



Bridging the Past



ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY
MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

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Minute Man National Historical Park
Administrative History

Joan Zenzen

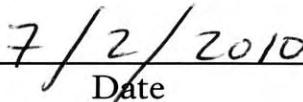
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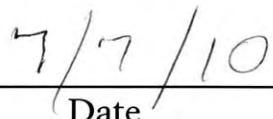
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BRIDGING THE PAST

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

OF

MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

JOAN ZENZEN

PREPARED UNDER COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

2010

Cover Illustration: Sheep on Historic Battle Road passing the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern, Minute Man National Park. From the Collection of Minute Man National Historical Park

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFB	Air Force Base
BNHSC	Boston National Historic Sites Commission
CFPL	Concord Free Public Library
CLR	Cultural Landscape Report
CY	Calendar Year
EA	Environmental Assessment
ESPR	Environmental Status and Planning Report
FAA	Federal Aviation Administration
FRC	Federal Records Center
FY	Fiscal Year
GEIR	Generic Environmental Impact Report
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPRA	Government Performance and Results Act
HATS II	Hanscom Area Towns Committee
HFAC	Hanscom Field Advisory Commission
HFC	Harpers Ferry Center
MHD	Massachusetts Highway Department
MIMA	Minute Man National Historical Park
NHP	National Historical Park
NHS	National Historical Site
NPS	National Park Service
NRHE	National Register, History and Education
PAHE	People Against Hanscom Expansion
RG	Record Group
ShhAir	Safeguarding the Historic Hanscom Area's Irreplaceable Resources

KEY FINDINGS

In looking back over the history of MIMA, four themes stand out. First, the park has struggled with how best to address modern-day traffic on Route 2A. Second, park officials have adopted changing guidelines for preserving and restoring structures. Third, the park's mission has expanded and evolved in response to changing historic preservation norms and public demands. Fourth, the public, including the three towns of Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington and other interests, have shaped the park's identity since its establishment. These four themes represent key issues over the entire life of the park and continue to shape the park's future. To understand MIMA, managers must appreciate these themes and act accordingly.

Route 2A is perhaps the most visible and highly charged issue that has faced MIMA. From the moment of park establishment, NPS planners fully expected that the state would redirect this commuter roadway out of the park and allow for development of an interpretive program that would recreate the feel and look of the Massachusetts countryside of 1775. However, the NPS never had money allocated to assist the state in accomplishing this considerable feat. In the post-World War II expansion of the Boston suburbs, this roadway became increasingly important and thus harder to remove. The Hanscom AFB and civilian airfield hosted more and more flights, commercial businesses chose this high-technology area to settle, and residential developments took shape nearby. Finally, environmental protection laws, which came into existence after park establishment, added a whole new level of review and consideration to the mix, effectively closing the door on relocation.

In the meantime, park planners worked in a state of limbo, planning with the idea of a relocated Route 2A and addressing the reality that cars and trucks of increasing numbers relied upon this route. Years would go by, and the park would not look like a park. Overgrown trees and bushes along Route 2A hid the largest unit of the park. Known as the Battle Road Unit, this section was where British soldiers retreated from Concord's North Bridge and suffered heavy firing from Patriots convinced that they had to defend their liberties and right to self-government. This section of roadway had prompted concerned citizens and leaders in historic preservation to set aside this land as MIMA in 1959, but this section of the park failed to present a historical face to the public in subsequent years. It looked like every other stretch of commuter roadway, crowded with vehicles and lacking in identifying features.

Public concern over the Battle Road Unit has taken various forms over the years. In the Town of Lincoln, officials planned their town under the assumption that Route 2A would feed into a relocated Route 2, both skirting the national park's southern boundary. The town bought land and zoned areas to allow for this proposed scenario and continued to push for the idea for years after the state ultimately decided to leave Route 2A where it was. People, who used Route 2A to get to Hanscom or high-tech businesses or their homes, on the other hand, resisted efforts to relocate the roadway. They did not want to increase their commutes, nor did they want to burden alternative roads in the area. A small, vocal contingent, on the other hand, argued

strenuously in newspapers and other forums that removal of Route 2A was essential for fulfilling the original vision of the park and preserving this historically important piece of land. Finding ways to address these contrasting public views within the park's mission has shaped planning and interpretive efforts in the past few decades.

Was it correct for the NPS to hang its hopes for MIMA upon re-routing of this major commuter road? Did the NPS lose its chance when it revised its draft General Management Plan (GMP) to remove this wish from its list? Other parks have had success and failure in convincing local authorities to remove roads. Manassas National Battlefield Park in northern Virginia has long wanted to remove a major road from its boundaries but has found stiff opposition from voters and their elected officials. Morristown National Historical Park in New Jersey, on the other hand, did succeed in getting a road moved out during preparations for the Bicentennial. With MIMA, the basic geography of the park complicates the situation. Almost the entire Battle Road Unit stretches along this highway, with little land on either side of the roadway actually preserved for the park. Without the money and backing of all affected federal agencies (such as the Air Force and Federal Highway Department) from the start, the NPS essentially worked from a growing deficit. With each year that passed, development around the area solidified Route 2A's existence. In addition to changing environmental requirements, the opportunity to relocate Route 2A was lost even before the park worked on its GMP. Park superintendents instead must be constantly vigilant in fostering partnerships and advocating for the park in every possible venue.

The park has confronted a second continuing theme with regard to its structures. What structures should be saved, how should they be presented to the public, and what interpretive roles should they play? When park planners first considered the buildings within the park's boundaries, they identified the 1775 witness structures and those dating after 1775 and until 1830 as worth saving and restoring. Any structures from after 1830, or roughly 50 years after the Revolution, had to have significant historical value for planners to keep them in the park. The Wayside, a witness structure that had evolved into a large home with literary associations, represents a significant addition to the 1775 timeline. However, the park did not think twice about removing modern homes, dating from the 20th century, once the NPS had acquired them in the 1960s and 1970s. Some of these buildings, in fact, had the potential to speak about architectural design and living habits of the modern era. Careful review and analysis of structures before demolition or removal has since characterized NPS action toward such structures.

A larger issue floats below the surface with regard to structures in MIMA. To what time should park planners restore buildings? The park focuses its historical story on 19 April 1775 and the surrounding years, but the buildings themselves did not stay frozen in that time period. For example, Hartwell Tavern gained additions and changes over time as the Hartwell family grew. Should park architects remove those additions to stay focused on 1775 or would visitors gain from an understanding of the sweep of time the building encompassed? Plus, park decisions depended upon the extent of historical, archeological, and architectural evidence. In the case of the Elisha Jones House, extensive renovations in the late 19th century obliterated any opportunity to recover the witness structure as it had once stood at that site. The story of a bullet lodged in a shed that was later incorporated into the main building further tested the NPS's process for

decision-making. Ultimately, historians concluded that the building deserved retention in its present state. The unsubstantiated bullet-hole story adds to the commemorative nature of the site.

To address these changes over time, the park has used a range of approaches, resulting in a continuum of history. The 1966 master plan favored rehabilitation or composite restoration for the majority of the park's historic structures. Rehabilitation generally refers to repair and replacement of deteriorated historic elements without specific reference to a single time period. Composite restoration, a term not officially defined, suggests returning a building to more than one historical period, in a way amplifying key time periods. In contrast, the 1990 GMP favored exterior restoration, often to 1775, and adaptation of the interior to modern purposes. For Hartwell Tavern, the 1990 GMP noted that the park should maintain the 1775 element and differentiate post-1775 elements, making explicit the previous park practice of composite restoration. The 1990 GMP also took into account buildings constructed after 1775, such as Noah Brooks Tavern, and called for exterior restoration to a later appropriate date.

People in the nearby communities and even statewide have had their own ideas about historic preservation at MIMA. Many landowners resisted selling their properties to the NPS. When finally they acquiesced, sometimes under contentious circumstances, these landowners opted to stay in their homes under special arrangements lasting either decades or for life. The NPS had to delay taking control of these buildings, contributing to the lack of historical focus in the park. The agency could not restore or remove these buildings to add to a sense of historical authenticity to the landscape. Once the agency did gain control of the structures, its planners and managers faced a changed landscape in the field of historic preservation. Instead of dogmatically staying true to a single time period, preservationists argued that change over time had valid and important opportunities for development. In one indication of this changed attitude, park planners for the 1990 GMP extended the valid date for structures to 1920. The United States Congress also expanded the park's mission to include the causes and consequences of the American Revolution, effectively extending the dates of inclusion for historic preservation. From the point of view of the State Historic Preservation Office, the state's history had many different focal points worthy of study and preservation along the long expanse of time, and this office supported NPS efforts to move beyond 1775 in its planning. In 2002, the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places accepted the park's National Register documentation, which identified 1946 for architectural significance and 1951 for agricultural significance. As the park has gained ownership and control over the remaining modern buildings following completion of life estates, these extended dates of significance have meant that additional structures require budgetary and interpretive attention from the park.

The third key finding for MIMA ties directly to this expanded vision for historic preservation. Managers, planners, and interpreters have adopted an elastic and expanded mission for this park. Some of this change has happened based on fortunate opportunities. After careful consideration, Margaret Lothrop, daughter of children's author Harriett Lothrop (penname Margaret Sidney), sold The Wayside to the NPS for inclusion in MIMA. This building, although a witness structure, had heightened significance based upon its relationship to America's literary history. No one considered downplaying or even removing this association through restoration of

the original structure to 1775. Instead, the house speaks to the different contributions made by past owners. The park itself has accepted the added challenge of incorporating this history into its interpretive and preservation actions.

During the period leading up to and directly following the nation's Bicentennial, park planners also adopted interpretive programs that expanded understanding beyond the battle of 1775. Programs included reenacting town hall meetings and growing vegetable gardens the colonial way. Children could participate in hands-on activities, such as marching and drilling, but they could also spin wool and cook over an open fire. Interpreters challenged visitors to think about the ideas of liberty and self-government as defended by the Patriots but also as embodied in present-day life in the United States. Upholding these values became paramount in real terms when the NPS allowed the People's Bicentennial Commission (PBC) to stage a rally and protest at the North Bridge on 18-19 April 1975, in tangent with the Town of Concord's own solemn ceremony and festive parade. These events have all contributed to an elastic vision for the park.

Although history and preservation remain keynotes for MIMA, the park has also taken on environmental concerns and even small doses of recreation in its presentation to the public. In the early 1970s, the park developed trails and built an information shelter at Fiske Hill to encourage school groups and families to go out into the landscape and learn about the evolving landscape and wildlife of this part of Massachusetts. In the 1990s, the park designed an auxiliary trail for the Battle Road Trail to take visitors to a vernal pool. Here, people could learn about the delicate balancing act nature played in providing habitat for an array of animals in this intimate setting. The Battle Road Trail itself, a 5.5-mile walking-biking way, opened up the Battle Road Unit to exploration and understanding on many levels. Thanks to concurrent landscape restoration work, visitors now could enter areas where the Patriots had fired upon the retreating British soldiers and gain renewed appreciation for their plight. The trail also has made people aware of the agricultural legacy of the area. Having the chance to step away from hectic routines and demands, visitors can relax and rejuvenate along the trail by hiking or biking. They can reflect upon the historical and natural setting, gaining understanding about the park and its meaning.

The fourth theme recognizes that the three towns and the public in general have helped to shape and define the park over time. MIMA includes the long stretch of land along the Battle Road because people like landscape architect Arthur Shurcliff argued convincingly that the land associated with the running battle deserved as much protection and attention as the North Bridge area. The Town of Concord has remained an active steward of the North Bridge and the associated markers, under the cooperative agreement, and has voiced its concerns and preferences for their care and preservation. The Town of Lincoln made zoning determinations to facilitate its desired outcome of having Route 2A relocated to the park's southern boundary. Lincoln resident Thomas Boylston Adams used his column in the *Boston Globe* to try to build support for the park's draft GMP and its key provision to return Route 2A to its historic condition. In the most recent period, descendants of past families around MIMA have provided donations for the maintenance and interpretation of historic structures. Citizen groups have worked to publicize

outside threats to the park and built important networks of support. At least one local developer has taken the park's landscape into consideration when designing new developments.

Sometimes, the public has expressed ideas and concerns in opposition to what the park has wanted to pursue. Perhaps these cases provide the best examples of how important the public has been to shaping MIMA. During the nation's Bicentennial, the Town of Concord vehemently opposed the idea of having the PBC stage a protest and rally at the North Bridge. The park worked directly with the town to address its concerns but still allowed the protest to take place. Hard feelings between the park and the town continued for many years afterwards, culminating in the town's opposition to the draft GMP. Only after park superintendent Larry Gall made clear through his actions that he was ready and willing to work with the town and address its longstanding concerns did a turnaround occur. Superintendent Nancy Nelson has demonstrated how strong advocacy, sometimes in opposition to the intentions of the towns, can ultimately bring key stakeholders together in significant partnerships. Her strong opposition to a proposed widening of Route 2A near the park's eastern entrance eventually resulted in several important safety enhancements for the park. Nelson's ability to advocate without alienating has resulted in enhanced public involvement in a range of ways, including direct donations, volunteer time, and increased awareness of the issues facing the park.

These four key themes have shaped the development of MIMA since its beginnings. Park managers and others need to remind themselves of these issues as they plan for the park's future.

CHAPTER ONE

COMMEMORATION

William Thorning, age 17, was one of the youngest of Lincoln's Minute Men. On 19 April 1775 Thorning caught his labored breath, raised his musket from behind a huge boulder, and aimed at the British Regulars hurrying down the old Bay Road back to Boston. He had nearly been hit himself, caught in crossfire near Josiah Nelson's house. Running first to the woods and flattening himself into a trench to escape notice, he now found protection behind an unusually large boulder near the road. This boulder became known as Minute Man Boulder. His aim proved deadly as two soldiers fell, eventually to be buried across the road in an orchard. With these deaths, Thorning joined the ranks of his fellow Patriots fighting for their liberties.¹ The Minute Man Boulder and an encompassing eight-acre parcel of land became the initial pieces of property included first as the Minute Man National Historic Site in 1958 and then as the Minute Man National Historical Park (MIMA) in September 1959. With these designations, the United States officially preserved some of the most poignant landscapes and structures associated with the beginning of the American Revolution.

Thorning's story has been handed down through generations and held closely as a tradition. His story and the associated land are important markers in the history of the national park. The MIMA exists largely because of the mid-twentieth-century battle to save the land around the Minute Man Boulder from residential housing development for the adjacent Hanscom Air Force Base (AFB). Lexington Green, where British Regulars shot into a dispersing group of militia and killed eight Americans, had long been saved. Concord's North Bridge—where American Patriots fired “the shot heard round the world”²—also sat on land preserved by the town. With the shot fired at British soldiers from this bridge, American Patriots declared the rights of people everywhere to liberty and self-government. The British soldiers fled after the Minute Men and militia returned their volley and left three of their soldiers dead. While the North Bridge was preserved, the old Bay Road, known as the Battle Road, suffered. Federal government representatives and local citizens were gravely concerned about increasing traffic along this route. By the 1950s the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had straightened and paved most of the Battle Road. This new highway, called Route 2A, carried suburban commuters around the fast-growing metropolitan Boston area.

¹ *The Lexington-Concord Battle Road, Interim Report of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission to the Congress of the United States* (hereafter referred to as *Interim Report*), 16 June 1958, 73, File Boston National Historic Sites Commission (BNHSC), National Park Service (NPS) Reports, Minute Man National Historical Park (MIMA) Library. John C. MacLean, *A Rich Harvest: The History, Buildings, and People of Lincoln, Massachusetts* (Lincoln, MA: Lincoln Historical Society, 1987), 257, 281.

² Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Concord Hymn*.

Attractive houses in small subdivisions, farm stands, gas stations, restaurants, and other commercial establishments sprouted up where farmers had long plowed the open fields and raised livestock, following in the footsteps of the Revolutionary War inhabitants.

Why should the federal government and the American people care about saving the original Battle Road from development? The answer lies in the story of William Thorning and the thousands of other men who fired against British soldiers for the first time. These American Patriots sacrificed themselves by daring the treasonous act of firing upon their fellow citizens, the British soldiers. Their belief in defending their liberties and their right to self-government guided their actions. No longer could American Patriots consider the people of Great Britain as brothers, sisters, caretakers, or equals. American Patriots, common men and women, had the right and duty to defend their land and property from those British subjects who threatened their liberties.

On Lexington Green, members of the American militia stood up against, and fell from, the unprovoked firing of British soldiers. On Concord's North Bridge, American Patriots fired at British soldiers after losing two of their own. And on the Battle Road, American Patriots made a resounding declaration of their right to liberty and self-government. Their journey took them from Meriam's Corner in Concord, through Lincoln into Lexington, and all the way back to Boston Harbor. These were important actions that lead to the 4 July 1776 declaration of independence from British rule.³ In the hearts of people who knew this story, the Battle Road and associated lands had to be saved. From this recognition came the establishment of MIMA.

In this book, you will learn how the National Park Service (NPS) assembled MIMA from hundreds of small properties and turned it into a visible, well-visited place of remembrance and education. Park employees have overseen the restoration of stone walls, the opening of landscapes once farmed by colonists, and the rehabilitation of historic buildings that resonate with the sights and sounds of the past. The park's location in a fast-moving metropolitan area on the eastern seaboard has presented managers with challenges related to increasing amounts of traffic and pressures to develop land. Hanscom AFB and the Hanscom civilian air field abut much of the park along the Battle Road. They have contributed significantly to the noise, traffic, and development pressures with their changing operations over the years. Although many parks face outside development pressures, MIMA stands out for its relative size in a suburban setting. Most of its holdings are along the historic roadway of the Battle Road and, by necessity, the modern, intrusive, and heavily traveled Route 2A. Over the years, park management has fostered varying levels of partnerships and support from the neighboring communities of Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington, all of which contain active and committed individuals who appreciate the history of this land. Commemorative activities, interpretive programming, and restoration of the landscape and structures have been made possible by a wide array of supporters including nearby towns, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, adjacent landowners and businesses, family

³ *Interim Report*, 70.

associations, local and national organizations, and individuals committed to the preservation of American history.

The story of MIMA has also expanded to encompass literary history for Concord and the nation, as embodied in the home of authors, The Wayside. Added to the park in 1965, The Wayside represents the changing landscape of the town. In its original four-room shape, as The Wayside was home to the Concord Minute Men and muster master Samuel Whitney. The building witnessed the momentous events of 19 April 1775. In the nineteenth century, the house grew and changed under the ownership of three great literary families. Louisa May Alcott's childhood here provided inspiration for scenes in *Little Women*. Nathaniel Hawthorne spent his last years writing in this house and walking its grounds. Margaret Sidney, author of *The Five Little Peppers* series of children's books, kept alive the history of this house. The mission of MIMA has grown to encompass this literary history, adding fresh layers of meaning to the site beyond its Revolutionary War roots.

This book is written specifically to provide park managers with detailed information about the park's preservation history and lessons learned while saving and restoring the landscape and structures, interpreting the site for visitors, and addressing the demands of modern-day visitors and neighbors. Four significant themes emerge from this history of MIMA. First, park officials have struggled to find the best approach for addressing modern-day traffic on Route 2A. Second, park officials have adopted changing guidelines for preserving and restoring structures. Third, the park's mission has expanded and evolved in response to changing historic preservation norms and public demands. Fourth, the public has played an important role in shaping the park. These four themes represent key issues for park managers over the life of the park. To understand MIMA, managers must appreciate these themes and act accordingly.

The story of MIMA transcends its specific place and time and stands as an example of how the NPS has managed the properties under its care over the past 50 years. This history of park management includes the heady days of Mission 66. During this time, NPS Director Conrad Wirth initiated an aggressive campaign to increase funding for parks to provide roads and services for the onslaught of post-World War II visitation. That funding was contracted as the nation addressed communism and fought battles in Vietnam. The public continued to support the national park idea, setting aside new areas and initiating different kinds of parks with emphasis on aspects such as recreation or heritage tourism. The NPS and its dedicated cadre of professionals have sought creative and responsive avenues for managing parks. MIMA stands as an important example of these efforts.

“FIRE FELLOW SOLDIERS, FOR GOD’S SAKE, FIRE!”⁴

When first looking at a map, park managers and visitors quickly see that MIMA boundaries are long and narrow with historic structures and other features scattered along its entire stretch. The park is not contiguous; it is comprised of three identifiable units. By outlining the significant events of 19 April 1775 and the nineteenth-century literary history of The Wayside, the meaning of this layout and its importance to park management becomes apparent.

The following description of the important historic events involving MIMA is reliant on written summaries from the park’s Interpretive Division. These summaries are based on careful review of primary sources, archeological and architectural studies, and the landscape. Some scholarly considerations of the American Revolution have also influenced how park officials have portrayed this history to the public. Park officials have included stories about the individual soldiers and families that lived nearby, rather than focusing solely on the actions of the local or Boston military leaders. This approach recognizes the influence of the “bottom-up” approach in social history.

Much of the more recent historical scholarship has introduced complicated and nuanced understandings about the beginnings of the American Revolution. Questions arise about British governance and why American Patriots resisted at Lexington and Concord. Historians have argued the belief that oppressive British rule was truly evident on the eve of the Revolution. In addition, many of America’s founders distanced themselves from the masses and acted in opposition to race, class, and gender considerations. Those masses also asserted themselves before the firings on the North Bridge, taking governmental bodies from royal appointees and re-instituting local rule. The events of 19 April 1775 surpassed a simple call for liberty and self-government and became a complex web of motivations and circumstances.⁵

The story of American Patriots striving for liberty and self-government in the face of British oppression, however, is the story told at MIMA throughout the park’s history. Park historians and interpreters have used this story during presentations, walks, exhibits, and written materials. This is the story presented to the public, and must be told in this history of the preservation and management of the park. By understanding the story as told to the

⁴ Maj. John Buttrick, as quoted in several histories of the Concord fight at the North Bridge. See, for example, Allen French, *The Day of Concord and Lexington: The Nineteenth of April, 1775*, rpt. (Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1984), 191; Ruth R. Wheeler, *Concord: Climate for Freedom* (Concord, MA: The Concord Antiquarian Society, 1967), 122; Lemuel Shattuck, *A History of the Town of Concord* (Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company, 1835), 103; Townsend Scudder, *Concord: American Town* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1947), 98; and *Interim Report*, 64.

⁵ The author wishes to thank two peer reviewers, William Fowler and an anonymous reviewer, for pointing out the inadequacies of the park’s historical interpretation of the events of the American Revolution. Some sources for further exploring the historical scholarship include: David Hackett Fischer, *Paul Revere’s Ride* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (New York: Viking, 2005); John Ferling, *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Marjoleine Kars, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Ray Raphael, *The First American Revolution: Before Lexington and Concord* (New York: New Press, 2003).

public, we can better understand the choices made by managers and staff members over the history of the park.

By the spring of 1775 tension filled the air surrounding Boston.⁶ Following the destruction of tea in Boston Harbor in December 1773 by colonists disguised as Indians, the British Parliament closed the port of Boston. This severe act left many people without jobs and inflamed an already difficult situation. Gen. Thomas Gage, commander of the British troops in Boston and the royally appointed governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, kept a firm grip on Boston. He also tried to assert control over the countryside. The colonists in the surrounding towns, however, acted contrary to his demands. In defiance of General Gage's order to disband, the Massachusetts legislature, known as the Provincial Congress, met in Concord. John Hancock served as president. The Provincial Congress directed the towns to prepare, arm, and drill their militia companies. Militia companies, containing all able-bodied men aged 16 to 66, would defend their towns if necessary.

From the Provincial Congress came the initial order for the formation of the Minute Men. In October 1774 this legislative body directed the towns to "enlist one quarter at least of the...companies and form them into companies of 50 privates...who shall equip and hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice." The original mustering of the Minute Men in Concord contains these words:

That we...will defend majesty King George III, his person, crown, and dignity. That we will at the same time to the utmost of our power and ability defend all and every of our chartered rights, liberties and privileges and will stand at a minute's warning with arms and ammunition to do so.

These words clarify the idea that the militias and the Minute Men still held allegiance to the King of England, but would fight to preserve their liberties.

Following the directions of the Provincial Congress, the colonists in towns around Boston gathered and secured arms in hidden places. General Gage responded by sending troops out of Boston to capture these hidden military supplies. He sent 260 British soldiers to the Cambridge Powder House, where they captured concealed supplies. Four thousand colonists took to the streets the next day to protest this action. General Gage also sent 200 men to Salem to take a cache of cannons. Colonists spread the alarm, and the British troops found Salem with a raised drawbridge. The colonists refused demands to lower the drawbridge, and the troops retreated. General Gage knew that Worcester and Concord contained the two largest stockpiles of stashed military supplies. The distance to Worcester precluded a successful surprise raid, so General Gage set his sights on Concord. On the evening of 18 April 1775 General Gage ordered 700 British soldiers to assemble on Boston Common. This action did not go unnoticed, and the colonists spread the alarm.⁷

⁶ This account is derived largely from Lou Sideris, "We Meant to Govern Ourselves," 1997, MIMA Interpretation Files. The author wishes to thank Sideris for his guidance in writing this section. See also Douglas P. Sabin, "April 19, 1775: A Historiographical Study," File Battle of April 19, 1775, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁷ Sideris, "We Meant to Govern Ourselves," 1-3.

The nineteenth of April opened with the famous midnight ride of Paul Revere.⁸ He left Boston late on the eighteenth after giving instructions to hang two lanterns in the Old North Church as a signal. The British soldiers were traveling by boat across the harbor to Lechmere Point and through Cambridge toward Lexington and Concord. Revere took a northern route across the harbor to Mystic (present-day Medford) and on through Menotomy (Arlington). He raised the alarm to nearly every house along the way. Around midnight, he reached the Hancock-Clarke House in Lexington and warned John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who also served in the Provincial Congress and agitated for continued defiance of British control.

At this point, Revere met with William Dawes, the other courier sent to spread the alarm via a southern route, and the two continued their mission. They soon joined Dr. Samuel Prescott, who had spent the evening in Lexington and was returning home to Concord. Satisfied that Prescott was a fellow “Son of Liberty,” the three galloped along the old Bay Road, with Revere in the lead. Within the hour, mounted British officers, traveling ahead of the main troop contingent, surprised and captured Revere. Dawes turned his horse quickly and headed back to Lexington. Prescott directed his horse to jump a stone wall and carried the alarm to Concord. Revere never made it to Concord. The Paul Revere Capture Site (map 1) is marked, and parking is available along the Battle Road Trail within the park.

The British officers took Revere back to Lexington before releasing him. According to Nelson family tradition, Josiah Nelson awoke from the sound of horses passing his house along the old Bay Road back to Lexington, and he hurriedly called out to the British soldiers. One of the soldiers, according to the story, responded in anger, striking Nelson on the head with his sword, drawing the first blood of the day. Nelson’s wife bound his head, and then he continued to spread the alarm to Bedford. His house site remains marked within the park’s boundaries. The full British expedition made slow progress, landing in the muddy marshes of Cambridge. They did not advance until approximately two o’clock in the morning. Further delays resulted from General Gage’s choice of commander: Lt. Col. Francis Smith, a heavyset man who kept a ponderous pace. Dawn had broken by the time Lieutenant Colonel Smith’s advance troops (under Maj. John Pitcairn) reached Lexington. Lexington militia Capt. John Parker had his men, numbering only 77, lined up along Lexington Green to make a show of their patriot resolve. Major Pitcairn ordered them to disperse, which they started to do when an unknown source fired a shot, and the British soldiers, ignoring orders to stop, opened fire on the fleeing American Patriots. By the time Major Pitcairn and Lieutenant Colonel Smith regained control, eight Patriots laid dead on the Green. News of the shooting quickly spread to neighboring communities, drawing men to Concord and the old Bay Road for the inevitable confrontation.

Arriving in Concord around seven that morning, the British Regulars proceeded to search for military stores while tracking the movements of the colonial militia. Lieutenant

⁸ The following encapsulation of the events of 19 April 1775 draws upon the following sources: Sabin, “April 19, 1775,” Part III; *Interim Report*, 51-69; French, *Day of Concord and Lexington*, 164-65, 183-192; Wheeler, *Concord*, 116-122; Brochure, Minute Man National Historical Park (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2004).

Colonel Smith saw the Patriots gathering on the east end of the ridge that ran from Town Center to Meriam's Corner. From this vantage point, the Patriots saw the British column and proceeded back to town ahead of the British.

The Alarm Company (at the Liberty Pole) joined the rest of the Patriots as they crossed the North Bridge to Punkatasset Hill, moving away from the advancing British. The British cut down the Liberty Pole and burned it in Town Center along with gun carriages and other found military stores. Additional observations from a cemetery near the Liberty Pole proved that vast numbers of Patriots were assembling. Lieutenant Colonel Smith then ordered detachments to secure both the South Bridge and the North Bridge. Four companies proceeded over the North Bridge to the farthest point of their day's travels—Col. James Barrett's Farm—to search for additional weapons and munitions. Now with approximately 400 men, the American Patriots moved closer to the North Bridge to the Muster Field and saw the smoke from the burning military supplies rising from Town Center. Not knowing what was burning, they feared the worst. Colonel Barrett consulted with his officers, and Concord Adjutant Joseph Hosmer asked, "Will you let them burn the town down?"

Colonel Barrett gave the order to march across the North Bridge and into the town, but not "to fire unless first fired upon." Lt. Col. John Robinson of Westford and Maj. John Buttrick of Concord led the advance around nine thirty in the morning, followed by Capt. Isaac Davis's company of Minute Men from Acton, three Concord companies, the Militia of Acton, Bedford, and Lincoln, and a column of volunteers. British soldiers had started pulling planks from the bridge, and Major Buttrick ordered them to stop. The soldiers hastily retreated, joining the rest at the end of the bridge. The British fired first into the river and then with deadly results. Acton Capt. Isaac Davis fell dead as he was raising his gun, and one of his men, Abner Hosmer, fell with a bullet through his head. The American Patriots had obeyed Colonel Barrett's orders not to fire first, but now Major Buttrick shouted fervently, "Fire, fellow soldiers, for God's sake, fire!" For the first time, American Patriots fired at British soldiers. The British, broken by the number and force of the returning volley, retreated to Town Center. Three British privates eventually died from the two- or three-minute fight. Two of them are buried near the North Bridge, with graves marked by a slate tablet.

In addition to the reconstructed North Bridge, many other nearby monuments and markers memorialize the events of 19 April 1775. Standing where the British once stood is the 1836 Battle Monument (figure 1), a 25-foot obelisk cut from a single granite boulder with a granite base. On the opposite side of the North Bridge, where the Patriots had gathered, is the Minute Man statue (figure 2) by Daniel Chester French, who lived in Concord around the time of the one-hundredth anniversary of the battle. This bronze statue set on a granite base depicts a Minute Man leaving the plow and heading to fight for liberty. On land directly next to the North Bridge stands the Old Manse, the former home of Rev. William Emerson, who had watched the events of the day. Reverend Emerson's grandson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, would later write the *Concord Hymn*, the first four lines of which were inscribed on the base of the Minute Man statue. A tradition, unsupported by historical evidence, tells of a

British soldier passing by the Elisha Jones House and, seeing its owner standing outside, fired at him, missing the man but leaving a bullet hole in the wall. A hole, which tradition labels as the bullet hole, is covered with glass. This building remains known popularly as the Bullet Hole House and is part of MIMA.⁹

In 1885 the Town of Concord placed the Muster Field Monument at the site where American Patriots gathered before heading down the ridge toward the North Bridge. In 1915, Concord marked Major Buttrick's important role in the events at the bridge by hiring French again to sculpt a bas-relief monument of Major Buttrick. Located within a stone wall on the south side of Liberty Street, the bronze bas-relief set in granite depicts Major Buttrick standing with one hand on his musket.¹⁰

The momentous events of 19 April 1775 continued to unfold following the fight at the North Bridge. British Lieutenant Colonel Smith allowed approximately two hours in Concord for his troops to regroup and eat, and then they began the march back to Boston. At Meriam's Corner, the British flankers rejoined the main column of soldiers, having to slowly cross a narrow bridge. More than a thousand Minute Men and militia from nearby towns had begun congregating in the vicinity. Some took cover behind stone walls and buildings at the Meriam homestead as they watched the flankers pass. Sources differ regarding which side fired first, but volleys were exchanged as the last of the British crossed the bridge. Perhaps two British were killed, and others were wounded. The fighting at the North Bridge had been ratified and affirmed. Now began the real war, a continuous running battle that would stretch 16 miles to Boston.¹¹ At Meriam's Corner, the NPS has rehabilitated the exterior of the Meriam House. One end of the Battle Road Trail, an interpretive trail used by walkers and bicyclists, meanders along parts of the historic Battle Road, at Meriam's Corner.

British Ensign Jeremy Lister described the resulting scene as he and his comrades retreated back toward Lexington and Boston. "It then became a general firing upon us from all Quarters, from behind hedges and Walls."¹² Using the landscape for cover, the American Patriots fired from these protected areas, and then ran ahead across the country to lie waiting again. When the British flankers could operate, they kept the Patriots out of range. At nearly every bend and turn of the road, a soldier fell. The British were left exhausted and near panic, unsure where a bullet might whistle by. After the Samuel Brooks and Job Brooks House, the original road veered sharply to the north and rose in elevation. A tall growth of trees sat on the left side of the road and a smaller one sat to the right. Many militia men raced to the cover of these trees and waited for the British to pass. When the British column reached this section of the road, the American Patriots fired with a devastating effect, killing eight men and wounding many more. British flankers approached from behind and returned the fire,

⁹ John Luzader, *Historic Structure Report*, Elisha Jones or Bullet Hole House, Part II, Historical Data Section, 14-16, File Elisha Jones House, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

¹⁰ Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: North Bridge Unit, Minute Man National Historical Park* (Waltham, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 2004), 36, 61. *Interim Report*, 66.

¹¹ *Interim Report*, 69-70; French, *Day of Concord and Lexington*, 220-21; Wheeler, *Concord*, 125.

