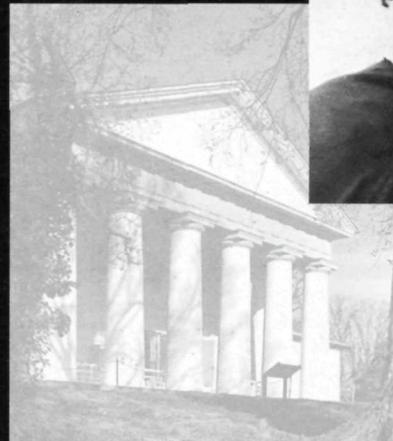
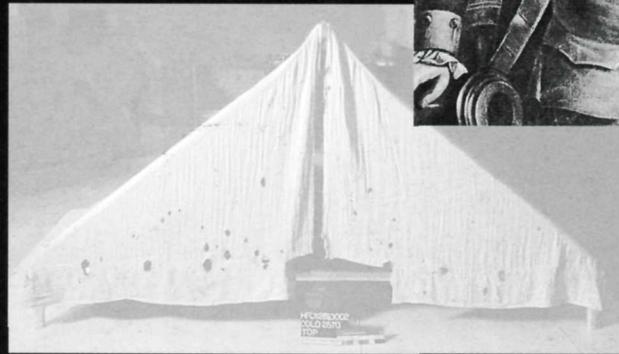


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- **Telling the story of John Brown, p. 32**



Information for parks, federal agencies, Indian tribes, states, local governments, and the private sector that promotes and maintains high standards for preserving and managing cultural resources

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Historical Research in the National Park  
Service

*Cover: Clockwise—George Washington (illustration courtesy George Washington Birthplace National Monument and George Washington's sleeping or office tent (photo courtesy Colonial National Historical Park), see article p. 3; Sallie Norris, an Arlington slave (photo courtesy Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial) and Arlington House (photo by Jack E. Boucher, HABS), see article p. 9; John Brown (illustration courtesy Harpers Ferry National Historical Park) and John Brown's Fort (from the Library of Congress Collection), see article p. 32.*

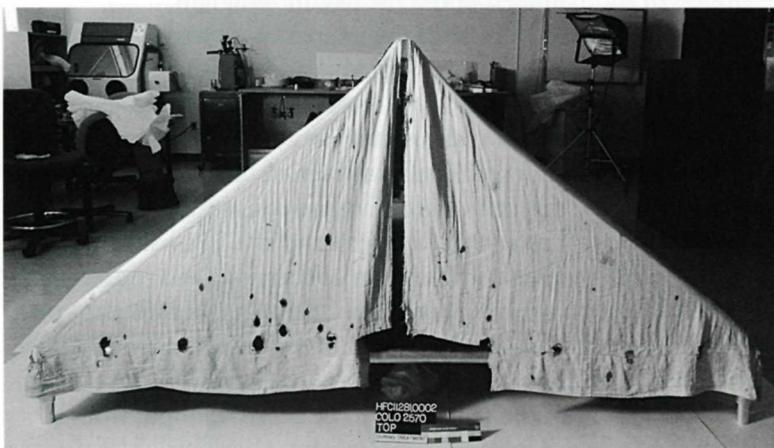
Statements of fact and views are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect an opinion or endorsement on the part of the editors, the *CRM* advisors and consultants, or the National Park Service. Send articles and correspondence to the Editor, *CRM*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW, Suite 350NC, Washington, DC 20240 (U.S. Postal Service) or 800 North Capitol St, NW, Suite 350, Washington, DC 20002 (Federal Express); ph. 202-343-3411, fax 202-343-5260; email: <crmmag@nps.gov>, to subscribe and to make inquiries; <rongnps@starpower.net> to submit articles.

# George Washington's Field Tents

## The Challenge of Preserving and Interpreting a National Treasure in the 21st Century

In the late autumn of 1775, Colonel Joseph Reed, Military Secretary and Adjutant General to General George Washington, placed an order with Plunket Fleeson of Philadelphia for the construction of tents and camp equipage. The order included a large dining tent, another large tent with an inner chamber, a large baggage tent, 18 walnut campstools, and three walnut camp tables. Delivered in May 1776, the tents were used in the field by Washington throughout the American Revolution. In 1781, the tents were set up as the headquarters for the Siege of Yorktown. It was within these walls of linen and wool that Washington met with such men as the Comte de Rochambeau, Alexander Hamilton, and the Marquis de Lafayette to plan the siege against General Lord Charles Cornwallis that led to his surrender. The American victory at Yorktown, the last major battle of the American Revolution, secured independence for the United States and significantly changed the course of world history. Today, portions of the tents are among the most significant objects owned by Colonial National Historical Park, which administers and interprets Yorktown Battlefield. The Yorktown collection contains the inner chamber to the sleeping marquee or office tent liner, the ceiling liner to the dining marquee, a storage bag, and several tent poles.

*The roof section of the sleeping or office tent during conservation treatment at the Harpers Ferry Center textile conservation lab.*



After the Revolution, the tents returned to Mount Vernon with Washington. Upon Washington's death in 1799, the tents became the property of Martha Custis Washington. Upon her death, her grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, purchased the tents at the estate auction and kept them at his home, Arlington House. During his ownership, Custis used the tents for special occasions. The most widely reported use of the tents was during the Marquis de Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1824. The tents accompanied him throughout his tour including a visit to Yorktown on October 19, the anniversary of the surrender. Custis made no mention of the tents in his will when he died in 1857, so they automatically passed to his only child, Mary Custis Lee. When her husband, Robert E. Lee, accepted the position as Commander of the Virginia Confederate forces, Mary Lee was forced to leave Arlington and left the tents behind. The Union Army occupied Arlington in 1861, and the tents and other Washington relics were seized and moved to the Patent Office of the Department of the Interior for safekeeping. In 1883, they were moved to the Smithsonian Institution. In 1901, President McKinley returned the Washington collection to the Lee family. The large tent, known as the sleeping marquee, was sold to Reverend Dr. Burk, founder of the Valley Forge Historical Society in 1909. Today, it is exhibited at Valley Forge National Historical Park. In 1955, the National Park Service purchased its tents for the new Yorktown Visitor Center which opened in 1957. The dining marquee is exhibited at the Smithsonian.

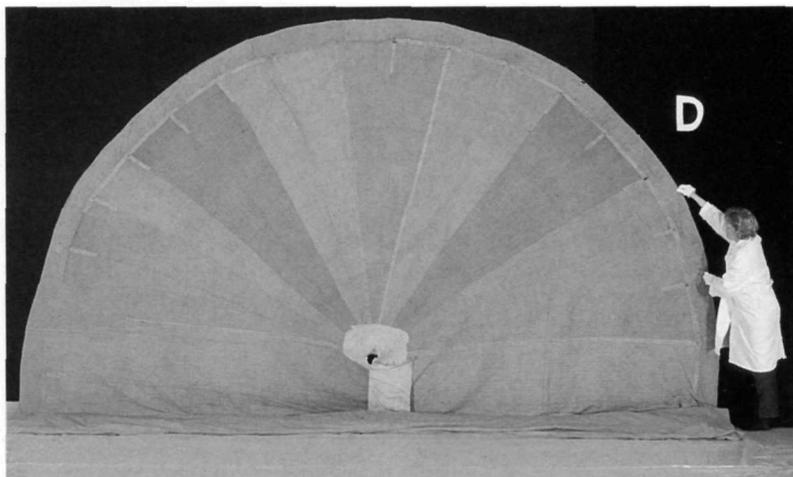
Although Yorktown's tents were placed on exhibit in 1957, the first conservation work on these important textiles did not take place until 1976. The then state-of-the-art conservation included wet cleaning and repair with the addition of support backings using modern textile. The tents were returned to a new exhibit at

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation textile conservator Loreen Finkelstein with a portion of the wool lining of the dining tent before the condition assessment.

Yorktown in time for the 1981 bicentennial of the Siege of Yorktown. The inner chamber was displayed on a frame and the ceiling liner to the dining tent was folded in an open display stand. It was not until 1982 that a climate control system was installed in the new exhibit case. Unfortunately, the environmental control system did not maintain a stable environment resulting in damaging fluctuations in humidity and temperature. Also, the exhibit case was too small for easy and safe access by curatorial staff, and the frames on which the tents were exhibited hampered regular inspection and care of the tents.

In 1997, with the advice and assistance from the Division of Conservation at the National Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center, the tents were removed from exhibit, and a plan for long-term preservation was implemented. Using the park's Fee Demonstration Program funds, the inner chamber was taken to the NPS Conservation Lab for evaluation and preservation by textile conservator Jane Merritt. Photographic documentation, a Mylar template documenting the tent's current condition, and research by Jane, her staff, and military historian Bill Brown have raised new questions about the appearance and construction of the inner chamber. Bill Brown's research has provided much of the historical background on the tents, which is included in this article.

In 1999, using funds from the Museum Collection Preservation and Protection (MCP) program and under an existing cooperative agreement with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF), the park contracted with the CWF textile conservation laboratory to prepare a condition assessment and preservation plan for the wool and linen ceiling liner to the dining tent. As with the inner chamber, photographic documentation and a Mylar template recording its condition have provided information about the appearance, construction, and current condition of the artifact. Microscopic analysis of the fibers, dyes, stains, and surface soil have revealed valuable new information about the previous appearance, construction, use, previous treatment, and condition of the fabric. For example, evidence reveals that the wool fibers had been green rather than the mustard color as seen today, and human hairs, tea,



paint, and blood remain on the surface of the cloth.

Choosing to work with the textile conservation facility at Colonial Williamsburg has been a rewarding experience for several reasons. First, they are only a half-hour away, which allows the park staff the ability to visit the project for study sessions and to keep abreast of the latest progress and discoveries. Secondly, the expertise and contacts of the CWF staff including those in the historic area, have led to a treasure trove of information related to the project, which will be extremely beneficial in the conservation treatment and interpretation of this unique artifact.

In 1999, the remainder of the work to preserve and interpret the inner chamber and ceiling liner was selected for funding by the Save America's Treasures Program. This work includes the preservation of the ceiling liner, research on how the tents historically would have fit together, and the actual construction of a new exhibit case and interpretive panels. The park is working with a local non-profit group, the Yorktown Foundation, to raise the matching funds required by this program. The actual design and preparation of specifications for the exhibit case will be funded under the MCP program.

In late January, park staff and CWF staff met with conservators and curators at the Smithsonian to discuss the history of the conservation and construction of the dining marquee and, specifically, to look at how the ceiling liner may have been attached to the dining marquee. Since 1991, the park and the Smithsonian have discussed common concerns on the conservation and interpretation of the tents, but no joint plan of action has resulted. However, everyone agrees that the final plans for the exhibit and treatment of the tents need to be based on input from a team of experts. Continued exhibition of the

tents may hasten their deterioration. Replacing the tents with reproductions will deprive the American public of an experience to see the most significant objects of the American Revolution. Therefore, to further explore all options, the park will hold a charette, or group discussion, with textile conservators, curators, interpreters, engineers, lighting specialists, and others to generate ideas and recommendations.

Several ideas for long-term care and exhibition are being considered. One idea is to reproduce the dining marquee to serve as protection for the original liner placed underneath it. Another display approach might be to show the information revealed during the conservation surveys. In all cases, state of the art lighting will be a large part of the exhibit process, providing the public with sufficient light for viewing the objects, while keeping the light levels within museum standards.

Although a specific exhibit approach is undecided, the main object of the park is to place the tents back on exhibit under the best conditions and to provide the public with a better appreciation of the objects and the need to preserve them. The year 2006 is the 225th anniversary of the Siege of Yorktown. The return of these tents to the public eye with state-of-the-art conservation technology will enhance the significance of the event and the National Park Service's role in the preservation field.

*Richard D. Raymond is the Yorktown Museum Curator at the Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia.*

*Loreen Finkelstein is textile conservator at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

Photos courtesy National Park Service, Colonial National Historical Park.

## **National Register of Historic Places Web Site News**

The National Register of Historic Places is unveiling a new design for its web site, at <[www.cr.nps.gov/nr](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr)>, with improved organization and navigation. The number of visitors to the web site has grown exponentially, and new features are added almost monthly. The increased number of visitors is due, in part, to the many new lesson plans and travel itineraries that have been added. Thirty-three Teaching With Historic Places classroom-ready lesson plans have been added to the web site thus far, and more than 25 other lessons are planned for addition this year. Past titles include *When Rice was King* (investigating early rice plantations in South Carolina), *The Battle of Bunker Hill: Now We Are At War*, and *Clara Barton's House: Home of the American Red Cross*. Among the lesson plans to be added in the near future are *From Canterbury to Little Rock: The Struggle for Educational Equality for African Americans* and *The Washington Monument: Tribute in Stone*.

Historic places in Kingston, New York, Central Vermont, and Charleston, South Carolina, were highlighted as the first projects in an ongoing series of community-based

travel itineraries. The Register is creating these travel itineraries in partnership with local groups interested in developing heritage tourism for their community, and with assistance from the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers and the National Alliance of Preservation Commissions. In addition, a Washington, DC, travel itinerary featuring nearly 100 sites was launched in October in connection with the National Trust for Historic Preservation's National Preservation Conference, held in Washington. These travel itineraries joined the eight earlier travel itineraries, which focused on large cities or broad themes. *Journey Through Hallowed Ground: Route 15 Through the Virginia Piedmont* is the latest travel itinerary launched this spring, which focuses on sites located along this historic route that tell the history of this colorful region. Watch for new lesson plans, travel itineraries, and periodic celebratory features as they are unveiled throughout the year at the homepage of the National Register web site <[www.cr.nps.gov/nr](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr)>.

