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The Historians Share Their Concerns and Knowledge

Edwin Bears

As Chief Historian, I was pleased when the editor of the CRM BULLETIN asked me to prepare the introductory article for the historians' edition. In keeping with the format of recent issues, each CRM division has had the opportunity to share its knowledge, hopes, and concerns with a broad spectrum of preservationists and managers. A sufficient response was engendered from the historians to provide our readers with two issues.

Satisfied that the regional historians are a particularly articulate group with diverse interests, I invited each to contribute an article on a subject of interest to CRM readers. The only criteria was that the monograph be timely, informative, focus on cultural resources, and not exceed 2,000 words.

Bill Brown, long known to his many NPS friends as an articulate and rugged individual, focused on the realities of preservation in Alaska, and the mouldering ruins concept as applied to our less significant structures and sites.

Four other regional historians shared innovations and programs that have

enabled them to accomplish their missions in a more productive and economical fashion. Dwight Pitcaithley, of the North Atlantic Region, tired of waiting for George to do it, described how the computer age came to his office, plus its advantages as a bibliographic tool. Allan Comp shared with us NPS types the joys and advantages of surveying, photographing, and preparing inventory cards for

all cultural resources structures more than 40 years old in two of the Pacific Northwest's big national parks. The Service's resident railroad authority, Western Regional Historian Gordon Chappell, expounded on the value of abandoned railroad right-of-ways as vital documents of Americana. For persons preparing National Register nomination forms for properties, Gordon's essay is a must.

Southeast Regional Historian Melody Webb and Joseph Sanchez of that region's interpretive staff collaborated to provide an overview of one of the Service's most exciting, cost effective, and productive research ventures. Funded by a number of sources, Joe Sanchez and a colleague spent two

months in a number of Spanish archives.

In view of management-interest in park and NPS program-oriented histories, Barry Mackintosh wrote on this topic. Harry Butowsky, a member of the team that prepared the "Man in Space Reconnaissance Survey," recently became involved in the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program. Butowsky completed a NHL study of Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, which he herewith summarizes. Also, Tom Lucke of the Southwest Regional Office's Division of Environmental Coordination apprises us of the opportunities available to meaningfully participate in this year's Tricentennial of German Settlement in America. Craig Bates, assistant curator at Yosemite, provided a timely feature on interpreting the culture of the area's Native Americans.

Hopefully, this issue will be a source of interest as well as information. In addition to several articles already mentioned (for which there was not sufficient room in this issue), the Fall CRM BULLETIN will contain further insights from our Regional Historians and their staffs.



Cape Canaveral Air Force Station

Harry Butowsky

Cape Canaveral Air Force Station lies on a peninsula on the east coast of central Florida between the Atlantic Ocean and the Banana River. It is adjacent to the John F. Kennedy Space Center and located about midway between Jacksonville and Miami. Established as a proving ground in 1949, Cape Canaveral contains some of the earliest facilities associated with rocket experimentation and space ex-

ploration. It is also an active Air Force base that supports current military and NASA space programs. Within the boundaries of the base are complete assembly and launch facilities for ballistic missiles and space vehicles, along with storage and dispersing stations for fuels and oxidizers.

Over the years, many of the launch pads, buildings and equipment associated with Cape Canaveral's early his-

Launch Pad 14: Mercury-Atlas 7 flight of M. Scott Carpenter.

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A Modest Proposal

William E. Brown

Perhaps the conservatives are right. Perhaps human nature is too deeply rutted in its ways to allow significant change in the human condition. If so, the long view of human history may be symbolized by a pendulum repetitiously swinging between set extremes, tracing essentially the same arc age after age. In each age, there are variations--cultural, ideological. In the modern world, united by communications and industrial economy, and embracing weapons systems, one giant pendulum increasingly replaces the many of an older, more diversified world. Particular cultural rhythms are taken in tow.

Given such a model, what might be the values of history and the preservation of its artifacts? On the one hand, we are urged to preserve the traditions that hold society together and provide its moral instruction. On the other, we are adjured to learn from history and avoid the mistakes of the past. Both of these entreaties are irrelevant if the model is correct. History will not stand still for the traditionalist, nor will knowledge of the past aid the reformer. The pendulum swings on, ceaselessly changing position, unchanging in its arc.

What does all this portend for the business we are in? Assuming, for purposes of discussion, the gross validity of the model (at least in the lifespan of any one of us) we might wish to reassess the kinds and amounts of work we do. Perhaps historical monuments are more valuable as intellectual and esthetic touchstones than as moral anchors or settings for object lessons.

Implicit in these musings is a ball of fur and feathers that has caused me mental dyspepsia for a long time. I think we may have overblown the larger social purposes of historic preservation, and I think we have gotten too serious about it. Thus motivated and moved, we have become redundant to a fault. History, in fact, may be overexposed through a preservation program that gathers too much flotsam and jetsam from history's shores. We are so overextended that we cannot do justice to the critical sites and structures that mark the tragic turning points and the bright achievements of our history. Much of this, of course, must be attributed to executive and legislative mandate. But part of our dubious burden results from administrative discretion within an agency.

Of that redundancy which is discretionary, part can be attributed to professional and programmatic huck-

stering. More results from our solemn mission as torch bearers in a nation of historical philistines.

Once the "Age of the Founders" had passed, the principal American experience became the making of history, untempered by its study. Only recently have we as a nation devoted more than passing attention to our own historical evolution and the places that commemorate it. We have been a new country, expanding and pragmatic, a country driven by doctrines of progress and economic development. The few venerated places and regional fixations, such as the romantic history of the South, offered little obstruction to the forces unleashed by those driving doctrines. They took heavy toll of the historical veneer we had so recently created, and we became concerned. Suddenly, historic preservation became a cause. In an atmosphere charged with crisis and morality, the log cabin birthplace of Jubilation T. Cornpone vaulted to peerage with Monticello.

I submit that the pendulum (in reduced metaphor) may have swung too far. The struggle to reverse indiscriminate destruction may have made us less than discriminating preservationists.

