2002, 9, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. In the margin Superintendent Mark Corey wrote: "This can be confusing." Indeed. The author was struck when reading the draft CLR with how much clearer it might have been if the methods of historical archeology had been employed to buttress its analysis and treatment recommendations.
159. Ibid.

is very little."[160] Convinced that such was the case, Lawing soon resolved to take his concerns to a higher level.

In publishing Lawing's letter, the Greeneville paper included a rather briefer response from Superintendent Corey, who again called upon concerned residents to read the report and offer their comments. "The question," he wrote "is whether the treatment recommendations will better assist the visitor in understanding what the landscape looked like during Andrew Johnson's occupancy than what presently exists."

Park staff began reviewing incoming public comments on the draft Homestead CLR. Most were some variation of a statement made by the Greene County Partnership, which welcomed "an authentic recreation of the historic look of the property... to enhance the value of the site as an attraction for our tourism markets."[161] Nevertheless, the term "authentic" was soon a point of considerable local public debate.

In response to Corey's renewed request for public comment on "whether the treatment recommendation will better assist the visitor in understanding what the landscape looked like during Andrew Johnson's occupancy," a second letter from Hugh Lawing was published in the *Greeneville Sun* on February 25, 2002. "How could this understanding by the visitor," Lawing asked, "be enhanced by creating a garden scene that came into existence some 10 years after Johnson's death?"[162] Again, there was a misunderstanding of the intent of the CLR. The Willingham and Patterson accounts were certainly resources for the report, but the intent was never to recreate that particular garden. Curiously, these objections have never been directed at the 1958 plan, the result of which is a garden scene significantly different from the Johnson time period and provides less understanding of that era than the proposed plan.

There were other comments as well, many like a short hand-written note by Kathy D. Baker saying "Homestead should be left the way it is. We can't go back in time." She also thought the changes would present a "cluttered" look.[163] Another comment indicating how public comment was leaning was from the influential Helen Horner of the Chamber of Commerce. She thought the park should "interpret Willow Spring instead of Gum Spring" and "establish footprints for the Good-Lamon House and the Printing Office with interpretive signage" as recommended by the draft study. However, she, too, felt that placing fence lines along the property lines would present a "sort of hodge-podge look." More decisively, she told Superintendent Corey, she "likes the way the Homestead grounds look now and that we should not change it unless we are sure of how it looked during Johnson's life."[164]

In early March, Alderman W. T. Daniels wrote briefly to state "We people of Greeneville and Greene County are looking forward to the restoration of the landscaping as it was during the Andrew Johnson era."[165] Finally, Corey took a phone call from "a well-respected local historian Mr. Richard Doughty" whose only comment was to say that "he agreed with Hugh Lawing that the CLR should be based on Frank Leslie's description and not the descriptions of Mrs. Willingham and Mrs. Patterson."[166] Eventually, others in Greeneville offered public support for Lawing's view.[167]

After a three-hour meeting with park staff on March 20, Corey informed the Division of Cultural

160. Ibid. Lawing's document was carefully read by Superintendent Mark Corey, who made numerous annotations in the margin, mostly in concurrence with Lawing.
161. Gary L. Farlow, President, Greene County Partnership, Letter to Mark Corey, Superintendent, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, February 20, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
162. Actually, Lawing was responding to Corey's response to Lawing's first letter to the editor of the *Greeneville Sun* on February 15, 2002. See, Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to the Editor (entitled "How Could Changed Johnson Homestead be More Authentic?"), *Greeneville Sun*, February 25, 2002, A2.
163. Kathy D. Baker, Letter to Superintendent, February 27, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
164. Helen L. Horner, Phone conversation with Mark Corey, February 27, 2002. Corey later had Horner verify her statement, which she did by signing it on March 3, 2002. See folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
165. W. T. Daniels, Alderman, Letter to Mark Corey, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, March 5, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.

Resources and Stewardship that "we share major concerns about the CLR treatment recommendations and feel that they will need to be changed considerably."[168] His formal statement arrived on March 25. Corey informed Chief Kirk Cordell that public comments on the draft fell into two camps, those favoring an accurate restoration and those opposed because they viewed any treatment recommendations as based upon recollections dating to around 1900, twenty-five years after Johnson's death. In Corey's judgment those in favor of the restoration "place considerable trust in the NPS to return the property's appearance to the time of Andrew Johnson's occupancy." Thus, he recommended that any treatments be supported with evidence and depict the appearance of the landscape during Andrew Johnson's occupation from 1851 to 1875."[169]

Hugh Lawing, however, was not finished having his say. On May 17, 2002, he wrote Congressman William L. Jenkins detailing his assessment of the draft Homestead CLR. Lawing accused the National Park Service of "an attempt to change the Historic period of the Homestead from 1851-1875 to include the dates of 1875-1942 set forth in the Register of Historic Places." Thus, he incorrectly informed Rep. Jenkins, "the original enabling legislation would be altered to the extent that the homestead grounds would be changed to depict the Patterson-era, not the Johnson-era."[170] Jenkins asked the Park Service to explain what was going on. On June 12, Paul Winegar, acting for Southeast Regional Director Jerry Belson, assured Jenkins that

> the draft CLR never intended to change the landscape's era of significance from the Johnson era to the Patterson era. We agree that the period of significance is from 1851-1875. The discussion of the National Register documentation . . . attempted to convey the fact that what the National Register lists as the period of significance (1875-1942) is flawed.

Winegar also emphasized that "the final CLR should recommend treatment which can be supported with evidence" and he offered to furnish the congressman with a copy of the final report once completed.[171] Five years later, however, a revised report remained unpublished.

In December 2006, Mark Corey asked the author of the present study to explain what happened to the draft Homestead CLR. "We got a lot of public comment on it," the superintendent emphasized. "Again, I'd say a lot pro and a lot con." On both counts, he felt "that there were some good points there." He acknowledged that those in Greeneville had "grown used to, grown accustomed to the way the Homestead yard has looked and has looked for many years." Nevertheless, Corey still felt opposition could be overcome by sufficient evidence. Unfortunately, "to my knowledge," Corey stated, "nothing else has been done on it any further since about 2002."[172]

Rehabilitating Andrew Johnson's Early Home

In 1963, Congress authorized the National Park Service to purchase the building that Andrew

166. Richard Doughty, Phone conversation with Mark Corey, March 7, 2002, reported by Mark Corey and filed on May 7, 2002. Lawing soon followed with his own note recounting his own conversations with Doughty, including more discussion of the dating of the period of significance statement in the park's National Register Nomination update. They claimed that the designation of the site's historic importance in 1935 by the Historic Sites Act trumped any later claims that the Homestead's grounds were important during the post-Johnson period. These concerns again illustrate how confusion relating to the 1995 update later helped confuse the debate over the draft Homestead CLR. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Mark Corey, Superintendent, March 19, 2002; Both in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
167. See, Jerry J. Smith, Letter to the Editor (entitled "Writer Supports Objections to Johnson Homestead Proposal"), *Greeneville Sun*, March 23, 2002, A2.
168. Mark [Corey], fax transmission to CRS, March 20, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
169. Mark Corey, Memorandum (entitled "Comments on Draft Homestead Cultural Landscape Report") to Chief, Cultural Resources Stewardship Division, Southeast Region, March 25, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.
170. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Honorable William L. Jenkins, House of Representatives, May 17, 2002, and "Listing of Errors and in Some Cases Misrepresentations by Page Number," April 8, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.

Johnson and his family lived in while he worked as a tailor in Greeneville between 1831 and 1851. When Andrew Johnson National Monument was created in 1942, Johnson's "Early Home" was privately owned and not available for purchase.[173] Conveniently, however, the structure was located across the street from Johnson's "Tailor Shop." The Tailor Shop is actually located within the "Memorial Building," a shelter built by the state in the 1920s to preserve the shop and which later became an annex to the park's Visitor Center. Congress also authorized the Park Service to expend funds "at not more than $66,000 for acquisition, restoration, and development costs, as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act [77 Stat. 349]."[174] Thus, when the building went on sale, the Service acted quickly to purchase it.

As acquired, the Early Home was not in a condition for immediate visitation. Before the Park Service could provide public access and interpretation, both research and restoration had to be performed. Moreover, the Service had to conduct additional research to plan appropriate furnishings for the home. The latter research was conducted between 1972 and 1974.[175] Extensive research was necessary because the intent of Congress in providing funding to acquire the Early Home and the purpose of NPS preservation efforts was defined by the building's period of significance. That period, of course, began with the property's purchase by Andrew Johnson in 1831 and spans the two decades or so that he and his family lived there.

While the period of significance was well known, the appearance of the building during this period was uncertain. Major changes had been made to the home in the decades since the Johnsons had lived in it. Such changes would have to be identified, documented, and reversed where appropriate. In the National Park Service, the primary planning document used to define and guide the restoration and/or preservation of historic buildings and structures is the Historic Structure Report or HSR. Such reports document historic buildings by establishing their historic context, documenting their evolution over time and their present condition, and recommending an appropriate treatment of the building. An HSR is also needed to provide baseline data to justify funding requests, which in this case the park felt essential to help it raise the congressional funding ceiling for the Early Home.[176]

The fact that Congress authorized the Park Service to purchase the Early Home was important, but almost immediately the legislation required amendment. The reason was simple: the purchase price of the home came to some fifty thousand dollars, and in authorizing Federal acquisition of the Early Home, Congress had not anticipated inflationary increases due to the lengthy process involved in acquiring and preparing the property for public use.

In November 1974, a team composed of NPS staff from the Southeast Regional Office, the Denver Service Center (DSC), and NPS headquarters in Washington, DC, visited Andrew Johnson National Historic Site to assemble data for estimates needed to raise the funding limitation for restoration of the Early Home. The team recommended a new

171. Paul Winegar for Jerry Belson, Regional Director, Southeast Region, Letter to Honorable William L. Jenkins, MC, June 12, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. The Andrew Johnson National Historic Site National Register Nomination was created in two phases separated by more than two decades. The original nomination lists the park's dates of significance only generally as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries while the 1995 update only lists the National Cemetery's dates of significance while discussing, however, other sections of the park as well as the National Cemetery. The way these dates are presented has confused some readers of the nomination.

172. Mark Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley (Greeneville, Tennessee: National Park Service, 2006), 25-26.

173. Historians prefer to refer to Andrew Johnson's home as the "Early Home," not the 1831 Home, because, while Johnson purchased it in or around 1831, the house itself is older. Of course, he also lived in other homes, both before and after this period.

174. See "An Act to change the name of the Andrew Johnson National Monument...," *Laws Relating to the National Park Service: Supplement III [February 1963 to December 1972]* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1974), 280-281. The act also re-designated the park from it status as a "National Monument," created by Executive Order under the 1906 Antiquities Act, to a "National Historical Site." The primary significance of this change was that it recognized the interest and intent of Congress in preserving the site and commemorating the life of Andrew Johnson.

175. Ron Pyron, "Appendix E: Development within the Park (1972-1979)," a compendium assembled by a park ranger in 1979 as a supplement to Hugh A. Lawing, *Administrative History of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site* (NPS, 1971), in AJNHS archives.

176. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974.

limitation of $266,000.[177] Thus, to prepare for the Early Home's restoration and to help justify increased funding, the Park Service initiated an HSR study.

The study was assigned to the Denver Service Center, a Service-wide facility for planning and designing major architectural and engineering projects. Historical Architect Russell Jones was chosen to conduct the study, and in August 1975, he submitted a "preliminary unedited draft" of an architectural data section for an Early Home HSR for review to the Southeast Regional Office. Jones's draft was not approved "for a number of reasons and was returned to the Denver Service Center to be revised and corrected accordingly."[178]

Despite this, on May 6, 1975, Rep. James Quillen submitted a bill, HR 5147 "to increase appropriation authorization for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site from $66,000 to $266,000" in Congress.[179] At the same time Tennessee Senator Bill Brock introduced a companion bill in the Senate asking for $200,000 to complete the project begun over ten years previous. "President Andrew Johnson was certainly one of the most important figures in our history and, of course, of Tennessee's history. By providing these funds Congress will offer an opportunity for thousands of people to share a bit more of our heritage."[180] In remarks before the House in support of his earlier bill, HR 5147, for additional funds to restore the Early Home, Quillen summarized the life story and historical importance of Andrew Johnson. Quillen then gave the reasons for his 1963 bill, which both changed the park's name and funded the acquisition and restoration of the home Johnson lived in as a tailor in Greeneville. "It is time our Nation completed the portrayal of Andrew Johnson's life there," Quillen remarked, ". . . we owe him a tremendous debt and perhaps this will in some small way make up for the heartbreak he suffered during the years we were unable to recognize the greatness of his love for his Country."[181]

177. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
178. David Arbogast, *First Andrew Johnson House: Architectural Data Section/Historic Structure Report* (Denver Service Center, 1978), 1.
179. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
180. "Funds Asked to Complete Restoration on Andrew Johnson's First Home," *Greeneville Sun*, December 4, 1975, 1, 6.
181. "Restoration of A. Johnson Home Here," [May 1976], unattributed newspaper clipping in AJNHS archives.

FIGURE 21. Superintendent Grady Webb (l) with employee Tony Reaves (r) in 1988. Webb sought practical use for the Early Home and proposed to install a "Bally Building" for curatorial storage in the historic structure.

Superintendent Abelson stated that the Park Service planned, pending passage of Quillen's bill, to renovate the interior of the home and then furnish two rooms. Abelson also noted that glass doors would be installed along with a message repeater that would allow visitors to see the interior of the home without a NPS ranger being present.[182]

On June 8, 1976, the House passed Quillen's bill, thus raising the ceiling on NPS expenditures for the Early Home. Quillen's press secretary, Roger Hoover cautioned that the bill did not make additional money ready yet, but instead authorized its appropriation when appropriation hearings were held later that month. However, the Early Home was expected to be on the agenda.[183]

In October 1976, an Omnibus Bill was passed and approved by the president with provisions to raise the funding limitation on the Early Home to $266,000.[184] Naturally, NPS staff were pleased that Congress had authorized significant new funding for restoring the Early Home. An HSR was still required to guide the restoration process, however.

182. Vickie Tweed, "NPS Architect Studies Andrew Johnson Home at Depot-College," *Greeneville Sun*, July 2, 1975.
183. "House Authorizes $200,000 for Restoring 1st AJ Home," *Greeneville Sun*, June 11, 1976.
184. See "An Act to provide for increases in appropriation ceilings and boundary changes in certain units of the National Park Service...," *Laws Relating to the National Park Service: Supplement IV [January1973 to December 1978]* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1978), 316.

Unfortunately, by December 1976, it was known that the Jones HSR required significant revision.[185] The project appeared to languish.

Meanwhile, Archeologist George Fischer of the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) visited to conduct a survey of the Early Home. He was soon looking for project funds to pinpoint the kitchen steps, porch, and yard features of the building.[186] NPS architects wanted to know the construction date of a wing of the house and if the existing back porch ran the length of the wing, rather than only partially, as it then existed. Archeology might provide answers to such questions and locate historic landscape features that were no longer present, such as the well and privy. Fischer was successful in obtaining DSC-funding. In 1978, he hired James Stoutamire, an archeologist from Florida State University (FSU) working under a cooperative agreement with SEAC, to perform a five-week archeological excavation at the Early Home. A second team also worked at the site the following year. The crew chief for both digs was Patricia O'Grady, an FSU research assistant.

Despite initial concern that the NPS partial reconstruction in 1968 had obliterated any archeological evidence, FSU archeologists soon located a buried brick stairway leading from the basement to the yard. The NPS architects had missed this clue in 1968. Thereafter, the archeological team determined that the three existing porches were not within the historic period while the basement of the Early Home's "ell" was not used as a kitchen, as Margaret Bartlett had claimed. To make that determination, the archeologist had to excavate the basement, which was completely filled with mud and sand. The FSU teams recovered few artifacts but did locate and document an extensive exterior drainage system for the basement. They also found little evidence of out-buildings—a parking lot covered much of the area where such structures might have stood.[187]

Stoutamire filed a final report for the work in 1980, but field results were fed immediately to DSC, whose architects were struggling to redefine the Early Home HSR.

In May 1978, David Arbogast, a historical architect at the Denver Service Center (DSC), was assigned to conduct a "fabric investigation" of the Early Home. This procedure, which involves extensive paint and material analysis, led to the development of significantly different conclusions from those offered in the earlier draft HSR by Jones, who had relied solely upon historical records and "visual analysis." According to Arbogast, while his methods were new, his research was originally intended to support the tentative findings of Jones. However, Arbogast's methods developed so much additional information about the Early Home that it was decided to abandon completely the Jones study, which was replaced by his own. Arbogast offered several distinct conclusions, most importantly that the building's main roof was historic and in good condition and should be retained while the ell roof and its porch were neither historic nor in good condition.[188]

Possibly due to park archeological work in 1978, a new spring suddenly erupted in a hedge near the Early Home. Because temporary ditching had not resolved the issue by the end of the year, Abelson feared that the parking lot would have to be dug up.[189] The park tried to solve the problem in 1979 by placing some twenty-five feet of "perforated tile" in the Visitor Center parking lot area to help draw off the spring water, which was drowning the Early Home's hedge, but the two-feet depth "mandated by storm sewer did not tap the spring," noted Abelson. The problem had to be resolved prior to restoration work.[190]

Funding to restore the Early Home was programmed for 1979.[191] After several on-site visits

185. SANR for 1976, December 1, 1976.
186. SANR for 1976, December 1, 1976.
187. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979; David Arbogast, *First Andrew Johnson House: Architectural Data Section/ Historic Structure Report* (Denver Service Center, 1978), 2; Frank Stephenson, Florida State University Office of Information Services, October 25, 1978, press release located in AJNHS archives; Rich Boss, "FSU Archeologists Unearth Secrets Beneath Former President's House," *Florida Flambeau*, November 1, 1978, 10, in AJNHS archives.
188. Arbogast, *First Andrew Johnson House*, 1, 18. In fact, the "architectural data section" of an HSR is often a compilation of results from different researchers using different methods. The HSR also incorporated older historical document research by John W. Bond in 1968 and additional historical photographs recovered by park historian Hugh Lawing at that time. The reports have a tendency to be updated over time as new methods of analysis become available.
189. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979; SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.
190. SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.

by Arbogast for his "fabric study," he provided a draft report dated January 7, 1980, to the Southeast Regional Office. Given the history of the HSR, and apparently ongoing conflict between DSC and regional office staff, further changes and delay ensued. Arbogast's final report was not approved by the Southeast Regional Office until 1981. Superintendent Abelson noted in his annual report that year that "primary conflicts can only be resolved after basement is excavated and porch and dining room ceiling are removed."[192]

In 1980, Congress awarded $185,000 to the Park Service to restore the exterior of the Early Home. This was a welcome event. DSC planners scheduled work to begin in 1982. At first Abelson hoped to speed up the schedule.[193] That did not happen, however, because in November 1980, project responsibility shifted from DSC to the regional office in Atlanta where "illness and transfers stopped progress" for a time.[194] Finally, a low-bid contract of $69,705 was awarded on February 18, 1981, to Logan Construction Company of Asheville, North Carolina. Archeological clearance was apparently necessary. The task order thus directed the firm to proceed with other work first. Later, change orders would be issued. When issued, these directed the installation of appropriate drainage to handle water-related issues, probably including the new spring. One item that did not have to await archeological research was treatment of the building's interior walls, which were simply painted and wall-papered using routine "cyclic" funds from 1981. Similar cyclic funds were used to paint the building's exterior the following year. After a pre-construction conference was held in December 1981, a notice to proceed was set for January 4, 1982.[195] Logan began work later that month and expected to complete the project by May.[196]

In the fall of 1982, a museum study team from Harpers Ferry Center visited to evaluate the park's Mission 66 Visitor Center museum and to re-evaluate the overall proposed interpretive use of the Early Home. Logan Construction Company had completed its contract for work the Early Home as planned. However, moisture control problems were a concern.[197]

After consultations with Harpers Ferry staff, park management proposed "adaptive use" of the Early Home to help solve museum and administrative space shortage problems at the park. The park's Statement for Management opened the door on this prospect. The Statement stated that "the most important issue facing park management is whether to restore the interior of the 1831 House to the period of occupancy of Andrew Johnson." Legislation notwithstanding, park management then felt that exterior restoration was entirely adequate for interpretive purposes and that restoring the interior to the period of Johnson's occupancy amount to a costly duplication of effort that would cause undue confusion in visitors' minds. "While preservation is certainly necessary for protection of the exterior work," the Statement asserted, "a better use for the interior would lie in the adaptive use mode."[198]

In August 1985, the Cultural Resources Preservation Center of the Southeast Regional Office critiqued issues related to the Early Home in the park's proposed Statement for Management. "We agree with the park," said the center's chief, Bill Harris, "that a decision is needed on level of restoration for interior of the structure. In our opinion, however, it is the park's responsibility to make that decision and it should be addressed in the Statement for Management and not deferred to the future."[199] Superintendent Webb did make a decision. He felt visitors would find it too repetitive and confusing to find two homes of Andrew Johnson within the park, and that interpreting two homes would further impose on staff time. Thus, he did not push for an authentic restoration of the Early Home's interior.

Meanwhile, the park was short on both museum storage and administrative office space. To solve these problems cost effectively, Webb proposed to

191. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
192. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
193. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979; SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980; SANR for 1980, February 5, 1981.
194. SANR for 1980, February 5, 1981.
195. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
196. "To be Restored," *Greeneville Sun*, January 25, 1982.
197. SANR for 1982, February 23, 1983.
198. *Statement for Management: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site* (NPS, 1984).
199. Chief of Cultural Resources Preservation Center, Memorandum (entitled "Statement for Management—Andrew Johnson") to Chief, Planning and Compliance Division, August 22, 1985, in AJNHS files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.

FIGURE 22. Work to maintain the exterior of Andrew Johnson's "Early Home" is a routine activity at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site but interior renovations took many years.

move museum storage out of the Visitor Center, freeing office space. The museum collection was then to be set up in a so-called "Bally building," a pre-fabricated, portable structure with security and climate control features, often used at parks for such purposes. The only problem with this proposal was that Webb wanted to install the building inside the Early Home.

In November 1987, NPS regional staff visited the park to investigate the situation. In January 1988, Historical Architect Rene Cote filed a trip report with his recommendations. He and other cultural resource specialists took a dim view of park efforts to place a Bally Building within the early Johnson house. The Chief of the Historic Architecture Division asked the Regional Director to block the move, asserting that it constituted an "adverse effect" on an historic property. Unfortunately, the park had already purchased the Bally Building.[200]

According to Cote, there were manifold problems with the installation of a Bally Building in the historic home. First, the intent of the Federal government in procuring the Early Home to begin with was to "restore, furnish and open this house to the public," as indicated by the park's enabling legislation. The Early Home was never intended, Cote argued, for museum storage. Second, while the building's interior needed costly restoration work, adapting the building for museum storage would also involve costs. In particular, Cote noted that the load-bearing capacity of the floor in the structure's parlor area, where the park proposed to install the Bally Building, was insufficient. This floor would have to be extensively reinforced to support the Bally Building, heavy museum storage cabinets, and some six thousand pounds of collections weight, all of which would more than double the floor's existing load limits. Additional problems included clearances that would be so tight that routine maintenance of the home would be difficult and would encourage mold growth. The existing building also lacked support systems for temperature, humidity and light that would meet NPS standards. Besides aesthetic issues with placing an "aluminum-skin cube in the midst of an early 19th century parlor," it simply was not consistent with preservation of the Early Home. Cote's conclusion was simple. "It is my opinion," he wrote, "that the installation of the Bally Building within the 1831 House is inappropriate and an undesirable solution for curatorial storage."[201]

Cote's engineering analysis alone was probably sufficient to kill the proposal and regional NPS managers agreed fully with his assessment. Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul Hartwig informed Superintendent Webb that a meeting with regional officials was required to work out a solution.[202]

Cote offered several alternatives, which would form the basis of much discussion and future decisions at the park. His first alternative was to acquire a two-story brick structure adjacent to the Early Home, Tailor Shop, and Visitor Center complex. This building was for sale for $60,000 and could provide for all the park's administrative and storage needs. The major caveat, besides the cost, was that congressional approval was required to expand the park. But leasing might also be possible. If this route

200. It is not clear how Webb got approval to purchase the Bally Building.

201. Historic Architect [Rene Cote], Memorandum to Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, entitled "Trip report and recommendations, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," January 5, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

202. Cecil McKithan, for Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, January 26, 1988; and Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, Memorandum to Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, January 18, 1988; and Historic Architect [Rene Cote], Memorandum to Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, entitled "Trip report and recommendations, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," January 5, 1988; all in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

were not feasible, Cote suggested adapting the Early Home for park administrative use, which would free space in the Visitor Center for museum storage. The Visitor Center was a modern structure and better-suited to that purpose than a historic property. Use of the Early Home for administrative purposes would cause some wear but was far more feasible than installing a Bally Building with its huge adverse impact. Finally, Cote suggested setting up the Bally Building at the park's maintenance yard in the National Cemetery or installing it in the basement of the Cemetery Lodge. The chief issue here was the distance, about a mile, that park staff would have to travel to access their files and museum storage items. The Cemetery Lodge option appeared feasible, either with or without the Bally Building, but it would require some structural modification and probably intrude into the private space of the building's occupants since staff would constantly need to enter the basement.[203]

Cote also questioned the park's need for $10,000 authorized for use in controlling pests at the Homestead. According to the park, a local exterminator found that both the building and its furnishings were infested and only complete fumigation could resolve the problem, which resulted in an approved funding request. Cote found no evidence of any infestation and suggested that a specialist, William H. Sites, whose work was known to the Park Service, confirm his findings. The Chief Architect then recommended that the pest-control funding be reprogrammed, pending Site's report. He thought it better used for repair and stabilization of the Tailor Shop and its enclosure, which Cote's report indicated had preservation problems resulting from lack of proper ventilation and heating. Finally, funds for repair of the Early Home had to be reprogrammed because they were originally devoted to adapting the structure for the Bally Building that regional staff had so strenuously opposed.[204]

William Sites, a plant pathologist with the U.S. Forest Service, was asked to thoroughly investigate the park's pest situation as well as other preservation problems stemming from moisture. As

FIGURE 23. Photo of Superintendent Wilson standing in the renovated parlor of the Early Home.

Cote had thought, Sites concluded that "the Taylor Shop, 1830's House, Andrew Johnson Homestead, and their contents are in excellent condition. With the exception of the furniture listed, no actual pest control work is necessary." He felt thorough annual inspections, routine maintenance to keep out water, and better dehumidification, as Cote recommended, were the park's main preservation concerns. Sites found some insect infestation in furniture that had been stored on dirt floors, and he strongly recommended against this practice.[205]

In summary, the Bally Building proposal was a "no go," although it did spur NPS thinking. In April 1989, the regional chief for historic architecture met with new park Superintendent Gordon Wilson to discuss a new preservation strategy for the park. They devised a tentative plan to utilize the Early Home for light office space, anticipating that, funds and staff permitting, its interior would be restored and interpreted.[206] This initiative, while still presenting preservation concerns, was more

203. Historic Architect [Rene Cote], Memorandum to Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, entitled "Trip report and recommendations, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," January 5, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

204. Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, Memorandum to Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, January 18, 1988; and Historic Architect [Rene Cote], Memorandum to Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, entitled "Trip report and recommendations, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," January 5, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

205. William H. Sites, Department of Agriculture, Letter to Grady Webb, Superintendent, AJNHS, January 14, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

206. Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, Memorandum to Associate Deputy Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Southeast Region, April 13, 1989, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO; and SANR (for 1989), February 16, 1990.

consistent with preservation ideas, to say nothing of the park's purpose, than installing a Bally Building.

To solve the museum storage problem, Wilson offered a new proposal for adaptive use of the Early Home. Again, it was noted that the park's museum collections did not meet NPS standards and that the Early Home was unoccupied. Instead of a Bally Building, however, the park now wanted to outfit both the Memorial Building and the Early Home with HVAC systems. These would provide a stable climate necessary to preserve museum items at the Memorial Building and interior finishes in the Early Home and to accommodate administrative use.[207]

Congress intended the home to be restored and open for visitors, Wilson asserted. "Allowing the house to stand vacant," he stated, "raises legitimate questions in the community about why we acquired the house in the first place, and could result in the embarrassing question of why we do not appear to be fulfilling the wishes of Congress." So Wilson sought to finish the interior of the Early Home and move the park's administrative offices to that location. Besides freeing up more space for museum storage, the original idea, this plan also helped position the Early Home for later public use. Wilson hoped an NPS preservation team could do the wiring, carpentry, plastering, painting, etc., necessary for adapting the historic structure to this new use.[208]

The key element of this proposal was the installation of an HVAC system and other electrical work in the Early Home. Park staff could not occupy the house until the electrical and HVAC systems were installed.[209] Although expected to cause less damage than the cancelled Bally proposal, considerable renovation would still be needed to install a modern HVAC system in the historic home. Significant losses of original structural material could be expected. Section 106 compliance documents had to be prepared. Although the project was not routine, the Park Service claimed that it posed "no adverse effect" to the historic integrity of the building. That claim was challenged by Robert D. Bush, the Executive Director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The Advisory Council is the last stop in the formal Section 106 review process. On May 3, 1990, Bush advised the National Park Service that the Advisory Council had issued a "determination of adverse effect" for the NPS plan to install new electrical HVAC systems in Andrew Johnson's early home. The ruling brought the Park Service to loggerheads with the Advisory Council and heated exchanges occurred.

On November 5, 1990, Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul B. Hartwig wrote Bush, stating: "We are concerned and annoyed by the barrage of abusive and insulting letters emanating from your office when we have endeavored to accommodate your demands." The Park Service claimed that the proposed Early Home work amounted to "preservation maintenance." Bush's office thought it amounted to a "rehabilitation plan." Hartwig flatly insisted that "we do not agree with your determination that extensive preservation maintenance constitutes rehabilitation." With the Park Service and the Advisory Council in complete disagreement over the extent of impact on the Early Home, the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) intervened. Apparently, the SHPO recommended a programmatic agreement be drafted to help overcome the collision that had occurred between the parties, and that was done.[210] Section 106 of the NHPA requires Federal agencies to observe a consultative process prior to conducting work that might jeopardize historic resources listed in the National Register. However, the process does not ultimately prohibit an agency, even the National Park Service, from conducting

207. According to Wilson, problems using the Visitor Center for museum storage included: uncontrolled access, divided storage, the co-storage of non-museum items (e.g., office supplies), lack of dedicated space, etc., and no fire or pest protection, in addition to the unstable climatic environment.

208. Briefing Statements: Tailor Shop Heating/Cooling/ 1831 House Adaptive Use, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, ca. 1989, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

209. Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, Memorandum to Associate Deputy Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Southeast Region, April 13, 1989, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO. The Memorial Building also needed an HVAC system and consideration was given to somehow extending the Visitor Center's existing system through additional ducts prior to installing an entirely new system.

210. Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, Letter to Robert D. Bush, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, November 5, 1990, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

that work because of an adverse effect ruling, even from the Advisory Council. Thus, once the process was completed to legal standards, the Park Service proceeded with its plans.

Between July and September 1990, the Early Home was thoroughly renovated. First, a lengthy planning process was completed that included analysis of painted finishes and considerable architectural investigation to design new electrical, heating, and air conditioning systems. With this background, historical masons and carpenters restored the appearance of the building's historic interior. According to Superintendent Wilson, "the crumbling walls and flaking paint have been replaced with fresh coats of paint, made to match the original paint. Mixtures of horse hair, sand, lime, and soot were used to plaster the cracks and holes in the wall."

The building, acquired in 1963, was finally opened to the public on August 31, 1991, in time to commemorate the 75th Anniversary of the National Park Service. While the building was primarily to be used for park administration, one ground floor room was set up for visitors to see how the home's interior had been restored to its appearance during Johnson's time. Wilson said that future use was to include opening the site to the public for exhibit purposes. Nevertheless, the superintendent invited locals "to come to see what we have done."[211]

No actual furnishings survived from the period of Johnson's occupation, so the Park Service decided to interpret the structure itself. A temporary exhibit in the Early Home featured photographs tracing the rehabilitation process of that building, including before and after images. Wilson had been anxious to see the home opened as many visitors asked about it. "That's been a frustration for us and the visitors," he told the Greeneville Sun. "It's another piece of Andrew Johnson's life we're here to tell people about. We're pleased to finally be able to open the room to the public."[212]

211. "National Park Service Celebrates 75th Year with Rehabilitation Work," *Greeneville Sun*, May 4, 1991.
212. Eugenia Estes, "1831 Andrew Johnson House to be Opened to Public Sunday," *Greeneville Sun*, August 31, 1991.

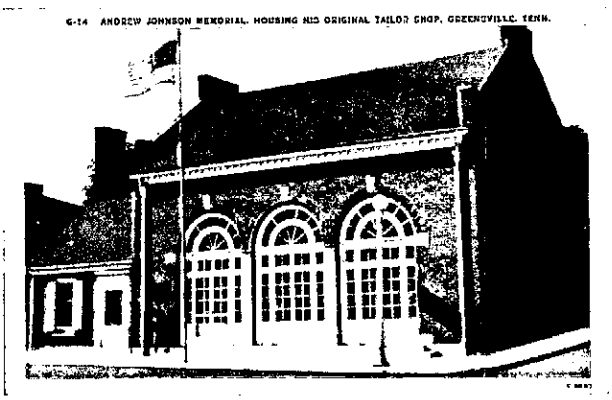

FIGURE 24. A postcard-depiction of the Memorial Building constructed by the State of Tennessee in 1923 to house Johnson's Tailor Shop. (Jody Cook Postcard Collection)

Tailor Shop, Memorial Building, and Visitor Center

The Tailor Shop of Andrew Johnson was purchased by the state of Tennessee in 1921 from the Johnson family. In 1923, it was enclosed by a "Memorial Building," a one-story two-room brick structure intended to protect the well-preserved but frail wooden shop in which Johnson worked before becoming a politician. The Memorial Building was transferred to the National Park Service by the state when the park was established in 1942, and the Park Service later constructed an attached Visitor Center. Both buildings are located across the street from Johnson's Early Home. When the park's original National Register Nomination was completed by park historian Hugh Lawing, he included the Memorial Building itself as a listed historic resource. The structure was by then over fifty years old, one of the register's important criteria for significance, and it also represented state and local efforts to preserve and commemorate the life of the seventeenth U.S. president.

One important event related to the Memorial Building occurred in the early 1970s. Congressman James H. Quillen had contacted NPS Director Ronald H. Walker, suggesting that a plaque be posted at the site to honor U.S. Senator Edmund G. Ross, who cast the deciding vote in Andrew Johnson's impeachment trial in the U.S. Senate on May 16, 1868, thus saving his presidency. Ross and others afterward claimed his vote of "conviction" to

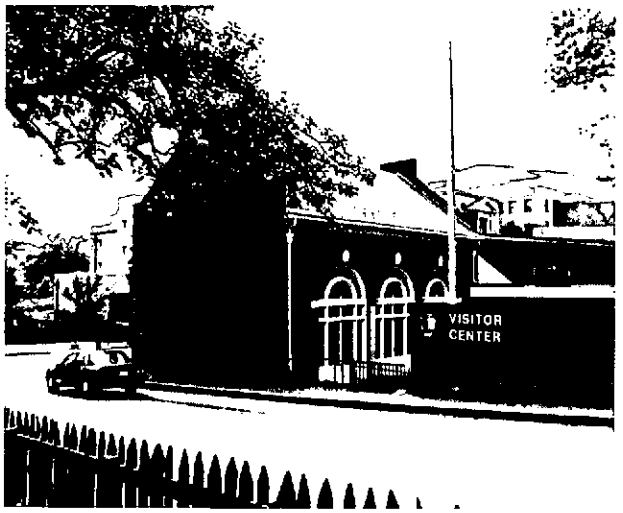

FIGURE 25. The Memorial Building, which houses Andrew Johnson's Tailor Shop, adjacent to the Visitor Center at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, circa 1995.

save Johnson's political career cost the junior Senator from Kansas his own. Modern scholars have debated that point. Some note that Ross had his own political motivations for breaking with his party in voting for Johnson's acquittal.[213] Nevertheless, Director Walker agreed that it was appropriate to mount such a plaque in the Memorial Building at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. The bronze plaque commemorating Ross was dedicated by Quillen in a ceremony in September 1973. The ceremony was attended by Greeneville Mayor Thomas G. Love, Greene County Judge Hubert Neas, and a large crowd of locals. Quillen spoke about the importance of heritage tourism after the new plaque was unveiled by Johnson's great-granddaughter, Margaret Bartlett.[214]

That same year, NPS staff began to notice that the chimney of the Tailor Shop was deteriorating. The problem was caused by moisture or, more precisely, by a lack of moisture control within the Memorial Building that housed the Tailor Shop. After remedies by park staff proved unsuccessful, architects from the Southeast Regional Office investigated and found that the main problem with the chimney was moisture that caused bits of mortar to crumble. The bricks that composed the structure were also being degraded by moisture that caused their facings to crumble into fine dust, and some woodwork had suffered as well. Their recommendations led to $10,000 in Senate add-on funds, which the park received in October 1973.[215] Various obstacles, such as lack of planning assistance, the need to complete an HSR, and confusion over the division of responsibility between the regional office and the NPS Denver Service Center (DSC) delayed progress. In 1975, responsibility shifted from regional to DSC for preparation of an HSR, which also meant using a different funding source (construction, not operations) and further delay. Abelson hoped that "the chimney will not fall."[216]

In 1976, after three years and no success in solving the problem locally, historical architects from the regional office again visited to assess the moisture problem in the Tailor Shop. Ron Bishop and Todd Rainwater determined that the moisture was rising from the concrete floor of the Memorial Building that housed the Tailor Shop. The moisture problem was a result of a wet-weather spring beneath the building's foundation, and water pressure had forced moisture up into the concrete floor.[217] They thought that the park's moisture problems would be much more costly to repair than previously thought, requiring both more research and overlapping solutions.

In 1978, funds of $70,000 were programmed for use in controlling the Memorial Building's moisture problem. The project was seen as a pilot research program because the structure was experiencing a set of moisture-related problems that were faced by other historic NPS structures in the southeast region. Funding came out of regional preservation funds.[218] In 1978, a contract was let to Moretti Construction, Inc., of Charlotte, North Carolina, for $33,700. The project actually began in January 1979. The work focused upon moisture-proofing the floor and chimney and other miscellaneous repairs and upgrades.[219] Some 97 percent of this work was

213. See, for example, David Greenberg, "Andrew Johnson: Saved by a Scoundrel: Edmund Ross Cast the Deciding Vote to Acquit, but His was No 'Profile in Courage'," *Slate*, January 21, 1999 (available online at http://slate.msn.com).
214. "Congressman Quillen Tells How Ross' Vote Saved Andrew Johnson," *Greeneville Sun*, September 30, 1973, 1, 8; SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974.
215. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974.
216. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
217. "Moisture Damage at Old AJ Tailor Shop is Checked," *Greeneville Sun*, December 6, 1976.
218. SANR for 1976, December 1, 1976; SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
219. SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979.

completed by early 1980. Problems in acquiring "hard to get railing and floor grill" materials were cited as reasons for the project not being completed. Included in the Memorial Building contract was the requirement to raise the Tailor Shop several inches off the floor.[220]

In 1985, park staff sought to include repair of the Memorial Building's slate roof as part of the park's proposed Statement for Management. Regional CRM staff objected and pointed out that existing plans and specifications allowed park staff or a local contractor to perform needed repairs "as a simple preservation maintenance project that should not require being addressed in a management document."[221]

In 1988, Superintendent Grady Webb contacted the Tennessee Valley Authority regarding a "heat/cooling loss study" for the Memorial Building to help prepare for the installation of a heating and cooling system.[222] The following year, a DSC engineer and a historical architect from the regional office developed plans for installing a new climate-control system in the Memorial Building. However, the NPS estimate for the work was about $10,000 and bids for the contract exceeded $23,000. All levels of NPS management agreed the cost was excessive and the contract was not awarded. The same year, however, NPS preservation specialists did replace deteriorated window framing and woodwork in the tailor shop, installed UV filtering on the Memorial Building's windows, and attempted to repair faults in its concrete foundation, but with mixed results. That same year, a new intrusion alarm was also installed in the Visitor Center complex with the cost-efficient help of a technician detailed from Colonial National Historical Park.[223]

During the early to mid-1990s, park attention was focused upon the rehabilitation of the Cemetery Lodge. However, minor repairs and maintenance of the Memorial Building continued. In 1993, the park replaced missing slates on the Memorial Building's roof as well as those missing from the Cemetery Lodge and its stable.[224] Between 1994 and 1996, park maintenance staff replaced deteriorated bricks and repointed the masonry of the Memorial Building and the Homestead's chimneys. A "snow catcher" was installed on the roof of the Memorial Building as a safety feature.[225] Such routine maintenance continued into the 2000s.