## Preserving a Piece of History

**T**he Battle of Wilson's Creek (called Oak Hills by the Confederates) was fought 10 miles southwest of Springfield, Missouri on August 10, 1861. Named for a stream that crosses the area where the battle took place, it was a bitter struggle between Union and Confederate forces for control of Missouri in the first year of the Civil War.

A Confederate First National or "Stars and Bars" pattern flag is a rare piece of history. Wilson's Creek is fortunate to not only have a First National Flag in its collection, but this particular flag was carried at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in 1861. The identity of the unit that carried the flag may never be known, but it was captured on a portion of the battlefield used as a campsite by Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri cavalry units. Those units were the Third Texas Cavalry, First Arkansas Mounted Rifles, First Arkansas Cavalry (State Troops), and Brown's and Major's Missouri State Guard Cavalry.

Theodore Cline Albright, a private in Company C, First U.S. Cavalry Regiment, was temporarily detached from his company and served with the Second U.S. Dragoon Regiment during the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Private Albright successfully retrieved the flag during the fighting and carried it back into Springfield when the Union army left the battlefield. According to stories passed down through the family, Pvt. Albright lost one of the flag's stars as a souvenir to his company commander. Somewhere along the line he lost other pieces of the flag to souvenir hunters, but he managed to bring the rest of the flag home to St. Louis after his discharge from the Regular Army in 1861.

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield was officially established as a unit of the National Park Service in April 1960. Through the efforts of the Wilson's Creek Foundation, a group of local individuals, the site had received national recognition. Through the years, many artifacts relating to the history of the battle and the area were given to the park to preserve and maintain.

The Confederate First National Flag stood out from the rest and with the help of a local organization the park was able to preserve this important piece of history.

In April 1990, Charles Hudson and Theodore E. Albright III, Pvt. Albright's great grandson, donated the flag to the National Park Service and Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. The piece remained in the park's collection, in need of conservation treatment, until 1997 when another local group became involved with this piece of history.

The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), General James H. McBride Camp #632, graciously agreed to lead the fundraising efforts to have the flag professionally conserved. According to John Wolfe, Camp Commander of the SCV, the flag "is a symbol of the heritage of our ancestors as well as an archive of history that needed to be preserved." The flag was the main symbol of the new Confederate nation, just as the "Stars and Stripes" is a symbol today of the United States. It was also the point of rally and guidance for the troops in the field. "Follow the flag" was heard many times on the battlefield. It was considered an honor to not only carry the flag into battle but to lay down one's life for it. On the other hand, it was a great disgrace to lose the flag to the enemy; as a result, it was highly sought after by the enemy. The Confederate First National served as the official flag of the Confederacy for two years and was then replaced by the Second National Flag. One of the reasons for the change in flag by the Confederate government was that the First National was very similar in appearance to the Stars and Stripes and had caused some confusion on the battlefield.

The SCV and the park entered into an agreement to conserve and preserve this important piece of history. The SCV agreed to raise all the money necessary to conserve the piece, including shipping and storage, and the park agreed to be the liaison with the conservator and provide for the public enjoyment of the flag unimpaired for future generations by displaying

*Confederate First National Flag as received by Textile Preservation Associates.*

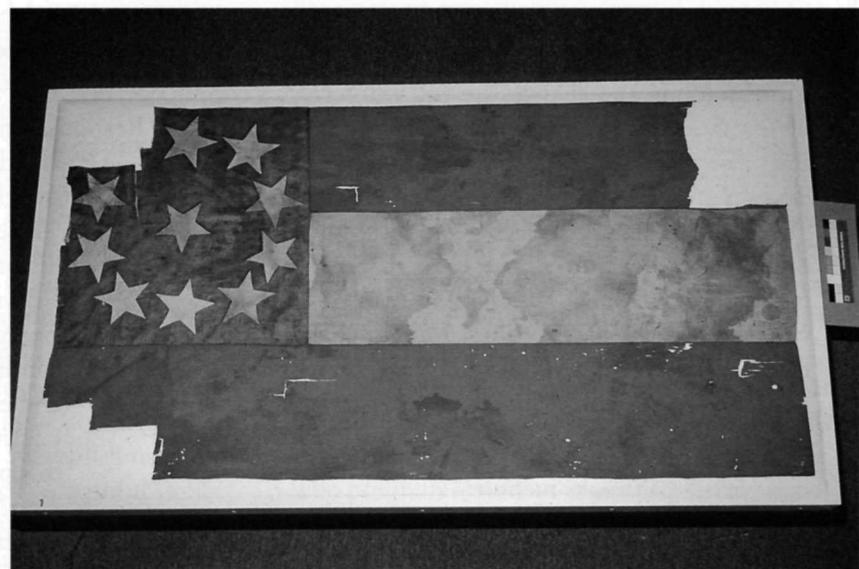
the piece in the visitors center.

The flag was first appraised by local Civil War collector and owner of General Sweeney's Museum of Civil War History, Dr. Thomas P. Sweeney. According to Sweeney, "There are no battle honors on the flag since this was probably the first battle in which it was flown. This is a rare flag in that there are very few known Confederate flags still in existence from this battle." Next, the flag was sent to Textile Preservation Associates in Maryland for treatment.

*Confederate First National Flag after conservation treatment and framing.*

The flag was heavily stained and soiled throughout and there were several tears in it, plus the areas where pieces had been removed for souvenirs. The flag was first photographed, then the fibers, fabrics, and sewing threads were analyzed, and scale drawings were made. It was then vacuum cleaned to remove airborne particles, and tested to see if wet cleaning was possible. Acidity levels in the flag tested between 4.0 and 4.4 so the decision was made to wash it. It was de-acidified in deionized water, blotted to remove excess water, and flattened under glass weights. Some color was lost in the blue canton area, so that area was covered with a layer of Blue Stabiltex to restore the color and enhance the appearance of the canton. The flag was then pressure mounted in a custom built frame and ultra-violet filtering plexiglass laid over it.

This piece of history is now proudly displayed in the visitors center at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield. The agreement between Wilson's Creek and the SCV is an excellent example of a partnership between a private volunteer agency and the National Park Service. The local Sons of Union Veterans Camp have also taken up



the challenge of preserving their heritage. They are currently raising funds to preserve a Union guidon to hang proudly next to the Confederate First National flag.

Without the assistance of the SCV this important piece of history might have remained in storage for an extended period. Now it is displayed prominently in the visitors center, where the public can learn about the significant role the flag played in the Battle of Wilson's Creek and in the Civil War.

*Connie Slaughter is the historian at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield.*

Photos courtesy Textile Preservation Associates.

## Preservation Briefs: Celebrating 25 Years

The year 2000 marks the 25th anniversary of Preservation Briefs. "PBs" are a well-known series of illustrated pamphlets serving architects, homeowners, contractors, public administrators, students, and preservationists of every kind. In 1975, Technical Preservation Services (TPS), a branch of the National Park Service Heritage Preservation Services Program, published "PB 1." Since then, TPS has issued 40 others. (Of the 40, 29 were written or co-authored by TPS staff; all others were edited by TPS staff and ushered through the production process.) And TPS has kept every one in print for 25 years!

Attend a meeting of a local historic district review commission to discuss a new addition to a historic building, and chances are you will receive a copy of "Preservation Brief 14." Take a college course on the preservation of historic farm buildings, and chances are the professor will use "Preservation Brief 20" as a basic text. Hire a preservation professional to monitor graffiti removal, and chances are the consultant will first turn to "Preservation Brief 38" before writing cleaning specifications. Indeed, chances are that *any* preservationist doing *anything* on a historic building *anywhere* in the country will turn to a Preservation Brief.

Series hallmarks include:

### Variety

PBs cover a great variety of topics:

- *Materials*: Adobe (PB 5); Terra Cotta (PB 7), Concrete (PB 15), Plaster (PB 21 and PB 23), Stucco (PB 22), Cast Iron (PB 27), and Stained Glass (PB 33)
- *Building Features*: Roofing (PB 4), Wooden Windows (PB 9), Storefronts (PB 11), Exterior Additions (PB 14), Interiors (PB 18)
- *Preservation Treatments*: Cleaning and Waterproof Coating (PB 1), Repointing Mortar Joints (PB 2), Dangers of Abrasive Cleaning (PB 6), Heating, Ventilating and Cooling Historic Buildings (PB 24), Painting Historic Interiors (PB 28)
- *Building Types and Other Resources*: Barns (PB 20), Signs (PB 25), Cultural Landscapes (PB 36)
- *Health and Safety Issues*: Reducing Lead-Paint Hazards (PB 37), Seismic Retrofit (PB 41)

- *Researching Historic Buildings*: Identifying Architectural Character (PB 17), Understanding Old Buildings (PB 35)
- *Social Issues*: Accessibility (PB 32), and Conserving Energy (PB 3)

### Broad Outreach

- Over *two million* copies of the 41 Preservation Briefs have been distributed.
- TPS has given hundreds of thousands of free copies to State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs).
- TPS has taken great efforts to ensure that every brief has remained in print.
- Briefs are offered at a very modest cost: most cost \$1.00; the most expensive are never more than \$2.00.

### Responsiveness to Preservation Community

TPS has developed PBs in response to specific needs of the preservation community:

- The energy crisis of the late 1970s threatened historic buildings—especially their windows. TPS responded with "PB 3: Conserving Energy in Historic Buildings."
- Sandblasting was widespread in the late 1970s and early 1980s. "PB 6: Dangers of Abrasive Cleaning to Historic Buildings" helped stem this practice.
- The National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers requested information on historic barns from NPS. The result: "PB 20: The Preservation of Historic Barns."
- The Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) posed new challenges for owners of historic buildings. TPS responded with "PB 32: Making Historic Properties Accessible."

### Continuing Series Development

- TPS continues to develop topics with the needs of the preservation community firmly in mind. In the works are "PBs" on Building Maintenance, Cast Stone, Historic Interior Trim, Historic Structure Reports, and Porches.
- The PB series has entered the 21st century. TPS has posted all 41 of the "PBs" on the World Wide Web, and is working to take advantage of the new possibilities the Internet offers in the design and production of future "PBs."

# The Power of Place

## Using Historic Structures to Teach Children about Slavery

As part of an impassioned speech delivered at the 1826 meeting of the American Colonization Society, George Washington Parke Custis declared slavery “the mightiest serpent to ever infest the earth.” Custis, a wealthy planter and grandson of Martha Washington, viewed the enslavement of human beings as “the unhappy error of our forefathers.” Yet Custis himself owned many slaves, and continued to hold them in bondage until his death in 1857. The construction of Custis’ stately mansion, Arlington House, and the graceful lifestyle it symbolized would not have been possible without the use of slave labor. Custis’ ambivalence concerning slavery reveals the moral and psychological dilemma that many 19th-century Americans, including some slaveholders, associated with slavery.

Nearly 150 years after its abolishment, slavery remains a complex and often painful subject for contemporary audiences. In 1995, a Library of Congress exhibit on plantation life which featured images of slaves so disturbed some black employees that the exhibit was cancelled. In a similar vein, 1,100 members of the Southern Heritage Coalition demanded the removal of the superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park after he stated that slavery may have been a cause of the Civil War. Historians and educators at historic sites and museums have encountered substantial obstacles in their attempts to establish meaningful dialogues on the history of slavery and race relations in the United States. At times, adult audiences find the subject of slavery so painful that they are reluctant to engage in the very discussions that should occur in the nation’s historic places.

Dialogues on slavery often prove far less emotional for young audiences, and yet children are not always targeted for inclusion in such conversations. In recent years, the interpretive staff of

Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial has made a concerted effort to introduce the subject of slave life to children, who may represent the audience most ready to discuss the realities of slavery. Two of the site’s educational programs have proven remarkably successful. One of the cornerstones of the “Parks as Classrooms” program for elementary grades is to educate children about slave life at Arlington. The success of these programs can be attributed to three factors: the introduction of the subject of slavery to students at an early age; the use of the physical structure of the house itself to encourage critical thinking; and the interactive component of the program which allows children to arrive at their own conclusions about slave life.

Individual educational programs have been developed for the kindergarten-to-second grade children and the third-to-fifth grade students. The program for the younger pupils consists of a guided house tour and a hands-on activity, some of which replicate tasks that the slaves performed. Both components allow students to compare and contrast the day-to-day experiences of the slave children and the Lee children. The same approach is used for the third-to-fifth graders, who are expected to draw more sophisticated conclusions about the slave/owner relationship. At the conclusion of the program, students are taken inside one of the original slave quarters so that they may contrast the physical living conditions of the Lee family to those of the slaves.