¹² Jeremy Lister, *Concord Fight: Being so Much of the Narrative of Ensign Jeremy Lister* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 29.

killing or wounding four Patriots. This section of the road has since been called The Bloody Angle. Just beyond this spot, another British soldier received mortal wounds and was left to die in the road. Catherine Louisa Smith, wife of Capt. William Smith, took the soldier in, dressed his wounds, and cared for him until he died a few days later. The day following the battle, innkeeper Ephraim Hartwell and another older man drove along the road to The Bloody Angle and retrieved what bodies they could find. The British soldiers were buried in the Lincoln cemetery.¹³

Farther down the road, Captain Parker and some of his Lexington militia men (who had suffered the first losses of the day) took position against the British on a hill near the western boundary of the town. This spot is now remembered as Parker's Revenge. Local historian Ruth Wheeler wrote, "For a little company of citizen soldiers...to regroup and march out against the enemy at noontime was a display of resolution that would be hard to match."¹⁴ The British tried to return their resounding volley, to little effect. Finally, at Fiske Hill on the far eastern edge of what is now MIMA, Lieutenant Colonel Smith took a desperate course of action and threw his rear guard on the hill while he tried to restore order to his troops below. This action failed miserably, as the Patriots surrounded the British with unending fire. Lieutenant Colonel Smith received a wound in his leg, others also suffered, and the men broke ranks and began running toward Lexington. There, a delayed supply train under Lord Hugh Percy provided a needed respite until the troops continued on their march to Boston.

The heaviest fighting and losses of the day occurred on the road into Menotomy (Arlington). Once past this area, Lord Percy had to use cannon to protect his rear guard, allowing him to cross Charlestown Neck after nightfall, settle at Bunker Hill, and gain the protection of the guns of the HMS *Somerset* moored in Boston Harbor. Losses for the day totaled 73 dead and 174 wounded for the British. The American Patriots had 49 dead and 40 wounded. More importantly, the intense and consistent fire from the American Patriots along the entire stretch of the old Bay Road proved that this rebellion would be difficult to suppress. These Patriots fought to preserve their liberties and their right to self-government.¹⁵

The independent spirit of 1775 found new expression in the nineteenth century as Concord became home to a succession of literary greats. Ralph Waldo Emerson attracted many of them to his home on Cambridge Road. One person he supported was Concord native Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau built his famous cabin on land owned by Emerson along Walden Pond. Bronson Alcott, drawn to Concord through Emerson, settled his family in the former Samuel Whitney house, giving it the name of Hillside. Alcott expanded the size of the house to accommodate the needs and imaginations of his family. His second daughter Louisa May's playful experiences in Hillside were re-created in her book *Little Women*.

¹³ *Interim Report*, 71-72; Wheeler, *Concord*, 126-27. Mary Hartwell, wife of Samuel Hartwell, shared later this account of the gathering and burial of dead British soldiers, as provided in Douglas P. Sabin, "April 19, 1775: A Historiographical Study," Part V, 18 July 1985, 23, File Battle of April 19, 1775, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

¹⁴ Wheeler, *Concord*, 127.

¹⁵ *Interim Report*, 75-80; MIMA Brochure; Wheeler, *Concord*, 128-29.

Nathaniel Hawthorne first lived in Concord at the Old Manse following his marriage to Sophia Peabody. They eventually moved to Salem and other destinations, but Concord remained a special place for them. In 1852 they returned to buy Hillside, renaming it The Wayside. Hawthorne brought his own changes with an addition that included a tall tower where he wrote. He installed interior gables over the windows in his addition. Several years after Hawthorne's death, his daughter sold The Wayside to Boston publisher Daniel Lothrop. Lothrop's wife, using the pen name Margaret Sidney, wrote the *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew* series of children's books. The Lothrops added a piazza to the side of the house and actively kept alive the history of the house and its former inhabitants. Margaret Lothrop, their only child, inherited the house, and she sold it to the NPS in 1965 for inclusion in MIMA.¹⁶

COMMEMORATION

Little formal recognition took place of the April 19 date during the years immediately following the event. Early steps toward commemoration displayed uncertainty about the most appropriate way(s) to honor the past. Parades and speeches continued, while other ideas, such as the placement of monuments, proceeded with fits and starts. What is clear from these early efforts is the knowledge that Concord's North Bridge and the Battle Road did not have an immediate and sustained impact on official commemorative activities. Their place in the patriotic sentiment developed over time, in response to the activities of later generations of townspeople.

This delay in officially remembering the first patriotic fighting against the British may also have been influenced by a need to tame the Revolution and remove any references of aggressions that might have a "mobbish" or unruly slant. As Historian Alfred Young has argued, not until the 1820s and 1830s, as the original Revolutionary War heroes passed away, did the next generations of Americans embrace commemorations beyond the safe and edifying one of Independence Day.¹⁷

Locally, some residents did remember April 19 soon after the events. In 1776 Rev. Jonas Clarke of Lexington began annual memorial sermons. In Concord, Rev. Ezra Ripley, who replaced the late William Emerson and eventually married his widow, took anyone who visited him at the Old Manse on tours of the battlefield next to his home. Ripley sought stories from the former combatants at the bridge and wrote a history based on them. The most famous artifact from April 19—the North Bridge—saw its reconstruction in 1788 after the original weakened from annual spring flooding. In 1793 the Town of Concord heeded a multitude of requests for a bridge in a new location and replaced the North Bridge with Flint's Bridge downstream. The historical significance of the North Bridge did not save it from destruction, although scraps of its wood eventually found form as revered souvenirs.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ruth R. Wheeler, *Our American Mile: Concord's Battle Road* (Concord, MA: Concord Antiquarian Society, 1957), 8-9, 14-15.

¹⁷ Alfred P. Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), Part Two.

¹⁸ Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

Monumentation of the historic spots of the American Revolution proceeded slowly. On 4 July 1799, using funds provided by the Massachusetts General Court, Lexington dedicated the first official monument memorializing the events of April 1775. This monument was dedicated to the town's eight Revolutionary War martyrs. In 1835 the remains of these men were removed from the Old Burying Ground in Lexington and placed in a stone vault within the monument. Political pressures thwarted attempts by Concordians to have a similar monument erected in their town. According to one local historian, a movement had started to move the Massachusetts General Court to an outlying area, and Concord had been favorably considered. Those opposed to removing the court from Boston wanted to downplay Concord as a potential site. A monument to the town's important role in the American Revolution would increase its visibility and potential, so opponents to the move squashed such proposals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁹

Interest in commemorating the events of Lexington and Concord increased with the approach of the 50th anniversary. Many of the veterans from the Revolutionary War were passing away, and the next generation planned formal ceremonies to remember their example and memory. These events would honor the past while setting the tone and shape of future celebrations, with military marches and speeches becoming favored. On the forty-ninth anniversary of the battle at the North Bridge, the Concord Artillery Company and the Light-Infantry marched for the first time in new uniforms. After sharing a dinner and drinking toasts to the 13 surviving Patriots in attendance, the participants paraded to the site of the removed North Bridge. Reverend Ripley gave a stirring address recounting the battle. As reported in the local paper, the celebration was held to "keep fresh in the minds of the present generation the fortitude, sufferings, and valor of our fathers" while also kindling "the warmest feelings of patriotism."²⁰

Further recognition came on 2 September 1824 when American Revolutionary War hero the Marquis de Lafayette made a brief visit to Concord during his 13-month celebratory return to all 24 states. Lafayette had volunteered to fight for the American cause even before the French Alliance and was instrumental in shifting French military priorities during the course of the war. Lafayette aided Washington and Rochambeau to ultimately surround and defeat Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, ending the war. During his brief stay in Concord, Lafayette reviewed the military companies that had escorted him into Town Center and saluted the surviving Patriots.²¹

Interestingly, Lafayette's visit did not include a trip to the North Bridge site. Perhaps due to the removal of the original bridge and the relocation of the roadway lessened the site's attraction as an official gathering place for remembrance. The lack of a monument in the

1991), 13; Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report (CLR): North Bridge*, 29-30; *Interim Report*, 133-34; Paula Robbins, "Ezra Ripley," Unitarian Universalist Association, <http://www.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/ezraripley.html>. *Annual Report*, Town of Concord, 1956, 169, Concord Public Library.

¹⁹ Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 13; Roland Wells Robbins, *The Story of the Minute Man* (New London, NH: The Country Press, Inc., 1945), 7-8.

²⁰ "Anniversary of April 19, 1775," *Concord Gazette & Middlesex Yeoman*, 24 April 1824, as quoted in Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 34.

²¹ Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 15; Dietrich-Smith, 34.

town due to funding conflicts and political pressures may have played a role also. Americans were still searching for the symbols and places to revere its founding past, and the North Bridge area remained uncertain. This ambiguity toward the site of the bridge is also found in the planning for the fiftieth anniversary celebration.

In 1823 a small group of prominent Bostonians formed the Bunker Hill Association.²² This association sought to raise funds from each town in Massachusetts to buy the land in Charlestown where the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought in June 1775 and erect a large monument on the site. The association also worked to provide funds for a monument to be placed in Concord to honor its significant role in the American Revolution. In its petition for incorporation to the state legislature, the association noted that Americans “appear not to have been sufficiently mindful of the infinite obligations we are under to those who braved the hardships, privations, and dangers”²³ of the war. Wanting to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the two battles but not having the funds entirely in hand, the association held ceremonies and laid cornerstones at each site for the eventual monuments.

Edward Everett, a founding member of the association and newly elected as a representative to the United States Congress, gave the address at Concord. He linked the actions of the Minute Men to the nation’s continued quest for freedom, stating, “The liberty achieved, the institutions they [the Minute Men] founded, shall remain one common eternal monument to their precious memory.”²⁴ Sixty veterans joined the audience to hear Everett’s eloquent oratory. Surprisingly, the majority of the town’s citizens had voted to lay the cornerstone for the monument in Town Center, near the town pump, rather than at the site of the North Bridge.²⁵

This decision rankled many people. During the winter of 1825, some disgruntled townspeople built a sham monument over the cornerstone. The monument stood approximately 20 feet high and was composed of empty casks and boards. The inscription on the mock monument read, “This monument is erected here to commemorate the battle which took place at the North Bridge.” The next night, they set the structure ablaze. The intense heat injured the cornerstone, and no Revolutionary War monument succeeded this misplaced one. Following the Civil War, however, the town erected a monument to that war’s dead at almost the same spot as the original Revolutionary War cornerstone.²⁶

Near the end of his life, Reverend Ripley—who once lived at the Old Manse and shared stories of the fight at the bridge—offered to settle the controversy over the location of a monument. In 1834 he granted the town some of the land he gained as pasturage when the North Bridge had been removed in 1793. Solomon Willard, who designed the still

²² This association is now known as the Bunker Hill Monument Association. The park has on loan from this association cannon that was probably hidden at Barrett’s Farm before 19 April 1775.

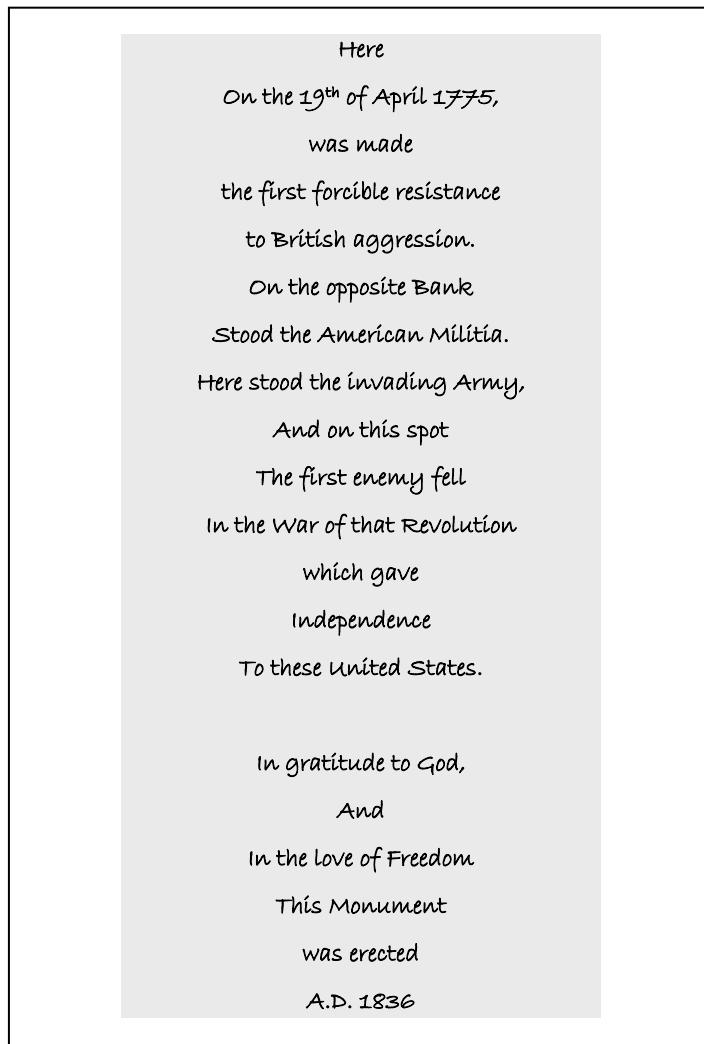
²³ Petition, as quoted in *Interim Report*, 135-36.

²⁴ Everett, as quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 19.

²⁵ Louis A. Surett, “The Concord Fight Monument on Monument Square . . . Now Gone,” *By-Laws of Corinthian Lodge, of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, of Concord, Mass.* (Concord, 1959), as reproduced in *Concord Magazine* (January/February 2000), at <http://www.concordma.com/magazine/janfeb00/othermonument.html>. *Interim Report*, 136-37; Dietrich-Smith, 34.

²⁶ Surett, “Concord Fight Monument,” *Interim Report*, 137. Inscription for monument found in both.

uncompleted Bunker Hill Monument, provided his services for the Concord Battle Monument. Construction began in 1836 with four pieces of white granite cut from a single boulder found in the woods of neighboring Westford. On the east face of this obelisk, 25-foot monument was a slab of white Italian marble with the following inscription attributed to Ripley:



The monument contained a cavity of historical documents and was enveloped by an iron fence. A stone wall, requested by Ripley, was built along the southern side of the donated property. At the formal dedication on 4 July 1837 participants sang the *Concord Hymn*, written specifically for the occasion by Ripley's step-grandson Ralph Waldo Emerson. In 1838, the sixty-third anniversary of the fight, townspeople planted 200 donated trees to enhance the entryway to the monument. Aside from two small stones that were placed to mark burial sites of the fallen British soldiers, the Battle Monument was the first monument erected to memorialize the fight at the North Bridge. Visitors responded by taking

pilgrimages to the monument, effectively turning the cow pasturage into sacred space for reflection and remembrance.²⁷

By the fight's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1850 ideas firmed about acceptable ways in which to honor Concord and Lexington's Revolutionary War past. Both towns held a joint celebration in Concord, with up to 5,000 people in attendance. Concord dressed for the occasion, with flags, streamers, banners, and tablets strewn along the main roads and hanging from houses and trees. Around 11 in the morning, a processional composed of military companies, one survivor from the fight at the bridge, bands, and political leaders, marched from Town Center to the Battle Monument. There, the parade participants paused and watched as re-enactors of the Acton Minute Men saluted the procession and fired volleys over the spot where Acton Capt. Isaac Davis had been fatally shot. In memory of the British soldiers, a British flag flew at half-mast over their burial stones. The festivities ended with dinner and orations.²⁸

With the 100th anniversary, people accepted and embraced Concord's North Bridge and the symbols associated with it. Its significance in the birth of the nation was not questioned. Tensions also grew slowly between Concord and Lexington, each wanting to claim the honor of being the place where American Patriots first forcibly resisted the British. These communities battled over the distinction of who fought first, signaling that the founding histories of the nation had transformed into founding myths. Overlooked was the fact that Concord had removed the epic bridge and had cooperated with Lexington in past ceremonies. By 1875 Americans sought more than ways to honor their past. As cultural historians John Bodnar and Michael Kammen have argued, Americans searched for ways of institutionalizing the government and strengthening the social order of the late nineteenth century, as opposed to the revolutionary aspects of the late eighteenth century world. The 100th anniversary celebrations involved more than remembering the past; Americans also formulated a vision of their present and future.²⁹

Two important additions to the area around the Battle Monument cemented that vision: a reconstructed North Bridge and the Minute Man statue. Ebenezer Hubbard was fundamental in the creation of these monuments. He believed that Concord had yet to pay proper homage to its Revolutionary War past. Hubbard grew up surrounded by memories of that past. He lived in the house where his grandfather hosted Hancock and other members of the Provincial Congress during their stay in Concord. Hubbard saw the original North Bridge, and he spoke with some of the militia men who fought there. He believed that the location of the Battle Monument—the side where the enemy had been—diminished the bravery and courage of the American Patriots who stood up against the British. To support

²⁷ *Interim Report*, 137-40; Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 35-36, 38.

²⁸ Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 39-40.

²⁹ Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 35-37; John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 19, 29-30; Michael Kammen, *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 63, 65. For a discussion of the founding myths associated with Concord and Lexington, see Ray Raphael, *Founding Myths: Stories that Hide Our Patriotic Past* (New York: New Press, 2004), 67-83.

his belief, Hubbard gave the town treasurer \$600 to erect a bridge on the site of the original. Upon his death in 1870 Hubbard willed \$1,000 to Concord for the express purpose of building a monument on the opposite side of the river as the Battle Monument.³⁰

Decisions on how the town would use these bequests fell upon the Monument Committee, appointed at Town Meeting in 1872. Many townspeople provided ideas for the statue's design, with the most popular suggestion being that of a Minute Man statue. A year later, the Monument Committee recommended that the town accept Hubbard's gifts, specifically to "procure a statue of a Continental Minute-man, cut in granite, and erect it on a proper foundation, on the American side of the river." At the base of the statue, the committee envisioned placing the opening stanza of Emerson's *Concord Hymn*:

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard 'round the world.

In addition, the committee agreed "that a suitable bridge be constructed to give access to the spot" and that this work was to be completed in time for the 100th anniversary. Stedman Buttrick (grandson of Maj. John Buttrick) provided a quarter acre of land in his will for placement of the statue. He died in November 1874.³¹

The selection of Daniel Chester French to design the statue came gradually. French was still in his early twenties at the time, and he had yet to complete his art training. He had focused on sculpture about three years earlier, and created clay figures of farm animals and busts of family members. He sat in for a month of drawing class taught by May Alcott, Louisa May Alcott's younger sister, then spent some time in the studios of two other artists. His father, Judge Henry French, encouraged Daniel to develop a design for the Minute Man statue and may have assisted him in this endeavor. Daniel submitted sketches and a clay model to John Keyes and Emerson (who served on the Monument Committee), and they recommended his work to the town. In November 1873 the town voted to accept the model, and French rented a studio room in Boston to finish the full-size model from which a bronze casting would be created.³²

His completed statue borrows heavily from classical and Washingtonian references and is grounded with local references. French used a plaster cast of the Apollo Belvedere sculpture as a basic form for the Minute Man statue, but inserted sturdy arms typical of a farmer. The idea of the plow beside a military personage, emphasizing the peaceful work of

³⁰ *Interim Report*, 141; Samuel Hoar, Edward Emerson, and Charles Walcott, *Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of Concord Fight April 19, 1875* (Concord, MA: Town of Concord, 1876), 11-12, [hereafter referred to as *Proceedings 1875 Celebration*], Special Collections, Concord Free Public Library (CFPL); Roland Wells Robbins, *The Story of the Minute Man* (New London, NH: The Country Press, Inc., 1945), 13-16. *The Centennial Celebration History and Boston Sites Interim Report* list Hubbard as dying in 1870. Robbins lists his death in 1871. Hubbard made the initial donation in circa 1863—source?

³¹ Quotes from *Interim Report*, 142. Robbins, *Minute Man*, 17; and *Proceedings 1875 Celebration*, 12.

³² Robbins, *Minute Man*, 17-18.

leaders, may refer to Jean-Antoine Houdon's 1788 statue of George Washington in the rotunda of the Virginia state capitol in Richmond.

Local references provide a human dimension to the statue and tie it closely to the events of 19 April 1775. French specifically sought images of Acton Captain Davis and his offspring. The Minute Man statue would not fully represent Davis, but French wanted some reference to the people who fought at the bridge. When grappling with the fine points of the Minute Man's anatomy, French turned to reflections of himself in a full-length mirror while using friends as models occasionally. Excited about French's work, Concordians searched their attics and farm buildings for examples of the clothing and plows used by their ancestors at the time of the Revolutionary War, and the sculptor benefited from these donations. He might have included the plow as a subtle reference to one possible way the local people had hidden military stores from the British. According to local historian Townsend Scudder, at Barrett's Farm, "Into every furrow, as the ox teams plodded along, rows of muskets were being sown. Just as the last hollow was filled, the column of British infantry swung into view."³³

Rather than having the statue cut from granite as originally proposed by the Monument Committee, French made a plaster cast of the clay model and sent it to the Ames Manufacturing Company in Chicopee, Massachusetts, to have it cast in bronze. The bronze, melted from ten condemned Civil War cannon pieces, gave the statue a heightened status.³⁴ E. Rockwood Hoar, member of the forty-third Congress and a prominent citizen of the town, had secured the necessary legislation. In some ways, the Minute Man statue could be considered an attempt to move past the destruction of the War Between the States and continue (again) with the principles of the Revolution as a guide. French did not oversee the casting or final installation of the statue, as he had already sailed for Florence to continue his art studies. The Monument Committee, led by Keyes, decided to place the seven-foot tall statue on an equally tall rectangular block, cut from the same granite as the 1836 Battle Monument. On the front face of the block, Emerson's words were incised in bronze. The rear face contained the inscription, "1775/Nineteenth/of/April/1875." This block then sat on a nine-inch tall base. The town also raised the elevation of the ground for the statue, protecting the work from the typically soggy spring landscape and forcing viewers to look up to the Minute Man. French wrote from Italy and asked that a base less heavy be chosen. It is not clear from the correspondence whether he wanted to reduce the distance between the audience and the sculpture or he felt the heavy rough-cut block would be disproportionately heavy in comparison to the lightness of the bronze statue. Keyes and his committee kept to

³³ Quote from Townsend Scudder, *Concord: American Town* (Boston, Little, Brown Company, 1947), 94. Discussions about the sources for the statue are from Robbins, *Minute Man*, 17-22; Russell Lynes, *The Art-Makers: An Informal History of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 334; Roger B. Stein, "Gilded Age Pilgrims," in William H. Truettner and Roger B. Stein, ed., *Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 52.

³⁴ Michael Richman, *Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 976), 41. Robbins states in *Minute Man* (p. 22) that the cannon came from that captured by New Englanders during the Battle of Louisburg during the French and Indian War.

its original decision and mounted the statue on the seventeen-ton granite base in early April 1875 in preparation for the unveiling.³⁵

This combination of sources for the statue and its overall presentation gave viewers a heroic image of the citizen soldier. Contemporary accounts reflect this meaning. The *Springfield Republican*, reporting on the statue's unveiling at the 100th anniversary celebration, called the Minute Man the "ideal embodiment of the genius of the Revolution" and described its features as "strongly marked and bear the energy, the self-command, the ready shrewdness, the immediate decision, and above all, the air of freedom that belongs to the New England face."³⁶ The chroniclers of the 1875 celebration wrote that the statue had the visage of one "who sees all the doubt and danger from the first and yet goes quietly on. The figure is of heroic proportions [yet]...the long waistcoat, hanging heavy with the bullets in its pockets, the worn gaiters and rude accoutrements show faithful work and historical accuracy."³⁷ These descriptions emphasize the strength and inner determination celebrated in the sculpture. They also apply to the Minute Men of the Revolutionary War era as a call to Americans and people around the world in succeeding generations. One Concord clergyman wrote some years after the unveiling that "The Minute Man speaks not to Americans only, but he speaks to the whole race of men in all times and all places. He stands there as the universal embodiment of human freedom. He represents the everlasting protest of mankind against tyranny and oppression."³⁸ The Minute Man statue embodied what late nineteenth-century Americans wanted to remember about their Revolutionary past: the selfless commitment to self-determination and liberty. The statue also helped Americans forgo references to the true revolution and the overturning of government that resulted from this belief.

Nineteenth-century sensibilities also played a significant role in reconstructing the North Bridge for the 1875 festivities (figure 3). The town followed Hubbard's request to reconstruct the bridge, with a town committee referring to contemporary prints of the structure. Wood engraver Amos Doolittle and painter Ralph Earl, both serving in the Connecticut Militia, visited Concord several weeks after the fight and drew sketches. Their completed works provided valuable clues about the shape and design of the bridge. However the final version, completed in 1874, had a "lighter scale" with decorations added to the "rigid simplicity"³⁹ of the original. As noted during the 1875 proceedings of the celebration, "the place of the rough railing of 'followers' of the old bridge was supplied by a paling of graceful pattern, made of cedars with the bark on; and two rustic half-arbors were placed on the middle of the bridge, projecting over the water, with seats where pilgrims might sit and

³⁵ *Proceedings 1875 Celebration*, 14-16; *Interim Report*, 143; Robbins, *Minute Man*, 22-23; Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 43; French to Keyes, 28 November 1874, transcript and photocopy of original letter, File *Minute Man Statue*, Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA. Correspondence between DC French and his father Henry French in the French papers at the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, reveal the artist's concern about the base and his father's attempts to serve as an intermediary. See especially Reel 13, 23 October 1874 and 28 December 1874.

³⁶ 19 April 1875 *Springfield Republican*, as quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 31.

³⁷ *Proceedings 1875 Celebration*, 16-17.

³⁸ As quoted in *Interim Report*, 133.

³⁹ *Proceedings 1875 Celebration*, 14.

watch the quiet river brimming to its meadows.”⁴⁰ This reincarnation of the North Bridge, designed by William Emerson of Boston and constructed by Reuben Rice, served as a place of contemplation for remembering the events of the Revolutionary War. With a new granite marker at the graves of the British soldiers (figure 4), the entire North Bridge site reclaimed its historic past and visitors were urged to rededicate themselves to the ideals of liberty and self-determination.

The day of 19 April 1875 dawned uncharacteristically cold and gray, with temperatures hovering at 20 degrees Fahrenheit. Bunting loaned from the nation’s Navy yards colored the streets, buildings, and special tents erected for the event. A one hundred-gun salute echoed through the rolling hills at sunrise. By 9 a.m., a 2-mile procession wound down Main Street, through Monument Square, down Monument Street, and to the North Bridge. Military units escorted chief national and state officers, while martial music filled the air. The processional crossed the bridge and halted while President Ulysses S. Grant unveiled the Minute Man statue. Judge French, acting as his son’s representative during the festivities, remarked of the unveiling that the “Minuteman is triumphant. Everybody admires it and nobody finds any fault.”⁴¹ Following speeches by Ralph Waldo Emerson and George William Curtis, the parade moved to tents in the nearby fields for dinner and more speeches. A grand ball in the Agricultural Hall capped the evening. Judge French noted that many of the women dressed in the “antique style with hair powdered”⁴² and the men wore uniforms. Planners had expected about 10,000 visitors for the day’s festivities, but more than 50,000 people braved the cold.⁴³

Words reflecting on the sacrifices of the Patriots at the North Bridge emphasized their peaceful motives. The 1875 onlookers listened to Curtis remind them not of the revolutionary actions of the Minute Men, but of their commitment to longstanding principles. Curtis described a Minute Man as the “rural citizen trained in the common school, the church, and the town meeting, who carried a bayonet that thought, and whose gun, loaded with principle, brought down not a man, but a system.”⁴⁴ The day before, a Sunday, Reverend Grindall Reynolds of the First Parish Meeting House echoed a similar sentiment from the pulpit. “The Revolution, therefore, was no restless throwing off a yoke,” Reynolds had expounded. “The fight at North Bridge was no fierce outburst of revenge. Those eight years of loss and great endurance were not given simply for selfish good of any kind: they are all parts of a steady, solemn refusal to be subject to the whims and caprices of any man, or of any body of men.”⁴⁵ With the centennial celebration, Concord and its North Bridge area sat firmly within the story of the American Revolution. Concord was officially considered a place of honor and sacrifice, of dedication to the principles of self-determination and remembrance for future generations.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ H. French to D. C. French, 21 April 1875, Reel 13, French Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *Proceedings 1875 Celebration*, 30, 38, 64-65, 72.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 110.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 55.

Between the centennial and sesquicentennial celebrations, the landscape of the North Bridge underwent some changes. The 1874 Victorian bridge swept away in the 1888 spring floods. Its replacement, built the same year, did not have the delicate tracings of its predecessor. Instead, it was built with heavy oak piles, posts, railings, and strong diagonal props to extend its probable lifespan. This version was washed away by the spring floods of 1909. The Massachusetts Department of Public Works opted to use concrete, in a design reminiscent of the drawing in the Doolittle print, in an attempt to foil nature's strength. More changes came for the gravesite of the British soldiers. In 1877 the town used money donated by an English-born Bostonian to formalize the space. A granite post-and-chain-fence was built around the gravesite. Further enhancements came in 1910. This time, using funds from a direct descendent of an original Concord settler, the town had a slate slab engraved with the last stanza of James Russell Lowell's 1849 poem "Lines." Placed in the stone wall above the graves, the marker read:

They came three thousand miles and died,
To keep the past upon its throne
Unheard beyond the ocean tide,
Their English mother made her moan.

Lowell had visited the graves with Nathaniel Hawthorne before publication of Hawthorne's *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846), written while he and his wife lived at the house next to the North Bridge.⁴⁶

New monuments and markers appeared in the surrounding area. In 1885, as part of its efforts to commemorate the 250th anniversary of its founding, the town placed the Muster Field Monument in the field where American Patriots gathered the morning of 19 April 1775 before marching down to the North Bridge. Inset in a stone wall along the north side of Liberty Street, the town made legal arrangements with owners George and Mary Keyes to retain ownership of the marker and maintain it. The marker read: "On this field/ the minute men and militia/ formed before marching/ down to the/ fight at the bridge." The town requested the services of sculptor French again in 1915 to design the John Buttrick Bas-Relief Monument. The town obtained a grant to the land for the monument from owner Stedman Buttrick II. Sculptor Edmond T. Quinn made the model for the figure of Major Buttrick, referring to two daguerreotypes provided by Stedman Buttrick II. Located within a stone wall on the south side of Liberty Street, the bas-relief monument stands 16 feet tall and 9 feet wide. It contains a bronzed image of Buttrick and is flanked by two granite benches. Two more markers entered the historic landscape in the early 1900s. A granite square-cut Mile Marker stands about two feet high on a grass island at the intersection of Liberty Street and Estabrook Road. The Line of March Marker shows the colonial line of march on the historic day. A granite slab, the Line of March Marker stands about three feet to the south of the Mile Marker.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 58, 60.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 61-62. French to Stedman Buttrick II, 22 February 1915; French to Buttrick, 1 March 1915; French to Edmond

Most attention went to the North Bridge area, but some commemorative markers also appeared in the late nineteenth century along key sites of the Battle Road. In 1885 Lexington dedicated the Bluff Monument and the Hayward Well Monument as part of a larger celebration of the town's historic sites. Located at the base of Fiske Hill, the Bluff Monument marked the location of the eighth and final confrontation along the present-day Battle Road Trail. Within a stone wall in front of Ebenezer Fiske's House, the Hayward Well Monument marks the place where tradition has claimed that an American patriot and a British soldier fired on and killed each other on 19 April 1775. Each monument consists of rough-cut granite tablets inscribed with gilded lettering. Also in 1885, Concord placed a granite tablet within a stone wall at Meriam's Corner. This monument joined seven others, including the Muster Field Monument, in honor of the town's 250th anniversary. The Meriam's Corner Monument marks the starting place of the running battle that continued to Charlestown. Through an agreement with owners Thomas and Rose Burke, the town retained legal ownership and assumed responsibility for the monument's maintenance. In 1899, the Town of Lincoln placed the Paul Revere Capture Marker, a large granite monument with bronze tablet that sits within a stone wall. This marker approximates where British soldiers captured Revere during his midnight ride. A committee chose the location based on tradition and input from a local authority. No further major monuments have been placed along the Battle Road.⁴⁸

All of these memorials contributed to the tourist experience. The Minute Man statue, the 1836 Battle Monument, the rebuilt North Bridge, and the other features particularly close to the North Bridge became linked to the historical setting and are notable sites on their own. This method of creating monuments echoed what Americans created at other battlefields and cemeteries, marking the past while providing a park-like setting. Trees and shrubbery leading to the North Bridge and around the monuments provided shade and comfort for visitors while enhancing the beauty of the scene. Town officials had shrubs placed around the Battle Monument and behind the Minute Man statue and had cedars planted to mark each corner of the Battle Monument.

These steps surpassed memorializing the past. They beautified the area, inviting visitors to stop, ponder the historic events, and enjoy the setting. More and more visitors from the Boston area and beyond responded favorably. They took the railroad into Concord and hired carriages, or later drove themselves in automobiles, to touch the past while delighting in the present. An annual "carnival of boats" on Independence Day encouraged people to float down the Concord River and observe the North Bridge first from the water. Boathouses located throughout the waterway system provided canoes and other types of

Quinn, 15 September 1915; and French to Quinn, 20 September 1915, all in Reel 15, French Family Papers, Manuscript Division, LC.

