March 22, 2001

H1417 (MWR/CRSP-CR)

Dear Colleague:

Enclosed is a copy of A Noble Avenue: Lincoln Boyhood Cultural Landscape Report. The Midwest Regional Office's Cultural Landscape Program produced the report. For more information or additional copies, please contact me at 402-221-3309.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Marla McEnaney
Historical Landscape Architect

Enclosure
A NOBLE AVENUE

Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial
Cultural Landscape Report

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Historical Landscape Architect
National Park Service
Midwest Regional Office
February 2001

Location Map of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial
RECOMMENDED:

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CHIEF, CULTURAL RESOURCES DIVISION

1-17-01

DATE

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SUPERINTENDENT, LINCOLN BOYHOOD NATIONAL MEMORIAL

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION
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This Cultural Landscape Report focuses on researching, documenting and providing guidelines for Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, including a brief contextual study of the development of state parks from the late 1920s through the 1940s. The memorial was developed through a partnership between the National Park Service and Indiana's state park program and built by Civilian Conservation Corps and Works Progress Administration laborers. It provides an opportunity to interpret the legacy of New Deal design and construction programs and the influence of generations of landscape architects on many of our nation's public landscapes.

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

Lincoln Boyhood's designed landscape commemorates the pioneer farm where Abraham Lincoln lived from the age of seven to twenty-one. Located in Spencer County, in southwestern Indiana, it is also the burial site for Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Although no physical traces of the Lincoln's farm remained, in the late 1800s, local residents began creating a memorial landscape at the site. It provided an opportunity for visitors to pay their respect to Lincoln's memory and learn more about his family's Hoosier roots. For many years, the site was maintained as a local park and picnic area. Because it was frequently neglected, state bureaucrats became involved during the 1920s. By that time, the park featured decorative elements such as ornate gates, concrete sculptures, ornamental plantings, and a picnic shelter. Around 1927, it caught the attention of Colonel Richard Lieber, head of Indiana's Department of Conservation. Lieber, a prominent and successful leader in the nation's movement to develop state parks, worked with other Indiana business leaders and government officials to create a more appropriate Lincoln memorial. His involvement lasted well into the mid-1940s. In total, the site was maintained and interpreted as Lincoln State Park for over four decades.

Efforts to get Lincoln's Indiana roots recognized at a national level resulted in the site's 1962 designation as a National Memorial. The commemorative designed landscape has since been administered and interpreted by the National Park Service, and the CCC's recreational development remains as part of Lincoln State Park.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Local commemoration of Abraham Lincoln's boyhood home began almost immediately following his assassination. Local residents had their pictures taken in front of a log structure thought to be the family's cabin; at least one artist's painting perpetuated our notion of the Lincoln family's pioneer experience. It was not until 1869, however, that local residents undertook efforts to erect a suitable marker at Nancy Hanks Lincoln's grave. From time to time, local
newspapers featured articles condemning the poor physical state of the grave, renewing calls for a headstone and improved grounds maintenance. These complaints continued until 1879, when a permanent tombstone was placed at the grave and a fence erected around the cemetery. Peter Studebaker, second vice president of the Studebaker Company Carriage Makers of South Bend, Indiana donated the stone, and money collected by area residents paid for the fence. During the same year, the company developing Lincoln City donated one-half acre surrounding the grave to Spencer County.

In 1897, Indiana Governor James Mount helped form the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial Association to raise money for gravesite maintenance. Spencer County Commissioners purchased an additional 16 acres surrounding the gravesite in 1900 and transferred the deed to the Indiana Lincoln Memorial Association. A second headstone donated by J.S. Culver to the Memorial Association was added in 1902. Salvaged from the stone of Lincoln’s tomb in Springfield, Illinois, it became known as the “Culver Stone” and was placed in front of the Studebaker marker.

In 1907, the Indiana Assembly dissolved the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial Association for failing to maintain the gravesite. Funds, records, and property were transferred back to the Spencer County Board of Commissioners. Although both the Studebaker marker and Culver stones identified the grave, the site as a whole was not maintained or developed until 1909. The Commissioners hired a local landscape architect to draw up plans for the site, began clearing accumulated brush and installed a fence, statuary and ornamental plantings.

The development expanded as part of the celebration of Indiana’s and Spencer County’s centennials in 1916 and 1918, respectively. In 1917, approximately twenty local residents gathered to search out the site of the Lincoln cabin. Their recollections brought them near the Lincoln City schoolhouse. When they began digging, they found pottery and other debris that suggested they had found the proper site. On April 28, 1917, they placed a marker reading “Spencer County Memorial to Abraham Lincoln, Who Lived on this Spot from 1816–1830.”

Beginning in the early 1920s, local residents and state officials initiated a movement to formally commemorate the grave and cabin site through creation of an Indiana Lincoln Memorial. The Indiana State Assembly created the Lincoln Memorial Commission in 1925 to replace the 1907 Board of Commissioners. The act authorized the Commission to purchase land and build structures; “to prepare and execute plans for erect[ing] a suitable memorial to the memory of Abraham at or near his residence in the state.” In 1926, the Indiana Lincoln Union (ILU) formed to create a Lincoln shrine. The ILU, together with the Indiana Department of Conservation, was consistently successful in bringing plans to fruition over the course of the next twenty years. Although many individuals were active in this movement, the most dynamic may have been Department of Conservation Director Richard Lieber. His early insistence that the memorial epitomize the ideals for which Nancy Hanks Lincoln and her son were known led the ILU to proceed with a prudent, yet proficient eye to developing the
EARLY DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CEMETERY, ALLEE, AND PLAZA

In January 1927, the state hired Olmsted Brothers, a renowned landscape architecture firm from Brookline, Massachusetts, to prepare a preliminary design for the memorial. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., visited the site in March and presented his concepts to the ILU in May. The ILU soon began a campaign to raise funds for the memorial. In 1929, Frank Ball of Muncie, Indiana purchased approximately 29 acres of the historic Lincoln farm and donated the land to the state. The state began removing structures in Lincoln City and hired landscape architect Donald Johnston to supervise implementation of Olmsted's design, including the allee and plaza. A groundbreaking ceremony in the future plaza area took place in 1930. Landscape work proceeded quickly following the groundbreaking. By 1931, a flagpole was raised in the plaza and the ILU began planning the Trail of 12 Stones. Within the next year, the state had completed demolition of the Lincoln City structures and installed most of the formal planting along the allee.

The pace of development increased in 1933, when Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp #1543, consisting of mostly World War I veterans was established at Lincoln City. CCC labor was responsible for large-scale revegetation—planting approximately 57,000 trees and 3,200 shrubs—and developing a campground, picnic area, and reservoir at what is now Lincoln State Park. During the single year that the Lincoln City camp was active, all CCC work was supervised by Paul V. Brown. A NPS employee in charge of Emergency Conservation work throughout the Midwest; Brown was also the ILU executive secretary.

Prior to 1934, most landscape development focused on Nancy Hanks Lincoln's grave. Eventually, the scope was expanded when a CCC crew led by Horace Weber, excavated the site of the Lincoln cabin. The state then hired architect Thomas Hibben, an Indiana native living in New York, to design an appropriate marker for the cabin site. Hibben's bronze memorial was completed in 1936.

By 1938, the ILU and Department of Conservation were ready to begin the next stage of site development. Richard Lieber again asked Olmsted's advice on an appropriate design for a memorial structure. Olmsted provided another report suggesting several proposals for such a building. After Olmsted's report was accepted, Lieber contacted NPS architect Richard Bishop for his input on the design, and in early 1940, hired Bishop to design and supervise construction of the memorial building. Construction documents were approved by October and the groundbreaking was held November 18. Landscape architect Edson Nott took over as landscape architect with the responsibility for incorporating the Memorial Building into the existing Olmsted/Johnston landscape.

By 1944, the memorial building was complete. As part of Nott's consecutive landscaping plan, the memorial court was installed, and the flagpole had been moved from the plaza to the north end of the allee. The massive stone benches were also relo-
cated from the cabin site to the plaza, and gravel paths were installed from the plaza to the sides of the building. The memorial building was now fully integrated into the landscape, thereby completing the project.

INCLUSION OF LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

By 1959, state officials and local residents felt that the Indiana's Lincoln Memorial should be nationally recognized. The initial legislation, S. 1024, was introduced by Senator Vance Hartke on Lincoln's birthday and called for including the Memorial in the National Park system. By 1960, the NPS had determined that the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial was worthy of inclusion into the system, but further political action was needed before the site's designation was official.

H.R. 2470, which proposed the creation of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, was introduced on January 11, 1961. The bill called for the transfer of the entire Lincoln State Park to the NPS. The State of Indiana generally supported the proposal, but wanted to keep the recreational portion of the park under state control. The bill received considerable attention in the press, including a series of editorials in the Evansville Courier promoting the idea. "Most area residents, indeed, most Indiana towns, supported the transfer of the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial." H.R. 2470 passed the House of Representatives on August 22, 1961, and the park was authorized on February 19, 1962 when President John F. Kennedy signed PL 87-407, 76 Stat. 9, the act designating Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial. The enabling legislation stated:

That in order to preserve the site in the State of Indiana associated with the boyhood and family of Abraham Lincoln, the Secretary of the Interior shall designate the original Tom Lincoln farm, the nearby gravesite of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and such adjoining lands as he deems necessary for establishment as the Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

Early NPS developments included moving the state highway from between the memorial building and allee to south of the memorial building. In 1966, a maintenance area, exhibit shelter, and employee housing were added to the west of the allee and memorial building. The more dramatic changes during that year were the addition to the memorial building and alteration of the memorial court; 1966 also brought National Historic Landmark designation.

The next major development took place in 1968, when the NPS completed construction of the memorial's Living History Farm and opened it for visitors. Located near the cabin site memorial within the boundaries of the historic Lincoln property, the Living History Farm was built as part of the joint venture between the NPS, Department of Agriculture, and Smithsonian Institution. The goal was to construct a system of farms interpreting different historical periods in units of the National Park system.

The most recent alteration of the landscape included the obliterating of the state highway. Closed by the NPS in 1966, the actual asphalt roadbed and corridor of Highway 162 was removed sometime in 1991-1992 when the NPS received a grant to remove the asphalt and revegetate both the highway...
corridor and overflow parking areas.

**STUDY BOUNDARIES**

This document focuses on the designed areas within Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial. Prior to designation as a unit of the National Park system, the commemorative landscape, then called the “Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial” was part of a larger Lincoln State Park. Beginning in the late 1920s crews from the state of Indiana and, later, the Civilian Conservation Corps completed the necessary site work for both segments. The two parks have always provided distinct opportunities for visitor use: the Memorial was intended to honor Nancy Hanks Lincoln and Abraham Lincoln and preserve the site of the Lincoln farm, while the State Park was intended for more active recreation, such as picnicking and camping. Specific analyses of and treatment recommendations for the recreational landscape encompassed by Lincoln State Park is not addressed in this document. Likewise, the Living History Farm is considered a non-historic interpretive exhibit and is only considered within the context of its impacts on the historic landscape.

**METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE**

Both primary and secondary research materials were used to complete this study. The most notable sources included plans, sketches and construction drawings ranging from Olmsted's early conceptual designs to the final planting plan installation completed by the state's landscape architects. Historic photos were important for tracing the design evolution and comparing how the physical landscape deviated from those plans. The correspondence of and reports by members of the Indiana Lincoln Union, the Indiana Department of Conservation, and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. were essential to interpreting the rationale for commemorating Lincoln in Indiana. They provided insight into Olmsted’s integral role in designing both the landscape and the memorial building. Context studies completed by NPS historians were also helpful in preparing the site history. A comprehensive historical chronology appears in Appendix I at the conclusion of this report.

Most written and photographic sources were located in park and regional office history files. NPS historian Jill York O'Bright, author of the 1987 *Historic Grounds Report* for Lincoln Boyhood, had previously gathered information from the Library of Congress and the Indiana State Library. Others, primarily drawings, were obtained from the Olmsted Archives at the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site in Brookline Massachusetts. Copies of files transferred from Northeast Regional Office to the Federal Archives in Philadelphia were ordered. These written documents provided limited information about activities at the park during the late 1960s through the early 1970s.

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

This study includes a thorough description of Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.'s role in conceptualizing the formal landscape and memorial building. It clarifies the subsequent contributions of landscape architects Donald Johnston and Edson Nott, and the activities of state crews and the CCC. It also examines how design and construction projects were carried out within typical
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New Deal programs.

By focusing on providing detailed analysis and evaluation of contributing landscape features, a comprehensive and specific treatment approach is identified, with corresponding recommendations for implementing the appropriate treatment.

Lincoln Boyhood is significant as both a commemorative landscape and historic site. Its meaning and use has changed over time, reflecting shifts in social and political values. It represents an attempt by local and state individuals and agencies to recognize Abraham Lincoln's formative years in Indiana, honor the resting place of his mother, bolster tourism and celebrate Hoosier pride through the artistic use of native building materials and landscaping plants. The memorial is also an excellent representative illustration of the state parks movement carried out as part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs.

The landscape has medium to high integrity, with the exception of areas altered in the 1960s and early 1990s. Alterations that have negatively impacted the overall design include relocation and subsequent obliteration of the state highway, enclosure of the cloister and an addition to the memorial building to create visitor amenities, and the development of the living history farm in close proximity to the cabin site memorial on the historic Lincoln farm. These activities have resulted in the loss of the landscape's symmetrical organization, reorientation of circulation patterns, and conflict between historical and interpretive resources.

NOTES

1 Abraham Lincoln's sister, Sarah Lincoln Grigsby, is buried in the cemetery at Little Pigeon Baptist Church, now surrounded by Lincoln State Park.
2 During this time, the entire Park was supervised by one individual, from 1927-1933 by Joe Wiebe, from 1933 to at least the late 1940's by Walter Ritchie.
4 Ibid., p. 11.
5 Ibid., p. 15.
6 Ibid., p. 17.
7 Ibid., p. 19. In 1925, Spencer County transferred the 16½ acres surrounding the grave to the State; this addition, along with a recently acquired parcel, expanded the park to sixty acres.
8 Ibid., p. 29.
10 There I Grew Up, p. 99-100.
11 Ibid., p. 107-108.
13 There I Grew Up, p. 152. Other Living History Farms were developed during this period at Booker T. Washington National Monument, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Ozark National Scenic River, and Pipe Spring National Monument.
CHAPTER 2
SITE HISTORY
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SITE HISTORY

Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln and their two children, Sarah, 9, and Abraham, 7, moved from Kentucky to southwestern Indiana in December 1816. They claimed 160 acres and built a rustic log structure that was finished by the following spring. In October 1818, Nancy became sick and died from drinking milk from infected cows. She was buried in a small pioneer cemetery on a hill about one-quarter mile from their home.

By 1819, Thomas remarried, and moved his second wife, Sarah Bush Johnston, and her three children from Kentucky to his farm in Indiana.

