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THE NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT
AND
THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

A HISTORY

by

Barry Mackintosh



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A HISTORY

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Barry Mackintosh

History Division
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C.

1986



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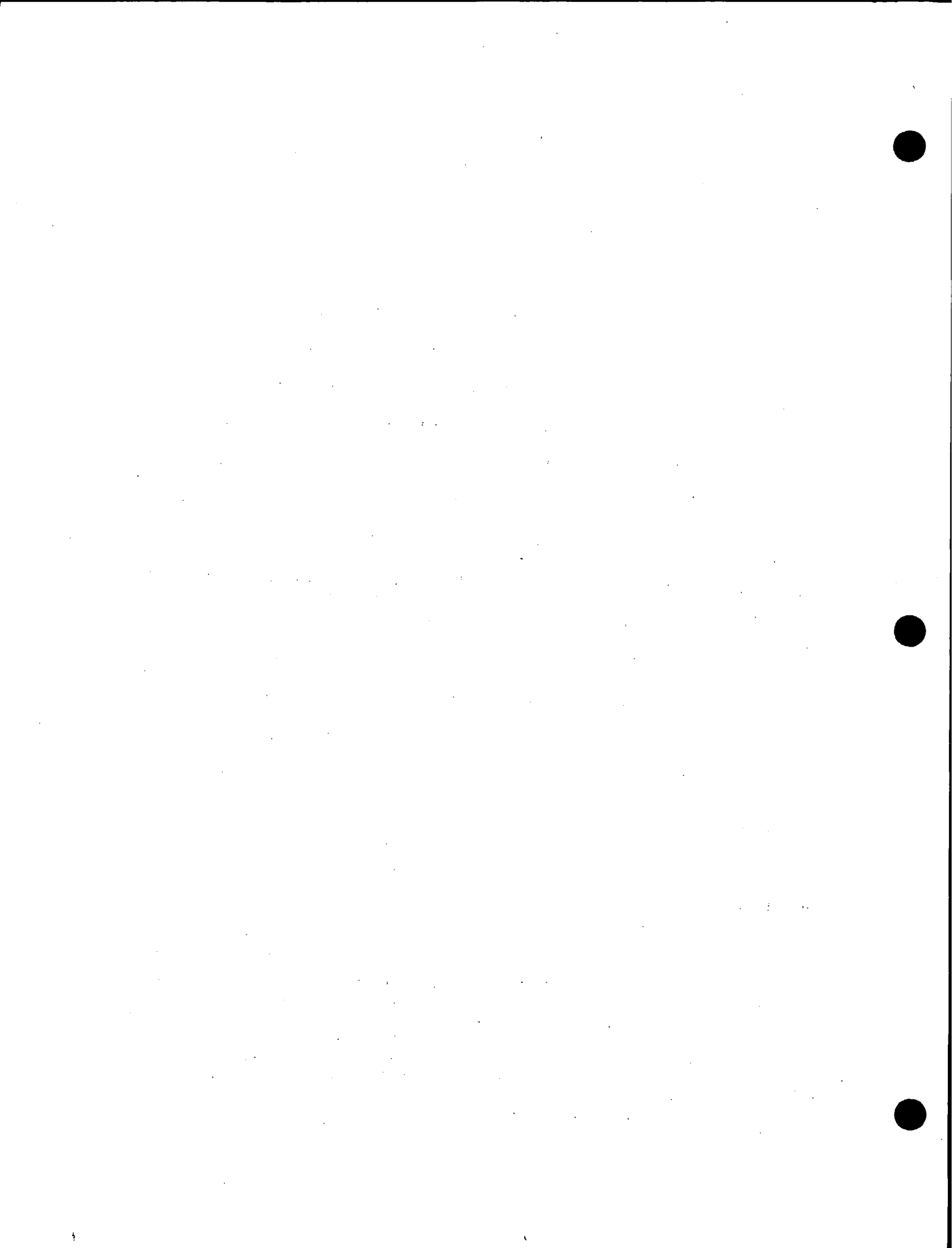
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PREFACE

The 20 years after World War II witnessed unprecedented transformation of the American environment. Economic depression followed by war had subdued and then diverted the nation's energies; relative peace and prosperity unleashed them upon the landscape. In the words of Jerry L. Rogers, "America was on a public-funded development binge":

Interstate highways were plowing through where land could be bought for less, usually older neighborhoods and parklands. Using urban renewal funds, cities were busily leveling the buildings and districts that distinguished them from all other cities, assembling lands into larger parcels, and urging developers to put up redundant and undistinguished new buildings. River and harbor improvements and water impoundments destroyed or inundated countless archeological sites, rescuing data from a haphazardly selected few. The tax code of the United States encouraged the destruction of historic buildings by rewarding the construction of new ones on their sites....¹

This destruction produced the inevitable reaction. Representatives from a range of bodies involved with or sympathetic to historic preservation began to discuss ways of seeing that historic features obtained some recognition in public project planning.