Throughout the guided tour, the physical structure of the house provides a constant reminder of the day-to-day experiences of the house slaves. As students tour the oldest wing of the house, which was primarily a work area, they must navigate low doorways, a narrow staircase, and dark passageways that demarcate the areas of the house associated with the slaves. The large open hearth and heavy cookware found in the



Sallie Norris, an Arlington slave. Her daughter, Selina Gray, served as Mrs. Lee's housekeeper. Photo courtesy Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial.

kitchen speak volumes about the difficulties slaves experienced as they prepared food. When students contrast the dark, steep stairs used by the slaves to the graceful family staircase, the polarity clearly demonstrates the social and racial hierarchy that existed inside Arlington's walls. At the conclusion of the program, the children tour one of the original slave quarters. The cold and dampness that

penetrate the cramped, spartan rooms provide palpable evidence of the daily living conditions of the Arlington slaves.

After the house tour, students engage in hands-on activities that provide them with yet another opportunity to draw conclusions about slavery. The younger students replicate tasks that would have been performed by slaves, such as scrubbing clothing on a washboard and carrying and stacking wood. Engaging in such work for even a short period of time impresses upon the children the vast amount of physical labor slaves exerted on a daily basis. The third-to-fifth graders participate in activities that require a greater degree of critical thinking. Those who take part in the food preparation program are expected to draw conclusions about the division of labor that existed between the slaves and their owners in the daily preparation of meals. By participating in tasks that mimic the work carried out by slaves, students arrive at the understanding that the lifestyle Arlington House symbolizes would not have existed without the presence and labor of slaves.

Throughout the program, the children are encouraged to draw their own conclusions about the nature of slavery as it existed at Arlington. The contradictions voiced by George Custis in the 19th century provide thought-provoking questions for contemporary visitors. Students are exposed to both the typically laborious nature of the Arlington slaves' existence as well as the more unusual aspects of their condition. The Custis and Lee families provided their slaves with a rudi-

mentary education, spending money, and specialized medical care. Complex relationships between owner and slave are also examined. For her slave Selina Gray, Mary Custis Lee arranged an elaborate wedding ceremony, which was conducted by an Episcopal priest in the same room of the house in which Mrs. Lee herself had been married. As students attempt to reconcile the inherently exploitive nature of slavery with examples of humane treatment that existed at Arlington, they begin to realize that some of the questions raised during the program have no answers.

Student response to the programs has been extremely positive. Many of them express great excitement at the opportunity to learn about slave life. The power of place is critical, and for many students the highlight of their experience is the visit to the slave quarters. Their reactions to the program have included comments such as "I liked it when you showed us the slave quarters" and "I really like to see the place where the slaves lived and the kitchen where they cooked." By engaging children in dialogues about the nature of slavery at an early age, historians and educators can provide a comfortable environment in which this sensitive subject can be discussed. Ironically, the programs are directed at a youthful audience, but often provide a rewarding and educational experience for adults who visit during school tours.

Future efforts to include children in conversations about slavery and race must be given serious consideration, for such efforts will undoubtedly result in a generation of adults less ill at ease with the subject. Historic places provide a tangible link to the past, and thus offer unique educational experiences that cannot be replicated in a classroom. In their recent study, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen discovered that nearly 80% of those surveyed believe museums and historic sites represent the best opportunity for Americans to learn "real" history. Historians and educators at these places must be willing to develop innovative methods to ensure an environment in which enlightenment about complicated historical issues such as slavery can occur. Reaching out to the youngest members of the audience may prove an excellent first step in the process.

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Karen Byrne is the historian at Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial, Arlington, Virginia.

# Preserving Historic and Archeological Materials Found During Construction

**D**evelopment of all types requires thoughtful analysis of existing conditions to ascertain its total potential impact on existing historic buildings, site features, and archeological materials. Concern for the preservation of specific buildings can be traced back to 1813, when a group of concerned citizens banded together in an attempt to stop the sale of the Pennsylvania State House, now known as Independence Hall. Beginning with the Antiquities Act of 1906 and continuing with the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the United States government established the conceptual framework for preserving our nation's cultural heritage. However, federal, state, and local regulations are not enough to prevent the loss of valuable historic material. Where construction activities are concerned, this is best addressed in a contractual manner. This is particularly important for unseen conditions such as archeological remnants, hidden early structural systems, or decorative finishes that have been subsequently covered over.

An intricate network of interrelated documents and contracts regulate the activities required at a construction project site. The Drawings and Specifications describe the designers' vision; Codes and Standards stipulate the minimum health, safety, and welfare requirements; Correspondence, Field Reports, Change Orders and similar written information clarify and enumerate other project requirements; the Construction Contract and related General Conditions for Construction provide the terms under which the work is to be performed and the responsibilities of all the various parties involved. While at times all of this documentation may appear to be excessive, each performs a vital role in establishing the rights and responsibilities of all involved parties.

It has been established that the single greatest cause of contractor claims for damages and

changes to the contract sum arise from requests for compensation for work that was required but not clearly stated in the contract documents. Most project requirements can be fixed before construction activity begins; however, virtually every project has the potential for unforeseen circumstances developing that require changes to the project requirements. Of all of the various documents that specify the project requirements, it is the Construction Contract that defines what actions are to be taken in the event any unforeseen circumstances arise. Because a contract is a two-way agreement, there is both a benefit to the owner whereby the contractor becomes sensitized to the site and the potential for unforeseen discoveries, and also to the contractor whereby he gains the assurance that he will be compensated if the work schedule changes to address the discovery.

Researchers from the University of Florida College of Architecture conducted a study of over 50 different construction contracts currently used by various federal, state, and local agencies plus key private sector organizations. The contracts were examined and a list of contract provisions that would provide increased protections for historic material was compiled. The following is guidance for the creation of clauses that are recommended to be included within a construction contract. The exact language may vary, but together they will greatly increase the level of protection afforded the historic material.

***Establish That the General Contractor Must Immediately Stop Work if Historic or Archeological Materials Are Discovered During Construction.*** Once historic or archeological materials are found, or it is suspected that they are present, it is important that the contractor immediately stop work to prevent further potential damage to the integrity of the site. It should not be left up to the contractor to decide if the discovery is noteworthy; rather, the work should simply stop until an appropriate person can make an informed evaluation of the discovery. This

clause will head off the contractor "digging a little more" to determine the extent of the discovery and in the process destroying any materials that may be present.

***Establish the Required Procedure for Giving Notice When Historic or Archeological Materials Are Discovered.*** It is not sufficient for the contractor to stop work when historic or archeological materials are discovered. The contract should also establish the requirement that proper notification of the find be made to the appropriate responsible party: contract officer, owner's representative, design professional, project archeologist, or agency staff member. This clause should establish the contractor's obligation to provide proper notification of the discovery, the person(s) to be notified, the time period within which the notification is to be given, and the form of the notification. It is normally desirable to have the contractor notify the contract's officer in person or by telephone within a relatively short time of the discovery (perhaps eight hours) and that this action should be followed within a day or two by written confirmation.

***Establish the Maximum Duration of the Work Suspension.*** If the contractor is required to stop work when historic or archeological materials are discovered, it is only reasonable to stipulate a time frame in which the evaluation of the discovery will be made. It should be noted that the suspension of work activities could be costly to a contractor. By stipulating a reasonable limit for the suspension period, the risk to the contractor can be greatly reduced. Seventy-two hours is a common maximum period for work suspension. This allows adequate time for preliminary archeological or other investigations that may be required to confirm the significance of the discovery.

***Establish the Contractor's Obligations for Protecting Historic or Archeological Materials.***

While it may appear self-evident that historic properties, archeological sites, and paleontological findings are not to be destroyed, clear contract language to that effect can avoid any ambiguity on this subject.

***Establish the Ownership of any Discovered Historic or Archeological Materials.*** Much confusion and disagreement can be avoided if the contract establishes ownership of any historic or archeological materials discovered on the project site. This is done to make it absolutely clear to

the construction crews that looting will not be tolerated. It is common for the owner of the property to claim ownership of all materials discovered on the property. However, since the nature of the discovery may not be specifically known at the time of contract development, it may not be possible to be more specific about exact and final ownership or entitlement to historic materials, until after the discovery is made. This is particularly the case with Native American sites.

***Establish the Contractor's Obligation to Participate in Any Salvage Operation, When So Directed.*** Some construction contracts contain clauses that stipulate the contractor may be obligated to assist in the excavation and salvage efforts. Such contract clauses are worthwhile and pose little concern. It is simply left up to the owner to later decide if this provision is to be enforced. The specific circumstances of the discovery will undoubtedly play a major role in determining if the contractor has the necessary skills and resources to be beneficial in the salvage and preservation of the historic or archeological materials.

***Establish the Conditions for Resuming Construction Activity Following a Work Suspension.*** Just as the contract clearly states the conditions under which the construction work is to be suspended, similar clarity should be used concerning the resumption of the construction activities. Specifically, the contract should be clear as to the nature of communication that the contractor must receive from the owner, or owner's representative, prior to resuming construction. It is advisable that the notification be written to eliminate any ambiguity over the owner's intent.

***Establish the Terms for Contract Adjustments Due to Work Suspension.*** There should be no doubt that this is perhaps the most important issue to address in the contract. If the contractor is obligated to stop work when a discovery is made, then there needs to be provisions in the contract for adjustments to the contract time period and contract sum in order to reimburse the contractor for any losses resulting from the work suspension. If the contractor does not have any promise of reimbursement for any schedule delays and added expense associated with the work suspension then the contract may be viewed as one-sided and the discovery of his-

toric or archeological resources poses a potential economic liability. As a result, a discovery may become "unnoticed" by the contractor to avoid the uncompensated burden that the discovery brings.

*The Owner's Right to Terminate the Contract for the Purpose of Protecting Significant Historic or Archeological Materials.* There is always the possibility that a discovery is of such magnitude that the entire project may have to be canceled. For example, the discovery of burial grounds would pose a sensitive problem. Therefore, the contract should reserve the owner's right to terminate the contract should a significant archeological or paleontological site be found. While the power of such provisions is seldom exercised, it is considered appropriate to address such a possibility.

*Establish Any Other Project Specific Provisions.* When drafting the contract, it is wise to consider any other information that might be appropriate for inclusion. For example, if significant historic or prehistoric sites were located in the vicinity of the construction site, it would be appropriate to give some particulars such as a site map indicating areas with high archeological potential, or photographs illustrating examples of

the types of historic material that may be found. In this way, the construction personnel would be alerted to watch for archeological evidence. This material should be reviewed at the pre-construction conference as an orientation for the key on-site personnel.

*Conclusions and Recommendations.* While pre-construction historic and archeological assessments of project sites have proven to be an invaluable tool for safeguarding the integrity of some sites, the process is not infallible and unanticipated discoveries are routinely found after construction has begun. A few simple provisions can be added to most standard construction contracts to mitigate the potential for damage to or total destruction of the site's historic, archeological, and paleontological integrity. It is not sufficient, however, to simply include a comment about potential discoveries of historic and archeological materials in the construction contract, instead, contract clauses must be carefully crafted, or the effort will be in vain.

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*Assistant Professor Gregory A. Hall and Professor Jimmie Hinze, Interim Associate Dean, are both with the University of Florida College of Architecture.*

## **Discover the Places that Make America Great!**

The definitive guide to the country's national historic landmarks is now available. *NATIONAL LANDMARKS, AMERICA'S TREASURES: The National Park Foundation's Complete Guide to National Historic Landmarks* was written by S. Allen Chambers, Jr., with a foreword by Hillary Rodham Clinton.

National historic landmarks are nationally significant buildings, structures, sites, districts, and objects officially designated by the Secretary of the Interior. Chambers writes:

The diversity that characterizes our nation's heritage is documented by nearly 2,300 National Historic Landmarks in the 50 states and seven U.S. jurisdictions, reflecting almost every imaginable important aspect of our nation's history. The range of properties represented in the program reflects changing perceptions about which events, ideas, and experiences have most influenced American history.... They are places where significant historical events occurred, where prominent Americans worked or lived, that represent the ideas that shaped the nation, that provided important information about our past, or that are outstanding examples of design or construction.

Read about such nationally significant places as the Mark Twain House (Connecticut), Helen Keller's childhood home (Alabama), the Little Tokyo Historic District (California), and the site of the first detonation of a nuclear device (New Mexico). *NATIONAL LANDMARKS, AMERICA'S TREASURES* was based on information in the National Park Service's nomination files for each national historic landmark. Organized by state and county, the book describes each national historic landmark, and includes 385 illustrations. For more information about this book, contact John Wiley & Sons at 1-800-225-5945 or [custser@wiley.com](mailto:custser@wiley.com). For more information about the National Historic Landmarks Program, see <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/>.

*Robie Lange  
Historian  
National Historic Landmarks Program*

# ANCS+ at San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park

## A Progress Report

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In 1996, San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park (SAFR) was a test site for the new Automated National Cataloging System (ANCS+) designed by software company Re:discovery for Windows, Inc. Staff from the Museum Management Program spent a week installing and demonstrating the new program and training users. The SAFR Collections Management Department and the Historic Documents Department (HDD) then began an ongoing process of testing and implementing the program.

ANCS+ has been a boon for tracking collection activity. The museum collection at SAFR is a very active one. Unlike many NPS areas, SAFR operates much like a typical history museum, rather than a historic site with a more-or-less static collection. In a typical year, 100-150 accessions are recorded (59 have already been recorded in the first three months of FY2000). Both incoming and outgoing loans are routine transactions. With the expanded de-accessioning authorities resulting from the 1996 amendment to the Museum Properties Act of 1955, the park is actively de-accessioning out-of-scope items.