Over the next decade, the family continued to clear land and expand their farm. They raised a variety of crops and some livestock. Abraham and Sarah and their step-siblings attended school intermittently. Most of their education was gained informally; Abraham often borrowed books. Sarah, who had married and lived nearby, died in 1828 due to complications during childbirth. The remaining family members moved to Illinois in 1830. It was there that Abraham moved out on his own, eventually practicing law and entering political life.

PIONEER LANDSCAPE

First surveyed by the General Land Office in 1805, the land eventually claimed by the Lincolns was described as “land level, oak and hickory, medium growth is hazel and other brush very thick. The timber on this mile is chiefly destroyed by fire.” According to the surveyors, the trees growing in the vicinity of the farm included beech, cherry, wild crabapple, flowering dogwood, elm, gum, hickory, ironwood, locust, maple, several oak varieties, poplar, paw-paw, redbud, sassafras, sycamore, spice-wood, and walnut. As Lincoln scholar Louis Warren stated, the first task of the settler after his home had been constructed was the clearing of his land by hand or using horse teams to prepare it for cultivation. Eventually, the area was largely cleared of large trees and thick understory vegetation. A farmer’s success was measured by the quantity of “improved” and cultivated land; forested land was considered a nuisance because it was impossible to raise food crops on such parcels. A 1930s reference text described the pioneer’s attitude toward this non-renewable resource: “timber was so plentiful that there was scarcely any sale for it; and so when trees were cut down, only the choicest logs were used. Black walnut, white oak, and other hardwoods which [are] costly today were used for making rails for fences, and huge quantities of logs for which the settlers had no use were rolled into piles and burned just to get rid of them.”

By the beginning of the 20th century, the southwestern Indiana landscape had evolved into a varied pattern of cropland, pasture, and woodlots. In the area surrounding the historic Lincoln farm, little native forest remained; one exception was the
small hilltop cemetery where Nancy Hanks Lincoln was buried. The overall area was dominated with rolling hills dotted by small family farms, with the railroad town of Lincoln City located at the former site of the Lincoln’s farm.

EARLY COMMEMORATION

Lincoln’s Indiana roots were all but forgotten until his assassination in 1865. Local residents gathered to have their pictures taken in front of a structure reputed to be the Lincoln’s last cabin, and several artists attempted to depict the modest structure in paintings. Locals disassembled the cabin soon after the assassination to retain the logs as mementos of the fallen president. Once the cabin was gone, Nancy Hanks Lincoln’s grave became the focus of local commemoration efforts. Oral tradition holds that in 1869, local residents showed a visiting newspaper reporter to the grave. After crawling through thick overgrown brush to reach the site, the reporter wrote the first of many accounts of the grave’s poor condition. Area newspapers began carrying repeated accounts of the neglect of Nancy Hanks Lincoln’s grave. In 1879, following a second article, the first permanent gravestone was placed at the site. Although it was anonymously donated, it was discovered that Peter Studebaker, second vice president of the Studebaker Company Carriage Makers of South Bend, Indiana had paid for the stone. Indiana Governor James Mount helped found the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial Association in 1897 in response to another report of the gravesite’s poor condition.

Complaints over the lack of care continued into the early 1900s. A major step in protecting the site occurred in 1900 when the Spencer County Commissioners purchased sixteen acres surrounding the gravesite. They transferred the deed to the Memorial Association, who constructed a large picnic shelter and drilled a well at the site. In 1902, J.S. Culver donated a marker that was carved from stone left over from the Lincoln tomb in Springfield, Illinois. It was placed in front of the Studebaker stone, and a decorative cast iron fence was erected immediately around the gravesite.

By 1907, local residents were actively developing the area surrounding the cemetery.

Figure 1. Lincoln City residents in front of the reputed Lincoln cabin, ca. 1865.

Figure 2. Studebaker stone at Nancy Hanks Lincoln grave site.
The Legislature had recently created a Board of Commissioners to care for the grounds. The Board was given the funds, records, and property formerly belonging to the Memorial Association. They were directed to improve and maintain the grounds: to "erect a substantial and ornamental fence around said burial grounds and premises and beautify the same." Landscape architect J.C. Meyenberg of Tell City, Indiana prepared design plans for improving the site. Dead trees were cleared as the site was prepared for the improvements. It eventually featured an ornate iron gate at the entry, eagle and lion statuary, a picnic shelter/pavilion, and extensive ornamental plantings. In 1917, local residents attempted to locate the site of the Lincoln cabin. After unearthing a few hearthstones and some pottery bits, they determined that the remains of the cabin site had been found. "This cabin site was located on a knoll then in the heart of Lincoln City, approximately one-fourth mile north from the top of the hill on which is located the grave of Nancy Hanks." The county placed a stone marker on the site as part of the celebration of the 1916 Indiana centennial, and the 1918 Spencer County centennial.

Despite the fact that Nancy Hanks Lincoln's gravesite was being more actively and appropriately maintained, visitors frequently drove their cars into the park on a road that actually covered part of the cemetery. Complaints arose about people walking on the gravesites and leaving litter from their picnics.

State officials became involved in 1923 when the State Assembly created the Lincoln Memorial Commission to replace the Board of Commissioners. They authorized the Memorial Commission to purchase land around the grave and cabin site and to "prepare and execute plans for erecting a
suitable memorial to the memory of Abraham at or near his residence.”

In 1925 the legislature acted again by dissolving the Commission and transferring responsibility for the Lincoln site to the Department of Conservation under the direction of Colonel Richard Lieber. After viewing the site, “Director Lieber and associates determined to commit themselves and the Department to the task of ending forever Indiana’s neglect of these sacred sites. He conceived the possibility of a state memorial park, encompassing the knolls containing the cabin and grave sites.” Not long after the transfer, another parcel was acquired bringing the total size of the memorial to sixty acres. Direct responsibility for developing the memorial was given to the Indiana Lincoln Union (ILU) in 1926. The ILU was a committee of local and state business leaders and state employees. Mrs. Anne Studebaker Carlisle, President, and Colonel Lieber, Executive Committee Chairman, led the ILU in the early years of the memorial development.

CREATING INDIANA’S LINCOLN MEMORIAL

At one of its initial meetings in 1927, the ILU decided to hire Olmsted Brothers, a well-known landscape architecture firm from Brookline, Massachusetts to prepare a preliminary design for the memorial. The contract between the state and Olmsted Brothers called for the firm to prepare a general sketch or preliminary plan that “would indicate quite clearly and definitely the general lines of character of the development.” Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. found the request interesting enough to tackle the job himself rather than assign one of the junior employees to the task. He visited the Lincoln site in March and in May presented a conceptual plan to the ILU.

Olmsted’s assessment of the existing commemorative landscape was not very favorable, though he acknowledged the significance of the site and recognized that simplicity was the key to creating a distinguished memorial.
It is most unfortunately true that present conditions, at and around the site, themselves confuse and distract the visitor’s attention from thought of Lincoln and of the significance of all that befell him here. These distracting sights are the results of mischance and neglect, of the intrusion of utilitarian structures of a very different period from Lincoln’s, and also of the well-meant but misapplied efforts of some of our predecessors to express, as well as they knew how, their desire to honor Lincoln’s memory. Of the former class are the branch railway track and the state highway with its rushing automobiles, bisecting the space between the cabin site and the grave of Lincoln’s mother, and the buildings scattered on and around the site. Of the latter class are the cast iron gates with their gilded concrete lions, the bits of garde-nesque lawn with exotic shrubs and conifer, and the general ‘slicking up’ of the remnant of second growth woodland around the grave into the semblance of a town picnic grove or a conventional ‘landscape cemetery.’ The first task is to eliminate or obscure all such distracting elements, while avoiding to the utmost the risk of introducing new distractions of our own creation, and to leave the surroundings of the cabin site and the grave quiet, peaceful and unassertively beautiful.

As a first step to improving the site, Olmsted attempted to set guidelines for simplifying the area surrounding the grave and cabin sites. He termed these areas “the Sanctuary,” and felt that they should be similarly treated. The immediate Sanctuary “should be freed of every petty, distracting, alien, self-asserting object.” This called for removing all traces of Lincoln City, as well as the ornamental shrubs and other plants that had been planted at the grave. He directed that the state highway and railroad bed be rerouted from between the grave and cabin site so that no vehicles or other intrusions would distract from visitor’s contemplative experience. He did acknowledge, however, that parking was necessary and should be accommodated at the site. Interestingly, he directed that the parking areas should be somewhat removed from the core of the memorial, so that visitors could proceed “on foot into the Sanctuary under conditions favorable for producing the right impression.”

While Olmsted felt the design should focus “upon the problem of making it easy and natural for other people . . . to be stimulated to their own inspiring thoughts and emotions about Lincoln,” he also recognized that the more mundane visitor amenities had to be accommodated if the memorial was to be successful. He called for a design that would allow outdoor assemblies of varying size, and provide restroom, food, and gas facilities so that visitors would be comfortable and better able to enjoy the experience to be gained at the site:

The utmost artistic skill and discretion we can command should be devoted to the problem of so arresting the attention of those who approach the sanctuary deliberately and even those who approach it casually in passing, as to make them aware of its importance and its nature; and to the problem of so preparing their minds as they enter it and so influencing them as they consider it that they may appreciate its message to the greatest possible degree.

Because the site itself did not possess physical qualities that would render it to a visitor’s memory, Olmsted knew that his design would have to overcome the rather ordinary character of its surroundings:

[It] demands something of a frankly and boldly artificial and monumental sort in the approach to the Sanctuary . . . I have in mind, for example, such elements as large and well-proportioned vistas and spaces of turf enframed by noble avenues or masses of trees, interlocking with well-proportioned masses of the simplest masonry that would serve to house the various indoor functions.
Such a feature would not only focus attention on the Sanctuary; it would also function as a organizing element for moving visitors through the site and provide a visual transition between the highway and the grave. Individuals as well as groups could progress from a parking area to the grave. Olmsted did not address how to include the cabin site in the conceptual plan.

Olmsted’s conceptual plan combined the primary vista—the allee—with the relocated highway bed to create a cross-axis. This cruciform arrangement provided an organizational element for circulation within the memorial: vehicular traffic was concentrated in an east-west corridor, with pedestrians travelling from the south to the north. A parking plaza and large flagpole at the intersection of the highway and allee anchored the two axes, and the flagpole provided a focal point for the south end of the allee. This arrangement established a strong spiritual imagery and a solemn atmosphere for presenting the story of the Lincoln’s experiences in Indiana.

The language used by ILU officials reinforced the religious context created by the physical form of the memorial. Much of the committee’s literature generated for the memorial fundraising program spoke of Nancy Hanks Lincoln as the ‘sainted Mother,’ referred to her grave as ‘sacred soil,’ and described visits as ‘pilgrimages’. A 1941 promotional article described the Union’s intentions: “We are erecting here a shrine to Motherhood and to the family hearthstone. We are memorializing democracy and religion.” Because Olmsted did not include such religious language in reference to the design (other than his description of the grave and cabin sites as the Sanctuary), it is difficult to determine if he considered the cross-axes to be significant as anything other than an organizing element. When one considers the other site details that accrued over time, such as the sculptured panel that portrayed a robed Lincoln in the Apotheosis, an allegory emerges of the journey of a motherless boy on the frontier who grew into the martyred leader of the nation. This complementary patriotic message is reinforced by the prominence of the flagpole. As Olmsted described it:

I am inclined to believe that there is one, and only one, large and conspicuous object, idealistic in significance, that could be used as the dominant object in such an entrance composition without impertinence to the Sanctuary within. That object is a great flagpole bearing the American Flag. The bold formality of the Olmsted plan made evident the ILU’s intention to commemorate the Lincolns and celebrate their Indiana roots without recreating their pioneer farm. Led by Lieber, who felt that such an approach was inappropriate, the ILU strove instead to reflect "Hoosier" values through straightforward design using familiar construction methods and native plants and materials. The simplicity of this design was a reaction to the Classical revival style of the other Lincoln monuments. While Olmsted agreed that it was impossible to accurately reconstruct the Lincoln’s farm, he did propose restoring part of the native forested landscape to form the backdrop for the formal design. A recreated forest would symbolize the primeval conditions that the pioneers struggled against, and was “the only one of now vanished features of the place characteristic of Lincoln’s time which can be reproduced without sham or falsehood.”
Figure 8. Olmsted Jr.’s Preliminary Plan for the Lincoln Memorial, 1927. The Nancy Hanks Lincoln Memorial was later subsumed by Lincoln State Park. There was, however, a clear distinction between the Memorial, with its commemorative intent, and the State Park, which was recreational in character.
 approximate location of
 parking facilities

 approximate location of
 picnic shelter/pavilion


 parking

 memorial plaza


 red oak

 Quercus Rubra

 exedra

 Eastern Redcedar
 (Juniperus virginiana)

 cottage

 (Tilia americana)

 (Platanus occidentalis)

 parking

 meadow

 stone pylon

 parking

 meadow

 Trail of Twelve Stones

 Cemetery

 trail of

 twelve stones

 Culver stones

 grave of

 Nancy Hanks

 Lincoln

 picnic shelter/pavilion

 eastern redcedar

 (Juniperus virginiana)

 tulip tree

 (Liriodendron tulipifera)

 sycamore

 (Platanus occidentalis)

 eastern redcedar

 (Juniperus virginiana)

 stone steps

 picnic shelter/pavilion

 parking

 meadow

 parking

 meadow

 parking

 meadow
BUILDING THE MEMORIAL

By 1929, following extensive correspondence, Olmsted's plan was accepted and the ILU had hired landscape architect Donald Johnston to refine the conceptual plan and supervise construction activities. An energetic statewide fund raising program brought in close to $230,000, which included pledges from over 40,000 Indiana schoolchildren of twenty-five cents or less. The state began acquiring properties on which the memorial was to be developed. A ground-breaking ceremony was held in 1930, and over the next year, crews hired by the Department of Conservation worked on removing most traces of Lincoln City including the school house, church, the general store and hotel, and a score of residences. The mud streets and alleys that criss-crossed over the place we have filled in and graded, eroded hillsides were sown in grass and evidence of the former entrance and the iron fencing of the original tract has been taken down and used as part of the fencing around the whole tract.

Under Johnston's supervision, the workers completely regraded existing topography between the grave and the proposed location for the relocated state highway. By the time the allee, the plaza, and highway grading was complete, over 17,000 yards of earth had been moved. State crews then constructed the stone walls around the perimeter of the plaza and pylons along the highway. The design, as implemented by Johnston and the state crews, closely followed Olmsted's plan, with slight changes to the shape of the plaza, and omission of masonry features along the allee.

Other site work completed during 1930 included constructing a boundary fence and modern service building, making repairs to the custodian's cottage, and undertaking massive reforestation of surrounding agricultural land by planting almost 40,000 native trees and shrubs. The reforestation, recommended in Olmsted's report, took place after he consulted Department of Conservation foresters. The ILU hired George R. Wilson, a former Dubois county surveyor, to gather notes describing native vegetation from the 1805 general land survey.