In September 1963 the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Colonial Williamsburg staged an international seminar at Williamsburg that had been proposed by Ronald F. Lee, National Park Service regional director and secretary of the National Trust's board of trustees. A resulting statement called for a national inventory of historic properties and machinery for considering their protection. In November 1964 a

¹"National Historic Preservation Act--A Retrospective," CRM Bulletin, February 1986, p. 1.

presidential task force on the preservation of natural beauty repeated these recommendations and advocated federal loans and matching grants to state and local governments for preservation, tax deductions for preservation expenses, and a \$2,000,000 annual appropriation to the National Trust to be matched by private donations. President Lyndon B. Johnson endorsed the general position of the task force in a subsequent message to the Congress:

In almost every part of the country citizens are rallying to save landmarks of beauty and history. The Government must also do its share to assist these local efforts which have an important national purpose. We will encourage and support the National Trust for Historic Preservation.... I shall propose legislation to authorize supplementary grants to help local authorities acquire, develop, and manage private properties for such purposes.²

Of particular consequence was the Special Committee on Historic Preservation sponsored by the United States Conference of Mayors with Ford Foundation support, formed in the summer of 1965. It was chaired by Albert Rains, a former Alabama congressman and chairman of the House housing subcommittee, and included selected members of Congress and the Cabinet. The National Trust and National Park Service were represented on the committee, with the Trust supplying its staff. The committee studied preservation in America and Europe and published its findings and recommendations in a book, With Heritage So Rich, early in 1966.

This report called for a "new preservation" integrated with rather than isolated from contemporary life:

If the preservation movement is to be successful...it must go beyond saving occasional historic houses and opening museums. It must be more than a cult of antiquarians. It must do more than revere a few precious national shrines. It must attempt to give

²"Natural Beauty of Our Country," H. Doc. 78, 89th Congress, Feb. 8, 1965.

a sense of orientation to our society, using structures and objects of the past to establish values of time and place....

[T]he new preservation must look beyond the individual building and individual landmark and concern itself with the historic and architecturally valued areas and districts which contain a special meaning for the community....

In sum, if we wish to have a future with greater meaning, we must concern ourselves not only with the historic highlights, but we must be concerned with the total heritage of the nation and all that is worth preserving from our past as a living part of the present.³

The committee recommended a comprehensive "National Register" administered by the Park Service and developed from federal and state historic property surveys, the latter assisted by federal grants; an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation broadly representing governmental and private interests, its concerns to include the review and resolution of conflicts between federal programs affecting preservation; Internal Revenue Code amendments favoring preservation; requirements for identifying and considering historic properties in advance of federal and federally aided projects; federal matching grants and loans for public acquisition, rehabilitation, and restoration of historic structures; new loan programs for acquisition and rehabilitation by private parties; and a scholarship and training program for architects and technicians in historic preservation. Other recommendations addressed grants to the National Trust and actions that could be taken by state and local governments.

In March 1966 Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall sent a bill to Congress incorporating many of the Special Committee's proposals. Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, chairmen of the Senate and House Interior and Insular Affairs committees, promptly introduced the legislation. Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and

³With Heritage So Rich (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 207-08.

Rep. William B. Widnall of New Jersey, both members of the Special Committee, sponsored similar bills. Following committee hearings and amendments, the House and Senate passed a measure pleasing most interested parties. President Johnson signed it into law on October 15.⁴

The preamble to the National Historic Preservation Act affirmed the "new preservation" articulated in With Heritage So Rich, declaring "that the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people." The act authorized the Secretary of the Interior--in practice, the National Park Service--to "expand and maintain a national register of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture" and to dispense matching grants-in-aid to the states for historical surveys, preservation plans, and the acquisition and development of historic properties. Matching grants were also authorized to support the National Trust in carrying out its responsibilities. In specific response to the destruction wrought by federal projects, Section 106 of the act ordered federal agencies to consider the effects of their undertakings on National Register properties and permit the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established by the act to comment on such undertakings.