The new functionality in ANCS+ greatly aids the registrar, Judy Hitzeman, in tracking and updating collection activity. Location tracking is proving to be especially useful, as items move on and off exhibit or loan. Having the system on a local area network permits other park staff to check on the status of items without having to go through the registrar. In addition, the system facilitates the collection of accurate accession information and data entry at the time of acquisition reduces staff time spent on recording accession information.

Maintaining the program on a network requires that strict procedures be written and fol-

lowed to avoid confusion and erroneous or inconsistent entries. SAFR staff meet once a month to discuss problems, pitfalls, and discoveries that help make the program more useful for all.

HDD staff found the test-version of the Archives Module installed in 1996 promising, but rudimentary. In December 1996, the supervisory archivist, Mary Jo Pugh, attended a meeting in Washington with other NPS archivists and David Edwards, the president of Re:discovery for Windows, Inc., to identify additional functions needed to improve its usefulness as a tool for professional archival practices. SAFR archivists Taylor Horton, Erica Toland, and this author spent over a year testing the module and requesting modifications. In the fall of 1997, David Edwards spent two days with the staff discussing the Archives Discipline Screen (ADS), the implementation of the Machine-Readable Cataloging (MARC) format, and planning conversion of legacy data from dBase.

One of the park's goals is to have a single program to manage all local collection management activities. The combination of the Collections Management Module and the Archives Module presented the possibility of accomplishing this goal. A fundamental change to the program was the addition of the ADS in the Collections Management Module. Completing this screen and the basic registration and cataloging screens creates a complete collection level record. This record can be sent to the Archives Module, a hierarchically-arranged set of screens that parallel the structure of archival collections. Fields were selected to match MARC tags compatible with online bibliographic networks, such as the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN). Content of the fields will be formatted to meet the standard in the style manual "Archives, Personal Papers, and

Manuscripts" (APPM) in order for the data to be accepted by RLIN and other networks.

HDD staff has not yet realized their goal of having a single program to manage all aspects of archival collections. For example, the program does not manage backlogs sufficiently. Photo archivist Taylor Horton has devised an Access database to track unprocessed collections. As the database is used and refined, staff may eventually request custom programming from Re:Discovery to incorporate this necessary feature for archives management into ANCS+.

Another goal is to streamline access to archival collections. Currently there is a combination of handwritten and typewritten card catalogs, accession lists, and typed and dBase-generated finding aids. Providing access to all the holdings currently requires extensive mediation to guide researchers through this complex body of finding aids.

Implementation of the public search function in the Collections Management and Archives modules for use by all park staff and the public is one of the next major goals. Issues of levels of access and selection of fields are being discussed.

A major objective is to complete a retrospective conversion of all pre-automation and dBase legacy data and integrate it with ANCS legacy data in the new ANCS+ program that was released in 1998. Staff is standardizing the data content to meet national standards so it can be exported to the Internet through RLIN <<http://www.rlg.org/rlin.html>>, the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC) <<http://lcweb.loc.gov/coll/nucmc>>

and the Online Archive of California (OAC) <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org>>, though the export feature has not yet been tried. There are a number of reasons for exporting data: to send it to online bibliographic networks in the national standard MARC; to export finding aids to the Internet coded in SGML to make our collections accessible to a world-wide audience; to provide a structure for linking digital images of documents to cataloging records and finding aids; and to provide integrated access to all park resources in the archival, museum, and library collections.

Outside the NPS, developments for providing access to archival finding aids have paralleled the park's efforts with ANCS+. A new national standard for formatting finding aids, Encoded Archival Description (EAD) uses Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) to markup finding aids. The OAC has facilitated the debut of some of SAFR's finding aids on Internet. These fully searchable finding aids can be accessed through a "hot link" on RLIN records or on the OAC site under San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park.

Implementation of the ANCS+ archives module by the HDD staff continues to be time-intensive: creating an internal procedures manual that defines use of the fields including content and formatting; working on the park lexicon with library staff; providing input on the forthcoming Archives Module User Manual; and meeting regularly with the park's registrar to work out issues of implementation.

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## ***Historical Research in the National Park Service***

Every year, *CRM* publishes the current list of historical research in the National Park Service. This year's list will be included only with the online edition of this issue of *CRM*. Over the years, the list of current and ongoing research has increased in length and rather than edit the list down to more manageable proportions necessary for print, we have decided to publish the full list online. You can view this list at <<http://www.cr.nps.gov/crm>>. Any questions concerning the list of historical research should be directed to Harry\_Butowsky@nps.gov or Harry Butowsky at 202-343-8155. Further information concerning the History Program of the National Park Service can be found at <<http://www.cr.nps.gov/history>>.

# Traditional Land Use as Starting Point

## Opening Cross-cultural Dialogue at Crater Lake and Lava Beds

National Park Service units were established on some of the most dramatic landscapes and at some of the most historically significant locations of the West. As such, many—perhaps most—NPS units contain places of enduring significance to American Indians: hunting and gathering areas, sacred sites, and settlements. Strong personal or collective ties to these landscapes often persist among contemporary American Indians and this cultural significance can pre-date the establishment of park units by millennia. The potential for cross-cultural discord, therefore, is woven into the structure of parks, as these lands have come under the stewardship of people who possess values, beliefs, and expectations quite different from those of nearby tribes. Some park units have attempted to meet this challenge, while others have not—a situation arising more from individual personalities than overarching NPS policy (Keller and Turek 1998). Increasingly, however, tribes assert treaty rights within park boundaries and seek to engage NPS policies within formal government-to-government relations.

Crater Lake National Park, Oregon, and Lava Beds National Monument, California—located on the northern and southern ends of the Klamath Basin, respectively—have long been areas of particular cultural significance to native peoples, particularly the Klamath and Modoc Indians. Crater Lake is a well-documented sacred site, serving traditionally as a place for vision quests and shamanistic training. Portions of this park were originally included in the lands allocated to the Klamath Tribes (consisting of the linguistically associated Klamath and Modoc peoples, as well as Paiute ‘Yahooskins’) in their 1864 treaty with the United States government. Hunting and gathering sites located within the present national park were used by some tribal members well into the 20th century, often as part of a “seasonal round” that included extended

stays at berry picking sites on adjacent national forest land. Lava Beds National Monument contains remnants of numerous villages, burial grounds, and hunting camps. These sites are equally significant to tribal members as the event leading to presidential designation of this monument in 1925—the Modocs’ ill-fated last stand against the U.S. Army in 1872-73. Abundant archeological materials persist within both parks, often corroborating ethnographic accounts. Clearly, within the contemporary political climate, issues of access, interpretation, and management loom around both of these park units.

Tribal members still visit certain sites, and some traditional uses persist in these parks. Simultaneously, park management has proven incompatible with some traditional uses, and past park managers have been, at most, vaguely aware of the enduring significance and use of Crater Lake and Lava Beds to tribal members. Consequently, the NPS had not addressed the concerns of this constituency in any consistent or systematic way. The agency lacked ethnographic information on both park units specifically and on traditional land uses generally. Although park officials knew the identity of associated tribes, they had not developed ongoing collaborative interactions or formal consultation procedures with the federally recognized Klamath Tribes.

Since managers at both parks needed to consult with the same tribal government, there was a compelling case for a traditional use study uniting both ends of the Klamath Basin. Recognizing the wide range of cross-cultural issues facing these two parks, Fred York (cultural anthropologist for the NPS Columbia-Cascades Cluster) and Steve Mark developed a scope of work for a traditional use study of both parks. Unlike a more conventional ethnographic overview and assessment that draws from existing materials, York and Mark proposed a study that would additionally seek tribal input on, and provide an analysis of, future resource interpretation



Modoc medicine flag left by tribal members at Lava Beds National Monument.

and management. As such, the Crater Lake/Lava Beds Traditional Use Study represents an innovative effort to bridge certain enduring divides—cultural, historical, administrative—between the NPS and local tribes. The contract was awarded to Douglas Deur, a researcher specializing in traditional land use and cultural geography who has collaborative research experience with Pacific Northwest tribes. The Klamath Tribes then hired tribal member Orin “Buzz” Kirk to serve as research liaison, with NPS allocated funding.

The study now seeks to identify and locate culturally significant sites and landscape features. Further, by interviewing tribal members, and looking for recurring narrative themes, this study has identified many perceptions of the land that appear to be shared and intersubjective. By emphasizing the *geographic* dimensions of traditional land use, in lieu of conventional ethnographic information, the study has already identified a wealth of previously unrecorded information about both parks. Contextualized within a broader discussion of resource use patterns and sacred geographies, such “data” provides a valuable tool for NPS managers. The study methodology was designed not merely to gather information, but also to be of mutual benefit and to develop a lasting dialogue between the NPS and local tribes. To that end, the NPS agreed to permanently archive tape recordings, notes, and other project materials with the Klamath Tribes, so that consultants’ families might continue to access these materials in the future.

This research has also identified points of contention between tribal members and the NPS. Some consultants express resentment over past archeological excavations and prohibitions on hunting within or near park boundaries. There is concern about interpretive media that they feel misrepresents tribal activities or beliefs, and some perceive the establishment of these parks as an uncompensated ‘taking’ of treaty land. Many see paying entrance fees to access traditional sacred sites as an unacceptable limitation on their reli-

gious freedom; more than one tribal consultant has asked, “what if we started charging you money to go to church?” A few of these issues may be easily resolved through government-to-government memoranda of understanding, for example, while others may prove relatively insurmountable. At the very least, these concerns are now clearly identified for present and future NPS managers.

As traditional knowledge reflects culturally rooted understandings of the world, so too do peoples’ expectations about how such information is to be used. Once a sacred site is identified, for example, how should it be managed? Often there are no simple or singular answers. Likewise, a collection of ethnographic facts does not point, unambiguously, to a representation of traditional use that would be appropriate for park interpretive media. Visitors to NPS units certainly should receive accurate information about past and present Native American uses of parks—but without violating tribes’ notions about privacy and proprietary knowledge (Rundstrom and Deur 1999). With this in mind, interviews also involve asking tribal consultants how (or if) traditional knowledge might be presented to general audiences.

The questions identified through this study will ultimately be as important as the answers it provides, as the questions shall inform future dialogue and subsequent research. This study has already created a dialogue, improving relations between the NPS and the Klamath Tribes. This may help insure that meaningful tribal consultation becomes an integral part of interpretation and planning at both parks. As one tribal consultant, hearing of the study’s goals, exclaimed, “it’s about time!”

## References

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*Douglas Deur is a researcher with advanced degrees in anthropology and geography. He is chair of the Association of American Geographers’ American Indian Specialty Group.*

*Steve Mark is the park historian at Crater Lake National Park.*

## The Skutumpah Mammoth Excavation

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In the New World, the disciplines of paleontology and archeology converge about 11,000 years ago when Pleistocene megafauna roamed the Colorado Plateau and Paleoindian hunters of the Clovis Tradition were killing and butchering mammoths and mastodons. Nearly all Clovis sites date to a narrow window of time between 11,200 and 10,900 years ago. After that period, the megafauna of the Colorado Plateau become extinct. Whether Clovis hunters caused the extinctions, or simply killed off the last of dwindling populations that were declining because of a changing climate, is a subject of considerable interest and debate.

In the fall of 1999, a Bureau of Land Management (BLM) range conservationist Rick Olyer was conducting vegetation studies on the Skutumpah Terrace in southcentral Utah, when he noticed a large bone eroding out of an arroyo cut. Olyer reported the find to a paleontologist who suspected it to be a leg bone of a proboscidean. The bone was confirmed as a probable mammoth by Dr. David Gillette, Colbert Curator Paleontologist of the Museum of Northern Arizona and later by Dr. Larry Agenbroad of Northern Arizona University.

The Skutumpah Terrace constitutes one of the "steps" of the Grand Staircase—a series of cliff lines and tablelands that extend from the Grand Canyon north into Utah that eventually reach an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet. The Skutumpah mammoth was located just below the highest cliff line at an elevation of 6,500 feet. Present day vegetation in this zone is pinyon and juniper. It is hoped that paleoecological studies will reveal what type of environment the mammoth lived in.

The remains of a femur and the ends of a few ribs lay exposed in a wash cut that appeared to have been filled with alluvium in the recent

past (i.e. post-Pleistocene). Acting on this hunch, the author submitted a fragment of the femur for radiocarbon assay. A date of 11,390 +/- 40 BP allowed for the distinct possibility that the remains of the mammoth were the result of a Paleoindian kill rather than a natural death.

The location and sensitivity of the remains made immediate action necessary. Funds were allocated from the Utah State BLM Office and a cooperative agreement between the Museum of Northern Arizona and the Kanab Field Office was written that specified the roles of the museum personnel and those of the BLM.

Excavating the deeply buried remains of a mammoth is a labor intensive job. The BLM supplied a backhoe for the uppermost non-sensitive soil; the Museum brought rotating crews of high school students to assist with excavation of the more sensitive lower levels. The Flagstaff Arts and Leadership School, a charter institution located on the museum's campus, saw the excavation as an opportunity to experience "hands-on" science. Two rotating crews of four students and a teacher camped near the site for seven days. The students excavated, screened all the soil, and eventually participated in the plaster casting and removal of the bone. They will also assist in the museum laboratory by fine-screening a quantity of soil in the hopes of retrieving micro-refuse and eventually in the preparation of the bone.