Probably no other country has set aside so much historic property. I say set aside on purpose. Other countries--most other countries--have more historic properties than we do.

CAPE CANAVERAL cont.

tory were lost due to weather, vandalism, and Air Force salvage activities. As a result, Americans interested in the space program as well as the preservation and interpretation of these sites requested that Congress do something. In September 1980, Congress enacted Public Law 96-344 which directed the Secretary of the Interior (in consultation with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Department of Defense, and other concerned entities) to conduct a study of sites and events associated with the theme "Man in Space." The purpose of the study, as defined by PL 96-344, was:

to identify the possible locations, components, and features of a new unit of the national park system commemorative to this theme, with special emphasis to be placed on the internationally historic event of the first human contact with the surface of the moon.

The legislation further requested that the study investigate methods for safe-

guarding identified locations, structures, and instrumentation features, and for displaying and interpreting them to the visiting public.

The National Park Service was made responsible for preparing this report. In the late spring of 1981, an interdisciplinary team composed of a historian, a planner, a structural engineer, the superintendent of Canaveral National Seashore, and former astronaut Walley Schirra (from the Project Mercury days, and a member of the National Park System Advisory Board) assembled to work on the project. The team visited Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, the Kennedy Space Center, the Johnson Space Center, and the Marshall Space Flight Center. In November 1981, the National Park Service published the study team's findings in a report entitled "Man in Space, Reconnaissance Survey." The Reconnaissance Survey found the following sites within the Air Force Station to be especially important to the history of the space program:

Complex 3. Site of the first Cape launch in 1950.

Complexes 5/6. Used for all Mercury/Redstone flights, including the first two U.S. manned flights by Alan Shepard and Virgil Grissom in 1961.

Complex 13. Site of the lunar orbiter launches used in selecting lunar landing sites. The complex contains as complete an array of support facilities as any existing launch site, and it closely resembles Complex 14, from which all manned orbital Mercury/Atlas missions were launched.

Complex 14. Used for Mercury/Atlas launches, including all four manned Mercury orbital flights by John Glenn, Scott Carpenter, Walter Schirra, and Gordon Cooper. It was later the site of several Atlas/Agena launches.

Complex 19. Used for all 12 Gemini flights, 10 of which were manned.

Complex 26. Launch site for the first U.S. satellite, Explorer 1, in January 1958. The existing mobile service structure at Pad 26B, the oldest at the Cape, illus-

But in the main, these properties make up the fabric of domestic life, commerce, art, religion. We have segregated our history from our daily lives. So not much has really changed. The ideals and the embodiments of history continue to be sidelines of our lives--small doses in textbooks, places to visit on holiday. Strangely, a utilitarian nation has withdrawn from utility as its principal mode of preserving its historic heritage. Europeans, who often sniff because we are utilitarians, have maintained the utility of their heritage.

This paradox poses problems for us in the U.S. preservation business. As the coils of austerity tighten (and this is a trend, not an interlude), we find ourselves burdened with segregated historic properties that we cannot afford to maintain. Granted visitor use of many structures and some success with adaptive use, lease-back, and other mechanisms, thousands of structures stand as empty shells, isolated, gutted, or otherwise unsuited for public or private use.

Let me now return to that notion about intellectual and esthetic touchstones. Except in a few old city cores, seeded centuries ago by Atlantic winds, we really do not live and work in our heritage places. So these places have become disjunct symbols of lifeways and times gone by. They are musty reminders of something lost. They may be tucked away

in the shadows of inhuman towers, trembling to the crash and roar of traffic, or they may be perched at the end of some long road where people stopped for awhile, then moved on. Given our geographic and social mobility, which feeds our penchant for building new things--usually to scales that overwhelm the structural remnants of earlier times--it is impossible for us, with few exceptions, to reintegrate these remnants into the life-stream of modern America. They are rendered obsolete by the social, demographic, and techno-economic forces that crowd upon them or pass them by.

It is my belief that many of these remnants, which we now actively preserve, can better function as touchstones with the past in ruins status. This may be merely an idiosyncrasy, but I think not. There is a charm, an evocation, and an honesty in properly treated ruins that meets a human need in this country. Given appropriate settings, often in the form of illusory neglect, these places can recall that middle landscape (in Leo Marx's phrase) of an earlier America: not the wilderness that threatens, not the high-tech that overwhelms, but rather the human integration with the rest of the world found, say, in a European village/pastoral scene.

I have long urged the value of "discovery sites," those places where our

hand in preservation is invisible to the visitor. In such places, devoid of our material and instructional imprint, imagination can run free. A few calculated clues can feed the visitor's intellectual quest and provide the base for esthetic appreciation.

I am not suggesting that first-rank historic sites and structures be abandoned to weeds and moles. Rather, that many second- and third-rank sites and structures, whether discrete or ancillary to major resources, can be let go to the workings of time within a site-treatment mode that summons to mind the world of which they were a living part. This is a modest proposal, lacking messianic fire and certainty. In sum, we might wish to take another look at where we are putting our money. In taking that look, we might use a different kind of screen to sort things out. We might find that many structures could be treated less expensively as ruined parts of suggestive, discovery sites than as restored and maintained buildings. Relegated to ruins status, in settings conducive to their dotage, the selected structures could grow old at their own gentle pace. Eventually they will fade away anyway, and pulling the plug on some of them might be an act of mercy.

William Brown is Regional Historian, Alaska Regional Office.

trates the state of engineering during the early "space race" days. The area includes the Air Force Space Museum with its exhibits of rockets, missiles, and capsules.

Complex 34. Site of the first Saturn I launch in 1961 and the first manned Apollo flight in 1968. A fire during a ground test in 1967 took the lives of astronauts Virgil Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee.

Complex 37. Used for the Saturn rocket tests (Saturn I and IB stages) and the first launch of a lunar module.

Hangar S. Housed astronaut suit room, crew quarters, medical facilities, and clean rooms used to check out Mercury capsules. This was the first facility used by the astronauts.