The passage of two decades affords opportunity for historical perspective on the 1966 act and its consequences. Ernest Allen Connally,

⁴The National Historic Preservation Act was one of a trilogy of laws, with the Department of Transportation Act and the Demonstration Cities Act, that earned the 89th Congress the sobriquet "The Preservation Congress."

a foremost player in implementing its provisions, published a lucid summary of the events leading to its enactment in the February and April 1986 issues of the Park Service's CRM Bulletin. James M. (Mike) Lambe's Legislative History of Historic Preservation Act of 1966 traces the progress of the legislation through Congress; it is no less valuable today for having been compiled in 1967. A dissertation in progress by James A. Glass, a doctoral student at Cornell, promises to be the definitive work on the national preservation program resulting from the act.

In view of these and other contributions to the historical record, the present work is distinctly limited in scope. Essentially, it is concerned with key decisions and directions taken by the National Park Service in implementing the 1966 act and successive amendments to it. It does not address the Advisory Council after its Service ties were severed in 1976, therefore, nor other preservation-related legislation in the past 20 years beyond the tax provisions that so heavily influenced the programs under the act. It gives short shrift to both the operational details of these programs and their major accomplishments. For the comprehensive treatment that the broad topic warrants, we must await the Glass dissertation and the book expected from it.

Many people assisted in the preparation of this account, a few of whom deserve special mention. Ernest Connally and Jerry Rogers opened their files and were especially generous with their time in interviews. Robert M. Utley shipped his personal collection of relevant documents from Santa Fe to Washington for use in the research and responded patiently to numerous telephone inquiries. Robert R. Garvey, Jr., and William J.

Murtagh contributed recollections from the pivotal roles they played in implementing the act. Stephen D. Newman provided papers and fielded questions on the grants program. And Beth M. Grosvenor of the National Register staff made available the many records she has carefully preserved throughout successive office reorganizations and moves. As usual in assignments of this kind, consulting with and learning from such people was the most rewarding aspect of the research.

Barry Mackintosh
August 1986

GETTING (RE)ORGANIZED

When President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15, 1966, planning for its implementation was already underway within the National Park Service. That May Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., had appointed a special committee on historic preservation to consider both the bureau's existing preservation responsibilities--mostly within the National Park System--and its anticipated responsibilities beyond the parks under the pending legislation. The distinguished committee comprised Dr. John Otis Brew, a prominent archeologist and director of Harvard's Peabody Museum, who had served on the Secretary of the Interior's national parks advisory board; Dr. Ernest Allen Connally, professor of architectural history at the University of Illinois, who had participated in several Historic American Buildings Survey and historic structure restoration projects for the Service; and Ronald F. Lee, a former National Park Service chief historian and regional director and then special assistant to Hartzog, who had been instrumental in founding the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Historic preservation had been a major activity of the Park Service since the 1930s, when it acquired most of the government's historical parks and monuments in a 1933 executive branch reorganization. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 charged it with implementing "a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States." Ever since the reorganization most units of the

Park System had been historical or archeological. Yet the great natural parks--the Yellowstones and Yosemite--still predominated in the public image of the System and in the minds and hearts of Service management.

This traditional bias, the committee perceived, was detrimental to historic preservation in the inevitable competition for funding, personnel, and management attention within the organization. During consideration of the Historic Sites Act legislation, some had foreseen the problem and advocated a separate historic sites agency. In his 1935 report on the expanded program envisioned by the act, J. Thomas Schneider implicitly favored this course, but since the act specified the National Park Service, Schneider fell back to urging an autonomous historic sites branch within the Service.¹ Such a branch was created, but it lacked the recommended autonomy and did not survive successive bureau reorganizations.

Reporting to Director Hartzog in September 1966 as the new legislation was en route to enactment, the Brew-Connally-Lee committee echoed Schneider's concern about the subordination of historic preservation in the Park Service. "We are deeply aware that in most European nations... the preservation of historic and architectural monuments is the special responsibility of a separate bureau or department created solely for this purpose," it wrote. "We sense that within the Government of the United States, and specifically within the National Park Service, there is a need to bring professional preservation work into sharp focus, and to conduct it at a very high level."²

¹Report to the Secretary of the Interior on the Preservation of Historic Sites and Buildings (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1935), pp. 154-56.

²"Report of Special Committee on Historic Preservation," Sept. 30, 1966, p. 2.

The committee went on to specific complaints:

The professional staffs in history, archeology, and historical architecture are now subdivided, and in our view, fragmented, under four of the six Assistant Directors. These fragmented staffs function at a regrettably low level in the Service organization. This... makes communication of staff professional viewpoints within the Service, and outside the Service, both difficult and often ineffective.