The excavation strategy of trenching upstream and downstream eventually isolated the bone to a relatively small area. An excavation unit between the trenches exposed a quantity of bone in various states of preservation. Our best guess is that the animal died in the area and that additional bone occurs upslope. The museum and BLM personnel, with student help, will return in the spring to continue excavating.

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*Douglas McFadden is an archeologist with the Bureau of Land Management.*

# 19th-Century Depredators in Brooklyn

## The Naval Hospital Cemetery Story

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S ometime during the late 1820s or early 1830s, the Navy established a small burial ground on property they owned next to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, an important 19th-century shipyard. For about 80 years, sailors, Marines, and a smaller number of civilians who died in the nearby Brooklyn Naval Hospital or aboard Navy ships were buried there. In 1910, with little room remaining for additional burials, the cemetery was closed, and in 1926 the Navy sought to remove all remains from the cemetery and reinter them at a nearby national cemetery. At that time, Commander Norman J. Blackwood, director of the hospital, wrote:

I feel very much gratified at the successful termination of the project and feel sure that no one in the future will ever be able to say that in this transfer the Nation's dead were not properly taken care of. Certainly, nothing was left undone in a military or forensic way...<sup>1</sup>

Extensive research conducted by the Navy as part of the closure and transfer of this property, recommended by the Base Closure and Realignment Commission in 1988, ultimately disproved Commander Blackwood's statement.

In 1869, Henry P. Stiles, a noted 19th-century Brooklyn historian, described the cemetery as "a small but tasteful graveyard [that] offers a quiet resting place to those who die in the hospital."<sup>2</sup> However, other references indicate overcrowding, uncertainty on the number and location of burials, and poorly marked or unmarked graves. The poor condition of the cemetery at one point prompted the following U.S. Surgeon General statement:

This is a deplorable condition. [The cemetery] is in low damp ground.... The ground was never properly graded.<sup>3</sup>

Research suggests uncertainty among Navy officials during the 19th century regarding the number of individuals buried at the cemetery, such as Medical Inspector Delavan Bloodgood's 1881 report to the Surgeon General indicating many undocumented burials:

since... [1831] more than 1,100 [burials] have been registered and it is estimated that about 2,000 corpses have been buried.... Nearly every available spot has been occupied; indeed, it has several times occurred that in digging a new grave an old one has been encroached upon and parts of skeletons exhumed.<sup>4</sup>

Expansions to the cemetery led to many additional burials between 1882 and 1910. It seems likely that the graves for a number of these additional burials also "encroached upon" earlier, undocumented, burials. Eight years later another account suggests that uncertainties persisted:

The names of 1,800 deceased are recorded as having died on the station [Naval Station Brooklyn] or its vicinity and brought here for interment.... Only about 700 graves can however be identified, and the inscriptions on many headboards are now illegible.<sup>5</sup>

The report continues, "depredators find access for stealing flowers and on election-night purloining wooden head-boards to feed their bonfires." This issue of unmarked graves is repeated in other documents, including a complaint by Medical Director Thomas M. Potter that "many of the headstones or rather boards have rotted off."<sup>6</sup>

Several documents reference the impending need to close the Naval Hospital Cemetery and the preparations made for the disinterments. In a March 1910 letter, Dr. Edward Green, then the hospital's medical director, noted that "[m]any of the graves would be difficult to locate."<sup>7</sup> A memorandum concerning exhumation procedures stressed "the importance of measures to maintain beyond question the identity of the remains as exhumed and reencased...there must be no basis for possible criticism."<sup>8</sup>

Attempts at accuracy in tracking disinterments from the Naval Hospital Cemetery were clearly made, but due to the magnitude of the effort (up to 40 exhumations daily for two months) and the poor state of existing documentation, only 987 burials were removed for rebur-

Excavation unit showing in cross-section the burial shaft of a grave disinterred in 1926. The gutter spike is pointing at a coffin nail.

ial, and the identity of many was unknown or incorrect.

After the 1926 disinterment process, the semi-forested plot was cleared and graded to create a playing field. In the ensuing 50 or so years the Navy re-used the grassy space of the “former” cemetery for a variety of primarily recreational purposes although some more significant ground surface disturbances took place. The perception that the grassy area was no longer a cemetery persisted into the mid-1990s.

During the environmental review process associated with closure and transfer activities begun in 1988, and in compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act, the Navy conducted a number of cultural resource investigations on the station.

Soon after preparation of an initial cultural resource survey in 1994, community questions regarding the state of the cemetery began to arise, and undocumented burials became a central issue in the closure process. The Navy’s first step was to begin piecing together the disparate primary sources available on the Naval Hospital Cemetery. That research led to the conclusions that not all burials were disinterred in 1926, that disturbed burials and fragmentary human bone may be present, and that ground-penetrating radar [GPR] may assist in determining the state of the cemetery.<sup>9</sup>

A 1997 ground-proofing effort conducted on the site in association with the GPR survey provided conclusive evidence of the presence of burials.<sup>10</sup> The limited excavations exposed filled shaft features, small quantities of fragmentary human bone, and evidence of decayed coffins, and led to the discovery of a possibly intact human skeleton buried at a shallow depth.

These findings, particularly the possibly intact skeleton, demonstrated that the documentary record concerning interments at the cemetery needed to be better understood in order to manage this resource. This led to a final study, an intensive analysis of hospital and burial registers, to collect information regarding burials at the cemetery that are not documented as being removed.<sup>11</sup>



Analysis of hundreds of pages of primary source documents at over a dozen state and national repositories revealed that no documentation exists for the removal of at least 500 burials. Research encountered discrepancies in the number of burials and disinterments that took place at the cemetery, as well as missing, incomplete, and contradictory information.

Although the record-keeping problems uncovered at the circa 1830 Naval Hospital Cemetery are not historically unique, Commander Blackwood’s initial optimism might have proven embarrassing had he observed the Navy’s research effort. He would, however, be heartened to know that “nothing was left undone” in the Navy’s recent efforts to ensure the future protection of this significant cultural resource. The Navy ultimately determined the cemetery to be a contributing component to the surrounding National Register-eligible historic district.

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Photos courtesy J. Geismar.

The views presented in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the United States Department of Defense or its components.

## Photographic Conservation

The Centre for Photographic Conservation will offer a series of professional development training courses in the spring and summer of 2000 on aspects of photographic preservation and conservation. These courses offer conservators and other heritage professionals specialist training in this field, allowing them to polish their skills and upgrade their knowledge of current developments and techniques. For further information, the Center's web address is <http://www.cpc.moor.dial.pipex.com/>; the mailing address is 233 Stanstead Road, Forest Hill, London SE23 1HU, England UK.

## Tracing the Origins of an Idea

The history of Yellowstone National Park is, in some ways, very well documented. The presence of a research library, a National Archives and Records Administration affiliated archives, an extensive photographic collection, and numerous publications indicate that exhaustive research has centered on many facets of our nation's first national park. This project attempts to capture an elusive gap in Yellowstone's history—the evolution of the ideas that have shaped our current management philosophy of the park's wildlife populations.

Through first-person oral history interviews, this project opens a window to the Yellowstone of the 1960s and early 1970s. In the 1960s, park management plans called for the numerical reduction of both the elk and bison herds. Park staff accomplished this first through shooting and later by live trapping and shipping these animals. By the 1970s, however, Yellowstone's management philosophy had changed to that of "natural regulation," which is still adhered to today. Interviews with administrators, field biologists, maintenance workers, park photographers, naturalists, and park rangers provide a wide range of viewpoints and experi-

ences. In addition, insight is gained into how such changes and growth come about within a national park

While the project has focused on wildlife issues, the interviews have provided a rich picture of what it was like to work in the park during the early '60s, '70s, and beyond. The experience of Yellowstone is one that many people hold dear—and those who made it their career certainly reveal a similar fondness for the park and its resources.

Among the many benefits of this project is its implications and applications to today's wildlife issues. Many of the concerns that existed in the 1960s and '70s are still significant in the year 2000. By understanding past rationale and experiences, present managers may gain new perspectives, be better prepared for management consequences, or may avoid repeating past mistakes.

When asked what perspective he could offer wildlife managers of today, former Yellowstone Chief Naturalist John Good, offered these words of advice:

We were so sure. Remember that wonderful line of Charlie Brown's, 'Now how can we lose this ball game when we're so darned sincere?' ... If you could have gone back and sat in on a ranger conference in 1961, you would have found the same attitude that attains today. That we know what we're doing. Most people—most reasonable people—will accept that we do. We said that in 1961, we're saying it now in 1999. I don't know whether what we're doing is exactly right. All I remember is that to the Greeks, the ancient Greeks, a cardinal sin was hubris. And hubris was pride. And certainty. And so, I wave my finger from the ancient past and say, beware hubris, beware certainty.

The value of this voice and others as well as the ideas that they helped form will continue to provide perspective for Yellowstone's future.

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*Photo shows a dead elk attached to a "weasel," an over-snow vehicle used in the 1960s to transport shooters to remote areas and to haul out the dead elk. NPS photo.*



## Dr. Ernest Allen Connally

The preservation community lost a leader and visionary with the passing of Dr. Ernest Allen Connally, Hon. AIA, on December 23, 1999 after a long illness. He was an educator and administrator, and served as an Associate Director of the National Park Service and as the Chief Appeals Officer until his retirement in 1992. He helped formulate the policies at the national and international levels that were designed to protect and preserve our rich cultural heritage. He grew up in Texas and was trained as an architect with a Bachelor of Architecture degree from the University of Texas. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. in history and fine arts from Harvard University. He had a strong interest and knowledge of architecture and wrote extensively both on preservation and architectural history. In addition to an extensive career with the federal government, he held numerous distinguished positions, such as chair and Secretary General of the U.S. Committee of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). He was instrumental in the passage of the World Heritage Convention which calls on all citizens and governments to protect and maintain their natural and cultural heritage.

His career with the National Park Service began in the 1950s, when as a recent graduate he served on recording teams with the Historic American Buildings Survey. While serving on these various summer teams and into the 1960s, he was also teaching architectural history at Miami University in Ohio, Washington University in St. Louis, and at the University of Illinois. In 1967, after the passage of the landmark National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Dr. Connally was appointed as the first head of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation in the National Park Service. He, in effect, started at the top as the head of the office that would establish the preservation programs of the National Park Service. He went on to become an Associate Director of the National Park Service and later served for 10 years as the Chief Appeals Officer for review of controversial rehabilitation projects seeking federal tax credits. He applied the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation* and wrote extensively explaining the principles of preservation philosophy and treatments in hundreds of appeal decisions.

Dr. Connally was a champion of preservation and had a strong conviction that legislation was necessary to protect historic resources from damage, particularly that caused by the government itself through urban renewal and other federally funded undertakings. He was the recipient of numerous awards, the most notable ones being the Department of the Interior's Distinguished Service Award, the National Trust for Historic Preservation Louise duPont Cowinshield Award, the French government's Ordre des Arts et Lettres, and in 1996 he was awarded the Guzzola Prize by ICOMOS. He had served in the Army Air Force during World War II and retired from the Air Force Reserves in 1958 as a Lieutenant Colonel. At his funeral, his coffin was draped in the American flag as a tribute to his military service.

He was quick-witted, articulate, and well regarded by his colleagues. He served as an extraordinary corporate memory for the history of the preservation programs within the federal government. Up until the end of his life, he enjoyed good conversation and was a wealth of knowledge in many arenas. He is survived by his wife Janice, two children, and a grandchild. He donated a number of his papers to the National Trust for Historic Preservation Library Collection at the University of Maryland, College Park. He will be truly missed and the significance of all his contributions to the historic preservation programs of the United States will only be fully recognized when a comprehensive history of these programs is undertaken in the future. His name will surely head the list as a visionary and leader in establishing the programs by which we measure success today.

For further information about Dr. Connally or his work see the following articles in *CRM*:  
Vol. 9, No. 1, 1986. "Origins of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966"  
Vol. 9, No. 2, 1986. "Origins of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Part II"  
Vol. 10, special issue, 1987. "World Heritage Convention"  
Vol. 14, No.7, 1991, "Ernest Allen Connally; Le maitre des bons mots" by John Poppeliers

Sharon C. Park, FAIA  
Chief, Technical Preservation Services Branch  
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# The Ever-changing Role of Historians at the Denver Service Center

## A Retrospective

As public and private sector cultural resources management responsibilities have developed and grown in the past 25 years, professional career opportunities for historians have expanded. While the purpose of this article is not to describe those opportunities on a broad scale, it certainly is appropriate to examine the historians' contributions in one federal office as a case study of what might have occurred in similar situations. It may also be suggested that periodic internal re-organizations at this office have re-directed professional activities of its historians since the 1970s, illustrating in microcosm that significant change is occurring in the public sector. The work of the historians at the National Park Service's Denver Service Center in Colorado is indicative of the opportunities, challenges, and responsibilities of public and private sector historians who practice a different kind of history, a more mission-oriented approach, than that of their academic brethren.