By 1931, the plaza wall and exedra were finished, and the flagpole was raised on the island at the center of the intersection (see Figure 10—the exedra was subsequently replaced by the Memorial Building). Planting crews continued the reforestation effort, and began working on the plantings within and around the plaza. In total, 36 red oaks, 40 cedars, and over 400 "special nursery stock trees" were installed. Planting continued into 1932, moving to the allee, which was lined with symmetrical rows of shrubs and trees to focus attention on the Sanctuary. Walkways at the outer edges of the allee were lined first with dogwood shrubs (Cornus stolonifera), followed by a row of Tulip poplars (Liriodendron tulipifera), with an outer edge of Sycamore (Platanus occidentalis). By using shrubs and trees native to Indiana forests, the for-
Figure 11. Study sketch by Johnston showing memorial building at north end of allee. Note shape and design for plaza and presence of overflow parking meadows.

Figure 12. Study sketch by Johnston with memorial building at south end of allee.
Figure 13. Construction of plaza and allee, 1932.

Figure 14. Early photograph of allee. The picnic shelter that preceded Olmsted's design is visible to the left of the allee.

Figure 15. An early plan for the Memorial by Nott. Note the formal character of the southern parking meadow.
ma! planting would then blend into the naturalistic surroundings.

Olmsted's plan included limited parking space. Johnston expanded this notion to include overflow lots east of the plaza on either side of the state highway—a concept formalized in the plans of Edson Nott, the state's second landscape architect. The overflow areas consistently appeared as meadow-like open spaces when not in use, providing a sequence of open and enclosed spaces to make a transition between the rural surroundings and the formal landscape. This sequencing of open and enclosed views and large and small-scaled outdoor spaces was frequently integrated into designs by late 19th and early 20th century landscape architects. Originating in the English Landscape School, this approach was first promoted in America by Andrew Jackson Downing:

The sequence of changing vistas was central to Downing's vision... The memory of what was past and the anticipation of what lay ahead heightened the individual's response.34

It was soon employed by such early landscape architects as Frederick Law Olmsted,
Figure 18. CCC excavation at the cabin site. The Spencer County marker was moved to the Trail of Twelve Stones.

Sr. at Prospect Park, Charles Platt at Bryn Mawr, and Albert Davis Taylor at Forest Hill Park. By the late 1920s, when the Indiana Lincoln Memorial was designed by Olmsted, Jr., this approach had been regionally interpreted by landscape architects of the Prairie or Midwest School of landscape design such as Ossian Simonds and Jens Jensen.35

In 1933, Civilian Conservation Corps camp #1543 was established at Lincoln City. Most of the camp’s efforts were focused on the Lincoln State Park site, as the allee was almost complete. The CCC’s involvement at Lincoln State Park was typical of their role in developing state parks across the nation; they focused on providing recreational amenities. Their initial projects included building a dam to create a large reservoir, building a pumphouse, clearing a fire line and route for an electric line, and initiating a topographic survey for the north end of the memorial near the cabin site. By 1934, workers had completed the installation of an irrigation system at the allee, and planted a total of 8,000 native trees to screen State Road 162.36 Their major accomplishment for that year was excavating the Lincoln cabin site, which will be discussed in detail in a following section of this chapter.

BUILDING THE TRAIL OF TWELVE STONES

In 1931, J.I. Holcomb, President of the Indiana Lincoln Union, suggested another major design feature for the commemorative landscape. He thought it would be of "interest to have a collection of stones from the various points of Lincoln interest"37 along a wooded trail to interpret Lincoln's life. The trail would also include stone benches and tablets describing the stones' origins. ILU members and other interested parties began acquiring stones immediately, though it is unclear when the trail construction began. By the time it was completed in 1934, the trail had received quite a bit of publicity in local newspapers. One promotional piece described the trail's appearance and function as

more than a mile in length ... a gravel path about a yard in width, outlined in stones. At present it passes through fields yet unlandscaped and covered with weeds and briers [sic], but offering a beautiful native setting. At irregular intervals along the path the pilgrim comes upon the shrines.
and while as yet they are but mere outlines, it is not difficult to imagine their finished beauty. Although somewhat similar, each shrine will be individual when completed. Each shrine will be especially landscaped to emphasize its historical significance. At each shrine when completed there will be stone or rustic benches, where the pilgrim may rest. The stones for the shrines, collected by the Lincoln Union represent considerable time and effort. Members of the union, personally, or through friends, have brought in these stones, 12 in number, across a period of years.38

While the Trail of Twelve Stones was not part of Olmsted’s plan, it provided a significant physical and allegorical link between the cabin and gravesite. By connecting Lincoln’s childhood home to his mother’s grave, Johnston continued the theme of pilgrimage. The trail symbolized the visitors’ journey during which they could learn about and reflect upon the different stages of Lincoln’s life, and also represented the sad story of his childhood: the passage from innocence into maturity upon the death of his mother and his eventual sacrifice for the nation.

**CABIN SITE MEMORIAL**

The cabin site memorial was the final component of the initial landscape development. The memorial was located on the approximate site of the original Lincoln cabin, which at that point was marked by the 1917 Spencer County marker on the playground of the Lincoln City School (the marker served as homebase for softball games). It was connected to the cemetery by the “Boyhood Trail” which was built as part of the state’s plan. The ILU had already acquired the land and demolished the school and other surrounding structures when architect Thomas Hibben was hired to design an appropriate marker. ILU officials decided that a cabin reconstruction was inappropriate, so Hibben proposed that a bronzed formation of sill logs with a fireplace and hearthstones be placed on the exact location and approximate grade level of the original Lincoln cabin. The design also incorporated masonry retaining walls, stone benches and flagstone walkways. The goal was to mark the cabin site in such permanent means that knowledge of its location may not be lost to history and in such a manner as to indicate the sacredness of this spot. The log sill is chosen as appropriate to mark the outline of the cabin; the hearth and fireplace are chosen because they have...
been, since time immemorial, the altar of the home, the center around which all life moved. The entire conception is cast in bronze in order that it may be durable and that it may not in any way seem a reconstruction of the original cabin. The entire purpose of the design is intended to be a symbol of the hearth and home of the Lincoln family. 38

When the cabin site was excavated in 1934, hearthstones were uncovered about eighteen inches below grade, substantiating the belief that it was indeed the location of the Lincoln cabin. 39 The stones were photographed and stored while Hibben personally selected typical worn sill logs, reconstructed a typical pioneer fireplace, and supervised the taking of the plaster casts in preparation for construction of the cabin memorial. 40 The original hearthstones were displayed in a steel and glass case that was sunk into the ground at the end of the sill logs within the walled memorial. They remained there until around 1946, when they were moved to the State Library Building in Indianapolis. Some of the stones were brought back to the memorial in 1960, and may have later been incorporated into the fireplace display inside what is now the Memorial Visitor Center. 41

The cabin site memorial was the one component of the designed landscape where the CCC played a major role. The crews coordinated the excavation, located and documented the approximately 150 hearthstones, and completed the memorial according to Hibben's specifications. Horace Weber, the supervisory engineer described the CCC operation:

there was a cabin site marker [the Spencer County Marker] that was erected some years previously and that marker, a granite marker... was moved by our men, I mean the group of CCC men. That marker was moved about 200 feet east and relocated on the trail [Trail of Twelve Stones] going to the east... the monument was supposed to occupy the center of the Lincoln cabin and that area I set up as a benchmark and with my transit. I not only located the various points there by using the transit and steel tape, but also the elevations. The transit was there for weeks and weeks, from the time the top of the hill was shaved off and leveled, which began about the first day of June, until the work was completed the last day of June. There were usually 30 men working in the crew for me. I had the responsibility of carrying out the blueprints that were used and that had been prepared up at Indianapolis by the Park authorities. The superintendent of our camp was Orin Reed and in addition to him, of course, we had an architect and three or four Civil Engineers, and three or four men who were overseers. 42

According to Weber, the stone walls, excavation, grading, and filling were completed by June 1934. It was not until the following summer, however, that the bronze logs were in place. Problems getting the project contract approved and the complexities of dealing with the contractor in Germany contributed to this delay. While they were waiting for the memorial to be completed, the CCC crews continued on other aspects of the design, including the formal arrangement of gravel and flagstone walks. The stone for the wall and walkways was sandstone quarried at St. Meinrad, ten miles from the memorial. The wall had a smooth finish, while the paving was more textured. According to the CCC superintendent's monthly report, all the stone was laid by the same mason. Unfortunately, the mason's name has not been recorded. 43

When the bronzed memorial finally arrived in the summer of 1935, it was transported to Lincoln City by boxcar in wooden crates. The CCC crew moved it to the site and put it in place under Weber's direction. Like the allee and Trail of Twelve Stones, the
cabin site memorial received much publicity when it was completed. There was still work to be done on landscaping the immediate area and reforesting the surrounding landscape. According to Weber, "the whole area there, which is just opposite the small town of Lincoln City lying to the east, the whole area was devoid of trees and covered with grass. It looked like a pasture field." Edson Nott completed a planting list and plan for the cabin site memorial in 1937 that incorporated curvilinear beds at each corner of the upper terrace. The beds were to include lush plantings of native trees, shrubs and flowers, including tulip poplar, shrubby St. John’s wort, honey locust, brook euonymus, thicket hawthorne, eastern wahoo (euonymus shrub), prairie crab, meadow rose, wild sweet crab, prairie rose, pfiffer juniper, snowberry, black chokeberry, blackhaw viburnum, purple chokeberry, fragrant sumac, pagoda dogwood, American redbud, silky dogwood, and prostrate juniper. By 1938, state park superintendent Walter Ritchie reported that "the planting around the cabin site of native plants is about 50% completed... The state is furnishing everything for the cabin site planting." Although his account does not specify, he appears to be describing the surrounding reforestation effort, rather than the formal planting. Because no photographs or correspondence have been found as documentation, it is not known if the formal planting plan for the cabin site memorial was ever installed.

**MEMORIAL BUILDING/COURT**

The second major construction phase at the Lincoln Memorial began in 1938 and continued until 1945. Although they were
Trail of Twelve Stone

Cemetery

Grave of Nancy Hanks Lincoln

Eastern Redcedar (Juniperus virginiana)

Dugout (Carya ovata)

Tulip Tree (Liriodendron tulipifera)

Sycamore (Platanus occidentalis)

Parking Meadow

Meadow

Nancy Hanks Lincoln Hall

Abraham Lincoln Hall

Memorial Plaza

Memorial Building

Cloister

Former Location of Expo

Flagpole

Allee

Parking

Stone Brenches

Boyhood Trail

Grove of Nancy Hanks Lincoln

Cemetery Stone
pleased with the commemorative landscape, the ILU members realized that a facility was needed to anchor visitor activities and accommodate large groups. Thomas Hibben had completed a conceptual design for such a building during the early 1930s, but by the time the ILU was ready to undertake construction, members decided that his design was not appropriate for the site. Colonel Lieber decided to once again approach Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. for guidance on the issue. Lieber wrote to Olmsted in the summer of 1938 to ask him to visit the site and provide a report to the ILU. He explained that Olmsted's input was needed because "that which has been done up to date is perfect in its simplicity and quiet impressiveness. [He acknowledged] the fear that we may intrude with magnificence and interfere with the spirit of the place." In the same letter, he enclosed a rough sketch indicating his ideas on where the structure should be located.

In the same letter, he enclosed a rough sketch indicating his ideas on where the structure should be located. Lieber followed up with a second letter to Olmsted after just a few days. He described his fears about the project in more detail, mentioning his concern about the formality of the plans to date:

this is the worst of the situation that, back of this gorgeous modern poetry in stone you must come face to face with the simplest kind of historical reality. Unrelated to each other the building would dominate, bruise, nay crush the very object of our veneration; that unpretentious little grave holding the body and the enigma of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

At this point in the discussions, the ILU had not determined where the memorial building should be sited. The early intention was to place it at the north end of the allee, near the grave. Lieber described the difficulty in determining a location in a letter to a J.I. Holcomb, again mentioning his concern about intruding upon the grave:

Mr. Olmsted in August convinced me that the placing of a building or buildings between the flagpole island and Nancy Hanks grave would be an intrusion. Buildings in that location would disrupt the musings, the reveries or contemplations of those who come to visit that little hollowed spot.

Figure 26. Early Olmsted sketch showing concept for memorial building.
While Lieber's decision solved the location dilemma, it raised the issue of whether to remove or retain the exedra and how the strong axial symmetry created by the allee and highway would be addressed by the building design. While these issues were being resolved, Lieber and other ILU officials continued to wait for Olmsted's written report, which had been delayed by his illness. He was finally able to complete and submit the report in February 1939. In the report, Olmsted had agreed that the "formal composition" was incomplete, and thought a building would provide an important anchor for the memorial. He discussed a number of alternatives, including

a) placing a single monumental structure surrounding the grave, creating a "Cloister" to protect the grave (this was the first time such a concept was considered for the design),
b) placing a single monumental structure just south of the grave on the terrace,
c) placing a single monumental structure at the southern end of the allee near the highway, or
d) placing a pair of smaller structures somewhere along the allee north of the highway.

Olmsted then proceeded to reject these options, because he thought they would either overwhelm the simple cemetery or would interfere with the straightforward symmetry that had been established by the allee—it would "seem ill-related to the composition as a whole, restless and 'unanchored'." By May, Lieber notified Olmsted that the Building and Plans Committee of the ILU had convened and accepted his report. The committee adopted his fifth recommendation—to place a set of buildings flanking the allee at the south end of the allee on the opposite side of the highway. This approach required removing the existing exedra while incorporating its semi-circular shape to create a "court of honor" between two wings. The semi-circular wall would feature five sculpted panels depicting the significant phases of Lincoln's life.

Olmsted's proposal to divide the memorial building into two wings or halls represented a second prolonged debate almost equaling the concern over the building's location. Both Lieber and Olmsted recognized early that placing a structure on or near the allee complicated the strong linear relationship between the cemetery, allee, and flagpole. He felt "any single axial structure of comparable bulk [would] interrupt the continuity of the line of movement toward the grave." A matched pair of structures on either side of the allee would create a portal through which visitors could pass to begin their journey up to the grave. Olmsted had initially suggested a bi-symmetrical layout in 1927, during the first construction phase. To do so would "divide the main building into two masses between which the vista to the inner gate would open. There would be two advantages to such a rearrangement. It would concentrate the monumental interest on that side of the line of travel... and it would present the sunlit south side of the memorial building to the highway and the plaza, instead of its north side."