⁴⁸ Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report for Battle Road Unit Minute Man National Historical Park* [hereafter CLR: Battle Road], 95 % draft, (Waltham, MA: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 2004), 52, 54.

transport. With the 1894 establishment of a legal holiday—Patriot’s Day—in Massachusetts, each location associated with the events of that day gained more visibility.⁴⁹

The next large public commemoration of the North Bridge area came in April 1900 when Concord welcomed 10,000 visitors. The town honored the nineteenth of April, falling on a Sunday, with special services at churches, marking of the graves, parades, and concerts. The next day (now a legal holiday), included another parade that marched to the bridge and a re-enactment. According to Prescott Keyes, who chaired the planning committee, the re-enactment was designed to dramatize the removal of the British from the bridge, “this clearing the way for the parade, personifying All America, to cross.” In this way, Concord kept alive the memory of the past and reinforced it for the present “All America.”⁵⁰ As the Commonwealth of Massachusetts prepared for the 150th commemoration of the American Revolution in 1925, some historically conscious individuals took important first steps toward creating about a permanent memorial to the events along the Battle Road.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 51, 57, 63-64; Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 14. For background on the connection of parks and cemeteries, see John Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁵⁰ Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 15-16. Keyes quote from p. 16.



Figure 1. 1836 Battle Monument. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



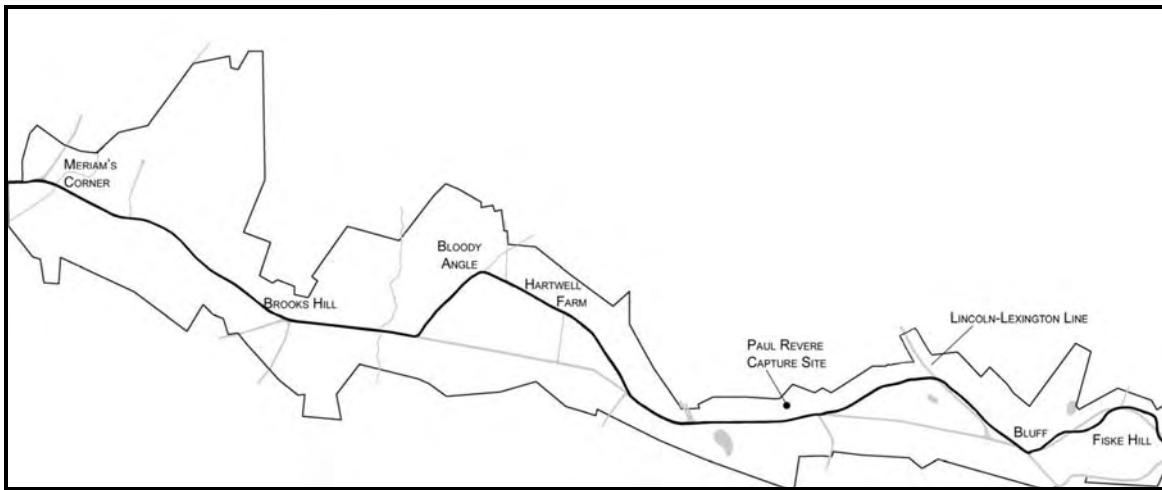
Figure 2. Minute Man Statue by Daniel Chester French. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



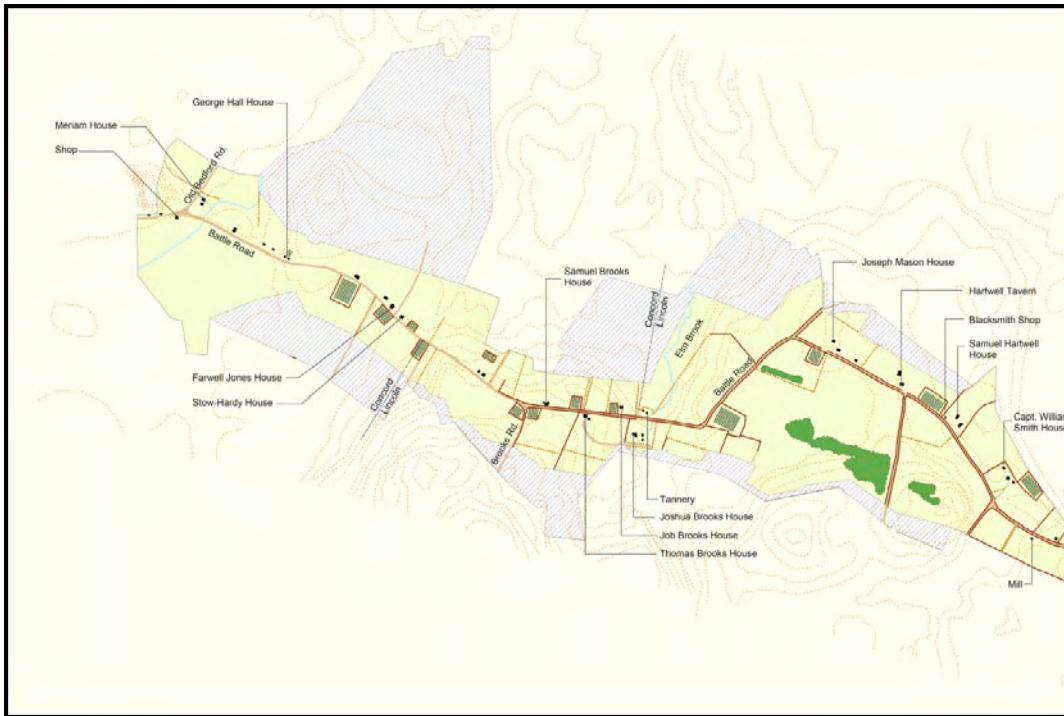
Figure 3. 1875 version of the North Bridge by Alfred W. Hosmer. Courtesy Concord Free Public Library. Used with permission.



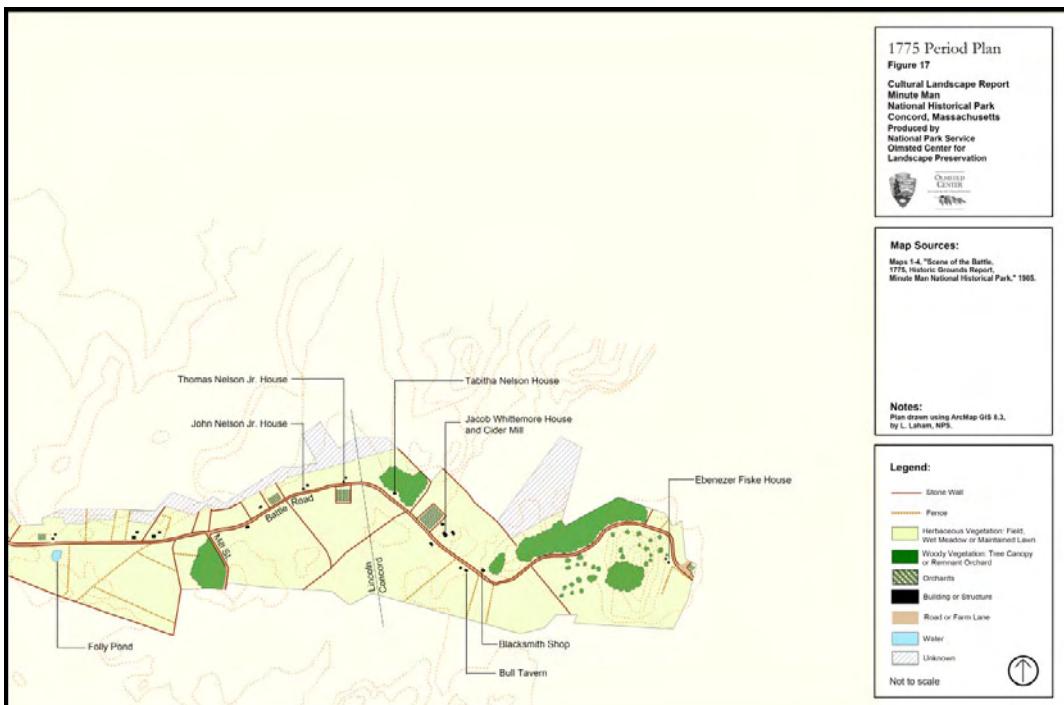
Figure 4. Grave of British Soldiers at the North Bridge. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Map 1. Battle Road, 1775. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 18.



Map 2. Structures along western part of Battle Road. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, part of Figure 17.



Map 3. Structures along the eastern section of Battle Road. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, part of Figure 17

CHAPTER TWO

PRESERVATION

In his visceral writings about the New England landscape in which he grew up, studied, and loved, Arthur Shurcliff shared his equal passion for its deep human history. He noted,

this is our country. Our forebears cleared this ground for tillage and pasturage. Men of our line built these stone walls to mark the land and to keep the cattle within bounds. These trees were planted by our kin who reckoned the yield, the shade and beauty.

He connected the New England landscape of the early twentieth century with that past with prose such as

when we look up these valleys and hills you see that the loveliness of the ponds, the pastures, the fields, the orchards, and the old roads is in part the work of our hands. Part is ours, part is loveliness which came down from the heavens or sprang up seemingly of itself from the ground.¹

Throughout his professional life, he worked to bring people into beautiful landscapes, often resonating with historical associations. Through his work for the Massachusetts 150th Anniversary of the American Revolution Commission, he presented the United States with a vision for commemorating the events of 19 April 1775 along the Battle Road.

Born in 1870 in Boston, Shurcliff (also known as Shurtleff²) worked as a distinguished landscape architect. After mechanical engineering training at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and landscape training at Harvard University, Shurcliff worked in the Brookline, Massachusetts, offices of Frederick Law Olmsted. With Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., he had established the first four-year landscape program in the United States at Harvard and taught there until 1906. Upon beginning his private practice in 1904, Shurcliff completed highway studies for the Boston Metropolitan Improvement Commission and the Massachusetts State Highway Commission. He made many plans for towns around the Boston area, including Concord and Lexington. In a 1921 study of Newton, Massachusetts, Shurcliff suggested that the town extend the Hammond Pond

¹ Arthur Asahel Shurcliff, *New England Journal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), 8.

² Arthur Asahel Shurtleff changed his family name to Shurcliff in 1930 to conform to the ancient family Old English spelling. See Charles Birnbaum and Robin Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 351. See also Biographical Sketch, Guide to the Collection, Arthur Asahel Shurcliff Papers, The Massachusetts Historical Society; Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 891-92.

Parkway between Brookline and Newton to connect parks with other transportation routes. This particular project provides some idea about how he approached his work for the 150th Anniversary Commission.

During World War I, Shurcliff also designed war housing in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Over the course of his career, his public works projects included dams, reservoirs, parks, playgrounds, and zoological gardens. For the private sector, he designed gardens and college campuses including Amherst, Brown, and Wellesley. Between 1928 and 1941, he served as the Chief Landscape Architect for Colonial Williamsburg. He also helped lay out Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts. These latter two accomplishments meshed well with his personal interest in American history, craft, and gardens. His assistance with the planning for the 150th Anniversary of the American Revolution also held his attention beyond that of a typical project.³

SHURCLIFF AND THE BATTLE ROAD

In 1925 the history of Minute Man National Historical Park (MIMA) reached an important point. Previous attempts at remembering the opening of the Revolutionary War were focused on the placement of markers on small parcels of land and hosting public gatherings at significant anniversaries. However, for the 150th anniversary, a larger vision emerged. Concerns began to surface about the landscape and its preservation in the face of changes occurring in the area of the North Bridge and the Battle Road. People began to think ahead and wonder what steps should be taken to preserve the places of the past. Many worried about increased building along the Battle Road and the implications of it being a commuter roadway. These worries continue throughout the history of MIMA and are essential for understanding decisions made and actions taken over the years.

An early change in Concord-Lincoln-and-Lexington came with the development of former farmland into large estates. Wealthy Bostonians, taking advantage of railroad lines extending from Boston into Lexington and Concord by the 1880s, bought hefty acreage and transformed the land. By the North Bridge, Edwin Barrett built one of the first of these estates and named it Battle Lawn. He was a descendent of both Col. James Barrett, whose military stores had attracted the British to Concord, and Capt. Nathan Brown from the fight at the bridge. In 1877 Edwin Barrett purchased (from George and Mary Keyes) land that was once the house lot of Capt. David Brown, also from the 1775 fight. Built in 1879, the Tudor-style mansion overlooked the Minute Man statue and North Bridge. The dining

³ Birnbaum and Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, 110-11; Biographical Sketch, Shurcliff Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts*, 1924, Chapter 42. Massachusetts, General Court, House Documents, 1925, No. 120, *Preliminary Report of the Commission on 150th Anniversary of American Revolution*. Arthur A. Shurtleff, *Report to Commission on the One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Revolution*, 5 January 1925, 1-2, File 1925 Report, Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection, MIMA. Shurcliff to The Boston National Historic Sites Commission (BNHSC) and Small, 5 June 1956, 1, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. The author thanks NPS historical landscape architect Debbie Smith for sharing her research on the 150th anniversary commission.

room was adorned with a fireplace mantel made from an oak post taken from the 1775 bridge. The post was dug out of the Concord River's mud floor at one of the old bridge's abutments. A frieze rested atop the mantle. Colonel Barrett added a cottage, large stable, and a gazebo-like building to his estate. He also landscaped the upper section of his grounds with a groomed lawn, ornamental trees, shrubbery, and a flowerbed. He devoted the lower section to agriculture. To honor his forefathers from the 1775 battle, he placed a memorial marker on the grounds. Upon Colonel Barrett's death in 1898 his family first continued to reside in the mansion, then rented it. In 1909 Edward A. Newell purchased the property and oversaw its extensive remodeling and enlargement into a colonial revival style house.⁴

Battle Lawn was soon joined by other estates. One year after Newell arrived in Concord, Stedman Buttrick II became sole owner of the Buttrick farm. He began purchasing additional properties and hired a Boston architect to design the new estate and a Classical-Revival style mansion. Other buildings included a caretaker's cottage and a carriage house. With completion of the mansion in 1913 Buttrick moved the home of Stedman Buttrick I, which sat next to the new mansion and overlooked the North Bridge, to the easterly side of Monument Street. Landscaping plans over the years included flower gardens, an orchard, and paths with stairs leading down to the river. Along the Battle Road, a few properties of a smaller scale began to appear, providing residences for people who commuted to Boston.⁵

Battle Lawn, the Buttrick estate, and some other properties along the Battle Road changed the landscape by digging foundations into ground that may have held historic artifacts. The addition of these properties also altered the topography from the original 1775 farmlands with the addition of gardens, trees, and supporting structures. Even so, these properties also encompassed wide stretches of land, preventing the land from being subdivided into small house lots or other uses. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the threat of more damaging changes loomed, encouraged by changes in the Battle Road. This road had undergone past realignments and adjustments. Between 1802 and 1806, towns along the roadway removed two large bends. One led to the Hartwell farms and the other led to the Nelson farms. These bypassed roads became secondary roads with various names over the years. Additional work in succeeding decades reduced slopes and widened roadways. By the late 1890s the newly established Massachusetts State Highway Commission laid out its own vision of a state highway (later named Route 2A) for this realigned Battle Road. This new highway would go from Meriam's Corner to the Bluff and then along Marrett Road. The new road bed was formed by layering and steamrolling broken stone, and it measured 15-feet wide with 3-foot gravel shoulders. In the days before automobiles, the road served the increasing demands of bicyclists. Automobiles soon created additional demands for the road. Around 1907 Middlesex County widened the road in several places, requiring the removal of several sections of stone walls and a portion of the Bluff and Fiske Hill.⁶

⁴ Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 67-68, 71.

⁵ Ibid., 72, 74. Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: Battle Road*, 52.

⁶ Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: Battle Road*, 34, 37.

With the sesquicentennial anniversary approaching, more commemoration opportunities appeared. In 1924 Massachusetts Governor Channing H. Cox appointed a nine-person commission, chaired by Charles Barnes, to recommend ideas for a memorial to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the beginning of the American Revolution (see Appendix for a copy of the Resolve). Commission members included artist Walter Gilman Page, who also wrote about the value of displaying American art depicting the heroes of the Revolutionary War in schoolrooms. Louis Kirstein, another member of the commission, headed Filene's Department Store and was a major philanthropist. The Kirstein Memorial Business Branch of the Boston Public Library is named after him. Commission member Arthur Walter Dolan served as a probate judge for Suffolk County. He eventually became an Associate Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. Samuel Hoar, from Concord, had a long family history in the area. He served as chair of the Board of Selectmen and was the Secretary for the Concord 150th anniversary celebration. Walter Kendall Watkins, Secretary of the commission, had made a name for himself as an authority in local history, antiquities, and genealogy. He had also served on a municipal commission for Boston to mark local history sites.⁷

Recognizing that each town should develop individual celebrations, Barnes and his fellow members looked for more permanent ways to mark the anniversary. One thought revolved around a memorial highway along the Battle Road between Lexington and Concord, and the commission sought Shurcliff's advice. He accompanied commission member James S. Smith on a trip through Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington in December 1924. They examined the condition of historic sites along the Battle Road. What they found prompted additional calls for a memorial highway.

As he reported to the commission, Shurcliff noted that up to a decade ago, the "narrow winding gravel road bed" had retained "much of its ancient appearance" and many of the important topographical features of 1775 "could be seen in approximately their original state." He believed that only 10–20 years ago, "no effort of the imagination was needed to picture the setting" of the day's events. Things had changed rapidly since then, to "such an extent that visitors cannot review the ancient line of march" clearly. An increasing number of modern dwellings distracted attention from the historic houses and invaded the fields, pastures, and woods where American Patriots sought protection while fighting the British. Shurcliff noted that roadside shrubbery, trees, and stone walls had been removed. He contested that the state had completed damaging changes by widening, straightening, and evenly surfacing the historic roadway.⁸

⁷ Walter Gilman Page, "Interior Decoration of School Houses," *Proceedings, 66th Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Instruction* (Bethlehem, NH: 1896), 105, 111, 113. Obituary, Louis Kirstein, *Boston Herald*, 11 December 1942. *Massachusetts Reports*, v. 328 (1951-1952): 748. "Funeral Tomorrow of Walter Kendall Watkins," *Boston Globe*, 20 January 1934. Information on Samuel Hoar from Social Circle History, Special Collections, CFPL. The author could not uncover further information on the other commission members: Charles Barnes, Emma Burt, Isabel Gordon, or James Stuart Smith.

⁸ Shurtleff, 1925 Report, 1-2. All quotes are from these two pages. See also Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: Battle Road*, 67-68.

These roadway changes helped address demands from the pronounced numbers of tourists. All of the monuments and markers drew people to Concord-Lincoln-Lexington. Rising patriotism following the events of World War I also encouraged many Americans to explore their past and visit its most cherished sites. To accommodate “the motors of sightseers and the fleets of sightseeing busses” making regular trips to the historic sites during mild weather, the state continued to improve Route 2A. With these tourists came the services to assist them in their travels. Shurcliff reported that “vending stands, booths, small roadside restaurants, resting rooms, and oiling stations...have made inroads upon the scenic attractiveness of this historic highway.” And, these intrusions were not quiet in proclaiming their existence. “The visitor,” Shurcliff cautioned, “is confronted with appeals to make purchases, to employ guides, or to notice gaily painted signs and vending devices” that obscured the view and detracted from the monuments.⁹

Shurcliff and others were uncomfortable with this situation. In 1956 he recalled that conversations with many fellow members of the State Art Commission, State Highway Commission, Boston Society of Architects, and the Society of Landscape Architects reflected this unease. Other groups familiar with the Battle Road’s historic value to Boston “were similarly interested to preserve as far as reasonably possible, the historic appearance of The Road.”¹⁰ In light of this concern, Shurcliff made his recommendations to the commission on the 150th Anniversary of the American Revolution. The Boston National Historic Sites Commission would echo these ideas thirty years later.

To control the visual intrusion of vending booths and advertising signs, Shurcliff wanted to impose zoning regulations. He recommended the placement of permanent markers to indicate the line of march and to help direct visitors as they crossed confusing intersections. Shurcliff supported using special tablets and monuments to mark points of “unusual historic interest.” However, he discouraged the use of markers for lesser sites, so “the importance and interest of the chief monuments may not become lost or injured.” If the requested memorial highway came into existence, Shurcliff wanted to ensure that a strip of land on either side would be “sufficiently wide to include remaining ancient stone walls, fine roadside trees, the sites of existing and proposed memorials, [and] pylons and markers.” Seeing the remarkable changes already occurring, Shurcliff argued that there should also be a “permanent limit for construction of future buildings which might otherwise cramp this highway to a width out of keeping with its historic importance and its increasing use.” He especially wanted to ensure the preservation of the stone walls, which the Patriots had used as breastworks.¹¹

Despite the need for these restrictions, he did not believe the situation lost. When the county straightened out parts of the Battle Road to form the state highway, two bends were left alone. As he wrote, “fortunately, however, the opportunity to preserve nearly two miles of the original line of march essentially in its original condition still remains.” These

⁹ Shurtleff, 1925 Report, 2. All quotes from this page.

¹⁰ Quote from Shurcliff to BNHSC, 5 June 1956, 1. See also, *Interim Report*, 34-35.

¹¹ Shurtleff, 1925 Report, 2-3. All quotes from these two pages.

detoured bends “escaped the modernizing influences” and held promise for preservation. One short bend occurred in an area known as Hastings Park in Lexington, rather than eventually being a part of MIMA. The second bend, approximately a half-mile long, occurred at the Nelson Farms near the point where the British captured Revere. The third and longest bend embraced the area of the Hartwell farms and The Bloody Angle. “It is an extraordinary piece of good fortune,” Shurcliff wrote, “that these...sections of the original line of march should have been preserved nearly in their original state until our day.” He urged acquisition of these stretches of road and adjacent land. He noted that they existed as “farm property, little developed, and containing scarcely over a half dozen dwellings of which at least four existing structures or sites are recorded in the history of the march.” Shurcliff wanted a minimum of approximately 400 feet on either side of the roadway for proper preservation, though he suggested that more space “to maintain protective backgrounds and to embrace larger areas of the ground over which the Patriots advanced...would be desirable.” He also preferred to connect the two larger bends through land acquisition to simplify land administration and provide visitors with a way to view the historic ground without “mingling with the through traffic.” This design proposal of connecting parts of the undisturbed Battle Road to reduce traffic intrusions would guide later preservation attempts by the Boston Historic Sites Commission and the NPS.¹²

The 150th Anniversary Commission echoed Shurcliff’s proposals and the idea of a memorial highway along that stretch of the Battle Road in its final report (see Appendix H for a copy of the report). In this report, the commission recommended “to make as a public domain this portion of the road and roadside and to preserve them from the otherwise inevitable changes” that had occurred along the other sections of the road. The commission did not want to single out Lexington and Concord as better than the other sites of the American Revolution within Massachusetts. Instead, its members believed that since a good portion of that road was still in its original form, “it may be perpetuated as a symbol of the American Revolution and its every event.”¹³

Despite this call for action by the state commission, the memorial highway proposal did not come to fruition. People recognized that the historic landscape had been disturbed. The commission even asked that the state require removal of “the unsightly advertising signs along the historic route”¹⁴ before the 150th anniversary, but these intrusions did not arouse a considerable outcry. A review of newspapers, legislative records, and other sources from the period failed to uncover any further dialogue about the commission’s proposal and its ultimate demise. As Shurcliff reflected in 1956, “Why were the landmarks not saved twenty-five years ago?—because they were a part of a quiet countryside, not unlike that of the early days; they needed no marks other than a few inscribed boulders.”¹⁵ Instead, towns

¹² Ibid., 3-4. All quotes from these two pages.

¹³ Massachusetts, General Court, House Documents, No. 329, *Final Report of the Commission on the Celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the American Revolution*.

¹⁴ 150th Commission, *Final Report*.

¹⁵ Shurcliff to BNHSC, 5 June 1956, 1.

like Concord and Lexington held separate celebrations. Vice President Charles Dawes and Gen. John J. Pershing served as honored guests at each venue. A commemorative stamp featured the Concord Minute Man statue, while a Patriot half dollar displayed the Concord Minute Man on the obverse and the Old Belfry in Lexington on the reverse. Lexington extended its celebration into the summer months, highlighted with a three-night performance of the play *Lexington*. In 1925, 19 April fell on a Sunday, and Concord held various literary exercises that day. The next day, the town had its traditional parade, reenactment, and ball, following in large part the model set from the 1875 celebration. Some adaptations reflected the times, as parade marchers and reenactors coordinated their activities by use of telephone. The state bolstered the North Bridge for the reenactment, placing piles alongside the cement piers to carry the bridge's weight. Low water levels had scoured the footing of the 1909 concrete bridge.¹⁶

Massachusetts did not gain its proposed memorial highway. In 1930 Middlesex County further destroyed the historic roadway by obliterating previous alignments and constructing the new road primarily south of the original roadbed. The county removed a significant portion of Fiske Hill during this realignment, as well as more of the Bluff. This work made the road safer for automobile traffic. Side roads cut through former farmland on either side of State Highway Route 2A, providing access to the residential properties being built in the area.¹⁷ With the passage of the *Historic Sites Act of 1935*, the federal government began to show interest in the Battle Road and the North Bridge, promising to at least slow the roadway changes. This wide-ranging law addressed the real need to identify and preserve nationally historic buildings and spaces. To accomplish this goal, the law directed the Secretary of the Interior to survey historic properties to determine which of them were exceptionally valuable for commemorating or illustrating the history of the nation. The law authorized the Secretary and the NPS to conduct research, restore or maintain historic properties directly or through cooperative agreements, and engage in interpretive activities to educate the public about the historic sites. The law also established the Secretary's Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. The Advisory Board, composed of outside experts in cultural and natural resources, reviewed selected properties and recommended those found nationally significant for designation.¹⁸

At its fourth meeting in March 1937, the National Parks System Advisory Board designated the Lexington-Concord Road, or Battle Road, as nationally significant and recommended it for acquisition or development of cooperative agreements. The actual minutes for this meeting, as preserved in the NPS Washington offices, do not illuminate the discussion of this designation. However, the Advisory Board reviewed a range of sites from many different phases of American history. The Board did not necessarily grant other sites

¹⁶ Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 16; Allen French, "Sesquicentennial Celebration of Concord Fight," Proceedings of 1925, typescript, 4-5, 8, 15, 28-30, File Series IV Historian's Report, 1925 Records 150th Anniversary, CFPL.

¹⁷ Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: Battle Road*, 34, 37, 49, 63, 65.

¹⁸ Barry Mackintosh, *The National Park Service: Shaping the System* (Washington, DC: NPS Division of Publications, 1985), 48; Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 562-77.

such national significance at the time. To support additional work of the Advisory Board, Edwin Small prepared a Historic Sites Survey for New England in June 1937. Small joined the NPS in 1935 through the Emergency Conservation Work program of the Civilian Conservation Corps, serving as the regional historian for New England. He had BA and MA degrees in history from Yale University. In 1938 he would begin a long career as superintendent of the Salem Maritime National Historic Site before becoming Chief of Party for the Boston National Historic Sites Commission.¹⁹ Small would then serve as the first superintendent of MIMA.²⁰ In 1937, he recommended action similar to Shurcliff's 1925 proposal: the federal government should preserve the two bends of the original road plus the historic houses standing on them. Small included Meriam's Corner and the Meriam House in his recommendation. He did not, however, mention permanent markers or suggest connecting the separate parcels into a coherent area. Small had likely not seen Shurcliff's report when he completed this survey.²¹

Possibly in support of an extended tour of historic sites by the advisory board during the eighth meeting in August 1938, Small completed a historical report titled "The Lexington-Concord Road." In this report, Small used language like that of a tour guide, including "We begin our journey," and "We are now nearing one of the most famous spots in American history." He identified many historic buildings and sites along the way, and indicated which agencies preserve each of the structures. Once readers reach the North Bridge, Small writes, "As we enter this historic lane we are fully aware that if there is any soil sacred to the Republic, it is here." He wrote about the fight in great detail and concluding that, "No great amount of dead but the monumental principle of the right to be free from foreign control had been vindicated in America." At the end of the report, Small evaluated the Battle Road's preservation by noting, "a scenic reconstruction of some parts of the road might be possible." Concerning sections of the road that deviated from the modern Route 2A, he stated, "Preservation of such parts of the old road no longer in use might in some instances be highly desirable." Once again, Small neither referred to Shurcliff, nor listed the 1925 report in his bibliography. The fact that Small does not present the idea of connecting the abandoned roadways into a coherent whole, as Shurcliff did, further suggests that Small

¹⁹ Pauline Chase-Harrell, Carol Ely, and Stanley Moss, *Administrative History of the Salem NHS*, February 1993, 6-7, 12, 103, 106.

²⁰ While Small completed some military duty, administration of Minute Man first went to Salem Maritime National Historic Site.

²¹ Minutes saved from the 4th Meeting of the Advisory Board (25-26 March 1937) do not include reference to the Lexington-Concord Road, but it is the case for this early period that the minutes are incomplete. At the 5th Meeting (25-26 June 1937), the minutes refer to the Lexington-Concord Road as already being approved for national significance. A subject note card for the Lexington-Concord Road states that at the 4th Meeting the Board did assign national significance to the site. All of these sources are found in the Advisory Board Files, National Register, History and Education (NRHE), NPS Washington. See also Edwin W. Small, Historic Sites Survey, 5 June 1937, Section IX, File Historic Sites Visits by Small 1936-37, Box 4, RG 79 Region I Assistant Regional Historian Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Small also indicated in a separate section that the Town of Concord owned and cared for the North Bridge.

had not read the 1925 report. When the Advisory Board toured the area in August, it made stops at the Hartwell Farm along the Battle Road and at the North Bridge.²²

With the start of World War II, the NPS had reduced funding and its staff. Attention to the Battle Road and North Bridge diminished but did not disappear. Discussions about preservation continued in a random fashion without any new legislation. One scheme attracted some action by Small and others in 1941. Charles W. Ryder (of Lexington) was a member of a firm of wool dealers and owned much land in the town. He sought acceptance of his proposal to have a hilly, wooded lot designated as Liberty National Park. Ryder had sold many of his lots for development of suburban housing, but this 80-acre area was deemed unsuitable. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to sell the land to the Town of Lexington for recreational purposes. Next, he approached the federal government. Small met with Ryder in August 1941 and walked the property. After reviewing the historical record and seeing the geography of the proposed national park, Small determined that no action from 19 April 1775 occurred in the space of Ryder's property. Without the land having a clear connection to those nationally significant events, the NPS declined Ryder's proposal.²³

Also in 1941 Ronald F. Lee, NPS supervisor of historic sites, submitted a draft cooperative agreement between the Town of Lexington and the federal government to the National Parks Association (later known as the National Parks Conservation Association). There is no indication of what prompted this action, and no further correspondence indicates that such a cooperative agreement went beyond the draft stage. Lee does write in his cover letter that, "civic leaders in Lexington may be interested in extending to the Lexington Green Battleground the advantageous provisions of the *Historic Sites Act*."²⁴ This act encouraged development of these types of agreements, so it is no surprise that the town once investigated its applicability to the Battle Green. Lee's model was the cooperative agreement between the United States and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which preserved Jamestown Island. The draft agreement for Lexington recommended designation of the 1775 battleground as a National Historic Site (NHS). Ownership of the historical monuments and grounds would stay with the town, but the federal government would help with preservation efforts. The federal government would

²² All quotes, in order, are from pages 1, 2, 12, 14, and 15 of "The Lexington-Concord Road," 1938, File Battle Road, NPS Reports Filing Cabinets, MIMA Library. The report as copied in MIMA Library does not include an author reference, but correspondence indicates that Small is the author. See Tolson to Demaray, 28 March 1946, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files. 8th Meeting, 15-20 August 1938, Advisory Board Minutes, NRHE Files. Small soon learned of the 1925 Shurcliff report, as he requested copies of it and the maps. See Bike to Small, 24 July 1940, File 1925 Report, *Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection*, MIMA. The copies of the Shurcliff report now held by Minute Man most probably came from this 1940 request.

²³ Walsh to Ickes, 21 July 1941; Small to Ryder, 5 August 1941; Small to Director, 14 August 1941 and attached *Report of the Proposal of Charles W. Ryder for a Federal Reservation at Lexington, Massachusetts*; and Demaray to Ryder, 12 November 1941, all in File 1941 Proposal, *Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection*, MIMA. Most of these documents are also found in File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files. The NRHE Files includes a sketch of the property.

²⁴ Lee to Ballard, 6 October 1941, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files.

also aid interpretation and funding for “preservation, restoration, and use of the historic monuments and grounds as a national historic site.”²⁵

A promising preservation attempt involved the renewed interest of landscape architect Shurcliff. In 1943 Shurcliff returned to the North Bridge area and lamented its condition. He commented in letters to Russell Kettell, who served as chairman of the Old Manse Committee, that “I felt a great sadness on seeing Concord Bridge the other day in a guise which it did not have” in 1925. In Shurcliff’s opinion, the bridge appeared to be in “real danger on the north side, not only from the dwelling so near the property line, but from the sale of postcards, soft drinks and other tourist ‘stuff.’”²⁶ Recognizing the threat of suburban development, he wondered whether the land leading to the bridge was “owned in such a way that it can never be covered with houses.”²⁷ Shurcliff also worried about the large Japanese barberry hedge that had been planted near the Minute Man statue.²⁸ This non-native plant seemed incongruous to the historic setting of American freedom and was “incidentally reminiscent of far too many suburban land developments.”²⁹ The plant’s name also had negative associations to an enemy of the United States during World War II.³⁰

Kettell was a well-connected historic preservationist in the Boston area. In 1936 he published a large book titled *Early American Rooms*. Kettell was friends with William Sumner Appleton, who started the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. In this book, Kettell used images and detailed text to depict 12 sample display rooms that represented historical periods from colonial times through the Civil War.³¹ He responded to Shurcliff, noting that three men had recently inherited the land north of the bridge and that the will stipulated that Mrs. Fred A. Sohier (who sold the tourist goods at the bridge) have a life tenancy on the land in question.³² Kettell agreed that the souvenirs were “dreadful”³³ and hoped that one day a committee of town artists might improve their quality. The Trustees of Public Reservations, through the Old Manse Committee, owned the land on the south side of the bridge, which saved it from thoughtless development. Regarding the hedge, Kettell offered to approach the local gardening club and see whether it would remove the non-native shrub and replace it with something Shurcliff recommended, such as

²⁵ Draft Cooperative Agreement, 29 September 1941, 3, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files.