In 1998, the park's Visitor Center, which is not a historic property, was thoroughly renovated so new exhibits could be installed (this topic is discussed in more detail in the section on interpretation). Older exhibits installed during the park's Mission-66 development were removed by the maintenance crew but donated to the nearby Nathanael Greene Museum. The center was then re-carpeted, repainted, and rewired to accommodate the new exhibits while new power-assisted doors were installed as an aid to accessibility by the handicapped. New exhibits were set up in the Memorial Building with sound effects added to simulate the sounds that might have been heard on a visit to the Tailor Shop in the 1830s.[226]

Three years later, a final important upgrade was made to the Visitor Center complex to provide better public "necessities." From 1958 to the end of the twentieth century, visitors to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site found only two single-occupant rest rooms in the Visitor Center, one female, one male. Given that the largest number of visits was by school groups, the predictable result was long lines. Not only did visitors receive less interpretation while waiting in line, but space devoted to waiting was space not used for interpretation. Superintendent Corey first began planning to correct the problem in 1996, but it was not until 1999 that funding was authorized. That year, worn-out plumbing beneath the Visitor Center's concrete slab floors ruptured, rendering the park's rest rooms unusable for about a month. Shortly thereafter, regional authorities authorized Corey to expend up to $99,000 to construct a modern facility.[227]

220. SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.
221. Chief of Cultural Resources Preservation Center, Memorandum (entitled "Statement for Management—Andrew Johnson") to Chief, Planning and Compliance Division, August 22, 1985, in AJNHS files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.
222. SANR for 1988, February 10, 1989.
223. SANR for 1988, February 16, 1990.
224. SANR for 1993, February 17, 1994.
225. SANR for 1993, February 17, 1994; SANR for Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995, December 1, 1995; and SANR for Fiscal Year 1996.
226. SANR for Fiscal Year 1998.

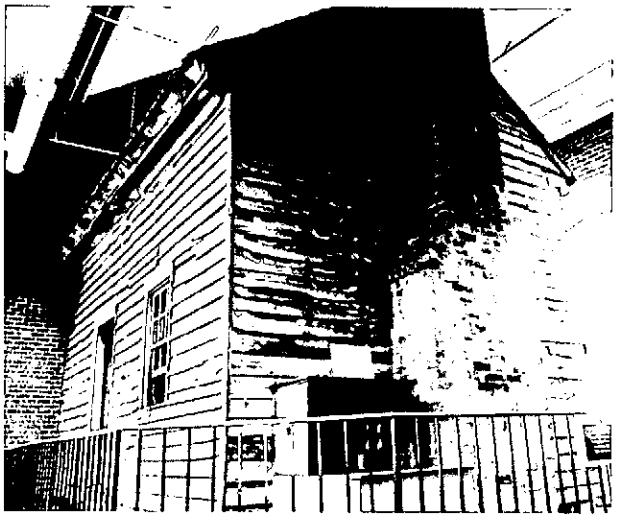

FIGURE 26. The Tailor Shop of Andrew Johnson inside the Memorial Building, circa 1995.

Corey hoped to contract the project for less than that, using funds derived from the Recreational Fee Demonstration Program, which allowed parks to retain 80 percent of proceeds from entrance fees. The remaining 20 percent was then channeled to parks that did not participate in the Demonstration Fee Program, such as Andrew Johnson. Architecturally, the design of the new facilities allowed use by up to three-persons per side (segregated by gender) while also providing both handicapped access and diaper-changing facilities, which were absent from the 1958 design. Because Andrew Johnson is a Federal installation, local approval was not required, but Corey announced that he would seek approval for the design of the new restrooms with Greeneville's Historic Zoning Commission and the State Historic Preservation Office, both of which had already supported preliminary designs.[228] Corey consulted with both of these bodies prior to completing plans for the project, and apparently always did so, a routine that helped ensure good park-community relations.[229]

The contract for this project was awarded to Hoilman Construction Company of Johnson City and the contract was administered with the help of Lewis Grooms of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Corey announced that "their team was great to work with and built us a quality structure."[230] The new facility, which opened in February 2001, greatly eased the park's congestion problem. The rest room facility was essentially the last major piece of a dramatically improved interpretive and operational regime that Superintendent Corey had undertaken to develop at Andrew Johnson since first accepting his post in 1992.

Historic District Development

Superintendents at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site have always promoted the benefit of the park to the development of downtown Greeneville and Greene County, Tennessee. For example, Superintendent Lloyd Abelson gave frequent talks to the Kiwanis Club of Greeneville. At their meeting in April 1972, he emphasized that "we have something that very few other towns have and we should take greater advantage of the fact that Andrew Johnson lived in Greeneville."[231]

In 1973, Abelson began working with the newly formed Greene County Heritage Trust to designate a National Register historic district in the area surrounding the park, which he reported as not being a controversial issue.[232] Abelson was already on a "first-name basis" with city and county officials, and community leaders. Obviously, the fact that Andrew Johnson National Historic Site was located in the middle of town had always been important to Greeneville.[233] According to Abelson, who helped establish the Heritage Trust, "we were directly involved in having the area separating the Homestead and Tailor Shop declared a Historic District."[234] The new National Register district encompassed most of the historic center of Greeneville, roughly bounded by Irish, Nelson, W. Church, College and McKee Streets, and was formally listed on the Register in May 1974.[235]

227. NPS News Release, "Expanded Public Rest Room Facilities to be Constructed at Andrew Johnson Site Visitor Center" [no date], in "Press Release and Newspaper Clippings, 2000" file, AJNHS archives.
228. Ibid.
229. Eugenia Estes, "Professional Signs Cause Concerns," *Greeneville Sun*, January 1, 1997, A1, A9.
230. NPS News Release, "Andrew Johnson Visitor Center's New, Larger Restrooms Completed," February 9, 2001, A7, AJNHS archives.
231. "Kiwanians Hear Ableson On AJ History," *Greeneville Daily Sun*, April 14, 1972, 1, 8.
232. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974.
233. SANR for 1972, January 12, 1973.
234. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
235. See http://www.nr.nps.gov.

In the 1970s, with much NPS backing, Greeneville began the long process of promoting itself as a venue for historic tourism. To encourage further appreciation of local history, Abelson advised the local Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) chapter on its efforts to restore the Old Harmony Cemetery, which was located within the town's new historic district. He also advised the Heritage Trust to develop a festival to celebrate the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976.[236] By 1975, Abelson reported that the Heritage Trust "has been the vehicle through which we help and influence City and County officials." He listed a number of projects that the Park Service was involved with, including restoration of Covered Bridge, Doak House, Quaker Church, Harmony Cemetery, fish stocking of Richland Creek, brick sidewalks, and bicentennial events, among others.[237] In July 1977, Abelson was also appointed Chairman of the Greeneville Chamber of Commerce "Tourist and Travel District." He worked with the First Tennessee-Virginia Development District to organize a thirteen-county regional travel council.[238] In 1981, Abelson was also a member of Greeneville's Knoxville World's Fair Steering Committee. He claimed that he "spoke to anyone who would listen" about how much the fair would benefit Greeneville and estimated a 300 percent increase in visitation would result.[239] Together, these activities show that Andrew Johnson National Historic Site has long been involved in cooperating with town and county officials to capitalize on Greeneville's historical appeal.

One of the most important events along that road occurred in 1985. On May 15, Greeneville received a grant from the Land and Water Conservation Fund, a national fund administered through the NPS that was created by Congress for conservation purposes using revenue from off-shore oil drilling in public waters. The purpose of the grant was to fund work on the first phase of the clean up of Richland Creek, a small stream that runs through the middle of the town and, in fact, beneath the Visitor Center of the national historic site. Funding would also allow the town to construct the "Richland Creek Historic Walkway."[240]

FIGURE 27. A C-SPAN crewman (l) chats with a park maintenance employee. The cable television network broadcast from Homestead twice in the 1990s.

Superintendent Grady Webb advised the town on the issue and regularly attended tourism meetings of the Chamber of Commerce and the East Tennessee Tourism Council during his tenure at the park.[241] Nevertheless, there is no indication that local NPS staff were substantially involved in acquiring the Greeneville grant, although the project did promise important benefits for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Mainly, the walkway was intended to link Richland Creek to the Homestead and the Tailor Shop, completing a circuit that would be of benefit to tourists.[242]

The grant, approved by the Tennessee Department of Conservation, required in-kind matching by the city. Mayor G. Thomas Love called the grant "one of the greatest things to happen to Greeneville." The grant was a joint effort by the city and Greene County, but the organization that mattered most was Main Street: Greeneville, a local organization that was part of a nation-wide program developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to support revitalization of small cities and towns across America. Mayor Love praised its co-managers for their efforts in pursuing the grant. The project was to take place in phases over six years as part of the effort to revitalize the town's center by creating a park-like atmosphere in the downtown area.[243]

236. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
237. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
238. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
239. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
240. Ron Walli, "Historic Walkway Grant is Approved," *Greeneville Sun*, May 15, 1985, 1, 6.
241. SANR for 1984, January 18, 1985; SANR (for 1987), February 18, 1988.
242. Ron Walli, "Historic Walkway Grant is Approved," *Greeneville Sun*, May 15, 1985, 1, 6.
243. Ron Walli, "Historic Walkway Grant is Approved," *Greeneville Sun*, May 15, 1985, 1, 6.

FIGURE 28. Statue of President Andrew Johnson across the street from Tailor Shop and the NPS Visitor Center in the Greeneville Historic District.

Construction for the second phase of the Richland Creek Walkway, located between the Greeneville-Greene County Drug Commission Crime Lab (to the rear of the park) and the Asbury United Methodist Church, began in November 1990. The project was to include a lighted brick walkway, a pavilion, and both an automobile and pedestrian bridge. Like the first phase, the second was also intended to help clean up Richland Creek, help create more park space, and perhaps more downtown parking space. The town of Greeneville had to match the Land and Conservation Fund's $20,000 grant before the project could begin, which it did in May.[244]

Meanwhile, Helen Horner, who directed tourism for the Greeneville/Greene County Chamber of Commerce, began to promote heritage tourism using a new tax. The tax came from a two-percent hotel/motel lodgings surcharge authorized by Greene County in 1986. The tax made $32,000 available for use in advertising Greeneville and Greene County's tourist attractions. Horner used these funds to produce brochures highlighting nearby historical attractions, namely, the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, the Dickson-Williams Mansion, the Davy Crockett birthplace, and the reconstructed "Lost State of Franklin" capitol. She had the brochures distributed at interstate welcome centers, hotels, and restaurants throughout the region. Horner said that many tourists had told her personally that "they wished they had spent the night in Greeneville, rather than around Dollywood 'with all that glitz and glitter'." Horner noted that 1987 saw the highest ever increase in local tourism, with tourists spending 9.8 percent more in the state as a whole than the year prior. More than 17,000 people visited the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site Visitor Center, with 16,000 entering the Homestead.[245]

Despite considerable progress in promoting tourism and redeveloping its downtown area, Greeneville still had a long way to go by the end of the decade. In early 1991, Ralph M. Phinney stepped up to the plate and began writing an "op-ed" for the *Greeneville Sun* enunciating three main objectives to help resurrect the downtown area. First, he promoted the idea of erecting a life-size statue of President Andrew Johnson in the historic district. In making this proposal, Phinney praised the National Park Service, but he thought a statue of the president would do more to alert brief residents and transients to the fact the Greeneville was the home of a former U.S. President and included "one of the most prized and interesting memorials encompassing the complete life story" of Johnson.

Second, Phinney encouraged the restoration and revitalization of the former Brumley Hotel, including a ground floor restaurant offering breakfast, a feature that the downtown area largely

244. Jim Cox, "Project Will Link Johnson Historic Site with Homestead," *Greeneville Sun,* November 29, 1990.
245. Ron Schaming, "Greene County Tourism Reaches All-time High," and Editorial, "Good News About Local Tourism," *Greeneville Sun,* February 8, 1988.

lacked and which was an impediment to the establishment of Greeneville as a tourist destination. He even suggested it be renamed for Andrew Johnson. Finally, Phinney thought his fellow townsfolk should make wider use of the Johnson name. He suggested renaming the city property at West Main and McKee Streets using Johnson's name or renaming Greeneville High School the Andrew Johnson High School. These suggestions, thought Phinney, could greatly bolster the tourism potential of the historic area of the town.[246] Some of these suggestions were eventually implemented.

By August 1991, encouraged by Phinney, the town of Greeneville issued a proposal to begin a major redevelopment of its downtown area, including the construction of a multi-level parking deck, the removal of blighted buildings, and renovation of nearby historic structures.[247] NPS staff in the regional office evaluated the proposal and thought it overly optimistic, but they did not think it would significantly impact Andrew Johnson National Historic Site if enacted. However, they were worried about the impact of a parking deck.[248]

As far as the statue was concerned, Phinney had funds available as the executor of Margaret Bartlett's estate, which encouraged continuation of her efforts to promote the legacy of Andrew Johnson even after her death. The Bartlett estate, therefore, commissioned Tennessee artist Jim Gray to create the statue. What Phinney needed was permission from the town to erect the bigger-than-life creation. He requested the Mayor and aldermen appoint a committee to select a suitable location for the statue and this was done. The committee included local political and civic leaders, NPS representative Jim Small, who had arrived at Andrew Johnson to serve as Chief Ranger in September 1990, and Mayor G. Thomas Love, who served as chair. By March 1994, this committee had selected three potential sites. One idea was to place the statue before the town hall itself, but the site

FIGURE 29. Margaret Bartlett's cousin Ralph M. Phinney shown cutting the ribbon for the dedication of new exhibits at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site in 1998.

most favored was the corner of Depot and College Streets, right across the street from Johnson's Tailor Shop.[249]

As the idea of a statue was being discussed in 1994, Greeneville and Andrew Johnson National Historic Site received free publicity when the cable-TV channel C-SPAN visited the historic site. Traveling in a large school bus outfitted with all the technology needed to air live television broadcasts, the C-SPAN crew interviewed Superintendent Mark Corey and park Curator Elaine Clark, and filmed a tour of the Andrew Johnson Homestead. The crew was met at the Homestead by then 99-year-old Ralph Phinney. "Mark just asked me to come down so someone will be in the house," Phinney told the reporters. The crew then filmed Phinney as he discussed his relationship to Andrew Johnson's great-granddaughter, Margaret Bartlett.[250] C-SPAN returned again in 1999 to do work for a special broadcast from Andrew Johnson. Two separate broadcasts were made on July 9 as

246. Ralph M. Phinney, "Statue of Andrew Johnson," *Greeneville Sun*, February 23, 1991.
247. See, The Town of Greeneville, Tennessee, *The Historic Downtown Greenville Redevelopment Project: Proposed Development Plan*, August 5, 1991, copy in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
248. "Kay" Note to Robert Blythe and Kirk Cordell, no date [late August 1991], in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
249. Eugenia Estes, "Committee Views Three Sites for Erecting Johnson Statue," *Greeneville Sun*, March 17, 1994.
250. "C-Span's Coming," *Greeneville Sun*, March 1, 1995; and "C-SPAN," *Greeneville Sun*, March 4, 1995.

part of a series on U.S. presidents entitled "American Presidents: Life Portraits."[251]

In June 1995, Phinney and other supporters gathered at the corner of Depot and College Streets in the Greeneville Historic District to formally unveil Gray's cast-bronze statue of President Andrew Johnson. That same year, Phinney succeeded in having an exact copy of Gray's statue placed before the Tennessee State Capitol in Nashville. Statues of Presidents Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk, also noted Tennesseans, were already standing, but Southern animosity to Andrew Johnson, who remained steadfastly loyal to the United States throughout the secession crisis, had prevented any similar honor for him. Johnson was the only Southern U.S. Senator to remain with the Union when his state seceded, and he was even more reviled as the stern military governor of Union-occupied Tennessee. But times change and Phinney, who was a hundred years old in 1995, was able to secure key endorsements, including that of the Tennessee Historical Commission. The state legislature then voted funds for the casting. The statue's design and Greeneville prototype had already been purchased by the Bartlett estate.[252]

On August 1, 1995, the *Greeneville Sun* remarked that "these compelling twin memorials to our most distinguished son is a tribute to the vision, diplomacy and determination of Ralph Phinney. There simply would have been no statutes without him, and they will be his enduring legacy, just as they will be Mrs. Bartlett's."[253]

Security at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

Law enforcement issues have generally not been particular concerns for staff at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Most criminal activities have amounted to minor vandalism, with parking violations at the park's Visitor Center parking lot the most significant policy problem for many years. There have also been a few reported thefts. An entrance sign for the Andrew Johnson Homestead was stolen in 1971, but later found and returned by the U.S. Forest Service.[254] More seriously, in 1973, Mrs. Andrew Johnson's reading glasses were stolen from a room in the Homestead where they were on display.[255]

Law enforcement jurisdiction at the historic site was somewhat of a problem in the early 1970s. The park has never had more than one assigned law enforcement ranger. This situation meant that the park's law enforcement coverage was problematic. One ranger could not be on duty all the time, although the ranger's required residence in the Cemetery Lodge and on-call availability mitigated the thin coverage. Still, unless personnel transitions were managed with great precision, the park risked experiencing periods of no effective law enforcement coverage. NPS facilities operated on alarms after hours, however, and the alarms were connected to the local police department.

In 1977, Superintendent Abelson sought support from the regional office to allow the park to establish "concurrent" jurisdiction with local law enforcement authorities, which would allow local police to exercise authority on park property. Unfortunately, the regional office was slow to act in converting the park's exclusive and proprietary jurisdiction. In January 1978, the park actually lost its law enforcement-commissioned ranger while the city still had no authority to enforce the law on park property. Abelson complained about the situation again in his 1978 and 1979 park annual reports while also noting that he had sent park technician Ron Pyron to the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) for a nine-week course to qualify for a law enforcement commission in 1978, with a forty-hour refresher course the following year. Abelson and park historian Hugh Lawing were also authorized limited commissions to issue parking citations in 1978, necessary because the Tennessee Human Services Department or "Welfare Office" across the street from the Visitor Center had expanded that year, greatly increasing

251. Eugenia Estes, "C-SPAN Crew Here Preparing for Andrew Johnson Broadcast," *Greeneville Sun*, June 24, 1999.
252. Editorial, "Andrew Johnson and Ralph Phinney," August 1, 1995, 2.
253. Editorial, "Andrew Johnson and Ralph Phinney," August 1, 1995, 2.
254. Lloyd A. Abelson, Superintendent, Log of Events, September 1971.
255. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974.

the parking problem. The implication of these facts was that for part of 1978, the park lacked the necessary law enforcement muscle to handle a serious incident, which was, of course, a potentially grave situation.

In 1979, the parking problem worsened due "to food stamp recipients taking over the Visitor Center parking lot." That year, 191 parking violation citations were issued. Aside from parking problems, the park's crime rate in 1979 was zero.[256] In 1980, the number of citations issued declined to 124, but they rose again to 194 in 1981. The situation showed no sign of improving and Superintendent Abelson, in conjunction with adjacent property owners, "requested that the state move their Food Stamp Office to a site that provides some customer parking." The state responded by telling Abelson to wait until March 1981 when Human Services Department planned to initiate a mail-out program. Instead of resolving the matter, however, the new program merely scattered Human Services visitors throughout the month and continued to create parking problems. There also was no progress in resolving the concurrent jurisdiction problem in either 1981 or 1982.[257]

In 1982, problems continued to be caused by use of the Visitor Center parking lot by visitors to the Tennessee Human Services Department. Fewer tickets were issued than in 1981, but an effort was made to increase the violation penalty from three to ten dollars in the hope that it would act as a deterrent.[258] In 1983, new park Supt. Grady Webb took up the parking lot problem. He first sought an increase in fines. By 1984, Webb's reports seemed to indicate that the problem was actually getting worse as "tobacco sellers" a nearby tobacco warehouse were now also being cited as abusing the parking lot. Nevertheless, according to Webb, "things will be changing." Chief Ranger David A. McCormack contacted the U.S. Attorney's office to establish "collateral forfeiture" for parking violators. "Hopefully," Webb reported, "this will alleviate some of the parking problems experienced in the past." However, during Webb's tenure no lasting resolution of the parking problem was achieved.

256. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978; SANR for 1978, January 3, 1979; SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.
257. SANR for 1980, February 5, 1981; SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
258. SANR for 1982, February 23, 1983.

Instead, Webb continued to issue parking tickets, both real and courtesy, to penalize lot users who were not visiting the park.[259]

Under Superintendent Mark Corey, trouble with the Visitor Center parking lot continued. Like superintendents before him, Corey first tried warning notices. His strategy seemed to succeed in 1993, because the number of warnings actually declined. However, that year the Tennessee Human Resource Center moved its offices, which temporarily reduced use of the lot by non-park visitors.[260] The next year, however, the problem returned. Corey eventually acknowledged that merely warning violators was not sufficient. In fact, he reported that "the parking situation in the Visitor Center lot had become unmanageable." As a result, the park began issuing tickets in an effort to keep its Visitor Center lot open for park visitors. In 1994-1995, some thirty citations were written, which quickly resulted in an improved situation.[261] The problem finally diminished when the nearby Smoke Stack Park and Andrew Johnson Park parking lots opened, creating more space for historic district visitors in general.

While Andrew Johnson was still under the administration of Grady Webb, Great Smoky Mountains National Park initiated a legislative proposal to obtain concurrent jurisdiction for itself and parks in the vicinity. Webb distributed the proposal to local political leaders and law enforcement agencies in 1988.[262] Superintendent Gordon Wilson reported in 1989 that the park "has established quality working relationships with area law enforcement groups."[263] However, it was not until Mark Corey took over as superintendent that this issue was finally resolved. In 1997 an agreement was reached between the National Park Service and the state of Tennessee, and the jurisdiction of all the properties within the park was changed to concurrent for both the Federal and state governments. This change ended the long-existing problem of local law enforcement agencies not having any authority at the National Cemetery.[264]

259. SANR for 1983, February 13, 1984; SANR for 1984, January 18, 1985; SANR for 1987, February 18, 1988.
260. SANR for 1993, February 15, 1994.
261. SANR for Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995, December 1, 1995.
262. SANR for 1988, February 10, 1989.
263. SANR for 1989, February 16, 1990.
264. SANR for Fiscal Year 1997.

Corey's own motivation for seeking to resolve the issue was his desire to relieve his chief ranger of residency within the Cemetery Lodge and also to make potential use of that facility for administrative purposes. While past superintendents had complained about not getting anywhere in solving the problem, they also had less motivation to do so. With a ranger on call nearby, the security concerns were less pressing.

In conclusion, law enforcement issues at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site have not been serious.[265] Besides minor parking infractions, there has been some mischief or vandalism, especially at the cemetery. For example, on July 6, 1987, the nine-by-seventeen-foot nylon U.S. flag flown at the National Cemetery was stolen. The flag's rope was cut using a rusty knife. The loss was valued at approximately $120.00, said ranger Kent R. Cave, who had arrived at the park in January 1984. Later, the flag was recovered and two juveniles questioned. The park had to call in the local fire department, which used a ladder truck to install a new rope the next day.[266]

In 1998, someone attempted to force entry on the second-story at the Homestead. The intrusion system operated as intended, however, and the would-be burglar fled the scene before police and park staff arrived.[267] Perhaps the most serious incident occurred in September 2002 when a man broke into the maintenance garage at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery and got away with property, mostly tools and three leaf blowers, valued at over a thousand dollars. He was later apprehended by the Greeneville Police Department and sentenced in U.S. District Court in February 2004 to thirty months confinement. He had served on a work detail at the cemetery as a trusty of the Greene County Workhouse prior to the crime.[268] The park had entered a "Volunteer Agreement" with the Greene County Detention Center in 2002, which had provided two trusties to help out with weeding, mowing, and aligning headstones at the National Cemetery.[269] The thief was one of the first two participants, which did not augur well for the future use of the agreement to secure maintenance labor.

265. However, fear of bio-terrorism led the park to acquire a chemical response kit that included a face mask and respirator for its law enforcement ranger. SANR, Fiscal Year 2003.

266. SANR for 1987, February 18, 1988; "Flag Stolen at AJ Cemetery," *Greeneville Daily Sun*, July 7, 1987.

267. SANR for Fiscal Year 1998.

268. SANR, Fiscal Year 2003.

269. SANR, Fiscal Year 2002.

Chapter III: Andrew Johnson National Cemetery

In his annual report for 1972, Superintendent Lloyd Abelson jotted a summary about the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. He stated that "cemetery operations on steep incline is basic unresolved safety hazard. Access road and lower grave sites under 1974 development are the only resolution to the basic problem."[270] In November 1973, as if to illustrate the point, a woman who had fallen while visiting the grave of her son sued the Park Service for damages. Vada M. Stubblefield asked for $65,000 in a complaint brought in the U.S. District Court. She claimed her injuries, subsequent hospitalization, medical expenses, and impaired capacity to work were due to the government's negligence because it had failed to provide level walkways, because the cemetery was located on hilly terrain, and because the government had not warned her that it was dangerous, such as by posting signs.[271] Whatever the merit of this suit, the cemetery's steep slopes have proven to be a significant factor underlying NPS management decisions at the cemetery.

Interment Planning in the 1970s and 1980s

In 1973, Congress, under the National Cemeteries Act, authorized the transfer of eighty-two national cemeteries from the Department of the Army to the Veterans Administration (now the Department of Veterans Affairs)—the VA.[272] This reorganization combined twenty-one existing VA-administered cemeteries with the former military cemeteries, to create the National Cemetery System. The Park Service retained jurisdiction of those cemeteries it already held due to their association with major historic sites such as battlefields and, as with Andrew Johnson, Presidential memorials. However, the Service had formerly managed its cemeteries on the basis of rules and guidelines supplied by the Army, which had considerably more expertise on the subject. Now, it would do so using VA guidelines.[273] How thoroughly the Park Service had to adhere to VA guidelines would eventually become an issue at Andrew Johnson.

Superintendent Abelson noted this transition in his 1973 log book. He attributed burial declines at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery to the transfer of "Mountain Home" to VA administration that year. Mountain Home was the last branch established for the "National Homes," an organization funded by Congress to care for Union veterans of the Civil War. Located only a few miles away in Johnson City, Tennessee, the new VA cemetery had a less expensive and more liberal burial policy than that at Andrew Johnson.[274] The existence of this facility was and is important for the long-term management of Andrew Johnson because it offers a viable alternative for families seeking veteran interments in a nearby National Cemetery.

Both safety considerations and changing VA guidelines inspired the Park Service to review the overall management policy at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery in the 1970s and later in the 1980s as well. The Park Service made a major decision when it decided to develop the lower portion of the cemetery, along Vann Road. Planning was underway in 1972 and development began in March 1974. The most important aspect of this work was that funds were allocated to construct a new cemetery access road, as well as new steps, to provide access to 125 new burial sites in the lower cemetery. The contractor was Bob Smith

270. SANR for 1972, January 12, 1973.

271. "Woman Who Fell at Grave in U.S. Cemetery Sues," *Greeneville Daily Sun,* November 2, 1973. No follow-up information was found in the record, indicating that this suit was probably not successful.

272. Public Law 93-43, 87 Stat. 75.

273. According to Alan Woodrow, the Army Technical Manual TM 10-287 was still used in developing the 1976 interment plan.

274. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974.

FIGURE 30. View of the cemetery, lodge, and Monument Hill, c. 1908.

Construction of Greeneville, which was awarded $89,000. The new road with loop, curbs, and sidewalks was completed in 1975. The same project also expanded the parking area around the existing utility building near the Cemetery Lodge.[275]

The new access road was completely separate from the historic entrance on Monument Avenue. Unfortunately, to complete this project, it was necessary to breach the historic cemetery wall, create a new entrance, and relocate the historic segment.[276] This task was accomplished by bringing in a large crane that lifted one section of the wall from its foundation. Workmen also had to pour oil into the "tongue and groove" joints between the wall sections to help ease them apart. Two sections approximately twenty-four feet in length were moved back to form an inverted open "V" shape, allowing passage of the new road.[277] This procedure was a risky because the wall was constructed about 1908 and was not reinforced with steel.

The National Cemetery was listed administratively in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966, as previously discussed. Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the project plans were subject to review by the Tennessee SHPO and the Advisory Council. Both concurred with the finding that development of the access road and new burial sites would not have an adverse effect on the cemetery's historic character, and the project was approved.[278]

275. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
276. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
277. "New Entrance" and "14 Tons of Concrete," *Greeneville Sun*, March 4, 1975.

In retrospect, the wall sections apparently survived the trauma of their dislocation, but there was an impact. Mainly, the project created a new design element that was historically inconsistent with the layout of the cemetery, especially in comparison to the front entrance, as a later NPS Cultural Landscape Report determined.[279]

Resistance to breaching the wall probably existed at the time. Hugh Lawing, who had served at the park in 1975, claimed in retirement that "I have always thought, and still do, that breaking through the back wall to gain entrance to that portion of the cemetery was a mistake." He informed Superintendent Mark Corey in 1993 that when the breach was being contemplated one alternate proposal was to adapt a road going from the main drive just above the utility area that might have followed the natural contour of the hill around to the back of the cemetery.[280] Why this proposal was rejected in lieu of impairing the historic wall is unknown. The suggestion may or may not have been feasible, but there is little evidence that it was much discussed.

There were other minor improvements in 1975, notably a chain gate was installed to block traffic on the main cemetery entrance road after hours. Such changes, especially the new road, impressed upon Superintendent Abelson the need for "a detailed, overall Landscape Plan" for the cemetery. Without it, he feared that short-term expediency would lead to random site locations. His plan, dating to 1963, only recorded existing sites and facilities and did not map out new grave plots.[281] However, Regional Landscape Architect Alan Woodrow was already

278. "Report on the Preparation of the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery Plans," a Report to accompany Interment Plan/Cemetery Landscape Plan, Southeast Regional Office, February 1984, 5, in AJNHS archives.
279. According to the 1993 report, "due to the historical importance of the wall, reconfiguration of the Vann Road entrance should be considered. The unnatural way the wall segments were turned to create the entrance opening mars the beauty of the original design." Regional Historical Landscape Architect Lucy Lawliss recommended that the main entrance be used as a proto-type to develop a more historically appropriate design for the new gate, which was eventually done. See Lucy Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1993), 21-22.
280. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, February 1, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
281. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.

developing a "Cemetery Landscape plan" to include burial sites and a general plan for further interments. It was needed because, as Abelson noted, the new road "exceeded expectation in opening up access to new burial sites." The road's benefits, however, included a reduction in safety hazards (mainly the need to access burial sites from the top of the hill), less staff workload, and a tendency of separating funeral and park visitors.[282]

In 1976, after major construction was completed, Woodrow's new interment plan was adopted.[283] It designated 695 new grave sites in twelve sections of the cemetery for a maximum cemetery capacity of 1,528, or 695 over the number of sites that were already either filled or reserved (833). Five of the sections were already nearly filled, however, and excavations later proved tough due to prevailing rocky conditions, which led to revisions in layout of those sections. The plan was based upon the VA guidelines (which were still at that point basically Army guidelines), the most important of which stated that a 20 percent standard had to be used in determining the maximum slope allowed for interments. Most of the small cemetery is on a steep slope. According to Woodrow, this left about 3.5 acres available for interments in areas with less than a 20 percent slope.[284]

By 1983, Allan Woodrow was back at the cemetery "trying to straighten out some previous problems." He made several trips that year to survey the cemetery, analyze its layout, and find additional burial space.[285] New VA rules drove this work. To alleviate safety hazards, the VA had determined that burials should not take place on cemetery slopes exceeding 15 percent. This new policy meant that much less space would be available at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery because so much was on a steep slope, but also up-slope interment sites required additional depth to level caskets for burial. The risk of using up-slope areas was well known to NPS staff. Woodrow found the soil conditions poor, with shallow bedrock allowing side walls to cave in

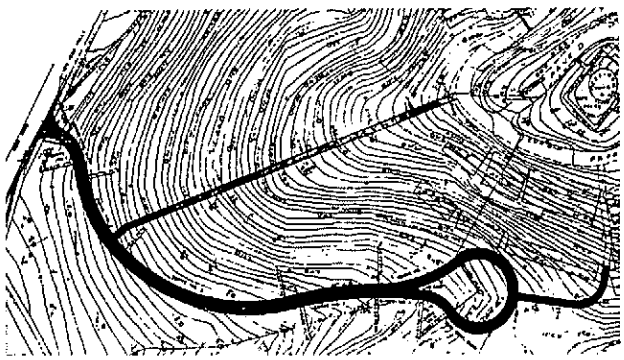

FIGURE 31. Section of a 1975 NPS map showing the new road that provided access to the lower cemetery. The road required a breach in the historic wall along Vann Road.

easily. Long-time maintenance work leader Tony Reaves gave an example of this in a 2002 interview.[286] The results can be both dangerous and grisly. For these reasons, therefore, a new plan was devised in 1984 that eliminated one section (Z). However, others were retained (T, U, and F) that had slopes falling between 15 and 20 percent. To compensate for safety on steeply sloped interment sites, the size of the site was increased from 5 by 10 to 7 by 14 feet. The overall result was a decrease in the number of possible burial sites, although 478 were still available. The approved plan in 1984 proposed to fill just 1,311 sites. According to Woodrow, it was "a revision in the layout and number of burial sites because of operational [safety] and excavation limitations" and, because it actually proposed to reduce the scope of interments, it was determined that further Section 106 processing was unnecessary.[287]

The 1984 Interment Plan was intended to serve as a record for burial until the cemetery was closed.[288] The National Park Service, under long-standing policy, does not seek the perpetual administration of active cemeteries and only undertakes their

282. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
283. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
284. "Report on the Preparation of the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery Plans," a Report to accompany Interment Plan/Cemetery Landscape Plan, Southeast Regional Office, February 1984, 1, 4 in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
285. SANR for 1983, February 13, 1984. In 1983, the park also received $10,000 "thanks to the Jobs Bill" to realign and reset all the headstones in the cemetery.
286. See Tony Reaves, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken (Appalachian State University, Boone, NC, 2002).
287. "Report on the Preparation of the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery Plans," a Report to accompany Interment Plan/Cemetery Landscape Plan, Southeast Regional Office, February 1984, 1, 4-5, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO. For similar reasons, the 1984 interment plan was categorically excluded from "NEPA" review. According to a note by Woodrow four years later, indeed, no Section 106 or NEPA review did take place. See Alan D. Woodrow, Routing and Transmittal Slip to Kathy Foppes and Steve Price, May 20, 1988, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

FIGURE 32. This photograph from the summit of Monument Hill within Andrew Johnson National Cemetery shows War Department-era graves, a portion of the historic cemetery wall (lower left), and the cemetery's steep slopes, which commonly exceed a 20 percent grade.

administration in connection to the preservation of major historic sites that for historical reasons are associated with national cemeteries, mainly battlefields, but also persons, such as Andrew Johnson. By 1984, interments at the cemetery were averaging three per month, and the Park Service expected to fill all available space within about eight years, after which the cemetery would be closed. As explained shortly, that is not what happened.

How the Park Service has and continues to manage interments at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery is important because the cemetery plays an important role in the community as a burial site for military veterans and their dependents. Numerous local veterans' groups regard the cemetery as a venue for conducting important patriotic ceremonies, especially for Memorial Day remembrances. The Greeneville Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) Post 1990 has figured prominently in these ceremonies since the beginning of the period covered by this report.

A similar event involves the commemoration of Andrew Johnson's birthday on December 29. On that day a special wreath of flowers is laid before the monument that arches over Johnson's grave. The wreath is ordered by the White House from a local florist. In earlier years, this ceremony was conducted by the Nolichucky Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). In 1967, however, President Lyndon B. Johnson began sending an honorary wreath to mark the birthdays of his deceased predecessors in office.[289]

The wreath-laying ceremony must be conducted by a representative of the sitting president. In December 1971, Col. Wade Douglass, along with a unit of the East Tennessee State University ROTC, the local VFW post, and Rep. James Quillen laid the wreath on behalf of President Richard Nixon. On this occasion, the event was well covered by local press and television stations and "Mrs. Bartlett was given individual TV coverage."[290] Later on, the Tennessee National Guard was designated to represent the president.

Succeeding administrations have continued the practice. For example, President Ronald Reagan sent a wreath on December 29, 1986, to mark the 178th anniversary of Andrew Johnson's birth. Reagan's wreath was designed by local florist Bonnie Templin. It was delivered by Captain Lynn Fox and Captain Dennis Adams of the 2/278th Armored Cavalry Regiment, who represented the president. In 1987, Ralph Phinney, a cousin of Margaret Bartlett, accompanied by Lt. Col. Gary Ellis of the 2/278 Armored Cavalry, placed the wreath sent by Reagan. VFW Post 1990 provided the honor guard and a firing squad. According to Ellis, "it is an honor for the Tennessee National Guard to present these memorial wreaths to the three presidents—Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Johnson—from Tennessee, especially to Johnson, who did so much to preserve the Union and to enable Tennessee to return to the Union without great difficulty."[291]

Perhaps the liveliest wreath-laying ceremony took place on Johnson's 190th birthday in 1998. That was the year President William J. Clinton was impeached

288. "Report on the Preparation of the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery Plans," a Report to accompany Interment Plan/Cemetery Landscape Plan, Southeast Regional Office, February 1984, 5, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

289. Mary Corey, e-mail entitled "Impeachment Media Interest" to Paul Winegar, Dan Brown, and Jerry Belson, December 1998, in park newspaper clippings archives; and Duncan Mansfield, "Wreath by Clinton Honors Other Impeached President," *San Antonio Express News*, December 30, 1998.