Olmsted revisited the impact of natural lighting patterns in the 1939 report, explaining that because the building and sculpted panels would face the allee to the north, they would always be shadowed. Recognizing the subtle qualities of sun on the exedra, he proposed a curved wall concept for the memo-
rial building:

It is at present a striking and very happy characteristic of the scene, as one emerges from the woods around the grave and looks southward down the vista on any sunny afternoon or morning, that the concave form of the simple little exedra wall beyond the flagstaff presents a delightful gradation of sunlight and shadow, subtly changing with the angle of the sun, always agreeable in its relation to the low wooded hills beyond, to the soaring flagstaff in front, and to the long simple vista of the greenwood in the foreground. 55

While the shape of the exedra inspired Olmsted to suggest that a curving wall attach the two wings, he acknowledged that adaptations to the original would have to be made. In comparison with the allee and flagpole, the exedra walls were inadequately scaled. 56 He suggested that the two wings be spaced widely enough so as to create a "court of honor" that echoed the width of the allee, and that the court be raised up several steps from the plaza to create a formal spatial hierarchy. The curving wall would create a southern terminus for the court, with the sculpted panels acting as a focal point within the court. He debated whether it should be a simple wall feature, or have sufficient depth so that it became a central unit connecting the two halls. 57 The arrangement had a strongly horizontal emphasis, and relied on textured masonry and sculpted panels to capture visitor's interest.

The sequence of events during the second construction phase followed a pattern similar to that of the landscape development. Again, Lieber and the other supporters accepted the Olmsted proposal, then hired a another designer, in this case, National Park Service architect Richard Bishop, to finalize the design, complete the construction drawings, and supervise the on-site work. Lieber had actually conferred with Bishop prior to his appointment, asking the architect's opinion on the overall landscape treatment as well as Olmsted's conceptual suggestions for the memorial building. On January 12, 1940, Lieber, J.I. Holcomb, and Charles DeTurk, Director of the Indiana State Parks, met with Bishop to offer him the position.

Bishop agreed with the ILU's approach taken at the site, and set about bringing the conceptual plan to fruition. He continued the use of native Indiana materials and relied on local craftsmen for detail wood and stone work. The goal was to create a building that suggested the best design and con-
construction practices of Lincoln’s day, and "express[ed] the qualities of simplicity, strength and dignity which are invariably associated with Lincoln’s character." In an effort to maintain simplicity, Bishop felt it was important that all elements of the building have a utilitarian purpose. While this had already been achieved with the two halls, the decorative curved wall that held the sculptural panels still posed a challenge. According to Bishop’s report:

developing this thought and finding a legitimate use for the semicircular court wall, in addition to having it bear the proposed sculptural panels, became an important problem. The Architect’s plan solved this problem by expanding the wall into semi-circular curved passage (now called the cloister) to connect the adjacent ends of the two halls. The inside wall of the cloister and the two adjacent ends of the halls would of course form the desired memorial court. With the interiors of the adjacent ends of the two halls planned as entrance vestibules, the cloister would provide a covered passageway from one building to the other. This cloister will also serve as a very useful shelter. To make access to and through the cloister from the memorial Court convenient and attractive, four doorways alternating with the five memorial panels were located on the inside wall of the court with corresponding doorways on the outside walls.

Bishop and Edson Nott created a hierarchy of spaces along the progression from the plaza, through the court and into the halls and cloister. As visitors moved from their cars into the building, each subsequent area was slightly elevated: the court’s brick walkway was raised three steps above the plaza to the north, and the cloister floor was then five steps higher than the floor of the memorial court. Curving stone steps around the south side of the court accommodated this transition, which raised the sculptured wall panels so that they were visible from throughout the southern part of the memorial.

The memorial building project continued under Bishop’s supervision until 1945. The Department of Conservation was responsible for funding the construction and hiring crews to complete the job. The state was unable to utilize any of the federal work programs still underway, as the projected budget exceeded the limit for their projects.

The second construction phase called for more landscaping projects. Bishop worked with Edson Nott on the plans, though by the time they were completed, money for installation was limited. Nott had designed an extensive planting scheme for the
memorial using native shrubs and perennials. His plans expressed a level of detail missing from either Olmsted, Jr. or Johnston's plans, including installing walkways around the memorial buildings, planting beds at the cabin site memorial, and following removal of the exedra, redesigning the walkways and plantings within the memorial court.

According to Bishop's 1944 report, Nott's plantings had been installed around the memorial building. In his submittal the following year, he reported that crews had created openings in the corners of the stone wall around the perimeter of the plaza, moved the stone benches from the cabin site to the corners of the plaza, and completed the gravel walks from the plaza to the back of the building. The lawn and plantings around the memorial building were still in need of some work, and the court's brick walkways were almost complete. The remaining projects included replacing several trees on the allee, relocating the gravel walks around the recently relocated flagpole, and repairing or replacing the stone steps to the flagpole terrace. Although exhaustively searched, archives and park files contain very little documentation of changes that were made following the building's completion through the acquisition by the National Park Service. It appears that Nott's designs for the cabin site memorial was only partially completed, and that only his ideas for the memorial building plantings were realized. The amphitheater at the southern end of the memorial was never built. Interestingly, park staff recall ornamental plantings behind the memorial building, but there are no photographs or written records illustrating that this area was ever elaborately landscaped.

![Figure 30. View of enclosed cloister and altered memorial court.](image)
CHANGES TO SITE DURING NPS ADMINISTRATION

In 1959, the National Park Service initiated the new area study to determine whether Indiana’s Lincoln Memorial merited inclusion into the National Park system. The study was complete by the following year. While it recognized the memorial’s significance, the report recommended that the site remain under state ownership and administration. Over the next two years, Indiana’s legislators in Washington tried to get a bill passed to create the park, and on February 19, 1962, President Kennedy signed P.L. 87-407, 76 Stat. 9, the act authorizing the establishment of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.

To implement P.L. 87-407, the state conducted a boundary survey of lands to be transferred to the federal government. The survey had to be approved by Indiana’s Governor and the Secretary of the Interior prior to the transfer. Once the NPS established a presence at the memorial in 1963, it set about making changes to the site. The master planning process for the memorial began in 1959 and extended into the mid-1960s. The plan proposed many changes that were never implemented, such as adding parking areas, closing the plaza to vehicular traffic, paving the allee and walks on the terrace and through the woods. Those that were undertaken included, first, relocating the state highway from between the allee and memorial building to a route south of the building. The second, and more extensive, undertaking was adapting the memorial building for use as a visitor center. The decision to alter the existing building was made after an extended debate, during which NPS officials at the park as well as the central and regional offices revisited many of the issues raised during the late 1930s and 40s. Some felt that a new, separate structure should be erected near the north end of the allee. Others looked back at Olmsted’s arguments:

in deliberating on it, we have again gone back to Frederick Law Olmsted’s original eloquent expression about this historic place. We enclose a copy which states, far better than we can do, the philosophy we believe should be followed in treating the Lincoln Boyhood site. We have also considered the guidelines set forth by the architect when the Memorial structures were designed... stating his view that no structure should be erected on the hill where the grave is located...

On the basis of this data, and our own study, we have concluded that the knoll that includes the grave of Nancy Hanks is clearly a part of the sanctuary. We should not intrude our modern Visitor Center or any other building into this location.

Eventually, the NPS decided to enclose the cloister’s front (north) wall and add a wing to its south side to create an interpretive and administrative facility. Deig Brothers Lumber and Construction Co. of Evansville were awarded the contract on June 24, 1965. The total award was $244,774. Enclosing the building necessitated adding a central walkway to the court, and replacing plantings that were removed or damaged during construction. By 1966, the NPS had completed the building and altered the court landscape to accommodate the building changes. Other “improvements” made to the park during the mid-1960s included adding a maintenance complex and employee housing at the west edge of the park.

The second major change instituted by the NPS was the construction of the Living
History Farm. It was built as part of a system-wide historical interpretative program in partnership with the Department of Agriculture and the Smithsonian Institution. According to Lincoln Boyhood’s Administrative History, initial conversations between the park and the regional office weighed two alternatives: “a living historical farm 'oriented to the bronze foundation' as a symbol of the 1817 foundation, or a 'period' farm.” A small controversy developed between park and regional officials and historic preservation personnel over the “historic” farm; as the latter raised issues related to compliance with the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. A concern was also raised that the farm might distract visitors from the memorial’s primary resources. Although stipulations were put in place to limit the impact of the farm on the cabin site memorial, six of the stones along the Trail of Twelve Stones were relocated during the farm's construction.

The Living History Farm was built using agricultural structures from around Indiana. Workers disassembled buildings following their purchase, moved them to the park, where they were put back together. The NPS hired individuals from the surrounding communities to complete this task, which took only two and one half months. The Living History Farm continues to be a popular interpretive program at the Memorial.

RECENT CHANGES TO THE DESIGNED LANDSCAPE

The NPS has undertaken at least two extensive projects that impacted the memorial landscape in recent years. In 1988, the allee plantings were completely replaced and the planting beds around the memorial building rehabilitated. Keith Kreuger, Regional Landscape Architect in the Midwest Regional Office completed a Landscape Maintenance Guide, and the subsequent work was completed under contract. The Maintenance Guide’s planting plan utilized species suggested by Nott in his 1937 plan. Nott’s plan called for extensive, dense plantings, and photographs from the 1950s show that shrubs in front of the building were massive and tended to overwhelm its scale. Because no "as-built" drawings of the original landscaping around the memorial building have been located, it is difficult to determine how closely the plants now in place replicate the historic appearance.

The 1960s relocation of State Highway 162 resulted in the abandonment of the east arm of the cross-axial design. For almost twenty-five years the roadbed and former overflow parking areas were intact. The iron gate that marked the entrance to the park in the 1920’s was installed at the east end of the plaza in 1986 to block the old highway. In 1993, the park received a grant from the Drackett Corporation to obliterate the roadbed and revegetate the corridor and parking areas. Concerns over the impact of this action on the historic designed landscape were mitigated by an agreement to maintain some semblance of the former corridor by retaining several yards of open space immediately east of the plaza and preserving the stone pylons at the entrance to the parking areas. The remaining corridor and former parking areas were replanted with native trees, including oaks, dogwood, and black walnut. Several picnic tables have been placed in the open space immediately behind the gate.
SUMMARY

Despite the changes that have been made by the National Park Service to accommodate changing visitor needs, the designed landscape at Lincoln Boyhood today appears much as it did in the late 1940s when the State of Indiana put the finishing touches on its memorial. The design exhibits the hand of all three landscape architects: Olmsted, Johnston, and Nott, and represents the dedication of Department of Conservation officials, especially Colonel Richard Lieber, to follow the project through to its completion. Above all, it reflects a localized need to commemorate Lincoln, and demonstrates how national trends in design and recreation, came together to fulfill that desire.

NOTES

1 The cemetery was the resting place of other victims of the 'milk sickness.' Today, the total number of graves in the cemetery is not known, though it has been estimated to be approximately 35. Forest Frost and Scott Stadler, 2000. Intensive Archeological Resource Inventory of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, Spencer County, Indiana, 1997-1999: Results and Recommendations [MWAC Technical Report No. 64]. Lincoln Nebraska: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center. 13.
3 Paul V. Brown, 1938. The Indiana Lincoln Memorial in Spencer County, Indiana. [This pamphlet was published by the Indiana Lincoln Union. An appendix in this publication contains a report submitted by members of Committee on Lincoln Flora, Fauna, and Family, by George R. Wilson, January 12, 1928.]
4 Warren, 26-27.
6 Brown, 11.
7 O'Bright, 11.
8 The Indiana Assembly dissolved the Memorial Association and transferred responsibility for the Lincoln site to the Board of Commissioners.
9 Brown, 14.
11 Brown, 14.
12 O'Bright, 29.
13 Brown, 15.
14 It is not known if Mrs. Studebaker Carlisle was related to Peter Studebaker, the South Bend businessman who donated the marker at Nancy Hanks Lincoln's gravesite in 1879.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid., 4.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
24 Olmsted's 1927 report.
26 Olmsted's 1927 report. 6.
27 Olmsted was also asked for and provided an initial cost estimate for the entire memorial project: Memorial Building ($300,000 to $400,000); Flagshaft, Gateways, Walls and Steps ($200,000 to $400,000); Boundary and other Fencing ($25,000 to $50,000); Grading, Clearing, and Demolitions ($130,000 to $200,000); Planting/Grassing ($35,000 to $100,000)—total $690,000 to $1,150,000. Telegram from Frederick Law Olmsted to Department of Conservation, 17 August 1927. Park History Files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.
29 Brown, 44.
30 Ibid. Thomas Hibben designed the stone perimeter
walls and pylons. They were placed at the entrance to the parking "meadows" at the north and south sides of the highway to the east of the Allee and at the edge of the State Park near the west highway entrance.

31 Brown, 44, 62-68.

32 An exedra is an architectural detail inspired by Greek and Roman Classical design. It consists of a semicircular wall or series of columns intended for use as a seating area. The exedra at the Indiana Lincoln Memorial was connected to the stone walls on the south side of the Plaza, in front of the present location of the Memorial building. A semi-circle of red cedars lined the back of this short-lived feature.

33 Olmsted's 1927 report, 6.


36 Oren Reed, 1933 and 1934 Accomplishment Reports. Park History files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.


38 "Stones Taken From Scenes Vitally Linked With Life of Lincoln Made Into Shrines at Nancy Hanks Park," Evansville Courier and Journal, 1 January 1933. Park History files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial. There is no documentation to substantiate whether the trail was landscaped beyond the park-wide reforestation efforts. Any stones that may have lined the edges of the trail have been removed.

39 Brown, 37.


41 Brown, 46. International Art Foundries was awarded the contract for creating the bronze cabin memorial. They subcontracted with a German company to cast the memorial. The original stones were displayed at the cabin site memorial in a glass case set in the ground for some time following its completion. The display was removed sometime prior to 1946. In 1964, Superintendent Robert Burns suggested in a memo to the regional director that the stones be used in the new visitor center exhibits. Former NPS historian Bill Bartelt's notes from June, 1985, state that the stones were used in Exhibit 14 in the museum displays. Park History Files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.


44 Weber Interview.


47 Letter from Richard Lieber to Frederick Law Olmsted, 10 June 1938. Park History Files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.


50 Building and Plans Committee Minutes, 13 May 1939. Park History Files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.


52 Ibid., 11.


54 Ibid., 17. In the final design, the curved wall became a series of straight panels connected to form a semi-circle.

55 Ibid., 17-19.
Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial Cultural Landscape Report


[39] Bishop, 1944, 32. The two halls had specific purposes: the Abraham Lincoln Hall was to be used for ceremonial activities, and the Nancy Hanks Lincoln hall was intended for small group meetings.


[64] Memorandum from Robert Smith, Chief Architect of Eastern Office of Design and Construction to Northeast Regional Director, National Park Service files (Record Group 79) at National Archives and Records Administration, Mid-Atlantic Region, Philadelphia.


[67] Ibid., 154.