²⁶ Both quotes, Shurcliff to Kettell, 30 March 1943, File Arthur Shurcliff Correspondence, MIMA Library. Original at Frances Loeb Library, Gund Hall, Harvard University. My thanks to NPS Historical Landscape Architect Debbie Smith for sharing this collection of documents from her own cultural landscape research.

²⁷ Shurcliff to Kettell, 26 February 1943, File Arthur Shurcliff Correspondence, MIMA Library. Original at Loeb Library, Harvard.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Shurcliff to Kettell, 30 March 1943.

³⁰ Shurcliff to Kettell, 26 February 1943.

³¹ Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 895.

³² Kettell to Shurcliff, 28 March 1943, File Arthur Shurcliff Correspondence, MIMA Library. Original at Loeb Library, Harvard.

³³ Kettell to Shurcliff, 19 January 1944, 6, File Arthur Shurcliff Correspondence, MIMA Library. Original at Loeb Library, Harvard.

a wild rose or wild blueberry. This suggestion was not heeded; by the mid-1950s, the hedge partially blocked views of the Minute Man statue.³⁴

Both men were unsuccessful in their attempts to meet in person to discuss the situation at the bridge.³⁵ Shurcliff realized that the threats he witnessed “may increase in volume and intensity” and, in reference to the world war, may “make Concord Bridge a sad example of our deteriorating conditions.”³⁶ Their correspondence ended in spring 1944 when Shurcliff wrote, “Viewed as a historic monument that whole tract is of course of national significance. Obviously something must be done to meet the threat of existing conditions.”³⁷ The next year, Wallace B. Conant, president and treasurer of the Conant Machine and Steel Company in Concord, submitted a proposal to designate the North Bridge as an NHS. There are no known supporting documents that detail whether Shurcliff or Kettell had influenced Conant. NPS Acting Director Hillary Tolson replied to Conant, noting that the NPS would be “glad to recommend”³⁸ presidential authorization of an NHS through a cooperative agreement with the Town of Concord, as allowed under the 1935 *Historic Sites Act*.³⁹ In 1946 further interest appeared in an internal NPS memorandum. Tolson remarked that a confidential list of sites recommended for national designation included “some structure associated with the Lexington-Concord battle.”⁴⁰ Ultimately, no federal action occurred in the 1940s. As NPS Director Newton B. Drury wrote to United States Representative John W. McCormack in 1949, “Several years ago, some preliminary studies of historic sites and buildings in this vicinity were made, but they were interrupted by the war and we have not had funds since with which to resume them.”⁴¹

BOSTON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES COMMISSION

In his writing to Director Drury, Representative McCormack initiated his important contributions to the eventual designation of MIMA. He wanted to confer with the NPS about the possibility of having a memorial parkway along the Battle Road, reviving the 150th Anniversary Commission’s proposal. McCormack had served as the Democratic floor leader in the state legislature between 1925 and 1926 and most certainly knew of the commission’s recommendations for a permanent memorial to the American Revolution. Although the proposal was not passed by the state legislature, McCormack continued his

³⁴ Ibid., 3. Kettell to Shurcliff, 28 March 1943, 3; Kettell to Shurcliff, 19 January 1944, 3; Kettell to Shurcliff, 10 March 1943, File Arthur Shurcliff Correspondence, MIMA Library. Original at Loeb Library, Harvard. Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge*, 89.

³⁵ Shurcliff to Kettell, 24 January 1944; 11 May 1944, Shurcliff to Kettell; and Shurcliff to Kettell, 10 April 1944, both in File Arthur Shurcliff Correspondence, MIMA Library. Original at Loeb Library, Harvard.

³⁶ Shurcliff to Kettell, 30 March 1943.

³⁷ Shurcliff to Kettell, 24 January 1944.

³⁸ Tolson to Conant, 8 October 1945, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files.

³⁹ Examples of successful cooperative agreements using the 1935 Act include Federal Hall in New York City and the Old Custom House or Second Bank of the United States, Philadelphia. See Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 704-13.

⁴⁰ Tolson to Demaray, 28 March 1946, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files.

⁴¹ Drury to McCormack, 18 March 1949, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files.

strong commitment to preserving that stretch of road and other worthy places in the Boston area. This commitment translated into legislation. In 1955 he and Senator Leverett Saltonstall co-sponsored the bills that called for the creation of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission (BNHSC). McCormack, who was the house majority leader, played a key role in the passing of this legislation.⁴²

Public Law 75, approved 15 June 1955 established the BNHSC to ascertain whether a coordinated program among federal, local, and state governments and historical and patriotic societies could be formed to preserve and protect important colonial and Revolutionary War properties in the greater Boston area. The role of the BNHSC was strictly advisory. It would need additional legislation and funding to set aside land and buildings identified as “outstanding examples of America’s historical heritage.” Mark Bortman, whose collection of early Americana eventually became part of the Boston University Archives, served as chairman... Small, who had worked on historic site surveys of New England and wrote the tour guide of the Lexington-Concord Road, served as the staff historian and chief of party. Other members of the commission included Senator Saltonstall, Rep. Thomas P. O’Neill, Jr. (D-MA), and the current NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth. An alternate from the NPS routinely represented Wirth at meetings.⁴³

The accelerated interest and heightened concern for the preservation of the Battle Road are evident in the BNHSC meeting minutes and correspondence, which are available at the National Archives in Waltham, Massachusetts. These documents also provide important clues about how the commission wanted to preserve the land that eventually became MIMA. Shurcliff’s ideas guided the BNHSC. The first substantive mention of the Battle Road in the minutes was in early June 1956. At this point, the BNHSC made decisions about hiring architects to study historic buildings and the surrounding grounds on properties throughout Boston. Small mentioned that “the Lexington-Concord area was primarily a landscaping problem”⁴⁴ although BNHSC members would also need to review historic structures including the Bullet Hole House. Small asked for additional time to create a list of items for attention by such architects.

At the next meeting on 22 June 1956, Small presented the BNHSC members with the 1925 Shurcliff report. Through a fortunate set of circumstances, Shurcliff and Small had recently met, and Shurcliff followed up with a letter to the full BNHSC. In the letter, he reflected on the state of the road in 1925 and commented about how conditions had changed by 1956. He noted that in the 1920s, people from no more than 20 miles away visited the monuments along the Battle Road. However, by the 1950s, “tourists come from the near and farthest reaches of the Nation” to see where the farmers had reversed the British advance. Shurcliff urged immediate preservation, stating, “Why today?—because

⁴² Ibid., *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, entry on John W. McCormack, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>; Edward Stone to McCormack, 24 January 1957, File Congressman John McCormack Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 Northeastern Region New England Field Office Boston National Historic Sites Commission (BNHSC), NARA Waltham.

⁴³ *Boston National Historic Sites Commission Act*, Public Law 75, 85th Cong., 1st sess. (15 June 1955).

⁴⁴ Minutes, BNHSC, 8 June 1956, 3, File A2015 12th Meeting, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

rapid changes in the Roadside appearance are now beginning to engulf and blot out many of the most important ancient landmarks.”⁴⁵

Several of Shurcliff’s recommendations to the BNHSC were similar to those in his 1925 report. He wanted to delineate the ancient roadway westward from Fiske Hill and keep it away from modern intrusions with “old-fashioned country walls and fences.” He also aspired for it to be “used only by pedestrians.” At Fiske Hill, he argued that the “present highway should, if possible, be moved southerly so it would not be so close to The Road.” He believed that the government should restore ancient houses if possible, and “modern dwellings ought to be taken away so The Road could be continued as in the old days.” Shurcliff worried that the government would not take enough land to ensure that modern buildings wouldn’t engulf the old landscape, especially at the Bluff. He stated that “much more ground should be acquired so the sweep of The Road can pass around it” and provide a full setting to visitors for understanding the tactics taken by both British and patriot forces. Zoning ordinances would help, and Shurcliff advocated using them, but he also thought it important to “preserve a considerable mileage of The Road from Fiske Hill toward Concord.” Prominent, carefully placed markers along the entire stretch of road from Lexington to Concord would attract visitors, educate them, and assist in keeping a continuous feel to the project.⁴⁶

Shurcliff had a grand and comprehensive vision for preserving the Battle Road. It took a little more time for the BNHSC to appreciate fully his ideas and begin to incorporate them into their own recommendations. For instance, at the 22 June 1956 BNHSC meeting, Small suggested that there was “a good chance to revive the landscape and the outline of the old road by removing the macadam [solid road surfacing].”⁴⁷ He was not referring to moving Route 2A; he simply aimed to remove the modern surfacing material from where the original Battle Road departed from the highway. The level of concern for the Battle Road jumped up a notch at the 18 July meeting when Small noted, “the character of the countryside” in Lexington-Concord “is changing so rapidly that people don’t realize the historical significance.” Bortman agreed, reflecting that 20 years ago when Shurcliff advocated preservation, “it would have taken very little action” to save the area. The minutes reflect Bortman saying, “It will take a real project now to do the job,” and in five years time, “the whole area will be built up around the important sites, making it practically impossible to do anything.” He believed that the Battle Road through Lexington, Lincoln, and Concord was “the most important thing outside of the Boston area of national and international importance.”⁴⁸

In the wake of World War II, modern encroachments sped throughout the Boston area and along the corridor between Lexington and Concord. In 1946 the Massachusetts

⁴⁵ Both quotes, Shurcliff to BNHSC, 5 June 1956, 1, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁴⁶ All quotes from *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁷ Minutes, BNHSC, 22 June 1956, 1, File A2015 13th Meeting, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁴⁸ Quotes from Minutes, BNHSC, 18 July 1956, 2, File A2015 14th Meeting, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

Department of Works cut a road, known as Airport Road, from Route 2A to the Laurence G. Hanscom Air Force Base (AFB), going through the historic Bull Tavern site. The AFB also expanded its mission to include military electronics research, especially in radar, and attracted more people who required nearby housing. The completion of Route 128, the first limited-access highway in the state, helped people move between homes and jobs. Route 2A swung off from this highway, encouraging travel along its historic roadway and making it an attractive option for suburban development.

Housing units continued to make inroads in former farmlands. In 1955 and 1956 one hundred thirty-four building permits were issued in Lincoln for new residences. Considering that the town had existed with only 129 houses in 1865, such change signaled exponential growth. New houses overwhelmed The Bloody Angle section of the Battle Road. On Route 2A, businesses such as the popular Buttrick Ice Cream Stand and the Paul Revere Motel competed with places like the historic Meriam House and Paul Revere Capture Site for attention. Farmland did not disappear, and some farm families embraced mechanization to expand their production from subsistence to commercial levels. Farm markets became favorite stops of families for fresh produce. A tree nursery, poultry farms, dairy farms, a sheep pasture, and greenhouses added to the agricultural diversity of the area.⁴⁹

These changes to the historic landscape occurred steadily, and members of the BNHSC could foresee additional developments threatening what was left of the Battle Road. In its July 1956 *Preliminary Report*, the BNHSC argued that “Rescue from oblivion and imminent change”⁵⁰ was “urgent if hallowed ground [between Lexington and Concord] is to be saved from mundane and disrespectful uses before it is too late.”⁵¹ Taking the first step in this direction, Small and NPS supervising park landscape architect Andrew Feil, Jr., walked along the historic roadway and discussed the best way to proceed with preservation. They concluded that the government could probably save five or six discrete units, not fully developed with modern dwellings, as a historical park area.⁵² Bortman agreed that, “a public thruway or a public park of small dimension but of importance could be created.”⁵³ As Small notes in the minutes for 24 September 1956, these ideas for preserving the Battle Road were a “revival of an idea presented to the Legislature in 1925 by Arthur Shurcliff.”⁵⁴ By October, when the BNHSC presented its initial ideas to the Town of Lexington, Small included Shurcliff’s idea of buffers for protection from “hot dog stands, etc. [that] would spring up possibly right within view of the significant sites and portions of the road.” Lexington

⁴⁹ Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: Battle Road*, 74-79; Minutes, BNHSC, 16 November 1956, 3, File A2015, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham; MacLean, *Rich Harvest*, 577; and Renee Garrellick, *Concord in the Days of Strawberries and Streetcars* (Concord, MA: The Town of Concord, 1985), 145.

⁵⁰ BNHSC, *Preliminary Report of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission*, 18 July 1956, 13, File Preliminary Report of BNHSC, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁵¹ Ibid., 14.

⁵² Minutes, BNHSC, 24 September 1956, 3, File A2015 16th Meeting, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁵³ Ibid., 4.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 3.

Planning Board member Wilbur M. Jaquith recognized the need to take action and prevent development. He wondered whether the town should acquire “a particular strip of land which connected the two most important points.” At the time, the BNHSC considered only setting aside discrete units of land, not the continuous strip that Shurcliff had suggested.⁵⁵

Everything changed at the 16 November 1956 meeting. Having already talked to representatives from Lexington, the BNHSC members wanted to gauge how people in Lincoln and Concord would react to the idea of a public park composed of separate units along the Battle Road. Each town’s representatives came separately on that day to share their thoughts. Bortman, Small, and others did not foresee the immediacy of a threat to one of the most untouched sites they had identified for preservation. That site contained the land where, on 19 April 1775 William Thorning shot and killed two British soldiers from behind what later came to be called the Minute Man Boulder and where Josiah Nelson angered a British soldier and was the first to lose blood that day. Ironically, the threat to this sacred ground came from the Hansom Air Base rather than from independent developers.

The November meeting with representatives from Lincoln opened easily enough with Bortman and Small explaining the charge of the BNHSC and its thoughts about saving parts of the Battle Road. Planning Board members Alan McClellan, Walter F. Bogner, and Katharine White and Massachusetts State Representative James DeNormandie, listened politely, but they quickly turned the conversation to a discussion about Hanscom AFB, also known as Bedford Airport. The Town of Lincoln had had continuing conversations with the airbase concerning noise levels from jet planes, road improvements, and airport expansion plans. Borgner and the others considered the plans submitted by the BNHSC for a public park “a blessing for the town to have any form of barrier between the Airport expansion and the rest of the town.” Such a park would be a “tremendous asset to the town” and would help to improve property values in the surrounding areas. However, Bogner was concerned about whether the BNHSC had heard of the Air Force’s plan to absorb land between Route 2A and the airport access road for military personnel housing of several hundred units.⁵⁶ In this informal, nearly accidental way, the BNHSC began its odyssey of preservation of the Battle Road in direct confrontation with the United States Air Force (USAF).

The Lincoln representatives shared their thoughts about the proposed housing development. McClellan considered it a “critical problem for the Commission,” and he doubted whether the USAF could be “persuaded to make any changes in [its] plans without being pressured.” While estimating the total population expected for the new subdivision, McClellan said it would “approximately equal the present total population of Lincoln.” This was a daunting consideration. When Daniel J. Tobin (NPS representative for Director Wirth), asked if the USAF might have alternative locations for the development, McClellan replied negatively. As the minutes from the meeting recorded, McClellan shared that “there

⁵⁵ Minutes, BNHSC, 15 October 1956, File A2015 17th Meeting, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. Quotes on pp. 8 and 9, respectively.

⁵⁶ Minutes, BNHSC, 16 November 1956, File A2015 18th Meeting, Box 1, RG BNHSC, NARA Waltham. Quotes on p. 3.

was no doubt that the Air Force could justify its selection for the housing development” location due to its proximity to the AFB and the fact that many of its personnel were on alert duty.⁵⁷

Even so, the Lincoln representatives urged the BNHSC to dream larger than its initial plan of separate disconnected units. The residents in Lincoln had long sought ways to preserve the agricultural and rural characteristics of their town, and having a park dedicated to the history of the area fit well within their vision.⁵⁸ The group “unanimously concurred” that a “small-scale approach by the Commission would accomplish nothing—that it should be done on a large scale with the realization that it concerned something of extreme significance to the entire Nation.” They also encouraged such an addition, saying that a “park belt between the Airport and the community would be the most welcome improvement in the community.” It was McClellan’s belief that “both the Concord and Lexington Planning Boards felt much the same way.”⁵⁹

In the final session at that November meeting, the BNHSC met with a range of people from Concord. Attendees included the chairman of the Parks and Historic Monuments Committee, the commissioner of the Public Works Department, a member of the Board of Selectmen, members of the Town Planning Board, and three representatives from the Concord Antiquarian Society, including its president, Russell Kettell. Kettell was the Old Manse Committee chairman who corresponded with Shurcliff in the early 1940s. Once again, Bortman and Small shared some background about the BNHSC and its initial thoughts about preserving a series of units along the original Battle Road. The Discussion then centered on development pressures at key sites along the road in Concord, especially near Meriam’s Corner. Mrs. Herbert Hosmer of the antiquarian society noted that one developer had proposed building 600 houses in that vicinity while at the last Town Meeting, citizens voted down a measure to have a shopping center built on the field in front of the Meriam House. As Mrs. Caleb Wheeler (also of the society) stressed, “individual effort so far has been successful in keeping objectionable modern developments out of Concord, but the pressure for new building is increasing rapidly and is becoming a serious problem.”⁶⁰ When asked if the town would favor preservation of the Battle Road with a normal footage as buffer on either side, Mrs. Hosmer stated that some individuals might be against it, but “most of the townspeople would be in favor of it as they don’t want any more building in Concord.”⁶¹

In response to a question for comments on the commission’s proposal, Kettell revived Shurcliff’s vision and offered several specific improvements. Kettell remarked that the “Lincoln Memorial in Washington was a dignified, impressive, appropriate

⁵⁷ All quotes, *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁸ Betty Levin, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 26 April 2005, 3-4, MIMA Archives. Warren Flint, Jr., transcription of oral history interview with the author, 28 April 2005, 1-2, MIMA Archives.

⁵⁹ All quotes, *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

monument—not a log cabin.” He thought such a model would be beneficial when considering preservation of the Battle Road. He believed that the BNHSC should consider the entire stretch from Lexington Green to the North Bridge as a whole unit. He also stressed that the federal government should remove “the objectionable things and preserve the nice things” along that route and “take essential steps to restrict the whole unit.” To give visitors the sense of traveling within a complete historic enclosure, Kettell recommended erecting a “properly designed stone wall” and planting trees beside the road, preferably one type of a native species. He also suggested developing a roadway that was ground-topped, not blacktopped, “in a manner which would suggest an atmosphere of farm land.” Kettell believed that by taking these steps, “the result would be a seven-mile stretch of something different which would attract visitors from all over the country.” Small complimented Kettell on emphasizing “beautifully the concept Arthur Shurcliff [sic.] had in 1925.” Bortman appreciated Kettell’s comments for providing a specific approach to the problem.⁶²

A NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

In addressing the Air Force housing threat to the Minute Man Boulder and Josiah Nelson House foundation, the Boston BNHSC crystallized its view about the best way to preserve the Battle Road from the western edge of Lexington at Fiske Hill, through Lincoln, and to the North Bridge in Concord. From its initial plans to save five or six discrete units to advocating for a full-fledged national historical park, the BNHSC largely incorporated and extended Arthur Shurcliff’s vision. The park also met the expectations of the towns and their representatives, as expressed in those initial meetings in the fall of 1956.

At a 6 December 1956 meeting with Installation Com. Col. Woodrow W. Dunlop and his staff, Small made his initial inquiry with the USAF regarding the proposed housing project. He presented the BNHSC preservation plans for sections of the Battle Road. Commander Colonel Dunlop expressed initial interest, and even remarked that the Air Force Cambridge Research Center at the base had once volunteered to assist the Town of Lincoln in cleaning up the boulder marking the graves of the two British soldiers along the eastern slope of Fiske Hill. These were the soldiers believed to be killed by Thorning while behind the Minute Man Boulder. Small reported that “Enthusiasm for the idea as a whole [about preservation of parts of the Battle Road] continued until a member of the planning staff arrived with drawings”⁶³ of the housing development.

These drawings showed that the Air Force intended to take an area extending 1,360 feet along the stone wall on the north side of Nelson Road. As Small characterized it, the area would be “approximately one-quarter of a mile of the best natural and historic setting

⁶² Ibid., 10.

⁶³ Edwin W. Small, Planned Encroachments on Natural and Historic Setting of Nelson Road, an Unspoiled Section of the Lexington-Concord Battle Road of April 19, 1775, by the Air Force Cambridge Research Center at Hanscom Field, 7 December 1956, 1, as attached to Small to George F. Hines, 28 December 1956, File L58 1956-1961 (1of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

that survives on the route traversed by the British on April 19, 1775.” Within this space, the Air Force expected to build 670 family housing units, primarily for officers. The stone wall would not be touched, but housing would stand as close as 40–60 feet to the north of it. Many boulders, including the Minute Man Boulder, “are so large and unwieldy as to defy their ready removal or destruction by modern machinery.” However, an officer housing unit would partially cover the site of the Nelson House.⁶⁴

The Air Force responded coldly to any suggestion of plan modification. Small noted that until his visit, the Air Force did not know that any part of its project “would be treading on hallowed ground.” Once this situation became clear, Small instantly saw “a change in the outlook of those with whom I conferred.” He reported that “Historical preservation is a splendid and patriotic thing but not to the extent that it merits any consideration if it requires any modification or change in plans of the Air Force.” In fact, Small recalled that the discussion ended “with regret expressed by the Installation Commander that my call had not been delayed at least six months” to preclude any chance of “interference or the possibility of ‘a hassle’ about the development project.”⁶⁵

Taking the charge from the BNHSC seriously, Small argued that “the Commission will be remiss in its duties if it does not explore further” possible modifications to the Air Force plan. Small believed that if the Air Force removed 30 of the proposed 670 units from its plans, the “most vivid and topographically interesting sections of the sparsely surviving Battle Road” could be saved. Small closed his report by asking, “Is this too much to ask in order to save two of the important landmarks or sites [the Minute Man Boulder and the Nelson House foundation] of the Lexington-Concord Road?”⁶⁶

The BNHSC members agreed that they had to find a way to preserve the land. As Small disclosed to the town manager of Concord, “the future of any recommendations to be considered for the project as a whole may depend upon success in forestalling intrusion upon one of the least unspoiled sections of historic roadside beside Nelson Road in the Town of Lincoln.”⁶⁷ The BNHSC needed to act. Bortman was out of the country on business, so Acting Chairman Watkins sent letters to Senator Saltonstall and Representative McCormack to inform them of the situation and enlist their formal support. Representative O’Neill and other members of the BNHSC remained informed. These letters were sent on 12 December 1956 with favorable replies. Next, the BNHSC decided to begin working on an *Interim Report* for submission to Congress, explaining the situation with the Battle Road and recommending that Congress provide the necessary funds for land acquisition. Even if the BNHSC successfully resolved the situation regarding the Air Force project, it recognized that legislative means were necessary for protecting the land from potential private developers—an intimidating threat. To aid in preparation of the *Interim Report*, the BNHSC

⁶⁴ Both quotes, *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ All quotes, *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Small to Theodore M. Nelson, 2 January 1957, File Town of Concord Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

tasked Small with identifying parcels of land that would encompass the proposed park and finding an independent appraiser to value those land units. Finally, the BNHSC sought a meeting with the Department of Defense (DoD) Army Corps of Engineers, who handled land acquisition for the military in that region. Air Force representatives also attended the meeting, prompted into action by Representative McCormack. The Air Force noted in its return letter that although real estate around Hanscom AFB was scarce, “it is not our intention to disturb any historical landmarks.” It also promised to “cooperate to the fullest extent in order to reach an amicable solution to this problem.”⁶⁸

At the 9 January 1957 meeting of the BNHSC, representatives from the Army Corps of Engineers and the Air Force summarized their plans. Any changes to the \$11 million Capehart housing project would necessitate additional appropriations amounting to an estimated \$100,000 to cover redesign of housing locations, roads, and utilities. The Air Force had a minimum need of 670 housing units to attract and keep professionals in its service. Reducing this amount by 30 units would “seriously affect” its plans. The BNHSC could not guarantee that Congress would support its recommendation for a public park or appropriate money. In the meantime, the Air Force expected to take the title to the land within two weeks and planned for construction to begin in the spring. Although the Town of Lincoln had previously opposed the Air Force proposal, it had not raised the issue of the historic significance of the property. Instead, Lincoln had considered the land’s development for a town dump, light industrial area, or one-acre housing lots.⁶⁹ As Hanscom AFB Historian Francis Walett wrote in his account of this episode, “What seemed unbelievable to [Air Force Cambridge Research] Center officials was the fact that in none of the numerous meetings with the Lincoln selectmen and townspeople had there been any mention of the historic value of the housing site.” From the perspective of Hanscom AFB officials, they had proceeded openly with their plans and worked cooperatively with the local towns.⁷⁰

Ill-tempered exchanges ensued as the Air Force and the BNHSC tried to find a way to proceed. Hampton Turner of Air Force Headquarters argued that the correspondence from the BNHSC inferred that the “Air Force was deliberately destroying a historic

⁶⁸ Minutes, BNHSC, 10 December 1956, 2-3, File A2015 19th Meeting; and Minutes, BNHSC, 19 December 1956, 1-2, File A2015 20th Meeting, both in Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. Watkins to Saltonstall, 12 December 1956, File Sen. Saltonstall Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. A similar letter was sent to Rep. McCormack. Roland H. Cipolla to BNHSC, 28 December 1956, attached to Watkins to Cipolla, 2 January 1957, File L58 1956-1961 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁶⁹ Minutes, BNHSC, 9 January 1957, 3, File A2015 21st Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. For a more complete description of the Air Force housing proposal, see James F. D. Kradel to Base-Community Council, 8 February 1957, File L58 1956-1961 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁷⁰ Julius King, *History of Air Force Cambridge Research Center, 20 September 1945-30 June 1959*, Appendix C, Francis Walett, “Minute Man Boulder and Capehart Housing,” no page numbering [36]. The author thanks Deborah Dietrich-Smith for sharing this document. Informal page numbering provided by Dietrich-Smith. A copy of this document will remain with the MIMA Administrative History collection.

monument,” to which BNHSC Acting Chairman Watkins replied that if the Air Force did succeed in its venture, “that is what everyone will think anyway—it would be like putting up 600 odd houses on the battleground at Gettysburg.” Turner then asked that the BNHSC consider a compromise, having the Air Force landscape the area and leave the stone wall undisturbed. Daniel Tobin, NPS Regional Director for Region 5, remarked that “it would take more than that to create a park feeling of continuity of the area that existed at the time of the historic incident.”⁷¹ During more exchanges, both sides discussed the costs of redesigning the project compared to the irreparable loss of the historic ground. Then, Maj. Arthur Dupay of Air Force Installations in Boston offered to re-study the plan “to see just how much of a compromise could be made with a minimum of effort and a minimum of waste of funds.”⁷² Both sides agreed to this next step.

In the meantime, Representative McCormack and Senator Saltonstall applied some political pressure. Senator Saltonstall, who served on the Senate Armed Services Committee, made arrangements for the Air Force to furnish him with a complete report as to “what measures might be taken to prevent any damage to the historic countryside.” He also received assurances that “no construction work will begin until a report has been furnished to me.”⁷³ Representative McCormack took a different tack. He wrote directly to the Secretary of the Air Force and reminded him that, “Up to now, these negotiations [between the Air Force and the BNHSC] and failure to arrive at a solution have not been made public.” But, McCormack continued, “I do not need to point out to you that just as soon as it becomes known” that the Air Force is going to take—by condemnation—land that is part of the original Battle Road, “it will create a national public clamor which will greatly injure the reputation of the Air Force.” Representative McCormack requested that the Air Force immediately stop the project, including taking the land, until it could be redesigned to keep secure the historic landscape “against further invasion.” Representative McCormack rooted his strong words in his belief that “we in Massachusetts must always be eternally vigilant against further destruction and encroachment as the custodians of this hallowed ground for all of the American people.”⁷⁴ This reminder of a potential public backlash would influence later actions.

In late January 1957 Small and Watkins traveled to Washington, DC, to meet separately with the NPS, congressional members, and the Air Force about progress on the re-study of the Air Force housing project. NPS Director Wirth attended the initial meeting. Following this meeting, Watkins suffered a stroke to which he ultimately succumbed, and NPS Regional Director Tobin accompanied Small to the subsequent appointments. Senator Saltonstall agreed to introduce a bill, as worked out by the BNHSC and the NPS, for

⁷¹ All quotes, *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷³ Both quotes, Saltonstall to Watkins, 22 January 1957, File Saltonstall Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁷⁴ All quotes, McCormack to Hon. Donald A. Quarles, 17 January 1957, 1-2, attached to Small to McCormack, 21 January 1957, File McCormack Correspondence, Box 4, RG BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

establishment of a national historical park. McCormack felt it most proper for Representative O'Neill (a member of the BNHSC) to introduce the park bill to the House, but he agreed, as the original sponsor of the BNHSC legislation, to submit a bill for a one-year extension of its term. Both men pledged additional support for addressing the proposed housing project.⁷⁵ In the meeting with Hampton Turner at Air Force Headquarters, Turner agreed that “actual construction on the historic roadside could doubtless be forestalled provided authority were created”⁷⁶ to set aside or transfer the historic land.

The time had come to draft the required legislation, and Small stayed in Washington the next week to assist the NPS in this endeavor. The resulting draft bill called for the establishment of “Minute Man National Historical Park.” This draft bill summarized a series of park units totaling no more than 750 acres, “beginning at but not including the Lexington Green,” and then lying along Massachusetts Avenue, State Route 2A, Monument Street in Concord, and the North Bridge, “including also those lands on both sides of the Concord River in the vicinity of the North Bridge.” The draft bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands for the park by donation, with donated funds, or by purchasing the lands. The draft legislation also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into cooperative agreements and erect and maintain tablets or markers. An advisory committee of five members would advise the Secretary of Interior on matters of park development.⁷⁷ The NPS did not expect the bill to be introduced until after the BNHSC had submitted its *Interim Report*.⁷⁸

While waiting for the Air Force to present its re-study of the housing project, the BNHSC proceeded with its planning for the proposed NHP. Its ideas about the shape of the park continued to evolve during this period. Consultant Samuel Snow, an experienced landscape architect and director of the Lexington planning board, provided initial data concerning parcels of land that might be included in the park and estimated values for acquisition. Figures for land between Fiske Hill and the Paul Revere Capture Site indicated a total cost of approximately \$1.1 million. Snow needed more time to assess parcels west of the Paul Revere Capture Site.⁷⁹

In early March 1957 the BNHSC held another meeting with representatives from the Town of Lincoln. The planning board members from the November 1956 meeting were

⁷⁵ Small, Summary of Special Meeting, Washington, DC, Friday, January 25, 1957, and Events Subsequent Thereto, 5 February 1957, 1-3, File A2015 Washington Conference, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁷ Draft Bill, 1-2, attached to *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Memorandum, Rogers W. Young to Chief, Division of Interpretation, 30 January 1957, and attached copy of the bill, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files.

⁷⁹ Small, *Report of Conference with Selectmen and Planning Board*, Town of Lexington, regarding Proposals on Lexington-Concord Battle Road. Proposal for Consultant in Landscape Architecture, 7 January 1957, File Town of Lexington Correspondence, Box 3; and Estimates of Land Values, Lexington-Concord Battle Road, 24 January 1957, File Assessed Values of Land and Buildings, Box 2, both in RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

in attendance, joined by Charles Fitts, Elliott Grabill, and William King from the Board of Selectmen. While looking at the modified plans from the BNHSC, the Lincoln representatives continued to plead for a “continuous parkway” along the entire stretch of the Battle Road. The plans left an unprotected gap from the Paul Revere Capture Site to the Capt. William Smith House and Hartwell Farm. Fitts argued that leaving this space would allow encroachment of industrial development and “detract from the project’s value.” Small explained that the BNHSC had “considered only things of historic survival value which could be preserved and made attractive.” The gap was omitted from the plans because its acquisition cost would have brought the totals for the project to well over one million dollars. He also noted that the modern highway ran over the ancient road and the original stone walls were largely submerged.⁸⁰ The Town of Concord Parks and Historic Monuments Commission also reaffirmed the town’s interest in continuous protection of the Battle Road. It wrote to the BNHSC and requested that the land acquisition encompass the area from Meriam’s Corner to the Lincoln town line.⁸¹

The Lincoln representatives also wanted both sides of Route 2A controlled to eliminate any future possibility of encroachment. As Planning Board member Borgner noted, the Eisenhower administration’s \$30 billion interstate highway program would eventually make changes in all the nation’s highways, and the BNHSC needed to consider the repercussions of such an extensive building project. NPS Regional Director Tobin agreed that the NPS needed to “enlarge upon the Commission’s proposal.”⁸² One potential threat near Fiske Hill involved a proposal for a 38-acre motel site, which the Lexington town planning board favored. The development would sit where Route 2A crossed Route 128. This intersection was a key access location for traveling throughout the metropolitan Boston area and could easily attract other development proposals. Small believed that “Time is of the essence” to revive and safeguard the remaining properties.⁸³

One final item discussed at the meeting was a separate access road for the park. As the minutes reflect, people commented on “The possibility of continuing to use the present highway for through traffic and building a separate connecting road to link units of the proposed park together.” As proposed, the park would encompass discrete units, but a separate road system from the state route might provide access. Significantly, as of March 1957, the BNHSC had not considered removal of Route 2A from the proposed park’s boundaries.⁸⁴

On 15 March 1957 the BNHSC met with Air Force representatives to review the military’s re-study for the housing project. The Air Force presented two possible scenarios for protecting the stone wall and transforming the Minute Man Boulder into a monumental

⁸⁰ Minutes, BNHSC, 6 March 1957, 2, File A2015 22nd Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁸¹ Minutes, BNHSC, 15 March 1957, 5, File A2015 23rd Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 4

⁸³ Small, *Report of Conference with Lexington*, 7 January 1957, 1.