290. Lloyd A. Abelson, Superintendent, Log of Events, December 1971.

291. "Reagan Pays Tribute to Andrew Johnson," *Johnson City Press*, December 30, 1986; "President Johnson Honor," *Greeneville Sun*, December 30, 1987.

by the U.S. House of Representatives. Naturally, when Clinton sent his annual wreath to Andrew Johnson's grave, it generated some media attention, since Clinton was only the second president to be impeached and his trial by the U.S. Senate had not yet occurred. (Clinton was later exonerated, as was Andrew Johnson before him.) Only about a dozen individuals participated in the actual ceremony, but when they arrived at the top of Monument Hill, they were greeted by a larger group of reporters. The wreath, decorated in red, white, and blue flowers, with a simple note saying "The President," was laid before the Johnson Monument by members of the 2/278th Armored Cavalry Regiment of the Tennessee National Guard.[292]

Routine burials are the other major ceremonial events to occur at the National Cemetery. Averaging some fifty-two burials per year, most are solemn but low-key affairs for veterans. Probably the largest ceremony to take place at the cemetery since Johnson's own burial in 1875 was for the interment of Greene County Deputy Sgt. Rick Coyle. Coyle was felled in the line of duty during a shoot-out with a hit-and-run suspect, who was also killed. The deputy sheriff, an Air Force veteran, was buried on Thursday, September 28, 1995. Hundreds of law enforcement officers from across the state along with numerous locals attended the grave-side service, which began after Coyle's coffin arrived upon a horse-drawn carriage.[293]

Monument and Flagpole Repairs

The two most striking man-made features on Monument Hill, other than the Cemetery Lodge, are the Andrew Johnson Monument and the War Department flagpole. The Monument was erected atop one of the highest hills in Greeneville three years after the death of President Johnson. In 1877, the president's children, Andrew Johnson, Jr., Martha Johnson Patterson, and Mary Johnson Stover, contracted the firm of Van Grunden, Young and Drumm in Philadelphia to construct the twenty-seven-foot-tall monument at a cost of nearly nine thousand dollars. It was unveiled before a crowd of three thousand in Greeneville on June 5, 1878, and maintained by the family until 1906, when it was given to the War Department as the nucleus for a National Cemetery.[294]

The monument and the War Department flag pole are both key features of the National Cemetery, but the task of maintaining them has not always been easy. In its August 1985 Statement for Management, the park pointed out that the Johnson monument was in poor condition and in need of major repairs. Regional office staff in Atlanta were concerned as well and had already sent NPS architectural conservator Benjamin Nistal-Moret, Ph.D., to visit the park to assess the condition of the monument. Nistal-Moret's initial report was disturbing in that he found "an advance state of sugaring of the monument surfaces," sugaring of associated monument surfaces, "uncommon brown" stains along a crack in one urn, "cream color stains throughout the surfaces of the monument," and "defective caulkings and adhesives of joints and surface cracks from past 'repair' efforts." According to park staff, the monument had been "chemically cleaned in 1974." William A. Harris, chief of the regional office's cultural resources division, concluded that "the present condition of the monument would suggest that at some point in the past, hydrochloric acid was used as the basic cleaning agent, which would account for the sugaring and staining problems noted." Regional staff planned to develop a long-term plan for repairs and stabilization, although that would take additional funding requests. Harris proposed the use of sophisticated scientific methods to obtain a "fabric analysis" along with the precise specifications for repointing and repairing the monument correctly.[295]

The matter remained a regional priority and funding was made available in 1987. That July, Nistal-Moret led a team of preservation experts to Andrew

292. Duncan Mansfield, "Wreath by Clinton Honors Other Impeached President," *San Antonio Express News*, December 30, 1998.

293. "Fallen Deputy Buried," *Greeneville Sun*, September 29, 1995, A1.

294. Bill Wilburn, "Monumental Makeover at Johnson Gravesite," *Greeneville Sun*, July 23, 1987, 1, 6.

295. Chief, Cultural Resources Preservation Center, Memorandum (entitled "Andrew Johnson Monument, National Cemetery") to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson, May 31, 1985, in AJNHS files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO. Nistal-Moret made two trips to investigate the condition of the cemetery monuments, the first was on April 18 and 19, 1985, and he later visited in September of the same year.

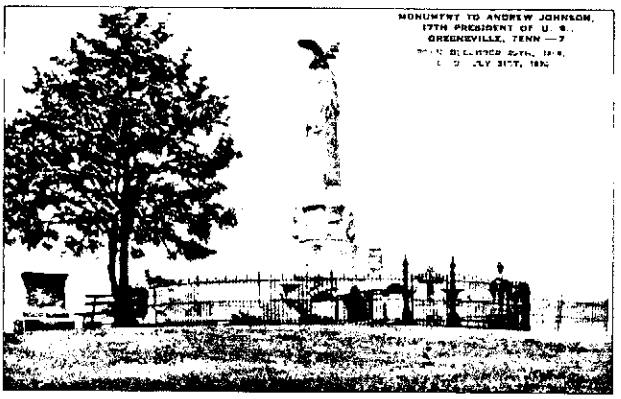

FIGURE 33. Early-20th-century view of Monument Hill and Johnson Family cemetery plot. (Jody Cook Postcard Collection)

Johnson National Cemetery to give its monuments a thorough cleaning and to try to mitigate past damage. One expert on the team, Sam May, explained to the *Greeneville Sun* that procedures being used would safely remove lichen, moss, or other growth from the Italian marble of the monument marking Johnson's gravesite. The team also repointed and sealed cracks and joints to prevent moisture penetration that could lead to expansion cracking when that moisture later froze. Nistal-Moret added that the emphasis on safely cleaning the monuments was not incidental. He stated that the hundred-year-old marble of the Johnson Monument had, in fact, been damaged in the 1970s by a commercial cleaning company that had used acid solutions, which had etched and stained the monument's surface. In fact, the two associated urns were so damaged that they had to be removed from the site altogether and taken to Atlanta for more meticulous repair.[296] These were later returned. The damage to the Andrew Johnson Monument was caused by workmen hired by Superintendent Lloyd Abelson in August 1974 from A-Plus Renovation, Inc. of Greeneville. Cleaning the monument was a chore, Abelson reported then, that had not occurred since the 1960s. Unfortunately, the superintendent would have done better to have done nothing.[297] Besides the monument, Abelson had twenty-five grave stones within the Johnson family circle "commercially cleaned, repaired and sealed."[298]

296. Bill Wilburn, "Monumental Makeover at Johnson Gravesite," *Greeneville Sun*, July 23, 1987, 1, 6.
297. "Andrew Johnson Monument Gets Cleaning," *Greeneville Daily Sun*, August 27, 1974. No other major cleanings are reported in the annual reports between 1974 and 1987.

In August 1989, new park Superintendent Gordon Wilson began Section 106 consultation over proposed action regarding the cemetery's flagpole. The flagpole, which stands some seventy-five feet high, was erected by the War Department around 1908 and is arguably the most noticeable feature of the cemetery. Some rusting of the flagpole was evident near its base and at mid-level. Gordon wanted to remove and replace the flagpole.

Cultural resources staff in the regional office objected to Gordon's proposal, finding insufficient justification for replacing the flagpole. Regional Historical Architect Bill Sowers recommended "repair and maintenance of existing would be preferred. If not feasible, new should match historic in form, detail, and finish."[299] On August 29, 1989, Kirk Cordell, Chief of the Region's Cultural Resources Division, phoned Wilson to discuss the status of his request: "I told him," reported Cordell, "that absent any additional information from the park, we will need to treat the pole as part of the original, and therefore historic, design of the Johnson gravesite." Cordell got Wilson to agree to place the project on hold until NPS architects had a chance to inspect the flagpole.[300]

Staff architects Rene Cote and Steve Sherwood later inspected the flagpole. Their report, supported by the chiefs of the Historic Architecture and Cultural Resources Divisions, argued that, despite surface rusting, the flagpole could be repaired. Associate Regional Director Robert L. Deskins discussed the information with Chief Ranger Mark Woods on January 24, 1990, and followed up with a memorandum stating "that the existing flagpole is historic and should be preserved."[301]

298. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
299. Billy Sowers, Regional Historical Architect, "Replace flagpole, Andrew Johnson National Cemetery," Section 106 "staff review and certification" form, August 28, 1989, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO.
300. Kirk A. Cordell, Record of Telephone Conversation with Gordon Wilson regarding "XXX on flag pole replacement," August 28, 1989, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO. Cordell had support from the Deputy Associate Regional Director for Cultural Resources to oppose Wilson's request, according to a memorandum in the same file drafted for the Deputy Associate Regional Director's signature on August 18.
301. Robert L. Deskins, Associate Regional Director, Operations, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, February 15, 1990, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

Almost immediately, Wilson hired a local company, AAA Sign Service of Johnson City, to appraise the condition of the flagpole. The company strongly recommended replacement with a new aluminum pole that would not have to be painted. The company proposed to do the replacement itself for a fee of $8,207.[302] The same day the contractor supplied its written appraisal, Chief Ranger Mark Woods prepared a new Assessment of Effect as part of the Section 106 process. The following day, February 16, 1990, Wilson signed it and sent it to Atlanta for approval. The park's new assessment provided much additional information not supplied in the first assessment, but the goal was the same. As Gordon wrote, "a structural analysis of the pole by AAA Sign Service, Inc. revealed that the third section of the pole has deteriorated to a point that replacement is recommended." Wilson again said he wanted to replace the pole to avoid "a management and maintenance problem for years to come."[303]

Regional office staff again objected to the park's request. Regional Historian Lenard Brown said "that the flag pole was part of the National Cemetery design and . . . probably was erected within a few years after the National Cemetery was established." Brown recounted that both Bill Sowers and later Rene Cote had recently found the flag pole stable. According to Brown, "the Superintendent's desire to replace it was based on the cost of annual painting." Brown noted that he had explained to Wilson that longer lived paints were available and supported Sower's contention that rust did not compromise the pole's integrity or aesthetics, as Wilson had argued. He also noted that Associate Director Bob Deskins supported maintenance of the pole rather than replacement as the more cost effective option. Brown acerbically called flag pole replacement "the proposal that never dies."[304]

302. James Warren, AAA Sign Service, Inc. (Johnson City, Tennessee), Proposal to replace flagpole, February 15, 1990, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO.
303. Gordon Wilson, XXX Form: Assessment of Actions Having an Effect on Cultural Resources (flagpole), AJNHS, February 16, 1990, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO. According to Wilson's form, park staff received approval from the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Officer.
304. Lenard Brown, Regional Historian, Memorandum entitled "Proposal to Replace Flagpole at Andrew Johnson Nat. Cemetery: A few pertinent comments," February 28, 1990, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO.

Sowers and Regional Archeologist Richard Faust also concurred with Brown that "there is no justification to approve this project." Both Deskins and Cordell called the superintendent to place the action on hold.[305]

With the park now in a stand-off with regional staff (the SHPO's position is not known), a professional industrial laboratory, with no commercial interest in erecting new flag poles, was contracted to inspect and evaluate the material integrity of the old flag pole at the National Cemetery. Professional Service Industries of Pittsburg inspected the structure on May 10, 1990. Its appraisal was received at the park by June 11.[306] The "long-awaited inspection report" by the independent laboratory was not sent to the regional office until June 25. Wilson acknowledged that "they do not recommend replacement, as the deterioration is only serious at the base of the pole."[307]

On November 11, 1990, Wilson submitted a final proposal to the regional office for review. This time the park was "simply going to remove rust and repaint the pole."[308] After "carefully" reviewing this proposal, regional office staff concurred on the proposed park action. "We are pleased to inform you that Section 106 compliance procedures have been completed," wrote Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul B. Hartwig on January 8, 1991.[309]

305. Lenard Brown, et al, "Replace flagpole, Andrew Johnson National Cemetery," Section 106 "staff review and certification" forms, February 28, March 5, and March 6, 1990, all in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO. A "post-it" note dated January 9, 1990, states that "Deskins and Kirk called Supt."
306. Professional Service Industries, Inc., Inspection Report for Flag Pole/Monument Hill at AJNHS, May 10, 1990, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO.
307. Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, Memorandum (entitled "Andrew Johnson Flagpole") to Chief, Engineering and Facilities Rm, SER, June 25, 1990, in AJNHS files, "General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.
308. Gordon Wilson, XXX Form: Assessment of Actions Having an Effect on Cultural Resources (flagpole), AJNHS, November 11, 1990, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO.
309. Deputy Associate Regional Director, Paul B. Hartwig, Memorandum (entitled "Section 106 Clearance to sandblast and repaint National Cemetery flagpole") to Superintendent, AJNHS, January 8, 1991, in "Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan. 1990-May 1991" folder, Section 106 files, CRD, SERO.

FIGURE 34. View of the War Department flagpole in the cemetery in 1990.

Efforts to Expand the National Cemetery

In May 1987, Rep. Jimmy Quillen introduced a bill in Congress to allow the National Cemetery at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site to receive a donation of land.[310] Legislative action was required because the land in question was located outside the national park's authorized boundary. Senators Jim Sasser and Albert Gore, Jr., introduced a companion bill in the Senate. The intent of the legislation was to direct the Secretary of the Interior to approve the acquisition and administration of five lots totaling 1.2 acres adjoining the National Cemetery. These lots were actually procured for donation to the park by the Elbert L. Kinser Detachment, a local branch of the Marine Corps League, and Andrew Johnson Post 1990, a branch of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW). The veterans' groups had purchased the property adjacent to the cemetery at the intersection of Vann Road and Crescent Drive in the "Sunnyside Addition." They wanted to give it to the park to allow local veterans to continue to be interred in the National Cemetery. Rep. Quillen stated that "this is a very commendable and thoughtful act upon the part of those involved in this unselfish proposal." "If my bill is approved," he stated, "up to 500 new sites will be available to provide a final resting place for the deserving veterans who have served us all so well."[311]

On June 23, Senator Sasser again stated that "the acquisition of this land is necessary because there are less than 250 gravesites in the cemetery." Reportedly, if nothing was done to expand the area available for graves, the cemetery would be filled within the next seven to eight years. Sasser filed similar comments in the Congressional Record for himself and Sen. Albert Gore, Jr. He also explained that the expansion would not cost the taxpayers and re-emphasized that it would "ensure that eligible veterans in the East Tennessee area will have an appropriate and dignified final resting place."[312]

The National Park Service opposed the Quillen-Sasser-Gore legislation. Superintendent Webb explained the issue to Southeast Regional Office staff in early July 1987, and his basic arguments would be used throughout the forthcoming debate. Among these, he noted that the entire park was intrinsically historic, having been donated by the family of the late president Andrew Johnson to commemorate his life and role in American history, that the purpose of the Park Service was to protect the integrity of historic sites, not to administer active cemeteries, that the Quillen bill would jeopardize these aforementioned purposes and would entail

310. SANR for 1987, February 18, 1988.

311. "Quillen Bill Would Allow More Land for AJ Cemetery," *Greeneville Daily Sun,* May 23, 1987; "Proposal Would Allow Cemetery Expansion," *Johnson City Press,* May 24, 1987.

312. Ron Schaming, "Land Donated: National Cemetery Expansion Planned," *Greeneville Sun,* June 23, 1987. Senator Sasser's comments were also recorded in the *Congressional Record,* May 28, 1987.

continuous administrative costs, and finally that a Veterans' Administration cemetery was located only a few miles away in Johnson City, Tennessee. Webb recommended to NPS planning chief Paul Swartz that the Service oppose Quillen's bill.[313]

Southeast Regional Director Robert M. Baker adopted Webb's view almost verbatim in advising NPS legislative and congressional affairs staff in Washington upon Quillen's proposed legislation that same month. Baker explained how national cemeteries administered by the Park Service differed from those run by the Veterans' Administration in that they were part of historically significant areas. Quoting the Code of Federal Regulations [36 CFR 12.5(d) (6)], Baker noted that "expansion of a National Cemetery outside the confines of its historic enclosure is prohibited." He also noted that the land being offered for use as additional space for veterans' interments would require the Service to breach the historic wall surrounding the cemetery. Moreover, "in a larger context," he stated, "any expansion of the boundaries would set a precedent which would threaten the historic character of other national cemeteries within national parks, particularly those at national military parks and battlefields."[314]

Opposition to Quillen's legislation, H.R.2503, as well as to S.1290, a companion piece introduced in the Senate by Senator James Sasser, continued to rise within Federal circles since the legislation ran counter to existing NPS policy and likely would set a precedent. On December 29, 1987, Acting Director Robert Stanton told both the Department's Legislative Counsel and the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks that "we strongly recommend that the Department oppose its enactment."[315]

313. Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, Memorandum (regarding bill to expand cemetery) to Associate Regional Director (attn: Paul Swartz), July 2, 1987, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.
314. Robert M. Baker, Regional Director, Southeast Region, Memorandum [regarding HR 2503] to Assistant Director, Legislative and Congressional Affairs, WASO, July 13, 1987, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.
315. Robert Stanton, Acting Director, Memorandum [regarding H.R.2503] to Legislative Council through Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks, December 29, 1987, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.

The Elbert Kinser Detachment was not pleased about the Service's position. The group reportedly spent eleven thousand dollars to purchase the property proposed for donation in August 1986. S.E. Jordan, a veteran of three wars who spoke for the detachment stated, "We thought that the government which takes with great aplomb our money [taxes], would have no trouble taking a gift that we want to give. We feel like a cow that's full of milk and nobody will milk us." He added that "we feel that the government has made a commitment to ensure that we can be buried in national cemeteries, and we're not looking for anything for free." Swartz responded by noting that the Veterans' Administration was the main agency responsible for administering national cemeteries.[316]

Senator Sasser continued to pursue the effort. He asked for support from Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, who headed one of the subcommittees in charge of the stalled cemetery expansion bill.[317] After giving a speech in Greeneville on June 6, 1988, Sasser commented that "we will work vigorously to see that the government is more amenable to accepting this donation. I am a member of the Marine Corp League and am an old Marine myself, so I applaud their efforts."[318]

A few days later, Southeast Region Planning Chief Paul Swartz again stated that the Service opposed the expansion of any National Cemetery that was part of a historic site. The role of the Park Service was to preserve historic sites. "Once they're filled up," he stated, "an historic cemetery is closed. The Park Service isn't in the business of cemeteries. We're in the business of history." According to Paul Mays, Rep. Quillen's press secretary, the legislation to expand the National Cemetery's boundary had been "bottled up in House and Senate subcommittees since May 1987." The reason, clearly, was NPS resistance. "The Interior Department has a policy against expansions," he continued. "They're just hanging tough." Indeed, Superintendent Grady Webb also flatly stated that "we oppose it. The park was not established for the cemetery. It would put us in the cemetery business longer than we anticipated."[319]

316. Leanne Waxman, "Veterans' Offer to Expand Historic Cemetery Rebuffed," *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 12, 1988.
317. Ibid.
318. Jim Cox, "Sasser Favors Donation of Land to AJ Cemetery," *Greeneville Sun*, June 6, 1988.

FIGURE 35. Superintendent Grady Webb and Associate Regional Director Carrol W. Ogle at Webb's retirement in late 1988.

For the National Park Service, the expansion of the cemetery was a matter of national policy. On August 2, 1988, Deputy Director Denis Galvin appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests to testify about the Quillen-Sasser-Gore legislation on behalf of the agency. His point was clear: "We strongly oppose enactment of S. 1290."[320]

The National Park Service has consistently resisted efforts to expand National Cemeteries within national parks. At Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, it also refused to accept donated lands to create additional grave plots. Why? According to Superintendent Gordon J. Wilson: "The present boundaries of the cemetery are the boundaries of the property Andrew Johnson owned. Those identical boundaries give the area its historical significance. It would not be appropriate to expand the cemetery to accommodate additional contemporary gravesites unrelated to President Johnson or the purposes for which the land was left to the United States by his daughter. Therefore the National Park Service does not support the acceptance of this land."[321]

Galvin went on to say that "we respect the spirit that motivated these organizations," but the proposal violated NPS policy and NPS responsibility to protect historic resources. Galvin related how Martha Johnson had willed the cemetery property which had formerly been owned by her father, President Andrew Johnson, to the United States in 1906 and how the site was declared a national monument in 1942 by presidential proclamation to commemorate the president by preserving the site where he lived and is buried, and then how Congress designated the same cemetery a national historic site in 1963. The cemetery was an integral feature of the park. "It is, therefore, not appropriate," Galvin asserted, "to expand the area to accommodate additional contemporary gravesites unrelated to President Johnson or the purposes for which the land was left to the United States by his daughter." Galvin explained that the Service would, of course, honor existing reservations for the remaining six or seven years left before the cemetery had to be closed, but there was a VA cemetery located just a few miles away in Johnson City, Tennessee. "Units of the National Park System must not be utilized for this purpose simply due to convenience," Galvin concluded. "To do so here would be to alter the purpose of this significant historic resource."[322]

The VFW, the Marine Corps League, and the American Legion's Post 64, which by now had also joined the fray, having encountered strong resistance, appropriately changed tactics. The veterans' groups launched a petition campaign urging senators and congressmen to provide more burial space within the cemetery. In October 1990, Larry J. Hensley, Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Andrew Johnson Post 1990 informed Superintendent Wilson that "we are facing a serious problem here at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery." But now the topic was not adding

319. Waxman, "Veterans' Offer to Expand Historic Cemetery Rebuffed."

320. Statement of Denis Galvin, Deputy Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on S.1290, A Bill to Direct the Secretary of the Interior to Acquire Lands to be Added to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site for Inclusion within the National Cemetery Located at that Site," August 2, 1988, statement located in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.

321. Gordon J. Wilson, Letter to Ms. Mildred Buckles, August 15, 1991, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

322. Statement of Denis Galvin, Deputy Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on S. 1290, A Bill to Direct the Secretary of the Interior to Acquire Lands to be Added to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site for Inclusion within the National Cemetery Located at that Site," August 2, 1988, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.

property to the cemetery. Instead, Hensley wrote "that the slope percent or grade percent for grave sites was decreased from 20% to 15% in 1976. This action eliminated burial sites we so desperately need." Hensley also claimed that veterans' groups had conducted scores of burials before the rule change on slopes exceeding that limit and without any problems. Informed that only 250 graves sites remained, he felt compelled to act.[323]

Hensley was referring to VA rules used by the Park Service to determine the placement of gravesites on sloping terrain. According to Hensley and the veterans' groups, more space was available for use within the cemetery than acknowledged by the Park Service, or at least, more space would be allowed if the Service adopted burial regulations used by the Veterans' Administration until 1976. "It might be somewhat inconvenient to use these areas that exceed a 15% slope, but we must bear in mind that it was inconvenient for our Great American Service Men to answer the call of our Country," he concluded. Hensley thus wanted the Park Service to work with Congress to amend the regulation.[324]

Other groups also complained, as reported by the media, including the Elbert Kinser Detachment of the Marine Corps League and the American Legion Post 64. All urged a change in VA rules forbidding burials on slopes greater than 15 percent. The existing burial plan allowed up to 1,230 burials. By 1990, however, only 280 or so sites remained and these were filling at an average rate of 35 per year.[325]

While debate over burial policy at the National Cemetery proceeded, Grady Webb decided to retire to his farm in Cosby, Tennessee. He left the Service on December 2, 1988, after serving six years as superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site and nearly thirty years with the National Park Service at six different sites. He arrived in Greeneville in 1982 after putting in for a transfer from Fort Pulaski National Monument, where he had been superintendent. "I requested that I come back to the hills," he told a reporter about his retirement. Webb had also served part-time at Great Smoky Mountains National Park, but got his first full-time position in 1962. He also had served as chief ranger at Chickamauga & Chattanooga National Military Park and as a district ranger on the Blue Ridge Parkway. "We had a good staff, and I really enjoyed working with them," he said of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. "It's a good place to work."[326]

Management of the park was briefly taken over by Opal Coffman, the park's Administrative Officer since 1981, and then by Mark H. Woods, who arrived as supervisory park ranger in January 1989 from Kings Mountain National Military Park in South Carolina.[327]

On February 15, 1989, Robert M. Baker, Director of the Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta, announced the appointment of Gordon J. Wilson to be the new superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Wilson was a 1977 graduate of Cortland State University in New York. He began his NPS career in 1982 as a living history interpreter at the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park in Maryland. He also saw duty at Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site, Johnstown Flood National Memorial in Pennsylvania, and Colonial National Historical Park in Virginia, where he served as administrative officer prior to being selected as superintendent of Andrew Johnson. Baker stated that Wilson's record as an innovative manager caught his eye and noted that Wilson had served as acting superintendent of Booker T. Washington National Monument in Virginia. "We believe," Baker concluded, "he is now ready to assume all the responsibilities that go with managing a historic area."[328]

Taking up the cemetery issue, Wilson told Larry Hensley that "like members of the VFW, we are interested in using all available space in the cemetery, as long as we can carry out interments

323. Larry J. Hensley, Letter to Gordon Wilson, October 29, 1990, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
324. Larry J. Hensley, Post Commander Andrew Johnson Post 1990, V.F.W., Letter to Gordon Wilson, Superintendent, October 29, 1990, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.
325. Doug Johnson, "Veteran's Groups Seeking Additional Burial Spaces in A. Johnson Cemetery," *The Greeneville Sun*, November 15, 1990, A7.
326. Jim Cox, "Webb Enjoying Life after Retiring from National Park Service," *Greeneville Sun*, December 30, 1988; "Park Service Appoints Webb," *Greeneville Sun*, October 9, 1982.
327. "Woods New Ranger at Historic Site," *Greeneville Sun*, January 21, 1989.
328. Jim Howard, "Gordon Wilson Named Superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," NPS Press Release, February 15, 1989, in AJNHS archives.

safely and without damage to gravesites, grave liners or caskets." Wilson left open the possibility that the Park Service might adopt some type of variance from the general VA regulations governing interments. The five- percent difference could help resolve an important policy conundrum and local contention over cemetery burials.

Wilson was already seeking more information on the rule, which was being applied at the park due to its inclusion in the 1984 cemetery burial plan. Wilson told Hensley that the Park Service was searching "for ways we can increase the number of sites available for burial." He also assured Hensley that it was not simply a matter of "inconvenience" that areas that exceeded a fifteen-percent slope were not being used. "Convenience has nothing to do with our planning process," he stated. "We are committed to managing our National Cemetery as President Lincoln intended in 1862 when he established the first twelve cemeteries. Our goal is to use as much space as we possibly can to serve the proud veterans of Greene County." Wilson concluded by adding, "if it is possible to safely go outside the fifteen-percent parameter, we will."[329]

A week or so later, Wilson told the *Greeneville Sun* that NPS researchers were reviewing regulations and exploring feasible ways to expand the number of sites. "We agree with the VFW," he insisted. "We want to put as many sites as we can in the cemetery. If we can bury at a slope that is 16 or 17 percent, and we can do it safely, then that is what we want to do." However, the Service first needed to have one of its landscape architects study the cemetery's soil conditions, slopes, and geology before any decision could be made. Wilson seemed to want action on the issue and promised that the Service would not drag out its study. In fact, he stated "I'm in a hurry to get it done. I'm shooting for January 1."[330]

Unfortunately, in making this statement, Superintendent Wilson did not realize that significant expansion within the existing boundaries of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery would require more than a cursory review for compliance under Section 106 of the NHPA. Past interment plans, especially the 1984 revision that reduced the number of available gravesites, had not met significant resistance by preservationists. However, Wilson, by proposing to abandon the VA's guidelines on slope limitations, offered a policy shift that could lead to significant development within the cemetery's historic district.

In 1963, newly elected Congressman Jimmy Quillen submitted legislation authorizing the National Park Service to acquire the Early Home of President Andrew Johnson. The same legislation also changed the park's name from Andrew Johnson National Monument, established in 1942 by presidential proclamation, to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Quillen was a staunch conservative who both supported the Park Service and at times opposed it. Notably, Quillen authored three bills that sought to expand the boundaries of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery and supported similar measures to expand NPS-operated national cemeteries in other states. The Service actively opposed such measures, which it saw as undermining the purposes of the National Park Service to preserve heritage areas. Such legislation never passed. Nevertheless, the congressman maintained strong support for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site and dedicated the park's new exhibits in early 1997 shortly after his retirement. He represented East Tennessee for seventeen consecutive terms in Congress. Quillen passed away on November 2, 2003, and was succeeded in office by Congressman William L. Jenkins.

Kirk Cordell, Chief of the NPS Cultural Resources Division in Atlanta, was concerned about Wilson's proposal. He recommended that a special historical study be conducted by a qualified expert. This person would thoroughly assess the cemetery's character from a historical perspective and would gauge how new development could damage that character and how to mitigate such damage.[331] The proposed study would be a "cultural landscape report" or CLR, a new type of NPS study evolving from academic and professional scholarship that was beginning to be incorporated into NPS planning processes during the 1980s.

A CLR is considered "the primary guide to treatment and use of a cultural landscape." It analyzes the historic context of a landscape in a manner similar to the way the Service analyzes historic buildings to determine how such properties

329. Gordon J. Wilson, Superintendent, Letter to Larry J. Hensley, Post Commander, November 6, 1990, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.

330. Doug Johnson, "veterans' groups Seeking Additional Burial Spaces in A. Johnson Cemetery," *Greeneville Sun*, November 15, 1990, A7.

331. Lucy Lawliss, Interview by Cameron Binkley, February 7, 2007.

should be treated, restored, and maintained to preserve their historic qualities. Most important, a CLR documents the characteristics, features, materials, and qualities that make a landscape eligible for the National Register. For this reason, therefore, a CLR had to be conducted before a new interment plan could be devised for the National Cemetery.[332]

Unfortunately, the Southeast Region had no experts trained in this profession. Cordell would thus have to hire a "historic landscape architect," a task he did not realistically expect to accomplish until that summer. To allay park concerns, Cordell agreed to let Chief Ranger Jim Small undertake preliminary research for the CLR. Cordell provided guidance and even offered travel funds. Once the landscape architect position was filled, he promised that "the Andrew Johnson CLR will be the first order of business." Cordell hoped to complete the study by December 31, 1991.[333]

As the drama over the proposed property donation was debated, routine activities at the cemetery went on as normal. In July 1990, Superintendent Wilson had all 3,120 feet of the historic wall surrounding the National Cemetery pressure washed. The wall, "to our knowledge, hasn't been washed before," he stated. The cleaning was intended to both brighten the wall and remove moss. The cleaning took about two weeks.[334] Another preservation effort around this time concerned the cemetery flagpole, previously discussed.[335]

Wilson was not the only one anxious to appease veterans' groups. Rep. Quillen found that the Park Service was moving too slowly despite its willingness to increase the capacity of the existing cemetery. In January 1991, he introduced H.R.396, his third attempt to pass legislation mandating that the Park Service "acquire certain real property adjacent to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site in Greeneville, Tennessee, for inclusion within the National Cemetery."[336] Quillen disagreed with the position taken by the Park Service that its mission was to protect the historic character of national cemeteries within its jurisdiction. "The Park Service's argument doesn't make sense," Quillen stated in a news release that also declared that the Park Service should welcome a free donation of land for use as additional burial space. Quillen did offer one compromise: he argued that the historic wall surrounding the cemetery would not have to be breached. "I am sure those who first envisioned the concept of this beautiful place," Quillen stated, "would be pleased to see it expanded—with the wall intact—rather than to leave it bottled up in the entanglements of bureaucracy."[337]

Almost immediately, however, Quillen's bill was superseded by events when Robert C. Austin died. Austin was the Elbert Kinser Detachment member who actually owned the property that the group had hoped to donate to the Park Service for use in expanding the National Cemetery. However, he left no will. While many had assumed the veterans' group had owned the property out right, it did not, and the matter was left to Austin's heirs to decide.

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332. A CLR "analyzes the landscape's development and evolution, modifications, materials, construction techniques, geographical context, and use in all periods, including those deemed not significant. Based on the analysis, it evaluates the significance of individual landscape characteristics and features in the context of the landscape as a whole. Typically interdisciplinary in character, it includes documentation, analysis, and evaluation of historical, architectural, archeological, ethnographic, horticultural, landscape architectural, engineering, and ecological data as appropriate. It makes recommendations for treatment consistent with the landscape's significance, condition, and planned use." See *Cultural Resource Management Guidelines* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1997), 91, also referred to as Director's Order #28.
333. Chief, Cultural Resources Planning Division, Southeast Region, Memorandum (entitled "Preliminary research for Cemetery CLR") to Superintendent, AJNHS, March 14, 1991, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO. One reason for stress was that Superintendent Wilson had to explain to locals what the NPS position was, since it could not be formulated until the results of the CLR were available. At least on one occasion, he asked Cordell to help make such a response. See Gordie Wilson, Fax Transmission from Andrew Johnson NHS to Kirk Cordell (entitled "Cemetery Inquiry"), August 15, 1991, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
334. "Quite a Difference," *Greeneville Sun*, July 9, 1990.
335. "National Park Service Celebrates 75th Year with Rehabilitation Work," *Greeneville Sun*, May 4, 1991.
336. H.R. 396, "A Bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain real property adjacent to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site in Greeneville, Tennessee, for inclusion within the National Cemetery located in that site," January 3, 1991, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.
337. "Quillen Wants Interior Department to Accept Property for Cemetery," *Greeneville Sun*, February 7, 1991, 1.

When Quillen introduced his bill, he had no idea that the property was actually in probate.[338] Indeed, it took some time for the news to reach everyone, and donation-supporters continued to write the Park Service into the summer.

For the veterans' groups, the situation was gloomy, although regional office staff attempted to console them by noting that the top soil of Austin's parcel was probably unsuited for cemetery use anyway. Moreover, similar bills that Rep. Quillen had introduced to expand the national cemeteries operated by the Park Service at Stones River and Fort Donelson National Battlefields and at Andersonville National Historic Site had also failed. Despite all the bad news, the Park Service offered hope for the veterans' groups. Chief Ranger Jim Small reminded everyone that the Service was still examining the cemetery to see if additional grave plots could be added within its existing boundaries. He expected a decision by December.[339]

Meanwhile, Superintendent Wilson resolved the problem of who was to pay for "grave liners," concrete boxes in which caskets are placed and which are designed to prevent sinking or caving in of the grave after burial. The issue was relatively minor but occasionally vexing because it involved the cost of burials. Prior to 1989, VA regulations required survivors of the veteran who was to be interred to pay for a grave liner.[340] Although not as expensive as a standard burial vault, grave liners still cost several hundred dollars per burial, which is a significant expense for some families. As a result, government regulations requiring veterans' families to purchase grave liners became a political issue. Such was the case at the Andrew Johnson cemetery where veterans' relatives frequently objected to this cost. As a result, in December 1989, Congress passed Public Law 101-237, which required "the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to provide a vault for each new grave in an open cemetery within the National Cemetery System," thus relieving veterans families of the cost of this burden. Unfortunately, the National Cemetery System does not include all national cemeteries, mostly those located on military bases or academies, Arlington National Cemetery, and those administered by the Secretary of the Interior, that is, historic cemeteries within national parks. As the *Greeneville Sun* put it, Congress left the legislation "a bit murky legally."[341]

Southeast Regional Director James W. Coleman sought specific legal guidance on addressing the matter from the NPS solicitor's office in January 1992. His hope was that the VA would pay for vaults needed in NPS national cemeteries. Solicitor Roger Sumner Babb informed Coleman that "National Cemeteries administered by the National Park Service are not part of the National Cemetery System. Therefore, the Secretary of Veterans' Affairs is not required to provide vaults for NPS-administered cemeteries under Public Law 101-237." He added one caveat, which was that the same law did not mandate the use of vaults in NPS-administered cemeteries.[342] Basically, the Service did not have to require the use of vaults, but if it did, it would either have to pay for them itself or charge veterans families.

Given the political sensitivity of the issue, the Park Service bit the bullet. Superintendent Wilson won

338. Kristen Hebestreet, "Additions Unlikely for Cemetery Site," *Greeneville Sun*, February 8, 1991, 1, 6. In fact, Quillen, re-submitted his bill a final time as H.R. 310. On November 14, 1992, the property that was the subject of the bill was sold at a public auction by the estate of Robert Austin for $33,110, and was no longer available for donation. When informed about the matter by park staff in February 1993, Rep. Quillen's legislative aid, Cheryl Bonifer, reportedly stated that Quillen was not planning to push the bill anyway. Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Rich Sussman/Files (re. H.R.310), February 4, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
339. Kristen Hebestreet, "Additions Unlikely for Cemetery Site," *Greeneville Sun*, February 8, 1991, 1, 6.
340. Grave liners also make it possible to relocate a cemetery more easily at a later time. Wooden caskets are subject to rot, which makes moving the casket or sometimes digging a fresh grave near an old one a potentially messy affair. Environmentalists oppose the use of grave liners precisely because they prevent natural processes of deterioration. A grave liner is constructed of concrete that is approximately four inches thick on all sides and is large enough to enclose a casket. The requirement to use grave liners in VA cemeteries was likely an important factor considered when VA regulations prohibited burials on cemetery slopes with grades exceeding 15 percent.
341. Editorial, "This Week 'The System Worked'," *Greeneville Sun*, December 14, 1991, A2. The grave liner issue is also briefly mentioned in the SANR (for 1991), 199[2].
342. Roger Sumner Babb, Regional Solicitor, Southeast Region, Memorandum (entitled "National Cemeteries Belonging to the National Cemetery System") to James W. Coleman, Jr., Regional Director, Southeast Region, January 24, 1992, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

local praise when he explained that the Park Service would pay for the liners, when the need arose.[343] This decision was Wilson's last major management announcement before leaving the park in February 1992 to assume a new position as superintendent of the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine, Florida. Incidentally, the same solicitor's determination that exempted the VA from paying for vaults in NPS national cemeteries or having to follow VA guidelines in using them also implied that the Service was not required to follow VA rules on exceeding a 15 percent grade limitation in locating grave sites within Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.

The National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report

Gordon Wilson was followed as superintendent by Mark Corey, who arrived on April 3, 1992, after serving as superintendent of Ocmulgee National Monument. Corey was told by Associate Regional Director Carrol W. Ogle even before he arrived at Andrew Johnson that "this is the issue that you need to get to work on right away."[344] Corey was aware that a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) was being prepared and that both Grady Webb and Wilson had dealt with the topic. One of his first actions, however, was to walk around the park with Tony Reaves, who had been the park's chief maintenance worker for many years and who had actually dug many of the graves in the cemetery. In fact, because the park did not receive a backhoe until relatively late, Reaves had dug many graves by hand. Corey relied on Reaves's advice about where it would be safe to install new graves on the steeply sloped cemetery. The pair later visited the various veterans' groups to discuss the matter in person once the preliminary results of the CLR were available.[345]

By late 1991 or early 1992, Kirk Cordell hired a historical landscape architect for the regional office's Cultural Resources Division in Atlanta. Lucy Lawliss, trained by the University of Georgia at Athens, quickly took over the CLR that Jim Small had begun. When completed, her cultural landscape study of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery would be the first such report written by the National Park Service for the Southeast Region.[346] Superintendent Corey announced preliminary findings of the Lawliss CLR in October 1992.