Original Mission Control Center. Used for all Mercury and the first three Gemini flights (function then taken over by the Johnson Space Center). This facility is especially

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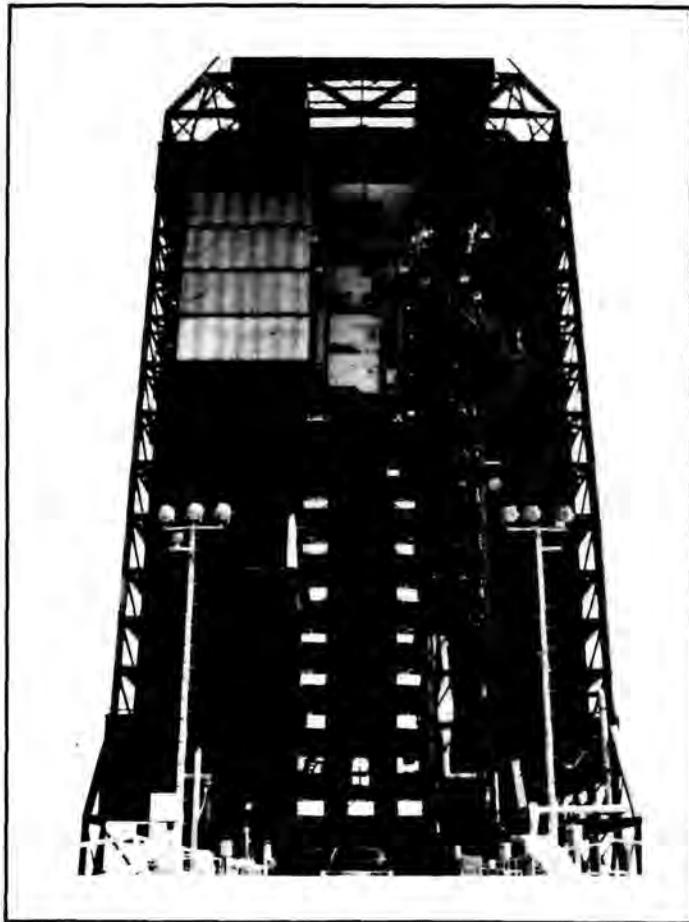
Aerial view of "Missile Row," looking north in 1964.

valuable in comparison with present facilities and equipment.

The report also noted the rapid physical deterioration of these facilities and made some estimates concerning preservation costs. The most serious cause of launch pad deterioration cited by the report is the Cape's corrosive environment. The steel structures close to the Atlantic Ocean constantly receive thin coats of salt. Unless regularly painted and maintained, the structures quickly "rot."

A few years' exposure to the salt air destroys even the most impressive steel structure. Many such complexes have been abandoned for years without appropriate maintenance. The only complexes that still retain such structures are Launch Complexes 13 and 26. Even here, potential maintenance problems are considerable. The service structure at Launch Complex 26, for example, has not been painted or repaired in 10 years. The immediate area has been fenced off to protect people from flying metal. While the main structural support beams of the complex are sturdy, many of the secondary floor beams, gratings, and railings are almost beyond repair. The report cites an estimated \$600,000 to stabilize and repair this complex, with yearly maintenance costs of \$45,000. In contrast, Launch Complex 13 owes its relatively good condition to its continual use up through 1978. Despite cannibalization of parts and equipment, and rust at the base, the complex shows no serious weather damage. Preservation costs here are estimated in excess of \$236,000.

One immediate result of the Man in Space Reconnaissance Survey was a recommendation by the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board. They directed the Park Service to under-



Launch Tower at Launch Pad 13, last remaining Atlas Launch Tower at Cape Canaveral.

take a National Historic Landmark Study of both the Kennedy Space Center and the Cape Canaveral Air Force Station. The National Historic Landmark Study has now been completed in consultation with the Air Force. The study recommends that Launch Pads 5, 6, 13, 14, 19, 34, and the original Mission Control Center be designated as a National Historic Landmark. This recommendation is now awaiting action by the Secretary.

Many people concerned with the preservation of Cape Canaveral's early launch sites wonder what will happen now. The extraordinary, rapid technical advances of the space program have rendered large numbers of facilities obsolete in a short time. The hostile physical environment, plus the philosophy of abandonment in place have already doomed or destroyed many such facilities. Those that remain are decaying, rusting, or being pulled to pieces. Preservation of these facilities will not be easy. Beyond the considerable costs, the facilities are also located on an

active military base not easily accessible to the public.

Through the Man in Space Report and the National Historic Landmark Study, the Park Service has fulfilled its initial responsibilities. The American people as well as Congress are alert to the historical importance and present physical condition of the Canaveral facilities. What will happen in the future is up to both of them. The Park Service hopes at least some of these facilities can be preserved for future generations, to commemorate where Americans took their first tentative steps into space. Once lost to the elements and the ravages of time, these historic structures can never be replaced.

The author is a staff historian in the History Division, Washington Office.



Base of Launch Pad 14 after salvage by contractors. Note rust and missing structural members.

Clio and the Computer: The CRM Bibliography in NARO

Dwight Pitcaithley

In every regional office, there is a dusty card file that indexes the historical, archeological, curatorial, and architectural research reports prepared over the years. In the North Atlantic Regional Office (NARO), that file sits on a window ledge between the spider plant and the begonia. It is arranged alphabetically by park and then alphabetically by author. The system works well if one is looking for all the reports in a specific park or for all the reports by a specific author. If, however, one wanted to find all of the Historic Resource Studies or Administrative Histories that have been prepared throughout the region, the limitations of the 3 by 5 card file become apparent. Selecting specific types of reports or all reports on a particular structure becomes time consuming and laborious. In addition, the traditional card file does not easily lend itself to the creation and efficient use of a comprehensive bibliography that includes all reports prepared for the region, not merely those in the regional library.

In an effort to make the NARO bibliography more than an inert collection of author and title cards, the North Atlantic Regional Office has joined the computer age and is in the process of "computerizing" a CRM bibliography. Using the WASO bibliography as a model, it developed an entry that consisted of ten elements or fields. These fields are:

- (1) organization code 1-- a combination of park code and the LCSID
- (2) park name
- (3) structure name
- (4) author
- (5) report title
- (6) date of publication
- (7) report type
- (8) graphics
- (9) pages
- (10) location

This format varies only slightly from that used by WASO and will enable both offices to exchange and compare titles.