As a result of this fragmentation, the committee felt, historic restoration work in the parks sometimes suffered.³

The committee's prescription for the problem was an "Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation" whose chief would report directly to the director. The office would consolidate the Service's top-level historians, archeologists, and historical architects, although some would retain their duty stations in the regional offices, archeological centers, and three existing planning and service centers. The committee recommended that the office be headed by a historical architect, "partly because we foresee rapidly increasing national need for experts who have specialized in historic buildings, and also because this side of Service professional work is most in need of further strengthening and development."⁴

Hartzog adopted in large measure the committee's recommendations. Early in 1967 the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation--quickly dubbed OAHP--was formed in the Service's Washington headquarters. Ernest Connally, trained as an architect as well as an architectural historian, accepted Hartzog's offer to head it.⁵ With his university background,

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁵Connally could not leave his academic post to report for duty until June 1967; meanwhile he communicated regularly on office matters with Robert M. Utley, who acted as chief in the interim.

Connally sought to organize and staff OAHP in a manner that would gain it academic respectability and professional standing equivalent to the foreign government offices charged with similar responsibilities. He envisioned it as "a kind of scholarly institute" benefiting from frequent personnel exchanges with academic departments in related fields.⁶

In line with these objectives, the disciplines of archeology, history, and historic architecture formed the primary divisions of the office. Chief Historian Robert M. Utley, who had risen through the Service organization and combined professional and bureaucratic skills to an uncommon degree, was chief of the Division of History. Under him were the Branch of Park History Studies, which conducted research for preservation and interpretation within the National Park System, and the Branch of Historical Surveys, which studied properties outside the System for designation as national historic landmarks. The Division of Archeology was headed by Dr. John M. Corbett, another Service veteran, who supervised a Washington staff, archeologists stationed in several of the regional offices, and the Southeast and Southwest archeological centers. Whereas these divisions predated OAHP in the Washington headquarters organization, the Division of Historic Architecture was a new amalgamation of functions and staff. It comprised the Branch of Restorations, which planned and supervised Park System projects, and the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), whose recording work transcended the System. Joseph Watterson, a newcomer to the Service, was appointed chief of the division in November.

Most of the duties and many of the personnel of these disciplinary

⁶ Interview with Connally, Apr. 21, 1986.

divisions had been with the Service for years. In contrast, the National Register branch was an innovation stemming directly from the National Historic Preservation Act. It would carry out the act's directive "to expand and maintain a national register of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture." It was also charged with establishing and administering the new program of grants-in-aid to the states and National Trust for Historic Preservation authorized by the act.

The Register unit, which did not become a "division" until 1972, was headed by Dr. William J. Murtagh, an architectural historian who had been director of program with the National Trust. Murtagh was styled "Keeper of the National Register" rather than registrar, because Ernest Connally foresaw that the states would ultimately be doing most of the registering and that OAHP would be merely "keeping" the register.⁷ The first National Register employee was Russell V. Keune, an architect from HABS, who acted as keeper until Murtagh's arrival in August and remained as assistant keeper until departing for the National Trust in January 1969. Next came Jerry L. Rogers, a newly hired historian who arrived the same day as Connally in June, succeeded Keune as assistant keeper, became chief of the new Division of Grants in October 1973 when that function separated from the National Register Division, rose to head OAHP in 1976, and after 1983 oversaw the historic preservation responsibilities of the National Park Service as its associate director for cultural resources.

Another unit responding directly to the 1966 act constituted staff to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established by the act,

⁷Interview with Jerry L. Rogers, Feb. 5, 1986. Bob Utley coined the title.

which specified the director of the National Park Service or his designee as executive director of the Council. Robert R. Garvey, Jr., who had worked actively for the legislation as executive director of the National Trust, left that post in July 1967 to assume the full-time staff responsibility of executive secretary to the Council. Although Garvey did not remain within OAHPS officially after 1969, his office was housed with OAHPS until 1973, and like the National Register unit it drew heavily on the resources of the established disciplinary divisions. After Council review of a controversial Park Service undertaking--permitting access to a privately built tower next to Gettysburg National Military Park--raised conflict of interest questions, Director Ronald H. Walker (Hartzog's successor) delegated his executive directorship to Garvey in 1973 in an effort to give the Council staff a greater measure of autonomy within the Service. The potential for conflict remained until 1976, when legislation amending the National Historic Preservation Act reconstituted the Council as an independent federal agency to which Garvey and his staff were transferred.⁸

A January 1968 report on the first year's progress in implementing the act restated the prospect of OAHPS becoming "an American equivalent of the 'monuments offices' that European and Latin American countries have long maintained to guard the national patrimony."⁹ Achieving this goal would have required an accretion of preservation responsibility, including line authority over the cultural areas and resources of the National Park

⁸P.L. 94-422, Sept. 28, 1976.