Lawliss recommended that the cemetery be divided into three major zones. The first was a "Historic Zone," which included the main entrance road, the summit of Monument Hill, the original interment sections, the Cemetery Lodge, and the stable/maintenance area. Its purpose was to preserve the historic features associated with the Johnson family and the War Department's design of the National Cemetery. A "Buffer Zone" for the most steeply sloped portions was then used to separate the Historic Zone from a "Developmental Zone." Too steep for many new graves, this "Buffer Zone" would also allow more foliage to be planted. In the Developmental Zone, Lawliss found that further gravesites could be justified without significantly compromising the Historic Zone.[347] Indeed, Corey released a public statement to the effect that the study indicated that between 500-600 additional gravesites could be found in the cemetery.[348]

Corey welcomed public comment on the report. "I not only welcome, but actively encourage all persons interested in the cemetery's management to review this report and its recommendations," he told the *Greeneville Sun* in early October 1992. Of course, the new superintendent had already briefed local veterans' groups on the report's findings. Frank P. Robinson of the V.F.W. Post 1990 stated

343. Editorial, "This Week 'The System Worked'," *Greeneville Sun*, December 14, 1991, A2. The grave liner issue is also briefly mentioned in the SANR (for 1991), 199[2]. Incidentally, there were twenty-seven funerals that year, four fewer than in 1990.
344. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 9.
345. Ibid., 10-11. Reaves recounted the process of grave-digging to Connie Aiken in her 2002 Oral History Interview with him. Graves had to be dug on short notice, of course, and often required around the clock work until completed to be ready for scheduled services.
346. Corey, Oral History Interview, 11. Elaine Clark is also given credit for helping develop historical information for the report. See John M. Jones, Jr., "NPS Delivers Good News," *Greeneville Sun*, October 6, 1992, A2.
347. See Lucy Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery Cultural Landscape Report* (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1993).
348. John M. Jones, Jr., "Proposal Would Expand Grave Space in AJ Cemetery," *Greeneville Sun*, October 5, 1992, 1, 3; and NPS News Release, "National Cemetery Announces Draft Landscape Report Released for Public Comment," October 5, 1992, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

that "we're all very pleased." He noted that Corey had studied the situation and had seemed interested in finding more gravesites within the cemetery. Similarly, Robert Eggebrecht of the local Elbert Kinser Detachment of the Marine Corps League greeted the news warmly and expressed an interest in working with Corey.[349] The *Greeneville Sun* was itself quite pleased. In its October 6 editorial, John M. Jones, Jr., wrote: "Few things are a greater tonic to the spirit than unexpected good news, especially when the news is *very* good, and when it introduces optimism and hope into a situation that previously looked hopeless." After recounting the story up to that point, Jones acknowledged that new NPS study's findings would not solve the problem forever. "The day will come," he acknowledged, "when even the projected new gravesites will have been used. But that happens eventually to every cemetery, and this one has already remained active far longer than was originally planned." Jones credited the efforts of local park staff in solving "a human problem that may not look big in Washington, but which matters a lot here."[350]

Locals greeted the report warmly but there were still some criticism. One of the main complaints came from Johnson descendents who objected to the recommendation to remove the modern fence surrounding the president's family grave plot. Doing so would expose seven family graves to likely public access.[351] The fence was used to prevent visitors from disturbing family grave plots but was added after the original Johnson monument was fenced. Not only was the secondary fence non-historic, but it was inconsistent with the original design and created a cluttered appearance.

The original draft CLR recommended, therefore, that this fence be removed, but Johnson family descendents objected for the same reasons the second fence was installed. Hugh Lawing sided with them, citing evidence of several past fences installed around various family members' graves as well as the wishes of some family members as expressed to him personally. Lawing claimed, especially, that he would "always remember standing on the walkway near Andrew Johnson Bachman's grave with his widow, Ethel, while visitors to the cemetery were walking across her husband's grave." Lawing also stated that other family members expressed similar sentiments either to the superintendent or to their congressional representative in support of a second fence.[352] "From a practical standpoint," he noted, "the fence affords more protection for the presidential marker which certainly deserves all the protection that can reasonably be afforded, plus the obvious desires of the family members regarding a fence, would in my way of thinking make the decision whether to leave or remove the fence extremely easy."[353]

Corey agreed and took up the point with Lawliss, who modified her recommendation. Instead of removing the non-historic fence, Lawliss recommended that "to increase the integrity of the historic scene, the recommendation is to lower the outer fence twelve inches so that a visitor can distinguish the more ornate, circular fence around the Johnson Monument."[354] This recommendation was approved by the Park Service, but Corey later decided that it would be a safety hazard to reduce the height of the fence, fearing possible impalement of anyone who might fall upon it. In the end, Corey sided with locals and the fence was neither removed, nor modified, as recommended by the cemetery CLR. Ralph Phinney, whose cousin Margaret Bartlett was the last person to be interred in the Johnson family grave section, was probably the most

349. John M. Jones, Jr., "Proposal Would Expand Grave Space in AJ Cemetery," *Greeneville Sun*, October 5, 1992, 1, 3. Similarly, Colonel J. Roger Bragdon, Post Commander, The American Legion Post 64, acknowledged being "impressed with amount of work, expertise and concern for the welfare of veterans and the history that is shown" in the CLR by Lucy Lawliss. Colonel J. Roger Bragdon, Letter to Mark Corey, Superintendent, AJNHS, October 16, 1992, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

350. John M. Jones, Jr., "NPS Delivers Good News," *Greeneville Sun*, October 6, 1992, A2.

351. Ralph Phinney stated this concern had bothered family members but when the Park Service agreed to only shorten the height of the second fence, and not remove it, the family's concerns were satisfied. Wendy Welch, "National Cemetery to Make Room for 900 Additional Gravesites," *Greeneville Sun*, June 4, 1993, A1, A3; See also NPS News Release, National Cemetery Landscape and Interment Plans Approved, June 3, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

352. Hugh Lawing, "My Recollections Concerning the Fence Surrounding Johnson Descendents," statement dated February 1, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

353. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, February 1, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

354. Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 25.

concerned about the fence issue. Given other park priorities and limited funding, Corey told him, "Mr. Phinney, this is going to be a recommendation, but that doesn't necessarily mean it will be done anytime soon."[355]

Another important recommendation made by the CLR concerned the non-historic modifications made to the old stable building adjacent to the Cemetery Lodge. Once used to keep horses, the structure has long since been used for maintenance purposes. The CLR found that "the Maintenance/ Utility area has experienced the greatest integrity loss of any area in the cemetery." Lawliss noted that its enlargement by the Park Service did not reflect the design, materials, or construction techniques formerly used by the War Department. Lawliss acknowledged the difficulty in relocating the maintenance area, but found that, given "the high visibility of this area from the entrance, as well as the incompatibility of its present use, the eventual restoration of this landscape would be a priority if there is to be any interpretation of the historic scene by the park."[356]

Lawliss recommended that the best place to locate the maintenance area was outside the park and that "the residential communities that bound the cemetery have many sites which could satisfy present and future maintenance needs."[357] In subsequent years, relying upon his prerogative as superintendent, Corey made no change. Once again, this matter was not a priority to him in comparison to other pressing issues. Moreover, a number of obstacles, including funding, would have to be overcome to change the status quo. For cemetery purposes, a maintenance facility does need to be reasonably near at hand. While Lawliss thought property bounding the park suitable for this purpose, Corey suggested that a local variance would be necessary to rent and use such property and would probably disrupt the neighborhood. He thus took no action.[358] In time, the National Cemetery will become inactive. When it does, a future superintendent may wish to revisit this issue when maintenance needs are presumably reduced to determine if efforts to restore the stable to its historic appearance are feasible.

355. Corey, Oral History Interview, 19-20.
356. Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 23.
357. Ibid.
358. Corey, Oral History Interview, 20-21.

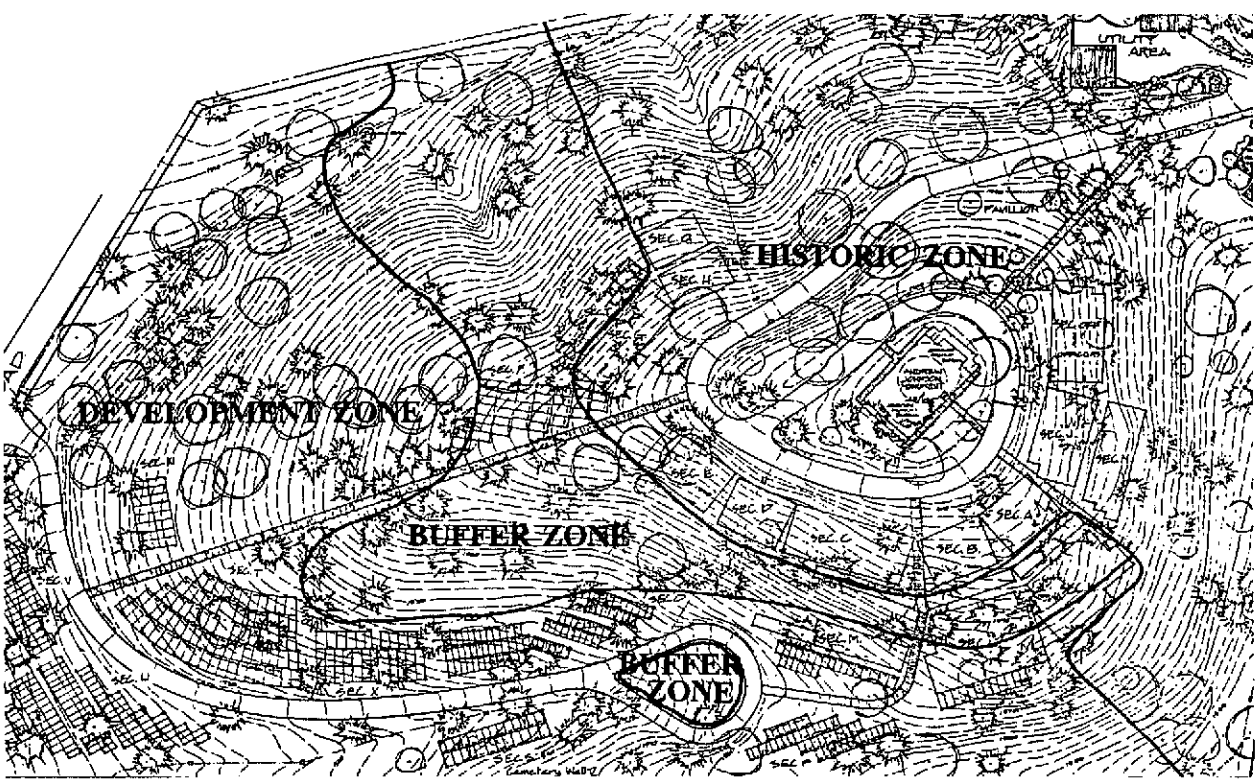

FIGURE 36. Portion of a map from the 1993 Cultural Landscape Report for Andrew Johnson National Cemetery showing the cemetery divided into three management zones.

By February 1993, with input from the now all-but-approved CLR, Corey drafted a new Interment Plan for the cemetery. He expected it to be quickly approved. According to Corey, the new plan was to "provide for enough burial sites to last for another 25 years (at the rate of 40/year) within the present boundary of the cemetery."[359] Indeed, the approved interment plan (as well as the final CLR) was announced that June at a press conference held at the offices of the *Greeneville Sun*, and attended by several local veterans' groups. It met their immediate approval. According to Corey, he had found even more gravesites still available within the cemetery than he had previously announced. Instead of 500-600, he now estimated that up to 980 sites remained within areas approved for development by the CLR.

According to Corey's press release: "I conducted a comprehensive site by site review of all previously approved and newly proposed interment sections this past winter and then went through the cemetery again with our Chief of Maintenance, Tony Reaves, to make sure that we could safely bury in each vacant site identified." After doing so, Corey thought the National Cemetery could remain active for another thirty-six years before all spaces were reserved.[360] Jim Miller, representing Congressman James H. Quillen, and Ralph Phinney, representing descendents of Andrew Johnson, also voiced strong support for the new plan. Bob Eggebrecht, past Commandant of the Elbert Kinser Detachment, even stated his feeling that Bob Austin, whose death had ended efforts to expand the National Cemetery, would also be pleased were he still alive. Several other veterans' representatives, the V.F.W., the American Legion, the Disabled American Veterans, and the Greene County Veteran Services office all expressed similar approval.[361]

Corey also stated that the Park Service would restore buildings damaged or mismanaged since taking over management of the property in 1942. "We didn't do a good job when we first got it, and we hope to correct that now," he said. As an example, Corey mentioned that the Vann Road entrance was to be "made more consistent with the ornate, main entrance from Monument Avenue." This CLR-recommended plan was carried out, although in conjunction with other work that added a service road and parking space in the new Development Zone to ease access to cemetery sections "Z" and "AA." Finally, Corey mentioned his interest in renovating the Cemetery Lodge.[362]

Renovation of the Cemetery Lodge

While debates over interments at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery proceeded, routine maintenance continued. For example, in March 1993, five preservation specialists from the Southwest Regional Office, based in Santa Fe, New Mexico, were encamped at the cemetery on a temporary, four-week loan. They came to perform specialized treatment and repair of the historic cemetery wall whose surface was made of stucco.

Chief Ranger Jim Small said "there aren't a lot of people in this part of the country who know how to deal with historic stucco."[363] Corey later singled out the crew's excellent work in praise to the regional director.[364]

The following December, the NPS Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta approved additional park requests to repair and replace deteriorating ironwork on the cemetery's main entrance gate and on the metal gazebo built by the War Department. Both had to be sandblasted and repainted. More significantly, funds were authorized to reconfigure the Vann Road entrance and to construct a new four-car parking lot just inside the entrance.[365] This

359. Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Rich Sussman/Files (re. H.R.310), February 4, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
360. NPS News Release, National Cemetery Landscape and Interment Plans Approved, June 3, 1993, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
361. Wendy Welch, "National Cemetery to Make Room for 900 Additional Gravesites," *Greeneville Sun*, June 4, 1993, A1, A3.
362. Ibid. It is somewhat difficult to estimate accurately how long a national cemetery can remain active as graves can only be reserved after a veteran or the spouse of a veteran dies and the survivor requests a reservation. Presumably, non-reserved grave sites would fill at a more rapid rate until only reserved sites remained.
363. "Historic Wall around Monument Hill Undergoing Restoration," *Greeneville Sun*, March 25, 1993.
364. Superintendent, AJNHS, Memorandum to Regional Director, April 20, 1993, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

work represented a major intrusion into the National Cemetery, but it was work consistent with the newly approved CLR, which had designated the lower cemetery as a development zone. The parking lot was intended to provide access to the new interment sections legitimated by the CLR after veterans' groups had pressured the Park Service not to close the cemetery. Superintendent Mark Corey, having debated the matter with his chief ranger since arriving at the park, announced another important project: "We will also begin renovating the 1908 Cemetery Lodge, which is in need of new electrical wiring, plumbing, and heating and air conditioning systems, as well as other repairs."[366]

The historic Cemetery Lodge, constructed in 1908 and used by the War Department as the home of the cemetery manager, had long been used by the Park Service as a residence for park staff. Originally, the Service felt it necessary for an employee with law enforcement training to be housed at the Lodge to provide security both for the cemetery and other nearby NPS properties in downtown Greeneville. Superintendent Lloyd Abelson had tried in the 1970s to obtain "concurrent jurisdiction" with local law enforcement agencies, that is, the sharing of authority with the Federal government and local police for security at the national historic site, but without much success. As long as a ranger was living on the property, it was not a high priority. After Chief Ranger Jim Small arrived at the park in 1990 and took up residence in the Cemetery Lodge along with his family, the issue became more salient. According to Corey, Small complained that the Lodge's water pipes were so clogged with mineral deposits that it took around forty-five minutes just to fill up a bathtub. Other problems included chipping lead-based paint around all the windowsills, which was especially an issue for the Smalls who had a young son.[367]

The Cemetery Lodge is listed in the National Register for its important contribution to the historical standing of the National Cemetery.

365. "National Cemetery Officials Given Approval on Projects," *Greeneville Sun*, December 7, 1993.
366. Ibid.
367. Corey, Oral History Interview, 29. The Smalls also expressed strong desire to move off-site to start a farm and raise dairy sheep. See "Small Named New Ranger for Andrew Johnson National Site," *Greeneville Sun*, September 12, 1990; Velma S. Presley, "Civil War Sites Draw the Smalls," [*Greeneville Sun?*], no date, news clipping in AJNHS archives.

FIGURE 37. View of the Cemetery Lodge during renovation in the 1990s.

However, as the property's 1976 nomination states, "periodically, the building interior has been altered to meet the needs of the occupant. It bears no historical significance other than the fact that it is more than 50 years old, unless there is none other like it built by the War Department as a National Cemetery Lodge."[368]

Given the use of the Lodge, the need to provide reasonable staff accommodations, and apparently previous considerable interior alterations that had already degraded the historic integrity of the structure's interior, Corey chose to pursue a major renovation of the facility. As part of the Section 106 process, the Service had to consult with the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office and the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, but Corey hoped to have plans and specifications available by the spring of 1994. Incidentally, he also intended to implement some of the CLR recommendations along the way, mainly a tree replacement plan that would place more stress in the buffer zone while removing approximately twelve trees from the historic zone that were in conflict with the historic cemetery design.[369]

The discussion of the impending development, including landscape changes made in accord with the CLR, raises an important counterpoint to the

368. National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for AJNHS, approved November 24, 1976, as prepared by Hugh A. Lawing, Park Historian. Copy available from the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places.
369. "National Cemetery Officials Given Approval on Projects," *Greeneville Sun*, December 7, 1993.

FIGURE 38. View of hall during renovation.

National Register Nomination. The nomination deemed changes to the Lodge's interior reasonable due to a history of use. The CLR agreed that the Lodge "was built as a residence for the Superintendent of the Cemetery and it is, therefore, appropriate that Park Service personnel continue to live in the lodge." However, the CLR also assigned the structure to the cemetery's historic zone.[370] Thus, the building's exterior was deemed an important feature of the historical landscape of the National Cemetery, at least as key as the cemetery wall. By NPS standards, preservation of the integrity of the exterior of this building was thus a high priority.

When Corey made his announcement about the Cemetery Lodge, he already had $145,000 in funds separate from the park's normal operating budget for repairs and renovations at the cemetery.[371] It had not taken him too long since arriving at the park in 1992 to decide on renovating the Lodge or to convince Deputy Regional Director Carrol Ogle to support the project with cyclic funds. However, he could not get all the funding in one year.[372]

In early March 1993, Deputy Associate Regional Director Paul B. Hartwig directed that a Historic Structure Assessment Report (HSAR) be completed for the Lodge. The purpose of this report, drafted by historical architect Ali Miri of the NPS Atlanta office, was to evaluate the building's historical integrity, to provide an assessment of existing conditions, and to estimate the cost for its repair.[373] Having resolved the cemetery interment issue, Corey's next highest priority became rehabilitating the Lodge. Regional officials were sympathetic and supplied funding for the 1994 fiscal year. Rene Cote and Steve Sherwood were also soon assigned to work on the development of a rehabilitation plan, as they had previously done for the Early Home.[374]

The Cemetery Lodge renovation project ran the course of three years, from 1993 to 1996, with lead paint abatement beginning in 1993. The project was necessarily divided into two phases. The first phase involved demolition work. The building's interior plaster walls were removed so wiring and plumbing systems could be extracted and replaced. Lead paint, whose presence was first confirmed by testing in 1992, was also removed. Many surfaces had to be stripped down to the original woodwork. Funding was then supplied to put the structure back together.[375]

The renovation drew some protests from historic preservationists concerned about losing so much historic fabric from within the building. Not all changes made to the structure followed the recommendations of the approved HSAR, published by the Historic Architecture Division of the southeast region in 1993. The HSAR did recognize, as had the National Register Nomination before it, that the Lodge had been used "as a single

370. Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 23.
371. "National Cemetery Officials Given Approval on Projects," *Greeneville Sun*, December 7, 1993.
372. Corey, Oral History Interview, 30.
373. Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, March 8, 1993, attached to Task Directive for Cemetery Lodge: Historic Structure Assessment Report (HSAR), in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
374. Chief, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region, Memorandum to Superintendent, AJNHS, February 3, 1993, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.
375. Corey, Oral History Interview, 30.

family residence." The report even recommended major changes, including installing a new HVAC system, which did not previously exist in the building. Still, the HSAR also recommended that "the interior character of the historic structure which is representative of its own time be preserved as much as possible" during renovations. It especially recommended that "in the rehabilitation process all of the decorative cast iron radiators remain untouched in their place."[376]

Unfortunately, maintaining all of these elements proved impossible, for one simple reason. As stated by Superintendent Corey:

> Significant alterations are having to be made to the structure's interior to make it comfortable by contemporary standards. These radiators block a wall from being used in each and every one of these small rooms making it very difficult to arrange contemporary household furnishings of the occupant. Maybe we could agree to leave one or two for historic appearances.[377]

Despite this initial position, Corey eventually compromised, and only two of seven of the steam radiators were removed from the building. After the radiators were removed, they were stored in the maintenance garage. Corey acknowledged to the *Greeneville Sun* that those radiators that were kept were there because of preservation concerns. Corey noted the kitchen radiator specifically. It was not only lovely in design, but included a curious feature—a compartment in which the radiator could warm food waiting to be served while warming the room at the same time.

Corey also told the paper, somewhat misleadingly, that the Lodge's interior was restored as much as possible to how it originally appeared. He noted that the building's hardwood floors, covered for years by carpeting, were uncovered and refinished. Nevertheless, he also acknowledged other changes, such as the building's floor plan. Both the dining room and the first-floor rest room were modified and expanded in size.[378] In designing the

FIGURE 39. Woodwork was stripped of paint and deteriorated plaster removed.

renovation, Corey's original aim was to make the structure more comfortable as a residence. He argued for the replacement of all antique plumbing fixtures, such as sinks, toilets, bathtubs, the installation of a new full bathroom and additional lighting to address resident complaints, and the expansion of the kitchen.[379] He also removed all of the building's plaster walls and ceilings and replaced them with sheetrock. Hugh Lawing found little justification for this action and complained that "the interior had been destroyed too."[380]

These considerable interior modifications were inconsistent with an emphasis on historic

376. "Historic Structure Assessment Report: Cemetery Lodge (Building Number 2), Andrew Johnson National Historic Site" (Atlanta: National Park Service, 1993) 5.
377. Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, Memorandum (entitled HSAR for Cemetery Lodge) to Chief, Historic Architecture Division, June 1, 1993, in AJNHS files, "Rehabilitate Cemetery Lodge, Package 408, 6-1-93 to 1-30-96" folder (#2), Division of Architecture, SERO.
378. Eugenia Estes, "Andrew Johnson Cemetery Lodge Restored; Open House Set for 11am to 4pm Friday," *Greeneville Sun*, April 24, 1997, A7.
379. Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, Memorandum (entitled HSAR for Cemetery Lodge) to Chief, Historic Architecture Division, June 1, 1993, in AJNHS files, "Rehabilitate Cemetery Lodge, Package 408, 6-1-93 to 1-30-96" folder (#2), Division of Architecture, SERO.
380. Lawing, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken, 25.

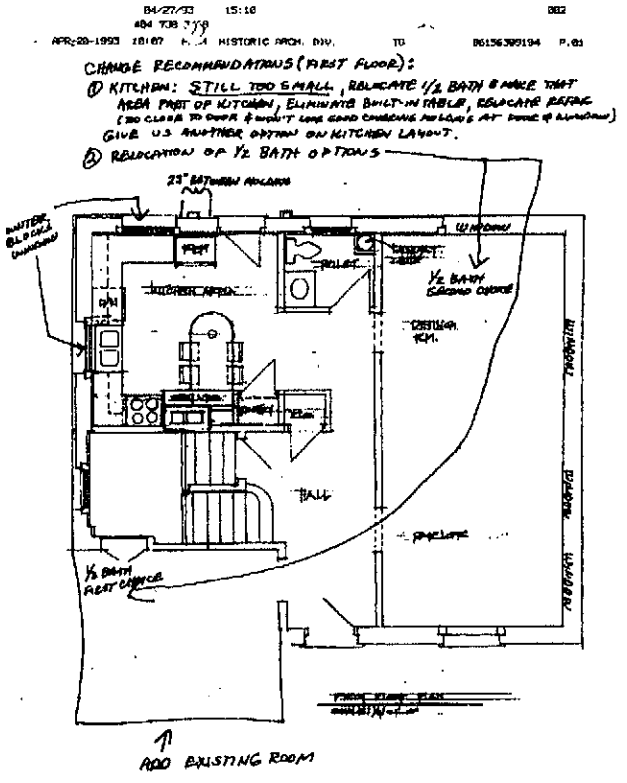

FIGURE 40. This Cemetery Lodge floor plan with annotations by park staff for desired changes to ongoing renovations in 1993. Originally, the renovation was intended to suit an NPS resident. Later, staff decided to relocate the park's headquarters to the building.

preservation, although they were compatible with historic War Department and NPS use of the Cemetery Lodge as a residence. The building's own National Register Nomination, drafted by Hugh Lawing, acknowledges as much, although why so much historic fabric had to be removed was a point of debate. The overall need for the renovation was incontestable, however. The wiring, almost ninety years old when replaced, was likely a significant safety hazard.[381] Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, reported to Commissioner J.W. Luna, the State Historic Preservation Officer for Tennessee, that while the Park Service thought that the proposed project would have an effect on the property, "the effect will not be adverse."[382]

Only two major changes were made to the exterior of the Cemetery Lodge. First, a handsome new aluminum plaque was mounted next to the front entrance. A feature at a number of national cemeteries, the plaque displayed the text of President Abraham Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address." It was a replacement for an earlier similar plaque that had disappeared, possibly during World War II. The historical weight of Lincoln's words, made while he consecrated the first national cemetery, can hardly be better appreciated than when read by visitors to the cemetery where Lincoln's own successor lays buried.[383]

The second major change to the exterior of the Cemetery Lodge evolved from management decisions made during the renovation. By the time it was complete, Corey had had time to think a lot more about how the Cemetery Lodge might be used. He arrived at a new park operations plan that was to help improve park interpretation, visitor services, and staff morale. As discussed further below, he chose to designate the Lodge as park headquarters. Unfortunately, as a result, it became necessary to add a further and contentious modification—Corey had a ramp installed to provide handicapped access to the building. This decision distressed some locals and probably a few NPS historic preservationists. The decision unavoidably degraded the integrity of the Lodge as a contributing element of a nationally significant historic landscape.[384] The ramp was constructed on the east face and, while styled to match existing features, was a highly noticeable alteration that jutted forth from the original building several feet to connect with the front porch, which also had to be modified because the front door sill was several

381. According to the "Development/Study Package Proposal," signed by Mark Corey, August 25, 1992, "if not rehabilitated within 3-5 years, the building may need to be vacated and placed in mothball status, leading to more rapid deterioration." Document located in AJNHS files, "Rehabilitate Cemetery Lodge, Package 408, 6-1-93 to 1-30-96" folder (#2), Division of Architecture, SERO.

382. No response is reported in SERO files, a lack of which tends to indicate SHPO concurrence. Paul B. Hartwig, Deputy Associate Regional Director, Letter to Commissioner J.W. Luna, State Historic Preservation Officer, Department of Environment and Conservation, February 10, 1994, in AJNHS files, "Rehabilitate Cemetery Lodge, Package 408, 6-1-93 to 1-30-96" folder (#2), Division of Architecture, SERO.

383. Eugenia Estes, "Andrew Johnson Cemetery Lodge Restored; Open House Set for 11am to 4pm Friday," *Greeneville Sun*, April 24, 1997, A7; and SANR for Fiscal Year 1996.

384. As defined by the National Register listing of the property and the conclusions of the Cultural Landscape Report "a Historic Zone exists that is in view from the main entrance with enough integrity to warrant recognition." See Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 27.

inches above the plane of the porch floor. Former NPS park historian Hugh Lawing gave his view about the damage done by the ramp to the Cemetery Lodge in a 2002 interview. He said:

> There are only two of those houses still left that the War Department built in their National Cemeteries, in which the Superintendent of the National Cemetery lived and had his office, and functioned out of there. Okay, this one now has been destroyed by the handicapped ramp.[385]

In fact, a number of cemetery lodges remain in existence, but Lawing was right that the Andrew Johnson lodge was one of only two of its design that still existed. Technically, the ramp had to be installed because the building's planned use had changed, and because the building was undergoing a major renovation at the same time, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) required the structure's modification to make the building accessible to those with disabilities. No longer intended as a private residence, the structure had to comply with ADA standards.[386] But Lawing had a clear response to this requirement. "An hydraulic lift on the opposite side of the house would have served the same purpose," he stated in 2001. Anyway, "less than a dozen handicapped persons have used the ramp," and he called upon the Park Service to restore the site's by removing the ramp.[387]

In a letter to Hugh Lawing, Corey claimed he had shared Lawing's concerns, but "we approved the design as the best alternative." He said the Tennessee State Historic Preservation Office and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in Washington, DC, concurred with the proposed design. Corey felt he had a responsibility to provide wheelchair access without regard to the number of those who needed it. He promised Lawing that the park would never make the Andrew Johnson Homestead wheelchair accessible but would meet

FIGURE 41. Two of seven historic cast iron radiators were permanently removed from the Cemetery Lodge to increase interior space.

ADA requirements with "a professionally taped guided tour."[388]

The decision to transform the Cemetery Lodge into park headquarters seems to have been made around the end of 1994. As Corey recalled:

> Initially, we were actually even thinking about returning it to a residence, and then shortly, through the process, as I remember, we decided, no, it was going to be a whole lot better if we could turn it into offices. I think that suggestion was initially made by Doug Goode, the administrative officer at Great Smoky Mountains. And he was involved in it because the contracting officer down there, Lewis Grooms, was the one that was overseeing this job from a contracting perspective.[389]

The issue for Corey, and the debate in his mind, was that he knew his Chief Ranger, Jim Small, and his family wanted to be relieved from required occupancy of the Cemetery Lodge. The Smalls wanted to purchase their own home in the Greeneville area, which they could not do while renting government housing. According to Corey, his "original assessment was, I'm wondering what the motivation is here. Does he want to be relieved from required occupancy, or is it really a safety concern?" The Park Service had found lead paint, a serious safety issue for any family with small children, and there seems to have been no debate

385. Lawing, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken, 22. Cemetery lodges were a feature at nearly all national cemeteries and many of them still survive. The Andrew Johnson lodge is one of only two with its design.
386. A variance from compliance with ADA requirements might have been obtained, but the process is cumbersome and rarely used.
387. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Mark Corey, Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, October 16, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
388. Mark Corey, Superintendent, Letter to Hugh Lawing, October 26, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
389. Corey, Oral History Interview, 30.

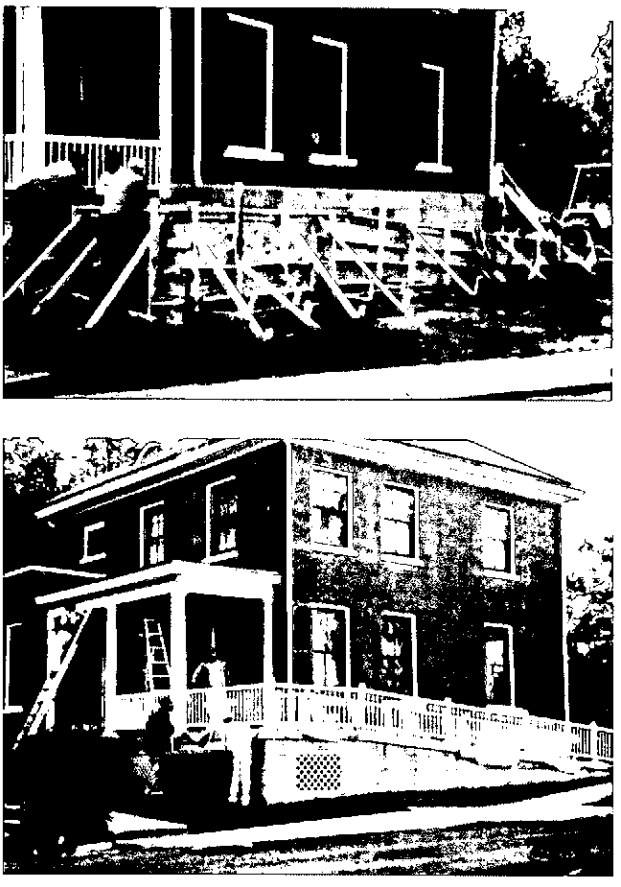

FIGURE 42. View of the handicapped-access ramp under construction (top) and after completion in 1998 (below). It was widely criticized for intruding upon the historic landscape of the National Cemetery.

about the need for new electrical wiring. Still, Corey himself had "come up in the Service of always having to live in required occupancy and never fighting it." He certainly understood Small's desire to acquire equity—Corey himself had applied for the superintendency on the basis of not having a required occupancy—but at the time he "thought it was pretty necessary or needed that we have somebody living here to protect the cemetery at night and so forth, but he [Small] finally brought me around."[390] Corey decided that with modern intrusion alarms systems and good cooperation with the Greeneville police department, the occupancy requirement could be ended.[391]

Once that decision was made, Corey rethought how the Cemetery Lodge could be used to facilitate the attainment of other long-sought goals. If the Lodge could serve as park headquarters, it would allow the consolidation of administrative offices. Ranger staff could be moved from the Visitor Center to the upper floor of the Early Home while the offices of the superintendent and the administrative officer, then located in the Early Home, could be moved to the Lodge. An important additional benefit was that the Lodge's basement could be used for museum storage purposes, resolving a long-standing problem of inadequate storage.

As a result of this reconfiguration, it became possible to think about opening more of the Early Home to visitors. Corey even had the walls in the former ranger offices in the Visitor Center torn down to create a theater. These developments directly inspired further efforts to develop a new interpretive plan for the park that would include newly designed exhibits for the Early Home and the park's first orientation film.[392] In late April 1997, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site sponsored an "open house" for the public to view the changes made to the Cemetery Lodge.[393]

A Proposal to Transfer the Cemetery to the VA

In 1996, Congress established the Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance to review the adequacy of Federal programs that assist service men and women adjusting to post-service life and to recommend improvements. As previously noted, Congress established the National Cemetery System in 1973 under VA administration. By 1998, the VA operated 115 national cemeteries, but the Army still oversaw two—Arlington National Cemetery and the U.S. Soldiers' and Airmen's Home National Cemetery. The National Park Service also managed fourteen historic national cemeteries. Two of these were still active, those being Andersonville and Andrew Johnson National Historic Sites. Because the eligibility requirements for interment were the same at all these cemeteries, the Commission elected to debate the merits of further consolidation to improve efficiency and to better address the needs of veterans. In January

390. Ibid., 29.
391. Ibid., 29-30.
392. Ibid., 30-31.
393. Eugenia Estes, "Andrew Johnson Cemetery Lodge Restored; Open House Set for 11am to 4pm Friday," *Greeneville Sun*, April 24, 1997, A7.

1998, Commission Chairman Anthony J. Principi notified Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbit that the Commission was weighing the "pros-and-cons of recommending the transfer of all open national cemeteries to the Department of Veterans Affairs."[394] This included both Andersonville and Andrew Johnson National Historic Sites.

Superintendent Mark Corey was quickly notified and asked to respond on behalf of the Secretary, which he did on March 18, 1998. "Our view about this possibility," he stated plainly, "is that the status quo best serves the American public in terms of efficiency and purpose for creating the cemetery." Corey explained, of course, that Andrew Johnson National Cemetery was created to protect and preserve the final resting place for the nation's seventeenth president and his family members, property which he had owned and that his heirs had donated to the Federal government for the purpose of the president's commemoration. He also noted how the site was an integral component of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, with its two Johnson homes and former workshop. If disruption of the integrity of the park as a memorial to the president was not a sufficient argument to deter the potential upheaval being proposed by the Commission, Corey emphasized the cost.

Under Corey, the park had moved its headquarters and administrative offices out of the Visitor Center and to the renovated Cemetery Lodge. If the VA was to assume administration of the cemetery, the Park Service might well have to relocate its own offices, as well as its maintenance operations, at considerable expense. Moreover, Corey offered that the site was well managed, and no one ever disputed that point. How could two government agencies manage the relatively small site and cemetery more efficiently than one? Corey acknowledged VA authority in managing cemeteries, but argued that Andrew Johnson National Cemetery was primarily a historic site with an active cemetery due eventually to close. The National Park Service, of course, was the lead Federal agency for historic preservation.[395]

A few days later, Corey wrote to request support for the park from the area's congressional representative, Bill Jenkins. He actually had two matters to discuss, the VA's proposal to absorb the National Cemetery, but also an NPS budget proposal to increase the park's annual operating budget by $75,000. On the latter count, Corey argued here that the site compared unfavorably to other presidential sites, parks whose size fell below twenty acres, and parks with comparable visitation figures.[396] Jenkins would have no problem supporting either issue. The budget increase was later approved by Congress. Similarly, Corey gained support from Tennessee Senator Bill First who stated that he was "grateful to know of your support for the status quo" in regard to the cemetery transfer proposal.[397]

One argument Corey did not make initially, but which was soon formulated, was topographical. Once again, the steeply sloped cemetery and the issue of whether VA regulations limiting burials to slopes of less than 15 percent came into play. In June Secretary Babbitt heard directly via E-mail from a concerned citizen who had recently visited the park and had learned of the proposed cemetery transfer. Babbitt was told that Johnson cemetery represented "a classic Tenn. hillside and hilltop which defines the way those people live and die." The writer asked Babbitt to prevent any transfer precisely because "it wouldn't fit the rules of VA [sic] for the angle of the ground [slope] to continue using the remaining burial plots if it comes under their jurisdiction, but there are still persons living who wish to and deserve to be buried there near loved ones."[398]

This argument was potent. If the National Cemetery were now obliged to apply the 20 percent

394. Anthony J. Principi, Chairman, Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance, Letter to Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbit, January 9, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.

395. Mark Corey, Superintendent, AJNHS, Letter to Robert Holbrook, Commission of Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance, March 18, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.

396. Mark Corey, Superintendent, AJNHS, Letter to Bill Jenkins, Member of Congress, March 30, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.

397. Bill Frist, United States Senator, Letter to Mark Corey, AJNHS, May 1, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.

398. Bruce Babbitt, forwarded e-mail entitled "Andrew Johnson Memorial & National Cemetery" to EXSEC, June 23, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives. This e-mail was automatically forwarded and Babbitt may not have read it personally. The message was originally sent by Stan Tunnell on June 19, 1998. It was faxed to the park on July 7, 1998.

FIGURE 43. In 1996 a special commission considered transferring all national cemeteries to the Department of Veterans Affairs, including Andrew Johnson. Here a Student Conservation Association volunteer cleans headstones in the National Cemetery.

slope limitation, as it presumably would have to under VA administration, numerous designated burial sites would be eliminated. Given the history of the issue, local groups were likely to ally themselves with the Service against the proposed transfer.