[68] Ibid.
CHAPTER 3

LANDSCAPE CONTEXT AND EVALUATION
The history of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial tells a story of the convergence of landscape architecture, tourism and state pride, and federal Depression-era work programs. The memorial represents Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.'s significant role in the state and national parks movement, symbolizes the typical development and administrative relationships that occurred during the 1930s, and exemplifies the outstanding state parks system established in Indiana by Colonel Richard Lieber.

**Landscape Context**

**Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.**

As the only son of the acknowledged founder of American landscape architecture, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (1870-1957) was conscious of, if not involved in the major issues and projects facing the profession in its formative years. His first job was working as his father's representative at Biltmore, the Vanderbilt estate in Asheville North Carolina.

By the time he became involved with the Indiana Lincoln Memorial, Olmsted, Jr., known as "Rick," was well-established as a designer and planner in his own right. He was the only remaining family member at the firm, after the death of his father in 1903 and his half brother, John Charles, in 1920. From the early 1920's through 1931, Olmsted lived with his family in southern California at Palos Verdes Estates, while he and others at the firm laid out the model residential development. From 1931-36 he and his family lived at the Fairsted, the Olmsted residence in Brookline, Massachusetts.

The Indiana Lincoln Union first contacted Olmsted in 1927 to complete a conceptual or preliminary plan for the site surrounding the Lincoln farm and Nancy Hanks Lincoln's grave. Typically, when a potential client contacted Olmsted Brothers, one of the principals would deal with preparations for getting the work done, and would then hand a project over to one of the junior employees. It was also not unusual for Olmsted Brothers to complete conceptual or preliminary plans and then have another firm take over at the implementation phase, though they discouraged this approach. At the Lincoln site, however, Olmsted Jr. himself completed the early design and written report in 1927. In 1939, when he was contacted a second time, he again completed a written report, though he was in very poor health. During the first phase of the project (documented through correspondence between state officials and the Olmsted office), Edward Whiting, acting head of the Brookline office, approved letters and invoices. There is no evidence to suggest that Whiting had more than a bureaucratic involvement in the project, as Olmsted's distinctive script appears on all sketches and hand-written notes regarding the preliminary plan for the site.

Throughout his career, Olmsted, Jr. worked on large-scale planning, regional development, and resource conservation projects.
His most notable public-sector projects include: participating as an active member of the McMillan Commission—a group of designers, including Daniel Burnham, Charles McKim, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens—that created a plan for the nation’s capitol in 1902, drafting a large portion of the 1916 National Park Service Organic Act, playing a major role in planning for Yosemite Valley, and, in 1929, completing an unprecedented statewide park survey in California.

LINCOLN LANDSCAPES

In his 1927 report for the ILU, Olmsted, Jr. described his desire to create a simple, timeless, and secluded space within which visitors would be united by their shared feelings about Lincoln. Lieber and the other ILU officials certainly shared this desire, and the veneration of Lincoln, in general, possesses meaning for many Americans. Abraham Lincoln himself represents an ideal figure for ritual and solemn celebration, as Edward Bruner described, “[his] story is the story of America, the rags-to-riches, log cabin-to-White House American myth.” 7 The ILU reinforced this meaning through narrative, using terms such as “sanctuary,” “shrine,” and “pilgrimage” to describe how they wanted to shape the experience of the site. Their stated purpose was two-fold: first, “to foster a spiritual awakening,” and second, to provide visitors an opportunity for “individual expression of their sentiments.” 8 Olmsted, Jr.’s approach was to create a relatively simple sequencing of views, spaces, and transitions shaped by vegetation. Later, the ILU utilized what could be viewed as more overt symbolism when they created the Trail of Twelve Stones. A direct comparison could be drawn between the trail and the Catholic tradition of the fourteen Stations of the Cross, the pilgrimage ritual structured around the death and burial of Christ. While the Stations of the Cross have become more mental and less physical, the Trail of Twelve Stones provides a setting for tracing significant events in a heroic man’s life: following the “footsteps of Lincoln.”9

Such a veneration of Lincoln occurs at two additional NPS units: Abraham Lincoln Birthplace in Hodgenville, Kentucky, and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Each of these sites employs formal, if not classical, landscape design to focus the visitors attention. The Lincoln Birthplace and Memorial more directly rely on single, massive, architectural features, whereas Lincoln Boyhood uses a series of “nodes” with deliberate transition spaces between to represent “our deathless devotion as well as our infinite gratitude to the soul of the great departed and his mother.”10 An interesting comparison can be made between the Olmsted, Jr. design and an almost simultaneous effort in Springfield, Illinois. Designed by landscape architect Jens Jensen, Lincoln Memorial Gardens has some similarities, yet from a landscape design perspective, the differences are more striking. Jensen and Olmsted Jr. were contemporaries and were both influenced by Andrew Jackson Downing and Olmsted, Sr.11 Native plants, geology, and “spiritus loci” were significant inspirations in their design processes. Jensen’s garden followed Olmsted Jr.’s preliminary plan by only nine years; it seems unlikely that they were not conscious of one another’s efforts. By the time his plan was completed, Jensen was fairly well known as a proponent of a “midwestern” approach to land-
scaping: using native plants, horizontal orientation, mimicking natural patterns of light and shade, and looking to local character for guidance. His design for Lincoln Memorial Garden was a prototype for this approach. It is dominated by rounded, organic shapes, alternating forests and clearings, and a rich plant palette of native trees and shrubs.

Olmsted Jr.'s design, in contrast, represents a melding of the picturesque style promoted by Downing and perfected by Olmsted, Sr. with the more classical style of the City Beautiful Movement. Olmsted landscapes are known for carefully controlled views framed by masses of vegetation, naturalistic water features, and sequencing of open and enclosed spaces. The Memorial does not possess this aesthetic, which has on occasion been termed "Olmstedian." The influence of formal classical design principles is obvious in the symmetrical layout of the plaza and allee, with twin focal points at the northern and southern ends, with a more naturalistic approach taken along the highway corridor and in the transition between the allee and the gravesite. The Indiana Lincoln Memorial was not the first time Olmsted, Jr. had employed classical principles; a long axial arrangement was the primary feature of the McMillan Commission plan for the Mall in Washington, D.C.

Interestingly, a scornful attitude toward classical monuments was present in both designs: Lieber was straightforward in his dislike of classical architecture. From his earliest involvement, he advocated using native building materials and plants, and strove to create a structure that represented "a type of structure that might have been "built by one of the best builders of the [Nancy Hanks Lincoln] period." Jensen's approach was to use native Illinois plants,
particularly white oaks: "this grove of oaks was a particularly appropriate living monument to Abraham Lincoln. . . . Jensen delighted in thinking that this 'living' monument to Lincoln would outlast any monuments built of stone." While both designers had similar intent, they created two very different landscapes to commemorate Lincoln.

THE STATE PARKS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

The growth of the state parks and specifically the development of the Indiana Lincoln Memorial represent the emerging interest in America's scenic and historic places as economic commodities. John Sears, author of a study on 19th century tourism, asserts that our shared experiences in scenic areas and historic sites unite our nation. "Tourist attractions . . . are the sacred places of a nation or people . . . Their religious meaning was broad enough to appeal to people of any persuasion. In a pluralistic society they provided points of mythic and national unity." According to Edward Linenthal, who studies memorial landscapes, we approach historic sites and memorials "not only as vestiges of the past as vehicles for enlightenment, but also as shrines, as temples of veneration." He describes the American need to immortalize both vast natural areas and asserts that since the early years of our nation, have been actively "constructing a complex patriotic landscape." In another work, Linenthal states that war memorials are particularly revealing sacred sites, as they provide venues where "Americans can enact the ongoing ritual relations between the living and the dead that form such an important part of a national patriotic faith." Indiana's Lincoln Memorial specifically commemorated a more personal ritual of loss: Lincoln's loss of his mother, and our nation's loss of a revered leader.

Following World War I and prior to the Great Depression, the American public enjoyed the growth of leisure time and expanded opportunities for recreation. Automobiles were available to most families, and the improvements in the nation's highways permitted travel at an unprecedented scale.

The availability of automobiles transformed patterns of recreational activities. And in the national parks, the influence of automotive technology pervaded almost every aspect of how parks were developed, managed, and used. Automobiles—and the crowds of tourists they conveyed—made the national park system as we know it possible. The model of the 20th century in general, depended on the ever-broadening appeal of outdoor recreation and regional tourism. Affordable and reliable motor vehicles made those opportunities possible for more people than ever before, and allowed the national park to assume a central role in the culture of popular recreation.

A publication advertising CCC projects in state parks explains that "the complexity of modern life itself creates the need for recreation of this kind. The strain of urban living with its quick pace in business and social activities makes escape necessary to a person's well-being." Due largely to the efforts and political connections of Colonel Richard Lieber, Indiana's state parks system was one of the best in the nation by the 1920s. Other extensive systems could be found in Iowa, Wisconsin, New York and Connecticut. Lieber's reputation extended beyond state boundaries; he
was a leader in the 1921 National Conference of State Parks, and along with Olmsted, Jr., John Nolen, and Robert Moses, he was one of the most prominent officials in the state parks movement. The development of state parks throughout the country, prior to and during the New Deal era, was seen as a way to provide amenities in natural areas within close proximity to a majority of the nation’s residents. In fact, during the 1921 conference, those gathered pledged to “urge local, county, state and national governments to acquire additional land and water areas for the study of natural history and its scientific aspects, for the preservation of wildlife, and for recreation ... to put public parks, forests, and preserves within reach of all citizens.”

By creating a second tier of public lands, natural and scenic values in national parks would be under less pressure from interests seeking to develop recreational resources such as pools, lakes, and campgrounds. By the 1930s, work programs initiated by the Roosevelt administration were active in both national and state parks; the rustic designs implemented by the CCC, WPA, and other New Deal efforts were shared by both systems.

State park work was guided by the principles and practices that had been adopted and refined by NPS designers from 1918-1933, many of which evolved from the mid 19th century English gardening tradition and Downing’s ideas about naturalistic gardening, pleasure grounds, wilderness and rustic architecture.

Eventually, the NPS administered the state park programs as part of the Emergency Conservation Work. State park programs utilizing CCC labor emphasized recreational development, including dams, reservoirs, pools and lakes. By 1938, the NPS had 245 CCC camps in state parks.

**The Civilian Conservation Corps and State Parks**

CCC planning and cooperation was supervised by Conrad L. Wirth in the “Branch of Lands” and later the “Branch of Planning” at the National Park Service. With Olmsted, Jr.’s help, Wirth had previously been hired by the National Capitol Park and Planning Commission. He came to the NPS in 1931, and in 1936, and administered the emergency conservation work through ECW districts. Paul V. Brown, who had worked closely with Colonel Richard Lieber in Indiana State Parks administered District II of the ECW, which included Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. Architects and landscape architects employed by state or county park departments were often responsible for implementing the plans and designs of NPS employees.

National, state, and local parks constructed through Federal programs shared a similar design approach that strove to create developments that looked “natural” and did not detract from the natural setting.

Although CCC work in state parks followed the general approach to landscape and harmonization set by the national park designers, less stringent standards were applied to the recreational development of state parks were created out of submarginal land, natural features needed enhancement or creation. Although certain practices that had occurred in the urban parks of the 19th century, such as moving earth to form beaches or dams, and creating forests, lakes, waterfalls, and streams, [and] conflicted with the mission of national parks, they were commonplace in the development of state parks.

Interestingly, the rustic CCC aesthetic is not evident at Lincoln Boyhood. While rustic
## MAJOR LANDSCAPE FEATURES, WITH CORRESPONDING DESIGNERS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Designed By</th>
<th>Built By</th>
<th>Construction Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLAZA/HIGHWAY</td>
<td>Olmsted</td>
<td>State Crews</td>
<td>1930-1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RESTORED FOREST</td>
<td>Olmsted</td>
<td>State Crews</td>
<td>1930-1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLEE</td>
<td>Olmsted</td>
<td>State Crews</td>
<td>1932-1934</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Johnston</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAIL OF TWELVE STONES</td>
<td>Holcomb</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>1933-1934</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nott</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CABIN SITE MEMORIAL</td>
<td>Hibben</td>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>1934-1935</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Nott</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEMORIAL BUILDING</td>
<td>Olmsted</td>
<td>Local Crews</td>
<td>1938-1944</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bishop</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEMORIAL COURT</td>
<td>Olmsted</td>
<td>State Crews</td>
<td>1941-1944</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nott</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bishop</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Park structures were built by skilled craftsmen and well-constructed. In contrast, the Indiana Lincoln Memorial, is more formal than naturalistic and utilizes finely tooled and finished masonry, rather than the massive scale and rough textures typically displayed in “parkitecture.”

### Design Evolution

Due to his nation-wide reputation as planner and landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. garners more attention when discussing the significance of Lincoln Boyhood’s memorial landscape. It is important to note, however, that both state-hired landscape architects, Donald Johnston and Edson Nott, shaped the physical environment as envisioned by Olmsted, Jr., and Lieber. Olmsted was responsible for conceptualizing the memorial’s scale and its relationship to the surrounding landscape, and placing emphasis on the use of masonry and vegetation to shape vistas and spaces. Johnston’s role was more utilitarian. He completed plans for grading, irrigation, planting, and parking. He stretched Olmsted’s plan in some directions and restricted it in others. He was responsible for formulating the overflow parking lots at the memorial and guided much of the State Park work, such as the reservoir. Nott’s contribution was refining and finalizing previous plans and adding touches of his own. His sole large-scale addition was an outdoor amphitheater planned for an area south of the memorial building. This feature was never built.
NOTES

1 Olmsted, Jr.'s half brother, John Charles Olmsted, was the son of Olmsted Sr.'s brother. Following his brother’s death, Olmsted Sr. married his widowed sister-in-law, Mary. Thus, Olmsted, Jr. and John Olmsted had the same mother.


4 The Olmsted Brothers assigned each project a job file number. This unique number was used for identifying a project throughout the firm’s involvement. The numbers remain relevant, as the Olmsted Archives utilizes the job file number when accessing information (written or graphic) needed for research projects. The job file number for the Lincoln memorial was 7759. For more information on day to day functions at the Olmsted office, see Susan Klaus’ article, “All in the Family.”


9 Stones Taken From Scenes Vitally Linked With Life of Lincoln Made Into Shrines at Nancy Hanks Park,” *The Evansville Courier and Journal,* 1 January 1933, n.p.