⁹"The National Historic Preservation Program: Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior on Progress during 1967," National Register files. The report was prepared by Bob Utley.

System. Instead, OAHP became less comprehensive as some of its initial responsibilities were withdrawn in successive Service reorganizations.

The separation of the Advisory Council support function has been noted. The first removal of traditional Service responsibilities placed under OAHP came in early 1970, when park-related historical and architectural research and restoration project supervision were reassigned to the Eastern and Western service centers (combined as the Denver Service Center in the fall of 1971) and when the Southeast and Southwest archeological centers were placed under the respective regional offices. Several factors motivated the transfers. Under pressure to reduce Washington overhead, management needed to show fewer people assigned to the headquarters office. There was hope for improved collaboration among the historians and historical architects and the planners and other professionals in the service centers. Finally, Director Hartzog seemed concerned that OAHP might amass too much power and break away, with or without the historical parks--perhaps to the rival Smithsonian Institution.¹⁰ Hartzog supported historic preservation, but his primary devotion was to the integrity and expansion of his bureau, and the implications of the "monuments office" concept did not arouse his enthusiasm.

In 1971 OAHP moved down a notch in the Service organization: Ernest Connally now reported to an associate director for professional services instead of the director. The following year Connally became the associate director for professional services and Bob Utley was elevated to head OAHP, so the proximity of preservation to the director was restored in fact if not name.

¹⁰Telephone interview with Robert M. Utley, Apr. 21, 1986.

Soon after the last reshuffle, the Conservation Foundation published National Parks for the Future to coincide with the centennial of Yellowstone National Park's establishment in 1872. Arguing that the natural and historical parks would both be better served by separate administration, the report called for divesting the latter from the Service. Predictably, Hartzog opposed this recommendation; but he was fired at the end of 1972 and replaced by Ronald Walker, an advance man from the Nixon White House who did not share Hartzog's instinctive aversion to narrowing the bureau's scope.

Walker formed a committee of Service managers to recommend further organizational changes. Their report proposed that OAHP be dismantled. It reflected the widespread lack of sympathy for the office's non-park activities among those who had risen through the traditional park ranger and administrative ranks ("smoky bears" to Connally), as well as animosity toward its perceived elitism, academic pretensions, and separatist tendencies. Connally and Utley persuaded Walker to reject most of the committee's recommendations for OAHP and to adopt an alternate scheme, effected in September 1973.

OAHP was pared down to those programs that were basically external to the National Park System. It consisted of the National Register Division under Bill Murtagh, the Grants Division under Jerry Rogers, the Historical and Architectural Surveys Division (the Historic American Buildings Survey, Historic American Engineering Record, and National Historic Landmarks Program) under Cornelius W. Heine, and the Interagency Services Division for archeology under Rex Wilson. In charge as assistant director for OAHP was Dr. A. Russell Mortensen, a former University of Utah history professor who had succeeded Bob Utley as chief historian. What

remained of the history, archeology, and historic architecture divisions (under Dr. Harry W. Pfanz, Dr. Robert H. Lister, and Henry A. Judd respectively) was placed under Bob Utley, who became assistant director for park historic preservation.

This segregation of "in-house" and "out-house" preservation responsibility was in part a response to the criticism that park needs had been subordinated within the former organization. The assistant directorate for park historic preservation was announced as a corrective to that drift. Not announced was Connally's and Utley's other agenda for the reorganization: an OAHP divested of its Park System functions would be easier to remove from the Park Service to more sympathetic custody.¹¹

Connally's grand design was outlined in a paper he and Walker presented to Walker's boss, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Nathaniel P. Reed, on October 31. It noted that cultural responsibilities in the federal government were dispersed inefficiently among the Smithsonian, the arts and humanities endowments, and the Park Service. Historic preservation was a peripheral concern in the Interior Department, and it would be even more so in the Department of Energy and Natural Resources that the Nixon Administration was planning to supersede Interior. Connally's ultimate solution was a new independent agency, an Administration of Cultural Affairs, that would encompass both OAHP and the Service's historical parks along with the Smithsonian, the endowments, the National Archives, and performing arts administration. As an intermediate step, he proposed that OAHP be transferred (with its 98 positions and \$15 million