Having determined the extent and content of each entry, NARO then began entering the data on a Hewlett Packard 9845C, using a software program that

was designed for maintaining mailing lists. The List Management Program (as it is called) allows the user--it's a "user friendly" machine--to specify the length of each field and the number of fields per record or bibliographic entry. Thus, a six-field mailing address of 60 to 70 characters easily became a ten-field bibliographic entry of 393 characters. Entry of the roughly 700 report titles is being accomplished by student interns and by the regional historian who knew nothing about computers before beginning this project.

Although the ten fields can be variously arranged on the printout, each entry presently looks like this:

1840.00271 EDISON NHS
CHEMICAL LABORATORY-EDISON LABORATORY
SPEIDEN, NORMAN R.; WEIG, MELVIN J.;
AND WHITTINGTON, GORDIE
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT: PART I,
CHEMICAL LABORATORY

02/61 HSR-ADMIN, ARCHIT, HIST
DRAWINGS; PHOTOS 42+ 0400:1600

The combined organization code and LCSID number was necessitated by the peculiarities of the List Management Program which allows the entries to be ordered alphabetically or numerically only on field No. 1.

Thus, to have all the reports on a particular building listed together in the bibliography, the addition of a LCSID number was essential. General reports are identified by the fourdigit organization code followed by five zeros which ensures their arrangement at the beginning of each printout. The final field (No. 10) provides the location of up to four copies of each report. It is envisioned that the location field would ideally include WASO, the region, the park, and either the Denver Service Center or Harper's Ferry Center.

Unlike WASO, the North Atlantic Regional Office is not including planning documents -- General Management Plans, Development Concept Plans, and the like -- but is attempting to incorporate all cultural resource-oriented reports that may be of use

to managers and researchers. Presently, the bibliography identifies nine different report types ranging from archeological surveys to collection management plans and from historical base maps to cultural resource maintenance guides.

The advantages of using a computer instead of a card file for maintaining a CRM bibliography are several. First, and certainly foremost, it allows the list to be used, not merely kept. Having the capability of creating specialized lists of reports such as all historic structure reports on a particular building, all archeological studies within a particular park, or all historic furnishings reports regardless of park makes the computerized bibliography a welcome management tool. While serving a number of uses, these lists will allow the regional office to evaluate more critically the research needs of a park. Moreover, because new entries are quickly incorporated into the list, the bibliography can be kept current and print an updated list upon command.

The holdings of park libraries can also be easily incorporated into the bibliography and identified in the location field. The list thus becomes a master bibliography and can be used to identify cultural resource research reports in parks, Washington, and the research centers. Reports held in the regional library and previously unknown to a park, and park holdings previously unknown to the region can, in addition, be identified.

All too often, meaningful research reports are shelved, ignored, eventually misplaced, and ultimately forgotten. Hopefully, this system will prevent further losses and make the growing volume of research more accessible and useful to park managers and CRM specialists. Indeed, without the file box, the spider plant and the begonia may have more room to grow.

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Working on the Railroad for Historic Preservation

Gordon Chappell

Earthworks, whether from the Revolutionary War or World War II, have been recognized as historic structures by the field of historic preservation, and the National Park Service management policies.* But there are other categories of earthworks which merit similar recognition, such as: 1) the waste dumps, ore stockpiles, shafts, tramway grades, and other features of historic mines; 2) pioneer trails, wagon roads, and early paved highways; and 3) the cuts, fills, grades, tunnels, trestle remains, and alignments of abandoned railroads. Abandoned railroad grades are the focus of this article. As historic structures, they may provide significant information in such fields of study as history, architecture, historical archeology, and engineering. Furthermore, many such resources may merit not merely study and recording, but preservation as tangible resources of historical, architectural, or engineering significance in American history.

A railroad grade, the most difficult and expensive element in the building of any railroad, is the earthen or rocky bed on which railroad track lies. On any terrain other than flat prairie or desert, building a grade involves earthen or rock fills, earthen or rock cuts, tunnels, culverts, trestles, bridges, and switchbacks. Considering the complexity of this process, abandoned railroad grades with track removed may raise the question of integrity. In light of the Criteria for Evaluation for the National Register, does a railroad grade without track have integrity, even if it has significance? Clearly it can, for the structures of the grade, whether earthen, wooden, metal, stone, or other material, are structures themselves, independent of the track.

Historically, track was laid as a separate element anyway, accomplished by separate crews under different supervision. Examples of abandoned grades put back in service with relaid



Lake Mead NRA abandoned railroad grade tunnel.

track can be cited. So, the mere lack of track on a grade does not impair its National Register eligibility (as demonstrated by the acceptance of several such abandoned railroad grades by the Register).

Abandoned railroad grades sometimes incorporate particularly significant features whose study can provide data otherwise unobtainable in the historic record, features which may be of intrinsic architectural or engineering significance as historic structures in their own right. One example is the switchback turntable on the narrow gauge Silverton Railroad, built about 1888 in Corkscrew Gulch on the northwest slope of southwestern Colorado's Red Mountain. On the basis of oral history, the earliest historian of the railroad firmly stated the Corkscrew Gulch turntable was salvaged from that abandoned section of railroad and moved to Animas Forks for use on another railroad nearby. But the pre-

sence of the original Corkscrew Gulch turntable, decayed but intact, on its original site, is proof today of that oral history error. Furthermore, its presence has allowed photographing, measuring, and the preparation of detailed drawings of its design. Incidentally, that turntable and its switchback location were regarded at the time of its construction as a significant engineering achievement. On that basis, it was given attention in an engineering journal of the day.