10 Brown, 8.


13 Grese, 116


16 Ibid., 2.


18 Carr, 53.


21 McClelland, 56.

22 Ibid., 383.

23 Ibid., 451.

24 Carr, 265.

25 McClelland, 382-383.

26 Ibid., 386.
CHAPTER 4
Existing Condition
CHAPTER 4
EXISTING CONDITIONS

To determine levels of landscape change and complete a condition assessment of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, a comparison between historic and existing character was made. A study of historic plans and photographs followed by a series of site visits allowed documentation of these changes. Natural and human forces have both caused minor landscape deterioration. The damage is primarily limited to soil erosion, vegetative growth, and worn masonry. More problematic is the loss of landscape integrity, caused by alterations that have been made since the 1960s to improve visitor safety and expand interpretive programs. The impact of these changes on the Memorial’s integrity will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

CEMETERY

The cemetery’s appearance has been simplified over time. Several features that dated from the local commemorative period have been removed, including the Culver stone, the ornate fence that enclosed Nancy Hanks Lincoln’s grave, the pavilion, and ornamental plantings. The resulting appearance is one more appropriate to a rural burial ground. The burial area now consists of several marked graves enclosed by an iron perimeter fence. Most of the headstones evoke the historic character of the cemetery, though several of the early 19th century graves are marked with contemporary granite headstones. According to a recent archaeological study, “historical records and family histories suggest that as many as thirty-five individuals are buried in or near the cemetery enclosure.” Large deciduous trees provide shade for the site. Many of the trees within the fence have reached maturity. Over time, these trees may begin to decline and will need to be removed. This will require skilled workers so that the graves are not disturbed or the iron gate damaged.

As part of Olmsted’s conceptual plan, the forest surrounding the cemetery was to be restored and maintained to approximate a pioneer forest. The intent was to reinforce the sense of the cemetery as a “Sanctuary” by providing a dense buffer to shield adjacent areas. Vegetation management is an ongoing process and one of the most important activities is monitoring the forest’s health. Of particular concern is perpetuating understory and herbaceous species that are often crowded out by more dominant species such as sugar maple, vinca, and...
Figure 33. Walkways on flagpole terrace, 1997.

Figure 34. Cedar clump on west side of allee, 1997.

Figure 35. Bronze base of flagpole.
FLAGPOLE TERRACE

The area around the flagpole is a large open terrace surrounded by forest. The flagpole was moved from the plaza to this location in 1944. During the construction of the memorial building the designers felt the flagpole would compete with the new focal point created by the building. The flagpole base was replaced during the move: the first base was stepped layers of limestone, the current base is bronze, with a simple fluted design. The historic stone steps that provided access to the terrace were replaced in 1988, although the original top and bottom steps were retained on both sides. Wrought iron handrails have been installed to improve visitor safety. At present, the top of each set of steps is marked by a clump of cedar trees.

The trees frame the view of the flagpole for visitors proceeding up the allee. Initially, there were also a set of trees at the bottom of the stairs that appear to have been removed in the 1950s. The existing trees are quite mature and have been damaged by ice and snow, resulting in a rather scraggly appearance.

At the top of the stairs, the twin paths converge at the center of the terrace in line with the flagpole. A single gravel path provides a direct route to the pole and then continues to the cemetery. Nott's plan featured two curving paths that created a circle around the perimeter of the terrace, though there is no documentation that this was ever built. Overall, the changes in the appearance of the terrace are related to scale and vegetation: originally, the space was larger and was framed with conifers and large shrubs.

Figure 38. View north along allee, 1997. The plaza is in foreground, flagpole terrace is in background.
The conifers provided a backdrop for the terrace that was visible year-round. Today, the terrace is a mix of deciduous trees and shrubs.

ALLEE

The allee's appearance has remained remarkably consistent since its completion in 1932. The size and condition of the vegetation has varied somewhat, but is currently in good condition following a complete restoration in 1988. There are no major gaps in the plantings, and the rows of shrubs, small trees, and large trees are distinct. Unfortunately, an earlier problem is starting to reemerge. At several points in the past, the shrubs and trees on the west side of the allee have appeared smaller and less vigorous than those on the east side, due either to the quantity of fill (and thus poor drainage) in that area, or a lack of direct sunshine. Drainage problems in general are often visible in the spring, when the walkways on the allee turn muddy.

PLAZA

While the allee retains a high overall degree of integrity, changes to the former highway corridor have resulted in major changes to the appearance and function of the cross-axial plan. When the highway was relocated in 1964 to improve visitor safety, the eastern entrance to the memorial was removed and one of the two primary orientation points was lost. Not only were vehicular and pedestrian circulation affected, but the powerful symmetry and views down the east-west axis have been altered. When the roadbed was removed and the corridor revegetated, the cruciform arrangement that provided spatial organization and symbolism was obliterated. Today, visitors are able to access the memorial from only one direction. The formal termination of the plaza at the gates is awkward—the composition of the view, with a fore-, middle, and background is lost. What was a vehicular corridor has been turned into a cul-de-sac, and a non-historic focal point has been added in the form of the iron gates. The elimination of the overflow parking meadows has also removed a secondary element of the symmetrical organization.

The appearance of the plaza itself has only somewhat changed since its installation. The stone walls and benches, gravel walkways and geometrically placed red oaks are all intact. The appearance of the plaza
Figure 41. View of gate and picnic tables at east end of plaza, 1997.

Figure 42. View of trees planted in former highway roadbed, 1997.

Figure 43. View down western highway corridor, 1997. Note the junipers that were subsequently replaced with turf in 1999.
island has varied over time—it originally featured the flagpole and lush plantings of juniper. The flagpole was eventually moved, sidewalks were laid across the island, and the junipers were removed. Presently, the island has sidewalks at either end that line up with the memorial court and allee, turf in the center and at the ends. All the limestone curbs in the plaza have been painted white to make them more visible to drivers and pedestrians.

When the memorial building was altered, the NPS also had to make changes to the memorial court. The court was rectangular, with a semi-circle at the south end. The center was turf, with a brick walk at the perimeter. To move visitors to the main entrance once the cloister was enclosed, a central walkway was added. This divided the turf into four symmetrical beds. The brick walks were replaced by sandstone in 1979, and have been repaired as recently as 1998.

MEMORIAL BUILDING AND COURT

Another major change to the Memorial was the 1960s enclosure of the cloister and subsequent memorial court alteration. While this project provided much needed administrative and visitor contact space, it resulted in modification of the strong linear connection between the flagpole, allee and memorial building. The entrances to the building also moved from the ends, near the two halls, to just off-center into the former cloister. The result is that there is not an obvious entry point to the structure, and the cloister has been changed from a transition space to the primary indoor space.

Incremental changes to the memorial court have continued into the present. Standardized wooden benches and trash receptacles have been added by the NPS. The plantings in the court and around the memorial building were partially restored in 1988 along with the allee. NPS landscape architects studied Edson Nott’s historic plans and created a planting plan using several of the suggested species, such as euonymus, dogwood, and spicebush. The planting palette is quite limited, compared to the extensive list prepared by Nott. This contemporary plan provides an appropriate, relatively low-maintenance setting for the memorial building. A couple of minor problems have
emerged, including damage from browsing deer, an undesirable growth habit from the spreading euonymus, and discoloration at the base of the limestone walls caused by the moisture trapped by nearby shrubs.

CABIN SITE MEMORIAL

Changes to the bronzed cabin site memorial have been limited to the removal in 1968 of the historic flagstone walkways surrounding the retaining wall. Personnel in charge of developing the Living History Farm wanted to "remove anything which was not believed to be compatible with the historic setting being recreated as part of the Living Historical Farm." The NPS was also concerned that the stones were uneven and posed a safety hazard to visitors. The paths are now gravel with brick edging. During the 1968 development, a proposal was also made to remove the retaining wall around the memorial. Fortunately, this change was not implemented.

Historic views from the cabin site memorial have been impacted by the development of the Living History Farm. The early design called for the site to be replanted as a forest, but vegetation has been allowed to become more dense to provide a buffer between the memorial and surrounding farm operations.

The basic elements of Hibben's design for the cabin site memorial—the masonry wall, recessed bronze foundation, and symmetrical layout—are intact. At least one of the massive stone benches built by the CCC remains at the edge of the memorial, though the other benches were moved to the plaza in 1944. Because funding was running low during the last years of construction, it is likely that Nott's planting plan for the cabin site planting plan was never installed. No photographic documentation of the planting has been located at present.

The major issue concerning the cabin site memorial is the proximity of the Living History Farm. The high level of visitation, often by large school groups, distracts from the reflective atmosphere intended by the designers. Visitors may not understand the distinction between a historic resource—the memorial—and an interpretive exhibit—the farm. The potential conflict of interpreting pioneer farm life using living history within a landscape intended for memorialization is
an issue that should be addressed at a conceptual level in the park's General Management Plan. The Long-Range Interpretive Plan should provide specific suggestions on how to ameliorate the Farm's impact on the memorial and how to better provide an interpretive balance.

TRAIL OF TWELVE STONES

The Trail of Twelve Stones was temporarily disrupted when several of the stones were relocated as part of the 1968 development of the Living History Farm. It has since been returned to its historic arrangement, though there is some dispute concerning how accurately the stones were returned to their original position. The trail retains the simple character that was intended by ILU officials to encourage visitors to reflect on Lincoln's youth was intended by ILU officials. Contemporary changes to control water, such as culverts and water bars, have not had a major impact on the trail's appearance. Stone culverts from the CCC period remain at several points along the trail.

The stones themselves have been spared from much damage, though the bases have begun to deteriorate. All the stones and plaques were cleaned, and the plaques waxed in 2000. The Memorial's Historic Structures Report provides more comprehensive analysis and treatment recommendations for protecting the stones.

FOREST

The restored forest surrounding the formal landscape requires regular monitoring and cyclic maintenance. As a symbolic "pioneer forest," it should possess a healthy diversity of flora and fauna. At present, the forest possesses an abundance of canopy trees, to the detriment of understory and herbaceous species. Tulip poplar, sugar maple, and especially honeysuckle have thrived, and it has been difficult to obtain a good balance of typical oak-hickory species. There is an ongoing effort at the memorial to control invasive species and improve the overall well-being of the forest as a small, yet vital, ecosystem. This improves the integrity of the designed landscape, as it establishes a more attractive setting for the allee, cemetery, trails, and cabin site memorial.

CONDITION ASSESSMENT

For the purposes of this study, landscape condition will be assessed using criteria established in Resource Management Guidelines. This document contains the following definitions:

Good: indicates the cultural landscape shows no clear evidence of major negative disturbance and deterioration by natural and/or human forces. The cultural landscape's history and natural values are as well preserved as can be expected under the given environmental conditions. No immediate corrective action is required to maintain its current condition;

Fair: indicates the cultural landscape shows clear evidence of minor disturbances and deterioration by natural and/or human forces, and some degree of corrective action is needed within 3-5 years to prevent further harm to its historical and/or natural values. The
cumulative effect of the deterioration of many of the significant characteristics and features of the cultural landscape, if left to continue without the appropriate corrective action, will cause the landscape to degrade to a poor condition;

Poor: indicates the cultural landscape shows clear evidence of major disturbance and rapid deterioration by natural and/or human forces. Immediate corrective action is required to protect and preserve the remaining historical and natural areas;

Unknown: indicates that not enough information is available to make an evaluation.

Based on the information gathered from historic sources and during site visits, the designed landscape at Lincoln Boyhood appears to be in good condition due to the high quality of and close attention paid to its maintenance.

NOTES


2 At present, at least one of the tulip poplars is dead, though it continues to provide the planting pattern. Several of the sycamores are starting to decline and may have to be replaced in the near future.

3 The iron gates, dating from the local commemoration, are historic, but are not of the same period as the rest of the designed landscape.

4 Memo from Superintendent Norm Hellmers to Park History Files, 3 February 1988, Park History Files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.
CHAPTER 5
LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS
CHAPTER 5
LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS

In *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports*, the National Park Service established eleven landscape characteristics by which historic landscapes may be evaluated to assess integrity and determine eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places. The characteristics have been grouped into a series of processes and physical forms. The processes may originate either from the natural environment or human activity. The physical forms are the manifestation of the processes accrued over time. The processes include Natural Systems and Features, Spatial Organization, Land Use, and Cultural Traditions. The physical forms include Circulation, Topography, Vegetation, Buildings and Structures, Cluster Arrangement, Small-Scale Features, Views and Vistas, and Archeological Sites. A comprehensive landscape analysis may use all or a combination of these characteristics, depending on the features associated with the study area. Upon completion, the analysis will yield a list of qualities and features that should be protected or enhanced through an approved treatment plan.

**Processes**

**LAND USE**

Since the 1920s, the area encompassing the historic Lincoln property has served to commemorate the family’s pioneer experiences, the death of Nancy Hanks Lincoln, and Abraham Lincoln’s political successes and his transformation into a national icon. Through the efforts of the Indiana Department of Conservation, the landscape of Lincoln City and its surroundings was transformed from village, pasture, and cultivated fields into a formally designed memorial and recreation area. The commemorative/recreational split between the Nancy Hanks Memorial and Lincoln State Park has remained consistent through the transfer of the memorial from the State of Indiana to the National Park Service, subsequent interpretive changes shifting the focus from memorializing Abraham and Nancy Hanks Lincoln to conveying a more literal tale of Abraham Lincoln and his pioneer experience have evolved under NPS administration.

**NATURAL SYSTEMS AND FEATURES**

Rolling hills and small, deep valleys dominate the southwestern corner of Indiana. Numerous streams and minor flowages carry water to the Ohio River. The 1805 General Land Office (GLO) survey described Thomas Lincoln’s land as "middling; timber-oak and hickory . . . flat, bushy, briery, wet oak-timbered soil." A century later, the area was largely cleared for cultivation. By the time the state initiated the memorial’s construction, only the small woodlots that protected the hilltop cemetery where Nancy Hanks Lincoln was buried remained.

The area is dominated by the Wellston-
Zanesville soil series. Wellston soils are typically found in uplands and are associated with mixed hardwood forests. These soils are moderately permeable and have low fertility; "most areas of Wellston soils are in pasture and in woodland." Both Zanesville and Wellston soils are silty clay loams, with low permeability and fertility. Zanesville soils may support crops, but like Wellston, are more often pasture and woodlands. Due to the extensive cultivation and grading that took place prior to state/federal acquisition, it is difficult to determine the completeness of the native soil horizon.

When Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. visited the site in 1927, he felt that the site's historic importance was obvious, though not evident in its physical appearance. He stated that "the site is by nature a not unpleasant but a very commonplace fragment of the prevailing present-day landscape of southern Indiana," and extensive alterations were needed to draw people to the grave and cabin site (the "Sanctuary"). Later, this development approach was expanded to include building a large reservoir and other recreational amenities using CCC and WPA labor to satisfy the growing tourist market.