In June 1998, Corey took this argument public with a press release that explained the potential transfer. He concluded the statement by saying, "Local citizens should know that most of the 900 grave sites added to the cemetery five years ago, *do not comply* with the Veterans Administration policy that grave sites must be located on slopes of less than 15 degrees. Therefore, if the Veterans Administration were to administer the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery then I assume that most of those new sites could not be used."[399] Corey's intent was certainly to rally public support behind the park. The *Greeneville Sun* readily reported on the Commission's proposal, Corey's opposition, and noted in its headline that the "shift could cut available gravesites."[400]

One of the first to respond was Ralph Phinney, who wrote Bob Holbrook on the veterans' and service members' commission on June 29. Phinney specifically claimed that no one had put him up to writing. Instead, he felt compelled to speak his mind as a 103-year-old man worried that any move to transfer the National Cemetery to the VA "would indeed kill the goose that laid the golden egg." He called the cemetery the "crown jewel" of the overall Johnson historic site and did not want it jeopardized by segregating the cemetery from the rest of the park.[401] Phinney, representing the family and descendants of Andrew Johnson, thus registered opposition to the proposed transfer, not on the grounds of veterans concerns, but out of fear that it might degrade the commemoration of President Andrew Johnson

Others from Greeneville wrote their congressmen opposing the transfer, which prompted Senator Fred Thompson to write NPS Director Robert Stanton about the matter.[402] On July 20, 1998, Director Stanton wrote Holbrook to recommend that the Commission not attempt to transfer the two active NPS national cemeteries at Andrew Johnson and Andersonville National Historic Sites. He pointed out that both cemeteries were integral historic resources closely tied to the interpretation of their respective sites. "To remove these two cemeteries," he insisted, "from that role would be a serious mistake." Like Corey, he also noted that no improved efficiency could possibly be derived from such a transfer.[403] Corey replied to Senator Thompson's congressional inquiry by conveying to him the director's letter to Holbrook, his own June news release, and assurance that the Park Service agreed with the concerns of Greeneville citizens who objected to the transfer. Corey, after all, had helped frame those views.[404]

Curiously, while Commission Chairman Principi had written the Park Service for its view on

399. NPS News Release, "Congressional Commission to Consider Transfer of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery from the National Park Service to the Department of Veterans Affairs," undated [June 1998], in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives. Original emphasis.
400. Bill Jones, "Commission Weighing Shift of Johnson Cemetery Control to VA," *Greeneville Sun*, June 11, 1998, A1, A6.
401. Ralph M. Phinney, Letter to Bob Holbrook, Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance, June 29, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.
402. Fred Thomson, United States Senator, Letter to Billy Williams, July 8, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.
403. Robert Stanton, Director, National Park Service, Letter to Robert Holbrook, Commission of Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance, July 20, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.
404. Mark Corey, Superintendent, AJNHS, Letter to Fred Thompson, United States Senator, August 7, 1998, in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.

transferring the two active NPS cemeteries to the VA, he apparently did not similarly contact the VA. In August, M'Liz McClendon, Chief of Operations for the VA's National Cemetery System contacted Corey after a Georgia Congressman wrote her about the possible transfer of Andersonville National Cemetery. She told Corey that she had not been aware of the possibility and implied that she was opposed to transferring either cemetery to the VA.[405]

As Corey had hoped, and probably anticipated, sentiment in Greeneville was solidly against the transfer proposal. On August 28, the Greeneville County Commission voted unanimously in support of keeping the National Cemetery within NPS jurisdiction. Commissioner Betty Ruth Alexander, who along with Glenn Renner, had sponsored the resolution, argued specifically that VA rules would prohibit as many burials as currently allowed under NPS rules.[406] Indeed, the resolution quoted Corey's press release almost verbatim: "Whereas, most of the 900 grave sites added to the cemetery five years ago do not comply with Veterans Administration policy which states that grave sites must be located on slopes of less than 15 degrees.... If the Veteran's Administration were to administer the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, it might be assumed that most of those new sites could not be used."[407] Other commissioners objected to potentially unnecessary complications if the Park Service had to relocate its headquarters from the cemetery.[408]

That October, Corey learned from Robert Stein, who replaced Bob Holbrook in August as the Executive Director of the Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance, that the Commission's final report would probably not include a recommendation to transfer either Andrew Johnson or Andersonville National Cemeteries to VA administration. Stein asked Corey to keep the issue under wraps, however, as it was still possible that the situation could change.[409] The final report was not published until 1999, but the *Greeneville Sun* broke the story in December after Holbrook sent a belated response to Greeneville County's August 28 resolution to County Executive Alan D. Broyles. In his letter to Broyles, Holbrook stated:

> I have been greatly impressed with the public spirit and unity demonstrated by the Greene County Legislative Body, by the local veterans' service organizations, and by local citizens in support of the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Never have I experienced such a broad-based support for a national landmark and for the included national cemetery. My compliments. . . .[410]

He then went on to assure Broyles that the Commission was no longer contemplating recommending any transfer of administrative functions from the Park Service to the VA. Holbrook, whose regular job was Director of the Technical Support Services for the VA's National Cemetery System, essentially admitted defeat. Holbrook may have been a prime motivator in raising the issue in the first place. Whatever his personal motivations, however, Holbrook justified the proposal by noting that, at the VA, the "infrastructure is in place and well functioning to expand this organization's capabilities." Now that the proposal appeared unlikely to garner the Commission's approval, Holbrook hoped that Broyles "could inform others of the facts" regarding the debate.

In truth, the public debate over the transfer proposal had been rather one-sided, at least in Greene County. Holbrook especially noted that "the issue of not continuing burials at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery due to the slope of the current burial areas is not correct." He said that the 15 percent

405. Mark Corey, e-mail to Dan [Brown], Paul [Winegar], and Fred [Boyles] entitled "Contact with V.A. Concerning Transfer Proposal," August 27, 1998, hardcopy in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.
406. Tom Yancey, "Johnson Cemetery Should Stay Under the NPS, Says Commission," *Greeneville Sun*, August 31, 1998.
407. Tom Yancey, "There are No Plans to Place A. Johnson National Cemetery under VA, Former Official Says," *Greeneville Sun*, December 5, 1998, A1, A7. The resolution also mistakenly used the specific term "Veteran's Administration" exactly as Corey's press release had previously but mistakenly used the term. Still known as the VA, the agency's name had changed to the Department of Veterans Affairs.
408. Tom Yancey, "Johnson Cemetery Should Stay Under the NPS, Says Commission," *Greeneville Sun*, August 31, 1998.
409. The report did not make a recommendation to transfer NPS National Cemeteries to the VA. See Report of the Congressional Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition. Assistance (Washington, DC: 1999).
410. Robert B. Holbrook, Letter to Alan D. Broyles, County Executive, November 24, 1998, copy in "National Cemetery" folder, AJNHS archives.

prohibition applied only to newly designed cemeteries but that "there is absolutely no prohibition placed on continuing burials in an established section." Indeed, he explained that under the VA, "full and complete use of all available burial sites" would have occurred and the VA would have sought further expansion of the cemetery through acquisition of adjacent lands. Holbrook even stated that current NPS operations could have remained in place through a memorandum of understanding. He also stated that he had told both Superintendent Corey and the editor of the *Greeneville Sun* the same information. Holbrook said "it is regrettable that it was not shared with the Greene County Legislative Body or other local veterans' service organizations."[411]

Asked to clarify this statement, Holbrook simply said he just wanted those in Greenville to know that the VA would not have closed the cemetery. Corey admitted that Holbrook had made this argument to him and that it was "possible" that the VA would carry out these actions, but stated that it was equally possible it may not have. He also reminded readers that Holbrook spoke only as a member of the Commission and not for the VA. Corey added that "I resent the implication that I have somehow misled the community." In reply to the query of his own reporter, *Greeneville Sun* editor John M. Jones stated that while he had discussed the issue with the Commission he did not recall the topic of sloped land for burials being raised.[412] And there the matter rested. The argument was already decided.

Is the National Cemetery Losing Its Historic Integrity?

In 1993, Historical Landscape Architect Lucy Lawliss completed her Cultural Landscape Report, or CLR, for Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. Her report found that the integrity of the design of the historic landscape was being compromised by continued new interments. She determined that neither the original cemetery layout, nor War Department documents, supported the vision of a landscape covered with headstones. Nevertheless, Lawliss was cognizant of the pressure placed upon the park by local veterans' organizations, which insisted that the Park Service find additional space for veteran burials. She thus prioritized the landscape by dividing the cemetery grounds into three zones: a historic zone where cultural features would be most protected, a development zone where additional gravesites could be established, and a buffer zone, mostly on the steep hillside, to separate the two main areas. Lawliss found that the core of the original monument, the obelisk memorializing Andrew Johnston and the Cemetery Lodge building used by the War Department superintendent remained intact, although that was largely because the extensive new interments were hidden from view of the entrance. The CLR recommended research on War Department records to determine the standards associated with development of a fourth class cemetery. Such research would help park managers know how to restore and manage those features within the historic zone. These features still existed, but were being eroded by policies that failed to consider the area as a cultural resource. Unfortunately, park managers could not be expected to perform such research themselves if time and funding were not available for the Regional Historic Landscape Architect. Still, Lawliss was clear in concluding that sufficient primary cultural landscape features continued to exist in the historic zone warranting both recognition and protection.[413] In approving the CLR, Superintendent Mark Corey told Lawliss's boss Kirk Cordell that "the final report looks very good. I'm very satisfied and you all should be very proud of your effort."[414]

On the basis of the CLR, Corey found some nine hundred additional veterans' gravesites, thus ending a difficult period in park relations with local political and civic groups which had stridently lobbied the Service to take such action or to expand the cemetery that was strictly against long-standing NPS policy. Opposing the cemetery's expansion had generated sour feelings between some locals and NPS officials. The compromise was to find more room within the cemetery. Once that decision was

411. Ibid.

412. Tom Yancey, "There are No Plans to Place A. Johnson National Cemetery under VA, Former Official Says," *Greeneville Sun*, December 5, 1998, A1, A7.

413. See Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*.

414. Mark Corey, Superintendent, Note to Kirk Cordell, May 23, 1993, attached to signature page for the *Cultural Landscape Report for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site*, in "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

made, it necessarily meant that the landscape of the development zone would change as new graves were dug. With a development zone designated, Superintendent Corey also took the opportunity to add more parking space within the lower cemetery behind the entrance gate on Vann Road that was itself built in the early 1970s. On the topic of parking, the Lawliss CLR stated that:

> visitor parking was not a major consideration in the original design of the cemetery and therefore no accommodation was made for any number of cars. Current administration allows parallel parking along the entrance drive. The site does not lend itself to the development of a parking lot that would not seriously compromise the historic integrity and aesthetics of the scene. Therefore, until accommodations can be made outside the cemetery grounds, the present policy should be continued.[415]

Corey felt the cemetery required more parking and despite the recommendation above, he added it. However, the parking was added within the newly designated development zone. At the same time, Corey met an important recommendation of the CLR—to improve the appearance of the breach in the historic cemetery wall along Vann Road by realigning the wall sections previously moved and by erecting two new concrete pilasters similar in design to those at the historic front entrance. The iron entrance gate was also lengthened and designed to use a hinge system similar to that used at the front gate.[416] Thus, the superintendent balanced the needs of the cemetery's operational requirements with the historical recommendations of the CLR. The authenticity of the gate was improved and while a new four-car parking area was added, it was within the development zone.

The next important change to the cemetery landscape was the rehabilitation of the Cemetery Lodge. During the renovation, staff devised a plan to relocate the park's administrative offices to the structure. Once the decision to adapt the building for a new use was made, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) required that the building be

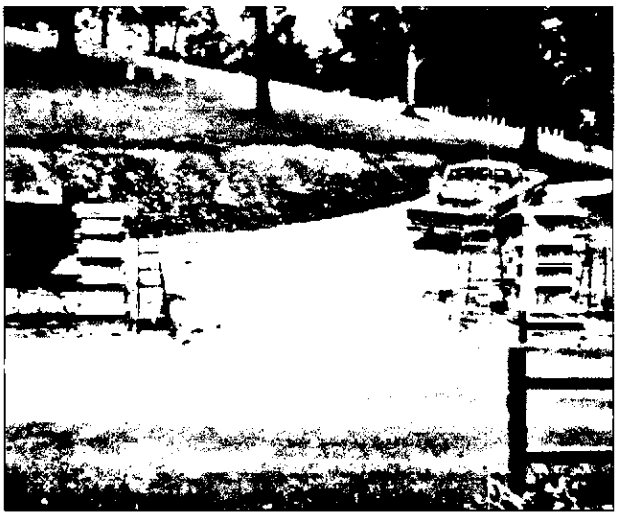

FIGURE 44. A view of the Vann Road entrance to the National Cemetery in 1994 when it was being reconfigured to better match the historic front gate.

made accessible to disabled employees and visitors, and Corey chose the most expedient means to meet a portion of its requirements in order to move park offices. The Lodge is a National Register property and a key contributing feature of the National Cemetery's cultural landscape identified in the CLR. Resting within the designated historic zone, the construction of the ADA ramp made a definite impact on the historic integrity of the cemetery's cultural landscape. It also greatly offended former park historian Hugh Lawing, who raised serious concerns about the ramp and other issues relating to management of the development zone within the cemetery.[417]

Another issue within the historic zone is the CLR's recommendation to restore the historic stable and move the maintenance area off-site. Park priorities and funding have not allowed action on this issue, but it remains a consideration for future managers. The Cemetery Lodge ADA ramp did impact the cultural landscape and did raise criticism by Lawing and others. In the aftermath, restoration of the historic stable might seem a higher priority as a way to balance the negative impact of the ramp.

After examining the Cemetery Lodge ADA ramp, Hugh Lawing became concerned with other aspects

415. Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 22.

416. Mark Corey, Section 106 Completion Report for ANJO-93-11 "Reconstruct Vann Road entrance and construction of access road," October 31, 1994, in Section 106 files, CRD, SERO. The project was completed on October 27, 1994.

417. Hugh A. Lawing, Letters to Mark Corey, Superintendent, October 16 and November 13, 2001; both in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS; See also Lawing, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken, 22-23.

of cemetery management. In June 2001, he wrote CLR author Lucy Lawliss "one of the most difficult letters I have ever felt I had to write." Lawing was concerned with how new burial sections within the cemetery were being laid out. He claimed that past managers had dealt with burial increases by surveying new sections and marking graves within the said sections. Now, he believed, "either that policy has changed or an inexperienced surveyor has been permitted to lay out some sections in the Cemetery which do not conform with any existing restraints in force when earlier sections were laid out!!" He was particularly upset by Section "Y," which after eight or nine rows of graves made a 45 degree turn, which had the affect of causing the graves stones to appear strikingly non-uniform.[418] He wanted Lawliss to weigh in on the matter. Lawliss called the park for advice.

Superintendent Corey explained the basis of his decisions about the layout of the new cemetery sections to Lawliss and her supervisor, Kirk Cordell. The most recent interment plan had been approved by Acting Regional Director Robert Deskins on May 21, 1993. Corey had gotten Deskins' go-ahead for the park to plan the layout of the sections on its own without regional office assistance. In retrospect, he admitted it would have been better to go through a Section 106 compliance process before actually laying out any new section. Again, the section was in the CLR-designated development zone. In laying out the "Y" and "W" sections of the cemetery, Corey said he followed several principles, including maintaining a minimal distance from the headstone to adjacent sidewalk, maximizing the number of sites while maintaining a safe work area, having the rows follow the contour of the hillside for safety and appearance, and designing the layout so that headstones "will line up in straight lines set the same distance apart from one another in order to give that appearance of uniformity that you associate with a national cemetery."

To explain the sharp 45 degree angle in the "Y" section, Corey offered that "we purposely decided that we would not lay them out in an arch style. There is only one section in the cemetery, "T," that is done that way and it is a real disappointment in appearance, since arcs do not allow for the headstones to be seen from any direction as lining up." He noted that the CLR had not offered any advice on how to map and lay out new sections, "so we did it as best we could."[419]

In her formal reply to Lawing, a letter vetted by park staff, Lawliss stated that "I wrote the cultural landscape report for the cemetery to help the park preserve and protect the historic setting with a focus on the Johnson Memorial at the top of the hill. Although I mention how work should proceed in the development zone, after reviewing the document, I can see that I may not have provided sufficient detail on how the new sections were to be laid out."[420] Shortly thereafter, Lawliss received a letter or two from relatives of veterans buried in the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery who, like Lawing, complained about the 45 degree angle in the "Y" section.[421]

Not satisfied by the response he got from Lawliss, Lawing wrote Southeast Regional Director Jerry Belson that October. He claimed that the Park Service was violating its own guidelines (he referenced NPS-61, an NPS policy document entitled National Cemetery Operations) in designing the layout of new cemetery sections. Lawing said "that the original pattern of grave-section-lay-out was that of a rectangle or squares." He claimed that the NPS "desire to provide a few more graves took precedent over 'historic design' as mandated in NPS-61."[422]

Lawing was essentially correct in his analysis that the park was departing from War Department designs in adding further sections to the cemetery. Unfortunately, several factors of consequence affected how the National Park Service has had to manage the cemetery landscape. The first factor is by far the most important and that is simply the

418. Hugh Lawing, Letter to Lucy Lawliss, June 19, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

419. Mark Corey, e-mail (entitled "Layout of ANJO Cemetery Sections") to Kirk Cordell and Lucy Lawliss, June 29, 2001, copy in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

420. Lucy Lawliss, Letter to Hugh Lawing, July 12, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

421. Mary B. Hankal, Letter to Lucy Lawliss, July 16, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

422. Hugh Lawing, Letter to Jerry Belson, Regional Director, October 12, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

directive to continue to provide burial space. NPS policy is to close national cemeteries within national parks as quickly as feasible. In the case of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, pressure by local veterans' groups and their political representatives has kept the cemetery in operation far longer than the Park Service had intended. Each new section necessarily detracts from the cemetery's recognized historic character. As long as the cemetery is open, therefore, this factor predominates no matter what the design of new sections.

Second, the cemetery is built on a steep slope. Difficult topography and modern safety concerns have thus also affected how park officials have mapped out the cemetery. Their decisions have altered even older sections. It is difficult to second-guess park managers faced with this operational concern. A third factor is that the War Department established the National Cemetery in a rural setting in an era with almost no automobiles, but now the cemetery is surrounded by urban development where modern visitors and funeral parties arrive by car, which as Lawliss stated, was not anticipated by early War Department planners. Park managers must balance cemetery operations with historic preservation. It is simply a fact that it is often impossible to make a decision in one area without affecting another. In great part to recognize this reality, the Lawliss CLR assigned a development zone where the new cemetery sections were to be laid out. Ideally, these sections should still be established in conformity with those in the historic section as best as nature and NPS guidelines allowed. Unfortunately, the CLR also did not provide specific recommendations as to how to accomplish that feat, as Lawliss later lamented. One must reasonably ask how far must park managers go to fulfill their obligations?

Regional Director Jerry Belson responded to Lawing on November 14, 2001. Belson reminded him that "citizens of the surrounding community convinced the NPS, through their representatives, that interments should continue within the cemetery." Thus, sections were expanded and new ones were added, but Belson admitted that "it appears that the NPS was adding them without any long-term plan in mind." Of course, that was why the Park Service initiated Lawliss' CLR. Belson noted that her "draft report was well received by the community and no negative comments were

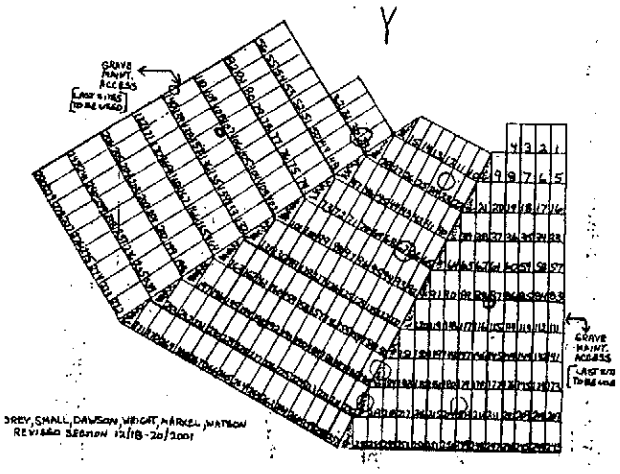

FIGURE 45. Map of the "Y" section of the National Cemetery. The design of this section, in particular, was criticized by retired NPS historian Hugh A. Lawing.

received concerning added gravesites within the Development Zone." He noted Corey's assurances that the "Y" section would appear more linear as more headstones were planted and that the design had to consider safety and topography. The Regional Director's main point, however, was that "maintaining a rectangular shape for the new sections does not appear to be as critical as optimizing the opportunities for our nation's veterans and their eligible dependents to be interred within the development zone of this national cemetery."[423]

Lawing was not satisfied by Belson's response, especially because his November 14, 2001, letter had also contained a statement that "the historic design of the cemetery, within what are now referred to as the development and buffer zones, appears to have been lost over the last 30-40 years." He rejected this assertion by saying that most of the sections were still rectangular. Lawing also claimed that section "Y" was the most dangerous part of the cemetery to place gravesites, equivalent, he said, "to placing of a cocked gun in the hands of a child." He argued that NPS "optimizing" of opportunity to be buried in the national cemetery was a flawed notion and cited examples of elderly people who could not navigate the steep slopes to visit the graves of loved ones in the cemetery already. He preferred the

423. Paul Winegar for Jerry Belson, Regional Director, Letter to Hugh Lawing, November 14, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

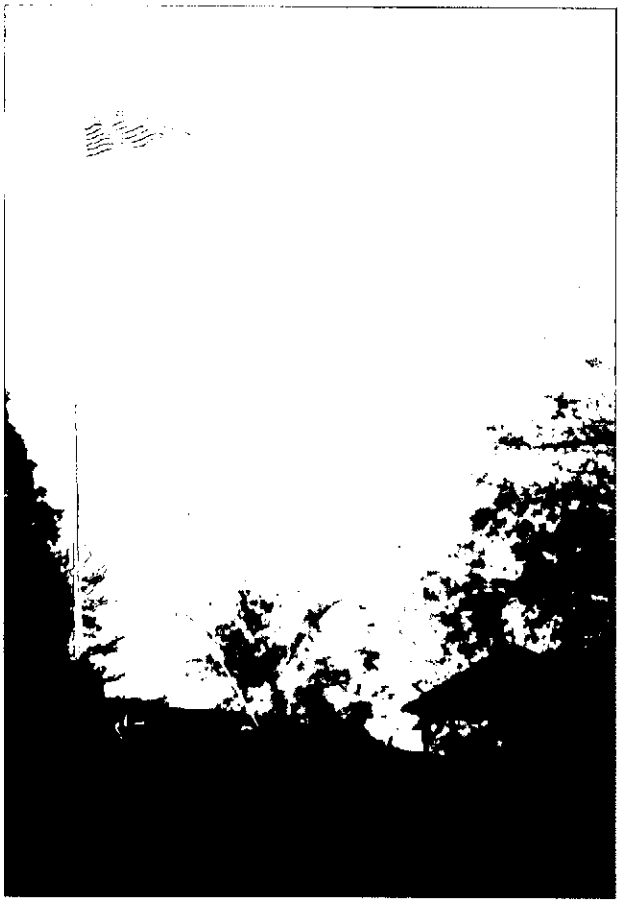

FIGURE 46. Balancing heritage preservation with the needs of veterans at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery is a delicate responsibility for NPS managers, a fact likely to remain true as long as the cemetery continues to accept new burials.

cemetery be closed rather than the Park Service continue to administer it in the way it was.[424] And that was the issue, of course. It is simply difficult to manage a cemetery and consider it a historic resource at the same time. The requirements for one activity conflict with the requirements of the other. NPS policy long ago wisely determined that the Service should not be in the active cemetery business.

Still not satisfied, Lawing wrote NPS Director Fran Mainella and several members of Congress about his concerns relating to the cemetery. "It would appear that the Park Service lost its chance to close the Cemetery as soon as possible by yielding to Veteran pressure groups which resulted in the development of Section Y." He also called it a "safety hazard."[425]

Asked to respond to Lawing's safety concerns, Superintendent Corey did make some changes in the layout of section "Y." He eliminated sixty-one sites within the section that were deemed to be too near a steep slope. However, after another staff review, Corey concluded that "it is my decision that the layout of the section is proper and fitting, considering the terrain constraints."[426] After learning about his decision, Lawing again protested to Director Mainella. He wanted to know why the Park Service did not use Department of Veterans Affairs guidelines for managing national cemeteries, which prohibited burials on slopes above 15 percent grade. "If I understand it correctly," he told the director, "Section Y under the VA regulations would be too steep for burial activities!!!"[427] Now, Lawing had come full circle. As previously discussed, the Park Service had once, in fact, followed those VA guidelines. It had ceased doing so specifically to allow more burials at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery and to thus appease veterans who were otherwise intent on expanding the cemetery's boundary.

On Lawing's behalf, Senator Fred Thompson, and other congressmen, inquired about the matter. Corey responded by explaining that national cemeteries within the National Park System are not part of the National Cemetery System and not subject to VA rules, as Regional Solicitor Roger Sumner Babb had determined in 1992. Despite its steep slope, Corey explained the "Greene County veterans were overwhelmingly in favor of adding these new interment sections to this cemetery." Moreover, to abandon section "Y" would require the disinterment of three burials that occurred prior to Lawing's first complaint about the section.[428]

424. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Jerry Belson, Regional Director, November 30, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

425. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Fran Mainella, Director, December 18, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

426. Mark Corey, Superintendent, Letter to Hugh Lawing, December 20, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

427. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Fran Mainella, Director, December 29, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

428. Mark Corey, Superintendent, AJNHS, Letter to Honorable Fred Thompson, March 5, 2002, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

The former park historian was not going to convince anyone on this issue.

As Lucy Lawliss wrote in 1993, the historic integrity of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery is in decline, a factor largely due to the decision to allow continued burials. The use of acid to wash the Johnson memorial in the 1970s, the ADA ramp at the Cemetery Lodge, and the use of the historic stable for maintenance purposes have also contributed to that decline. However, historic preservation concerns prevented one superintendent from replacing the cemetery's historic War Department flagpole with a modern device while the Lodge ramp could be removed and the stable restored in the future. The breach in the historic wall along Vann Road was, in fact, later improved as per the recommendations of the cemetery CLR. Moreover, the decisions about grave layout in the new sections, while disagreeable to some, have not been made rashly, but through a due process that has necessarily had to balance various concerns. In the end, Andrew Johnson National Cemetery is a cemetery and its operational requirements will likely dominate NPS management concerns until the last gravesite is filled.

Perhaps the words of Gordon Wilson, who served as park superintendent from 1989 to 1991, can best sum up the situation. As he told Connie Aiken in 2002:

> Greeneville was much more striking in its patriotism than any place I'd ever lived. And, I thought that given the circumstances, and what the Park was established for, what Andrew Johnson stood for, and what the National Cemeteries stand for, that the right thing to do was to expand the capacity as much as we could and still meet appropriate standards for any cemetery.[429]

Thus, while Andrew Johnson National Historic Site was one of Greeneville's main tourist attractions, and the life of a manager at the park was an ever changing array of activities, Wilson found that the cemetery "was a major operation in and of itself. Between the management of funerals, and digging graves, and dealing with funeral homes, and veterans' groups, and all sorts of things."[430]

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429. Wilson, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken, 4-5.
430. Ibid., 2-3.

Chapter IV: Interpreting Andrew Johnson

The story of Andrew Johnson and the national veterans' cemetery associated with his memorial celebrates his principled defense of the U.S. Constitution and the service of Americans who have worn the uniform of their country. Scholars continue to debate the Johnson presidency, and Southerners themselves have been deeply divided in their views of Andrew Johnson, who was the only Southern Senator to remain with the Union when his home state seceded. Union support remained high in east Tennessee throughout the Civil War, but Johnson later ruled Union-occupied Tennessee as its military governor, a fact which did not endear him to many other Tennesseans. He was equally disliked by many Northerners, especially those "radical" Republicans in Congress who felt he was too lenient in the handling of ex-Confederate states and who thus maneuvered to impeach him over his alleged violation of the Tenure of Office Act.

Time has moderated some of the more extreme attitudes toward Johnson and modern Greene Countians view him as their most famous son—the seventeenth president of the United States. Statewide recognition of Johnson also came more recently when Johnson's visage was added to a set of statues erected before the state capitol in Nashville to honor those Tennesseans who have held the office of U.S. president. At Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, NPS interpretation of Johnson and his presidency is achieved primarily by using Johnson's former homes and workplace, which have been preserved or restored by the state of Tennessee and the National Park Service. Visitors are also welcome to view the Andrew Johnson Memorial and grave site within the nearby Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. Interpretive exhibits in the park's Visitor Center complex explain the larger context of Johnson's presidency, and park visitors can take guided tours of the Andrew Johnson Homestead. While NPS interpretive programs, exhibits, and activities have changed over time, and increasingly emphasize cooperative efforts, the Homestead has remained the focus of attention in telling the Johnson story.

Tour Fees

Visitors who wanted to tour the Andrew Johnson Homestead in Greeneville, Tennessee, paid fifty cents between 1972 and 1987 and also paid to use the Visitor Center until 1975. In 1974, the historic site collected $2,083.50 in park entrance fees, but these declined to $1,475.50 the following year after an operations evaluation recommended that fees only be collected at the Homestead and not the Visitor Center. The park also received $1,400 to collect fees, but Supt. Lloyd Abelson recommended that these funds be "transferred to a Park with greater need as collections do not impose a hardship of extra personnel or supplies."[431] Fees collected in 1976 were $1,590 and in 1977 they were $2,172.50.[432] Fees declined in some years, however, dropping to $1,642 in 1980, but rebounding to the highest ever, $3,245, in 1982, the year the Worlds Fair was held in nearby Knoxville.[433] In 1983, park fees declined again to $1,546.50.[434]

In 1986, the National Park Service imposed higher entrance fees at some seventy-three parks, monuments, and other installations nationwide, including at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. However, the fee only applied to the Homestead self-guided tour; no fee was charged for entrance to the Visitor Center, the Tailor Shop in the Memorial Building, or the National Cemetery. The Park Service had not raised entrance fees since 1972 and was authorized to do so by a vote of Congress. The

431. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975; SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.
432. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
433. SANR for 1980, February 5, 1981; SANR for 1982, February 23, 1983.
434. SANR for 1983, February 13, 1984.

FIGURE 47. Jennie Harrison, circa 1973, performed in the parlor of the Andrew Johnson Homestead during the park's Piano Living History Program. Harrison's period dress was sewn by Ranger Elaine R. Clark.

amount was intended to cover a $54 million per year increase in funding for research, resource conservation, and interpretation in the NPS system.[435] In 1987, which was "the Year of the Constitution," the park raised the entrance fee charged at the Homestead from fifty cent to one dollar.[436]

In 1992 guided tours were introduced at the Homestead, which meant that visitor fees once again had to be collected at the Visitor Center although there continued to be no charge for visitors to tour the Visitor Center exhibits and Tailor Shop or the Early Home across the street. On January 1, 1993, Congress again raised entrance fees for all parks that charged one. The admittance fee for the Homestead then increased from one to two dollars. The fee was set at the minimum level allowed by Congress, and did not apply to those under the age of 17 or over 62.[437] Throughout the period of this study, in fact, the park has always charged the lowest fee set by law.

435. "Fees to be Imposed, Raised at National Parks," *Greeneville Daily Sun*, December 18, 1986.
436. SANR for 1987, February 18, 1988.
437. John M. Jones, Jr., "AJ Home Fee, Tour Method to Change," *Greeneville Sun*, December 11, 1992, 1, 7.

Beginning in 1994 the park was authorized to place all fees collected from Homestead tours into a "Special Interpretive Program" account allowing the park to pay for the tour program directly from its own proceeds, which ran approximately $6,000 annually.[438] The cost for the guided tour of the Homestead remained at two dollars until 2003, when it was eliminated altogether.

Park Interpretation in the 1970s and 1980s

During the summer of 1973, the Piano Living History Program began. The program involved local girls who dressed in period attire and alternated the playing of period tunes in the parlor at the Homestead on Sunday afternoons. Park Ranger Elaine R. Clark, who orchestrated the event, wore an 1870-era dress made by the Harpers Ferry Historical Association. Clark was assisted by two young women, Ann Lawing and Jenni Harrison, who each wore period dresses sewn by Clark.[439] According to Park Historian Hugh Lawing, the event grew out of the NPS efforts "to create meaningful 'living history' scenes whenever possible in order that the visitor may experience some of the sensory conditions that would have been an intricate part of the restored scene." The program was apparently so well received, that it was decided to make the living history performances a permanent feature of the park's summer activities.[440] That December, Superintendent Abelson presented Clark an award for "exceptional service" for her efforts over the past year, especially for her hand-sewing the two girls' 1870s-era dresses on her own time. Regional Director David D. Thompson, Jr., stated that "the Service is proud to have employees who are willing to go beyond the normal requirements of their job in order to accomplish the program of the park.[441]

438. SANR for 1993, February 17, 1994.
439. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974. These dresses were later used on special occasion, namely the annual Christmas tours of the Homestead, but originally they were produced for the summer interpretive program.
440. "Living History Program Ends Successful Program," *Greeneville Daily Sun*, September 24, 1973, 5.
441. "Special Recognition for Mrs. Clark," *Greeneville Sun*, December 10, 1973.

Actually, the longer term success of the program was due to Clark's willingness to put in the extra hours needed for supervision. As she later recalled, it was difficult to schedule the girls' time. Lawing, Harrison, and other girls who followed only played for two hours each, but visitation was unpredictable. The girls were paid one hundred dollars per summer using funds provided by Eastern National, a national association in support of the National Park Service. To manage her young charges, Clark had to be with them during their Sunday afternoon performances. If she was not around, she soon found, the girls might not wear all the appropriate attire, such as the wig, or might play inappropriate music. They were fine when she was there, however, so she made it a point to be there, which necessitated off-duty supervision for many years. When the program ended, Clark had no regrets, because it had absorbed much of her time while visitation remained sporadic.[442]

In 1974, the Homestead was included in the Greeneville Historic House tour, sponsored by the Greeneville Heritage Trust. Clark, using her Harpers Ferry dress, along with a similarly attired Margaret Bartlett, acted as hostesses. For the first tour, young girls from a local girl scout troop volunteered to decorate the home for Christmas as it would have appeared in the late nineteenth century. Misses Ann Lawing and Jenni Harrison were also enlisted to play Christmas music of the 1870s. Warm cider was served from the Johnson kitchen. This event would become a local tradition, although in later years the Homestead was not always included on the tour.[443]

In 1982, the living history piano program at Andrew Johnson was extended three extra months to match the duration of the World's Fair being held nearby in Knoxville, Tennessee. Incidentally, park employees Hugh Lawing, Opal Coffman, and Ronald Pyron worked one week each to help staff the NPS booth at the fair.[444] Despite some minor glitches, the piano program was considered a great success. There was also a living history program with separate piano events during the Christmas season for several years. Costumed volunteers from the Anchor Club of Greeneville High School, members of the Girl Scouts, and youth from Asbury United Methodist

442. Clark, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken, 15-16.
443. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.
444. SANR for 1982, February 23, 1983.

FIGURE 48. NPS interpretive staff during the World's Fair in Knoxville, Tennessee, 1982.

Church were stationed in each room of the home to greet and answer visitors' questions. As for many years previous, Elaine Clark dressed in period attire and oversaw the event. She was accompanied by Barbara Inman with piano performances by Becky Goddard, Kendra Hinkle, and others. Over three hundred visitors toured the Homestead during the Christmas program in 1991.[445]

Over the years, several young girls performed in the living history piano program during the Christmas tour and were supported by small donations made from sales at the park bookstore, which has long been run by Eastern National Parks and Monuments Association. Usually, the girls received a hundred dollars for the summer and twenty dollars for the weekend. In 1987, Eastern National was helping to support other small but useful needs at the park. It had gross sales of $10,253 that year, meaning the park received a $500 percentage donation. These funds were spent on Upper East

445. "A.J. Homestead's Open this Weekend," *Greeneville Sun,* December 5, 1991; and SANR (for 1991), 199[2].

Tennessee Tourism Council dues ($50), piano tuning for the living history program ($55), Junior Ranger badges, certificates, and workbooks ($311), costume cleaning for the living history program ($50), and miscellaneous Constitution-related items that were added to the bookstore.[446] By the early 1990s, Eastern National's annual book sales had reached only about $12,000, making it one of the smallest operations of the non-profit's 112 or so park-based operations. Nevertheless, by 1993 the group was supporting Andrew Johnson's interpretive programs with donations of some $700 per year.[447] These donations continued on into the 2000s, and although they have always constituted a relatively small percentage of park income, such funding has provided seed money for charismatic park interpretive activities that would not otherwise be funded through NPS operating accounts.

One other area of interpretation that the National Park Service began to promote in the 1970s was environmental awareness. That topic, however, was not particularly suitable for small historical parks like Andrew Johnson that lacked much acreage or an appropriate theme. "A Presidential Home and a National Cemetery do not lend themselves to a formal program," Superintendent Abelson stated in 1977. In lieu of a park-focused program, Abelson worked with the Tennessee Valley Authority's (TVA) Nolichuckey Environmental Awareness Center and the local Development District's Education Cooperative scheduling joint tours and participating on their advisory board.[448] He also cooperated with the TVA and the U.S. Forest Service by providing NPS interpretive films and programs for two camps that they jointly administered every summer.[449]

In 1981, park staff began preparing for the upcoming 1982 World's Fair, which was to take place in Knoxville, Tennessee. Anticipating record crowds, Superintendent Abelson alerted local schools to plan their annual visits to the park before May 1, 1982.[450] That summer the park saw the highest level of visitation that it had ever experienced and proceeds charged for self-guided tours of the Homestead more than doubled. In 1983, visitation patterns returned to more normal levels. However, park interpretive staff still had a busy spring as they participated in preparations and celebrations relating to Greeneville's bicentennial anniversary. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site hosted an open house at the Homestead during the celebration, which was on April 26, 1983.[451]

On May 14, 1988, "for the first time since Reconstruction," or so the *Greeneville Sun* reported, Union troops were planning to encamp on the grounds of the Andrew Johnson Homestead. These troops consisted of fifteen members of the 8th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, a unit of historical re-enactors attired in period military costume. The re-enactors, who were volunteers, resided mostly throughout northeastern Tennessee and western North Carolina and represented locals who actually did serve in the Union Army during the Civil War. They planned to demonstrate what life was like during the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson and while Tennessee was under Union occupation. Park Ranger Kent Cave told the *Sun* that the one-day event, which commemorated the one hundred and twenty-first anniversary of Johnson's acquittal, "was a fitting time for us all to remember the dark days of Reconstruction."[452] The group continued to hold two-day encampments into the 1990s. In April 1995, during a two-day Homestead encampment of the 8th Tennessee Volunteers, Linda Sinko and Ashley Stevens were featured in the press for their demonstrations of the fine art of embroidery.[453]

Guiding Visitors at Andrew Johnson Homestead

In December 1992, word broke that Andrew Johnson National Historic Site was planning to make some important changes in how it managed its interpretive programs. First, the fee for admittance

446. SANR for 1987, February 18, 1988.
447. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," approved February 20, 1996, 16, in AJNHS archives.
448. SANR for 1977, January 5, 1978.
449. SANR for 1979, February 27, 1980.
450. SANR for 1981, February 8, 1982.
451. SANR for 1983, February 13, 1984.
452. "'Union' Troops Will Be Camping at Johnson Historic Site Saturday," *Greeneville Sun*, May 12, 1988; "Troops to Salute Acquittal Day," *Johnson City Press*, May 12, 1988; Mark H. Woods, "Union Troops to Occupy Andrew Johnson Homestead," NPS Press Release, May 5, 1988, in AJNHS archives.
453. "Re-enactors Occupy Andrew Johnson Homestead," *Greeneville Sun*, April 25, 1995.

to the Homestead was to be increased from one to two dollars, effective January 1, 1993. The Park Service and its superintendents were off the hook for this decision because Congress had directed the increase at all NPS units that charged an entrance fee.

The second change was also not entirely a local decision but the result of a directive from the Regional Office as the result of an evaluation of park operations. In September 1992, Corey was notified of the results of that evaluation, which included the following recommendation:

> If management's objectives for visitor services at ANJO continue to include viewing historic furnishings in rooms of the Johnson Homestead, the park should undertake a trial effort at scheduling guided tours of the Homestead house, collecting fees only at the V.C. and freeing up staff that otherwise is tied to the reception area at the Homestead house.[454]

In December, Superintendent Corey announced that the park was planning to shift from self-guided tours of the Homestead to scheduled tours led by a trained interpretive ranger. The change was to be effective on January 6.[455] This seemingly innocuous change proved abrupt for some staff at the time and led to a few local complaints, although eventually most visitors praised the arrangement or the tours they received. Most importantly, however, the decision led to a clash of views between Superintendent Mark Corey and a locally prominent former Andrew Johnson employee that would have long-term repercussions.