¹¹Memorandum, Director Ronald H. Walker to Regional Directors, "Historic Preservation," Dec. 18, 1973, History Division files; Utley interview.

budget) from the Service to the departmental level.¹²

Reed had previously come out against the Conservation Foundation recommendation for the historical parks, and he refused to endorse either the grand design or the OAHP transfer. Realizing that Interior's top officials were unlikely to favor anything aimed at removing responsibility from the department, Connally gained Walker's support for a more modest proposal in August 1974. It would place the historical parks and OAHP in a separate Historic Sites and Monuments Service under Reed's assistant secretariat. Walker's memorandum with this proposal (prepared by Connally) cited the differences between historical and natural park management and the greatly increased extramural responsibilities of OAHP as justification for the new bureau. But Reed again thwarted the separation.¹³

When Walker was replaced by Gary Everhardt, a Park Service careerist, in January 1975, there was no further prospect of advancing such proposals through the bureau's leadership. Rather than seeking to reconcile OAHP and its outside constituency to its Service tie, however, the Everhardt administration seemed bent on proving that the preservation program beyond the parks could not prosper in a park management organization. When the water system at Crater Lake National Park broke down, Everhardt slashed OAHP's fiscal 1977 grants-in-aid budget request in half (from \$20 million to \$10 million) for the money to repair it. Connally denounced this action at the 1976 spring meeting of state historic preservation officers, winning their applause but incurring Everhardt's

¹²"Historic Preservation: A Brief Analysis and Preliminary Proposal," Oct. 31, 1975, Ernest A. Connally office files.

¹³Memorandum, Walker through Reed to Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, "Historic Sites and Monuments Service, Department of the Interior--A Proposal," Sept. 30, 1974, Connally files; Utley interview.

and Reed's displeasure.

The state representatives now spoke out for divorcing OAHF, if not the historical parks, from the Service. After the meeting Truett Latimer of Texas, president of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, wrote Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee:

When a choice must be made between identifying, preserving, and protecting historic resources across the country and upgrading park sanitation systems, it is time for the two to be separated. The majority of SHPOs who have expressed opinions on this issue favor the creation of a "Bureau of Historic Preservation" within the Department of the Interior, with organizational status equal to that of other Departmental bureaus.¹⁴

Chairman Carlisle H. Humelsine and President James Biddle of the National Trust for Historic Preservation signed another letter to Jackson on the subject:

[W]e have recently suggested to the Assistant Secretary of Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks [Reed]..., in view of the disastrous consequences to historic preservation reflected in the President's 1977 budget request, flowing from its competition for funding available for other worthy National Park Service undertakings, that it is timely to consider transfer of historic preservation responsibilities from the National Park Service to an organizational entity reporting directly to the Departmental Secretary level....

Alternatively, and perhaps even preferably, we believe that serious consideration should be given to action by the Congress to divest, entirely, from the Department of the Interior, responsibility for carrying out the national historic preservation policy, reassigning that responsibility to a Federal entity where the primary thrust is in the direction of achieving compatible goals. We believe that such an entity exists in the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities....¹⁵

Another Service reorganization just afterward, in May 1976, removed Bob Utley's assistant directorate for park historic preservation from

¹⁴Letter, Latimer to Jackson, April 1976, Connally files.

¹⁵Letter, Humelsine and Biddle to Jackson, Apr. 13, 1976, Connally files.

Connally and reduced it with its three disciplinary divisions to a single Cultural Resources Management Division, under the assistant director for park operations and associate director for management and operations. Connally, retitled Associate Director, Preservation of Historic Properties, and retaining only OAHP, was left isolated from Park System concerns. The progressive retreat from the original concept of OAHP as a central unit consolidating the bureau's preservation professionals was complete.

The change of administrations in January 1977 raised the hopes of many in the preservation community that OAHP and its programs might at last be liberated from Park Service shackles. The following month Rep. John F. Seiberling of Ohio, chairman of the public lands subcommittee of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, introduced a bill titled "The National Historic Preservation Policy Act of 1977."¹⁶ Drafted in collaboration with the newly independent Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the bill would transfer OAHP's functions to the Council.