When sections of abandoned grade retain some or all of the original wooden crossties to which the rails once were spiked, they merit preservation intact. Such remains should not be removed or covered over to "improve" the grade as a hiking or riding trail; nor should they be turned into vehicle roads, causing the destruction of surviving ties. Hikers should also be prohibited from using ties for campfire fuel. As an example of their historic value, let me cite the most significant survival of ties, a section of line in eastern Utah built by the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railway in 1883. Here, a half-mile or more of abandoned grade retains, in place, the hand-hewn ties laid in the spring of 1883. The line was bypassed in 1890 by a standard gauge line several miles to the south; subsequently, the narrow gauge rails were salvaged, but not the ties. In the seven-year period of narrow gauge operation, the cedar ties neither wore nor decayed sufficiently to be replaced with the later sawmill-cut or "slab" crossties. Made of durable wood and laid in a desert environment, the ties survived. They offer an opportunity to measure, photograph, and study hand-hewn crossties used by most western railroads in the 1860's, 1870's, and 1880's. This unique portion of a historic railroad grade should qualify for the National Register at a high level of significance as representative of a structure type which probably survives nowhere else.

Wreck sites along abandoned railroad grades also can provide significant data. Black and white photographs from the 1880's and 1890's do not reveal locomotive colors; historical

* Management Policies, NPS, ch. 5, p. 23.

descriptions often fail to identify color schemes; even old purchase orders or invoices from Sherwin Williams and Co., and other paint suppliers can be frustrating, specifying only so many gallons of "coach color," or "truck color," or "roof color," without saying what color actually was used. Thus, a dome ring from a 1910 wreck of a freight locomotive carrying on it the original bright red striping provides data of historical importance regarding not merely the color but also the placement of such decoration on an early 20th-century locomotive of a particular railroad. The body of an abandoned locomotive tender which had weathered through layer after layer of paint down to the earliest one, revealed not only the 1891 lettering and striping colors, but also the size, location, shape, and spacing of the lettering and striping (1 1/2-inch mustard yellow striping, 1/2-inch bright red striping, and mustard yellow block lettering shaded to the right and bottom in bright red). This rectified data misleading or incomplete in the documentary and photographic record.

Abandoned railroad grades also can reveal significant information concerning construction methods of the time. Despite considerable historical data regarding the construction of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway, the only historical source for locating the grading construction camps is the remains of those camps scattered along the route. Furthermore, archeological investigation of these historic sites might tell us about life in the camps, i.e., the type of housing and furnishings, diet, and types of amusement, etc. Bottle hunters unearthed numerous liquor bottles at one camp; another more remote camp, in rocky terrain along the same railroad, seemed to lack such bottles. Was the latter an example of a camp in which the construction contractor, by virtue of its difficult access, kept liquor away from his employees? Only historic site archeological research can answer that question. Other questions of how the railroad construction crews operated can be answered by remains such as the discovery of long abandoned wagon roads built to facilitate railroad construction and abandoned upon its completion.

The study and evaluation of abandoned railroad grades by archeologists has been pioneered in part by the U.S. Forest Service in California. The archeological approach, however, is not solely adequate for compliance with E.O. 11593 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1980. It emphasizes data-recovery historical archeology rather than preservation. From the archeologists' perspective, abandoned railroad features should be

preserved only until all the data is recovered, after which their treatment is no longer a matter of concern. This approach overlooks the intrinsic historical, architectural, and engineering significance of the grade, as well as structures like the stone retaining walls built with hand labor on Alpine Pass in Colorado, and the turntable and its associated grade on Red Mountain. Data recovery in the archeological sense is important, but not enough. Preservation of the grade and associated structures as



Earthen or rock fills (foreground) and cuts (center) are common features of abandoned railroad grades.

tangible remnants of past history, architecture, and engineering is equally important.

Apocryphal tales of locomotives lost in the woods, or abandoned when rail lines were scrapped, are numerous--like the story of a Kansas Pacific locomotive lost in quicksand when a flood washed out a trestle. Some stories can be historically corroborated, some not, (with the Kansas Pacific, no records show a missing locomotive). However, there are documented instances of abandoned locomotives: a mallet in the Pacific Northwest left behind lying on its side when a logging line was torn up; a Heisler abandoned in the California forests; five narrow gauge locomotives and a rotary snowplow dumped along one western railroad as rip-rap (erosion-controlling technique) and still there today. More often, old freight and passenger cars, set off their wheel trucks for later use as bunkhouses or tool houses or other such stationary use, lie along abandoned railroads,

as well as along active lines. With reference to such motive power and rolling stock, the usual National Register emphasis on integrity of site should not apply. Such rolling stock was historically moveable; the final resting site of such cars should not be sacrosanct, especially if they can find a home in some transportation museum which will preserve or restore them. One old wooden passenger car, after being set off its wheel trucks onto the ground following service on several railroads, was re-

stored for passenger service on a historic railroad now operated for tourists. Others have been restored by railroad museums. To leave them on the site to which they were retired is often tantamount to their destruction.

Clearly, railroad historic preservation should not extend solely to standing railroad depots in urban settings, and locomotives and cars preserved in city parks or railroad museums. It should extend also to abandoned grades and their ancillary structures when they possess integrity and have significance in the fields of history, historical archeology, architecture, and engineering, or the potential to yield data important to studies in these fields. Thus, resource preservation is the next step after resource survey and identification.

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Yosemite's Indians: Developing an Interpretive Program Using a Park's Historical Collection

Craig D. Bates



Photograph taken by Edward Muybridge. Note the full dresses, headbands, and bark lean-to shelter of the 1870's.



Cultural demonstrators assuming pose similar to that of Muybridge's photograph. Photo by Michael Dixon.

In the summer of 1982, the Indian Cultural Program of Yosemite National Park changed its focus to interpret the culture of the Miwok and Paiute people of Yosemite during the 1870's. A variety of reasons prompted this change from interpreting a largely pre-contact lifestyle; and the final outcome was an effort which relied heavily on careful historical research and on the resources of the museum collections of Yosemite National Park.