Years later, Corey professed unease that this change might "be sensitive with the local community." Indeed, he stated, "I wasn't real enthusiastic about taking on that challenge after having just moved [t]here." He also anticipated resistance from park employees. Unfortunately, according to Corey, the actual decision was not his. Instead, James Coleman, the new Southeast Regional Director, and Robert Deskins, Associate Regional Director for Operations, made the recommendation to go to scheduled tours at the Homestead after performing an Operations Evaluation of park management during the summer of 1992. In discussing their findings, again according to Corey, Coleman basically stated that "Mark, I want you to do this." Corey felt he had no choice in the matter but to salute, as it were, and march with his orders.[456] In fact, Corey's predecessor, Gordon Wilson, had also reported to regional officials in 1991 that one of the park's then major issues was "upgrading interpretive staffing to commit more time to museum collections and cultural resource management."[457] Whether it was Corey, Coleman, or Deskins who first proposed guided tours cannot be determined, but improving the efficiency of park operations was clearly on the NPS management agenda for Andrew Johnson when this decision was made.

Corey certainly defended the new program. "Visiting the president's home should be interactive," he told *Greeneville Sun* editor John M. Jones, Jr. "The public," he added, "should have the opportunity to listen to a formal presentation and then ask questions of a ranger in order to gain more interesting information than one can get by merely reading a plaque." Beyond its educational merit, Corey also thought the planned change necessary for preservation and security of the Homestead. Corey did not mention it at the time, but thefts had occurred, Mrs. Johnson's reading glasses, for example. Corey explained that a forthcoming two or three percent cut in funds and two staff vacancies made it necessary to eliminate the "dead time," as he put it, when staff were on hand at the Homestead but no visitors were present. The use of scheduled tours made it possible for park employees to be better managed from a productivity point of view.[458] Finally, Corey offered that unless something was

454. Regional Director, Southeast Region, Memorandum (entitled "Operations Evaluation") to Superintendent, AJNHS, September 24, 1992, and "Operations Evaluation, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, July 20-22, 1992," "ANJO General" folder, park files, CRD, SERO.

455. John M. Jones, Jr., "AJ Home Fee, Tour Method to Change," *Greeneville Sun*, December 11, 1992, 1, 7.

456. Corey, Oral History Interview with Cameron Binkley, 23.

457. Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, Memorandum (entitled CRM Overview Comments) to Deputy Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, Southeast Region, February 19, 1991, in AJNHS files, "General Correspondence 5/2/73-10/20/93" folder (1), Division of Architecture, SERO.

458. John M. Jones, Jr., "AJ Home Fee, Tour Method to Change," *Greeneville Sun*, December 11, 1992, 1, 7. Corey probably appreciated the proposal's merit as a former standards and methods engineer for the Hoover Company. See Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 2-3.

FIGURE 49. Park Guide Daniel Luther presenting a tour of the Andrew Johnson Homestead in July 2007.

done, the park might eventually consider closing one or two days per week, as had been done at other parks with similar budgetary shortfalls.[459]

Corey's arguments for making changes in the interpretive approach at the park were logical, but interpretation of the Homestead especially concerned local historian and retired NPS employee Hugh A. Lawing.[460] Lawing was the park's long-time authority on Andrew Johnson. It was he who originally drafted the interpretive plaques posted at the Homestead and who oversaw interpretation at the site for many years. Lawing may have had other concerns about changes to the historic site made since his retirement, but the article announcing the forthcoming guided tours drew his attention—and his ire.

In the January 7, 1993, issue of the *Greeneville Sun*, Lawing offered a defense of the former interpretive regime that he largely designed as well as a critique of Corey's planned interpretive changes at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Lawing plainly stated that "in my opinion the Homestead did not and does not lend itself to effective guided tour treatment." Lawing felt that guided tours did not work well at the Homestead because barriers at the doors to the home's rooms prevented more than three or four persons at a time from seeing the items actually being discussed. He also thought that only the visitor was qualified to set the pace in touring the Homestead, with some wanting more and some less time than allotted by a guided tour. He also objected to Corey's desire to reduce the "dead time" of staff at the Homestead forced to remain there on duty although no visitors were present. According to Lawing, "there were things they could do just as well at the Homestead as at the Visitor Center during slack periods of visitation." He listed several examples and stated that "a great deal of museum record activity . . . was done by the interpreter on duty at the Homestead," a program Lawing managed. "Therefore," he claimed, "'dead time' was not a problem for me." "I am of the opinion," Lawing concluded, "that the people of Greeneville, Greene County, and their visitors will suffer from the Homestead not being opened as usual."[461]

At the end of 1993, Superintendent Corey received approval for the park's new interpretive program and the use of guided tours at the Homestead. The Service believed that tours brought important benefits, including increased visitor education and interaction with park staff, better security, and improved ranger productivity, while visitor comments appeared mostly positive. Still, the Service acknowledged that "some employee and visitor resistance to this change has existed and the program does have some disadvantages as compared to the self-guided method." The disadvantages included some visitors missing the tours for lack of time to wait for the next one while others simply preferred going at their own pace. The Service acknowledged, therefore, the need to continue to assess the program and to evaluate how to make it more effective.[462]

The old program trusted visitors and encouraged the building of intimate ties to the local community, but it left artifacts at risk and denied managers full control of the use of staff time. It was one way of doing things. The new program was another. The main argument for the new program was the better security for the historic site. But probably more

459. John M. Jones, Jr., "AJ Home Fee, Tour Method to Change," *Greeneville Sun*, December 11, 1992, 1, 7.

460. Several letters by Hugh Lawing to Mark Corey attest to this fact. See folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

461. Hugh A. Lawing, "Former Park Historian of AJ Site Gives Thoughts on Proposed Tours," *Greeneville Sun*, January 7, 1993.

462. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, "Statement for Management/Basic Operations Statement," approved December 10, 1993, 9, in AJNHS archives.

important than any argument made at the time, was how artifacts and the building interiors were subject to environmental degradation by allowing the building to be opened continuously. With the site open continuously, humidity, heat, dust, and insects could not as readily be controlled. Whether the decision was more than right or wrong at the time, it turned out to be better for preservation in the long run. Over time, locals and park visitors adapted to the new interpretative approach. Hugh Lawing, of course, claimed that the positive response was skewed because those visitors, at least local visitors, who were unhappy with the new tours simply did not go on them. Nevertheless, over time resistance to the change was muted. Lawing himself even admitted "that no permanent damage was being done to the overall integrity of the area" by the new interpretive program, which is about as much praise, at least in writing, as he ever gave park staff under the Corey administration.[463]

The debate over the use of guided tours at the Andrew Johnson Homestead would go on for years, but there was one indisputable benefit—improved security. In April 1993, only months after the tour plan was implemented, a very curious exhibit was placed on display at the Homestead. The exhibit was a porcelain tea-set and music box designed as a miniature locomotive. It once played eight separate tunes. Its most unique feature, however, was the depiction of both Confederate and French emblems that symbolized the hoped for but never achieved alliance between the Confederate States of America and France. The locomotive was originally presented as a gift to Andrew Johnson by a Mr. A. Barratti, who acquired it in Richmond during the period of Federal occupation. Apparently, Johnson actually brewed tea using the locomotive. The tea-set was a loan from the estate of Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett. Its permanent home was the Andrew Johnson Museum at Tusculum College. The exhibition of the unusual, delicate, and easily stolen tea-set at the Homestead certainly demonstrated that the guided tour arrangement provided a more secure environment for museum-quality artifacts.[464]

463. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Mark Corey, Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, October 16, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.
464. "Locomotive Coffee/Tea-Maker on Exhibit at Johnson Site," *Greeneville Sun*, April 2, 1993.

Exhibit and Interpretive Planning in the 1990s and Early 2000s

In the mid-1990s, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site set out to update its interpretive approach, which was spurred on by the changes resulting from the relocation of park headquarters to the Cemetery Lodge and by restoration of the Early Home, as previously discussed. According to Superintendent Mark Corey, "two wonderful things" followed. First, when park headquarters was relocated, it made interpretive space available in the small Visitor Center, because the ranger offices could be relocated across the street to the second floor of the Early Home. Moving the ranger offices was possible because the park was able to move the superintendent's office, formerly located on the second floor of the Early Home, and the office of the Administrative Officer, formerly located on the home's first floor, to the Cemetery Lodge. Second, with the first floor of the Early Home vacant, more of the building could be opened for interpretive use. Such use was a long-sought goal of several park superintendents.

Thus, renovations of the Cemetery Lodge and Early Home made possible a much more expansive interpretive program at Andrew Johnson than had ever been contemplated before. However, the renovation of these structures was not in and of itself sufficient to produce a new interpretive program. The park had to consult with numerous experts and then acquire funds to develop approved exhibit and long-range interpretive plans, required by the Park Service to guide planning and exhibit design processes. Such plans were also needed as a prelude to any park film production.

The Long-Range Interpretive Plan

In December 1993, the Southeast Regional Director approved a "Statement for Management" for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. This document, essentially an executive summary of the park, its purpose, facilities, operations, and basic needs, included a discussion of major areas in which

park interpretation was either deficient or required ongoing evaluation. The Statement noted four areas in particular, discussing first the need to monitor the new guided tour program instituted that January at the Andrew Johnson Homestead. As previously discussed, the new approach had benefits and drawbacks as well as local critics.

Other areas of concern noted by the Statement involved the park's Mission 66-era museum exhibits.[465] These exhibits had become outdated and required renewal. According to the Statement, they "do not seem to effectively interpret major themes to the visitor as judged by the number of questions about the exhibits put to the ranger at the information desk. There seems to be a particular lack of effectiveness in dealing with Johnson's impeachment and trial." Furthermore, said the Statement, the park lacked an effective audio-visual program. Indeed, except for a taped message in the Tailor Shop, the Visitor Center and museum lacked any kind of audio-visual presentation at all. It was also difficult for elderly and handicapped people to tour the Homestead and thus the Statement noted the need to develop some type of effective alternative educational method to attend to these visitors' needs.[466]

It was easy enough to institute a program of guided tours at the Andrew Johnson Homestead, but the development of new exhibits and interpretive media, which were both expensive and required careful planning, had to follow upon the completion of the park's major facility improvements. By early 1995, the Early Home had been fully renovated, although public access was still limited to just two rooms with meager interpretive exhibits, while those at the Cemetery Lodge were well underway. Perhaps more important, between 1994 and the end of 1996, Superintendent Corey had begun seriously thinking about transferring his administrative offices to the Cemetery Lodge, which opened new possibilities for interpretation at the park. For example, if ranger offices were moved out of the Visitor Center and the park administrative officers were transferred to the Lodge, much more space would be available at the Visitor Center and the Early Home for interpreting the story of Andrew Johnson. It was time to develop a Long Range Interpretive Plan. The effort to develop this plan helped the park clarify what role the Cemetery Lodge would play in managing and interpreting the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.[467]

A Long Range Interpretive Plan seeks to lay out a park's major interpretive themes as well as a strategy to express those themes over a long period. In February 1995, Corey convened a three-day meeting to solicit input from experts on Andrew Johnson's presidency and park interpretation in the process of developing this important document. It was also a chance to gather feedback from local stakeholders. The meeting included park staff, representatives of the Greene County Partnership and Tusculum College, and experts of the NPS Southeast Regional office from Atlanta.[468] John Beck and Priscilla Nalls, interpretive specialists from the regional office, facilitated that project.

Major development decisions had been made already at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Thus, those at the conference were able to focus upon how these important changes might fit into long-range interpretive plans. This meeting laid out what story visitors to the park would hear in coming years as well as what they might see in the form of interpretive exhibits and audio-visual productions, a special concern given the difficulty in interpreting the central drama of Andrew Johnson's presidency—the highly legalistic, though gravely Constitutional, crisis surrounding his impeachment. Certainly, by the time the report was completed, the park knew it wanted to create new exhibits.

After the meeting, park staff produced a write-up of the proposed Long Range Interpretive Plan and submitted it for review. The Appalachian System Support Office reviewed the document.[469] It compared the proposed plan to the park's existing Statement for Interpretation, Statement for

465. Mission 66 was a Federally sponsored program to improve conditions in the national parks that was begun in 1955 under Director Conrad L. Wirth, and ended in 1966.

466. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, "Statement for Management/Basic Operations Statement," approved December 10, 1993, 9, in AJNHS archives.

467. No decision on use of the Cemetery Lodge was made in the Long Range Interpretive Plan. However, the plan noted that possible uses for the structure included housing, storage, or administrative offices. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," approved February 20, 1996, 8, in AJNHS archives.

468. "Andrew Johnson Historic Site's New Exhibits Ready for Viewing," *Greeneville Sun*, April 19, 1998, A1, A6.

Management, and Resource Management Plan. According to the review: "We find that the ANJO Long Range Interpretive Plan to be on target, beneficial to the park and visitors, and result oriented. Therefore, we concur with your approval of the plan and have no additional comments or input to provide."[470]

In summary, the Long Range Interpretive Plan described how Andrew Johnson National Monument was authorized in 1935 "for the benefit and inspiration of the people" and how the National Park Service secured ownership of the Andrew Johnson Homestead, the state-owned Tailor Shop, and the War Department's Andrew Johnson National Cemetery in 1942. It described the 1963 law authorizing acquisition of the Early Home and congressional recognition of the site's importance through its designation as a National Historic Site. In support of the legislation, the Department of the Interior had informed Congress that the acquisition and preservation of the Early Home would allow the Park Service "to portray, fully, the story of Andrew Johnson's early life in Greeneville, Tenn." The significance of the site, of course, was in its preservation of resources, and their interpretation to the public, associated with the origin and family life of the seventeenth U.S. President, his vocation as a tailor and statesman, and his role as president involving matters key to the U.S. Constitution.[471]

According to Superintendent Corey, "in the legislation acquiring the early home, you go back and you go look at some of the committee minutes, and it's not actually in the legislation, but it was certainly intended that that home would be used to tell the story of the early life of Andrew Johnson, and we had been using it as an office." Thus, development of an interpretive scheme for the Early Home was a key feature of the long-range plan. Corey believed that the park was obligated to fulfill that promise and open up the Early Home with exhibits telling the early story of Andrew Johnson.[472] The home had been open under Superintendent Gordon Wilson, of course, but its interpretive exhibits were clearly insufficient and access was still substantially restricted.

To develop the park's interpretive story, staff and advisors relied upon a two-step methodology. First, they employed Freeman Tilden's famous Six Principles of Interpretation (*Interpreting Our Heritage*, 1957).[473] Tilden was an influential author whose interpretive principles and theory have long guided the National Park Service. His main point was that interpretation should link the resources of the site interpreted to larger processes, systems, ideas, and values of which they are a part. No less important, this interpretation should be engaging to the visitor. The second step involved analyzing the NPS "thematic framework," an overall approach to interpretation adopted by the Park Service in 1994. The thematic framework emphasized eight key categories that mixed people, time, and place. The frameworks sought to integrate the diversity and complexity of history while still being broad enough in scope to allow individual parks to draw upon it for their own stories. At Andrew Johnson, park staff and those contributing to the development of the Long Range Interpretive Plan chose to focus upon two major themes: Peopling Places and Shaping the Political Landscape. These categories allowed the park to interpret the lesser known aspects of Johnson's life, including with regard to his family, their arrival in Greeneville, and their role in the local community. The second category, of course, developed themes visitors would more likely expect, namely Johnson's involvement in politics, the development, expression, and impact of his political ideology, and his role in military affairs, both locally and nationally.[474]

469. The Appalachian SSO was part of a system of subordinate mini-regional offices or "clusters" as they were known, set up to replace the regional offices during a massive reorganization launched by Director Roger Kennedy between 1994 and 1996. The reorganization proved itself to be ill-conceived and the cluster system was later abolished.
470. Acting Superintendent, Appalachian System Support Office, Memorandum (entitled "Review of Long Range Interpretive Plan") to Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NHS, February 20, 1996, in "ANJO Planning Documents" folder, AJNHS archives.
471. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," approved February 20, 1996, in AJNHS archives.
472. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 35.
473. See Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1957). Tilden's six principles are: (1) Talk about what is being displayed/described to the personality or experience of the visitor; (2) Interpretation is revelation based on information; (3) Interpretation is an art; (4) The goal is provocation, not instruction; (5) Try to present the whole instead of the part; (6) Don't just dumb it down for children.
474. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," approved February 20, 1996, 2-4, in AJNHS archives.

The primary themes included in the long-range plan were:

> (1) The Presidency and the U.S. Constitution, national reunification following the Civil War, impeachment, the pardoning of ex-Confederate soldiers, Black Codes and the Freedman's Bureau.
>
> (2) Johnson as the Common Man, the Champion of the Working Class; the Homestead Act and Civil War demobilization, Johnson's office succession and his role as Governor of Tennessee.
>
> (3) Family life, Johnson's humble origins, migration, women's role, tuberculosis and disease.

Secondary themes included (4) Education, (5) Slavery, and (6) Industrial expansion and international affairs. The plan distilled the overall thrust of interpretation into a "Compelling Story":

> Andrew Johnson, whose life exemplifies many struggles faced by Americans today, worked his way from tailor to President. He stood strong for his ideals and beliefs. His presidency, from 1865 to 1869, illustrates the U.S. Constitution at work following Lincoln's assassination and during attempts to reunify a nation that had been torn by Civil War. His work helped shape the future of the United States and his influences continue today.[475]

After working with the community and NPS interpretive specialists, park staff decided that the Early Home should be used to interpret Johnson's early life while the Visitor Center should develop the story of his presidency. As it turned out, the Early Home would also track the story, through panel displays, of the antebellum period, the run-up to civil war, and the events of the war, noting especially Johnson's role in it.[476]

After the Long Range Interpretive Plan was available, park planners knew that visitors should ideally visit the Early Home/Visitor Center complex first and then the Homestead, where interpretation would focus, more or less as it always had, upon Johnson's family life. Finally, they would be routed to the National Cemetery, where a tranquil setting with a splendid view of the Great Smoky Mountains would help "elicit an emotional closure."[477]

In addition to developing an appropriate interpretive strategy for Andrew Johnson, the Long Range Plan took note of the park's facilities, or lack thereof, as related to accomplishing its interpretive mission. Yes, the museum exhibits were out of date, but the main problem was a lack of space. The lack of space at the Visitor Center was a significant problem in implementing the strategy of the Long Range Interpretive Plan, which especially noted that:

> the existing Visitor Center cannot accommodate the needs of even the smallest group. . . . Rest rooms, located less than fifteen feet from the information desk, essentially accommodate only one visitor at a time. They are woefully inadequate for school groups, which make up a large percentage of on-site visits. In addition, there is no suitable area to gather visitors for site introductions or impromptu interpretation.[478]

Jim Small did not want to reside in the Cemetery Lodge. Corey needed more space in the Visitor Center. The conclusion was obvious. Small, who had moved out of the Lodge in 1993, was relieved of his residency requirement and Corey drew plans to move park administrative offices out of the Visitor Center.

This task could be accomplished almost immediately upon completion of the Lodge renovation, as little additional funding would be needed. Solving the rest room problem was also a simple matter, given that just enough space probably existed at the Visitor Center to accommodate a separately constructed public rest room large enough to meet park needs. The issue here, of course, was funding. Rest room construction was not going to be seen as a high priority by regional officials as the previous building renovations, especially because these considerable allotments had been made in the past decade.

475. As developed by the Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (NPS, 1996).
476. Some interpretation of the historic preservation methods used in renovating the Early Home are also presented at this location.
477. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," approved February 20, 1996, 6, in AJNHS archives.
478. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan," 15.

The Exhibit Plan

During renovation of the Cemetery Lodge, Superintendent Corey realized that he could make additional space available at the Visitor Center and the Early Home for interpretive purposes. He thus considered how to implement the Long Range Interpretive Plan. The key issue was funding, and not just for constructing new exhibits. Funding was also needed to develop an approved museum or exhibit plan. This fact was problematic as no further progress could be made in implementing the interpretive plan until an exhibit plan existed. Unfortunately, NPS funding for such work was limited and had to be gained by competition with other parks in the Southeast region. When measured against the area's wider priorities, it was possible that many years could go by before Andrew Johnson acquired the funding to contract for an exhibit plan.

Nevertheless, Cindy Darr, an NPS specialist at Harper's Ferry Center, encouraged Corey to go forward with a museum exhibit plan. If the park on its own could acquire funding, it might open doors for later construction funds. Harpers Ferry estimated the cost of an exhibit plan to be from $75,000 to $100,000. As Corey later recalled, "what we did is we went out into the community and we raised $75,000 in the community to come up with the exhibit plan." For a large well-known park, raising such capital might not be such a burden, but this amount was a big deal for a small town in a "fiscally conservative area," as Corey put it. "Andrew Johnson was very fiscally conservative," he said, "and selling them that it would actually cost about $75,000 just to come up with a plan—that's not an exhibit, that's just a plan for the exhibits—was challenging."[479]

The park contacted the Mary G. K. Fox Foundation, a local philanthropic society endowed by Mrs. Mary Gertrude Fox. Founded in 1981 with an endowment of some $1,786,342 in 1996, the foundation's sole purpose has been to work for causes in Greene County, Tennessee.[480] It makes annual requests for applications. On behalf of the park, Chief Ranger Jim Small filed such an application about 1996. The park asked for a $25,000 grant, which was more than the foundation normally allotted to any single applicant. But the foundation saw the merit in the proposal and offered to supply a $25,000 "challenge grant," which meant that someone else had to match this grant before it could be awarded. Corey had Ralph Phinney in mind. Phinney was the executor of the estate of Margaret Bartlett. Both had long been supportive of efforts to highlight the role in history of Andrew Johnson.[481]

Phinney did have some reservations about the amount of money required for a mere plan. Moreover, after the plan was created, how did anyone know if the Park Service would then follow through and construct the exhibits? Corey discussed the matter with Phinney and his "trusted advisors." As he later recalled, all he could really do was give them his word that he "would try [his] absolute hardest to get that accomplished." Corey simply proposed to request NPS cyclic funds to redo park exhibits. Cyclic funds are those made available for routine maintenance, repair, and rehabilitation of park facilities. Corey estimated the amount needed to be around $200,000. One of Phinney's advisors asked if this money would have to be approved by Congress. He explained that the funds were part of an annual allotment, but that parks had to compete for them. He assured them that Andrew Johnson had been "very successful" in competing for these project funds in the past. They agreed, and Corey had $50,000 of the $75,000 or so needed.[482]

With two-thirds of the amount raised, a park supporter, Helen Horner, stepped in. Horner was the Director of Tourism for the Chamber of Commerce, a volunteer position. Horner was the wife of a well-respected physician in town. As Corey recalled, she was dedicated to promoting Greeneville and preserving the community's heritage. She agreed to take on the task and was able to raise the additional funds needed to fund the exhibit plan. Horner accomplished her mission by interesting a variety of donors, mostly Greeneville financial institutions. Greene County Bank and Main Street: Greeneville each contributed $5,000. When sufficient funds were collected, a special

479. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 32.
480. As cited by the Appalachian Regional Commission at http://www.arc.gov/index.do?nodeId=1224 (accessed March 3, 2007).
481. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 32.
482. Ibid., 32; See also Eugenia Estes, "$71,250 Given to Plan Johnson Site Expansion," *Greeneville Sun*, August 30, 1996, A1, A7.

FIGURE 50. NPS staff Jim Small, Elaine Clark, and Kendra Hinkle photographed with Susan Swain, a reporter for the C-Span cable-television channel, which covered the park in the 1990s.

account was established specifically for the park to fund the exhibit plan. Altogether, these contributions amounted to $11,250. Corey was still short, but having come so far, Harpers Ferry Center was able to supply another $10,000.[483]

On the afternoon of Thursday, August 29, 1996, Corey held a press conference to announce that park supporters had raised $71,250 in private donations to plan an expanded and redesigned exhibition area. "I've always known this was a great community," Corey stated, "but this wonderful response to a request for planning funds at a government facility goes to show that you can't beat Greeneville, it is the *best* town in America."[484]

Cindy Darr at Harpers Ferry Center recommended that the park contract the work to a firm called Main Street Design, located in Boston, Massachusetts. In its initial planning report, Main Street Design hinted at its approach by noting the park's need to create more cohesive links between various elements of the park, to provide visitors with more tools and information necessary for them to understand the park's major interpretive points, and finally to clarify misconceptions about Johnson's impeachment.[485] The design process took some time and the park had to consult with authorities, notably Dr. Paul H. Bergeron of the University of Tennessee. Bergeron was the editor of Andrew Johnson's papers. He and several members of his staff participated in exhibit planning sessions and in reviewing draft documents developed by Main Street Design. Local historian and retired NPS employee Hugh Lawing also participated. According to Corey, "Hugh contributed very well in that process in terms of trying to make it factually accurate and understandable to the public." Priscilla Nalls, representing the Division of Interpretation from the regional office in Atlanta, also participated. According to Corey, Nalls helped ensure that the exhibits accurately depicted the perspective of African Americans.[486]

Main Street Design moved quickly to submit a draft proposal, which Corey made available for public comment in early November. The draft did not offer text but covered more basic elements of layout and the type of exhibits planned for the Early Home, the Visitor Center, and the Tailor Shop. It was more of a conceptual plan or framework whose focus was how to integrate the site's various elements "into a well-rounded story of the life and public service" of President Johnson. Main Street proposed that exhibits at the Early Home focus upon Johnson's early years and events prior to his presidency. In the Visitor Center, discussion was to focus upon Johnson's presidency, impeachment proceedings, and later years. The Tailor Shop would be used to give visitors a sense of Johnson's life as a tailor and also a feel for early Greeneville. Main Street Design estimated that the cost to construct the exhibits would amount to about $239,500.[487]

Public reaction to the proposal was quite positive. Local historians Richard Doughty and Harry Roberts were among some twenty persons who attended a meeting to discuss the Main Street proposals, which had already been reviewed by Harpers Ferry staff. According to Jim Small, "they were very supportive."[488]

483. Eugenia Estes, "$71,250 Given to Plan Johnson Site Expansion," *Greeneville Sun*, August 30, 1996, A1, A7; Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 32-33. Other contributors included Andrew Johnson Bank, Greenville Federal Bank, and the Consumer Credit Union.
484. Eugenia Estes, "$71,250 Given to Plan Johnson Site Expansion," *Greeneville Sun*, August 30, 1996, A1, A7.
485. Eugenia Estes, "$71,250 Given to Plan Johnson Site Expansion," *Greeneville Sun*, August 30, 1996, A1, A7.
486. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 33.
487. "Andrew Johnson Site's Designs for Revised Exhibits Available to Public," *Greeneville Sun*, November 1, 1996.
488. Tom Yancey, "Support Given Plan to Expand Park Service's Johnson Exhibits," *Greeneville Sun*, no date, late 1996], A1, A7, press clipping in AJNHS archives.

By early 1997, Corey had an approved exhibit design plan in hand. Funding to build the actual exhibits was by then already slated. Corey had probably helped his cause considerably by becoming involved in regional NPS management decision-making. In September 1995, he had been elected by other superintendents to serve a two-year term on a regional advisory team.[489] The purpose of the advisory team was to hold an annual budgetary meeting to deliberate and prioritize available NPS funding for repair, rehabilitation, and cyclic projects at the parks. As Corey had told his backers in Greeneville, Andrew Johnson would have to compete with other parks for a limited pot of funds. Complicating matters at the time, the Park Service was in the midst of a massive (and ultimately failed) reorganization effort. The reorganization divided the Southeast Regional Office into three "clusters" based upon a quasi-ecological focus. Andrew Johnson fell within the Appalachian Cluster, which had about eighteen parks. Because the NPS system was in a state of confusion, it was helpful both that Corey participated in the decisions of the budgetary council and also that he had simplified his own park's funding request. "We made one request that year," he later said, "and that was for whatever it was we needed, I think it was around $200,000 to actually get the exhibits fabricated."[490]

Corey's single request was backed by an approved exhibit plan which had been funded by the local community, a fact that would not be lost on other superintendents at the meeting responsible for public relations. Moreover, the proposed exhibit renovations would help implement the long-delayed effort to open the Early Home to public use. With Corey a participant in council deliberations and able to make his case in person, the council approved his funding request, but it was not entirely a sure thing that he would get the funds. The Service, and other Federal agencies, were facing budget cuts under the Clinton administration, which was making a serious effort to balance the Federal budget and reduce the national debt. However, notwithstanding a potential cut in the annual $3.3 million allocated to the Appalachian Cluster for repair and rehabilitation, Corey expected to get the funding.[491]

489. "Historic Site Superintendent Elected to Cluster Council," *Greeneville Sun*, July 28, 1995.
490. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 33.
491. Tom Yancey, "Support Given Plan to Expand Park Service's Johnson Exhibits," *Greeneville Sun*, no date late 1996], A1, A7, press clipping in AJNHS archives.

FIGURE 51. James Quillen and Ralph Phinney cut a ribbon to dedicate newly installed exhibits at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site on May 23, 1998.

He thus took the project back to Harpers Ferry to oversee the exhibit fabrication process. Harpers Ferry hired a private firm named Exhibitology to manufacture and install the exhibits on the first floor of the early home, the Visitor Center, the tailor shop area, and also the park's wayside exhibits. The exhibits opened early in 1998 with a dedication set for May. Superintendent Corey thought the new exhibits did a much more thorough job of recounting the details of Andrew Johnson's life and times than the old exhibits, which had dated to 1957. Corey invited "everyone to please come by and view the exhibits, because you will not believe what has been done until you see it for yourself."[492] The new exhibits were dedicated May 23, 1998.

492. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 34; and "Andrew Johnson Historic Site's New Exhibits Ready for Viewing," *Greeneville Sun*, April 18, 1998, A1, A6.

FIGURE 52. Crowd gathered for ceremonies dedicating the park's new exhibits. The Memorial Building stands to left with Andrew Johnson's "Early Home" on the right.

Interpreting Impeachment

President Johnson is most famous in history for his impeachment by the U.S. House of Representatives in March 1868. In 1974, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site experienced significant media attention as the nation, embroiled in what would become known as the "Watergate" scandal, focused upon the possible impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon. No other president had been threatened with impeachment since Andrew Johnson. Many long articles were published about Johnson in major papers, and writers frequently placed "a demanding workload" on Hugh Lawing, the park historian at that time. Margaret Bartlett was also often interviewed during that period and appeared on at least three television talk shows, including ABC's "Reasoner Report." Most of the park's staff, some in costume, also appeared in footage taped at the park's three sites.[493]

Nixon, of course, resigned from the presidency before his impeachment could take place. His successor, President Gerald R. Ford, later pardoned the former president, removing him from further legal peril. After this, national media interest in Andrew Johnson and the historic site dissipated. Although Nixon had been threatened by impeachment, until 1998 Andrew Johnson was the only U.S. president to have experienced this Constitutional process. That December, however, Congress voted two articles of impeachment against President William J. "Bill" Clinton for perjury and obstruction of justice. The Senate later failed to convict Clinton by a significant margin and the president completed his term, as had Andrew Johnson. However, as these events played out, significant national media attention was again focused upon the park and its story about the first presidential impeachment.

Indeed, it was an exceptional interpretive opportunity. By pure coincidence, the Clinton impeachment scandal unfolded as park staff prepared to dedicate new exhibits that interpreted the Johnson impeachment. One of the new exhibits even featured an interactive simulation of the vote taken in the Senate trial on whether or not to convict President Johnson after his impeachment. Thus, as national news coverage began to focus on the serious possibility of President Clinton's impeachment that fall, visitors to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site were greeted with an exhibit that fully explained the process and even allowed them to participate by receiving a replica of the "impeachment ticket" that was used for Johnson's Senate trial. Visitors were able to tear off a tab and vote Johnson guilty or not guilty.[494]

The planning process that led to an interactive impeachment exhibit had taken years to develop and implement. It was thus an exceptional coincidence that the exhibit opened during the context of a sitting president under investigation by a special prosecutor and facing a hostile Congress that within months drafted its own articles of impeachment. Dedication Day ceremonies were held on May 23, 1998, to mark the 130th Anniversary of Johnson's acquittal on charges of impeachment. At the dedication, Tennessee Senator Fred D. Thompson cast the first symbolic ballot in the ballot box of the exhibit. Ironically, within a few months of casting that symbolic ballot, he was called to vote for real in a Senate trial to determine the guilt of the impeached President Clinton. Even more ironically, Clinton was like Johnson in being a Southern Democrat who faced impeachment by House Republicans. The Clinton impeachment saga

493. SANR for 1974, February 19, 1975.

494. "Andrew Johnson Historic Site's New Exhibits Ready for Viewing," *Greeneville Sun*, April 19, 1998, A1, A6.

was still at an early phase, but it was a bit poignant that dedication day press releases made such announcements as "Fred Thompson to Cast the First Impeachment Vote." For the record, Senator Thompson voted "not guilty" in the case of President Johnson. On February 12, 1999, he similarly voted President Clinton "not guilty."[495]

NPS staff could not have predicted President Clinton's impeachment was going to happen while they were planning the exhibits. However, once the possibility became seriously debated in the media, staff quickly saw the interpretive possibilities. As Corey said later, "we felt like we might be right in the thick of things in terms of the public eye." To garner potential media attention, the park did prepare press packets for the dedication with a sense that there might be a real impeachment going on. It helped ensure "a nice turnout," Corey noted.[496]

As the possibility of an impeachment increased, the park began to receive a lot of media attention. Reporters and photographers from the Associated Press and the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* arrived in late September 1998 in one of many visits by journalists seeking to compare the impeachment of Andrew Johnson with a potential similar impeachment of President Clinton.[497] Like millions of Americans, many in Greeneville were keenly interested in the Clinton impeachment saga, but for reasons perhaps unique—until December 19, 1998, Greeneville had laid claim as the hometown of the only U.S. president ever to be impeached. On December 19, 1998, Greene Countians anxiously awaited news from the U.S. House, which did vote that day to approve two of four articles of impeachment against the president. Many were concerned about what impact the impeachment might have on Greeneville and the national historic site.

Whatever the long-term consequences, there had to be at least a few changes made to the park's

FIGURE 53. Senator Fred Thompson casts his vote of "not guilty" during dedication ceremonies for new exhibits at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site on May 23, 1998.

interpretive displays. Chief of Operations Jim Small told the *Greeneville Sun* that if Clinton were impeached, the words "and only" would have to be taped over on the display that stated: "On February 24, 1868, Andrew Johnson became the first and only president ever to be impeached by the House of Representatives."[498] Indeed, that did happen and the park had to rescreen its displays. Park staff also began to review NPS literature, such as brochures and leaflets, to ensure that these would be consistent with the impeachment of Clinton or any other future impeachment.

As it turned out, most of these documents referred to Johnson as the "first" president to be impeached and not the "only" one, so that most would remain accurate. As far as books and materials in the park's bookstore were concerned, those could not be corrected by the Park Service if outdated. Small also noted that NPS interpreters would, of course, make any necessary changes in their verbal presentations. The park's interpretive exhibits had only that year been updated with their first major revamping since

495. "Sen. Thompson to Cast Vote Here on Andrew Johnson's Impeachment," *Greeneville Sun*, May 13, 1998, A1, A7. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 35; See United States Senate web site: http://www.senate.gov/index.htm for a record of "Senate Roll Call Votes" for the 106th Congress, 1st Session (Vote 17, February 12, 1999, 12:08pm).

496. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 35.

497. "17th President Getting More Media Attention," *Greeneville Sun*, September 28, 1998, A1.

498. Cameron Judd, "A Clinton Impeachment Would Affect Presentations at Johnson Historical Sites—But Not Very Much," *Greeneville Sun*, December 19, 1998, A1, A6.

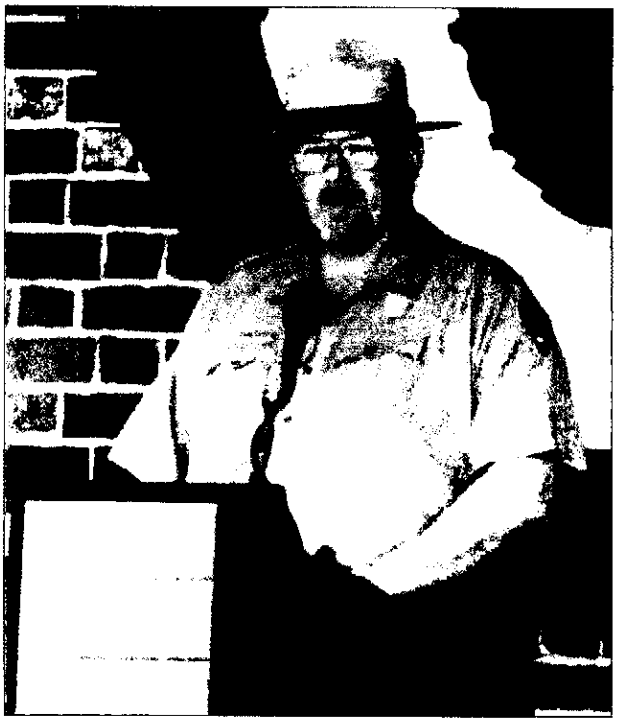

FIGURE 54. Superintendent Mark Corey speaking at the dedication ceremony on May 23, 1998.

the Mission 66 development. No one had anticipated that another president might be impeached, but aside from a few, most displays remained accurate. Similarly, staff at the President Andrew Johnson Museum at Tusculum College did not anticipate the need to make any major changes as a result of the Clinton impeachment, although a new display comparing and contrasting the two events was being considered at the time.[499]

After the impeachment, President Clinton proclaimed his innocence and the case was scheduled to be tried in the U.S. Senate in January 1999. Media interest in the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site dramatically increased. By pure coincidence, Andrew Johnson's birthday fell on December 29. The event traditionally included a ceremony during which a wreath sent by the current occupant of the White House was laid. Superintendent Mark Corey anticipated much media interest in the event—the second impeached president sending a wreath to honor the first—and alerted the Southeast Regional Office. "Thought I should give you a heads up that media interest is rising everyday concerning Andrew Johnson's/Bill Clinton's impeachment." The day before, four local television news crews had filed stories about why the park had to change its new exhibits. National Public Radio had scheduled an interview with Jim Small and inquiries were coming in from CNN, ABC's Good Morning America, and from other media organizations. Park staff were quite busy during the holiday season that year.[500]

President Clinton was tried in the Senate that January and acquitted on both counts by a substantial majority. Like Andrew Johnson, who was acquitted by the thinnest of margins, he survived the experience and completed the remainder of his term in office. On Friday, May 21, 1999, a small ceremony was held at the park so that Senator Bill Frist could donate a ticket to the historic site that would have granted the bearer admission to the U.S. Senate Gallery during the Clinton trial.[501]

"Andrew Johnson: Defender of the Constitution"

In May 2000, visitors to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site were greeted by a new fourteen-minute-long film presentation discussing the life of Andrew Johnson and the events leading up to his impeachment. It was the first interpretive film ever developed and used at the park. Showing of a park film was made possible because park administrative offices and museum storage had been moved to the Cemetery Lodge. As a result, enough space was freed up in the Visitor Center to allow for a small auditorium. The park had never before contemplated producing and showing an interpretive film simply because the small Visitor Center lacked sufficient space to show one. With the move to the Cemetery Lodge, staff applied for funds to renovate the old administrative office space, which was constructed across Richland Creek. The project was approved and funded by annual budget appropriations of some $22,336 for 1999 and 2000.

499. Cameron Judd, "A Clinton Impeachment Would Affect Presentations at Johnson Historical Sites—But Not Very Much," *Greeneville Sun*, December 19, 1998, A1, A6.