⁸⁴ Minutes, BNHSC, 6 March 1957, 4.

space with stairs, a tablet on the boulder, and a base. The Air Force would add plantings and parking areas. One proposal included building a natural wall of fieldstone to further shield the area from houses. None of these proposals mentioned the fate of the Josiah Nelson House foundation, and it is unclear whether the new plans involved the removal of any houses.⁸⁵

The BNHSC rejected both proposals outright, with Chairman Bortman arguing that deliberate “monumentation was a thing of the past and the spirit of independence could not possibly be represented without preserving the natural conditions of the area.” Tobin agreed, saying that a formal treatment was “totally foreign to the basic concept of the National Park Service.” The agency’s fundamental preservation practice involved “retain[ing] or re-captur[ing] the historic scene.”⁸⁶ After additional discussion, Air Force Lt. Col. Edwin Moses assured the BNHSC that the military had explored every possible alternative and “it had no choice but to go ahead with the housing development as planned or practically abandon the whole project.” The Air Force would honor the preference of the BNHSC “to leave the area as much in its natural state as possible.”⁸⁷

This impasse between the Air Force and the BNHSC continued into April and May. The Air Force offered to screen or fence off the historic area from its houses, but it refused to reduce the number of housing units. Financial considerations played a large role in this stance, with the Air Force arguing that it could not justify the extra expense of relocating the housing when that decision depended on whether Congress would establish the NHP. Senator Saltonstall counseled Bortman, saying that “it is necessary to be very cautious in making a decision here because there is the possibility of losing a substantial sum of defense funds”⁸⁸ if the Air Force moved the housing project and the site never became protected as a park. Senator Saltonstall summarized the situation, writing, “Secretary Quarles is quite firmly set against making any change,” though willing to save and mark the historic landmarks.⁸⁹

The BNHSC remained steadfast in its objections, revealing its ideas for preserving the Battle Road. Small wrote in February 1958 that it was the commission’s desire to save “enough of the natural setting to provide an adequate image of conditions in 1775.” Members of the BNHSC did not want additional landscaping or plantings if the end result was “distinctly formalized or highly monumental in character.”⁹⁰ At the May 1 1958 BNHSC meeting, members continued to voice their frustration about the close proximity of the proposed housing project. Lt. Col. Woodrow W. Dunlop offered to move 7 of the housing

⁸⁵ Minutes, BNHSC, 15 March 1957, 1-2. Walett, “Minute Man Boulder and Capehart Housing,” 38.

⁸⁶ Minutes, BNHSC, 15 March 1957, 2.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 4.

⁸⁸ Saltonstall to Bortman, 11 April 1957, 2, attached to Bortman to Saltonstall, 15 April 1957, File Saltonstall Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁸⁹ Saltonstall to Bortman, 18 April 1957, File Saltonstall Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

⁹⁰ Small to Saltonstall. 20 February 1957, 2, File Saltonstall Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

units back about 80–100 feet from the Minute Man Boulder. Small replied that this step “wouldn’t do much to help the situation” because it would only provide an additional 40 or 50 feet of natural setting for the Boulder. Tobin agreed, believing that the “space contemplated in the original scheme [proposed by the Commission] is practically a minimum in relation to NPS requirements and justification for establishment of a national park.” Tobin reiterated what the other members of the BNHSC already knew: that this parcel represented the “largest untouched area of the entire Battle Road” and not to save it would make the “area relatively insignificant.” As newest commission member Walter Muir Whitehill stated emphatically, he “would rather see the whole thing [historic site] destroyed than to see a pure travesty made of it.”⁹¹

Doggedly trying to convince the Air Force of its position, the BNHSC heightened its efforts to apply political and public pressure. As Bortman astutely summarized the situation at the May 1 meeting, “public opinion was the only thing stopping the Air Force from going ahead with their plans.”⁹² Local newspapers were carrying the story, and the individual towns had been watching the developments closely. Bortman sent impassioned letters to Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton and members of the House Armed Services Committee, including its chairman, Representative Carl Vinson. Bortman also met with the mayor of Boston and the governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The entire congressional delegation from Boston, including Senator Saltonstall and Representative McCormack, continued to make known its support for the historic site.⁹³

On Patriot’s Day, the public heard and read more impassioned pleas for the historic site. At ceremonies in honor of the day, Governor Foster Furcolo appealed directly to the Secretary of the Air Force, asking him to alter the housing project to spare the Battle Road. The *Boston Globe* ran a feature article warning about the threat of Air Force housing taking the “Site of Revolutionary Heroism.” The next day, the paper ran an inflammatory editorial, probably based on statements by an unidentified member of the BNHSC. The author of the editorial accused the Air Force of being “either exceedingly careless or exceedingly callous” in planning its housing project, which “encroaches on the Concord battlefield.”⁹⁴ These articles angered Air Force personnel, and Bortman personally called the base and apologized “for the recent scandalous write-ups in the local newspapers.” He instructed his fellow BNHSC members to refrain from making any further statements regarding the affair.

⁹¹ Minutes, BNHSC, 1 May 1957, 1-3, File A2015 25th Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. Whitehill took the vacancy left by the passing of Watkins.

⁹² Ibid., 2.

⁹³ Bortman to Seaton, 5 April 1957; Bortman to Vinson, 7 May 1957; and Bates to Bortman, 9 May 1957, all in File L58 1956-1961 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Minutes, BNHSC, 3 April 1957, 2, File A2015 24th Meeting, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. No author, Preservation of the Lexington-Concord Road, Massachusetts, 20 August 1957, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files. Bortman to Furcolo, 23 May 1957, File Massachusetts Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. “Air Force Housing Plans Are Revealed,” *Lexington Minute-Man* (24 January 1957); and Emilie Tavel, “Patriots Skirmish with – Air Force,” *Christian Science Monitor* (19 April 1957).

⁹⁴ Walett, “Minute Man Boulder and Capehart Housing,” 38.

However, Bortman could not reverse the damage. As the Hanscom AFB Historian noted in his account, “many people adopted the attitude that the Middlesex countryside was again being invaded—this time by the bluecoats of the Air Force rather than by the British redcoats.”⁹⁵

Everything changed in early May. A general Air Force re-analysis of housing needs, combined with a “severe economy drive” led the military to reduce planned housing units at many bases, including the Capehart project at Hanscom AFB. Considered a “severe blow” to the Hanscom AFB planners, they decided to redesign the project from the initial 670 units to the now allowed 395 and proceed.⁹⁶ They also made the decision to withdraw completely from the area under dispute with the BNHSC. The Air Force planners could contain the reduced housing project without that land, and officials feared court action (and related delays) if they attempted to use this contested land.⁹⁷

The Massachusetts delegation of elected officials accepted praise and congratulations for their roles in achieving this favorable result. On 15 May 1957 Senator Saltonstall wrote to Secretary of the Interior Seaton that he had “just been informed that a substantial portion of the houses to be built by the Air Force in this project have now been eliminated by the Department of Defense.” Senator Saltonstall concluded that the site “may be made a national historic site” using the Secretary of Interior’s powers under the *Historic Sites Act*.⁹⁸ In mid-1959 the Hanscom AFB chronicler expressed “serious doubt whether the rather grandiose plans of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission will ever come to pass.”⁹⁹

The BNHSC did gain an early sign of victory. On 17 November 1958 the General Services Administration transferred ownership of the 8.08-acre tract of declared surplus property to the NPS. On 14 April 1959 Secretary of the Interior Seaton designated the site. It consisted of two parcels, one equaling approximately 1.19 acres and the second measuring approximately 6.89 acres. The Air Force reduced its housing units by approximately one-third, from 670 to about 400 units. The NPS named the tract Minute Man National Historic Site (NHS). According to correspondence, Regional Director Tobin had suggested the name, with Minute Man spelled as two words, and it had received a favorable reaction from Director Wirth.¹⁰⁰ Small agreed, writing that “As the property embraces the scene of one

⁹⁵ Ibid., 39.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 40.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 41.

⁹⁸ Saltonstall to Seaton, 15 May 1957, 1, File L58 1956-1961 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79, MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁰⁰ Order and attached correspondence, Memorandum, Scyoen to Secretary of the Interior, 4 March 1959, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files. See also Press Release, Secretary Seaton Establishes Minute Man National Historic Site in Massachusetts, 16 April 1959, File L58 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Regarding the housing reduction, see James Douglas to McCormack, 22 May 1957, attached to McCormack to Small, 24 May 1957, File McCormack Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham; and Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 20 June 1957, File L58 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Regarding the land transfer, see Memorandum, Tobin to Director, 19 March 1958; Request

Minute Man's private way with the retreating British, the name would appear to be particularly suitable.”¹⁰¹

Tobin's office recommended that the superintendent of Salem Maritime National Historic Site, where Small served as superintendent just prior to accepting his position with the BNHSC, administer the MIMA site. Tobin did not foresee the need for separate custodial (or other) staffing in the immediate future. Congress would soon consider the idea of a full NHP, and the small size of the historic site required only routine visits to check for vandalism and other adverse uses.¹⁰² Small did make some specific suggestions for landscaping the site, cautioning the NPS to refrain from cutting any trees or brush until it could ensure an “adequate screen of greenery will be retained” to conceal the military housing. He figured that at a later date “it would be preferable to revive the pasture and portion of the field to conditions more nearly like those of 1775.” The NPS would eventually place markers at the site, after considering the idea of marking the entire battle route between Concord and Charlestown.¹⁰³

MIMA

With the Air Force housing project behind them, BNHSC members could focus on the larger goal of the NHP. By September 1957 the BNHSC had decided to follow the wishes of the three neighboring towns and delineate the proposed MIMA as a “continuous park area” from Route 128 in Lexington to Meriam’s Corner in Concord.¹⁰⁴ The NPS was very impressed with the “anchor spots” of Lexington Green and the North Bridge, and it was “much aware of the problem of continuity between same.” However, the NPS recognized that, at least for Lexington Green, the town did not support its inclusion in the NHP. Town officials believed that “their historic districts legislation [took] care of the situation.”¹⁰⁵ Delays in completion of the *Interim Report* occurred partially due to the time it

for Transfer of Excess Real Property, 1 April 1958; E. T. Scoyer to R. W. Heald, 3 April 1958; Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 1 August 1958; Memorandum, Tobin to Director, 19 August 1958; Jackson E. Price to Assistant Solicitor, 26 September 1958; and J. M. Geoghegan to Tobin, 17 November 1958 [letter of final transfer], all in File L58 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Regarding the name, see Memorandum, E. T. Scoyer to Regional Director, 21 April 1958, File MIMA Correspondence 1941-1959, NRHE Files; and Memorandum, Tobin to Small, 22 April 1958, attached to Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 24 April 1958, File L58 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰¹ Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 24 April 1958.

¹⁰² Memorandum, Scoyer to Regional Director, 21 April 1958; and Memorandum, Tobin to Small, 22 April 1958.

¹⁰³ Small, Data and Recommendations, Historic Roadside, North of Nelson Road, 7 June 1957, File Saltonstall Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. Quotes on p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 16 September 1957, 2, File L58 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also Memorandum, Small to Director, 11 December 1957, File Correspondence Establishment and Extension of BNHSC, Box 1, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes, BNHSC, 16 August 1957, 2-3, File A2015 27th Meeting, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

took to identify, map, and appraise so many individual parcels of land. Consultant Samuel Snow accepted the somewhat tedious task, and was assisted by Small.¹⁰⁶

By early 1959 the BNHSC could proceed with the congressional review of its report and recommendations for the Battle Road. The *Interim Report* detailed the historical justifications for setting aside the Battle Road.¹⁰⁷ On 18 December 1958 the report was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for transmittal to Congress. The BNHSC also recognized Shurcliff's influence in shaping its views and recommendations.¹⁰⁸ The report includes one large appendix, outlining the events of 19 April 1775. This appendix was based on an extensive review of the sources. In another appendix, the BNHSC described the historic structures and markers that remained along the route. The report also clarified the reasons for preservation. Burgeoning development, migration of people from the city to the suburbs, and the "intermittent and unpredictable expansion of defense activities by the United States Air Force" required immediate action.¹⁰⁹ Most of the Battle Road had already succumbed to development, but this continuous four-mile stretch held promise if Congress acted immediately. "These recommendations," according to the BNHSC, "will afford the very last opportunity to regain and to pass on to future generations any appreciable and meaningful segment of the setting" of the beginning of the War for Independence.¹¹⁰

What did the BNHSC envision for the proposed MIMA? In broad terms, it saw the park as the "best opportunity that may still be realized to bring before the American people a comprehensive and vivid picture of the beginning of their struggle for national freedom." Legislation would save two distinct units, the largest of which would follow the historic Battle Road from Route 128 to Meriam's Corner. The smaller second unit would include the properties adjacent to the North Bridge in Concord. The BNHSC encouraged the establishment of a cooperative agreement with the Town of Concord for preservation and interpretation of the North Bridge.¹¹¹ Though the park could not encompass the entire stretch of the British route from Boston to the Colonel Barrett House in Concord, the BNHSC believed that the park could serve as a "center of information and orientation for the entire historic route."

The BNHSC urged the NPS to serve as a "mainspring" for developing a coordinated program with all groups and organizations in the Boston area concerned with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In addition, cooperative agreements would facilitate the protection of historic properties outside the park's boundaries and aid in development of a system of historical markers for the entire length of the route. Finally, the BNHSC

¹⁰⁶ Minutes, BNHSC, 11 December 1957, 1, File A2015 29th Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. See also Memoranda, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 30 April 1958, 2 June 1958, and 3 June 1958, all in File Assessed Values of Land and Buildings, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰⁷ Memorandum, Small to Director, 13 January 1959, 1, File O'Neill Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰⁸ *Interim Report*, 34-35.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5-6 and 39-40.

recommended the removal of Route 2A from the park. “As the park comes into existence,” the report states, “this road [Route 2A] can be relocated beyond park boundaries and bear an even closer relationship to the major highway—Route 2—that now parallels it a mile to the southward.”¹¹²

On 9 January 1959, in response to the submission of the *Interim Report* to Congress, Representative O’Neill introduced the H. R. 1932 bill to provide for the establishment of MIMA. Senators Saltonstall and John Kennedy submitted an identical bill, S. 1460, on 19 March 1959. In recognition of her role in representing the communities immediately affected by the proposed legislation, Representative O’Neill withdrew his bill and offered for Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers, who represented the communities where the park would be located, to submit an identical version as H. R. 5892.¹¹³

In August 1959 the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reviewed and amended this bill. It removed words “or acquire by purchase” from Section 2 to remove any implication that the Secretary of the Interior may acquire properties for the park only by donation or through voluntary sales. The committee clarified the Secretary’s authority to condemn, and for the federal government to take land and then determine a fair price. Condemnation authority provided protection against possible irreparable threats to land or structures of significance to the park, and it allowed for the clearing of legal title in certain cases. The committee also amended H. R. 5892 by adding a new Section 6, limiting authorized appropriations to \$8 million for land acquisition and development costs. Of this amount, not more than \$5 million would be available for land acquisition.¹¹⁴

Otherwise, the bills all resembled closely the draft first crafted by Small and the NPS two years earlier. The park would comprise no more than 750 acres, from Fiske Hill through the Town of Lincoln and to the North Bridge in Concord. The Secretary of the Interior had acquisition authority, and exact boundaries of the park would follow once the park had acquired the land. The draft legislation encouraged cooperative agreements, along with the placement of markers and tablets. A five-member advisory commission was organized, composed of representatives from each of the three towns, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and a representative designated by the Secretary of the Interior. This commission would advise the Secretary of the Interior about the park’s development. The bill did not place limitations on the length of individual service or commission existence.¹¹⁵

The NPS recommended passage of the legislation. To answer questions and build support for the park, Director Wirth met with local residents in Lincoln the same day

¹¹² All quotes, *Ibid.*, 20-21.

¹¹³ HR 1932, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 9 January 1959; S 1460, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 19 March 1959; HR 5892, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 20 March 1959, amended 14 August 1959.

¹¹⁴ Memorandum, Scoyer to Assistant Secretary, Public Land Management, 17 July 1959, 1; and 30 July 1959, 1, both in File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files. House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Minute Man National Historical Park, Mass., 86th Cong., 1st sess., 11 August 1959, H. Rep. 900, 6.

¹¹⁵ Quote, p. 2, HR 5892, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 20 March 1959, as amended, 14 August 1959; HR 1932, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 9 January 1959; S 1460, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 19 March 1959.

Representative O'Neill introduced the first bill.¹¹⁶ As reported in the local papers, people responded warmly to his assurances that the rights of property owners whose land fell within the proposed boundaries of the park would be “zealously respected.” Wirth also offered that residents within park boundaries would be given ample time to adjust, “even if it takes the lifetimes of people living there.”¹¹⁷ NPS staffer Allen Edmunds recorded most of the questions people asked during the meeting, but gave brief summaries of how Wirth answered some of them. According to the notes, Wirth’s declaration that land acquisition would be done by donation elicited laughter. Land acquisition would also result from “negotiations with land owners, life tenancy, etc.”¹¹⁸

At the April 1959 meeting of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, Wirth reported on this Lincoln meeting. He said that some people expressed concern “that we would come in and seize their property.” People worried about the federal government’s right under the draft legislation to condemnation authority. According to the Advisory Board minutes, the following statement by Wirth is the only known official recollection of what he told the townspeople:

They were told we would be willing to buy the land subject to life occupancy or a certain number of years provided they do not destroy any of the existing values, in which case we would have to take the land. It is a long time program and will not be entirely completed in our lifetime.¹¹⁹

At the Lincoln meeting, Lexington Selectman Alan Adams discussed the importance of saving this historic shrine in light of outside development. “I hope all the townspeople in this area,” Adams stated, “will cooperate in seeing that this park is established.” Concord Selectman Robert Parks agreed, saying, “This area should be preserved as a shrine.”¹²⁰ Enthusiastic applause followed the remark by one property owner who said the plan was “the best thing that could happen to us.”¹²¹ White, from the Lincoln Planning Board, summed up Wirth’s impact when she wrote to him that “your talk did more to help us locally to advance the establishment of the [park] than anything else we could have done.”¹²²

Support within Lincoln continued throughout the process. Lexington also continued to support the proposal, incorporating the park into its town planning. In Concord, some protests erupted over the methods of setting up the park, but legislation was

¹¹⁶ Memorandum, Small to Director, 13 January 1959, 1, File O’Neill Correspondence, Box 4, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham; Press Release, Interior Department Recommends Legislation to Create Minute Man National Historical Park in Massachusetts, 18 June 1959, File L58 (1 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also Advisory Board, Summary Minutes, 20-22 April 1959, 14-15, Advisory Board Files, NRHE Files.

¹¹⁷ “No Evictions Due on ‘Battle Road,’” *Boston Herald* (10 January 1959).

¹¹⁸ Memorandum, Daniel Tobin to Director Wirth, 13 January 1959, 2, File L1417 Correspondence 5/59-5/60, NRG-079-00-0260, Box 6, RG 79, NARA-Denver.

¹¹⁹ Advisory Board, Summary Minutes, 20-22 April 1959, 14-15, Advisory Board Files, NRHE Files.

¹²⁰ All quotes from “No Evictions Due on ‘Battle Road,’” *Boston Herald* (10 January 1959).

¹²¹ Edward G. McGrath, “Lincoln Applauds U. S. Park Plan,” *Boston Globe* (10 January 1959).

¹²² White to Wirth, 16 January 1959, File Town of Lincoln Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

not jeopardized.¹²³ Individual property owners who had land within the proposed park area expressed guarded support for the proposal, as evidenced in letters sent to the NPS and congressional representatives. As one family wrote to Wirth, “we are generally in favor of the proposed park,” but “the plan is something less than a blessing,” as it affected their residence.¹²⁴

The congressional committees in the House and Senate held little debate on the bills.¹²⁵ At the July 16 meeting of the House Subcommittee on Public Lands, Representative Wayne Aspinall inquired about the relationship between the proposed historical park and the designated Minute Man NHS. Representative John Chenoweth wanted more information about how local groups and governmental bodies had preserved the historic properties. Acting Regional Director E. T. Scoyen remarked in his summary to the hearing that “questioning by committee members indicated little in the way of critical reaction” to the legislation.¹²⁶ At the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands meeting on July 27 questions centered on whether the bill authorized condemnation (yes) and how the bill authorized land acquisition (through special appropriations). No Senate subcommittee members registered a critical response to the bill.¹²⁷

The most substantive discussion came before the full House on 17 August 1959. Still, no one critiqued or challenged the bill.¹²⁸ Instead, members of Congress reminded each other of the importance to save this land before suburban development engulfed and destroyed it. Rep. Thomas Lane (D-MA) used vivid imagery to make his point. “The scene of the events that gave birth to the American spirit,” he said, “is in danger of being overrun by ranch houses, suburban shopping centers, and express highways. The bulldozer, symbol and instrument of impersonal materialism, is leveling everything before it.”¹²⁹ The House responded by voting to pass the legislation. The Senate followed suit. President Dwight D.

¹²³ Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 8 May 1959, 1; and Memorandum, Allen T. Edmunds to Regional Director, 3 August 1959, 1, both in File Town of Lincoln Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. Walter E. Beatteay to Saltonstall, 26 June 1959, attached to Scoyen to Saltonstall, 27 July 1959, file L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Wilfrid C. Rogers, “Minute Man Park Plan Running into Opposition,” *Boston Globe* (12 August 1959). Town of Lexington Annual Report, 1958, 210, Carey Memorial Library. Bortman to Rep. Gracie Pfost, 16 July 1959, 2, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files.

¹²⁴ Alvin and Betty Levin to Wirth, 8 February 1959, 1, attached to J. H. Gadsby to Levin, 20 April 1959, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹²⁵ Minutes, BNHSC, 17 August 1959, 2, file A2015 30th Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

¹²⁶ Memorandum, Scoyen to Assistant Secretary, Public Land Management, 17 July 1959. Quote on p. 2. See also HR Rept. No. 900, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Minute Man National Historical Park, 11 August 1959.

¹²⁷ Memorandum, Scoyen to Assistant Secretary, Public Land Management, 30 July 1959, 1, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files. See also S. Rpt. No. 860, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Minute Man National Historical Park, 1 September 1959.

¹²⁸ Interestingly, reference is made in the floor debate to 1925 when supposedly the US Congress had rejected a bill to have the Battle Road saved as a national park. A review of the *Congressional Record* for 1925 and 1926 indicates that such a bill was not introduced.

¹²⁹ Minute Man NHP, 86th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (17 August 1959): 16071.

Eisenhower signed the legislation on 21 September 1959, establishing MIMA (See Appendix for a copy of the act).¹³⁰

Ronald F. Lee, who replaced Tobin as Regional Director for Region 5, remarked that “he didn’t know of any measure of as significant historical character as MIMA to go through the various stages of legislation with such little trouble.” He credited the BNHSC for its preparation for the legislation.¹³¹ This work later translated into the establishment of another national park site, the Boston National Historical Park. As the final BNHS report clarified, the sites preserved under the 1974 Boston NHP “are readily recognized by titles that strike a responsive chord because of their indissoluble association with events that upset the equilibrium of the British Empire, that fomented a bold and patriotic spirit of rebellion against parliamentary vindictiveness and royal misrule and, in the end, precipitated the Revolutionary War.” Using cooperative agreements with state and private organizations, plus federal acquisition of a few properties, the NPS succeeded in completing the vision of the BNHSC to preserve the most important sites and buildings of the colonial and Revolutionary War period in the Boston area.¹³²

¹³⁰ “U.S. House Passes Historic Park Bill,” *Lexington Minute-Man* (20 August 1959); “Park Bill Passed By U.S. Senate,” *Lexington Minute-Man* (10 September 1959).

¹³¹ Minutes, BNHSC, 21 June 1960, 3, File A2015 31st Meeting, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

¹³² Quote from BNHSC, *Final Report of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission*, 87th Cong., 1st sess., 15 March 1961, H. Doc. 107, xiii. Boston NHP now includes a visitor center at 15 State Street, Dorchester Heights, a portion of the Charlestown Navy Yard, and Bunker Hill Monument and grounds. USS Constitution is owned and operated by the US Navy. The rest of the historic sites that constitute the park - Faneuil Hall, Old South Meeting House, Paul Revere House, Old North Church, and Old State House - are municipally or privately-owned or managed. Cooperative agreements between the National Park Service and each site assist in the coordination of management and maintenance responsibilities. All of these areas had been identified by the Commission.



Figure 5. North Bridge, 1956 version. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 6. NPS Director Conrad Wirth sits on the far right and future MIMA Superintendent Edwin Small stands second from the left in this 1956 photo. Courtesy National Archives and Records Administration, RG79, BNHSC, Box 1, File A2015.



Figure 7. Contemporary house with Captain William Smith House in the background. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 55.



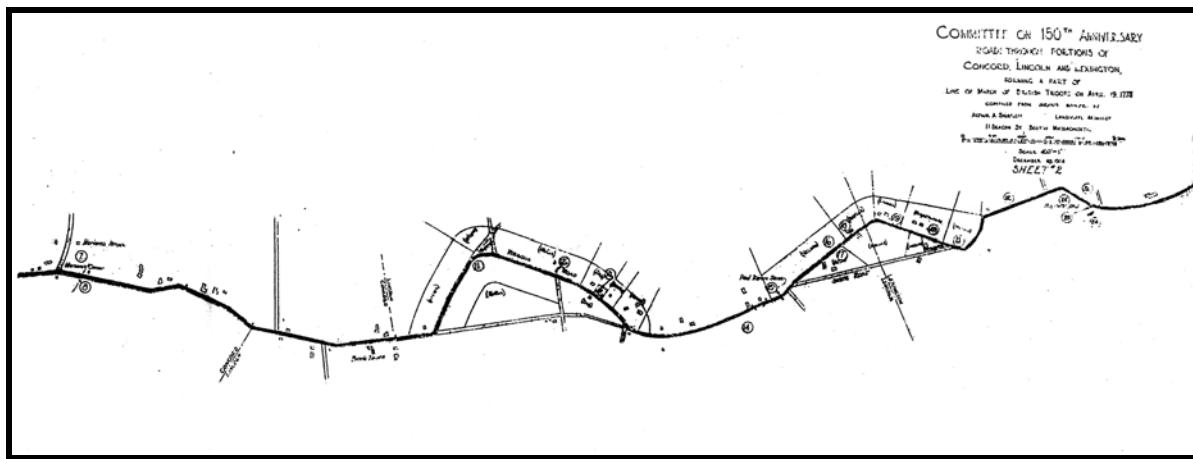
Figure 8. Paul Revere Motel. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 57.



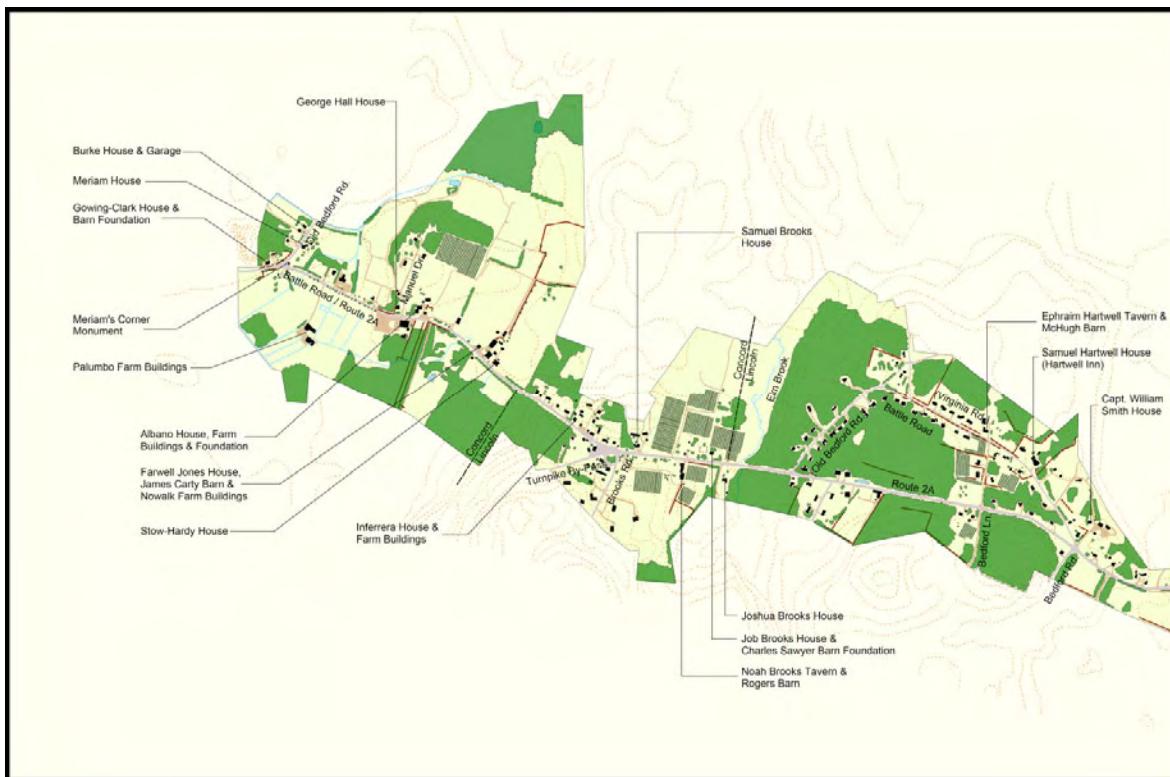
Figure 9. Buttrick Ice Cream Stand. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 10. Hinds Turkey Farm, 1960. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 61.



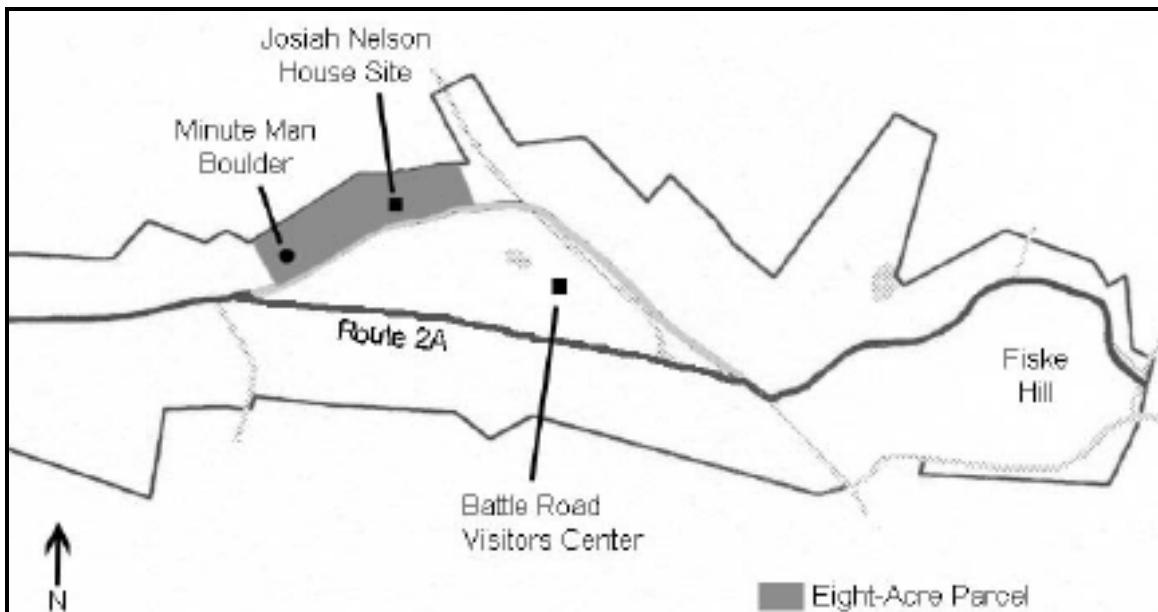
Map 4. Arthur Shurcliff Map, 1925. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 52.



Map 5. Roads and structures, western Battle Road, 1958. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, part of Figure 66.



Map 6. Roads and structures, eastern Battle Road, 1958. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, part of Figure 66.



Map 7. Minute Man NHS, 1958. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 62.

CHAPTER THREE

MAKING A PARK

Imagine what Edwin Small saw in late summer 1960 as he drove through the area designated for inclusion in Minute Man National Historical Park (MIMA). While driving on Old Massachusetts Avenue, heading to Route 2A and Concord, he saw a small community of affordable housing on the right at Fiske Hill. On his left was the Hinds family's extensive turkey farm. He soon crossed under the imposing transmission lines and towers of the Boston Edison Company. As he drove further west and joined Route 2A, Small saw more signs of modern development that would have to be removed eventually. Dr. Carl Benton's veterinary hospital and residence sat on more than six acres of land adjacent to Marrett Street, now Airport Road. The Paul Revere Motel and gas station beckoned tourists with its small cabins and open setting. The Geophysics Corporation Laboratory and the Lincoln Town Dump stretched along the south side of Route 2A. On a warm day, he could have stopped at the Buttrick Ice Cream Stand. He might have seen some sheep in the pasture where Alvin and Betty Levin lived. Now, so close to Hanscom Air Force Base (AFB), he heard airplanes roar overhead at regular intervals as they took off and landed.¹

With a little extra time on his hands, Small opted to take a slight detour to see The Bloody Angle along what was then Virginia Road and Bedford Lane. He drove past numerous contemporary residences near the historic Capt. William Smith House and the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern. He considered stopping at the Samuel Hartwell House, where Marion Fitch and her late business partner Jane Poor operated a country restaurant well known for its brown-sugar rolls and chicken soup. The Hartwell Farm restaurant, established in 1925, had a ready supply of nearby customers from the nearly 40 modern house lots that sliced through the former battleground.²

Back on Route 2A, Small looked behind him and saw Fritz's Cider Mill and Garden Center, a popular stopping place for tasty drinks, fresh fruits and vegetables, and bedding plants.³ Ahead, he saw the historic complex of Brooks Houses. The Noah Brooks Tavern had successfully competed against the older Hartwell Tavern during the post-Revolutionary War era. It now served as a residence, as did the other three houses in the Brooks cluster. Just past them sat the historic Widow Olive Stowe house and the white colonial-styled Fairway

¹ This imagined tour with Edwin Small is based on reviewing the land status maps, boundary maps, and lands files all held in the Resources Management Division at MIMA.