The earliest efforts of state and later the CCC/WPA crews included grading and reforestation. Olmsted, Jr. described the topography south of the grave site as "a jumble of small rolling hills and hollows . . . [that] appears to call for bold and radical regrading of the surface." Olmsted, Jr. and the ILU gathered information on native vegetation in preparation for the reforestation effort. According to the findings, the immediate area originally featured an oak-hickory forest. According to a 1989 vegetation study of the Memorial, the replanting efforts in the 1930s were only partially successful in recreating a pioneer forest. By comparing pre-settlement vegetation (based on the 1805 GLO Survey) with current vegetation, the study determined that more work is needed to completely obliterate the traces of agricultural use and grazing. The most obvious challenge to a true restoration of the pioneer forest was the low number of oaks, hickories, and spring ephemerals. This is due to the dominance of Japanese honeysuckle, sugar maples, and tulip trees, and the persistence of non-native perennial grasses at old homesites. The study also provided recommendations for improving efforts to restore the forest, these will be described in Chapter 6. It is useful to point out that any improvement in the condition of the forested areas at Lincoln Boyhood has a positive impact on the designed landscape. The forests were intended by Olmsted to function as part of the design, and should be considered equal in importance to the allee, cabin site memorial or Trail of Twelve Stones.

**Spatial Organization**

The core of the designed landscape consists of three major development nodes: first, the memorial building, courtyard and plaza; second, the cemetery; and third, the cabin site memorial. The allee and Trail of Twelve Stones provide transition space between the nodes as visitors move throughout the Memorial. These links allow visitors to mentally prepare for the next node: orderly, reflective procession permits an appropriate experience throughout the se-
Figure 48. 1937 aerial photograph. The Highway 162 intersects the Plaza and Allee at the bottom center. The CCC camp is to the left of the plaza, the "Sanctuary" is the wooded area immediately above the Allee. While much of the former agricultural properties within the Memorial boundaries have been reforested and the Highway has been rerouted, the overall organization of the designed landscape are still evident.
quence of physical spaces. This concept is drawn directly from early works of landscape architecture:

the sequence of changing vistas was central to Downing's vision...The memory of what was past and the anticipation of what lay ahead heightened the individual's response.6

To keep visitors focused on what lie ahead, Olmsted framed the entire composition with restored forest. This allowed an alternating sequence of enclosed and open spaces. A varied overhead plane and "walls" of vegetation characterize the private areas such as the Cemetery and Trail of Twelve Stones. In contrast, gathering spaces—the Memorial Court, Plaza, Allee, and Cabin Site Memorial—are open to the sky. The forest keeps these areas visually separate, and also provides a buffer between the memorial and the surrounding agricultural landscape.

Historically, the highway corridor intersected with the Allee at the Plaza. This established another organizational element utilizing a cruciform arrangement. The straightforward symmetry enabled visitors to easily comprehend the spatial sequence; they traveled to the site via the highway, converged at the plaza, and then dispersed either to the Memorial Building or up the allee to the cemetery and beyond. The restored forest tightly controlled views and vistas around the "cross." The long views between the Memorial Court and north end of the Allee and along the highway encouraged visitor movement; both were anchored by a focal point (the Memorial Building and flagpole, respectively) and were enhanced by topography and vegetation. This organizational element was severely impacted with the obliteration of the east arm of

Figure 49. Photo of allee and flagpole terrace, date unknown. The elevation change between the two areas is quite evident.

Highway 162.

CULTURAL TRADITIONS

The use of native plant species and building materials at the Memorial was a straightforward expression of Hoosier pride. Colonel Lieber's goal was to avoid creating a Lincoln monument similar to those in Washington D.C. or Hodgenville, Kentucky. Instead, he and Bishop hoped to "design all parts of the work in a spirit suggestive of 1816 to 1830 when the Lincoln's lived in southern Indiana. We wanted the finished job to appear to belong to this earlier historic period and also to express the qualities of simplicity, strength, and dignity which are invariably associated with Lincoln's character."7 Their approach relied on familiar materials and local craftsmanship to pay homage to the

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Landscape Analysis
Lincoln's and keep the association between the family and the state alive. The Lincoln Day procession to the Cemetery remains a popular event attended by local residents. Throughout the site development, state officials described the importance of pilgrimage to the gravesite and the sacred nature of the cemetery and cabin site.

Physical Forms

TOPOGRAPHY

Following Olmsted's assessment that the existing topography around Lincoln City was inadequate, state crews began completely regrading the landscape surrounding the gravesite. Most of the work focused on the area south of the gravesite to create the Allee. Today, the vertical transitions help create a spatial hierarchy between the Memorial Building, Allee, flagpole terrace and Cemetery. The allee acts as a transition as it gently rises to the north. The dramatic slope up to the terrace places the focus on the flagpole. The terrace is level, and acts as a cueing space for the cemetery. Visitors then travel from the cemetery through the rolling forest along gravel trails.

VEGETATION

As part of the 1930s replanting efforts, the memorial was almost completely forested with mixed hardwood species. Today, a strong contrast remains between the wooded areas and the formal plantings of the allee and memorial court. Both the "natural" and designed areas should be treated as compositions, or elements in the overall design. The use of native vegetation throughout the memorial fulfilled an important symbolic design theme—the expression of state pride and recognition of the Lincoln family's Indiana roots.

The state and CCC crews both took part in the reforestation. Trees were collected from local woodlands in Spencer and Perry counties. Functionally, both the wooded and formal areas create spaces and views integral to the commemorative experience. The shrubs and trees along the allee reinforce the linearity and focus attention on the flagpole terrace and lead people into the landscape. The forest reinforces these spaces and provides a sheltered environment for reflection, most particularly when visiting the cemetery.

The use of native plants has remained consistent throughout the history of the memorial landscape. The forest's species composition has varied over time and continues to evolve. The formal plantings have required frequent maintenance and occasional replacement, but have remained true to Johnston and Nott's planting plans. The plaza and memorial court have undergone the most frequent disturbance, due primarily to changes to the Memorial Building in the 1960s and ongoing maintenance to keep plantings vital and attractive.

The plaza plantings are primarily geometric and symmetrical in character, and complement the structural elements of the stone walls, walkways, and curbing. The arrangement of oak trees dates to Johnston's design. His plan also called for junipers at either end of the parking plaza, and at the four corners of the flagpole base. This arrangement was altered when the flagpole was moved to the terrace in the 1940s. Nott's 1942 plan also included the junipers, and installed sidewalks across the island.
that lined up with the allee walkways. When the highway passed through the memorial, the island was a focal point along the east-west corridor, and the junipers accentuated its presence in the middle of the road. The junipers disappeared from the island sometime after 1950, reappeared in the early 1970s, and remained until 1999.

The Memorial Building and court plantings extend the symmetry of the plaza, though they are less formal. These plantings were almost completely replaced in 1988, using Nott's 1942 plan as a guide. Nott's planting list contained dozens of native species. The contemporary plan, however, is limited to only a few species. This simplification in plant palette and maintenance is in marked contrast to the appearance of this area in the 1950s when the state allowed the spaces between the stone walls and Memorial Building to become almost completely overgrown.

CIRCULATION

The internal circulation system of the memorial has primary importance to the landscape character. It establishes the symbolic notion of a pilgrimage as an essential part of the visitor experience, while also providing a necessary function. The pedestrian corridors prepare visitors for reflecting about Lincoln and his experiences at this place. Walkways and trails provide transitions between focal areas (the "nodes"), and route visitors in an appropriate manner to make the most of their experience.

A system of universally accessible sidewalks was added at the east end of the plaza and Memorial building. While the path does not replicate the geometry of the other walkways in the plaza area, it is placed inconspicuously and does not interfere with the historic circulation routes.

VIEWS AND VISTAS³

Long controlled vistas with terminal focal points are important features of the Memorial design. Both Olmsted and Bishop wrote extensively on the significance of these views, and how they were essential to the visitor experience. Olmsted, in 1927, described using "large and well-proportioned vistas" to "arrest the attention of those who approach the sanctuary deliberately and even those who approach it
Figure 50. View from plaza toward west, 1997.

 casually in passing, as to make them aware of its importance and its nature.\textsuperscript{10} The primary vistas created along the cross-axes were shaped by masses of vegetation and enhanced by topography.

By the time Bishop was hired to design the building, Johnston had brought Olmsted's conceptual landscape plan to fruition. Bishop realized that an integrated building and landscape were necessary to adequately impress upon visitors the memorial's significance. His critical analysis of the important views were used to establish guidelines for the Memorial Building. He described three major points "from where most visitors will first view the memorial structures and grounds and receive their first impressions of the general ensemble." He felt that the view of the plaza along the highway corridor was significant to those who were passing through the memorial without stopping. The view north from the plaza was especially important. He was not pleased with the appearance of the terrace from this point, and suggested that it be regraded to look more like a naturally occurring hill rather than a terrace. There is no record of change at the terrace, and it remains today with a steep slope to the south and its top is level, rather than rounded.

Bishop described the view south from the terrace to the plaza as equal in importance to the one facing north. He evaluated the existing grade to determine whether the plaza and court were adequately visible from the north end of the allee. This ensured that the Memorial Building was sited so that it provided a flattering backdrop for the sculptured panels.\textsuperscript{11}

\section*{Buildings, Structures, and Objects}

Even though the designed landscape and Memorial Building were constructed during two different periods, the landscape architects and architect consistently integrated these site elements and materials to create a unified composition. Olmsted's conceptual plan called for strong vistas interspersed with masonry, a notion that was addressed during construction by Johnston, Nott and Bishop. The Memorial Building, pylons, plaza wall, benches, and cabin site memorial reflect consistent use and treatment of native Indiana limestone.
Later, the NPS incorporated limestone when developing the Memorial’s housing and maintenance buildings. Although these structures are not considered historic at this time, their character and siting compliment the Memorial and should be appropriately evaluated in the future. The remaining buildings and structures within the park, including the exhibit shelter, living history farm, and split rail fences, do not conform with the design style established by the Department of Conservation and should be considered non-historic interpretive resources.

**Archeological Resources**

In the 2000 Intensive Archeological Resource Inventory of Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, NPS archeologists reviewed documentation from prior excavations and determined that most, if not all, archeological resources at the Memorial were severely disturbed by the grading that occurred during the 1930s, and later during the construction of the Living History Farm. Some scattered 19th century artifacts have been found during excavations in preparation for a number of park developments.12

**Cluster Arrangement**

The overall designed landscape for the Memorial utilizes a system of dispersed development nodes. The “Sanctuary”, within which Olmsted included the grave and cabin site, was the historic focus of the visitor experience. Because of the physical distance between the sites, however, they actually function as two of three nodes—the Memorial Building and Court comprises the third. Two separate transition spaces, which function as pedestrian corridors, connect the nodes. The allee, which connects the Memorial Building and Court and gravesite is a formal transition space, while the Trail of Twelve Stones, which links the grave and cabin site, is a more informal, natural environment. This organizational system creates a visitor experience focused on visual and physical movement and procession through the landscape, with the ultimate goal of educating visitors about Lincoln's ties to the site.

**Summary**

Documenting the Memorial’s landscape characteristics within their historic context allows for evaluation of its integrity and an assessment of its condition. It is then possible to define which features contribute to the significance of the historic landscape. Following the Indiana Lincoln Union’s intent and the aesthetic guidelines established in Olmsted’s conceptual plan, the primary designers—Johnston, Nott, and Bishop—utilized the following six features or qualities to achieve the desired effect:

- Overall nodal spatial arrangement, with a cruciform layout as the focus of the design. Nodes were connected by transition spaces that allowed pedestrian movement;

- Long symmetrical vistas with strong focal points;

- Lush native vegetation, formally arranged to create a horizontal and vertical layering affect, all within an informal forest setting;

- Landscape features of finely crafted masonry. The stones are uniformly textured
# Integrity Assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>The location of the memorial landscape has not changed since construction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>Medium-Low</td>
<td>The NPS changes have resulted in reversible changes to the symmetrical layout of the design, and have permanently changed the vehicular and pedestrian approach to the memorial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>The setting has remained consistent since the memorial was constructed. The Living History Farm has intruded on the contemplative atmosphere of the Cabin Site Memorial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Medium-High</td>
<td>The use of limestone and work of local stonemasons is still evident; though the NPS has added non-contributing elements that are not in keeping with the original design scheme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workmanship</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>The high level of craftsmanship and maintenance has remained consistent, and may have been improved under NPS administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>The landscape still expresses Indiana's state pride and desire to recognize the Lincoln family. It is a representative example of the federal works projects of the 1930's that occurred in state parks across the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association</td>
<td>Medium-High</td>
<td>The landscape retains its commemorative function and character, though the interpretive focus has shifted from Nancy Hanks Lincoln to Abraham Lincoln. The living history farm also represents a more literal interpretive approach with an emphasis on typical pioneer farming.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and colored native New Bedford limestone;

- A manicured appearance created by a high level of maintenance and attention to detail; and

- Controlled vehicular and pedestrian circulation that reinforces an experience of movement and procession through the landscape.

**Integrity**

The National Register of Historic Places has established seven criteria for evaluating the integrity of a historic property. For the purposes of this study, the Memorial landscape’s location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association were reviewed to determine the property’s ability to convey its historic appearance. While the review recognized that landscapes are alive and that change is constant, the key is determining to what degree changes may have obscured the original character and whether the changes are reversible. If irreversible change has occurred, applying a treatment will not return the landscape to a high level of integrity. In other words, even a landscape in very poor condition can be improved through heroic measures, but if integrity has been adversely impacted, treatment may make it possible to better convey the historic appearance, despite the loss of original features and materials.

Based on the criteria evaluation above, the memorial landscape at Lincoln Boyhood has high to medium integrity. While the Memorial’s physical features have been well-maintained, the changes made by the NPS during the 1960s and early 1990s have compromised the original spatial organization and circulation system that appeared first in Olmsted’s conceptual plan and carried through Johnston’s and Nott’s implementation. Because of these changes, visitors are unable to enjoy and understand the site as the designers intended. The sense of procession along either of the highway corridors, to the plaza and through the court and then to the memorial building or up the allee to the cemetery has been limited. These changes are partially reversible: it would be unrealistic and dangerous to return the highway to its former location, but it is not too late to reverse several of the minor alterations to revive the landscape’s symmetrical layout. More specific guidelines on achieving this are detailed in Chapter 6.

Interestingly, NPS cultural resource personnel voiced concerns about altering the designed landscape when the agency inherited it from the state in the 1960s. The statement from historian Roy Appleman is as insightful today as it was then:

> A previous generation, in these instances, has spent its money, energy, time, and veneration and love in these works, and they should not lightly be tampered with.\(^5\)

Appleman’s statement points to our obligation to tread carefully when considering future changes to the designed landscape. Olmsted, Jr, Johnston and Nott, working for the ILU created a landscape that told the story and celebrated the lives of the Lincoln’s, perpetuating the story is now the responsibility of the National Park Service.

**Statement of Significance**

The period of significance for the memorial, 1927-1945 spans the years of construc-
tion for both the designed landscape and Memorial building. The site’s significance lies in its commemoration of Abraham and Nancy Hanks Lincoln and its exemplification of cooperative projects completed under the auspices of federal Depression-era work programs (National Register Criteria B). The design and construction process carried out at the Memorial brought together some of the more significant figures in state park development, including Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Richard Lieber, and the result exemplifies a true integration of building and landscape design (National Register Criteria C).