500. Mark Corey, e-mail (entitled "Impeachment Media Interest) to Paul Winegar, Dan Brown, and Jerry Belson, December 1998, in possession of the author.

501. NPS News Release, "Senator Bill Frist to Donate Clinton Impeachment Trial Ticket to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," no date [May 1999], in AJNHS archives.

The renovation allowed staff to set up a theater that included four rows of seating and a sixty-inch television screen connected to a modern DVD-player.[502] That was the easy part. The park also had to justify the film, secure funding, and then script and produce it.

The first question—why was the park unable to use the existing film, "His Faith Never Wavered. . ."? This film, a locally produced documentary about the life of President Andrew Johnson, was considered too long by NPS interpretive experts who deemed its 38-minute length inappropriate for park interpretive needs. NPS standards called for a film's length to be between 15 and 20 minutes to accommodate the average park visitor's interest level. Thus, the project would have to start from scratch. In June 1998, Superintendent Mark Corey announced park intent to hold public meetings to "discuss ideas and themes for the video."[503]

Funding for the film was made possible through the NPS Fee Demonstration Program, authorized by the Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act of 1997, which established a three-year Recreational Fee Demonstration Program. The program allows parks to charge entrance and use fees where collecting such fees is both physically possible and also a net gain. Previously, fees collected at parks were returned to the U.S. Treasury, but under this rule, up to one hundred parks could keep all proceeds with the stipulation that 20 percent of funds collected would be made available for use by parks not part of the demonstration program, such as Andrew Johnson. The park applied for funds in this program immediately to finance production of a park film. This request was approved in 2000. According to Superintendent Mark Corey, sixty-nine project proposals were submitted that year in the Southeast Region; only sixteen were funded—one of them being Andrew Johnson's proposal. Some $72,000 was made available for use on the project. Under guidance of the National Park Service's Interpretive Design Center at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, the park contracted with Von Spaeth Productions of Easton, Maryland, a small commercial film production company.[504]

Park staff had considerable input into the script-writing of the film, entitled "Andrew Johnson: Defender of the Constitution." As Superintendent Corey later remarked, "a video, like a picture, is worth a thousands words." The story of Johnson's rise to the presidency during the Civil War and his later fight with Congress over Reconstruction policy is complicated. As Corey added, "it's a topic that can be covered, I think, much more effectively through this film [to] help visitors understand about President Johnson, than through any other exhibit."[505] The film was also helpful in sowing good relations with park advocates. For example, the film features the voice of Senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee representing President Johnson. It also includes interviews with historians Paul Bergeron of the University of Tennessee and Robert Orr of Walters State Community College.[506] Both were pleased with the final results and their experience in working with the film producers and in editing the script along with Corey, Chief Ranger Jim Small, and others at the park and the University of Tennessee. Perhaps as important, the film's major themes were developed with public input. A "brainstorming session" was held on September 30, 1998. Reportedly, the seventeen stakeholders who attended arrived at a consensus.[507]

On June 1, 2000, shortly after the new film began showing at the Visitor Center, long-time park Administrative Officer Opal Coffman retired. In August 2000, Corey announced the appointment of Anita Clark to succeed her. Clark arrived from Great Smoky Mountains National Park where she had served as Secretary to the Chief of Resource Education Division and had been named "Employee of the Year" in 1999. Clark assumed responsibility for budget, finance, human resources, property procurement, and also scheduled interments in the National Cemetery.[508]

502. Tom Yancey, "Updated Andrew Johnson Video Shown in New Theater Opened by Park Service," *Greeneville Sun*, May 13, 2000, A1, A6; Amy Overbay, "AJ Visitor Center Upgrades Facilities and Services," *Greeneville Sun*, March 16, 2001, B21.
503. "National Park Service to Produce Video Program about President Andrew Johnson," *Greeneville Sun*, June 11, 1998, A12; and NPS News Release, "Andrew Johnson Video to be Produced by the National Park Service," no date, in AJNHS archives.
504. Amy Overbay, "AJ Visitor Center Upgrades Facilities and Services," *Greeneville Sun*, March 16, 2001, B21.
505. Corey Interview, 30-31.
506. Amy Overbay, B21.
507. Yancey, A1, A6.
508. "Clark Named to Position at Johnson Historic Site," *Greeneville Sun*, August 31, 2000.

Heritage Tourism

Like many small towns across the country, officials and town boosters in Greeneville and Greene County, Tennessee, only began to realize the importance of tourism in promoting economic development in Greeneville in the 1980s. As late as 1987, according to Helen Horner, Director of Tourism for the Greene County Chamber of Commerce, tourists visiting the area could not even find a post card with pictures of Greeneville. The influx of outsiders to Greene County who came to attend the Knoxville World's Fair in 1982 probably helped inspire the first serious interest in promoting local tourism. As a result, in 1986, the County passed a motel tax to generate funding to promote tourism.[509]

By 1988, the Chamber of Commerce could report that some 244 jobs were based on tourism in Greene County. It also reported that Greene County's share of travel-related income was $11,506,000 for 1987 and that visitation had risen significantly from the year before. The Chamber's Horner also noted growing enthusiasm for requests for brochures that promoted the area to tourists. These brochures prominently featured Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.[510] Apparently, these efforts had some success. In 1989, the *Greeneville Sun* reported that "tourism has become a major economic force in Greeneville and Greene County, accounting for more than $27.3 million in revenue from January-November 1988."[511]

Greeneville was similar to other small towns that have survived into the modern era with quaint eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historic districts still largely intact. Greeneville is the second oldest town in Tennessee, established in 1783. Officials soon were of a mind that history focused upon the town's most famous son, Andrew Johnson, and the era of the Civil War, would be key in promoting tourism successfully. Indeed, Horner was planning new advertisements for 1990 that would be featured in such magazines as *Civil War Times* and *American History Illustrated.* According to Horner, these were the first national publications used to promote the area. Horner and others were also interested in developing history-themed travel routes for the area, which would feature stops at Davy Crockett's birth place, a state park, Tusculum College (which is the oldest college in Tennessee), and Greeneville, where Andrew Johnson National Historic Site was the main feature. "Hopefully," Horner concluded, "when they get to Greeneville, they'll spend the night here."[512]

By 1993, spending the night in downtown Greeneville, both in style and comfort, was indeed possible. That year, the General Morgan Inn opened near the County Courthouse. Named after a famous Confederate raider killed in Greeneville in 1864, the General Morgan Inn was a nineteenth-century structure in danger of demolition in the late 1980s. Instead, community partners stepped in and refurbished the building. For example, local philanthropist Scott M. Niswonger, the founder of Landair Transport, Inc. and Forward Air Transport, Inc., made important contributions to preserve the inn and other historic buildings in the downtown area while also backing the performing arts center.[513] Support by successful Greeneville businesses and financial institutions for historic preservation has been key in helping Greeneville weather cyclical economic downturns. Hope remains that community effort will ultimately succeed in establishing Greeneville as a well-known destination for historically minded tourists.

Cooperative Efforts Further Interpretive Goals

In June 1992, Andrew Johnson received a fourteen-thousand-dollar grant to promote "Teaching in Partnership" from the National Park Foundation. The grant helped park staff work more closely with the regional schools of East Tennessee by involving them in the development of a curriculum for use by local students, some three thousand of whom were then visiting the historic site on an annual basis. The grant was presented by Ed E. Williams, a member of the Foundation's Board of Trustees. One result the grant hoped to achieve was a twenty percent

509. Jim Co, "Local Tourism Becomes Multi-Million-$Industry," *Greeneville Sun*, February 23, 1989, A10.
510. Chamber of Commerce, "Tourists Bringing Dollars to Region, County, City," *Greeneville Sun*, August 18, 1988.
511. Jim Co, "Local Tourism Becomes Multi-Million-$Industry," *Greeneville Sun*, February 23, 1989, A10.
512. Ibid.
513. Corey Interview, 42.

increase in the number of students visiting the historic site during the first year and a ten percent increase in following years. This effort was one of the first made by the Park Service and its supporters as part of a national effort to develop the notion of "Parks as Classrooms," that is, the promotion and use of NPS sites as structured elements of school curricula.[514]

More specifically, park staff created and distributed a new teaching curriculum to twenty-seven school districts in eastern Tennessee relating to the history of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. The effort grew from staff consultations with four local educators about how the historic site could better address the needs of local school groups. Educators Pat Barnett, John Morrell, Tammy Fox, and Larry Bible conveyed the notion that "the park had never been seen as responsible to school needs" although partially that may have been because past similar curriculum guides sent to school districts had never actually made it into teachers' hands. With this in mind, and using a fourteen-thousand-dollar grant from the National Parks Foundation, the teachers, park staff, and volunteers, developed a tri-level curriculum to meet the needs of elementary, junior, and high school age students. The plan involved pre- and post-visit activities but focused upon on-site living-history-style presentations directed by the teachers themselves.[515] Several efforts like this one have been contemplated or carried out by staff at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site over the years, but cooperative activities with local schools increased significantly during the 1990s.

Probably the most important partnership developed by park staff over the past twenty years has been the park's relationship with leading members of the town of Greeneville and Greene County. This relationship has been especially important because the park lacks a traditional friends group. Encouraged by park staff, local officials have probably always promoted historical tourism, if that meant highlighting the NPS Johnson historic site. However, it was not until 1993 that the Greene County Partnership was formed. The Greene County Partnership involved a number of existing local groups, mainly the chamber of commerce, the offices of economic development and tourism, and the "Keep Greene Clean" campaign, which decided to consolidate into one organization.[516]

The main mission of the Greene County Partnership "is to promote, preserve and enhance the quality of life and economic well being of all Greene Countians."[517] This mission fit easily with the goals of the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, and the parties have sought to cooperate in promoting tourism, especially historical tourism and the development of improved interpretive services throughout the community. A major vehicle for such cooperation has been "Main Street: Greeneville." Main Street: Greeneville is part of the Main Street program sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The group was formed in 1983 as part of five original Main Street communities in Tennessee. In May 1988, Main Street: Greeneville held a kick-off reception to launch the town's observance of National Historic Preservation Week, the purpose of which was to help revitalize the downtown area.[518] Eventually, Greeneville created its own local downtown Historic District comprising a twelve-block area in the heart of downtown Greeneville. The designation, incidentally, should not be confused with the nationally recognized historic districts for Andrew Johnson National Cemetery and nearby Tusculum College. The Greeneville Historic Zoning Commission even expanded the district in 1998 after a struggle and extensive negotiations with local property owners.[519] Andrew Johnson National Historic Site has welcomed these programs and sought to facilitate local historic preservation efforts as much as possible.

One especially beneficial project has been the development of a guided tour program for Greeneville's historic area. Park superintendents have probably always wanted to increase

514. "$14,000 Grand to Promote 'Teaching in Partnership'," *Greeneville Sun*, June 12, 1992, A10.
515. Eugenia Estes, "New Park Service Curriculum Introduces Students to Andrew Johnson," *Greeneville Sun*, February 24, 1993, A14.
516. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," approved February 20, 1996, 17, in AJNHS archives; See also www.GreeneCountyPartnership.com (accessed March 20, 2007).
517. See www.GreeneCountyPartnership.com (accessed March 20, 2007).
518. Leigh Ann Laube, "Preservation Week Observed by Main Street: Greeneville," *Greeneville Sun*, May 17, 1988.
519. Eugenia Estes, "City's Historic District Expanded after Two Years of Effort," *Greeneville Sun*, April 3, 1998.

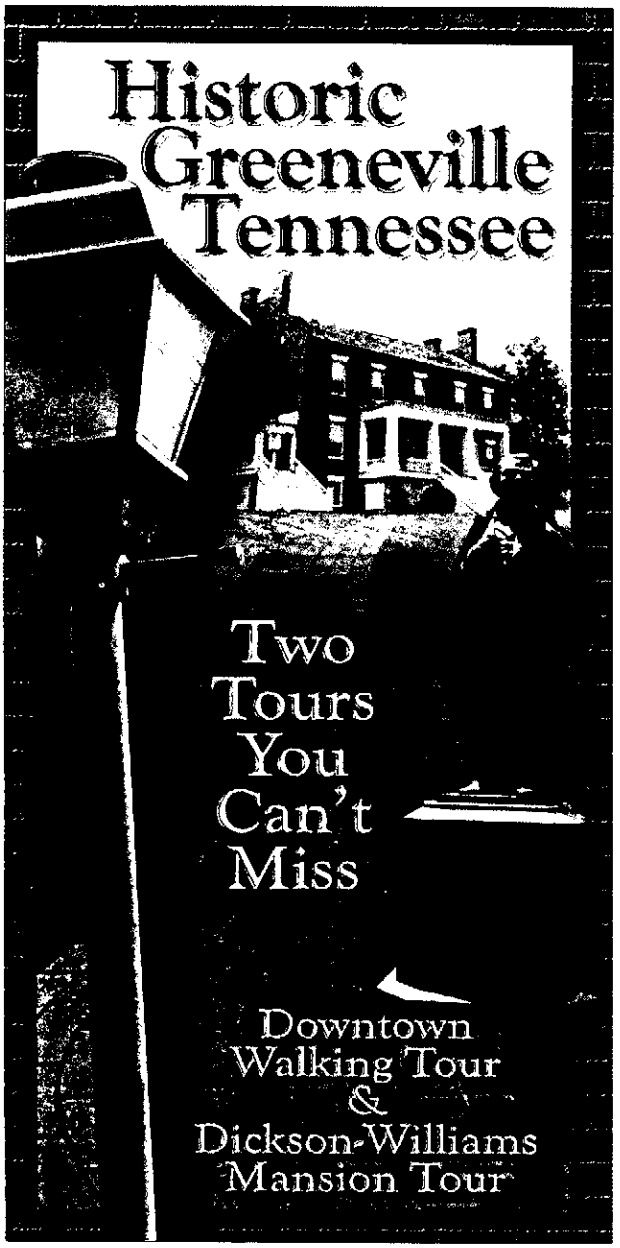

FIGURE 55. In 2003, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site signed a cooperative agreement with Main Street: Greeneville to facilitate guided tours of the historic district. *Brochure courtesy of Main Street: Greeneville.*

interpretive programming beyond merely the Visitor Center and Homestead. The idea of conducting tours of the local town had risen at various times because there are many structures in Greeneville associated with Andrew Johnson besides his personal property. A management analysis in the late nineties suggested that Superintendent Corey look into a partnership to try and expand the reach of interpretive efforts at Andrew Johnson. He thus worked with the city's tourism department to identify what kind of tours might interest visitors and that also addressed the story of Andrew Johnson. Eventually, Main Street: Greeneville developed a self-guided brochure for use in walking around the downtown area, which Corey hoped to use as the basis for a guided tour.[520]

The Student Conservation Association (SCA) has also augmented the park's interpretative function. For example, SCA volunteers contributed over nine hundred hours to the park's volunteer program in 2002. Another volunteer that year drafted a park brochure which focused upon Andrew Johnson, his slaves, and Emancipation Day.[521]

In 2003, Andrew Johnson received a $200,000 increase in its base funding to support the maintenance and law enforcement operations. Instead of hiring new employees, however, Corey chose "to maintain flexibility in our budget," in an attempt to adjudicate long-term financial pressures on the park's core operations. Under Corey, the park had down-graded several positions when these were staffed by new hires. He also hired terms, temporary staff, and contractors. For example, not long before retiring, he hired a GS-4 tour guide on a four-year term instead of staffing that position with a permanent full-time employee. Thus, if the park had to close two days a week, it could concurrently reduce its staffing. The salaries of new employees are hard to maintain over time due to the inflation of annual cost of living increases for existing staff without concurrent base funding increases, which are rare. Thus, when Corey finally obtained a base-funding increase, he used it to mitigate future base-funds erosion.[522]

That same year, the historic site signed a cooperative agreement with Main Street: Greeneville to facilitate guided tours of Greeneville's historic district. The cooperative agreement was to last five years. Corey felt it impossible for the Park Service to hire seasonal or term rangers to conduct such tours, because their funding would gradually decline as the park's base funding eroded over time. Corey was willing, however, to use part of the park's 2002 base-funding increase—$20,000—to finance Main Street: Greeneville in conducting the guided walking tours. Greenville itself had not been able to fund a guide or

520. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 41-42.
521. SANR, Fiscal Year 2002.
522. Corey Interview, 41-42.

to coordinate volunteers effectively enough to get a program going. The cooperative agreement was thus intended to provide seed money, but only for five years. Thereafter, Corey hoped, the tours would generate so much enthusiasm that the town would keep them running.[523]

Beginning in 2003, Main Street thus began to offer two tours using a staff person posted in the lobby of the General Morgan Inn. The inn was conveniently located adjacent to the Dickson Williams Mansion, a stately structure once occupied by a political adversary of Andrew Johnson and restored to its original condition with many fine furnishings. The Dickson William Mansion became the first tour, offered year round, and given seven days a week, every day of the year except for Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's.

Another tour was also given as weather permitted. It was called "A Walk with the President" and featured a tour of the historic downtown area along with commentary and stories associated with Andrew Johnson. In 2006, the park cut its funding as per the cooperative agreement, but still provided another $5,000, which was matched by the town with $15,000. Whether Greeneville will be able to maintain the tours on its own is unknown at the time of writing. If the project succeeds, it will have been a worthwhile investment. If the project does not succeed, Andrew Johnson will at least have returned the favor to Greeneville's civic leaders and donors who had previously funded the park's exhibit plan discussed elsewhere.[524] Partnering with locals and helping to foster a more vibrant historic area in downtown Greeneville certainly must be considered a key element of the NPS mission. According to Corey:

> In terms of talking about this national historic site and its surroundings and the downtown historic district, the way I look at it is that—well, as I know, this park and its resources can never move. Some businesses and financial institutions and so forth can move out of the downtown historic district. We can never move. We'll always be where we are. And it is in this park's direct interest to make sure that the downtown historic district continues to thrive economically and that hopefully one day it will become a very successful tourism destination.[525]

Another strong partnership developed by the national historic site and a local group has been the park's association with the President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library, which opened in 1993.[526] The museum is located at Tusculum College, the oldest institution of higher learning in Tennessee and one of the oldest in the nation. Founded in 1794, Tusculum College is itself a National Historic District comprising ten structures listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library is located within the oldest of these buildings, which was constructed in 1841. The museum houses exhibits and artifacts relating to Andrew Johnson and his family, the president's personal library, the College's original library, and the college archives. George Collins directs both the museum and the college's Museum Studies Program, which is described as "one of the few undergraduate museum studies degree programs in the nation."[527]

Museum staff have participated in the park in many ways, including by sharing museum and archival resources. As previously noted, on one occasion the museum loaned a rare tea-set, once owned by President Johnson, for exhibit at the Homestead. Other activities have included, for example, collaboration on publications, exhibit design, and student/staff development. One important aspect of the cooperation allows Tusculum students involved in the school's Museum Studies Program to interview the park superintendent as well as the president of the board of the Nathanael Greene Museum in downtown Greeneville.

The regional museum focuses on the history of Greene County. Past students have been able to compare the way materials are handled by a Federal agency managed by numerous regulations and with considerable institutional expertise, against a small non-profit entity that is neither so encumbered by

523. Ibid., 41-42.
524. Ibid.; See also "Historic Greeneville Tennessee: Two Tours You Can't Miss," tour brochure produced by Main Street: Greeneville (Greeneville: Tennessee, no date).
525. Corey Interview, 42.
526. National Park Service, "Long Range Interpretive Plan," 17.
527. "Museum Studies" and "Social Sciences, informational flyers published by Tusculum College (Greeneville: Tusculum College, no date), in author's possession.

rules nor blessed with such a depth of expertise. Students can learn about and compare collection plans, funding levels and sources, and staff backgrounds, size, and education, etc. This training represents their first professional field experience. Superintendent Corey was also a member of the Tusculum College museum's Andrew Johnson Historical Association, although he worked with this group as a private individual.[528]

The museum and the park have also partnered to help celebrate the bicentennial of Andrew Johnson's birth, scheduled to take place in 2008. Museum staff wrote grants, while park staff contributed time for planning. As planned, the event is expected to include a military band concert and a major symposium on Reconstruction, with such featured experts as Dr. Paul Bergeron of the University of Tennessee (editor of the Andrew Johnson papers), Dr. Robert Orr of Walters State Community College, and the award-winning author of *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, Dr. Eric Foner, DeWitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University, among others.[529] During the 1990s and after, cooperation between Andrew Johnson National Historic Site and the President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library, as well as between the park and local civic leaders, especially through Main Street: Greeneville, has been a vital and mutually beneficial component supporting interpretive, educational, and historic preservation causes in Greene County.

Objective Interpretation at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

In 2006, while this history was being researched, John Beck, a Southeast Regional Office Resource Education and Planning specialist, asked Superintendent Mark Corey if he had "some observations on what it's like managing the story and legacy of a favorite son in a very small town."[530] Corey replied that:

> Of course the local folks are proud of Andrew Johnson and his legacy, as am I. I have never considered telling what I view as a balanced story of Johnson as difficult. I believe our exhibits and films and tours do that well. We do not go out of our way to highlight some of the more unkind stories that contemporary historians have written about Johnson. As my mother always told me, there are always at least two sides to a story. I also consider this place to be a site that should be a tribute to the Johnson story. I would suspect that management at the LBJ historic site operates the same way, and the Jimmy Carter site, the Truman site, the Adams site, etc.[531]

The complex process used by the National Park Service to develop and present historical information tends to mitigate bias through a deliberate consultative process. That process includes input from park staff; regional experts in both cultural resource management and interpretation; other specialists from outside the region, such as from Harpers Ferry Center, with its exhibit planning and interpretive presentation expertise; and, perhaps most importantly, an ongoing dialogue or exchange of views with both local and national scholars.

In addition to consulting with scholars and other subject-matter experts, the National Park Service solicits public input on most major management changes, especially interpretive changes, although the transition to a guided-tour program at Andrew Johnson in 1993 was an unfortunate exception to this rule, being what former park historian Hugh Lawing labeled "arbitrarily decided."[532] Nevertheless, that was an issue of how to manage interpretation, not what was being interpreted; and in general, the process has been fairly transparent. Local and national experts on Andrew Johnson, including Hugh Lawing, as well as Paul Bergeron, Robert Orr, and Eric Foner, and many others, including Johnson-Patterson family members, have all had opportunities to make their views known as revisions to the park's interpretation of Andrew Johnson were being developed.

528. George Collins, Interview by Cameron Binkley (Tusculum College, Tennessee, 2006).
529. Ibid.
530. John Beck, e-mail to Cameron Binkley, December 11, 2006.
531. Mark Corey, e-mail to Cameron Binkley and John Beck, December 20, 2006.
532. Hugh A. Lawing, Letter to Mark Corey, Superintendent, October 16, 2001, in folder marked "Hugh Lawing File," located in the superintendent's office, AJNHS.

During the 1990s, the National Park Service especially began to respond to national criticism about limitations in its interpretation of slavery, the central issue of the Civil War. The Service had previously only interpreted the history of battles at Civil War battlefields. However, because there are relatively many battlefield parks but few parks directly related to the institution of slavery, such as plantations or slave markets, the issue of slavery was not as well represented in the national park system. In 1999, Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. introduced a provision to the Interior Department appropriations bill that directed the Secretary of Interior "to encourage the National Park Service managers of Civil War battle sites to recognize and include in all of their public displays and multi-media educational presentations the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War and its role, if any, at the individual battle sites."[533]

On this count, Andrew Johnson National Historic Site was ahead of the curve. Early in 1993, the park recognized African American Heritage Month by putting on display a special exhibit devoted to the history of slavery. The displays were designed around slave narratives recorded by Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers during the Great Depression. These recordings of the stories and memories of emancipated slaves provide perhaps the best documentation of their lives before and during the Civil War since most slaves were illiterate and few written accounts exist. Some of the WPA narratives by former slaves in Tennessee were included in the Andrew Johnson exhibits.[534]

The relationship of slavery to the Civil War has also been incorporated into the interpretive exhibits, as encouraged by Representative Jackson. The fact that Andrew Johnson himself was a slave-owner is acknowledged, as well as the fact that he freed the slaves of Tennessee after Abraham Lincoln appointed him the state's military governor. The park's web site displays images of Johnson's slaves, although there is no discussion about those slaves.[535] In 1995, the park put on temporary exhibit

FIGURE 56. Photograph of Dolly, one of Andrew Johnson's slaves, with his grandson Andrew Johnson Stover. This appears on the park's official NPS web site.

a display about the Freedman's Bureau Bill of 1866 that Johnson vetoed. The Freedman's Bureau had been created in the spring of 1865 to manage the condition and treatment of newly freed slaves and to combat the so-called "black codes" that had so egregiously oppressed the civil liberties of African-Americans in the South. The bureau was originally intended as a temporary war-time expedient. When Congress attempted to reauthorize the agency and included in the 1866 bill a measure to confiscate lands held by former Confederates to be turned over to former slaves, Johnson vetoed the bill. His reasoning was that it unconstitutionally deprived Southerners of their property without the due process of law, since at the time the bill was passed, no seceding state congressmen had been re-seated in Congress, although the states had been readmitted to the Union.[536] This veto was one of the grievances of the radical Republicans against

533. National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History, "Section on Interpretation of Slavery at National Park Sites in Interior Appropriations Legislation," *NCC Washington Update*, vol. 5, no. 42 (December 13, 1999): newsletter distributed via subscriber e-mail.

534. "Andrew Johnson Site Exhibit to Feature Slave Narratives," *Greeneville Sun*, February 10, 1993.

535. See http://www.nps.gov/anjo (accessed April 2007).

536. "Freedman's Bureau Bill on Exhibit at Johnson Site," *Greeneville Sun*, April 5, 1995.

Johnson that helped to motivate the later impeachment episode.

In responding to Beck's query about interpreting a "favorite son" in a small town, Corey noted that Margaret Bartlett had an influence on park interpretation during its first decades while she worked as an interpreter.[537] Bartlett was a living authority on her great-grandfather President Andrew Johnson, and park interpretive staff were probably influenced by her views. She was well known for her pronouncements on every aspect of Johnson and his legacy. Her views, undoubtedly genuine and steeped in oral tradition, may or may not have been aligned with then-current scholarship.

Elaine Clark, Hugh Lawing, and other staff who served with Bartlett were clearly close to her.[538] Respect for her authority compelled the Service to arrange for Bartlett to visit Harpers Ferry Center to have her oral memoirs recorded. Nevertheless, even Lawing, who often cited Bartlett, drew limits on that authority and after her retirement the sway of Johnson family views on park interpretation waned. Superintendent Corey later remarked, "I can only imagine that not having relatives on the staff made managing the site easier."[539]

FIGURE 57. Postcard of Early Home of Andrew Johnson painted by a relative of a park employee. *Courtesy of C. K. Hinkle.*

537. Corey, e-mail to Cameron Binkley and John Beck. This comment by Mark Corey is formed upon observations rather than experience as Margaret Bartlett died shortly after he became Superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.

538. See Clark, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken; and Lawing, Oral Interview by Connie Aiken.

539. Mark Corey, e-mail to Cameron Binkley and John Beck, December 20, 2006.

Chapter V: Management Summary

The origins and existence of the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site through 1971 are more fully chronicled in an unpublished manuscript by long-time park historian Hugh Lawing, which is summarized in Chapter I of the present study. The park originated in the Johnson family's efforts to memorialize President Andrew Johnson and preserve his burial place on Monument Hill, as the steep hill within the future National Cemetery was known after his children erected a great stone monument to his memory there in 1878. Although the Homestead, the Johnson family home in Greeneville, Tennessee, remained in private hands until the 1940s, the family burial ground was included in a National Cemetery that was established on Monument Hill in 1906. In 1921, the family conveyed the Tailor Shop, where Johnson worked as a young man, to the State of Tennessee, which built a Memorial Building and established a state park on the site.

Originally authorized by Congress in 1935, the Andrew Johnson National Monument, which included the Tailor Shop, the Homestead, and the National Cemetery, was created by presidential proclamation in 1942. In 1964, the Early Home, the Johnsons' residence before they bought the Homestead in 1851, was incorporated into the park as well. In addition to significant changes during Johnson's lifetime, the Homestead was completely remodeled by his daughter in the 1880s, and in 1956, the Park Service began planning restoration of the house to its appearance during the last years of Johnson's life. A new visitor center was constructed and the restored Homestead was dedicated in April 1958.

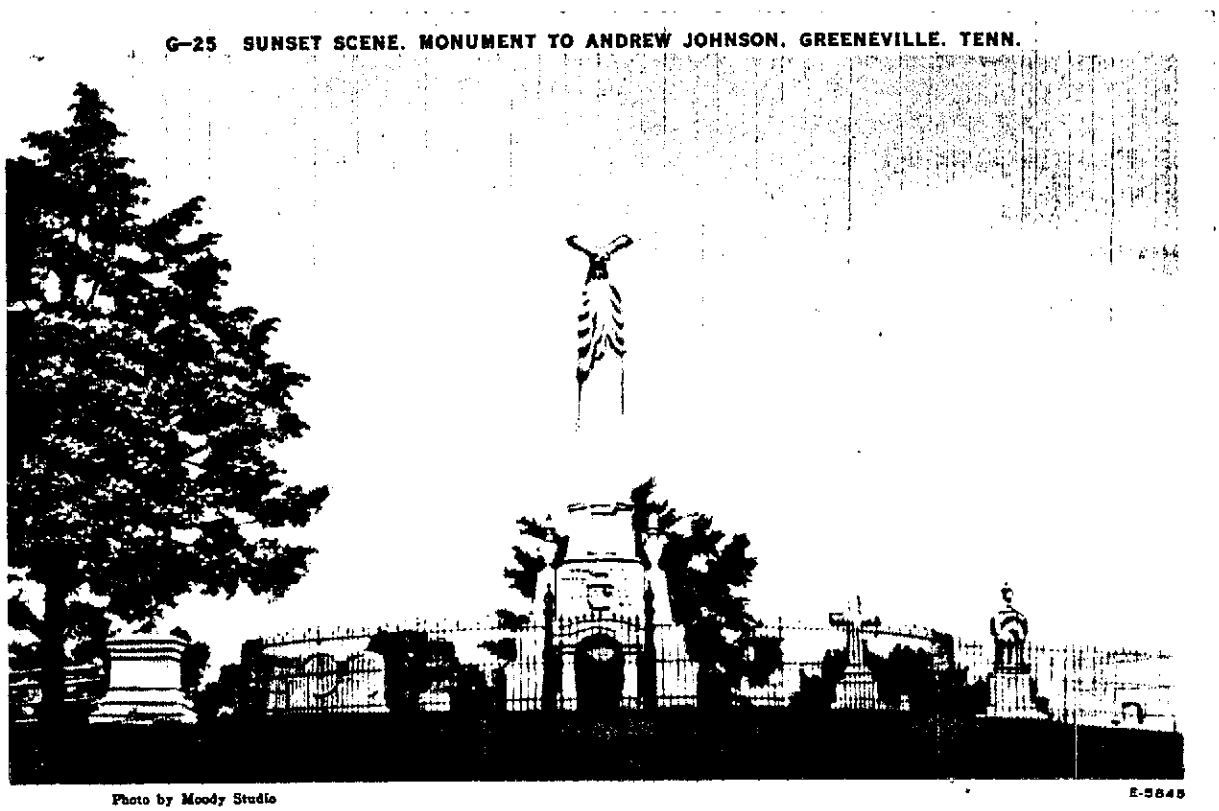

FIGURE 58. Another postcard view of Monument Hill in Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. (Jody Cook Postcard Collection)

FIGURE 59. This 1973 photograph of Andrew Johnson's "Early Home" accompanies the park's National Register Nomination.

The present study examines in more detail the most significant issues that have faced park administrators since the early 1970s. These issues range from those surrounding the logistics of and facilities for visitation to those of interpretation and public relations.

Signage. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site would have many fewer visitors were it not for deliberate efforts by park managers to ensure that adequate signs were located along appropriate routes to the park. The historic site is off the beaten path, being located in the small town of Greeneville, Tennessee. The issue became especially important after a major highway bypass was constructed in the late 1970s.

LCS. Initially, the park's inventory of historic structures was limited to the Homestead, the Early Home, the Visitor Center, Tailor Shop, and a few other site features. In 1994, the inventory was updated by a survey that documented all structures in the park constructed prior to 1950. Driven by the potential for the existence of other historic contexts and areas of significance beyond those that were stated in the park's enabling legislation, this new survey found up to twenty structures that were determined eligible for listing in the National Register, most of them in the national cemetery.

National Register. National Register nominations were prepared by park staff in the 1970s. However, instead of four separate nominations for the Homestead, Early Home, the Tailor Shop and the Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, those sites were nominated to the National Register as part of a single historic district. Later, an update was completed by support office staff to better document the significance of the National Cemetery and its cultural landscape. That update expanded the park's period of significance to include the National Cemetery as it developed between 1875-1942.

The Homestead. In the late 1950s, the Park Service faithfully renovated Andrew Johnson Homestead, but as was typical for the period, did not provide climate control to better protect the condition of historic furnishings placed in the home. In 2001, the *Andrew Johnson Homestead, Historic Structure Report Amendment* found that early restoration work had "endured remarkably well," but noted problems due to a lack of climate control.[540] A major follow-up renovation was scheduled to install modern climate control and fire suppression systems while park staff began to regulate heat gain within the building by adjusting the building's shutters and windows as Andrew Johnson himself would have done.[541] The Homestead was closed for renovation from September 1, 2004, to August 3, 2005, resulting in a significant decline in park visitation and bookstore sales. The renovation had threatened loss of historic fabric in the Homestead, but park managers, architects, and regional cultural resources staff worked successfully to mitigate any loss.

The Johnson Family. For much of the park's existence, the descendants of Andrew Johnson were among the park's most vocal advocates, especially the President's great-granddaughter Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett. In 1980, Hugh Lawing and Elaine Clark escorted Mrs. Bartlett to Harpers Ferry Center for oral interviews to document her memories of the Homestead and family traditions concerning the life of her famous ancestor.[542] That same year, NPS management rejected Bartlett's own offer to donate her "Johnson-Patterson Library," which the Service felt needed "expert care and continued attention by specialists in the library science field" in a climate-controlled venue not then

540. Andrew Johnson Homestead, *Historic Structure Report Amendment* (NPS, 2001), 1-3.
541. Amy Overbay, "AJ Visitor Center Upgrades Facilities and Services," *Greeneville Sun*, March 16, 2001, B21.
542. SANR (for 1980), February 5, 1981.

available at the park.[543] Instead, the material went to Greeneville's Tusculum College where it helped inspire creation of the President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library, which opened in 1994. Bartlett died in early August 1992, and at her request, her funeral was held at the Homestead and she was buried near her parents in the Johnson section of the National Cemetery.

Cultural Landscape. A generic plan for the grounds of the Homestead was developed in the late 1950s, but it provided little guidance for the ongoing maintenance of the site. Superintendents Lloyd Abelson, Grady Webb, and Mark Corey all sought to prepare a landscape plan for Andrew Johnson Homestead to provide guidance on managing the landscape, but all were hampered by the lack of documentation. With limited documentation available, Webb proposed to "research typical period East Tennessee landscaping and adapt to existing layout, considering the practical, no frills character of President Johnson."

Archeological investigation of the Homestead grounds was conducted in the 1990s and provided information for a cultural landscape plan that was drafted in 1998. However, critics misunderstood its methodology and objected to its proposed alterations to a twentieth-century landscape that gave the Homestead an estate-like feel to which the local community had long been accustomed. As a result, that plan was never finalized.

The Early Home. Congress authorized funding for the Park Service to purchase and renovate the Early Home in 1963, but development of a plan to restore the house was hampered by incomplete research and lack of a definitive plan for the building's use. In April 1989, the regional chief for historic architecture met with Superintendent Gordon Wilson to discuss a new preservation strategy for the house and devised a tentative plan to utilize the Early Home for office space with anticipation that future funds would permit its interior to be restored to allow interpretation. In spite of the adverse effect that resulted from the renovations necessary to adapt the house to that new use, the park went ahead with a major renovation in the summer of 1990, and the Early Home was finally opened to the pubic on August 31, 1991, twenty-eight years after NPS acquisition. The building was primarily used for park administration, but a ground floor room was set up for visitors to see how the home's interior had been restored to Johnson's time.

Heritage Tourism. Park staff have long cooperated and encouraged local civic leaders to back and promote historical tourism in Greeneville and Greene County. In turn, town leaders have become increasingly interested in park affairs. The historic site is key to local plans to attract visitors. As a result, the relatively small park has had an influential role in the affairs of Greene County. The generosity and public spiritedness of Johnson family members, especially Margaret Bartlett and Ralph Phinney, should also be noted in promoting historical tourism and the historical appreciation of Andrew Johnson.

Security. Minor theft and acts of vandalism have been the park's worst security problems over the past forty years, although Visitor Center parking violations were an ongoing headache for three superintendents until the state welfare office was relocated. Another problem was the lack of "concurrent jurisdiction," which Superintendent Mark Corey finally resolved to eliminate a ranger residence requirement at the Cemetery Lodge.

Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. Between 1974 and 1975, the Park Service opened a gate in the historic National Cemetery wall along Vann Road, built a loop access road and steps, and began to develop the lower cemetery. The same project also expanded the parking area around the cemetery stable and utility building. These changes had a negative impact on the historic character of the National Cemetery, as a later NPS study determined.[544] In 1976, the Service implemented a new "Cemetery Landscape plan" to manage further interments and to avoid random site burial selections. It was needed for, as Abelson noted, the new road "exceeded expectation in opening up access to new burial sites."[545]

In May 1987, Rep. Jimmy Quillen introduced the first of three bills in Congress that sought to expand

543. "National Park Service Here Declines Library Donation," [*Greeneville Sun*], June 27, 1980, in AJNHS archives. The article was based upon a letter released by Superintendent Lloyd Abelson from Regional Director Joe Brown to Margaret Bartlett. The original letter has not been located.

544. Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 21-22.
545. SANR for 1975, February 16, 1976.

Andrew Johnson National Cemetery to allow a veterans group to donate land. Senator Jim Sasser supported a Senate version of the bill (S. 1290) and stated that "the acquisition of this land is necessary because there are less than 250 gravesites in the cemetery."[546] The Service expressed high regard for the veterans, but their proposal violated NPS responsibility to protect historic resources. "It is, therefore, not appropriate," Denis Galvin asserted, "to expand the area to accommodate additional contemporary gravesites unrelated to President Johnson or the purposes for which the land was left to the United States by his daughter."[547]

To determine how to expand burials within the National Cemetery in the most historically appropriate manner, a Cultural Landscape Report or CLR was prepared. The CLR divided the cemetery into a "Historic Zone" (including the main entrance road, the summit of Monument Hill, the original interment sections, the Cemetery Lodge building, and the stable/maintenance area), a "Buffer Zone," and a "Developmental Zone." The Historic Zone would preserve the historic features associated with the Johnson family and the War Department's design of the National Cemetery. In the Developmental Zone, more gravesites would be allowed.[548] On the basis of this report, Superintendent Mark Corey announced in October 1992 that between 500-600 additional gravesites could be found in the cemetery. This news was widely approved in Greeneville by veterans' groups and the local media. Corey later bumped the gravesites up to 900 or so with additional planning.

While the National Cemetery CRL had not specified how new grave sites should be laid out, these were being placed in the CLR-sanctioned development zone. The reality is that the development zone remains an active cemetery whose historic character cannot always be protected, which is the reason NPS policy seeks to avoid prolonged management of active cemeteries.