Bob Utley, who had come to the Council as deputy executive director after his descent in the last Service reorganization, helped prepare a staff paper supporting the transfer. It traced the fate of the preservation program in the Service and catalogued the disadvantages of leaving it there: "Past record with the program, including deficiencies in management of historic resources of the National Park System, subordination of historic preservation budget and personnel needs to other priorities, delays in issuance of needed regulations caused in part by perceived inconvenience to Interior land managers, lack of interest in or understanding of historic preservation by key management officials, continuing

¹⁶H.R. 3602, 95th Congress, Feb. 16, 1977; superseded by identical H.R. 6163, Apr. 6, 1977, with 24 cosponsors.

inability after forty years to adopt original principles urged by historic preservation specialists."¹⁶

In April Council staff met at Williamsburg with representatives of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, the National Trust, and the Defense, Treasury, and Transportation departments to consolidate support for the Seiberling bill. The group's report, favoring the bill, was adopted by the full Council in May. Interior was asked but declined to participate in the Williamsburg meeting, and Director Everhardt persuaded the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments to strongly oppose divestiture of the OAHP programs.¹⁷

The progress of the Seiberling bill was overtaken by other events. Following President Jimmy Carter's environmental message to the Congress in May, Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus appointed a National Heritage Trust Task Force to consider the preservation of natural and cultural resources and the provision of recreational opportunities. The 100-member group, representing some 50 public agencies and private organizations concerned with these matters, labored throughout the summer to define problems and propose solutions, including organizational realignments. But the outcome reflected the influence of Interior's Bureau of Outdoor Recreation under its Carter-appointed director, Chris T. Delaporte, more than the input of most other interests.¹⁸

¹⁶"Staff Paper on Federal Historic Preservation Programs," March 1977.

¹⁷Everhardt remarks before Advisory Board, Apr. 18, 1977, and memorandum, Linden C. Pettys to Secretary of the Interior, Apr. 20, 1977, Connally files.

¹⁸Rogers interview.

On January 25, 1978, Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus ordered reconstitution of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation as the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. HCRS would be "the focal point within the Federal government for planning, evaluating, and coordinating the protection and preservation of the Nation's cultural and natural heritage, and for assuring adequate recreation opportunities for all its people."¹⁹ The order transferred both OAHP and the Park Service's Natural Landmarks Program to the new bureau. Ernest Connally retained his associate directorship in the move, Jerry Rogers remained under him as OAHP chief, and subordinate personnel kept their positions as well.

Historic preservationists who had looked for better times ahead were soon disillusioned by the new regime. HCRS, dominated by the outdoor recreation interests of its predecessor, seemed no more hospitable to the concerns of OAHP than the Park Service had been. A month after its establishment Bruce K. Chapman, a National Trust trustee and Advisory Council member, attacked OAHP's shift to HCRS in a Washington Post column:

This will create an organizational mishmash, reminiscent of comedian Shelley Berman's old skit about the "Grace L. Ferguson Non-Scheduled Airline and Storm Door Company."

Worse, it suggests little comprehension of the new concept of preservation as an urban activity.

While disappointing historic preservationists, the new plan is not likely to satisfy those who are primarily concerned with saving endangered natural areas. They, too, expected more innovation from the five-month-long policy review that followed the president's environmental message last May.

I think President Carter is missing a major opportunity. Instead of consigning historic preservation to an inappropriate niche, he should make it the core of his forthcoming urban policy....²⁰

As HCRS director, Chris Delaporte seemed unresponsive and even

¹⁹Order No. 3017, "Establishment of a Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service," Jan. 25, 1978.

²⁰"A Better Way to Save Our Cities" (op-ed column), Feb. 28, 1978.

hostile on occasion to his preservation constituency. After the president of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers questioned the legality of HCRS under the secretarial order and urged that it be disbanded, Delaporte announced in mid-1979 that grants funds could no longer be used for dues to the organization.²¹ The decision may have been correct, but its timing suggested retaliation. Simultaneously, Delaporte proceeded with plans to relocate much OAHP business to the bureau's eight regional offices by transferring positions and personnel from Washington. This was part of an overall scheme under which basic program operations would be delegated to the states as much as possible, the regional offices would perform essential federal operations and provide guidance, and the Washington office would be trimmed to a policy, budgeting, and evaluation center. But regionalization met resistance inside and outside the organization: program leaders foresaw that staff would be spread too thinly if dispersed without augmentation, while state historic preservation officers disliked having to deal with another bureaucratic layer.²²

Matters were not helped by Delaporte's failure to develop good personal relationships with the preservation establishment in and outside his organization. Ernest Connally and Bill Murtagh found him unsympathetic to their somewhat academic management styles. Following a period of heavy pressure to reform office operations, Murtagh left the National Register to head the preservation program at Columbia University in May 1979.