The interpretation of the Indian culture of Yosemite Valley has been an important part of the visitor experience in the park since 1916. Early museum displays focused on native culture, and the park eagerly accepted collections of Native American materials from early day residents and visitors. Local native people were employed to demonstrate traditional skills; although by the 1960's, most of the older people had passed on or had moved from the park. Julie Parker, a Pomo woman married to a local Miwok Paiute resident of

Yosemite Valley, and who had learned the traditions of her husband's family, was hired to demonstrate basket making to park visitors. In the early 1970's, the demonstrations expanded to include more skills and two more individuals until the Bicentennial program of 1975 and 1976, when the program grew to include a dozen individuals. During this time, demonstrators attempted to interpret the lifestyle of Yosemite's first people at the time of contact with non-Indians in the 1850's. A difficult proposition at best, the employees strove to reconstruct what life might have been like at that time, based on traditions passed down from older native people, period accounts, archaeological evidence of certain artifact types, ethnographic data, and artifacts in museum collections.

Many problems existed from the onset, for indeed it was a "re-constructed" ethnography. Dress of that period, which consisted of two-piece buckskin skirts for the women, and if anything, a small buckskin breechcloth for the

men, was not acceptable, given current standards of modesty. Women in the program improvised a buckskin or fur halter top, and men adopted a commodious breechcloth or wrap-around kilt. Still, some native people hesitated to participate in the program, feeling that the dress was too revealing. Furnishing the structures was difficult, and supplying them with a variety of native foodstuffs proved not to be feasible. In addition to acorns (used in making mush and a gelatinous breadlike loaf) and manzanita berries (used in creating a drink much like apple juice), many of the native foodstuffs were next to impossible to procure in quantities. Certain grasses, whose seeds provided an important constituent of a mushlike dish as well as an aboriginal "trail mix," had been replaced years ago by grasses from Europe and the eastern United States, while the skills needed in the preparation of various bulbs and greens were nearly lost. Baskets, an important part of the material wealth of native Californians, were difficult to procure. Newly made baskets, fitting the old styles, were purchased when possible, but baskets were wearing out rapidly just as in the older days, with the notable difference that there were fewer weavers to replace them. Also, the cost of replacing baskets--especially cooking baskets costing \$300 to \$800 each--was alarming to division budgetary planners.

At the end of the 1981 summer season, members of the program met with NPS interpretive and museum staff members, as well as representatives of the local American Indian Council of Mariposa County. It was at this time that they discussed "modernizing" the Indian Cultural Program to a period when Indian women were wearing cloth dresses, yet a time when traditional subsistence, religious, and socio-political activities were still very much in evidence. The group arbitrarily selected the 1870's as the decade to be depicted, although no one suspected what information existed that would document the culture of the Yosemite Indian people at this time.

Karen Wells, a student in the Native American department of the University of California, Berkeley, was eventually hired to do the research for the program and to develop a handbook to be used by the demonstrators. She had worked the previous summer with the curatorial staff, inventorying the park's ethnographic collections and co-authoring an ethnohistory of the El Portal region of Yosemite, and thus was familiar with available resources. The knowledge of the museum holdings of Yosemite National Park, as well as the archival resources of local counties and universities, saved valuable research time.

Fortunately, because of the attraction of Yosemite to photographers, writers, tourists, and world travelers in the late 19th century, a vast amount of documentary materials was located regarding the Indian people there at that time. Several authors wrote of their experiences in local native villages; others made sketches and paintings of the encampments; and still others (among them photographer Eadward Muybridge) took photographs of Indian people at work, in council, and during daily camp life. Both the museum and research library collections of Yosemite began to reveal information from many of these sources, as well as an unsuspected treasure. Large, over-size volumes of early day ledgers from local stores revealed that certain Indian men purchased a variety of items and spent large sums of money, comparable to the buying power of their non-Indian neighbors. A listing of these items--which included coffee beans, baking powder, flour, bacon, potatoes and other staples as well as more "luxury" items such as pepper sauce, sugar, and peaches--indicated from sheer quantities purchased, that foodstuffs of the settlers had begun to displace native foods to some degree. Studies of photographs confirmed that items such as cast iron kettles, tin coffeepots, pots, and metal wash basins were to be found side by side with baskets and other goods.

References in period accounts revealed that Indian women were wearing cast off clothing given them by white neighbors, as well as making dresses themselves. Wells contacted Joan Severa of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, perhaps the most reknown expert in the field of costume identification. Surprisingly, Severa related that the dresses worn in 1870's photographs of native women in Yosemite revealed that none of their dresses reflected the current fashion trends. All of the dresses represented styles in vogue from 1835 to 1865; and while some of the women obviously wore cast off garments, others must have altered existing dresses or made their own, including alterations allowing exposed arms, which was not accepted by whites of the same period.

While research continued, demonstrators began to duplicate objects based on these findings. With patterns supplied by Severa, dresses were made using a new line of fabrics based on 19th-century designs created by noted quilter Jinny Beyer. With the assistance of Inez Brooks-Meyer, an assistant curator at the Oakland Museum, fabric selections were made that most closely resembled those in the old photographs and fabric mentioned in the store ledgers. Research revealed that a special type of wool cloth,

with an undyed selvedge, was common in the 1870's. Although it had not been produced since about 1915, Sunflower Studios in Colorado handwove and dyed the cloth to exacting specifications supplied by Yosemite. In addition, demonstrators duplicated cloth and shell decorated cloth headbands, and lacelike, beaded "shawls" worn by women in the Muybridge photographs, while park archeologist Scott Carpenter designed a frame cabin, based on those in period photographs, and supervised its construction in the Indian village demonstration area. With the cooperation of the State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, appropriate period flour and salt sacks were located and then reproduced by silk screening on muslin for use in the program.

When the village opened in late June, visitors were surprised to find it unlike anything they had suspected. The women, dressed in an array of colors in their voluminous dresses were busy at a variety of tasks. Piles of canvas and other items cast off by non-Indian residents, which the Miwok people carefully stacked near their dwellings and saved for possible future use, made for a somewhat "cluttered" appearance, just as in the old photos. By the time visitors sipped a tin cup of coffee made of beans roasted, ground, and boiled before their eyes, and helped remove a Dutch oven from the ashes of a fire which held baking powder biscuits, they appeared pleased, and eagerly asked questions about the time represented, while the demonstrators went on with such tasks as preparing acorn mush or weaving baskets.