The dawn of the 21st century provides an opportune time to examine the historians' professional contributions to the mission of the Denver Service Center during the past three decades. The office officially opened on November 15, 1971 when the existing Eastern and Western Design and Construction Offices (formerly located in Washington, DC and San Francisco) were relocated and unified into a single entity. As it did from the very start, the mission of the Denver Service Center continues to support the planning, design, and construction program of the National Park Service. The Denver Service Center employs a variety of professionals to undertake this mission including landscape architects, architects, archeologists, social scientists, graphics personnel, editors, contract specialists, engineers, planners, and others. This article will focus on the role of just one of these groups—historians—who are representative of the organizational expansion and structural change that all disciplines have experi-

enced at the Denver Service Center. (It should be noted that each discipline has a unique story and perspective.)

Since the 1970s, Denver Service Center historians have comprised the largest contingent assigned to a National Park Service office. The number of historians has ranged from four to more than 20. Almost all historians came to the Denver Service Center holding advanced degrees with various specialties reflecting a significant number of doctorates. During the 1970s and 1980s, these professionals evolved from their teaching and research backgrounds into public historians out of necessity to meet the Denver Service Center's ever-changing and challenging mission. Although comprising only a tiny percentage of total staffing, the historians' contributions have helped make this office noteworthy among the federal sector's technical support facilities.

As the Denver Service Center evolved in the early 1970s, the historians made significant contributions to the success of the National Park Service's Bicentennial planning, design, and construction programs. They produced historic resource studies, special history studies, and major portions of historic structure reports (see *NPS-28, Cultural Resource Management Guideline* for precise definitions of these studies and reports) to support the parks' Bicentennial programs. In the later 1970s, historians prepared administrative histories of individual parks and began serving as cultural resource specialists on park planning projects.

The various research projects helped fulfill the mission statement promulgated in the 1916 National Park Service Organic Act

...to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same....

This task required an intensive level of research of all aspects of American history employing primary sources and conducting exhaustive searches for historical documentation of events, persons,

or physical development of a structure, a development complex, or an entire park. This material was presented in written form for internal quality review and subsequent evaluation by recognized scholars in the field. The reports were revised based on these comments and used either by historic preservation specialists or park interpreters in their tasks. Over time, this work has changed and presently such exhaustive research is rarely assigned to the Denver Service Center. Instead, historians and other cultural resource specialists are deeply involved in conceptual general management plans that provide guidance for the overall management and development of each unit in the national park system, now totaling 379. The management actions contained in these documents are implemented over a 10- to 15-year period. In this endeavor, historians rely on their secondary sources while park, region, and contract historians conduct primary research. The Denver Service Center historians employ National Park Service guidelines and policies to develop various strategies for preserving and interpreting cultural resources within the parks. Since an Environmental Impact Statement or Environmental Assessment is often needed for either planning or construction design purposes, historians are equally involved in fulfilling the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act, the National Historic Preservation Act, and other legislation and policies affecting cultural resources. The historians consult with Indian tribes, federal and state agencies, and other entities to meet the legal requirements. This consultation is documented as required by regulations implementing the legislation.

Since the completion of the Bicentennial thrust in the mid-1970s, the historians have been melded into the mainstream Denver Service Center mission. They have been directed to assume diverse responsibilities previously considered the exclusive domain of technically-oriented disciplines such as landscape architecture, planning, and contracting. Additionally, it may be argued that management, usually comprised of more technically-inclined landscape architects and engineers, has shifted its perception of the historians' abilities to make significant contributions to the office's annual program. Beyond traditional research and writing assignments, management has directed historians to assume new responsibilities including compliance, cultural resource management, planning, contracting, and supervision.

Over the past 29 years, several office-wide reorganizations have re-defined the mission that the historians would undertake, a factor that has enhanced their individual contributions. Historians as well as historical architects were relocated from an initial stand-alone functionally-oriented historic preservation unit that existed in the initial 1972-1975 era into the geographically-based planning, design, and construction teams that operated in various configurations between 1975-1995. Presently the historians are assigned to a planning and design services unit. During the previous three decades, the Denver Service Center's structural framework has shifted back and forth from functional to geographical to a current day functional approach.

The office structure has definitely influenced what the historians do. For example, between the 1975 and a major 1985 reorganization, historians were assigned to the branches of historic preservation incorporated in five planning, design, and construction teams created to be congruent with then existing regional boundaries. Besides the historians, the historic preservation branches were comprised of historical architects, preservation specialists, landscape architects, and archeologists. Historians worked on stabilization, rehabilitation, and preservation projects throughout the national park system. They prepared special history studies, data sections for historic structure reports, historic furnishing studies, historic resource studies, and inventories of cultural resources for parks and other federal agencies.

Also during this interval, two small support units contained historians. From the mid-1970s to 1980, one or two historians were attached to the Quality Control and Compliance unit providing expertise on an office-wide basis to planners, designers, and construction personnel. Then, for a brief interval between mid-1978 to winter 1980, the National Park Service funded a Special Programs unit with two historians who worked on an interdisciplinary basis with planners, landscape architects, and natural resource specialists to evaluate potential new park units. Through additional structural tweaking around 1980-1981, Quality Control and Special Programs were absorbed into the existing geographic teams.

Thus, from the late 1970s-early 1980s, several historians worked as de facto planners and

assumed challenging responsibilities. These historians provided an integral component of the planning process as team members as they contributed to general management plans, development concept plans, land use plans, special resource studies, environmental assessments, and environmental impact statements. Periodically, some historians were assigned as team leaders for such projects. Historians through the years have presented their projects to Denver Service Center, park, and regional management, the Washington directorate, and congressional staff and members. On another front, a few historians focused their efforts as 106 compliance specialists to support planning, design, and construction projects. This work resulted from regulations that implemented the 1966 Historic Preservation Act, requiring federal agencies to inventory, evaluate, and plan for the protection and preservation of their significant cultural resources.

In 1999, historians along with archeologists and anthropologists were reclassified as cultural resource specialists, a job description that more accurately recognizes their current responsibilities. Historians continue their work on general management plans, environmental impact statements, and environmental assessments as well as cultural resource compliance and contracting responsibilities. They also deal with the expanding compliance function at the Denver Service Center. The historians labor with other planners, designers, and construction specialists to develop designs that meet the stringent requirements of the state historic preservation officers and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Denver Service Center projects must comply with the laws, federal regulations, and National Park Service policies that help protect the nation's cultural patrimony. Historians' roles and responsibilities continue to evolve.

Some historians are taking the lead in contract management activities by arranging for contractors to assist with cultural resources and compliance responsibilities. Today, historians routinely facilitate the selection of private cultural resource and planning consultants, prepare scopes of work in their realm of expertise, guide the consultants' progress, review written products, participate in strategy meetings either locally or in the parks, and provide sign-off for completed products.

In addition to regular research, writing, planning, compliance, and contractual assign-

ments, the historians have published articles and books, prepared and presented papers at professional conferences, taught at in-house training courses, and instructed at local colleges and universities. They have made contributions as cultural resources management consultants to other federal, state, and local agencies as well as to the private sector. It must also be noted that Denver Service Center historians have contributed to numerous national, state, and local history and planning publications. Several historians have attained nationwide professional recognition in western history, social history, and urban studies. Throughout the years, numerous reports and studies based on primary research prepared by these public sector historians have been printed by publishing houses and sold to the public. In addition, many of these reports and studies have served as part of secondary works used by writers on various historical topics. For the most part, original historical research and writing has been relegated to the field offices and to contract historians. Some Denver Service Center historians have returned to the academy; several have successfully transferred to field positions in interpretation, cultural resource management, and park administration. Some have accepted positions with other federal, state, and local agencies as well as the private sector.

For more than a quarter century, the Denver Service Center's historians have been responsible for and have been successfully involved in helping promote the National Park Service's mission of providing for resource protection and visitor enjoyment of America's national parks. Thus, over the life span of the Denver Service Center, the historian cadre has moved far beyond the traditional focus of teaching and research history to become proficient at challenging and diverse technical responsibilities in the realm of cultural resources management. As long as the office continues to provide its technical expertise to the 379 parks throughout the national park system, the historians will continue to make significant contributions to the Denver Service Center in the 21st century.

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Antoinette J. Lee

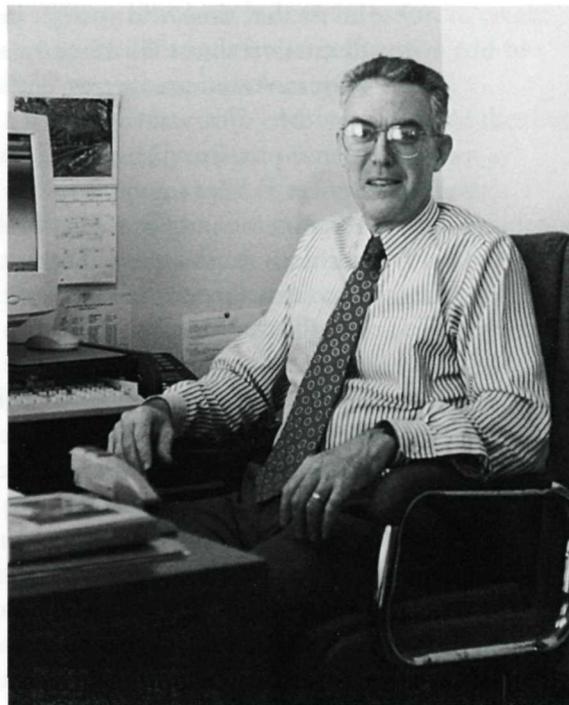
## Exit Interview with Barry Mackintosh

*At the end of December 1999, Barry Mackintosh retired from the National Park Service after serving 17 years as bureau historian. He began his NPS career in 1965 when he was hired as a historian at Fort Caroline National Memorial in Florida. In 1968, after two years in the U.S. Army, Mr. Mackintosh began work as a historian at Booker T. Washington National Monument in Virginia. A year later, he was assigned to Fort Frederica National Monument in Georgia. Between 1970 and 1978, he worked for the History Division in Washington, DC. For four years, between 1978 and 1982, he served as regional historian in the National Capital Region of NPS. In 1982, he became bureau historian. The Library of Congress catalogue lists 13 works by Mr. Mackintosh, covering histories of the national park system and administrative histories of national parks and NPS programs. He received his B.A. degree from Tufts University and his M.A. degree from the University of Maryland. Anticipating his retirement as bureau historian, NPS historian Antoinette J. Lee interviewed Mr. Mackintosh in his office on December 20, 1999.*

*Photo by the author.*

**L:** When did you decide to become a historian?

**M:** When I was at Tufts University, I started as an economics major. However, I had always been much more interested in history, so I changed my major. In my senior year, quite by accident, I found a brochure that described potential careers in the National Park Service in a variety of disciplines, one of which was history. I followed up on that and visited a historian who was working at Minuteman National Historical Park nearby in Lexington. I discussed with him opportunities in the National Park Service, put in my application, took the exam, and was interviewed by a historian in New York at Federal Hall. Soon after I graduated, I was offered a job at Fort Caroline National Memorial.



**L:** Tell us about the first few jobs you held as a historian at national park units.

**M:** I initially was at Fort Caroline for about a year. At the end of that year, during the Vietnam build-up, the U.S. Army summoned me and I spent two years there. The National Park Service had to offer me a job when I returned, but not necessarily at the same location. The job they offered me was at Booker T. Washington National Monument. That is where I went in early 1968.

**L:** Can you tell me about how you felt at that time at being assigned to an African-American historical site, when there were very few in the national park system? Not every person who studied history back then was all that familiar with African-American history.

**M:** I went into my assignment at Booker T. Washington National Monument with a good deal of interest and enthusiasm. I honestly did not know much about Booker T. Washington. I of course quickly read up on him and what he had done, went there, and found it a fascinating experience. While I was there, I wrote *Booker T. Washington: An Appreciation of the Man and His Times*. This was part of the National Park Service's program to produce handbooks for most parks, giving more detailed information than the free park folder.

**L: At that time, did you get involved in the discussion about Washington as the leader of African Americans versus W. E. B. Du Bois?**

M: That was very much a part of the interpretive program there and still is. We present Booker T. Washington for what he was and what he stood for and show why Washington took positions that he did with respect to industrial education versus more academic studies as advocated by Du Bois.

**L: At the time you worked at Booker T. Washington, it was clear that most of the resources there were reconstructions. How did you feel about interpreting the site with reconstructions as the primary resources?**

M: Interestingly enough, that was also true of Fort Caroline National Memorial, my first park, where the primary resource was a reconstructed fort because the original fort was presumed to have been washed away by the St. John's River centuries earlier. When I came to Booker T. Washington, I found the same thing. I was unenthusiastic about having to deal with primary features that were our creations rather than creations remaining from history. When I went to my introductory National Park Service training course in the fall of 1965, while I was at Fort Caroline, and I had to give presentations on my park's resources and history, I remember being a little embarrassed and suffering some teasing from my classmates about the fact that I was dealing with a reconstructed resource rather than a genuine one. So, there was a fairly widespread sense in the National Park Service even then that reconstructions were inferior resources. At Booker T. Washington, the primary resource was a reconstructed cabin in which Washington had allegedly been born. I acquired the prejudice and have retained this opinion since then that reconstructions are not a good approach to interpreting American history in our parks.