² In addition to the maps, see Kay Bodkin, "A Women's View" [about Hartwell Farm and Marion Fitch], Supplement to local newspapers, no date [around 11 March 1969], File Fitch, Marion A., Tract No. 02-140, Lands Files, MIMA.

³ James D. Mahoney to Sen. Sparkman, 6 July 1965, 1, File Mahoney Brothers, Tract No. 03-149, Lands Files, MIMA.

Restaurant, another thriving establishment serving the area for the past 40 years.⁴ More modern housing lots stretched into former farmlands to the north of Route 2A before Small passed the Meriam House at Meriam's Corner. Down the street, he saw the Willow Pond Kitchen, a favorite roadside stop for the locals.

Small left the designated park area along the Battle Road and drove past lovely large homes, many with their own historical connections. He saw The Wayside, former home of muster master Samuel Whitney, the Alcott's, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and children's novelist Margaret Sidney (Harriett Lothrop). Next to The Wayside sat the Orchard House, where Louisa May Alcott wrote *Little Women*. Further west, Small passed the Ralph Waldo Emerson House, where the author had hosted Henry David Thoreau and many of America's literary and philosophical luminaries of the nineteenth century. Into Concord Center, Small drove past the First Parish Meeting House, the site of the previous church building where the Provincial Congress had met. He saw Wright Tavern, which had served as the British headquarters during the Concord Fight. Turning onto Monument Street, more graceful houses greeted Small.

As he entered the second designated unit of the park, he saw the Elisha Jones House, known for its famous bullet hole, and the Old Manse, the parsonage of Rev. William Emerson who had observed the battle at the North Bridge. Small parked and walked up the pathway to the bridge. He passed the 1836 Battle Monument and the Grave for British Soldiers before stopping for a moment of reflection at the base of the North Bridge. Ahead he saw the Minute Man statue. A gentle hill of green grass sloped up the opposite bank of the Concord River. Further to the north and east stood the imposing Stedman Buttrick House with its gardens full of bearded irises, peonies, and other eye-catching plants.

This imagined tour of the park encapsulates the many challenges Small faced as he contemplated the future of MIMA. He would not be the only park superintendent to face these challenges, as these issues have shaped and defined MIMA throughout its history. Historic buildings shared space with modern residential dwellings and a wide array of commercial establishments. The roads carried increasing amounts of traffic. Military aircraft flew overhead. Old stone walls, marking historic property lines, vanished from successive road building projects and strangling overgrowth. Trees had long taken over the areas where open fields once rolled. Small had worked passionately for the designation of this park. Through his efforts with the BNHSC, the area gained national park status for the Battle Road and North Bridge units in September 1959. He remained with the BNHSC to prepare its final report. In March 1960, he turned his attention back to MIMA to serve as Acting Project Manager. In March 1961, he became the park's first superintendent. Harold Lessem, superintendent at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site, had supervised the park until that time.⁵

⁴ "The Concord Tradition and Your Vote, Articles 37 and 38," unpaginated, File Denisevich, George W., Tract No. 04-120, Lands Files, MIMA.

⁵ *Justification for Meritorious Service Award*, Edwin Small, 3, File Edwin W. Small, Biographical Materials, NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center (HFC).

Small was an effective administrator. He was well respected, and he was considered an authority on the history and architecture of New England. He had many friends and professional contacts within the historic preservation circles in the region. His entire professional career, excluding military service in the United States Navy during World War II, was spent with the NPS in New England. Under the New Deal's emergency conservation work, he conducted field investigations and wrote reports about the historical features of state parks in the region having Civilian Conservation Corps camps under NPS supervision. Between 1937 and 1938 he had conducted the *NPS Historic Sites Survey* of the region, as authorized under the *1935 Historic Sites Act*. In 1938 he became the first superintendent of Salem Maritime, a post he kept (except for his time in military duty) until he joined the BNHSC in 1955.⁶

During his historic sites survey work and his time as superintendent at Salem Maritime, Small sought connections with influential people who advanced the work of the NPS. He developed close relationships important figures including William Sumner Appleton, founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and Louise du Pont Crowninshield, a well-known preservationist and private collector. Appleton and Crowninshield had considerable influence over the fate of Derby Wharf (the key historic structure in Salem), and Small gained their confidence to the benefit of the park. When Small went to the BNHSC, he continued to interact regularly with Crowninshield, who served as a member. Small's research for the NPS also brought him into contact with Walter M. Whitehill, director of the Boston Athenaeum and a fellow BNHSC member.⁷

Small fared well within the upper crust of New England's historic preservation circles, but he had to face a different crowd in Concord-Lincoln-Lexington. There, the old guard of preservationists mixed with rural immigrant farmers, small business leaders, government officials, middle-class homeowners with growing families, retirees, environmentalists, and a host of professionals from both the corporate and academic worlds. Salem Maritime was a small, contained park that required limited land acquisition; it had significantly fewer historic structures than MIMA. Land acquisition at MIMA entailed hundreds of small properties owned by a range of people and businesses. Small made significant headway at MIMA, most notably by obtaining the cooperative agreement with the Town of Concord for the North Bridge unit. He also established much of the vision for the original *Master Plan*. He maintained good relations with the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission and many of the leaders in each of the towns. But, he was not a presence in the park; he kept his office in the Post Office and Courthouse Building in Boston. There, he continued to maintain responsibilities with other historic sites in the area, play a role in the Registry of National Landmarks, and continue fostering his connections with

⁶ Ibid., 1-2.

⁷ Pauline Chase-Harrell, Carol Ely, and Stanley Moss, *Administrative History of the Salem Maritime National Historic Site* (Boston: NPS North Atlantic Regional Office, 1993), 6, 12, 35-36, 41, 78, 103, 107. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 175-76, 655-56.

Boston-based organizations and officials. He also faced some significant potential obstacles.⁸ For example, state authorities had to examine possible relocation alignments for Route 2A and find a way to obtain the money through state and federal channels. Hanscom AFB had its own directives to expand its technological capabilities while providing housing to its base personnel. The park's land acquisition program relied upon other NPS personnel, with Small providing guidance. The early years of MIMA depict this mixture of success and challenge.

BOUNDARIES

Before MIMA could exist as a true park and welcome visitors and educate them about the opening hours of the American Revolution, the park needed land. Many factors influenced which areas of land the NPS would acquire and when that would take place. Congress had laid out the basic parameters, limiting total acreage to 750 and total appropriations for land acquisition to \$5 million. By the time of Small's imagined drive in summer 1960 MIMA could boast only the eight-acre parcel obtained from the Air Force. Any further acquisitions required definitive ideas about park boundaries and congressional appropriations. To decide on acquisitions, however, meant confronting the very heart of the reasons compelling Congress to set aside the park.

Busy roads cutting through the park and development at Hanscom AFB continued. What lands should the park acquire if the Massachusetts state government relocated Route 2A? Where would the Hanscom AFB access roads go with such relocation? Would any potential rerouting of Route 2 influence boundaries for the park? William Failor, chief of Region 5 boundary studies, admitted the need for more than a boundary for the new park. All of the interests noted in Lexington-Lincoln-Concord needed to be coordinated. In the February 1960 MIMA boundary study, Failor wrote that "The basic problem, as I see it, is...how best we can adapt our proposals to the planning needs of the area and at the same time satisfy our own standards of park planning."⁹

Failor recommended 630 acres for Unit A, the Battle Road section of the park, and 117 acres for Unit B around the North Bridge. Two considerations guided his selections. First, he wanted to ensure adequate landscape protection of the historic scene. Second, he wanted to provide enough space for development and interpretation of the park. The park needed room items including parking areas, interpretive devices, maintenance areas, and visitor facilities. Removing Route 2A from parkland was an idea tied closely to these considerations. As Failor envisioned the park, a relocated Route 2A would serve as a southern boundary along the stretch of Unit A from Marrett Road in Lexington to Meriam's Corner in Concord. Failor strongly endorsed the removal of 2A from the park, arguing that the NPS would have maximum flexibility in developing and administering MIMA. The park could adapt or obliterate existing roads to meet interpretive needs, rather than having to

⁸ Final Approved Master Plan, MIMA [1966 Master Plan], 9, MIMA Archives. A copy is also available at FRC, Waltham.

⁹ William R. Failor, *Report on Boundary Study of Minute Man National Historical Park Project*, February 1960, 1, File L14 Boundary Survey, Park Administrative Files, MIMA.

address the transportation demands of the area.¹⁰ Failor believed that Unit A was “too narrow to function properly” if traffic continued to use Route 2A through the park.¹¹ Regional Director Ronald Lee agreed. He recalled other park development, noting that when local and visitor traffic shared the same roads, the interpretation of parks “tends to lose its continuity and creates confusion” for visitors about the importance of the parks’ Values.¹² Instead, Lee and Failor envisioned that with Route 2A gone, the proposed boundaries would create a “permanent park, well-planned and air-tight, so that it will fit into the community satisfactorily.”¹³

For the eastern boundary at Fiske Hill, Failor followed the right-of-way along Route 128. Failor set the northern boundary to encompass much of the Colonial Heights residential community along Hayward Avenue to give “adequate scenic and space protection for the Battle Road and the park area as a whole.” With these houses so close to important historic features, Failor believed that they “constitute[d] a definite encroachment on primary park values.” Next, the northern boundary line followed south of Hanscom AFB and continued toward Meriam’s Corner, approximately 400 feet north of Route 2A. He estimated that “Any distance substantially less than 400 [feet] would be detrimental to park values.” The western boundary for Unit A would end at Meriam’s Corner along existing property lines. Failor set Unit B boundaries to follow the property lines for the Bullet Hole House, Maj. John Buttrick House, and Hunt-Hosmer House. In addition, he located other boundary lines to protect the marsh and river scene around the North Bridge.¹⁴

To aid planning with other federal, state, and local authorities to realize this boundary recommendation, Failor included analyses of the most pressing issues in his boundary study. Relocating Route 2A south of the park would remove its traffic from the historic scene. Another thoroughfare, Route 2, already ran to the south of 2A, and Failor believed Route 2 should remain to the south in the event that the state decided to relocate it. People in Lincoln had long wanted Route 2 removed because it cut the town into two separate sections and brought heavy traffic through what many townspeople thought should remain a rural area. A northern alignment might better address these concerns, but Failor argued that taking Route 2 north of the park, necessitating two crossings of the proposed six-lane highway through parkland, could “play havoc with landscape and historical values.” Tunnels would help reduce the impact, but Failor cautioned that the NPS might easily end up footing the bill.¹⁵

¹⁰ Ibid., 5-6, 9. Ronald Lee to Chairman, Lexington Board of Selectmen, 29 April 1960, 1, File L58 (2 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹¹ Failor, Boundary Study, 6.

¹² Lee to Chairman, Lexington Board of Selectmen, 29 April 1960, 1.

¹³ Minutes, First Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 21 June 1960, 4, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹⁴ All quotes from Failor, Boundary Study, 6-7.

¹⁵ Ibid., 2, 8-9. In nearly every annual report for the Town of Lincoln, going back to the 1960s, relocation of Route 2 is discussed. In 1977, the state finally decided against any relocation, and the annual report notes the reasons why Lincoln had long wanted this done. See Lincoln Annual Report, 1977, 3, Lincoln Public Library.

Regardless of where Route 2 rested, officials at Hanscom AFB wanted to build a four-lane divided access road to it. Again, a tunnel would help reduce the intrusion on the park. Hanscom AFB officials also wanted an access road to the relocated Route 2A. Failor made clear that any ramps or interchanges required for such access should be designed so as not to encroach on any parkland. This factor made the shifting of Route 2A further south a consideration. Aside from planning access roads between Hanscom AFB and the park, Failor also called attention to the long-range expansion plans for Hanscom AFB. He cautioned that the NPS and the Air Force should “get together on land acquisition” to avoid unnecessary land severance costs. One piece of land owned by the Air Force caught Failor’s eye. He noted that the NPS should add a triangular lot, located across from the Hasting House to the park to provide a buffer for the Battle Road. Once all lands had been acquired and a firm boundary was set between the two entities, Failor recommended that adequate screening between the Air Force and the park would become important and that “close coordination and cooperation will be essential.”¹⁶

To develop those ties of cooperation and coordination, NPS officials began writing to and meeting with key officials from the area. They found willing listeners. In May 1960, Regional Director Lee, along with Small, Failor, and NPS landscape architect Andrew Feil, met with the Lincoln Board of Selectmen. Lee was surprised to discover that the town favored relocating Route 2 up to the park’s proposed southern boundary, connecting it to Route 2A. He wasn’t sure the state would agree to such an idea, but he admitted in his meeting report that “our strategy of staying out of the Route 2 squabble paid dividends.” The Lincoln Selectmen also urged the NPS to move forward with land acquisition, especially where commercial interests had taken notice. Sun Oil had its eye on a piece of property within the park for a filling station, and Lee agreed to rank this land as a high priority for acquisition. Lee wrote, “I was impressed by the enthusiasm of the Selectmen and their willingness to help out wherever possible.”¹⁷

Members of the Concord Selectmen chose not to meet with the NPS, but the town had already registered its favorable attitude toward the park. The town had voted in March to seek historic district designation through the state legislature for four areas. Three of these areas had been identified by the BNHSC for such a designation, and the town had added the road to Barrett Farm as a fourth historic district. State action supported this request.¹⁸ Lee did meet with officials from Lexington. Again, Lexington’s leaders urged for NPS acquisition of property, including the Hinds turkey farm and Dr. Carl Benton’s veterinary hospital. The

¹⁶ Failor, *Boundary Study*, 3-4, 7-8. Quotes, in order, on pp. 3, 4.

¹⁷ Memorandum, Ronald Lee to NPS Director Conrad Wirth, 1 June 1960, File Town of Lincoln Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

¹⁸ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 16 March 1960, File Town of Concord Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham. The state legislature concurred with the historic district designations in 1960, as referenced by Small in his memorandum to Director Wirth, 28 July 1961, 6, File Minute Man Park Project Correspondence, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

encouragement for MIMA that existed prior to its establishment continued strong afterward.¹⁹

Cordial, productive communications also continued with Hanscom AFB officials. Samuel Snow, the consultant who had worked with Small to list potential properties for eventual designation in the park, surveyed and set boundary disks for MIMA. Snow found a discrepancy while examining the land in relationship to the written descriptions. Part of the northern boundary for the historic site fell within a few feet of the rear entrances of several houses on Hanscom AFB. To reduce the potential for intrusion, Snow set the boundary a few feet south of its original designation, bringing it closer to the stone walls and farther from the houses.

Regional Director Lee and Hanscom AFB officials approved of this adjustment. On 30 September 1960 Director Wirth effectively terminated the historic site and administratively designated MIMA, composed in part of the lands formerly included in the historic site.²⁰ Additional evidence of productive relations between the Air Force and the NPS surfaced. In response to Failor's recommendation for acquisition of a triangular piece of Air Force land to assure protection of the Battle Road, the Air Force countered with an acceptable alternative. To allow for future expansion of the base's Sciences Library, the two parties agreed to reduce the size of the parcel by two-thirds while preserving a buffer along the Battle Road near the Hasting House.²¹

Formal establishment of the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission prompted more opportunities for cooperation and coordination between the local towns and the park. On 21 May 1960 Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton announced the appointment of five members. Mark Bortman, chairman of the BNHSC, served as the Secretary's representative. The governor of Massachusetts appointed Donald Loveys. Katharine White, who had been active on the Lincoln Planning Commission, served for that town. Edward Chase represented Concord, and Donald Nickerson served for Lexington. According to its charter, the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission advised the Secretary of the Interior on the "development and administration"²² of the park. In reality, as the press release quoted Seaton, the commission functioned as a "community

¹⁹ Memorandum, Lee to Wirth, 1 June 1960.

²⁰ Memorandum, Regional Director Ronald Lee to Superintendent, Salem Maritime (Lessem), 26 February 1960; Memorandum, Lessem to Regional Director (Lee), 2 March 1960; Memorandum, Lee to Acting Project Manager, Minute Man (Small), 14 October 1960, and attached memorandum from Wirth to Lee, no date, all in File L58 (2 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. It should be noted that the Air Force waited until all authorities, including mortgage holders, had had a chance to review and affirm the boundary revision. Final confirmation came in August 1962. See Memorandum, Carlisle Crouch to Wirth, 17 August 1962, File L58 (2 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

²¹ Stephen Noonan to George Palmer, 9 August 1960; Memorandum, Lee to Director Wirth, 14 September 1960; and Memorandum, Jackson Price to Lee, 4 October 1960, all in File MIMA Correspondence 1960-1964, NRHE Files.

²² Charter, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, no date, 1, File A18 CY 1960? Charter, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

organization representing the views of the towns most affected”²³ by MIMA. Commission members could expect to meet between two and four times a year. Appointments lasted indefinitely at first, but soon came under annual review. The commission had a biennial review and renewal, with 31 December 1976 listed in its charter as its suggested termination date. Authorization for the commission came from the park’s enabling legislation.²⁴

At its first few meetings, the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission learned about the boundary study and early efforts for land acquisition. Actions taken indicate that the towns wanted clear and steady progress in park development. The actions also reminded the NPS to remain pragmatic when identifying possible properties for acquisition. Worries that rising land prices would quickly outstrip the park’s \$5 million limit for land acquisition led to one significant action—commission members endorsed a recommendation of the BNHSC in its final report.²⁵ This statement urged Congress to “give renewed emphasis to the import and urgency”²⁶ of completing acquisition within a much shorter time period than the original projection of 15 years (in time for the Bicentennial).

While deliberating the 1960 boundary recommendations, the commission argued that revisions should consider which buildings sat on identified pieces of property. In a motion made at the 26 June 1961 meeting, commission members asked that the Secretary of the Interior exclude residential properties “not absolutely necessary and that would rapidly consume” land acquisition funds “without adequate effect.” White specifically pointed at the Colonial Heights subdivision, arguing that cutting too far into this residential community would present a landscaping problem for the park. Small cautioned that the park could not reduce boundaries enough to endanger the desired landscape effect, but he did agree that screen planting “was much cheaper than buying houses and tearing them down.”²⁷

Echoing what Failor had written in the boundary study, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission members also urged the Secretary of the Interior to

²³ Press Release, “Secretary of the Interior Appoints Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Board,” 21 May 1960, File MIMA Correspondence 1975-1980, NRHE Files.

²⁴ Charter, Advisory Commission, 1-2. Minutes, Sixth Meeting, Minute Man National Park Advisory Commission, 1 December 1962, 1, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Correspondence or other materials do not indicate what sources the NPS used to design the Advisory Commission’s charter. Certainly, the need for cooperation and support from the three towns made establishment of such a commission attractive. Any correspondence noting establishment of the commission focused on appointments. See, for example, Hillary Tolson to Secretary of the Interior, 9 October 1959, File MIMA Correspondence 1975-1980, NRHE. In justifying the continuation of the commission in 1962, the NPS noted that for “harmonious and productive relations with the three towns,” the commission was “essential for the Secretary of the Interior.” See Memorandum, Leland Ramsdell to Administrative Assistant Secretary, 17 May 1962, and attached justification, 1-2, File MIMA Correspondence 1975-1980, NRHE.

²⁵ Minutes First Meeting, Minute Man NHP Advisory Commission, 21 June 1960, 1, 3; Minutes Second Meeting, Advisory Commission, 18 January 1961, 3, both in File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also BNHSC, *Final Report* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1961), 33, File BNHSC Final Report, NPS Reports Collection, MIMA Library.

²⁶ BNHSC, *Final Report*, 33.

²⁷ Minutes Third Meeting, Advisory Commission, 26 June 1961, 2, File A18, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

coordinate park and highway planning with other involved authorities. This stance came as a result of having representatives from the NPS, the Hanscom AFB, and the Massachusetts Department of Public Works at the 18 January 1961 commission meeting to discuss joint highway concerns. Air Force officials stated that they planned to build a direct access road between Route 2A and the base. This step would allow the NPS to close Marrett Street, the current access road to the base, to protect the historic resources at MIMA. In addition, the Air Force would address its own security concerns by removing general traffic from the access road. The base also considered acquiring additional land to build 220 more housing units. These actions would sever identified properties for MIMA and would force decisions about relocating Route 2A before all interested parties could complete their planning.

The meeting ended with a call for coordination.²⁸ In a letter to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in June 1961 the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission asked that park planning proceed as “quickly as possible,” especially aspects addressing highway changes. By the time of the letter, Hanscom AFB had announced that it expected completion of the new access road by 1962 and commission members believed that this “kind of piecemeal procedure...should be avoided.” Instead, members favored “unified construction of all highways” within an integrated park plan. Such an approach would eliminate construction duplication and any waste in taxpayer money.²⁹

ROADS

Roads carry visitors to see the historic sites of MIMA. Roads route residents between their homes and a myriad of destinations. Roads funnel commuters through the area. Roads direct people to centers of activity, whether for work, play, shopping, or schools. Just as roads twist and turn across the landscape, the history of roads in MIMA sometimes curved and veered in unexpected directions. The story does not end in 1962 or 1972 or even later. Examining the many configurations, though, helps to understand the park’s development and the planning decisions.

One road in particular—Route 2A—would continue to vex the park’s superintendents. Route 2A carried about 5,000 cars per day when the federal government established the park. By the late 1980s, due to development of the surrounding region, that road carried close to 20,000 cars per day. Until the late 1990s, when the park had completed its walker/biker historic trail through the Battle Road Unit, people drove on Route 2A without knowing that they traveled through a national park. Attempts to relocate this road continued to challenge Small and his successors, until the state finally declared the issue closed, largely due to environmental concerns. Did the NPS lose opportunities when looking

²⁸ Minutes Second Meeting, Advisory Commission, 18 January 1961, 4. Interoffice Memorandum, W. T. Hue to E. J. McCarthy, 29 November 1962, 2, attached to Memorandum, Small to Lee, 10 January 1963, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 70 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

²⁹ Mark Bortman to Stewart Udall, 28 June 1961, 1, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, Region Five, 23 June 1961, 1, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

back at this history? The chief opportunity loss came at the very beginning, when the NPS first met with state authorities to discuss relocating Route 2A but had no money to help complete the job. Without this financial commitment, the NPS lost ground from which it could never recover; developers continued to build homes and businesses.

Within the area of MIMA, increasing numbers of cars and trucks have followed these roads as Lexington-Lincoln-Concord steadily transformed from country towns to suburbs. And, as the BNHSC explained in its final report to Congress, the Hanscom air field drove much of this change. Expanded activities under the auspices of the Air Force required access roads of sufficient size and location to carry people to and from their commitments on the base. The “science city” comprising the Air Force Command and Development Division in nearby Bedford acted with Hanscom AFB as a magnet for corporate development. By the 1970s, Hanscom AFB would have a reduced presence, but the civilian air field would roar forward under the management of the Massachusetts Port Authority (Massport). Massport would also spawn development and traffic. Supporting businesses grew along the roads leading around the Hanscom air field, spurring further residential and commercial building. “They will shortly consume the remaining lands and landscape,” wrote the BNHSC, “including those inside the boundaries of the authorized park itself” unless land acquisition speeds its pace.³⁰

In the early 1960s, two proposed road projects caused debate at MIMA. The Air Force put forth a project that involved building a roadway to replace the Marrett Street access to the airbase.³¹ The NPS wanted the state to relocate Route 2A out of the proposed boundaries so the NPS could turn the Battle Road into a visitor route. Officials readily acknowledged the value of coordinated planning, as noted in the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission minutes. Visions of coordination, however, relied on funding of each project and a dedicated staff for design and implementation. Coordination attempts stalled as the Air Force access road obtained initial congressional appropriations, and the Route 2A relocation remained solely a discussion point. However, there were problems and delays with the new access road, providing a powerful reminder of the obstacles awaiting the NPS in its quest to relocate Route 2A.

Before the Air Force could build its access road to connect with the state highways in the area, it had to submit its proposal to the state for review and study. This process started just as MIMA became a NHP. The Massachusetts Department of Public Works hired engineering consulting firm Whitman and Howard to prepare a traffic study and analysis for the area surrounding Hanscom AFB. As part of its background research, Whitman and Howard asked the NPS for information about the proposed layout and design of MIMA. Assistant regional director George Palmer responded to this request in January 1960. Palmer reiterated the BNHSC recommendation of relocating Route 2A to “preserve and recreate the historic scene” within the park. He noted that moving Route 2A to the south from its present

³⁰ BNHSC, *Final Report*, 33.

³¹ Robert Barrere to Benjamin Zerbey, 25 June 1965, File D30 1964-1965, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

alignment “would make a desirable southern boundary for the park.” He also informed the firm that the NPS requested that any access roads connecting the airbase and proposed industrial sites to Route 2 (or presumably Route 2A) “go around the park rather than across it.” If the access roads had to cross the park, Palmer urged that there should be only one crossing, and it should be depressed within a location where topography “lends itself best to this type of construction.”³²

As the state and others awaited the Whitman and Howard study, the NPS realized the impracticality of tying the Route 2A relocation to the southern boundary of the park. Land acquisition would become tied to the fluctuation of that relocation project, leaving the NPS without clear knowledge of which properties to pursue. Instead, on July 1961, Small made a new offer during a planning meeting with NPS Director Wirth and Regional Director Lee. Small suggested that the NPS abandon the idea of using the relocated Route 2A as a southern boundary. The state’s public works department would determine the exact location of Route 2A “as a separate and distinct project from land acquisition and development of the park.” Wirth and Lee readily agreed to this change. In the meantime, the NPS continued its own planning efforts, hoping that someday it would have a park-only road where Route 2A now carried traffic.³³

Despite the promise of speedy construction of the Air Force access road, work on this project stopped by August 1961 in reaction to pressure from the Town of Lincoln, which was still wary of an expanded airbase within its boundaries.³⁴ In addition, the state public works department had not received the final transportation study from Whitman and Howard, delaying construction for the access road. In the meantime, the analysis of Route 2A moved slowly forward. When Small contacted Lester Olson of the public works department, he found that the state was cognizant of the need for coordination between the two projects. Small reported to regional director Lee that Olson “made it very clear that one [road] could not be laid out without taking into consideration the other...”³⁵

However, correspondence details that the two projects remained separate, driven by which agencies had the time and money to address them. As work on the airbase access road halted, efforts for relocating Route 2A gained speed. In early 1962, the state took a little more than an acre of land off Massachusetts Avenue opposite the Bluff. Primarily concerned with providing access to a transformer station once Route 2A was moved, this action still represented one of the first tangible events toward the larger NPS vision of removing non-visitor traffic through MIMA. In discussing this development with Small, Olson also

³² George Palmer to Whitman and Howard, Inc., 6 January 1960, File D30 CY 1960 Route 2A Relocation, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³³ Memorandum, Small to Wirth, 28 July 1961, 2, File Minute Man Project Correspondence, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham.

³⁴ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 16 August 1963, 2, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

³⁵ Quote from Memorandum, Small to Lee, 8 September 1961, 1-2, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also Memorandum, E. T. Scyoen to Lee, 25 August 1961, attached to previous memorandum.

confirmed that the state favored a southern alignment for the relocated Route 2A. Olson recommended that the NPS “wait and act concurrently” with the state public works department to negotiate for certain parcels in Lexington around the area of this transformer station.³⁶

Clarifications of responsibilities represented the next step toward relocating Route 2A. Washington office personnel believed that the NPS needed to go directly to the state to enlist support for the project. Small checked with Olson and found that instead, the state needed the NPS to go to the federal Bureau of Public Roads to initiate funding and direction. The Bureau of Public Roads would then ask the state to conduct a study for designing the new alignment and would supply the funding for this endeavor. With an approved layout, the state would then inform the Bureau of Public Roads about the amount of funds needed to complete the construction project. The state needed the federal government to provide funding beyond what was annually allotted through the federal-aid program. Olson also said what Small and the NPS certainly understood: that unless money for the relocation of Route 2A and the airbase access road came at the same time, the state would have to “temporarily at least...dump traffic” from the new access road onto the present Route 2A. While reviewing the state’s plans, Small realized that the most probable location for the interchange of the access road and the relocated Route 2A would sit in Lincoln near Folly Pond.³⁷

In opposition to the state’s suggestion, the NPS pursued the idea of the state using the federal-aid highway program to fund the relocation of Route 2A. In November 1962, after checking with the Bureau of Public Roads, Secretary of the Interior Udall sent a letter to Massachusetts Governor John Volpe to enlist the state’s support for the relocation idea and ask the state to submit a proposal to this program. A change in governors did not change the state’s response. The state’s view was firm: funding had to come from other than the federal-aid program. The state explained that since Route 2A was classified as a secondary road system, it had to compete with a host of other secondary road systems within the state for the annual federal-aid program appropriation of about \$2 million, matched by another \$2 million by the state.

The Federal Highway Act further dictated that half the total money under this program be used on roads other than state highways. Initial calculations indicated that relocating Route 2A would cost \$2.329 million, and the Hanscom AFB access road would cost about \$1.7 million. The state estimated that another \$2.4 million was needed to relocate Route 62 in Concord so that it came down Old Bedford Road as opposed to Bedford Road, bypassing the park area north of the Meriam House. Small calculated that the NPS was responsible for approximately \$2.25 million, plus the cost of a tunnel or other sunken road for the airbase access road to the new Route 2A. MIMA legislation did not include

³⁶ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 8 June 1962, 1-2, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Quote from p.2.

³⁷ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 13 September 1962, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Quote on p. 3.

authorization for funding such construction work, requiring Congress to appropriate special funds.³⁸

In February 1963 representatives from the NPS, Bureau of Public Roads, Massachusetts Department of Public Works, Massport (in charge of the civilian air terminal at Hanscom AFB), Hanscom AFB, and Lincoln Board of Selectmen met to discuss the highway situation. This group readily agreed that division of costs by state or federal agency for the proposed highway work “would be very difficult to determine.” However, NPS officials argued that their agency should not cover costs beyond “in kind” replacement of roads.

Rumors surfaced about the relocated Route 2A becoming larger than a single lane each way. In response, state public works authorities noted that fewer roads would be built to replace those being closed for the park, forcing more traffic to use the limited numbers of roads and requiring upgrades and expansions.³⁹ At the time of the meeting, only the airport access road had dedicated funds from the USAF. Funding had recently cleared for a land survey to prepare for construction, and the NPS requested that the Air Force keep it apprised of the start of land acquisition for this access road. Both agencies agreed that they should coordinate land takings to reduce costs. All the representatives agreed that the projects required special funding from both federal and state sources. They decided to meet again in a few months to discuss cost breakdowns and proposals for funding requests.⁴⁰

Instead of meeting, the state sent a preliminary cost breakdown to the NPS in April. State public works official Olson also informed Small that it would take approximately two years for initial field work to end and construction drawings and layout to gain approval. Olson desired some indication from the NPS of its intention to pursue funding.⁴¹ After further internal discussion, Regional Director Lee requested approval from Director Wirth to move forward with the project. Lee recommended that the NPS request legislation from Congress to authorize \$1.6 million of the estimated \$2.8 million cost of the Route 2A and airbase road relocations. The Route 62 relocation was removed from the new estimates. The new Route 2A would be replaced “at a higher standard for a part of its length to meet modern traffic conditions.” Lee justified this expense by writing, “This relocation is more expensive than anyone desires, but it is the only way” to complete an effective historical park at

³⁸ Udall to John Volpe, 7 November 1962; Memorandum, Small to Lee, 28 November 1962; Memorandum, Small to Lee, 10 January 1963, and attached copy Interoffice Correspondence, W. T. Hue to E. J. McCarthy, 29 November 1962, all in File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

³⁹ The roads changes would include: relocation of Route 2A for about 2.5 miles, closing of the present access road from Route 2A to Hanscom, and the closing of three local roads which also serve as access roads to the airport and associated local industries. See Hue to McCarthy, 29 November 1962.

⁴⁰ Interoffice Correspondence, Hue to Chief Engineer, 6 March 1963, 1-3; and Memorandum, Small to Lee, 11 January 1963, both in File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁴¹ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 16 August 1963, 1, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

MIMA.⁴² Wirth's assistant director for design and construction approved Lee's recommendation, authorizing Lee to begin negotiations with the state. In December, Lee wrote to the state's chief engineer and requested that the NPS and the state develop an agreement. In exchange for federal financial participation to construct a new Route 2A, Lee asked for transfer of the right-of-way to the existing 2A, allowing for subsequent closing of that road to non-park traffic.⁴³

Progress was slow in 1964. Evaluating details for the possible relocation of Route 2 (as desired by the Town of Lincoln) was time consuming for the state. In addition, the public works department was reorganized. Small was certain that Route 2A would sit for the time being. In March 1964 the state submitted a draft agreement for review, but it fell short of NPS requirements. The state proposed that the federal government cover the entire cost of the road relocation work for Route 2A and the airbase access road. Based on the wording, the NPS was unsure whether the state meant a combination of the Department of the Interior and the USAF in its use of the term "federal government" or whether the state simply meant the Department of the Interior. In addition, the draft agreement did not delineate which entity would take responsibility for land acquisition costs related to the road relocation. Surprisingly, the state took responsibility in the draft agreement for all development on the relocated Route 2A in excess of a two-lane "in kind" highway. These concerns prompted the NPS to try another agreement.⁴⁴

As discussion about relocating Route 2A reached a high point, its progress ebbed, and the airbase access road project continued. In October 1964 the suspended project gained new momentum with a change of command at the base. With the baseline survey and plotting survey data previously completed, the project focused on design plans and property identification for land acquisition. A public hearing in the Lincoln town hall in January 1965 gave neighbors the opportunity to voice their concerns and raise questions about right-of-way acquisitions. Two property owners directly affected by the proposed routing of the airbase road objected to its close proximity to their yards. Many people were concerned about increased traffic and whether the existing access road would remain open until the state relocated Route 2A. However, no serious objections threatened to impede final development of the project.

By June 1965, the state had submitted a complete preliminary project plan to Hanscom AFB. The state also began preparing a submittal to the federal Bureau of Public Roads for secondary highway funds. Air Force funding covered construction of a new two-lane access road, but traffic studies indicated the need for a four-lane road. Appraisals for

⁴² Memorandum, Lee to Wirth, 13 September 1963, 1-2, File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Quotes on p. 2.