NOTES


2 Paul V. Brown, 1938. The Indiana Lincoln Memorial in Spencer County, Indiana. [This pamphlet was published by the Indiana Lincoln Union.]

3 Soil Survey for Spencer County, Indiana, 1973. USDA, SCS in cooperation with Purdue University Agricultural Experiment Station, 28.


5 Ibid., 5.

6 Ibid., 20.

7 Richard Bishop report submitted to Department of Conservation, 28 June 1939, 2. Park History Files, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial.


9 Vistas are differentiated from views by their controlled linear quality. They are deliberately contrived, while views are more expansive, and may be naturally occurring or created by the designer.

10 Olmsted’s 1927 report, 3, 4.


13 Memorandum to Chief, Interpretation and Visitor Services from Roy Appleman, Historian, 10 October 1966, Midwest Region files, Omaha Nebraska.
CHAPTER 6
TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS
CHAPTER 6
TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

The Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes provides four approaches for treating historic and cultural landscapes. The Standards define treatment as "a physical intervention carried out to achieve a historic preservation goal." They go on to explain that an appropriate treatment for a given landscape is based on many practical and philosophical variables... including, but not limited to, the extent of historic documentation, existing physical conditions, historic value, proposed use, long and short term objectives, operational and code requirements and anticipated capital improvement, staffing and maintenance costs. The impact of the treatment on any significant archaeological and natural resources should also be considered.

The four treatment approaches defined in the Standards are described in Table III. The appropriate treatment for the Memorial's designed landscape should be based on its relatively high level of integrity and continuing use for commemoration and interpretation. The preferred overall approach is preservation — no major change to the landscape north of the plaza is needed, except updating surface materials on the allee. However, because repairs are needed to accurately portray the original design envisioned by Olmsted and implemented by Johnston and Nott, a portion of the landscape will receive either restoration or rehabilitation. The former highway corridor east of the plaza should reflect the symmetry and initial circulation patterns. One treatment alternative responds to the rerouted Highway 231 by reopening the eastern access to the Memorial (from Highway 162). The second provides a sense of balance and provides significant views by perpetuating the linear quality of the former roadbed without providing access at the eastern end of the Memorial.

CONDITION AND INTEGRITY OF EASTERN ROADBED

The original design by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and Johnston and Nott's subsequent implementation relied on a strong cross-axial symmetry to bring visitors to the site and focus their attention on the cemetery and memorial building. The arrangement of the highway and Allee is a critical contributing feature for the historic designed landscape. After the highway was closed, the circulation system was altered, but the symmetry was still evident. When the roadbed was obliterated in the early 1990s, however, this was seriously compromised. Although it was determined that the action had no adverse impact on the site, this assessment was made before the NPS and most State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) had a strong grasp on the importance of historic landscapes or a sound approach for maintaining and interpreting these resources. This understanding is now more widespread. Fortunately, the changes that were made to this portion of the landscape are reversible.
FOUR APPROACHES FOR THE TREATMENT OF HISTORIC LANDSCAPES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPROACH</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preservation</strong></td>
<td>the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rehabilitation</strong></td>
<td>the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical or cultural values;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Restoration</strong></td>
<td>the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reconstruction</strong></td>
<td>the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A decision regarding if and how the Memorial will respond to the relocation of Highway 231 has yet to be made. The highway will carry the bulk of passengers coming to the Memorial. If feasible, it would be beneficial to make this connection safe, convenient, and attractive. Specific guidance for this decision should take place within the General Management Plan.

This document recommends an interim approach of keeping the meadows open, clearing the roadbed of trees and shrubs, and removing the picnic tables and trash receptacles from the area to mitigate the impact of the obliteration. By clearing the area and mowing a path down its center, visitors will be able to see the historic vista along the corridor and park personnel will be better able to interpret the historic designed landscape. Once the decision regarding the eastern entrance is made, one of the two following alternatives is available. If it is reopened, the restoration alternative is preferred. If a decision is made not to restore this connection, measures described under the rehabilitation alternative should be carried out.

**RESTORATION ALTERNATIVE**

This alternative calls for a complete return to the circulation flow as it existed prior to the NPS changes of the 1960s. It would restore the long views along this axis and return the historic function of this portion of the landscape. In recognition of visitor’s needs, it would include a more permanent surface in the meadows and could utilize surfacing on roads to keep vehicles at a safe speed. Pedestrian circulation would be accommodated and improved with marked crossings and separate walking lanes.

**REHABILITATION ALTERNATIVE**

This alternative represents a compromise between the existing condition and a total restoration of the landscape. It would recapture views and some of the historic use, however, the main visitor entry would still occur at the western edge. At peak visitation periods, cars would pass through the plaza, travel along the restored roadbed, into the parking meadows. The surface of the road and at least one meadow would be upgraded for more stability.

**PHASED TREATMENT COMMON TO BOTH ALTERNATIVES**

The following table provides a phased approach to implementing a comprehensive approach to maintaining the memorial landscape. Many of these operational issues are already part of the routine maintenance workload. It may be useful, however, to present them in a prioritized order with the eventual goal of recapturing the historic character of the commemorative design.
## PHASED TREATMENT COMMON TO BOTH ALTERNATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTION</th>
<th>IMMEDIATE</th>
<th>NEXT FIVE YEARS</th>
<th>NEXT 10 YEARS</th>
<th>NEXT 15 YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEMETERY</td>
<td>None.</td>
<td>Continue pruning hazard limbs and/or remove dead or dying trees in the cemetery. Remove using flush cut as close to ground as possible. Replant trees as necessary to maintain canopy.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAGPOLE TERRACE</td>
<td>Relocate lighting to a less conspicuous location, or leave in current position but remove poles. Attempt to hide light fixtures with small shrubs. Add an appropriate surface treatment to walkways on terrace to keep water and ice under control and provide a more stable walking surface. More information on surface treatment will be provided later in this chapter.</td>
<td>Replace cedar trees on both sides of the allee. Plant three trees on each side at the outer top and inside bottom of the steps as directed by the original planting plan (twelve trees total). Consider planting the trees slightly back from the slope to provide more protection to the root systems. Maintain a defined edge between forest and lawn on flagpole terrace by keeping shrubs cleared at perimeter. Increase percentage of drought-tolerant grass in seed mix for sloped area.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLEE</td>
<td>Add an appropriate surface treatment to walkways in allee to keep water and ice under control and provide a more stable walking surface.</td>
<td>Develop and implement for improving drainage at the southwest corner of allee.</td>
<td>Clear encroaching forest growth away from sides of the allee. Maintain approximately twenty-four (24) feet between sycamores and forest edge. If large shade trees are kept out of the forest edge, trees in the allee will have more sunlight and should grow in a more uniform manner.</td>
<td>Replace obsolete and non-functioning irrigation system to provide water to lawn, shrubs and trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLAZA/HIGHWAY CORRIDOR</td>
<td>Remove picnic tables and trash receptacles from former roadbed. Clear woody vegetation from former roadbed using hand-loppers or saw. Cut flush at ground level. Treat stumps with appropriate herbicide, and remove any stakes. Resume mowing former roadbed. Mow a path down the center of the corridor approximately twenty (20) feet wide every other week.</td>
<td>Clean stone walls and pylons as directed in the Historic Structures Report. Remove white paint from stone edging in plaza. Paint stone only at parking stripes and pedestrian crossings. If appropriate, restore eastern access to the Memorial by paving road and providing durable surface for at least one parking meadow (south meadow should be considered first, add northern meadow if necessary).</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
</tr>
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### PHASED TREATMENT COMMON TO BOTH ALTERNATIVES (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTION</th>
<th>IMEDIATE</th>
<th>NEXT FIVE YEARS</th>
<th>NEXT 10 YEARS</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pea/a HIGHWAY CORRIDOR</strong></td>
<td>Mow a path approximately six (6) feet wide every week in the summer to provide a walking surface for visitors. Clear vegetation from parking meadows using hand-loppers or saw. Cut flush at ground level. Treat stumps with appropriate herbicide, and remove any stakes. Resume mowing parking meadows every other week until a determination is made regarding their use for overflow parking. At that point, mow more frequently if needed. The meadows can be roped off to encourage visitors to use main parking lot. Clear all vegetation away from pylons.</td>
<td>If the corridor is restored, the iron gates will have to be removed. If the corridor is rehabilitated, the gates should be moved further down the mown path, east of the stone pylons.</td>
<td>(see previous page)</td>
<td>(see previous page)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEMORIAL COURT AND VISITOR CENTER</strong></td>
<td>Replace <em>Euonymus veenea</em> in planters with <em>Euonymus manhattan</em>. Continue pruning shrubs and weeding beds around building to promote healthy growth habits and maintain manicured appearance.</td>
<td>Clean and treat masonry on building, steps, and panels as directed in <em>Historic Structures Report</em>.</td>
<td>Consider replacing sandstone in Court with more historically appropriate brick. Use appropriate subsurface preparation to prevent frost heaving. Consider restoring historic character of Court based if appropriate (based on ultimate treatment of building).</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CABIN SITE MEMORIAL</strong></td>
<td>Maintain vegetation between Memorial and Living History Farm to provide a buffer between two incompatible uses. Insert wayside exhibit that describes the design intent and history of the cabin site memorial.</td>
<td>Clean and treat masonry walls according to specifications of <em>Historic Structures Report</em>. Consider restoring flagstone walkways around memorial. This will reinforce its historic character by making a more striking contrast with the Living History Farm.</td>
<td>Consider rerouting trail to memorial to its historic location. The trail formerly entered the space between the two developments from the south, making more of a “front door” entrance.</td>
<td>Consider relocating the Living History Farm and related parking lot, shelter, and restrooms off of the historic Lincoln property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRAIL OF TWELVE STONES</strong></td>
<td>Clean and stabilize bases and stones as specified in the <em>Historic Structures Report</em>. Maintain current trail width to provide intimate scale for a reflective personal experience in keeping with the original intention for the Trail.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
<td>Continue routine maintenance.</td>
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**PHASED TREATMENT COMMON TO BOTH ALTERNATIVES (CONTINUED)**

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</table>
Trail of Twelve Stones
Maintain stones according to HSR recommendations

Cemetery
Grave of Nancy Hanks Lincoln

Memorial Plaza
Clear Vegetation away from Pylons
Clear to reestablish meadow

Memorial Visitor Center
If cloister is restored to its original configuration the Memorial Corridor walkways should also be restored.

Stone Walls
Maintain according to HSR recommendations.

Stone Benches
Maintain according to HSR recommendations.

Concrete Sidewalks for universal access.

Road Corridor
Remove gate and picnic tables.

Clear to reestablish meadow
Replace all oaks when more than 50% are dead or dying.

Cottonwood Trees
(Quercus phellos)

Pecan Tree
(Carya illinoensis)

Red Oak
(Quercus rubra)

Beech Tree
(Fagus grandifolia)

Elm Trees
(Ulmus americana)

Sycamore
(Platanus occidentalis)

Tulip Tree
(Liriodendron tulipifera)

(Comas stoloiilfera)
SPECIFICATIONS FOR UPGRADING WALKWAYS AND PARKING SURFACES

Allee Walks

The existing gravel walkways along the allee (including the flagpole terrace) must be upgraded to allow for better year round access to the cemetery. The gravel, consisting of local river gravel, has a pleasing color and texture. It is anticipated that it will be available in the future. The goal is to provide a more stable surface that permits water runoff, is easily maintained, and has an appropriate appearance in the historic landscape.

Hardening the surface using concrete, asphalt, or exposed aggregate would provide for optimum access. Unfortunately, none of these surfaces has the desired appearance, and would add maintenance problems. They are not easily repaired or patched, and would probably be very slippery in the winter. A more comprehensive approach that will protect the historic character is described below:

1 At minimum, the walks should be crowned at a 2% grade to allow better runoff. If the drainage in the allee is improved, the walkways should also benefit.

2 Altering the schedule for adding gravel to the allee from spring to late fall. This would solve the problems that are frequently encountered in the annual Lincoln Day pilgrimage to the cemetery. It will not, however, provide better access at other times of the year.

3 Install an adequate compacted subgrade, with a surface treatment of a soil stabilizer combined with a new application of “crusher fines” that utilizes the river rock. A number of soil stabilizers are available on the market and have been used with much success in NPS units. A product expert should be consulted to determine which is appropriate given the intensity of use, quality of soil and stone, and levels of moisture and precipitation. The best known products are Road Oyl, Soil Stabilizer, or Mountain Grout. Contact information for these products is available on the Internet.

Upgrading the trail using the preferred method requires an adequate subgrade preparation, such as a four inch compacted subgrade on top of a geotextile fabric to keep fine rock intact and prevent weeds within the walks.

The surface will consist of up to 3/8” inch diameter crushed river rock with an appropriately applied stabilizing agent (some are mixed with the rock prior to installation, some are poured on after the rock is laid).

Memorial Court and Cabin Site Memorial Walks

A long term treatment of the memorial landscape could include restoring the historic paving materials in the memorial courtyard and around the cabin site memorial. These areas were not initially prepared to accommodate frost heaving. The uneven walking surface led to an unsafe condition for visitors. A proper installation would include a much deeper subgrade of compacted sand and gravel, and might include a concrete base for the bricks and flagstone, respectively. See Figure 53 for recommended design specifications.
Parking Meadows

The former parking meadows that have been replanted should be cleared according to the recommendations described in Table IV. If a mown surface proves to be inadequate for overflow parking, the Memorial could consider hardening the surface of the lots. A stabilized soil or neutrally-colored gravel surface is appropriate. Based on the Edson Nott plan, the south meadow could be developed first, with the north meadow left as mown grass (see Chapter 2, Figure 15). Both lots could be developed as part of an overall memorial development that included a restored eastern entrance and an expansion of the memorial building. The meadows should not be extended beyond the existing forest edge.

Specifications for Vegetation Management

Protecting the formal character of the allee requires maintaining the uniformity and symmetry of the rows of tulip trees and sycamores. When the loss of uniform tree size is more than fifty percent in one row, replace all trees in that row and its “partner” on the other side of the allee. Improving drainage and keeping the forest edge away from the allee per the recommendations earlier in this chapter should improve the vitality and lifespan of the existing vegetation.

The rows of dogwoods appear to be more vital than the trees and require less frequent replacement. The size and character of these shrubs has varied over time; as a general guide, they should not exceed six feet in height. Use best judgement to determine when the shrubs have reached their lifespan and then replace both rows at the same time.

Vegetation management in the memorial landscape extends beyond the allee. As stated earlier, the appearance and qualities of the surrounding forest have a major visual and experiential impact on the site. Enhancing the biodiversity and condition of the forest is an important part of the overall management program. Noel Pavlovic’s 1989 reforestation study of Lincoln Boyhood contains specific methods for restoring the surrounding area. The Memorial’s Draft Fire Management Plan should also be consulted.
NOTES


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