The move into the 1870's allowed park visitors to learn about the life of a native group during a crucial period of their acculturation and adaptation to Euro-American society. Through research, we learned that in the 1870's, Yosemite Indians were on much better terms with their non-Indian neighbors than many other Indian groups in the United States. Whites and Indians worked together as trail guides; men often supplied fish from the river for local hotels, where women also worked as maids; Indian and non-Indian children sat side by side in schools; Indian women spent afternoons in the homes of local whites, sharing food while discussing Indian baskets; and accounts show that a number of friendships were cultivated between the Indians and the early settlers.

The park's library, and especially the museum's object resources, were invaluable in completing the planning of the new Indian village. Had they not existed, the project would

have been severely hampered. From a comparison of the photographs of Miwok villages in the 1870's that showed baskets, and with baskets in the park collections acquired by local pioneer residents in the 1890 to 1915 period, we learned that the basketry made for home use by the local Miwok people had changed little, if at all, from the 1870's. We were extremely fortunate to locate the store ledgers which gave us undeniable evidence of the consumption of large quantities of non-native foodstuffs by the local Miwok and Paiute people.



Cultural Demonstrator Dorothy Stanley repairing a cooking basket in front of the 1870's style cabin built in the Indian village. Note the basket materials, metal cauldron, and other village items. Photo by Michael Dixon.

They also provided evidence that the Indian people possessed quantities of money, giving them the ability, like their Anglo co-workers, to purchase goods. Archeological materials, recently recovered from excavations in El Portal and Wawona, provided evidence of coins being pierced and used as decorative ornaments by the native people in the 1870's, as well as the use of a specific style of Green River knife in the region.

The program proved successful, and will be continued this summer season. Demonstrators Dorothy Stanley and Julie Parker, who worked through the winter months, have been repairing baskets and making clothing to be used this summer. Visitors will once again be able to experience the sights, sounds, aroma, and ambience of a Yosemite Indian Village of the 1870's, at a time when the native people and non-Indians lived in relative harmony with each other.

The author is assistant curator, Yosemite National Park.

Tricentennial of German Settlement in America

Thomas W. Lucke

On October 6, 1683, a group of thirteen Mennonite families from Krefeld, Germany, founded Germantown, Pennsylvania, now a suburb of Philadelphia. Since then, more than seven million German immigrants have entered the United States. Today there are approximately sixty million Americans of German descent. Second only to Americans of British descent, more Americans claim German ancestry than any other nationality.

To commemorate the founding of Germantown and to acknowledge the extraordinary human, economic, political, social, and cultural contributions that the German immigrants have made to the growth and the success of the United States, the U.S. Congress has designated 1983 as the "Tricentennial Anniversary Year of German Settlement in America" and has established a Presidential commission for the German-American Tricentennial to plan, encourage, develop, and coordinate the commemoration of this historic event.¹ In addition, President Ronald Reagan has urged "all Americans to observe the year with appropriate ceremonies and activities."²

This celebration of German immigration affords the National Park Service an excellent opportunity to cooperate with neighboring communities and to contribute much to telling an important aspect of the story of this nation of immigrants. Examples of such cooperation and contribution could include the following:

--A number of National Park Service areas are associated with German-born painters -- "Washington Crossing the Delaware" and "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its way" by Emmanuel Leutz (born in Gmund, Wurtemberg, Germany) for example -- as well as depictions of the soldiers' life on the Western plains during the Indian War ("Dispatch Bearer," "Battle about the Palisade Fort," and "My Bunkie" by Charles Schreyvogel, born in New York of German parentage). Probably the best known German-American painter associated with the National Park Service is Albert Bierstadt. Born in Solingen, near Dusseldorf, Germany, Bierstadt was instrumental in introducing into this country the Dusseldorfian manner of landscape painting. Primeval nature was Bierstadt's subject, and the grandeur in nature was captured in his paintings to create an overpowering impression on the human mind. Some of his most famous pictures, which he painted on canvases of great dimensions, are "Storm in the Rockies," "Mt. Hood," "Domes of Yosemite," and "Laramie Peak." The influence of Bierstadt and Leutz, both of whom received their training in Dusseldorf, was evident in American landscape and historical paintings for decades following their deaths.

Park areas associated with these and other German-American painters should consider interpreting the accomplishments of the individual artists and their contributions to the development of American Art.

--Men of German ancestry volunteered for the Union Army in great numbers during the Civil War. More than 200,000 German-born people served in the Northern Armies, and another 400,000 persons of German parentage fought for the Union cause.³ Civil War regiments comprised of German-Americans bore such formal names as Eighth New York Infantry but informally as the first German Rifles. The following are other examples: Twenty-Fourth Illinois (Hecker's Yager Regiment), Ninth Wisconsin Infantry (First German Regiment), Fifty-Fourth Pennsylvania Infantry (Schwarzers-Yager Regiment). National Park Service areas commemorating Civil War battles where these and other units comprised entirely or principally of men of German ancestry engaged in battle should be encouraged to prepare exhibits and to develop interpretive talks describing the sacrifices they endured in the winning of the Civil War and their dedication to the goals and ideals for which the war was fought.

A large number of Park Service areas are intimately tied to people of German extraction. An example of this is Valley Forge National Historical Park, Pennsylvania. Here Frederick the Great of Prussia transformed the ragtag American Army into an effective fighting force. When he arrived at Valley Forge on February 23, 1778, General George Washington saw great promise in the Prussian, and almost immediately assigned him the duties of Inspector General, with the task of developing and carrying out an effective training program. Von Steuben carried out his task effectively and quickly. In a real sense, he made the American Army. When Von Steuben arrived, Washington's army was tired, ill-equipped, and poorly trained. After the encampment under Von Steuben's direction, this same army emerged with ordered ranks, martial appearance, revived spirit, and fighting skill. Staff members at National Park Service areas where German-Americans, such as Von Steuben, played a significant role should be encouraged to recognize and interpret that role. It would provide an opportunity to describe the wide range of cultural, political, and economic contributions that German-Americans have made to the growth and development of this country.