⁴³ Memorandum, A. Clark Stratton to Lee, 27 September 1963, 1; and Lee to Chief Engineer, Department of Public Works, 19 December 1963, both in File D30 Roads and Trails, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁴⁴ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 11 May 1964, File D30 Roads and Trails 1964-1965, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1964, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

land acquisition began soon afterward, but another snag halted work for a short time. State planners had to redesign the intersection on the north side of Bedford Road to avoid the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) building. In May 1966, the NPS received word that the state had worked around this obstacle, and construction on the new airbase access road was scheduled to start in the summer.⁴⁵

With the access road set, the state disclosed its thoughts for relocating Route 2, presenting two possible options for review. These potential routes had a direct bearing on how the state conceptualized Route 2A. A southerly alternative for Route 2 would place the relocated, limited-access highway just south of its existing alignment and fix a connector road between it and new airbase access road. A northerly alternative would sit at the southern boundary of MIMA. A relocated Route 2A would feed into this relocated Route 2 at the airbase access road, combining the two roads from that point westward. These roads would also have limited access. The northern alternative generated several complaints from interested parties.⁴⁶ David Rogers of Lincoln wrote that this plan would cost a lot of money, destroy homes, and “disrupt the privacy and purpose of the Park.”⁴⁷ Frederic Eppeling, also of Lincoln, agreed with Rogers. Referring to having a superhighway along the park’s southern border, Rogers asked, “Doesn’t it, in part, destroy what the park is trying to create?”⁴⁸ Citizens for the Preservation of the Minute Man National Historic [sic.] Park sent a petition to the NPS. The petition, signed by more than 2,000 concerned citizens from many states, argued that the northern alternative would “effectively nullify the Seventeenth Century [sic] authenticity and environment” of the park.⁴⁹ In each instance, the NPS reiterated its position. Removal of Route 2A from the park was “essential if the park is ever to serve the purpose for which it was established.” The state also had to determine the exact location of the new highway. The NPS could only continue to give “every encouragement” for relocating Route 2A.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Bureau of Public Roads, *October Monthly Status Report*, Defense Access Road, Hanscom Field, 20 October 1964; Bureau of Public Roads, *November Monthly Status Report*, Access Road, 30 November 1964; Bureau of Public Roads, *January Monthly Status Report*, 31 January 1965; Bureau of Public Roads, *June Monthly Status Report*, 1 July 1965; Bureau of Public Roads, *July Monthly Status Report*, 2 August 1965; *Bureau of Public Roads, Status Report, 12 November 1965*, all in File D30 1964-1965, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Memorandum, Small to Lee, 13 August 1964, File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1964, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁶ Location Proposals for Route 2, no date [1965-1966], File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1966, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁷ David Rogers to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, 13 December 1965, File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1966, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁸ Frederic Eppeling to Senator Edward Kennedy, 22 October 1965, 2, File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1966, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁹ M. A. Gheith to George Hartzog, 2 December 1966, File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1966, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁰ Assistant Director to M. A. Gheith, 21 December 1966, 1, File D30 Route 2A Relocation CY 1966, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

LANDS

Slowly and steadily, the NPS acquired its first properties at MIMA. Congressional authorizations began in summer 1961 with half a million dollars, and continued through the mid-1960s. The authorizations allowed for 123 properties encompassing 392 acres acquired by the end of November 1966. A little more than half of that acreage represented improved properties including commercial establishments, homes, or other structures.⁵¹ The NPS followed long-established guidelines that Small and Director Conrad Wirth had reiterated during the park establishment phase. As Wirth wrote in a letter to one Lexington resident in 1960, the NPS gave priority for acquisition to undeveloped lands to preserve them in their natural state and avoid costly developments. Lands threatened by adverse development or needed at an early date for park facilities also had a high acquisition priority. Qualified, impartial appraisers familiar with land values in the area would determine fair market value for identified parcels. Owners might have the option at life tenancies when park purposes “would not be frustrated by it.”⁵²

The issue of eminent domain deserves special mention. Eminent domain involved the immediate taking of land and then determining its fair value. Wirth stated in his letter to the Lexington resident that the NPS had the power of eminent domain but was “reluctant to resort to condemnation.” Scenarios in which the NPS might exercise it, according to Wirth, included those necessary as a “legal device to clear title, to obtain a property absolutely necessary for park development, or to stop a development which would damage a park.”⁵³ As the Lexington resident revealed in his letter to Wirth, “everyone I have talked with in Lexington has a different story as to the extent of the Park and the mode of acquisition.”⁵⁴

Which lands would become part of the park, and when would the lands be acquired? By this early date, the NPS had not revealed its initial boundary study with its delineations of properties for inclusion. Without concrete information, people living close to the presumed boundaries speculated and shared their concerns with others, leading to additional questions and misunderstandings. People also referred back to Wirth’s January 1959 visit to Lincoln to discuss the proposed park. It is unclear whether Wirth had any notes to use at the meeting, as they are not with the remainder of the records from this period. Newspaper reports clarify that residents applauded his statements and raised few if any objections. Wirth is quoted as saying, “The rights of property owners will be zealously respected...”⁵⁵ and that “Court action would be taken only when necessary to protect historical buildings or lands from

⁵¹ Minutes, 14th Meeting, Advisory Commission, 9 November 1966, 3, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Minutes, Advisory Board on National Parks, 17-22 September 1960, 19, NRHE Files. *Rogers Young, Status Report, Minute Man National Historical Park*, 10 May 1961, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files.

⁵² Wirth to Ralph Stevens, 29 March 1960, 1, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁵³ Ibid., 2.

⁵⁴ Ralph Stevens to Wirth, 19 February 1960, attached to Ibid.

⁵⁵ “No Evictions Due of ‘Battle Road,’” *Boston Herald* (10 January 1959).

desecration.”⁵⁶ Wirth’s appearance in Lincoln was noticed at the April 1959 meeting of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. The minutes indicate that some audience members worried about the government seizing their property. “They were told,” according to the minutes, “that we [the National Park Service] would be willing to buy the land subject to life occupancy or a certain number of years provided they do not destroy any of the existing values.”⁵⁷

The manner in which the NPS addressed one attendee, who would remain a longtime opponent of MIMA, provides additional early clues about how the agency handled eminent domain concerns. Walter Beatteay lived along Lexington Road (Route 2A) in Concord on land that the NPS wanted to include in the park. He gathered almost 40 signatures of fellow Concord residents to protest establishment of the park. The petitioners opposed the possibility that the federal government could use eminent domain to obtain property for the park. In addition, these citizens wondered about their status as Concord residents—would they have a more nebulous state if they remained living within park boundaries?⁵⁸ In another letter to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Beatteay wrote, “Many of the property owners along the Battle Road have already experienced the process of eminent domain as exercised by the Federal Government, and have developed a defensive attitude against any repeated action.”⁵⁹ Presumably, Beatteay is referring to takings for the Air Force Base. Saltonstall forwarded the petition and letters to the NPS for review and comment. Acting Director E. T. Scoyen assured Senator Saltonstall that the NPS had always been “extremely reluctant” to use eminent domain to acquire park lands. Scoyen listed the conditions under which the agency would resort to condemnation: as a legal device to clear title, to obtain lands necessary for park structures and obtainable by “no other means,” or to stop detrimental land use that would seriously impair the conservation objectives of the park.⁶⁰

Beatteay and others also wondered about selling their property or passing their property to their heirs. Scoyen replied that, until such time that the NPS acquired the property, “owners, of course have a right to sell to whomever they wish.”⁶¹ On the other hand, depending on the reasons the NPS needed the property, owners could negotiate term leases or life tenancies to stay on their property after the federal government had acquired it. However, extension of possession by heirs would perpetuate private use and “defeat the long-range purposes” of the park.⁶² Life tenancies, as explained by Scoyen, “automatically expire[d]” upon the death of the last tenant of record at the time the NPS acquired the property. Such rights did not pass onto heirs or other assigned citizens. If Beatteay meant to

⁵⁶ Edward G. McGrath, “Lincoln Applauds US Park Plan,” *Boston Globe* (10 January 1959).

⁵⁷ Minutes, Advisory Board, 20-22 April 1959, 14, NRHE Files.

⁵⁸ Walter Beatteay to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, 22 April 1959, plus petition, L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁵⁹ Walter Beatteay to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, 26 June 1959, 1, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁶⁰ E. T. Scoyen to Senator Leverett Saltonstall, 28 May 1959, 1, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶² *Ibid.*

keep his property and pass it to his heirs, Scoyer remarked that NPS hoped to eventually acquire all private property within the authorized park.⁶³

In practice, early land acquisition efforts occurred smoothly. Among the first historic areas obtained, the NPS gained title to 17 acres of the Fiske Farm on Fiske Hill and the Jacob Whittemore House (also known as the Muzzey House), both in Lexington. The Whittemore House was once home to a father and son who stood up to the British on Lexington Green in the early morning of 19 April 1775.⁶⁴ A November 1962 *Boston Globe* article explained how owners of modern houses faired during land acquisition. At least two families had positive experiences with the NPS. Both families had relatively new homes on Virginia Road near the Bloody Angle. Once they had sold their homes to the NPS, they exercised the option to rent the houses until builders finished their new ones. Mrs. Daniel Spaeth remarked that, “It is working out very well for us. If there is any delay [in getting our new house built], we know we needn’t worry about being put out of this house.”⁶⁵ Mrs. Walter Salmon admitted that she and her husband felt they had been compensated insufficiently for their home’s custom features when selling to the government. However, she did note that they did not have to pay a real estate broker’s fee. They were also waiting for builders to complete a new house in South Lincoln.⁶⁶

Some grumblings and concerns surfaced about land acquisition. The November 1962 *Boston Globe* article vaguely described some of this discontent. As reported, the NPS policy did not encourage the acquisition of private property by eminent domain. The article also noted that some property owners “have responded to the idea of a national park commemorating the first fight for freedom with more fire than the Revolutionary muskets displayed.” According to the article, “dollars, sentiment or both may be at stake” for these park opponents.⁶⁷

By September 1965, with a new superintendent at the park, the NPS could identify only a few times in which the agency had resorted to eminent domain. Benjamin Zerbey, who replaced Edwin Small that year, clarified that the park’s policy on condemnation had not changed. The NPS would not take properties unless the owners misused them or the park needed a particular property for development. As of that date, Zerbey reported that the NPS had used condemnation procedures in only a few cases to clear title and, in one case, to prevent a commercial development along the Battle Road.⁶⁸

Such possible commercial or residential developments were a constant worry for the NPS during the early land acquisition period. Lincoln had two proposals for building filling

⁶³ Scoyer to Saltonstall, 27 July 1959, 2, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁶⁴ No author, Brief Description of Minute Man National Historical Park, 1 January 1962, 3, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files. Russell V. Keune, *The Jacob Whittemore House, Historic Structures Report*, Part I (January 1963), 1, File Jacob Whittemore House, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁶⁵ Virginia Bright, “Speed Now Would Defeat Minute Man Park,” *Boston Globe* (25 November 1962).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ “Progress Report on Park Given by Superintendent,” *Fence Viewer* (30 September 1965).

stations on land identified for MIMA. One of these proposals involved the Sun Oil Company's plans to build a station on the vacant lot associated with the Geophysics Corporation property. Park officials also received notice that the Hinds family, which had a turkey farm on a sizeable 22-acre lot in Lexington, had offers to subdivide their property, presumably for housing.⁶⁹ Working quickly, the NPS acquired the turkey farm and Geophysics Corporation lot by 1965. The turkey farm acquisition helped complete the Fiske Hill site. The Geophysics Corporation building would serve as the park's temporary headquarters and visitor services. Addressing these possible development intrusions so quickly helped abate further intrusions. However, the park's ability to act so quickly was contingent on the availability of sufficient funds. Even as early as 1962 Superintendent Small cautioned the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission that, "rising real estate costs were increasingly becoming a deterrent to any expansion of the original concept for the park."⁷⁰

Assistance appeared from time to time. The Town of Concord acquired parcels south of Lowell Road near the North Bridge and turned them over to the Concord Land Trust, a nonprofit agency created by the town. Small believed that this land could be "more properly managed as part of the wetlands program than of the Park" and hoped other land might also receive such attention by the agency.⁷¹

The NPS realty officers handled the land acquisition negotiations. Park superintendents provided guidance about property priorities, but Small (and later superintendents) had no role in the acquisition process. Property owners often contacted park superintendents to voice their concerns or ask questions, and superintendents passed the information to the appropriate officials.⁷² At the start, Robert Foster served as the park's realty officer and Miles Denno was the land acquisition project manager. However, property owners soon shared their displeasure with the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission and Small. Citizens complained that appraisals by outside appraisers and price negotiations had taken a long time to complete. Small recommended putting more appraisers on the job.⁷³ To help Lincoln residents better understand the entire process, the town's committee on the park sent a series of letters to affected homeowners to explain land acquisition policies and procedures. Keeping citizens informed helped quiet their concerns.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Minutes, Second Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 18 January 1961, 3, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files; and Lee to Wirth, 1 June 1960, 1, File Town of Lincoln Correspondence, Box 3, RG 79 BNHSC, both in NARA Waltham.

⁷⁰ Minutes, Fifth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24 May 1962, 3, File A18 1960-1969, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁷¹ Minutes, Fifth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24 May 1962, 3, File A18 1960-1969, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Memorandum, Small to Regional Director, 17 December 1964, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1986-, NRHE Files.

⁷² Benjamin Zerbey, transcription of oral history interview with author, 13 April 2005, 7, MIMA Archives.

⁷³ Minutes, Fourth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 13 December 1961, 2-3, File A18, Box 1, MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁷⁴ Copies of these letters to homeowner have not been located. It is not known if the NPS reviewed these letters before their dispersal, but this Lincoln committee had worked well with the Service

More concerns surfaced in spring 1963 when Walter E. Bryant (known as Ed Bryant) joined Denno to work as the park's new realty specialist. Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission member Katharine White questioned whether having Bryant on the job meant a hastening of the land acquisition procedure. She suggested that property owners had understood the NPS policy "to permit them to choose the time" when they would sell to the government "rather than to be pursued and persuaded." Regional Director Ronald Lee responded to this concern, stating that the NPS policy had not changed. Recourse to eminent domain would continue "to be used sparingly, but it was inevitable that property owners should feel they are being pushed." Lee indicated that "Congress expects progress to be made that does not always coincide with the local situation."⁷⁵ This exchange between White and the NPS hints to a shift in thinking in Lincoln, at least. Whereas White and others in the town had first urged the NPS to proceed rapidly in establishing the park and acquiring lands, Lincoln residents now wanted a slower approach. Perhaps the reality of having to leave established homes had set in. However, later Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission minutes show that many would view Bryant as an asset to the acquisition process, and he received a commendation for his "very competent and amicable manner."⁷⁶

For property owner Betty Levin, the process of acquiring her home and sheep farm for the park was heartbreak. Betty and Alvin Levin had purchased land at the Lexington-Lincoln border along Route 2A in the early 1950s for a house and farm. Alvin, a lawyer, built what would become a four-bedroom, two-bath house, using 10-inch steel beams that were surplus property at the Boston Naval Shipyard. In 1955 as he finished the house, he and his wife contracted polio. The disease left Alvin with no use of his legs or shoulders and only partial use of his hands and forearms. In 1957 they hired builders to add a bedroom-bathroom-office complex to the house to provide him with the space and safety features he needed to live at home.⁷⁷

With news that a national historical park would most likely encompass their land, the Levins began corresponding with NPS representatives. They learned that the proposed park would take at least part of their land and that Hanscom AFB access road would most likely run through their house to the relocated Route 2A. Wanting to remain in their home, they emphasized the rural character of the property noting that it "is pretty nearly in the same condition it must have been in...1775." Sheep grazed in the fields around their house, and many large trees covered the backland. "The old stone walls still exist," the Levins wrote,

previously and Small knew of these letters, as reported in the advisory commission meeting. See Minutes, Fifth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24 May 1962, 3.

⁷⁵ Minutes, Seventh Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 27 May 1963, 2, 4. Quotes on p. 4.

⁷⁶ Minutes, Twelfth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 4 December 1965, 2, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁷⁷ Alvin Levin to Thomas Anderson, 5 September 1963, File Alvin Levin, MIMA Lands Files. Betty Levin, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 26 April 2005, 10, MIMA Archives.

“and run back for a good distance from the road.”⁷⁸ They argued that their land had much of the rural character the park would ultimately embrace in its “commemorization and symbolization of the area at the time of the Revolution.”⁷⁹ They inquired, why not adjust the proposed boundary and include their land but allow them to stay and keep farming? As a good faith token, they offered a portion of their backland for inclusion in the park.⁸⁰

An appraisal and negotiations began in 1963 for the Levin property. The government offered \$40,000 for the house and property, but the Levins argued that, by taking proper account of the addition with its special features for Alvin’s use, a more proper price would be \$58,000. Land acquisition project manager Myles Denno noted that appraisers had accounted for these special features and offered to go as high as \$45,000, but the Levins would only reduce their price to \$57,200.⁸¹ Negotiations stalled at this point, with some bad feelings on the part of the Levins. In one exasperated letter to the NPS, the Levins write of their “resentment at being compelled to leave” their home, despite attempts to continue occupancy within the park.⁸²

In the end, the NPS gave the Levins two years to relocate due to the difficulty of finding appropriate housing.⁸³ Betty Levin recalls that they, along with many of their neighbors, were scared into selling. “We were threatened with eminent domain,” she stated later, “as everybody else was, something they had sworn they would never do.”⁸⁴ Reassuring articles in the local newspapers had asserted the friendly basis for NPS land acquisition efforts. Lincoln selectman Charles Fitts had reported this continued good feeling based on his conversations with NPS Director Conrad Wirth. According to Fitts, Wirth affirmed that except in emergencies when historic buildings might be affected, “the process of eminent domain will not be used by the NPS to acquire residential property in the Park.” In addition, Fitts repeated what Wirth told him: “There will be no pressure to buy from an unwilling seller.” For commercial properties within the park, condemnation would be used only if negotiation failed.⁸⁵

The article in which Fitts reported his conversation with Wirth also notes some disgruntlement. “Park residents are asking for a definition of the term ‘opportunity to negotiate.’” They found it difficult to discuss counteroffers.⁸⁶ Levin agreed, later saying that

⁷⁸ Alvin and Betty Levin to Conrad Wirth, 8 February 1959, 1, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also Levin interview, 4.

⁷⁹ Levins to Wirth, 8 February 1959, 2.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 3. Alvin Levin to Benjamin Thompson, 20 March 1959, 2, File L58 1959-1960, Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁸¹ Alvin Levin to Myles Denno, 3 May 1963, 1; Negotiator’s Report, 2 May 1963; Alvin Levin to Thomas Anderson, 11 July 1963; Thomas Anderson to Alvin Levin, 15 August 1963; Memorandum, Allan Edmonds to Small, 11 September 1963; Andrew Feil to Alvin and Betty Levin, 14 October 1963, all in File Alvin Levin, MIMA Lands Files.

⁸² Alvin Levin to Thomas Anderson, 5 September 1963, 1, File Alvin Levin, MIMA Lands Files.

⁸³ In January 1964, correspondence makes clear that the Levins had accepted a price from the government. See Alvin Levin to Denno, 31 January 1964, File Alvin Levin, MIMA Lands Files.

⁸⁴ Levin, transcript of interview, 4.

⁸⁵ “Park Policy Unchanged, NPS Head Tells Lincoln,” *Fence Viewer* (1 March 1962).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

their attempt at negotiations “wasn’t even like a dialogue...It was as though they were deaf. It was completely unresponsive, no, no, no.”⁸⁷ In addition, Levin remembers the NPS implementing a new policy in its land acquisition approach. The NPS could take, by condemnation, any private property contiguous with currently owned park property. One example involved a woman who had retired in Lincoln and owned the adjacent vacant lot in which she gardened.

According to Levin, the NPS offered to buy the vacant lot, noting that she could remain in her house and keep gardening. However, once she sold the property, the NPS threatened condemnation if she did not sell her house lot. She sold, only to find out later (with the 1970 boundary revisions) that the NPS had excluded this piece of property from the authorized park. When she asked to reclaim the property with her house on it, the government told her she would have to bid on it at public auction. That story, like all the others about land acquisition, laughed Levin, “went around” the neighborhood.⁸⁸

Neighbors shared their stories and worked out arrangements the best they could. Levin later told some of these experiences to illustrate why bad feelings had persisted, providing a valuable perspective for NPS managers. Charles Moody and his wife opted for a life tenancy, partly because he harbored great resentment against the park. One day, his house burned badly while he and his wife were gone. As Levin recalled, Moody always believed that someone, maybe even the NPS, had burned the house, but he used this loss as a challenge. He would not let the park get the best of him, Levin stated later, and he remained on the property “You know what kept him alive?” Levin reflected, “he hated the park.”⁸⁹

Believing the NPS had taken advantage of them, the neighbors felt more distrust and hatred toward the agency. Levin described the section of Lincoln north of Route 2 and south of Route 2A as its own entity apart from the more upscale section of Lincoln south of Route 2. Many of Levin’s neighbors were old-time residents, going generations back and land poor, or were Italian immigrants or descendants from Italian immigrants. Not highly educated or sophisticated, Levin believes that some of them lost significant amounts of money without fully realizing the true value of their land. Some of their children greatly resented the NPS for its treatment of their parents.⁹⁰ Levin believed the land acquisition officers “were absolutely ruthless and they had no conscience...It’s like the worst kind of land grabbing...”⁹¹

Levin remembers the whole affair with some sadness. After her family had moved, she and one of her children stopped by the former house one day and saw workmen dismantling its interior. The workers invited them to take anything they wanted, because it would be discarded otherwise. “They felt so badly for us,” Levin recalled. “We must have been standing there looking aghast at what happened...We were just looking at the devastation of our house and our handmade cabinets and the living room.” The house had

⁸⁷ Levin, transcript of interview, 11.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 7-8. Quote on p. 8.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 8-9, 11.

⁹¹ Ibid., 9.

been her husband's "great achievement."⁹² Because of its steel beams, the workers had to dynamite it. "My husband's last great physical creative act was that house," Levin stated, "and they blew it up, and they didn't pay us very adequately, and the negotiation was unpleasant, and all these people [neighbors] kept coming to the house and weeping. You know, what can I say?"⁹³

CONCORD AGREEMENT

With lands being brought into the park, planning for interpretive and visitor services began. For the most important historic land associated with MIMA—where the North Bridge and monuments stood—the NPS needed to establish a formal relationship with its owner, the Town of Concord. Cooperative agreements, provided for under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and recommended by the BNHSC for application in select situations at MIMA, offered the means to this end. During park establishment, no specific correspondence or meeting minutes indicated the prevailing attitude of Concordians toward such an agreement with the NPS. Lexington representatives made clear that they did not want to have a formal agreement with the NPS, arguing that their historic district laws protected the Lexington Green suitably. The fact that recommended park boundaries never included the Lexington Green but always enveloped the North Bridge area suggests a difference in attitude between the towns.⁹⁴

Donald Nickerson, Lexington's representative on the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, reiterated the town's refusal to consider an agreement in the early 1960s.⁹⁵ Although Concordians may have accepted the idea of their land around the bridge being included in the park, but they never expected to sell or donate the historically rich land to the federal government. John Finigan, chairman of the Concord Selectmen when the cooperative agreement was signed in 1963, later explained. "The town does recognize," Finigan remarked, "that it is, in fact, a trustee of a very important piece of real estate that signifies the birth of the country of the United States, and that this was the place where we stood up against the tyrannical ruling of the English government."⁹⁶ To Finigan, being Concordian meant accepting "the responsibility of what a Concordian is," as a good citizen of both the United States and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and also as a "good person with a great love and respect for the history of probably the finest little town in the United States."⁹⁷

⁹² Ibid., 10.

⁹³ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁴ *Interim Report*, 30-34. Review of Town of Concord annual reports for 1956-1960 reveals discussion of the park but no concerns aired about a potential cooperative agreement. See Chapter 1, last section on Lexington's view toward a cooperative agreement.

⁹⁵ Minutes, Sixth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 1 December 1962, 4, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁹⁶ John Finigan, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 20 January 2005, 5, MIMA Archives.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 11.

Superintendent Small encountered this deep sense of responsibility when he began discussions with Concord representatives. He first approached the town manager, who informed him that to negotiate such an agreement, the Board of Selectmen would have to obtain authorization through a vote at the town's annual meeting. The board echoed the town manager's sentiment when Small and Edward Chase (Concord representative on the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission) appeared on 4 December 1961. Small and Chase found the board "anxious to assist and cooperate as much as possible," but the democratic practices of the town dictated that the Selectmen exercise power only specifically voted or delegated to them.⁹⁸ Walter led the small yet vocal opposition to having the park within the town. Acknowledging this opposition, the Selectmen also knew it would be "foolhardy" to present a proposed agreement at the next town meeting in March 1962. If citizens of the town felt they had not discussed a matter sufficiently beforehand, they would likely vote to eradicate the measure or postpone it. Instead, the Selectmen recommended that the town and the NPS "precisely" work out the terms of the agreement and have a public airing before the 1963 annual meeting.⁹⁹

Aside from taking responsibility for ensuring success of the proposed agreement, the Selectmen also took great care in determining the actual substance of the proposal. Small wrote about the December meeting, noting that the matter of the agreement "is not being dismissed as an ordinary routine procedure." He noted that the town proposed to transfer maintenance responsibilities to the NPS. Even so, the idea of NPS saving money and saving personnel for the town do "not appear to be important incentives for effecting an agreement."¹⁰⁰ Both the Selectmen and Chase were instead concerned about "what is primarily and in the long run best for the town." Small cautioned the regional director, stating that the NPS would have to "walk a diplomatic tightrope" until an agreement materialized. Small also urgently suggested that "no ideas about changes and improvements at the North Bridge should be breathed by officials of the National Park Service."¹⁰¹

To start the process, the Board of Selectmen requested that Chase and Selectman Herbert Wilkins draft an agreement for review. Small provided a copy of the cooperative agreement between the City of Philadelphia and Independence NHP as a template. He also warned that the Concord agreement could not place any serious restrictions on the scope of the authority and functions of the NPS.¹⁰² Chase completed the first draft of a proposed agreement within a week of the meeting and submitted it to Small for review. The only section of the draft that concerned Small included emphasis on the town's long history of tending to the North Bridge area. He recognized that the town did not want the NPS to

⁹⁸ Minutes, Board of Selectmen, Town of Concord, 4 December 1961, Concord Library. Memorandum, Small to Lee, 6 December 1961, 1, File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files; and Memorandum, Small to Wirth, 28 July 1961, 5, File MIMA Project Correspondence, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, both in NARA Waltham.

⁹⁹ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 6 December 1961, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰² Ibid., 2.

“monopolize credit for the area to the exclusion of the town.” Small cautioned Regional Director Lee that the Selectmen might add a phrase to Chase’s draft to make the agreement subject to annual review or revocation.¹⁰³ With one slight revision, various offices within the NPS read the draft agreement and considered it satisfactory. The NPS officials also indicated that the agreement could include a review or revocation clause if the town did not require the NPS to build a museum or other “fixed financial investment” on the site. Interpretive exhibits and signs did not constitute such a permanent improvement.¹⁰⁴

With the internal review completed, the NPS sent a slightly revised draft of the agreement to the Board of Selectmen. By late August, the Selectmen had read the revised draft and recommended four changes. By now, David Little had replaced Edward Chase as Concord representative on the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission and would serve as liaison between the Selectmen and the NPS. On 5 November 1962, Small and Little met with the town’s Selectmen to discuss the agreement.¹⁰⁵ The Selectmen agreed to drop their first request of having an explicit statement of town jurisdiction over the path from Monument Street to the monument and the area immediately around the monument. They canceled this request because Article III (e) already specified that nothing would deprive the state or town of its jurisdiction over the structures, objects, and grounds.¹⁰⁶ Their second concern involved the use of the North Bridge area for celebrations and observances. The town wanted to continue holding its annual festivities, and wanted some influence over other “substantial” observances. “One battle per bridge is enough,” Wilkins wrote to Little when he first submitted the Selectmen’s recommendations.¹⁰⁷ Small later learned that town officials wanted the ability to reject requests for exercises at the North Bridge that they viewed “would not be appropriate.” Town leaders had previously not approved such proposals.¹⁰⁸ The Selectmen agreed to Small’s suggested clause, requiring the NPS “to consult the Selectmen in advance with regard to all observances and celebrations in which use of the area and its facilities is contemplated.”¹⁰⁹ The third request involved having the town manager and each Selectman sign the final agreement. Everyone agreed that only the town manager needed to sign the document to make it binding for the town, but the Selectmen felt that for a “document of such significance for the town,” all members of the board should sign the agreement.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 5 January 1962, 1, File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰⁴ Memorandum, Jackson Price to Lee, 12 March 1962, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1960-1964, NRHE Files. Memorandum, Small to Chase, 1, File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes, Board of Selectmen, Town of Concord, 5 November 1962, Concord Library.

¹⁰⁶ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 7 November 1962, 1-2, File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. For a copy of the letter from the Selectmen to Little, see Herbert Wilkins to David Little, 27 August 1962, attached to memorandum, Small to Lee, 23 October 1962, File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkins to Little, 27 August 1962, 2.

¹⁰⁸ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 7 November 1962, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

The fourth suggestion involved some kind of revocation clause, as Small had predicted. The Selectmen argued that after reviewing the agreement, the town's citizens would want to have as much ability to terminate the agreement as the United States Congress, as provided in Article III(h) of the draft. Small emphasized that such a clause would forestall any capital improvements authorized by Congress at the site. At this point, the conversation seemed to turn toward the existing visitor comfort station at the North Bridge area, and the Selectmen agreed that the town "could well afford" to address the plumbing situation if complaints continued. The proposed revocation clause, added to the end of Article III(h), stated that the agreement would continue "until the Town at an annual or special town meeting, held after January 1, 1968, shall vote to terminate this agreement." Small summarized this addition in his memorandum to Lee, clarifying that the "Park Service will be on trial before the Town of Concord during the next five years." After the trial period, Small hoped that a revision of the agreement would make it more permanent.¹¹¹

The NPS officials essentially accepted the town's proposed changes. Frank Rhuland, from the agency's Officer of the Solicitor, provided the most substantive additions. He recommended changing Small's proposed wording about celebrations at the bridge in Article II(d) to read, "That he [the NPS director] will encourage and cooperate with the Town, civic groups and patriotic societies in the annual observance of Patriot's Day and other celebrations in which the area and its facilities may be appropriately used and which have the approval of the Selectman." For Article III(h), Rhuland suggested giving a "cooling-off" time to the town before revocation actually took place.¹¹² Jackson Price, the agency's assistant director of Conservation, Interpretation, and Use, also pointed out that the director of the NPS had authority to sign most cooperative agreements. Price requested that the director, replace the Secretary of the Interior as the party listed for the agreement. Price also revised Article III(h) to provide the NPS with the same termination ability as the town: "or until terminated by the Director, National Park Service, who shall give six months' notice to the Town of such limitation."¹¹³

With these changes in place, the revised cooperative agreement went before the Town of Concord. The author has not found references to a public hearing about the agreement, as recommended by the Board of Selectmen, but the town did vote unanimously at its March 1963 annual meeting to authorize the town manager and Selectmen to enter into negotiations with the NPS to obtain such an agreement. On 6 June 1963 Director Wirth joined Concord's selected representatives to sign the cooperative agreement (see Appendix for a copy of the agreement).¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹² Memorandum, Small to Lee, 9 November 1962, 1-2, File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Quote on p. 1.

¹¹³ Memorandum, Jackson Price to Lee, 4 December 1962, 1-2, File MIMA Correspondence, 1960-1964, NRHE Files. Quote on p. 2. See also Memorandum, George Palmer to Wirth, 21 November 1962, 1, File A44, Box 1; and Minutes, Seventh Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 27 May 1963, 4, File A18, Box 1, both in RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

¹¹⁴ Article 34, Concord Annual Town Meeting, 4 and 11 March 1963; Memorandum, Small to Lee, 12

Finigan examined the relationship between the NPS and the town, and remarked that his fellow townspeople felt that by signing the cooperative agreement, “they had fulfilled to some degree their obligation as guardians to join with the country in protecting the property that related to the events of 19th of April in 1775.” Finigan also believed that with this agreement in place, “There has not been any animosity that I can recall or friction between the national park and the governing authority of the town.” He credited the “general attitude of the national park,” and the town for these good relations. The NPS had a “strong feeling for how the townspeople felt and how close they felt their responsibility was, as well as the country’s responsibility to keep up and maintain this national heritage.” Over the years, Finigan saw that the park’s personnel “came in low key and performed well and cooperated well and jointly ruled to the best interests of all, the whole area.” Finigan believed that the acceptance of joint responsibility created the productive relationship between Concord and the federal government.¹¹⁵

HOUSES

So far, the focus of this chapter has been about how Small (and later Zerbey) addressed external issues. These superintendents attended regular meetings with a host of officials and representatives to develop avenues for achieving park requirements from relocating Route 2A to obtaining a cooperative agreement for the North Bridge area. They kept the members of the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission informed while considering the board members’ concerns. NPS regional office personnel routinely received progress reports and offered guidance. During Small’s time as superintendent, he remained in Boston and made trips as needed to the park. He had completed his work with the BNHSC in July 1960, but he remained the principal professional representative of the NPS in New England throughout his career. His presence in Boston enabled him to interact easily with other preservation-minded individuals and keep MIMA and other parks within the public eye.¹¹⁶

What happened inside the park on a regular basis during the early years? Who served as some key staff members? What did they do, and how did their work shape the park? Information in the staff’s architectural, archeological, and historical research efforts can help answer these questions. Land acquisition brought some historic structures under federal control, and park officials had the opportunity to work with these structures and understand the stories interpreters would tell visitors. These properties also posed some challenges regarding their preservation and use. Master planning benefited from this research, leading to substantial decisions for the future of these structures and the park.