**L: How well would the Booker T. Washington story have been interpreted at that place with nothing on the ground?**

M: It could have been interpreted through more extensive museum exhibits. There was a small visitors center and museum. It could have been interpreted on the ground itself by outlining the locations of the various buildings rather than trying to recreate them. Fundamentally, it was not an ideal site for interpreting Booker T.

Washington. The National Park Service had opposed acquisition of this site back in the 1950s on the grounds that there were not sufficient remains and that it lacked the integrity that a national park system area should have. We advocated then that if there was going to be a site in the national park system commemorating Booker T. Washington, it ought to be Tuskegee Institute where he did his great life's work and where he achieved the fame that he is known for. Later, of course, we did acquire a site at Tuskegee.

**L: How do you think African Americans who visit the site feel about it? Do they worry about the fact that the cabin is not authentic or do you think they are more concerned about the ideas that the site represents?**

M: I suspect that the public generally is less concerned about these issues of authenticity and accuracy than are cultural resource professionals. The public does not necessarily mind or object to reconstructions as such.

**L: How did you come to work at the History Division in 1970?**

M: After Booker T. Washington, I went for a year to Fort Frederica National Monument in Georgia. This was the only one of the three parks I was assigned to that had genuine historic remains rather than reconstructions. I was pleased to be there, but after only a year there I was asked to come to the History Division in Washington, DC. The invitation was based largely on the research and writing I had done at Booker T. Washington, which had come to the attention of the historians in the History Division. Bob Utley was the chief historian. Russell Mortensen was then chief of the branch of park history under Bob. I was immediately under Russ. At that time, the History Division was divided into two branches—the branch of park history and the branch of historical surveys, which dealt with the National Historic Landmarks Program.

**L: What was your job in the History Division?**

M: The focus was on the review of National Park Service policies, the development of policies, the monitoring of parks' compliance with policies, overseeing the research activities in parks, and helping to determine what kinds of research studies the parks needed. I also responded to Congressional and public requests

for studies of potential park areas and helped to formulate NPS recommendations on proposed parks.

**L: Tell us about your work at the National Capital Region for four years. Why did you move there?**

M: An opportunity came up to become the regional historian at the National Capital Region. I spent a good deal of time there on helping to upgrade the National Register documentation of historic resources in the region, Section 106 compliance matters, and interpretive programs.

**L: You became the bureau historian in 1982. Were you the first bureau historian?**

M: I was the first person to take the title. John Luzader, who had been with the Denver Service Center, had briefly assumed this role in 1981. He was working on a project relating to the history of the Denver Service Center. He did not want to come to Washington, which the job required. So, at that point, the job was advertised and I applied and was accepted for it.

**L: Who conceived of the bureau historian position?**

M: I assume that Ed Bearss, who was then chief historian, had a role. Ross Holland, who was then the associate director for cultural resources management, had a role. They persuaded upper management that they needed someone who could focus on the history of the National Park Service as a bureau and the parks as parks.

**L: Who invented the NPS administrative history?**

M: I recall that there was an early one done as a prototype by Pete Shedd of Shiloh National Military Park in the 1950s. Instead of being a history of the Civil War battle, it was a history of how the park was created and came into being; how it was managed, developed, and interpreted. Another 1950s prototype was on the Statue of Liberty National Monument. I used that as my guide when I was asked to do an administrative history of Booker T. Washington National Monument, another project of mine while I was there.

**L: Was your role as bureau historian to create standards for administrative histories and to encourage them to be written?**

M: Certainly to encourage more of them to be prepared. I prepared several of my own as additional prototypes or examples or models. I contacted colleges and universities where students might have an interest in the history of the National Park Service and encouraged them to steer their research in the direction of administrative histories. I made a point of compiling a bibliography that I expanded regularly of all the histories that had been done, not just complete histories but also articles on national parks and programs.

The best administrative histories are fascinating accounts of how parks were envisioned and how they were brought into being, how they were developed, and how they have been managed. Their primary audience is park superintendents and staffs, although many others find them valuable as well. For a new superintendent, having a good history of what has gone on there is a wonderful asset because it can bring him or her up to speed in a hurry.

**L: How many national park units were there before you began your employment?**

M: As of January 1, 1965, there were 232 units in the national park system.

**L: Today, we have 379 park units. What do the additional units during that period say about American society?**

M: They reflect interests and concerns of various constituencies and interest groups. The majority are cultural or historical areas. They reflect a broadening concern for aspects of history that were not well represented in the national park system earlier on. We have more areas today that deal with African-American history, industrial history, and other topics beyond presidents and battlefields and political and military history.

**L: Have most of the additions since 1966 met the standard of national significance?**

M: I would say that most of them have. Some have not. This has always been a concern of mine—the criteria for additions to the national park system—since I first came to Washington.

**L: Given the criteria for national significance, do you see the national park system expanding as much in the next 25 years as it has in the last 25 years?**

M: The growth of the park system has always had as much to do with public and political sentiment for proposed areas as with their intrinsic merit. Some very worthy sites, like Mount Vernon, are very well cared for by others, so there is no sentiment to add these.

**L: How has the work of the NPS historian changed over time from 1965 when you first entered the National Park Service to now?**

M: There were more historians in the field back then who actually bore the title "historian." Many of those positions were later converted into interpretation jobs emphasizing communication more than history. That may have swung back some. There are many jobs today in parks that deal with academic-based history. I don't know that I can cite a change in direction from then. We still have historians today involved in the same range of activities that National Park Service historians were involved in then. Some deal more directly with the public; others are involved in research; some are more involved in cultural resource management activities.

**L: As you anticipate leaving the NPS, do you have any advice for historians still with NPS and those who plan to enter the NPS?**

M: I would hope that historians would be encouraged to continue to insist on high standards for additions to the national park system. The national park system ought to be composed of the best historic places that illustrate the topics they represent. A visit to a national park unit ought to be a superb experience for the American public. A national park unit ought to be something worth going well out of one's way to visit.

**L: There are many NPS historians who are involved with our partnership programs and who feel left out of the inner circle of NPS decision-making and park culture. You've even written about these external programs.**

M: I think that has always been something of a concern. I am optimistic because there is a lot more integration between partnership and internal programs than there used to be. There is much more awareness of the National Register programs in the parks and there is much less of a

gap between the natural and historical programs. All of the partnership programs are part of today's National Park Service and today's NPS goes well beyond the bounds of the national park system units.

**L: You have written histories of the National Historic Preservation Act and the National Historic Landmarks Program. How did those come into your regular bureau historian role?**

M: As bureau historian, I was concerned with the history of the National Park Service. It's not just the history of parks. It also includes the history of these other programs that NPS administers. I never got around to it, but the history of the external recreation programs would also fall within this realm of bureau history. That is perhaps something my successor might look into.

**L: What plans do you have for your post-NPS career?**

M: I recently updated the booklet called *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, which is a summary history of the growth of the national park system, but I am sure it will require additional work before it goes to press. I will be working with the Harpers Ferry staff on that. Beyond this, I have not made any firm plans at this point. I may well do something quite different. We'll have to see.

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*Antoinette J. Lee is a historian with the National Park Service, Office of the Assistant Director, Cultural Resources Stewardship and Partnership Programs.*

The third edition of *Shaping the System* is now on the Park History web site at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history>. In Part 1, Barry Mackintosh discusses the origins of the national park system and describes the complexity of the system's designations. In Part 2 he chronicles the step-by-step growth of the system from its beginnings to its 379 areas at the end of 1999. Part 3 contains maps showing the extent of the system, a listing of areas outside but affiliated with the system, a list of all National Park Service directors with their tenures, and a suggested reading list should you wish to learn more about the National Park Service's history. This third, revised edition of *Shaping the System* is currently only available on the web.

*Harry Butowsky  
Historian*

## Letter to the Editor

### A Response to “The Alamo’s Selected Past”

Dear Editor:

I recently read an article by Holly Beachley Brear in *CRM* (Vol. 22, No. 8), in which she portrayed the historical interpretation at the Alamo as one-sided. When I finished with the piece, I concluded that it is her interpretation and not the Alamo’s that is outdated. I am attaching a brief response to Brear’s “The Alamo’s Selected Past,” so that those who read her argument can see that her interpretation is not going unchallenged.

Dr. Richard Bruce Winders  
Historian and Curator  
curator@swbell.net

#### Dr. Winders’ rebuttal follows:

In 1995, the University of Texas Press published Holly Beachley Brear’s book, *Inherit the Alamo*. The volume, subtitled *Myth and Ritual at an American Shrine*, examined the Alamo’s custodianship as viewed through the eyes of an anthropologist. Dr. Brear’s research, much of it gathered during an extremely tumultuous time in San Antonio, led her to conclude that the Alamo presented an outdated historical interpretation that excludes all but the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and other like-minded organizations or individuals. Her thesis, condensed into a short article, recently appeared in a special issue of *CRM*.

More than a year ago, Dr. Brear contacted the Alamo and requested an interview for an upcoming article she was preparing. She met with Brad Breuer, the Alamo’s Director, and me. We had an open and frank discussion with her regarding perceptions surrounding the Alamo and ways we were responding to meet the needs of our visitors and the local community. We toured the grounds with her before she left, telling her about changes that were then in development. We asked her to contact us should she have any questions, but never heard from her again.

I had hoped that meeting with us would help clarify certain notions Dr. Brear holds about the Alamo. One of these is an erroneous assumption that forms the basis for her criticism of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas and the historic interpretation at the Alamo. According to Dr. Brear, “The Alamo, from the Daughter’s per-

spective, is a shrine to the men who worked to free Texas from Mexico’s control.” The point she has missed both in her book and article is that the Alamo is a memorial to the Texans who died here, declared by the State of Texas in legislation that granted the DRT custodianship of the site in 1905. Thus, the traditional focus on the 13-day battle is not just a decision of the DRT, it is a legislative mandate.

Another equally erroneous assumption is that little emphasis is placed on the history of the site prior to or after the battle. Explaining why the Alamo is located in an urban setting—a fact that shocks many visitors—is a critical step in enhancing appreciation of the site and its rich history. For us, the phrase “From Mission, To Fortress, To Shrine” is more than a cliché—it forms the backbone of our interpretation.

Another missed point concerns the donation boxes and Alamo Museum Gift Shop. As part of the 1905 legislation granting custodianship to the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, the DRT agreed to maintain the site at no charge to the state. The Alamo receives no local, state, or federal tax revenue and funds all conservation and educational programs from the sale of souvenirs, donations, and more recently grants from private foundations. All monies raised at the site go into the preservation of the building and grounds and to cover operating expenses.

In summary, the Alamo is an extremely difficult historical site to interpret owing to its urban location, successive layers of history, and the cultural attitudes visitors sometimes bring with them. As a trained historian, I recognize the importance to be inclusive. Nevertheless, I question the value of a thesis that seems to seek inclusion for its own sake. It is possible to prioritize historical events that have occurred at the same location. In the case of the Alamo, the remnants of the original structures that exist for visitors to view were saved not because this was Mission San Antonio de Valero, but because it was the site of an important battle that helped shape the political, social, and cultural development of North America.

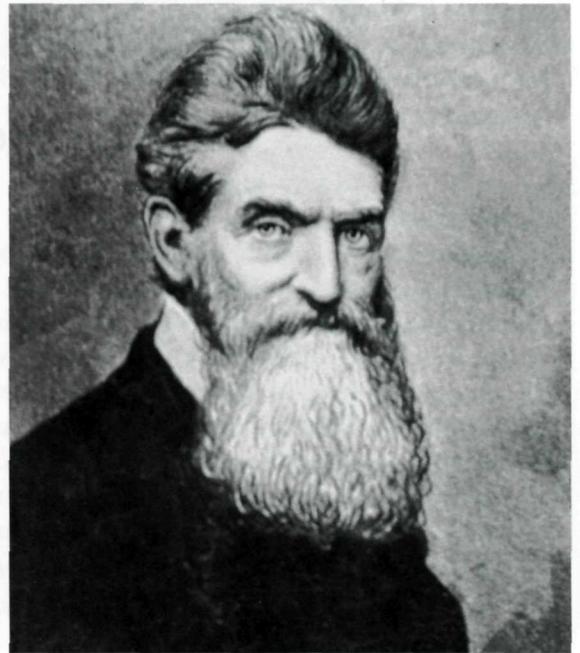
## Bicentennial of a Birth

### John Brown—Life and Legacy

**J**ohn Brown. Was he a madman or martyr, murderer or saint? Do the ends ever justify the means? Countless books and articles have been written debating the issues. Songs have been composed. Film makers have presented him on the silver screen and Stephen Vincent Benet immortalized him in his Pulitzer Prize-winning epic poem *John Brown's Body*. As we approach the bicentennial of Brown's birth (May 9, 2000), opposing opinions continue to swirl around this controversial figure like the unsettling tornado depicted in John Steuart Curry's "The Tragic Prelude," a mural of Brown that graces the Kansas Statehouse. Brown was many things, but first and foremost, he was an abolitionist who dedicated his life to ending slavery in the United States.

Wanted for murders committed along the Pottawatomie Creek during the Bleeding Kansas slavery war, Brown was 59 years old when he led his "Provisional Army" of 21 men, 16 whites and 5 blacks, at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). His plan was to seize the guns from the United States Armory and Arsenal and execute raids throughout the slave-holding south, ultimately forcing an end to slavery.