--German Mennonites, Volga Germans, German Moravians, and German Amish commonly came to the United States in groups with the idea of establishing religious or utopian communities

where they would be free to maintain their culture and exercise their religious beliefs. Present-day visitors to such places as the Amana Colonies in central Iowa, new Braunfels and Fredericksburg in the hill country of Central Texas, or St. Charles and Hermann in eastern Missouri can see and experience a bit of the foods, architecture, music, culture, and the general flavor of German traditions that these people brought with them and preserved over the years. These communities, and many others like them, represent the diversity of cultures that helped create this country. National Park Service areas near such communities should cooperate with them in commemorating the founding of the individual communities and the tricentennial of German settlements in the United States.

Many immigrants who came from Germany were well-educated, and many more attained prominence after living in the United States for a relatively brief time. The influence of political cartoonist Thomas Nast (born in the Bavarian Palatinate) is well known; the fortunes of the fur trade empire of John Jacob Astor (born near Heidelberg, Germany), and of the Northern Pacific Railroad empire of Henry Villard (born in Speyer, Rhenish Bavaria) were immense; the prominence of Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz (born in the Village of Liblar, near Cologne) is well accepted; and the significance of the California gold field discoveries by John A. Sutter (born in the Grand Duchy of Baden) is spread throughout our history books. Their stories do not necessarily need to be retold.

Not all immigrants from Germany, however, would attain wealth or prominence. Most would suffer the hardships of immigration and would spend their lives in hard work and toil. Helen Hunt Jackson described one such German immigrant whom she saw on a railroad platform in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1878:⁴

Inside the wall was a pathetic sight--a poor German woman on her knees before a chest, which had burst open on the journey. It seemed as if its whole contents could not be worth five dollars--so old, so faded, so coarse were the clothes, so battered were the utensils. But it was evidently all she owned; it was the home she had brought with her from the Fatherland, and would be the home she would set up on the prairie...

If the National Park Service could help tell her story and help keep the memory alive during this year of the Tricentennial, it would serve this nation well.



Many park areas, such as Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park which is located near the German communities of Fredericksburg and New Braunfels, have the opportunity to commemorate the Tricentennial.

Yosemite Valley provided the setting for a number of paintings, including "Domes of the Yosemite," and "The Yosemite Valley," by German-born Albert Bierstadt.



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FOOTNOTES

1. Senate Joint Resolution 260.
2. Proclamation 5014 of January 20, 1983. Federal Register, Volume 48, Number 16, Monday, January 24, 1983, page 2951.
3. The German Element in the United States, by Albert Bernhardt Faust (Arno Press and New York Times, 1969) Volume I, pages 522-524.
4. Quoted on page 239 of Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow, by Dee Brown (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1977).

Research Project in Spain Yields Riches

Melody Webb and Joseph P. Sanchez

"If we only knew what the Spanish Archives held!" That wishful plaint must have been uttered by staff at nearly 40 park areas with Spanish Colonial themes. In late December 1982, the Treaty of Friendship between the United States and Spain released \$4,000 to be spent before April. With this money, the Southwest Region supported a project surveying available Spanish archival documents referencing areas in the National Park System. In this way, seed money was provided for important programming, and wishes were heard.

Recognizing the limitations of \$4,000, the Southwest Region also solicited contributions from park areas and regional office divisions. When the proposal reached Washington, Chief Historian Edwin Bearss insisted that the program be opened to all areas with Spanish Colonial themes. Regional offices from the Southeast Region to Alaska were invited to contribute. Within two weeks, Regional Historians Gordon Chappell and Len Brown pulled together contributions from their diverse areas. Edwin Bearss also requested and received donations from two major cooperating associations: Southwest Parks and Monuments, and Eastern National Parks and Monuments.

The research fund grew until it could support two experienced researchers for two months in Spain. Selected were Dr. Joseph P. Sanchez, veteran Park Service researcher, and Chuck Cutter, a graduate student at the University of New Mexico who had worked the Spanish Archives in association

with his father, Borderland historian Dr. Donald C. Cutter.

At last, on February 15, the scholars were off. They stopped first at the Canary Islands to assist the Spanish Park Service in a project also supported with Treaty money. Then, during the next two months, Sanchez and Cutter worked twelve-hour days to maximize their research time. Attempting to obtain as wide a background as possible, they surveyed twelve archives. Some archives, seldom utilized by scholars, required full awareness of the Spanish culture as well as sensitive dealings with archivists to avoid jeopardizing the project. At the Archivo General de Indies in Sevilla, the researchers felt they barely scratched the surface of more than 40 million documents, including maps, plans, and illustrations of park areas.

The results of the trip are only beginning to be assessed. The researchers found a Spanish map of Arkansas Post from 1779, a map of Virginia dated 1608, and numerous maps of shipwrecks along the coast from Georgia to California. Drawings to scale of cannons from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries and drawings of Spanish military uniforms in New Orleans added to the treasure trove. While they found no plans for the missions at San Antonio, they did find plans of other churches and presidios in the Borderlands. Although they learned nothing new on Cabrillo, they did microfilm countless documents on

Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the founder of St. Augustine.

Still more than 2 million documents on the American Revolution acquired from Spanish intelligence lie virtually untouched. Material on the Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike expeditions could add new factual dimensions to well-told stories. Even James Wilkinson's efforts to give away the West are documented with the dollar figure. Unexpected data on Yellowstone in 1818, on Alaska, and on slavery may provide some interpretive twists.

One thing is certain, however. The research trip was not definitive. It only served to survey and document the richness and depth of the Spanish Archives in relation to National Park Service sites. In programming for that research, historians can point to the accomplishments of this trip as justification. In the meanwhile, Dr. Sanchez will try to provide a guide to the archives and calendar his research. Transcribing and translation, however, will require more funds than now remain. Yet without this critical step, much of the data from the trip will not be utilized except by a select few. Historians, interpreters, and managers throughout the Service must work together to fund further work. It happened once; it can happen again.

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