²¹Letter, Larry E. Tise to Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus, June 1, 1979, Jerry L. Rogers office files; letter, Delaporte to State Historic Preservation Officers, July 3, 1979, *ibid.*

²²Memorandum, Jerry L. Rogers to OAHP Division Chiefs, Aug. 20, 1979, Rogers files; Rogers interview.

Connally stayed on the rolls but relinquished his associate directorate in November to devote himself to his other duties as secretary general of the International Council on Monuments and Sites. The departures of these widely respected leaders, generally perceived as forced, further diminished Delaporte's image beyond the bureau.

Displeased with the fate of preservation under HCRS, Representative Seiberling introduced another bill on August 2 titled "National Historic Preservation Amendments of 1979."²³ This second Seiberling bill proposed an independent Historic Preservation Agency, headed by an Administrator for Historic Preservation. The agency would assume all OAHP functions. The Advisory Council would receive new membership but would remain a separate body. The independent agency was dropped from a later version of the bill enacted as the National Historic Preservation Act Amendments of 1980.

On September 24, 1979, the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation ceased to exist under that name. The associate director, preservation of historic properties, became the associate director, cultural programs, and the chief of OAHP became the deputy associate director. The deputy, Jerry Rogers, acted as associate director between Connally's departure and the arrival of his successor, Hope T. Moore, on January 29, 1980.

Meeting in New Orleans in September 1980, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers again attacked HCRS in a statement addressed to Secretary Andrus. The SHPOs accused Interior administrators of taking a disproportionate share of their required fiscal 1981 budget

²³H.R. 5139, 96th Congress.

reduction from the grants program and of unduly changing the rules for state participation in the program. "[W]e can no longer in good conscience urge anyone to seek participation in the national program," they declared.²⁴

Wolf Von Eckhardt, architecture critic for the Washington Post, characterized the widespread opposition to HCRS in an October article:

Members of Congress and citizen organizations concerned with heritage and recreation seem unanimous, as one spokesman put it, that "Delaporte's outfit is an unmitigated disaster." Congressional dislike caused money cuts. Professional dislike caused resignations. "Chris," as the executive of a leading citizen organization told me, "caused nothing but chaos."²⁵

The end of the Carter administration in January 1981 was also the end for the bureau. With its politically appointed leadership (including Hope Moore) out of the picture, Secretary of the Interior James G. Watt --a former director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation--immediately abolished HCRS and returned most of its functions to the National Park Service. Its five existing historic preservation divisions--National Register, State Plans and Grants, Interagency Archeological Services, National Architectural and Engineering Record, and Technical Preservation Services--remained together under Jerry Rogers, who received the title Associate Director, Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Two further Park Service reorganizations brought the preservation programs to their status at this writing. In 1982 Rogers was retitled Associate Director, National Register Programs; the first three divisions mentioned above were consolidated to the Interagency Resource Management Division, under Lawrence E. Aten; and the two remaining were renamed the

²⁴Statement dated Sept. 6, 1980, Connally files.

²⁵"Landmark Decisions," Washington Post, Oct. 18, 1980, p. B1.

HABS/HAER Division (for Historic American Buildings Survey and Historic American Engineering Record), under Robert J. Kapsch, and the Preservation Assistance Division, under Lee H. Nelson. During the HCRS interlude the old park-related History, Historic Architecture, and Anthropology (formerly Archeology) divisions had reemerged under an assistant director for cultural resources, F. Ross Holland, Jr. Holland now became Associate Director, Cultural Resources Management.

A year later the two associate directorates were amalgamated under Jerry Rogers as Associate Director, Cultural Resources. On paper, Rogers supervised three assistant directors, only one of whom existed. This was the Assistant Director for Archeology, Bennie C. Keel, who oversaw Douglas H. Scovill's park-related Anthropology Division and Victor Carbone's Archeological Assistance Division. The other assistant director positions were not filled, so that the remaining five divisions reported directly to Rogers. These were the History Division under Edwin C. Bearss, the Park Historic Architecture Division under Hugh C. Miller, and the Interagency Resources, HABS/HAER, and Preservation Assistance divisions noted above. The organization fostered much greater interchange among the "internal" and "external" programs. In one case it combined them, returning the National Historic Landmarks Program to its erstwhile home in the History Division.

Reviewing this organizational evolution since 1967, one is struck by its circular nature. Integrating the in-park and extramural preservation activities of the National Park Service under a ranking official reporting to the director, the associate directorate for cultural resources after 1983 resembled nothing so much as the original Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. There were differences, to be sure. The Advisory