The night of October 16, 1859 Brown and 19 of his men crept into the sleeping town of Harpers Ferry. They took control of the armory, arsenal, and U.S. Rifle Works; and rounded up several hostages. The raid had begun. Throughout the day on the 17th, Brown and his men battled townspeople and local militia companies who finally forced them to take refuge in the armory's fire engine house, today known as John Brown's Fort. On the morning of October 18, Colonel Robert E. Lee, in immediate command of a detachment of U.S. Marines, ordered Lt. J.E.B. Stuart to the door of the engine house offering one last chance to surrender. Brown refused. Twelve Marines stormed the building, captured Brown and the remaining raiders, and freed the hostages. Brown's raid ended 36 hours after it had begun.



Taken to the jail and courthouse in Charles Town, Virginia, (now West Virginia) he was charged with murder, conspiracy to lead a slave rebellion, and treason. During the subsequent trial, he was found guilty on all three charges and sentenced to be hanged. Brown was hanged in Charles Town on December 2, 1859.

His raid had failed, but Brown had succeeded in focusing the nation's attention on the issue of slavery. In a note left with his jailer, Brown wrote,

I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away, but with blood. I had as I now think: vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed; it might be done.

Sixteen months later the first shots of the American Civil War were fired at Fort Sumter.

In *Great Lives Observed John Brown* edited by Richard Warch and Jonathan F. Fanton, the legacy of Brown's life is explored. They write, "When legal solutions fail to meet widely perceived needs, when civil disobedience fails to alter policy, acts of violence often result. In the American experience, such acts have served periodically to crystallize the tensions and fears in the national mood. John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry stands with the Boston Massacre, the Nat Turner insurrection, the Haymarket Riot, Watts, and the killings at Kent State as occasions for the country to clarify—and even polarize—its major concerns. This for better or for worse, is part of the legacy of John Brown.... He was...a man of purpose who translated thought to action,

who attempted what others only contemplated, and who was faithful to the dictates of his conscience. He believed in the promise of the Declaration of Independence and anguished over its unfulfillment. However one may judge his means, he sought to realize that promise for black Americans.

### **John Brown 2000**

In May 2000, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park will host a variety of events, including commemorative, educational, dramatic presentations, and interpretative activities that deal with John Brown; his life, within the larger context of the slavery issue; his influence; and his place in history. Included among the many partners sharing in the sponsorship of this event are The Harpers Ferry Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Jefferson County NAACP, the John Brown Heritage Association, and Penn State University, Mont Alto Campus.

These activities will begin on Tuesday, May 9, 2000, with a program commemorating the 200th birthday of John Brown. A specially designed bicentennial postal cancellation will be unveiled by the United States Postal Service and will be available at a USPS cancellation station within the park. Commemorative cachets will be available for the event.

The park will also be hosting a special exhibit, "Before Freedom Came: African American Life in the Antebellum South." Developed as a traveling exhibit by the Smithsonian Institution, the exhibit will be located on the second floor of the John Brown Museum. This exhibit examines the individual, family, and community life of 19th-century African Americans against the backdrop of one of the most tumultuous eras in American history. Musical instruments, tools, household items, objects of spiritual significance, manuscripts, and photos of black Americans—slave and free—are part of this exhibition.

In addition, "Designs for Escape: The Underground Railroad Quilt Code" will be on display throughout the John Brown 2000 event. Dr. Dobard, author of *Hidden in Plain View*, will speak about the underground railroad quilt code and the significance of this code in helping slaves to escape.

Starting Friday, May 12, the park will sponsor a special public education weekend on John Brown for the visiting public. Featured speakers

on May 13th include Dr. Stephen B. Oates, University of Massachusetts, Amherst (ret), Fred Morsell as Frederick Douglass, and a keynote address by The Honorable John Lewis, U.S. House of Representatives.

Several possible dramatic presentations are being considered at this time. One option is the two-act drama by Julia Davis, "The Anvil," based on the trial of John Brown. Another possibility is a stage performance of "John Brown's Body" by Stephen Vincent Benet. Times and dates will be announced once plans are finalized.

On Monday, May 15, a three-day, John Brown 2000 conference will begin. The conference will be held in the Camp Hill district of the park and will be conducted in partnership with the Organization of American Historians. A call for papers went out in the fall of 1999 and closed on January 15, 2000. A final agenda, along with conference registration information, is now available.

These events will help to enhance the interpretation and public education of the story of John Brown and provide historic and contemporary insights into one of America's most controversial figures.

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Homepage can be accessed at  
<<http://www.nps.gov/hafe/home.htm>>.

*Marsha Starkey is an education specialist at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.*

## **Legends of Tuskegee**

The Museum Management Program has launched the Legends of Tuskegee web exhibit that commemorates Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, and the Tuskegee Airmen. The exhibit features a wide array of related museum and archival collections, as well as quicktime panoramic views of the den and parlor in The Oaks, Washington's residence, and a video on the Tuskegee Airmen. Visit the site at  
<[www.cr.nps.gov/csd/exhibits/index.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/csd/exhibits/index.htm)>.

## ***Preserving the Recent Past II, October 11-13, 2000***

**P**reserving the Recent Past II, the sequel to the highly successful and groundbreaking conference held in 1995, will be sponsored this fall in Philadelphia. Sponsored principally by the National Park Service, the Association for Preservation Technology International, the General Services Administration, and the Historic Preservation Education Foundation, the conference will explore the philosophical, planning, and practical challenges associated with the preservation of modern buildings, structures, objects, and landscapes. The three-day conference and associated workshops and symposium will be a unique opportunity to learn about state-of-the-art methods and strategies for preserving our modern heritage.

Conference sessions are being organized under two broad themes: evaluation and preservation strategies and preservation technology and practice. Bringing together architects, conservators, planners, engineers, property owners, and preservation officers, among others, the conference will cover a host of topics, ranging from the suburbs, housing, supermarkets, landscapes, bridges, and public buildings, to planning and advocacy issues. The technical sessions will cover technical preservation issues on a diverse range of subjects, including HVAC upgrades, windows, metals, lighting, interiors, roofing, modern paints, screen block, plastics, and brick veneer.

The setting for the conference will be the PSFS Building, designed by Howe and Lescaze in 1932. The building, which is one of the great examples of early modernism in America, is currently being converted into a Loews Hotel. Conference participants will be offered a discounted rate to stay at the hotel.

**Preserving the Recent Past II** will also include an exposition of restoration products for modern buildings, a new publication, and other memorable activities. Following the main conference, participants will have the chance to learn more about the recent past in and around Philadelphia on tours of buildings designed by Louis Kahn, Oscar Stonorov, Frank Lloyd Wright, Robert Venturi, among others. Diner, Art Deco, sculpture, and skyscraper tours are also planned.

Preceding the main conference, the Association for Preservation Technology International (APT) will sponsor a symposium, **Preserving the Twentieth Century Curtain Wall**, as well as four technical workshops. The curtain wall symposium will explore issues related to evaluation, repair, and upgrade of the curtain

walls on historic buildings. Participants will learn about the behavior and performance of curtain wall systems and opportunities for modifying the curtain wall to meet contemporary standards and program requirements without compromising the original design intent.

The following technical workshops will be offered by APT:

- **Modern Historic Concrete.** This two-day technical workshop will address characteristics of concrete, techniques of field and laboratory investigation, and methods of repair, restoration, and protection for historic concrete, focusing on the 20th century. Participants will examine samples, review case studies, and take part in theoretical investigations led by experts;
- **Coatings for Architectural Surfaces.** This two-day technical workshop will present a detailed summary of common and novel 20th-century coatings and discusses their aesthetic, economic, and performance characteristics. The course will also address assessment of coating failures, identification of existing coatings, and techniques for repair;
- **Glass In Historic Buildings: 1750 to 1950.** This two-day technical workshop will cover the history, investigation, conservation, and replication of glass in historic buildings for the period 1750 to 1950. Participants will have an opportunity for hands-on investigation, conducted by a team of leading experts;
- **Twentieth Century Sculpture: Preserving Art of the Recent Past.** This two-day technical workshop will focus on issues related specifically to 20th-century sculpture, including the characteristics and behavior of the materials employed in their creation; the techniques used to investigate their condition; collections care; and conservation and artists' intent. Outdoor public monuments, as well as sculpture housed in museums and private collections, will be discussed. In addition to education sessions, the workshop will feature a visit to the conservation laboratories of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

For additional information about the **Preserving the Recent Past II Conference**, symposium and technical workshops, write: Preserving the Recent Past II, P.O. Box 75207, Washington, DC 20013-5207; call: (202) 343-6011; e-mail: recentpast2@hotmail.com; or visit the conference web site at [www2.cr.nps.gov/tps/recentpast2.htm](http://www2.cr.nps.gov/tps/recentpast2.htm)

## Heritage Eco-tourism Symposium

Rota, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), is a clean, beautiful, and friendly tropical paradise rich in cultural and natural resources. The objective of the recent (February 28–March 3) symposium was to bring together all of the stakeholders in the tourism industry, owners and stewards of heritage ecotourism sites, and resource specialists to discuss how to ensure resource protection and preservation, encourage and foster greater cooperation and coordination, enhance visitor experience, provide public education, and promote economic growth in a responsible and sustainable manner. The goal was to look at ways to guide the planning of resources development sensitive to the continued health and well being of these resources while providing a quality experience for the visitor. The symposium format was selected to encourage dialogue.



*Symposium participants and instructors evaluate the Mochong Latte Village using the SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) Assessment. Photo by David Look*

The symposium, co-chaired by David Look and Joseph P. DeLeon Guerrero of the CNMI, was co-sponsored by the CNMI Historic Preservation Office (HPO), Mariana Visitor Authority (MVA), CNMI Dept. of Land and Natural Resources, the NPS Office of Tourism, USDA Forest Service, Pacific Asia Travel Association Foundation, National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) Heritage Tourism Program, Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation, and other organizations. Attended by approximately 100 participants from throughout Micronesia, the United States, and Australia, the symposium made a substantial contribution to the management of cultural and natural resources in Micronesia while encouraging

ways to develop heritage eco-tourism that is responsible and sustainable.

Tourism in the CNMI in the wake of the Asian economic crisis was discussed by Perry Tenorio, (MVA). Dr. Parsons (USDA-Forest Service) introduced the audience to ecotourism and how to do rapid SWOT (strength, weaknesses, opportunity, and threats) Assessment of sites. Amy Webb (NTHP) discussed heritage tourism, citing many examples of how to bring sites alive, to find the fit between community and tourism, and to fulfil visitors needs. Karen Gustin (War in the Pacific National Historical Park) discussed aspects of site interpretation. Mark Rudo (NPS) reviewed resource protection and preservation, while Dirk Spennemann presented the identification and assessment of resources and addressed visitor impact and the “cultural baggage” visitors bring with them. Humanities’ role in education and interpretation was stressed by William Barrineau. Bill Hocog and Isaac Calvo explained the RARE Education Campaign. Case studies were used to illustrate resource protection (Truk Lagoon), and balancing visitor needs and impacts (Willandra Lakes World Heritage Area).

Participants conducted afternoon SWOT Assessments of 10 sites with group discussions the following morning. Draft recommendations were presented to the mayor of Rota on the last day at a session facilitated by John Heather (University of Guam); a final report including all of the SWOT Assessments has been sent to the mayor. Copies are available from David Look.

The symposium was highly successful in establishing a dialogue that allowed participants to present their concerns and to listen to other points of view. Unfortunately, there were no representatives of the airlines, as the carriers do not attend tourism conferences because they frequently become the target of criticism for the number and scheduling of flights. Only time will tell if the symposium goal will be fully met; but hopefully Rota’s heritage of unique cultural and natural resources will survive for the enjoyment and education of many generations of residents and visitors.

*David W. Look, AIA  
Pacific Great Basin Support Office  
National Park Service  
San Francisco, California*

*Dirk Spennemann, Ph.D.  
Charles Sturt University  
Albury, NSW, Australia.*

## ***The Heritage Education Network***

### **Exploring the Past Through Cyberspace**

[www.mtsu.edu/~then](http://www.mtsu.edu/~then)

**T**he Heritage Education Network (THEN) is fast becoming a popular web site for educators at heritage organizations and in K-12 classrooms across the country. Concise introductions along with visuals, lesson plans, activities, work sheets, and selected publications and links make this a practical site for exploring ways and means to incorporate local historic and cultural resources. Topics include architecture, cemeteries, farms, photographs, family history, archeology, documents, and objects. As the name implies, THEN is also an impressive network of state and national heritage education providers.

A project of the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University and the National Park Service's Center for Preservation Technology and Training, THEN is designed to help fill a long-recognized need by providing practical materials and information to educators in every state. The goal of THEN is to enable educators to use local historic resources as tools to teach the required curriculum while fostering in students an appreciation for the rich and varied history of the community in which they live.

THEN features some of the best heritage education programs, ideas, activities, publications, materials, and web sites currently available. A work in progress, THEN is updated regularly and invites inquiries, comments, additions, ideas, and materials. For those who know the value of effective heritage education programs and those who do not, but would like to begin to focus on the history around them, THEN is for you.

*Caneta S. Hankins  
Center for Historic Preservation  
Middle Tennessee State University*



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