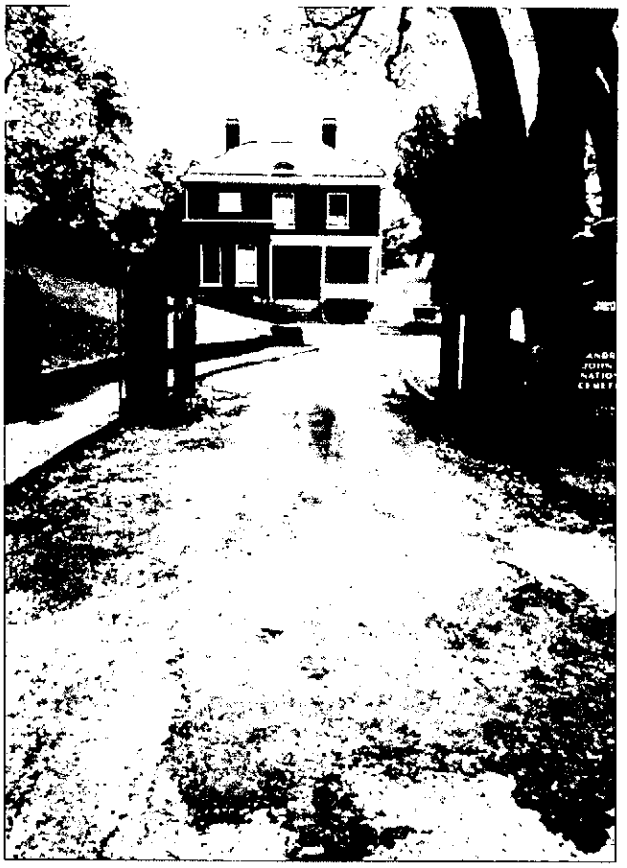

FIGURE 60. The entrance to Andrew Johnson National Cemetery showing the Cemetery Lodge, which became park headquarters in 1997 after extensive renovations and the installation of a modern handicap access ramp.

Cemetery Lodge. Between 1993 and 1996, the Cemetery Lodge building within the National Cemetery was renovated. The National Cemetery CLR noted that the Lodge "was built as a residence for the Superintendent of the Cemetery and it is, therefore, appropriate that Park Service personnel continue to live in the lodge." However, the CLR also assigned the structure to the cemetery's historic zone and deemed the building's exterior an important feature of the cemetery's historical landscape, requiring preservation.[549] As the renovation was being planned, the park decided to relocate park administrative offices to the Lodge, which necessitated extensive alterations to the interior of the house.

546. Ron Schaming, "Land Donated: National Cemetery Expansion Planned," *Greeneville Sun*, June 23, 1987. Senator Sasser's comments were also recorded in the *Congressional Record*, May 28, 1987.

547. Statement of Denis Galvin, Deputy Director, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on S. 1290, A Bill to Direct the Secretary of the Interior to Acquire Lands to be Added to the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site for Inclusion within the National Cemetery Located at that Site," August 2, 1988, in "Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder, AJNHS archives.

548. See Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.*

549. Lawliss, *Andrew Johnson National Cemetery*, 23.

By relocating park headquarters to the Cemetery Lodge, Superintendent Corey was able to solve several other park problems, including the consolidation of administrative offices, improved curatorial storage, increased access by visitors to the Early Home, and creation of a theater in the Visitor Center, which inspired further efforts to develop a new interpretive plan, new exhibits, and the park's first orientation film. More significantly, the Cemetery Lodge renovation resulted in an ADA-compliant ramp that was roundly criticized for detracting from the historic appearance and of the Lodge.

Interpreting Andrew Johnson. Beginning 1973 and continuing into the 1990s, the summer Piano Living History program was a central feature of Homestead tours. Local girls in period attire played period tunes in the parlor at the Homestead on Sunday afternoons under the supervision of Park Ranger Elaine R. Clark who had sewn their outfits.[550] The program won high praise for "exceptional service."[551] Visitation was erratic, however, and the program proved difficult to sustain without Clark's many off-duty hours. In 1974, the Homestead was included in the Greeneville Historic House tour, sponsored by the Greeneville Heritage Trust, an activity popular for many years. Clark and Margaret Bartlett acted as hostesses and Christmas music was played as during the summer Piano Living History program. The program was supported by small donations from sales at the park bookstore, run by Eastern National Parks and Monuments Association. Similar donations continued into the 2000s and made important contributions to park interpretive activities.

In 1982, Andrew Johnson saw record crowds as a result of the World's Fair, which took place in Knoxville, Tennessee, that year. Many staff participated in manning an NPS booth at the Fair, but Hugh Lawing was suddenly recalled to the park to stand as acting superintendent after Lloyd Abelson suffered a fatal heart attack on duty. A World War II veteran, Abelson was buried in Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.[552]

FIGURE 61. Junior Rangers being recruited at the Visitor Center of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site in 1987.

A new type of living history story began at the park in May 1988 when re-enactors representing the 8th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry arrived at the historic site and set up camp in what became an annual ritual. The re-enactors were volunteers themselves who enjoyed the activity of dramatizing and educating the public on what life was like during the Civil War and President Johnson's impeachment trial.

One of the biggest and perhaps most controversial interpretive changes at the park took place in 1993, when an NPS "Operations Evaluation" recommendation that the park implement scheduled guided tours of the Homestead was implemented. The previous regime had allowed visitors to wander through the building at their own pace, a practice that did not foster good interpretation and which also left the building and its contents subject to vandalism or theft.

Exhibit Design. Renovations of the Cemetery Lodge and Early Home also helped bring about significant change in park interpretation. Once park headquarters were consolidated in the Lodge, much more interpretive space was available in the Visitor Center and Early Home. In 1993, planning for a major overhaul of the park's exhibits got underway. As management stated, the exhibits "do not seem to effectively interpret major themes to the visitor,"

550. SANR for 1973, January 17, 1974. These dresses were later used on special occasions, namely the annual Christmas tours of the Homestead, but originally they were produced for the summer interpretive program.

551. "Special Recognition for Mrs. Clark," *Greeneville Sun*, December 10, 1973.

552. "Lloyd Abelson Dies at 60," *Greeneville Sun*, September 14, 1982, 6.

and there was no audio-visual program at all.[553] As Corey recalled, the task "was challenging."[554]

The Mary G. K. Fox Foundation, a local philanthropic society, agreed to supply a $25,000 "challenge grant," which was met by Ralph Phinney, the executor of the estate of Margaret Bartlett. With two-thirds of the amount raised, a park supporter, Helen Horner, then raised over $11,000 from several private donors, mostly Greeneville financial institutions. A final contribution came from the NPS Harpers Ferry Center, which was advising park staff on the exhibit design process.

With funds in hand, the exhibit plan was contracted to Main Street Design. The plan was a blueprint integrating the Early Home, the Visitor Center, and the Tailor Shop "into a well-rounded story of the life and public service" of President Johnson. Exhibits at the Early Home would focus upon Johnson's early years. In the Visitor Center, exhibits would focus upon Johnson's presidency, impeachment proceedings, and later years. The Tailor Shop would be used to give visitors a sense of Johnson's life as a tailor. Construction costs would run about $239,500.[555] The new exhibits were opened early in 1998.

In May 2000, visitors to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site were able to watch a new fourteen-minute-long park orientation film on the life and times of Andrew Johnson. It was the first interpretive film ever developed and used at the park. The film was shown in the Visitor Center in space vacated after park headquarters was relocated to the Cemetery Lodge. The film capped a decade-long effort to revise interpretation of the historic site and was made possible by the Fee Demonstration Program.

Local Partnerships. Since 1993, Andrew Johnson has developed an important interpretive partnership with Greeneville and Greene County. While staff have long encouraged local officials to promote historical tourism, park and town goals significantly merged that year when the Greene County Partnership was formed to link the chamber of commerce, the offices of economic development and tourism, and the "Keep Greene Clean" campaign into one organization. Its mission "is to promote, preserve and enhance the quality of life and economic well being of all Greene Countians."[556]

This mission fit easily with park goals, and the parties have sought to cooperate in promoting heritage tourism and the development of improved interpretive services throughout the community. A major vehicle for such cooperation has been Main Street: Greeneville, part of the National Trust for Historic Preservation program to support the revitalization of small-town America that was begun in 1983. This group sponsored observance of National Historic Preservation Week and promoted the town's local historic district, which expanded in 1998. Such good relations have furthered efforts to develop the park's own interpretive presentations, such as with the exhibit plan, but the park also used the agreement to promote the development of a guided tour program for Greeneville's historic area. A management analysis in the late nineties suggested a partnership to try and expand the reach of interpretive efforts at Andrew Johnson. As a result, the park worked with the city's tourism department to create a self-guided brochure for use in walking around the downtown. In 2002, a five-year cooperative agreement was signed with Main Street: Greeneville. The park agreed to provide financial support to help the town initiate guided tours of Greeneville's historic district. The eventual goal was for the program to become self-sustaining. The project illustrates how mutual support and cooperation can further both NPS and local interests.

Another strong partnership developed by the national historic site and a local group has been the park's association with the President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library, which opened in 1993. The museum has participated in the park by sharing museum and archival resources and by collaboration on publications, exhibit design, and student/staff development. As this report was being prepared, park and museum staffs were also collaborating to develop a symposium on

553. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, "Statement for Management/Basic Operations Statement," approved December 10, 1993, 9, in AJNHS archives.
554. Corey, Oral History Interview by Cameron Binkley, 32.
555. "Andrew Johnson Site's Designs for Revised Exhibits Available to Public," *Greeneville Sun*, November 1, 1996.
556. See www.GreeneCountyPartnership.com (accessed March 20, 2007).

Reconstruction to help celebrate the bicentennial of Andrew Johnson's birth in 2008.

Andrew Johnson and the Reconstruction era have been controversial topics in American history, but the park endeavors to present "a balanced story of Johnson," as Superintendent Corey stated in 2006.[557] The issue of objectivity is a real concern for, as interpretive planning specialist John Beck noted, it is often difficult "managing the story and legacy of a favorite son in a very small town."[558] Formally, the park has focused upon Johnson's self-professed role as "the constitutional president" and the political and civic lessons that can be derived from his impeachment. Nevertheless, slavery and its role in leading to the American Civil War are also discussed at the historic site. If there is debate about elements of park interpretation, the processes that led to that presentation have been transparent and open to public and professional input.

557. Corey, e-mail to Cameron Binkley and John Beck, December 20, 2006.

558. John Beck, e-mail to Cameron Binkley, December 11, 2006.

Appendix A: Chronology of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

July 31, 1875	Former U.S. President Andrew Johnson dies and is buried on Monument Hill near Greeneville, Tennessee, on August 3, 1875.
1898	Martha Johnson Patterson, the president's oldest daughter, wills perpetual responsibility for maintaining the Johnson family burial plot on "Monument Hill" to whomever owns the Andrew Johnson Homestead.
May 24, 1900	Martha J. Patterson modifies her will to bind her heirs "to convey to the Government of the United States...all interest and estate I now own in" Monument Hill if a bill to create a park honoring her father becomes law.
June 12, 1906	In recognition of Martha J. Patterson's will, Congress orders that "upon presentation of good and perfect title to said tract, the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to establish thereupon a National Cemetery of the Fourth Class."
1906-1908	Cemetery layout, superintendent's residence, enclosing wall, road and walkways, stable, and flagpole are installed at Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.
November 13, 1908	Josiah B. Bewley becomes first War Department superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.
1909	Burials of veterans begin. Under the War Department 138 interments are made until 1942.
1921	The State of Tennessee appropriates fifteen thousand dollars to purchase, improve, and preserve Andrew Johnson's "Tailor Shop."
1923	The "Memorial Building," a structure built by the state to enclose and better preserve the Tailor Shop, is dedicated by Miss Margaret Johnson Patterson, the president's great-granddaughter. Custody is tendered to the Mothers' Club (Andrew Johnson Woman's Club).
1930s	War Department erects a rostrum and converts stable for use as a public restroom and a utility shed.
August 29, 1935	Congress approves an act (49 Stat. 958) providing for the establishment by Presidential Proclamation of the Andrew Johnson National Monument once title to the Andrew Johnson Homestead and Tailor Shop are vested in the United States.
1938	Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes rules that the National Park Service will not pay more than $44,000 to purchase Andrew Johnson Homestead.
July 3, 1940	Mrs. Andrew J. Patterson and daughter Margaret agreed to receive Federal appointments as custodians of the Andrew Johnson Homestead after selling their property to the U.S. Government for $44,000. Director Newton B. Drury approves the arrangement in July 1941.
February 15, 1941	Governor Prentice Cooper authorizes the transfer of the Tailor Shop to the United States for inclusion in the proposed Andrew Johnson National Monument.
November 26, 1941	The deed to the Tailor Shop is transferred to the National Park Service.
March 6, 1942	George F. Emery becomes first superintendent of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, entering on duty a few weeks before its official establishment. He is joined in April by Assistant Historical aides Mrs. Andrew J. and Margaret J. Patterson.
May 23, 1942	Andrew Johnson National Cemetery is transferred to Park Service from the War Department.

April 27, 1942	President Franklin D. Roosevelt issues a Presidential Proclamation establishing Andrew Johnson National Monument.
1942	Emery faces two immediate problems: how to manage the landscape surrounding the Homestead and how to address groups representing local veterans opposed to NPS plans to close the National Cemetery.
April 26, 1943	Superintendent James W. Holland arrives to replace Emery who is called to service during the Second World War. Emery later returns. (Note: See separate appendix for appointments of subsequent superintendents.)
1942-1954	Funding limitations prevent further development of the historic site during these years of routine operation.
1956	Ernest Allen Connally drafts his survey report for the restoration of the Johnson Homestead. Restoration work begins that summer under the direction of Henry A. Judd, an NPS architect. Restoration is funded through the national Mission 66 program.
April 26, 1958	The new Andrew Johnson National Monument Visitor Center and the restored Andrew Johnson Homestead are dedicated.
December 11, 1963	A measure by Rep. James Quillen is approved to appropriate $66,000 to purchase and restore Andrew Johnson's "Early Home." The same legislation also changes the name of the park to its current designation.
February 3, 1964	The Early Home is acquired by the Park Service but restoration funds are soon exhausted and completion of the restoration stalls.
Summer 1973	The Piano Living History program begins with local girls in period attire playing period tunes at the Homestead on Sundays.
June 18, 1973	Congress enacts the National Cemeteries Act creating the National Cemetery System under the Veterans Administration (VA). The National Park Service retains control of its own national cemeteries, but adopts VA cemetery management guidelines.
1973-1977	Andrew Johnson National Historic Site experiences declining visitation due to [a poor economy and?] a new interstate that bypasses Greeneville. The main problem is inadequate highway markers to alert travelers to the historic site and downtown Greeneville, which is rectified by the state in 1977 after a campaign by town boosters.
August 1974	A-Plus Renovation, Inc., a commercial cleaning company in Greeneville, cleans the monuments in the National Cemetery. (See July 1987 entry.)
December 1974	The Homestead is included in the Greeneville Historic House tour, sponsored by the Greeneville Heritage Trust.
November 1974	NPS experts compile data for estimates needed to raise the $66,000 limitation for restoring the Early Home. They seek $266,000, which is programmed in 1979.
1974-1975	The Park Service opens a gate in the historic National Cemetery wall along Vann Road, builds a loop access road and steps, and begins to develop the lower cemetery. A new "Cemetery Landscape plan" is adopted to manage further interments and to avoid random site burial selections. The plan abides by VA guidelines stating that a 20 percent standard must be used in determining the maximum slope allowed for interments.
March 3, 1977	National Register of Historic Places Nomination for Andrew Johnson National Historic Site is signed by the Keeper of the National Register.
January 1979	Workers moisture-proof the Memorial Building and lift the Tailor Shop several inches off the floor to address long-standing problems resulting from an underground spring beneath the building's foundations.
1980	Hugh Lawing and Elaine Clark escort Margaret J. P. Bartlett, President Andrew Johnson's great-granddaughter, to Harpers Ferry Center to record her oral memoirs and family remembrances. NPS management rejects Bartlett's offer to donate her "Johnson-Patterson Library." The Service determines that "expert care and continued attention by specialists in the library science field" in a climate-controlled venue are required and not available at the park.

1981	To prepare for the Early Home's restoration, NPS historic architect David Arbogast completes a Historic Structure Report (HSR) that extensively analyzes the home's paint and materials.
Summer 1982	Andrew Johnson saw record crowds resulting from the World's Fair in Knoxville, Tennessee. Employees staff an NPS booth at the Fair.
September 13, 1982	Superintendent Lloyd A. Abelson suffers a fatal heart attack on duty. A World War II veteran, Abelson is buried in Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.
1984	A new interment plan is approved to reduce the scope of interments because VA guidelines change to prohibit gravesites on slopes above 15 percent grade. This plan is intended to be the last until cemetery closure.
May 1987	Rep. Jimmy Quillen introduces the first of three unsuccessful bills in Congress that seek to expand Andrew Johnson National Cemetery.
July 1987	Regional CRM staff conduct expensive repairs and stabilization to monuments in the National Cemetery damaged by a commercial cleaning company in the 1970s that had used hydrochloric acid.
May 1988	Re-enactors representing the 8th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry arrive at the historic site and set up camp in what becomes an annual ritual. The re-enactors dramatize and educate visitors on life during the 1860s.
August 2, 1988	Deputy Director Denis Galvin testifies before Congress that "it is...not appropriate to expand the [Andrew Johnson National Cemetery] to accommodate additional contemporary gravesites unrelated to President Johnson or the purposes for which the land was left to the United States by his daughter."
April 1989	Park staff submit proposal to install a "Bally Building" in the Early Home to help resolve curatorial space and storage problems. Regional staff object and the proposal is cancelled.
	Superintendent Gordon Wilson agrees with regional staff to utilize the Early Home for light office space with anticipation that future funds would permit its interior to be restored to allow interpretation.
1989-1991	Park staff make several attempts to replace the flagpole of the National Cemetery, which had become rusted, while regional staff insist the structure is historic and should be preserved. After an independent industrial laboratory recommends repair and maintenance, the flagpole is repaired and repainted.
1990	Veterans' groups ask NPS officials to disregard VA rules forbidding burials on slopes greater than 15 percent, which would allow more burials in the National Cemetery. Superintendent Gordon Wilson agrees.
July-September 1990	The Early Home is thoroughly renovated. The building is primarily used for park administration, but a ground floor room is set up for visitors to see how the home's interior had been restored to Johnson's time.
November 5, 1990	The Park Service responds to a "determination of adverse effect" ruling by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation regarding renovation of the Early Home by stating that "we do not agree with your determination that extensive preservation maintenance constitutes rehabilitation."
August 31, 1991	The Early Home opens to the pubic 28 years after NPS acquisition.
January 24, 1992	The Southeast Regional Solicitor determines that "National Cemeteries administered by the National Park Service are not part of the National Cemetery System." Thus, the Park Service must pay for graveliners, but is not bound by VA slope grade restrictions.
August 1-5, 1992	After Margaret J. P. Bartlett dies on August 1, all park affairs come to a standstill as staff arrange for her services in the Homestead and make burial preparations in the Johnson section of the National Cemetery, the last plot there to be filled. The park closes at noon on Monday, August 3 and reopens on Wednesday, August 5.
October 1992	An NPS Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) by Lucy Lawliss divides the National Cemetery into a "Historic Zone," a "Buffer Zone," and a "Developmental Zone." As a result, Superintendent Mark Corey announces that space for between 500-600 (and later 900) additional gravesites can be found in the cemetery.
November 1992	An NPS "Operations Evaluation" makes several recommendations, including that the park implement scheduled guided tours of the Homestead to better manage staff time and security at the Homestead.
1993	The President Andrew Johnson Museum and Library opens at Tusculum College.

January 7, 1993	Huge A. Lawing, retired NPS historian, publishes a letter in the *Greeneville Sun* objecting to the park's decision to begin guided tours at the Homestead.
April 1993	The Andrew Johnson Museum at Tusculum College temporarily loans a rare exhibit for display at the Homestead—a porcelain tea-set/music box designed as a miniature locomotive once owned by Andrew Johnson.
December 1993	In its 1993 "Statement for Management," Andrew Johnson staff set forth the goal of updating the park's Mission 66-era museum exhibits.
1993- 1996	The Cemetery Lodge within the National Cemetery is renovated. Once construction is underway, park staff decide to designate the building as park headquarters. This decision creates more space for storage and interpretation and inspires efforts to develop a new interpretive plan, new exhibits, and the park's first orientation film.
May 1994	Southeast Region staff complete a survey of all park historic structures constructed prior to 1950 to revise National Register documentation and the List of Classified Structures (LCS) database.
February 1995	A three-day meeting is held to bring together Andrew Johnson scholars, park interpretive experts, and local stakeholders to develop a new Long Range Interpretive Plan for the historic site.
December 1, 1995	An amendment to the National Register is approved. It supplies new data on contributing resources focused upon War Department development of the National Cemetery. The amendment expands the district's period of significance to include the cemetery (1875-1942) as a contributing resource.
1996	The Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance debates consolidating the nation's veterans cemeteries into a single system and transferring those within the National Park Service, including Andersonville and Andrew Johnson National Historic Sites.
August 29, 1996	Superintendent Mark Corey holds a press conference to announce that park supporters had raised $71,250 in private donations to create an expanded and redesigned exhibition plan for the historic site. NPS construction funds follow the plan's approval in early 1997.
1997	An external ramp is installed on the Cemetery Lodge to comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act. This action conflicted with the Lawliss CLR, which had determined the property's exterior features important for maintaining the landscape qualities of the Historic Zone.
April 25, 1997	The rehabilitated Cemetery Lodge is dedicated with a public reception and begins to function as park headquarters.
May 23, 1998	New park exhibits are dedicated. Tennessee Senator Fred D. Thompson casts a symbolic ballot at a new exhibit representing the famous Senate vote in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson.
June 1998	Superintendent Mark Corey informs local officials and media that under VA administration—and VA slope rules—the number of burial sites available in the National Cemetery would be cut back because most of those in the cemetery did not comply with its policy.
August 28, 1998	The Greeneville County Commission votes unanimously in support of keeping Andrew Johnson National Cemetery within NPS jurisdiction.
1999	The final report of the Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance does not recommend the transfer of either Andrew Johnson or Andersonville National Cemeteries to VA administration.
May 2000	The first interpretive film ever developed and used at the historic site begins showing at the Visitor Center.
2001	*Andrew Johnson Homestead, Historic Structure Report Amendment* is published. It recommends a major renovation to solve climate control issues. Park staff begin to regulate heat gain within the building by adjusting the Homestead's shutters and windows.
February 2001	New restrooms open at the Visitor Center easing visitor congestion.
June 2001-March 2002	Hugh Lawing makes numerous queries to the Park Service and Congress about Andrew Johnson National Cemetery. He argues that new cemetery interment sections are not being laid out according to the historic War Department plan or abide by VA slope guidelines. Corey explains to Senator Fred Thompson that NPS national cemeteries are not subject to VA rules and that "Greene County veterans were overwhelmingly in favor of adding these new interment sections to this cemetery" when the decision to do so was made in 1992.

2002	A five-year cooperative agreement is signed with Main Street: Greeneville to help initiate guided tours of Greeneville's historic district.
September-December 2002	Connie Aiken of Appalachian State University conducts a series of recorded oral interviews with several former and current park staff.
September 1, 2004, to August 3, 2005	The Homestead is closed for renovation, which causes significant declines in visitation and book sales, as expected.
Fall 2006	The present administrative history project begins. A recorded and transcribed oral history interview of Superintendent Mark Corey is conducted in December and filed in park archives.

Appendix B: Principal Legislation

(1) Congress authorizes War Department appropriations to acquire "Monument Hill" and to establish a national cemetery. Act of June 12, 1906 (34 Stat. 259).

An Act Making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907: That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to accept, under the will of Martha J. Patterson and from the heirs of W. B. Bachman, all descendants of Andrew Johnson, late President of the United States, free of cost to the Government, the tract of land where said Andrew Johnson's remains now lie, known as "Monument Hill," consisting of not exceeding 15 acres and situated in Greene County, and in or near the town of Greeneville, Tennessee, and upon presentation of good and perfect title to said tract, the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to establish thereon a national cemetery of the fourth class.

(2) Secretary of War designates the Andrew Johnson monument and Andrew Johnson National Cemetery, Greeneville, Tennessee, as a national monument under authority of Antiquities Act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225)

War Department Bulletin No. 27, July 17, 1915.

(3) Congress authorizes Andrew Johnson Homestead National Monument. Act of August 29, 1935 (49 State 958).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when title to the site of the Andrew Johnson Homestead and the site of the tailor shop in which Andrew Johnson worked (now owned and administered by the State of Tennessee), located in Greeneville, Tennessee, together with such buildings and property located thereon as may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior as necessary or desirable for national-monument purposes shall have been vested in the United States, said area and improvements, if any, together with the burial place of Andrew Johnson, now administered as a national cemetery, shall be designated and set apart as a national monument for the benefit and inspiration of the people and shall be called the "Andrew Johnson National Monument." (16 U.S.C. sec. 450a.)

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to acquire on behalf of the United States out of any funds allotted and made available for this project by proper authority or out of any donated funds, by purchase at prices deemed by him reasonable, or by condemnation under the provision of the Act of August 1, 1888 (25 Stat. 357), or to accept by donation, such land, interest in land, and/or buildings, structures, and other property within the boundaries of said national monument as determined and fixed hereunder, and he is further authorized to accept donations of funds for the purchase and/or maintenance thereof. (16 U.S.C. sec. 450p.)

Sec. 3. That the administration, protection, and development of the aforesaid national monument shall be exercised under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior by the National Park Service, subject to the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," as amended. (16 U.S.C. sec. 450q.)

A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America establishing Andrew Johnson National Monument and transfer of Andrew Johnson National Cemetery to the National Park Service, No. 2554, April 27, 1942 (56 Stat. 1955).

By the President of the United States of America, A Proclamation:

Whereas the Act of Congress approved August 29, 1935, 49 Stat. 958, provides that when title to the site of the Andrew Johnson Homestead and the site of the tailor shop in which Andrew Johnson worked, together with such buildings and property located thereon as may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior, shall have been vested in the United States, said area and improvements, together with the burial place of Andrew Johnson, now administered as a national cemetery, shall be designated and set apart by proclamation of the President as a national monument to be called the Andrew Johnson National Monument; and

Whereas title to all of the land, buildings, and other property required for the establishment of the said monument is vested in the United States:

Now, therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the aforesaid Act of August 29, 1935, do proclaim that, subject to all valid existing rights, the following-described parcels of land with the buildings and improvements thereon, situated in the Town of Greeneville, Tenth Civil District of Greene County, Tennessee, are hereby set apart as a national monument to be known as the Andrew Johnson National Monument:

Parcel No. 1—Andrew Johnson Homestead

All that certain tract of land situated on the east side of Main Street between Summer and McKee Streets, abutting Brumley on the north and Bernard Warehouses, Incorporated, on the south, and extending from Main Street to College Street, formerly known and designated as Water Street, and more particularly described as follows:

Beginning in the east line of Main Street at a point northerly 128.6 feet from McKee Street; thence with the line of Main Street, north 21°30' east, 218.6 feet to corner with Brumley; thence with her line, south 69°10' east, 428.5 feet to College Street; thence with College Street, south 21°35' west, 190 feet to corner of Bernard Warehouses, Incorporated; thence with its lines north 69°34' west, 262.7 feet; thence south 21°30' west, 26 feet; thence north 69°34' west, 165.5 feet to the beginning and containing 1.95 acres, more or less.

Parcel No. 2—Andrew Johnson Tailor Shop

All that certain tract of land situated on the northwest corner of Depot and College Streets, more particularly described as follows:

Beginning on Depot Street, running north 29°52' east, 66.3 feet to a stake on the corner of the lot belonging to Charles Hull; thence with his line south 64°25' east, 81.6 feet to Water Street, now College Street; thence with Water Street south 30°39' west, 72.4 feet to Depot Street; thence with Depot Street north 60°00'18" west, 80.4 feet to the beginning containing 0.13 acres, more or less.

Parcel No. 3—Andrew Johnson National Cemetery

All that certain tract of land, known as "Monument Hill," more particularly described as follows:

Beginning at a fence post on the south side of South Main Street, approximately 1200 feet southwesterly from the intersection of Charles and Main Streets (H. H. Grouchenour's corner); thence with Grouchenour's line south 8°30' east, 150 feet; thence south 6°30' west, 530.2 feet to an ash, corner to Grouchenour and Terrell field; thence with the lines of said field south 64°45' west, 495 feet to a stone; thence south 51° west, 405.4 feet to a fence post at the public road; thence with the public road south 3°45' west, 350 feet; thence south 4° east, 133.3 feet to a post; thence leaving said road, south 60° east, 144 feet more or less to Vann's land; thence with Vann's and Kitchen's line north 63°45' east, 959 feet more or less to a fence post, a corner of Kitchen's and O'Keefe's land; thence with O'Keefe's lines, three courses; north 19°15'

west, 521.5 feet to a fence post; north 6°30' east, 646 feet to a stake; north 8°30' west, 150 feet to a stake on the south side of South Main Street, thence with South Main Street, south 82°45' west, 50 feet to the beginning, containing 15 acres, more or less.

The area set apart for the National Monument contains 17.08 acres, more or less.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any part or feature of this monument, and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916, 39 Stat. 535 (U.S.C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 27th day of April in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-two and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-sixth. [seal]

Franklin D. Roosevelt

By the President:

Cordell Hull,

Secretary of State.

(5) Congress authorizes acquisition of Andrew Johnson's early home and changes the name of Andrew Johnson National Monument. Act of December 11, 1963 (77 Stat. 349).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Andrew Johnson National Monument established by Proclamation Numbered 2554 of April 27, 1942 (56 Stat. 19550, pursuant to the Act of August 29, 1935 (49 Stat. 958), is hereby redesignated the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior may procure with donated or appropriated funds, by donation, or by exchange the following described lands, or interests therein, located in Greeneville, Tennessee, and when so acquired such lands shall become a part of the Andrew Johnson National Historic Site:

Beginning at a point which is the intersection of the east right-of-way line of College Street and the north right-of-way line of Depot Street; thence continuing along the north right-of-way line of Depot Street south 62¼ degrees east 165 feet to its intersection with the west side of Academy Street; thence leaving the north right-of-way line of Depot Street 64¾ degrees west 184 feet to a point on the east right-of-way line of College Street; thence leaving the west right-of-way of Academy Street north 64¾ degrees west 184 feet to a point on the east right-of-way line of College Street; thence with the east right-of-way line of College Street south 25¾ degrees west 83.7 feet to a point of beginning, containing 0.35 acre, more or less.

Sec. 3. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, but not more than $66,000 for acquisition, restoration, and development cost, as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(6)Congress authorizes relief for Mrs. Margaret Patterson Bartlett. Act of December 21, 1963 (Private Law 88-136).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Mrs. Margaret Patterson Bartlett, of Greeneville, Tennessee, great-granddaughter of former President Andrew Johnson, the sum of $10,000, which shall not be subject to any Federal tax liability, in full settlement of her claims for compensation in lieu of the living quarters which she understands were to have

been provided for the use of herself and her mother (deceased) during their lifetimes as part payment for the property acquired from them for inclusion within the boundaries of Andrew Johnson National Monument in Greeneville, Tennessee: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall fined [sic] in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

Sources:

National Park Service. *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement III (February 1963 to December 1972).* Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1972.

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Appendix C: War Department Superintendents, 1908-1942

Josiah B. Bewley	11/13/1908	-	4/6/1928
Catherine L. Bewley, Acting	4/6/1928	-	11/23/1928
Joseph F. Morrow	11/23/1928	-	11/20/1929
George R. Lane, Acting	11/20/1929	-	12/15/1929
David R. Wilcox	12/15/1929	-	2/7/1933
Unknown	2/7/1933	-	2/20/1933
Wayne Smeltz	2/201933	-	5/18/1934
Unknown	5/18/1934	-	5/27/1934
Robert A. Spence	5/28/1934	-	1/5/1937
Charles F. Carver	1/5/1937	-	3/9/1940
Farley C. Broyles, Acting	3/9/1940	-	3/14/1940
C. Ray Handley	3/14/1940	-	6/11/1941
Floyd Wilcox	6/11/1941	-	5/23/1942

Source:

Hugh A. Lawing. *Administrative History of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site.* Greeneville: National Park Service, 1971.

Appendix D: National Park Service Superintendents, 1942-2007

George F. Emery, Supt. (Mil. Furl.)	3/06/1942	10/06/1942
Margaret J. Patterson, Acting Supt.	10/07/1942	3/03/1943
Margaret J. Patterson, Custodian	3/04/1943	4/24/1943
James W. Holland, Acting Custodian	4/25/1943	6/03/1945
Wallace T. Stephens, Acting Custodian	6/15/1945	5/29/1946
George F. Emery, Supt.	5/30/1946	6/30/1946
Wallace T. Stephens, Acting Custodian	7/01/1946	9/23/1946
Wallace T. Stephens, Supt.	9/24/1946	3/28/1953
Benjamin H. Davis, Supt.	3/29/1953	1/11/1958
Lee Sneddon, Supt.	1/12/1958	7/15/1961
William R. Hollomon, Supt.	9/03/1961	8/22/1964
Roger R. Miller, Supt.	10/25/1964	10/06/1968
Lloyd A. Abelson, Supt.[2]	11/03/1968	9/13/1982
Grady C. Webb, Supt.	11/14/1982	12/03/1988
Opal L. Coffman, Acting Supt.	12/04/1988	12/31/1988
Mark H. Woods, Acting Supt.	1/01/1989	2/25/1989
Gordon J. Wilson, Supt.	2/26/1989	1/11/1992
Mark Corey, Supt.	4/03/1992	1/03/2007
Paul Carson, Acting Supt.	1/04/2007	5/7/2007
Jim Small, Acting Supt	5/8/2007	6/7/2007
Lizzie Watts, Supt	6/10/2007	

1. Established as National Monument 4/27/1942; name changed 12/11/1963.
2. Assigned to line supervision by Supt., Great Smoky Mountains NP Group from 9/02/1970 to 4/27/1975.

Source:

Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials. NPS, 1991; and park staff.

Appendix E: Visitation Statistics

Year	Total Visits
1942	5,149
1943	8,138
1944	14,655
1945	16,738
1946	25,650
1947	22,830
1948	21,864
1949	23,664
1950	25,988
1951	31,106
1952	30,587
1953	36,449
1954	32,800
1955	34,200
1956	35,900
1957	34,800
1958	37,300
1959	37,700
1960	41,900
1961	47,800
1962	48,900
1963	48,100
1964	50,600
1965	47,600
1966	47,500
1967	49,000
1968	46,500
1969	45,900

Year	Total Visits
1970	47,600
1971	46,900
1972	63,887
1973	55,200
1974	48,000
1975	48,900
1976	47,200
1977	45,600
1978	42,552
1979	47,674
1980	65,591
1981	74,100
1982	77,578
1983	119,410
1984	84,889
1985	68,607
1986	72,600
1987	77,095
1988	76,566
1989	71,350
1990	71,017
1991	82,076
1992	64,481
1993	41,703
1994	59,538
1995	63,196

1996	59,102	2003	51,910
1997	67,309	2004	50,196
1998	60,207	2005	48,552
1999	51,779	2006	50,701
2000	59,897		
2001	49,551		
2002	48,878		

Source:
National Park Service statistics.

Appendix F: Eastern National Park and Monument Association Sales

1971	Not Available
1972	$1,475.43
1973	$1,511.74
1974	$1,714.15
1975	$1,912.15
1976	$2,206.70
1977	$2,867.40
1978	$2,904.17
1979	$2,349.45
1980	$2,962.85
1981	$3,292.52
1982	$5,332.86
1983	$4,294.38
1984	$5,815.00
1985	$7,181.49
1986	Not Available
1987	$10,253.00
1988	$11,783.31
1989	$12,138.97
1990	Not Available
1991	$12,184.94
1992	Not Available
1993	Not reported
1994	Not reported
1995	Not reported
1996	Not reported
1997	$13,351.00
1998	$14,668.00
1999	$19,269.00
2000	$15,940.00
2001	$15,238.00
2002	$13,920.00
2003	approx. $16,020.00
2004	$15,517.83
2005	$15,318.78
2006	$20,899.17

Bibliography

Note on photographic sources: All photographs appearing in this publication, unless otherwise specified, are public domain images from files of the National Park Service at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, the Southeast Regional Office Cultural Resources Division library, and Harpers Ferry Center.

Section I: General

Books and Reports

Arbogast, David. "First Andrew Johnson House: Architectural Data Section/Historic Structure Report." Denver: [NPS] Denver Service Center, 1978.

Buono, Jon, et al. *Andrew Johnson Homestead, Historic Structure Report Amendment.* Atlanta: National Park Service, 2001.

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Cultural Resource Management Guidelines [Director's Order #28]. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1997.

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Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1957.

Interviews by Author and E-mail

Beck, John. E-mail to Cameron Binkley. December 11, 2006.

Collins, George. Interview by Cameron Binkley (at Tusculum College, Tennessee). December 13, 2006.

Corey, Mark. E-mail to Cameron Binkley and John Beck. December 20, 2006.

Lawliss, Lucy. Interview by Cameron Binkley (telephone). February 7, 2007.

Newspapers

The *Greeneville Sun* of Greeneville, Tennessee, provided important source material for this report and has well covered events relating to Andrew Johnson National Historic Site. Copies of most of the cited articles can be found in the park archives.

A few cites articles are from: *Johnson City Press, Knoxville News-Sentinel, San Antonio Express News.*

Tusculum College

Museum Studies and Social Sciences Information Flyers published by Tusculum College. Greeneville: Tusculum College, no date. In author's possession.

According to Museum Program Director George Collins, no useful park history files can be found at Tusculum College.

Section II: Archives and NPS Office Files

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site Archives

"Cemetery/C.L. Plan-1992 & Interment Plan" folder.

"Hugh Lawing File," folder (Superintendent's office).

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"Newspaper Clippings (1971-2006).

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NPS Southeast Regional Office Files

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site Files, Architecture Division:

"General Correspondence 5/2/71-10/20/93" folder (1)

"Rehabilitate Cemetery Lodge, Package 408, 6-1-93 to 1-30-96" folder (#2)

National Register Nomination files:

"ANJO Accepted Nominations" folder

"ANJO Draft Nominations" folder

"ANJO NR/DOE Correspondence" folder

NPS Digital Resources, Cultural Resources Division: J:\cultural landscapes\CLI\PARKS\ANJO (accessed February 2007)

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"Section 106 files," Cultural Resources Division:

"Andrew Johnson NHS, October 1992-September 1994" folder

"Andrew Johnson NHS, Jan 1990-May 1991" folder

"Replacement of Fence at the Johnson Homestead" folder

"ANJO General" folder

Section III: Web Sites

The following web sites provided useful information:

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: http://www.nps.gov/anjo (accessed April 2007)

Appalachian Regional Commission: http://www.arc.gov/index.do?nodeId=1224 (accessed March 2007)

Greene County Partnership: www.GreeneCounty Partnership.com (accessed March 2007).

Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials (updated in May 1991): <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/tolson/histlist.htm> (accessed 2006-2007)

Slate (online magazine): http://slate.msn.com (accessed march 2007)

United States Senate: http://www.senate.gov/index.htm (accessed March 2007)

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

NPS D-45, August 2008
Andrew Johnson National Historic Site
Administrative History