March 1963; Memorandum, Assistant Regional Director to Small, 9 May 1963, all in File A44, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. See also Cooperative Agreement, NPS and Town of Concord, 6 June 1963, MIMA Archives (and reproduced in the Appendix).

¹¹⁵ Finigan, transcript of interview, 5.

¹¹⁶ Justification for Meritorious Service Award, Edwin A. Small, 1, File Edwin A. Small, NPS History Collection, HFC.

Staffing at MIMA remained limited in its early years. Park Historian Robert Ronsheim led the historical research effort and trained seasonal employees (hired for the busy summer season) for interpretive positions. Between April 1962 and August 1963, NPS Architect Russell Keune completed architectural data section reports for the historic houses and structures controlled by the park. In 1963, contract Archeologist Vincent Foley conducted initial investigations at Fiske Hill and other discrete sites in the Lexington-Lincoln area. NPS Archeologist Leland Abel followed Foley, and completed the bulk of the park's early archeological work. By 1964 Maurice Kowal worked as park horticulturalist and chief of the maintenance division with assistance from Joseph Guerra. After the Jacob Whittemore House was acquired, one of its wings became the initial park headquarters. The remainder of the building became quarters for Ronsheim and his family. Park headquarters, with space for exhibits and information about area historic sites, moved to the former Geophysics Laboratory.¹¹⁷

Despite the restricted staff, MIMA could point to some early research and interpretation accomplishments. During the summers of 1961 and 1962 architectural students completed measured drawings for the *Historic American Buildings Survey* (HABS) of seven historic buildings controlled by the park. They also completed drawings for seven other notable buildings in the area, including The Wayside. A University of Florida professor supervised the students over the first summer, and Keune led their efforts in 1962. The park displayed the drawings and associated photographs, constituting the first exhibitions at MIMA. To aid study and interpretive efforts, the park had a topographical model created of its Lexington portion. Interpretation proved slower than research. Not having a cooperative agreement for the North Bridge area until 1963 NPS interpretive efforts were restricted. Once officials signed the agreement, the NPS began posting seasonal employees at the bridge to answer visitors' questions. In the summer of 1965 park interpreters began conducting 10-minute talks every half hour at the bridge.¹¹⁸

The need for more details about the events of 19 April 1775 drove additional research efforts. Ronsheim convinced Northeastern University to have select students engage in

¹¹⁷ Ronald Lee to Ernest Outhert, 17 March 1961, File L58 (2 of 2), Box 4, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files; and Memorandum, 28 July 1961, Small to Wirth, 3, File MIMA Project Correspondence, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, both in NARA Waltham. Rogers Young, Minute Man National Historical Park, 10 May 1961, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files. Vincent Foley, *Initial Archaeological Investigations at Minute Man National Historical Park*, ca. 1964, ii, 1, MIMA Museum Collection. Leland Abel, *Archeological Excavations at the Site of the Josiah Nelson House in Lincoln, Massachusetts*, January 1966, 8, File Josiah Nelson House, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library. 1964 Statement of Accomplishments, 3, File L34 Recreation Activities 70/72, MIMA Park Admin Files. Russell Keune, *Jacob Whittemore House, Historic Structures Report*, Part I, January 1963, I, File Jacob Whittemore House, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library. "Exhibits at Minute Man are Open to Public," *Fence Viewer*, 30 September 1965.

¹¹⁸ Keune, Summary Report, Architectural Research, 1-2. Minutes, Third Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 26 June 1961, 3. Minutes, Fifth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24 May 1962, 4. 1964 Statement of Accomplishments, 1. Minutes, Twelfth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 4 December 1965, 3, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. "Acton Historical Society Hears National Park Head," *Lowell Sun*, 23 November 1965.

internships at the park. Under Ronsheim's guidance, the interns conducted research and contributed to reports. This research involved reviewing tedious deeds and probate records in an attempt to uncover who owned each piece of land in 1775 and how the land was used. Boundary divisions often remained fuzzy as people moved, destroyed, abandoned, or built houses. This important work served as the basis of historical research reports, interpretive planning efforts, and architectural studies.¹¹⁹ Orville Carroll, who began working as the park's historical architect in 1966, later remarked that he had used Ronsheim's "voluminous file system" of research for much of his work.¹²⁰

Ronsheim did have his critics, though. Carroll remembers one NPS official's criticism about the amount of time Ronsheim took to accumulate the research files without completing an equally large number of reports.¹²¹ Many years later, Ben Zerbey volunteered that Ronsheim was "very much research oriented" and that such focus sometimes conflicted with Zerbey's goals of providing services to visitors.¹²² Part of the problem lay with the lack of qualified staff for an extended period of time. In his Statement of Accomplishment for 1964 and 1965 Small reported that the interpretation division was "severely weakened" by the loss of one historian and that the park was "sorely in need" of historians who were capable of providing both research and interpretation.¹²³ This situation came through in the park's *Master Plan*, which declared the MIMA research program "inadequate" for "not producing data in time for use in planning and in land acquisition and development programs."¹²⁴

Ronsheim's strength and weakness centered on his dedication to research. His collection of files served as the basis for all other park research. Like many dedicated historians, he always thought he should find more information and investigate more places. In his *Historic Grounds Report* for the Ebenezer Fiske Farm, he wrote that researchers needed to do more work on "some of the finer, but rather important points" raised in his study, even doing "extensive research on land outside the park boundary." He also admitted in the report that he had "relatively [full] information" for the farm prior to 1800.¹²⁵ However, there were looming questions that he could not let sit, as planning depended upon accurate research. Of the Jacob Whittemore House, Ronsheim declared that "Planning can only be done when the facts are in; otherwise it is guesswork."¹²⁶ While developing

¹¹⁹ 1964 Statement of Accomplishments, 1. Minutes, Eighth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 14 December 1963, 3. Orville Carroll, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 22 October 2004, 5, MIMA Archives.

¹²⁰ Carroll, transcript of interview, 5. Carroll did not serve under Minute Man's superintendent. Instead, he worked first out of the Denver Service Center, then the NPS Regional Office, and finally through the Boston Group, based at Minute Man.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Zerbey, transcript of interview, 5.

¹²³ 1964 Statement of Accomplishment, 1; 1965 Statement of Accomplishment, 1.

¹²⁴ Final Approved Master Plan, MIMA [1966 Master Plan], MIMA Archives.

¹²⁵ Robert Ronsheim, Ebenezer Fiske Farm and Benjamin Fiske 25 Acres, *Historic Grounds Report*, September 1965, Preface, File Ebenezer Fiske Site, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

¹²⁶ Robert Ronsheim, *Jacob Whittemore House, Historic Structures Report*, Part I (March 1963), 7, File Jacob Whittemore House, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

recommendations for use of the Whittemore House, he displayed his allegiance to research as a planning aid. “We do not know enough about the story,” he wrote, “in relation to the park; we do not know enough about overall development plans; we do not know enough about the other houses in the park and we do not know enough about visitor habits and needs to make an intelligent decision as to the use of the house.”¹²⁷

Historical research within the NPS changed significantly at the same time Ronsheim was vexed about having all the sources he needed to understand the people and structures associated with the events at MIMA. NPS Director George Hartzog (who assumed that position in January 1964) used reorganizations to help the agency progress in its management of resources and public dealings. Historical research offered support in one area in need of assistance. As remembered by chief historian Robert Utley, Hartzog questioned the status of the agency’s historical research program, and Utley confessed that the NPS did not have such a program.

Individual park historians conducted such research as they had the time and need. Of course, no one from Washington supervised this work, and it was not automatically shared with administrators from other parks. To remedy these failings, Hartzog tasked Utley to design a program based in the Washington office. Utley’s creation, which initially encompassed both park history and the Historic Sites Survey work, continues in basic form today. Hartzog also centralized scientific research, having professional biologists report to a newly established chief scientist’s office. With the establishment of the Harpers Ferry Center in 1970, he consolidated the creation of exhibits and audiovisual programming.¹²⁸

Historical research and MIMA intersect further during this period. According to former Bureau Historian Barry Mackintosh (in his history of interpretation in the NPS), Hartzog made an unannounced visit to the park in 1965 and found a historian, probably Ronsheim, conducting open-ended research. Mackintosh states that in reaction, Hartzog pulled this activity from the individual parks. However, it was more than likely that the director had already asked Utley to oversee the changes. On the other hand, assistant regional director George Palmer wrote of one Hartzog visit to MIMA in June 1965. Palmer noted that Hartzog wanted Ronsheim pulled from all interpretive work so he could serve in an independent position in charge of park research. Palmer did not differentiate on the type of research Hartzog expected Ronsheim to conduct.¹²⁹

Other professionals also contributed to the research efforts at MIMA. Vincent Foley and Leland Abel conducted archeological research at the Josiah Nelson House site, which

¹²⁷ Ibid., 6.

¹²⁸ Ellen K. Foppes and Robert M. Utley, “Pioneers of Public History: Present at the Creation: Robert M. Utley Recalls the Beginnings of the National Historic Preservation Program,” *The Public Historian* 24 (Spring 2002): 70, 74-76.

¹²⁹ Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1986), chapter 5,
http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/mackintosh2/interp_in_crisis.htm, accessed 22 September 2006. Palmer to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 29 June 1965, 2, File D18 CY 1965 Master Planning, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

was originally part of the Minute Man NHS. This work revealed the valuable information that could result from archeological digs and the challenges of executing digs in metropolitan areas. The original house stood for 150 years until it burnt to the ground in 1908, leaving the brick chimney with part of its fireplaces and hearths intact. By 1963 when Foley began his work, the chimney had fallen. Only a shallow depression covered with trees and brush revealed the location of the remaining foundations. Foley partially cleared the house and nearby barn foundations, but did not completely excavate the ruins.

When Abel began working at the site in the following season, he found some minor damage. The exposed bricks had attracted the watchful eyes of neighborhood children, who “were quick to recognize the value of the bricks in the construction of forts and playhouses.” The children removed an unknown number of bricks. Abel later located several hundred stray bricks that might have been from the Nelson site, but they no longer had archeological value so he collected them for restorations and repairs. The bricks were from the eighteenth century. The NPS repaired and stabilized the existing foundation walls at the site. Abel’s archeological work established that the Nelson House had been built in two sections. The first section was built in 1755 and the house was completed before 1800. It had been a rectangular-framed building with a large central chimney and a southern entrance.¹³⁰

Between August 1964 and October 1965 Abel conducted digs on the historic Muster Field, which was a recently acquired property for the NPS. Abel’s team found three historic roads. The British and Patriot forces used two of the roads (on the west side of the Concord River), on 19 April 1775. Concordians had already abandoned the third road by 1775. According to Abel’s findings, a single causeway, made primarily of sandy clay with gravel, extended from the western end of the North Bridge, continued southwestward in a straight line for approximately 430 feet, and then curved north to the foot of the hill. The causeway then branched, with the Acton Road continuing along the river bank and the Groton Road climbing the hill to the north. By mowing and laying gravel, the park revealed the outlines of these historic roadways for visitors. During the course of this archeological work, Abel also located the pre-Revolutionary foundations of a Buttrick House and well.¹³¹

Abel was able to complete this archeological work on the historic roads largely due to the October 1963 acquisition of the Stedman Buttrick House and its 34 acres.¹³² Commenting on the acquisition process, Stedman Buttrick Junior recalled, “no price negotiation at all. We put forward a price we thought would be fair, and the Park Service, after a little—after some deliberation, agreed.”¹³³ The Buttricks and many people living in the immediate area

¹³⁰ Foley, *Initial Archeological Investigations*, 26-27. Abel, *Josiah Nelson Archeological Excavations*, 8-9, 36-38. Quote on p. 9.

¹³¹ Leland Abel, *Archeological Explorations for Traces of the Historic Roads West of the Great North Bridge in Concord*, 1965, 1, 33, 35-39, File Roads West of North Bridge, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library. Minutes, Twelfth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 4 December 1965, 3.

¹³² Land Ownership Record, Tract Unit B, Stedman Buttrick Estate, 29 October 1963, File Buttrick Trustees, Stedman, Tract No. 05-122, Lands Files, MIMA.

¹³³ Stedman Buttrick, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 23 November 2005, 3, MIMA Archives. Three people had legal control over the Buttrick Estate at the time of the acquisition,

welcomed the NPS. They felt a sense of relief that the land would be “protected by something that would stay relatively the same,” and not support big developments or radically alter the rural openness.¹³⁴ In some ways, this sale represented a true passing of the ways. As Buttrick declared, “only Buttricks and Indians had ever lived on that property. It had always been in the family since 1635.”¹³⁵

This parcel provided wonderful opportunities and challenges for the NPS. It was the historic land where Patriots rushed to confront the British at the North Bridge. Through agreements with the Buttrick family over the generations following 19 April 1775 the Town of Concord had slowly added memorials and other fitting tributes to this landscape. Now under federal control, this land could again look like the historic scene and illustrate its story of liberty for visitors. Yet this land had experienced changes, most visibly with the 1911 addition of the stately Classical-Revival Buttrick House on the hilltop overlooking the bridge. Its resident owner, Stedman Buttrick Senior, and his gardener, Henry Murray, had poured their attention into developing hybrid irises, some given names such as “Concord River” and “Concord Town” to reflect their origins. These gardens and prize-winning irises had long attracted attention. Once the NPS took control, much debate ensued about the future for the gardens and the large residence. Small hired one of the Buttrick’s former employees to serve as caretaker of the grounds.¹³⁶

Discussions about whether to keep the residence and gardens brought forward strong opinions. David Little and James DeNormandie, local residents and members of the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, declared their support for demolition. Little stated early on that “persons of judgment in the town [Concord] did not regard the brick house as an important specimen of architecture” and that people would not miss it.¹³⁷ Both men pointed to Bunker Hill, its view ruined by the surrounding tenements. The Buttrick family, on the other hand, had (over the generations) largely kept intact “one of the choicest and most representative [areas] of New England.” By removing these twentieth-century intrusions, the NPS could treat and preserve the historic scene.¹³⁸ Local historian Ruth Wheeler agreed. She wrote, “All the local people who have a sense of history agree” that the Buttrick House and gardens were “completely unsuitable within the battlefield area.”¹³⁹ The strongest declaration for demolition came from J. O. Brew, director of Harvard University’s Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Brew, a friend of NPS

Stedman Buttrick, his father of the same name, and a partner of Buttrick senior, William Kimball. See Buttrick, transcript of interview, 2.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 1.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹³⁶ 1964 *Statement of Accomplishments*, 1. Elizabeth Gardner, “Minuteman National Park Threat to Famed Garden,” *Boston Globe*, 23 August 1964.

¹³⁷ Minutes, Seventh Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 27 May 1963, 4.

¹³⁸ Minutes, Fourteenth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 9 November 1966, 6.

¹³⁹ Ruth Wheeler to George Hartzog, 27 May 1965, File H30, Buttrick Mansion, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

Director George Hartzog, wrote, “It is a shame that you did not pull that building down as soon as you got hold of it.” He continued, nothing that its commanding position on the hill overlooking the bridge “will be a constant hindrance to an interpretation of the historical meaning of the site.” Brew minced no words about the garden. “The formal garden is even worse. I can’t think of anything less appropriate.” He wrote that he knew “enough about gardens in Eastern Massachusetts to say to you emphatically that this one is not worth keeping at the expense of ruining our interpretive program” at such an important historic site. The garden was a “miserable piece of nonsense” that threatened desires to develop the site.¹⁴⁰

Many other people offered heartfelt reasons for saving the residence and gardens. Bedford resident Stephen Lord wrote that it would be a “senseless tragedy” to destroy this “Concord landmark.” The estate had been a “symbol of Concord’s glorious past and promising future.” Lord argued, “that house is Concord and everything that Concord stands for.”¹⁴¹ Shirley Barnes of Wayland, Massachusetts, echoed Lord’s sentiment. She believed it would be an “utter crime” to bulldoze the gardens and residence. People could use “a little imagination as to how it was in 1775,” or all of Concord would have to be redone, “which is ridiculous.” Barnes reminded the NPS that Concord was a “living, breathing community.” By keeping the gardens, people would have a “quiet, lovely place to go near at hand.”¹⁴²

Stedman Buttrick Jr. recalled that neither his father nor his mother liked the residence. “The house itself was solid, but lacking in any...architectural imagination.” The Buttricks were sentimental about the land, given its historical roots to their family. Buttrick Jr. recognized his father’s attention to the gardens, yet, they all knew the NPS could not maintain them to the same degree. “We knew they’d have to be cut back,” Buttrick Jr. said. Having the vistas opened around the house and across the river concerned his father more than the gardens.¹⁴³ “Back in my grandfather’s day,” the younger Buttrick recalled, “you could look down the river and just see open land for a long time.”¹⁴⁴

The disposition of the Buttrick estate created mixed feelings among NPS personnel. Benjamin Zerbey remembers that Small advocated strongly to remove the residence and return the hillside to its 1775 appearance.¹⁴⁵ Small revealed his opinion when describing his phone conversations with concerned garden-club members. When speaking with callers, he stressed that congressional mandate required MIMA development to focus on the events of 19 April 1775 and “that mandate cannot be subverted” for retention of a twentieth-century

¹⁴⁰ J. O. Brew to George Hartzog, 22 July 1965, 1, File H30 Buttrick Mansion, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴¹ Stephen Lord to the President, no date, attached to A. Clark Stratton to Stephen Lord, 13 August 1964, File MIMA Correspondence 1960-1964, NRHE Files.

¹⁴² Shirley Barnes to Stewart Udall, 23 August 1964, File MIMA Correspondence 1960-1964, NRHE Files.

¹⁴³ Buttrick, transcript of interview, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹⁴⁵ Benjamin Zerbey, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 13 April 2005, 8, MIMA Archives.

horticultural display. “Taken by itself,” Small reminded his callers, “the horticultural display would never have received any mandate from Congress.”¹⁴⁶

In 1963, Regional Director Ronald Lee wrote that the basic act establishing MIMA had to guide decisions about its development. Although many striking examples of plant material graced the hillside, the NPS had to make the roadside from the North Bridge and views from it “a prime example of the Nation’s historical heritage.” Screening of modern-day additions might be an option, but Lee also admitted that as the historic causeway, stone walls, and Muster Field took shape, “that which is not historic will appear as an obvious intrusion in the historic scene” and would require removal.¹⁴⁷

George Hartzog decided the future of the Buttrick estate. In April 1964 Hartzog introduced a stalling tactic to give the NPS more time to make a decision about the estate. He ordered that “before starting any action whatsoever on that project, please send to me for personal review and approval any and all plans for obliteration of the estates’ gardens and removal of its buildings or portions of buildings.”¹⁴⁸ Following a June 1965 visit to the park, Hartzog further revealed his intentions. Assistant Director George Palmer recounted that when Hartzog reviewed the archeological research, he was impressed that the Buttrick residence did not infringe on any of the historic remains. He left Palmer with the impression that he would not approve removal of the residence or construction of a “concrete and glass building” to take its place.¹⁴⁹

By December 1965 Hartzog had made his decision. The Buttrick House would remain as an “example of the result of the establishment of the new nation following the Revolution and the effect it had on permitting the growth of a free enterprise nation.” When pressed with local sentiment in favor of removal, Hartzog held his ground, stating that “he himself was not going to authorize its demolition.”¹⁵⁰ Later, Zerbey recalled that Hartzog’s wife was from the Boston area and indicated that such a personal connection may have influenced his decision. He liked to visit the park and, in Zerbey’s recollection, had decided from the beginning that he did not want to tear down the Buttrick House. When later asked about the residence and his decision to save it, Hartzog replied that he sought a cost-effective way to have a visitor center in the North Bridge area. The NPS would adapt the residence to use as a visitor center and administrative office space.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Memorandum, Small to Lee, 14 October 1963, File H30 Buttrick Mansion, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴⁷ Memorandum, Lee to Director, 16 September 1963, 2-3, File H30 Buttrick Mansion, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴⁸ Memorandum, Hartzog to Lee, 15 April 1964, File MIMA Correspondence 1960-1964, NRHE Files.

¹⁴⁹ Memorandum, George Palmer to Lee, 29 June 1965, 2, File D18 Master Planning, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁵⁰ Palmer to Zerbey, 22 December 1965, 2, File D18 Master Planning, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁵¹ Zerbey, transcript of interview, 4. Douglas Sabin, MIMA Administrative History for Calendar Year 1992, 29, MIMA Archives. According to Nancy Nelson, Hartzog told her that he had proposed to his wife on the North Bridge, explaining some of his interest in the park. See Nancy Nelson, comments on first draft, administrative history of MIMA, 5, MIMA Archives.

Another historic house acquisition offered additional avenues for research and planning at MIMA. From its perch on the Battle Road, The Wayside towered over the advance and retreat of the British Regulars in 1775. Originally built around 1714, The Wayside had endured many owners and had been transformed. It was originally a two-story, central-chimney structure with one room on either side on each floor. The renovated version was a graciously expanded home with a three-story tower addition and a piazza for summer entertaining.¹⁵²

By the time MIMA was established in 1959 Margaret Lothrop had already established herself as the protector and caretaker of The Wayside. As the only child of Harriett (the children's author with the penname Margaret Sidney) and publisher Daniel Lothrop, Margaret Lothrop wrote *The Wayside: Home of Authors* in 1940 to document the lives and contributions of the former writers who occupied the house. Margaret followed in her mother's footsteps. Harriett was an active preservationist of The Wayside and its neighbor, the Orchard House. After pursuing an academic career at Stanford University, Margaret returned to The Wayside to save its history. She assembled a large collection of letters and other documents relating to the history of the house, and she welcomed tourists to impress upon them the long, rich history of the place.¹⁵³

Margaret was aging, and wanted to find a new owner who would be sympathetic to her opinions about preserving the house. The NPS presented one promising prospect: Mark Bortman. Margaret had talked with Bortman when he was chair of the BNHSC. According to one Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission member, people in Concord "would be grateful if the NPS could see its way to purchase" the property. Small indicated that such a purchase could be allowed under the MIMA legislation if the park obtained a boundary modification.¹⁵⁴

Margaret still needed some convincing. Park historian Robert Ronsheim laid the groundwork. Tasked by the NPS chief historian, Ronsheim approached Margaret with some trepidation in mid-1962. Ronsheim knew that she had "very definite ideas about the proper treatment of the house," and wanted to emphasize its "continuity of history." He surmised that she feared the "NPS would emphasize one period rather than the entire history."¹⁵⁵ His opportunity to address this concern came when Margaret invited Ronsheim and his family to tour the house. At the successful conclusion of the tour, Ronsheim offered the idea that some NPS employees favored acquisition of the house. Ronsheim later wrote that Margaret "was elated...It would seem that she had almost been waiting for the NPS."¹⁵⁶ To alleviate her

¹⁵² Orville W. Carroll, *The Wayside: Historic Structure Report, Part II* (June 1968), 2-3, File The Wayside, NPS Report Files, MIMA Library.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 1-2. "Addition to National Park: Wayside, Concord," *Concord Journal*, 24 June 1965.

¹⁵⁴ David Little, as paraphrased in Minutes, Sixth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 1 December 1962, 4. See this entry for Bortman's recollections and Small's response, too.

¹⁵⁵ *Ronsheim report*, no date, attached to Small to Herbert Kahler, 16 November 1962, 1, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

concerns about what the NPS might do to the house, Ronsheim took her to see the Adams NHS, where the agency had captured different eras in its interpretation of the house.¹⁵⁷

Ronsheim also talked long and thoughtfully with Margaret, gaining her confidence. He recognized that she was “unique” and knew more about The Wayside and its contents than anyone. She had a “passion for accuracy and backing statements with proof.” He encouraged her to document her knowledge so others could use it for interpretation and care of the house. She considered The Wayside a “teaching tool” beyond a single era or author. She believed that the house showed the history of the country. “After facing and overcoming the hardship of settlement and establishment of a nation,” Margaret argued, “the people were able to turn their attention to ‘thoughtful living.’” The Wayside and its various owners represented “the history of the best of our country and its development,” which Margaret considered its true significance. Ronsheim agreed that it was a special house, and he shared his insights about Margaret with NPS officials.¹⁵⁸

Following a boundary revision and review by the NPS director and Secretary of the Interior, the NPS acquired The Wayside in June 1965.¹⁵⁹ At a ceremony marking the transfer, Ronsheim confirmed that the NPS would “work with Miss Lothrop to accomplish the work of preserving the house and interpreting all of its significance” for future visitors. Margaret expressed her confidence about the transfer, calling the event “a celebration” and remarking that the transfer fell on her mother’s birthday. “Mother should really have the honor,” Margaret stated. Acknowledging the house’s meaning, added that “the present is built on the past—we are all building for the future.” She believed that The Wayside would continue to aid young people of the present and future.¹⁶⁰

MASTER PLAN

In December 1966 Acting Director Howard Baker approved the *Minute Man Master Plan*. By then, Benjamin Zerbey had served as superintendent of the park for more than a year, with Edwin Small remaining in Boston coordinating the many area national park sites. This final plan evolved from various earlier versions. Small drafted a narrative section for an April 1962 draft, and he likely drafted sections of a 1961 version. Then, in March 1963 more revisions led Regional Director Ronald Lee to approve the plan. However, as Small reported in his annual statement of accomplishments for 1964, a revised *Master Plan Handbook* halted work. New procedures and revised schedules sent the park master plan back to the drafting stage. The NPS staff completed detailed maps in March 1965, just as Zerbey came to the park. The planning staff from the Northeast Regional Office, including David Kimball and Donald Humphrey, revised the master plan for final approval. Unlike their previous

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 1, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., Quotes in order on pp. 2-3, 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ Memorandum, Director to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 14 June 1963; and Director to Secretary of the Interior, 29 July 1963, both in File MIMA Correspondence 1960-1964, NRHE Files. Small to Regional Director, 25 March 1963, File MIMA Legislation, NRHE Files.

¹⁶⁰ “Daughter of Famed Author Sells ‘The Wayside’ to National Park,” *Lowell Sun*, 23 June 1965.

approach with the *General Management Plan* process, the NPS did not seek public participation while developing the *Master Plan*. In the 1960s, NPS master planning consisted largely of internal discussions. In 1961 Small met with Regional Director Lee and Director Wirth to address overall park planning. Wirth's successor, George Hartzog, also visited the park. His ideas were incorporated into the approved *Master Plan*. There are no records pointing to public hearings or requests for comments from the public.¹⁶¹

Which key issues did this approved *Master Plan* address? First, the plan clarified that MIMA was a developing park and its focus should be on the opening of the American Revolution. At the start of its 20 oversized pages with seven maps, the plan detailed the park's mission: "The purpose of Minute Man National Historical Park is to consolidate and bring into focus retrieved and yet retrievable portions of the Lexington-Concord Battle Road and associated structures, properties and site so that the visitor may better appreciate and understand the beginning of the War of the American Revolution."¹⁶² Reference to a "yet retrievable" past suggests the perceived need to continue archeological and historical research on lands owned by the park and lands not yet acquired.

The April 1963 proposed mission statement did not have this wording. The MIMA mission, according to this 1963 revision, was to

provide the visitor with an understanding of the historic route and related features of the countryside from Lexington to Concord forming part of the setting of the armed conflict between aroused American Patriots and British forces on April 19, 1775; and to stimulate appreciation of this historic day marking the outbreak of the American Revolution and a milestone in both American and world history in the struggle for independence and liberty.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Interestingly, the only known copy of the *Minute Man Master Plan* does not have signatures on it. For a reference to who approved the *Master Plan* and when, see Orville Carroll, *The Wayside Historic Structure Report, Part III* (June 1968), 1, File The Wayside, NPS Reports, MIMA Library. Memorandum, Small to Lee, 12 June 1964, and attached *Statement of Accomplishments*, Operating Programs, Fiscal Year 1964, 1, File L34 Recreation Activities 70/72, Park Admin Files, MIMA. *Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Minute Man National Historical Park*, April 1962 [1962 Master Plan], File April 1962 Master Plan, Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection, MIMA. *Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of MIMA*, 15 November 1961 with sections dating from April 1962 and April 1963, stamped "Approved" [1961-1963 Master Plan], File Master Plan Narrative, Box MIMA, NPS History Collection, HFC. Please note there are no consistent page numbers in the two draft master plans. *Final Approved Master Plan*, MIMA [1966 Master Plan], MIMA Archives. Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, 18 September 1967, 2, File L1425 Holdings CY1967, Park Admin Files, MIMA. For a discussion of master planning within NPS during this time period, as recalled by David Kimball, see Joan M. Zenzen, *Reconstructing the Past, Partnering for the Future: An Administrative History of Fort Stanwix National Monument* (June 2004), 38, Fort Stanwix NM Archives. For examples of planning meetings, see Memorandum, Small to Wirth, 28 July 1961, File MIMA Park Project Correspondence, Box 2, RG 79 BNHSC, NARA Waltham; and Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, 30 June 1965, File D18 Fiske Hill CY 1965, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁶² 1966 *Master Plan*, 2. Note that pages 13 and 18-20 are missing from the master plan as saved at the park. Pages are marked 1 to 24 despite these missing pages.

¹⁶³ 1961-1963 *Master Plan*, no page numbering.

The NPS recognized the continued importance of research efforts and reinserted the “retrievable past” wording. In addition, the approved *Master Plan* mission statement noted the need for further land acquisition and gently pushed it forward, using the term “consolidate” with reference to properties along the Battle Road. Again, the April 1963 version lacked such language. The approved mission statement also put full park resources toward helping visitors understand the beginning of the Revolutionary War. A 1962 version of this statement used more colorful language, saying that the park should bring into “vivid focus for all time to come” the historic landscape that provided some of the “celebrated incidents and colorful actions that mark the outbreak” of the American Revolution.¹⁶⁴ Planners dropped these striking words, but the idea remained to devote park development to telling the story of the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Second, the approved *Master Plan* laid out an overall development plan that relied on consolidation of park lands (by eminent domain if necessary) and removal of non-park traffic. On page 3, the *Master Plan* stated that “Land acquisition should be mission oriented.” The NPS planners understood that MIMA would become a full-fledged park after hundreds of individual land parcels were assembled. Much effort had already been undertaken to purchase key properties, but the NPS had more to do. Due to the statutory limitation on funds for land acquisition and the practicality of readying certain sections of the park for visitor (and other) services, the plan stated that “land acquisition should seek to block[-]in ownerships on historic grounds that are particularly desirable for immediate park development.” The NPS had already worked diligently toward this goal, but as the plan stated, “It must be continued as a well-defined project.” To meet this need, “Eminent domain should be resorted to where necessary in order that consolidation and park development of certain portions of land may be completed.”¹⁶⁵

Priorities for land acquisition emphasized parcels along the Battle Road, especially those along Marrett Street, the existing Hanscom AFB access road. After replacing this access road with the new base road, the NPS expected to return Marrett Street to its historic appearance and surfacing as a pedestrian way. Other streets identified for eventual pedestrian usage were Massachusetts Avenue from Fiske Hill to the Bluff in Lexington, Nelson Road in Lincoln, Virginia and Old Bedford Roads in Lincoln, and Lexington Road at Meriam’s Corner in Concord. Arthur Shurcliff and the BNHSC identified these areas because they contained sections of the original Battle Road that the NPS could restore once the state removed traffic. The *Master Plan* recommitted the NPS to this vision. A bicycle path along the main park tour road would supplement these pedestrian ways.¹⁶⁶

Once acquired from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Route 2A would cease to be a commuter roadway and become a two-way road for park visitors.¹⁶⁷ None of the *Master Plan* maps marked proposed locations for a relocated Route 2A or delineated where the new

¹⁶⁴ 1962 *Master Plan*, no page numbering.

¹⁶⁵ 1966 *Master Plan*, 3.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, 10.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

base access road might run. Instead, the maps incorporated Route 2A as it existed in the mid-1960s while the plan's language suggested where a bypass might be built. Such a bypass might begin off Marrett Road just west of the existing interchange of Routes 2A and 128. The bypass would end, as suggested by the *Master Plan*, south of Meriam's Corner where the existing Routes 2A and 2 crossed. The NPS officials justified the relocation of Route 2A for three reasons. First, the relocation permitted the separation of local and park traffic. Second, it allowed for "proper restoration and treatment" of selected portions of the Battle Road for pedestrians. Third, it controlled traffic and entry points into the park by allowing for the closure of local feeder roads into the existing Route 2A. The removal of Route 2A from the park would create the possibility for recreation of the historic scene and engage visitors in this setting.¹⁶⁸

A third issue addressed in the *Master Plan* involved visitor use and interpretation. Along the various roadways, walkways, and bicycle routes, the *Master Plan* included a coordinated series of interpretive contact stations. These stations would present visitors with key information about the events associated with the historic scene.¹⁶⁹ Planners hoped that having many identified interpretive staging areas would diffuse visitor usage and protect the many historically important structures and landscapes. Total visitation could also increase without "an untoward increase at each point of visitor interest."¹⁷⁰

Recognizing that many visitors would exit the major Boston artery of Route 128 and enter the park from the east, park planners placed the largest interpretive center at Fiske Hill. At this visitor center, visitors would learn about the major themes of the park and additional stops. Spaces in the visitor center would allow for general orientation, audiovisual presentations, comfort facilities, and parking. Heading further west from the Fiske Hill visitor center, park planners expected to place an unmanned contact station along Bedford Lane near the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern. This small, unobtrusive structure would have a minimal number of interpretive displays and direct visitors to the historic tavern. At Meriam's Corner, planners placed another contact station that could accommodate a ranger for interpretive talks or remain unstaffed. Interpretive displays would guide visitors at this station also.

More ideas for interpretation stretched to the park's other two units. At The Wayside, visitors would learn about the building's long history while appreciating the nineteenth and twentieth-century literary subthemes of the park. Not wanting to intrude upon the house for interpretive and visitor services, the NPS planned to remodel The Wayside barn and to use it as the base for interpretive displays, minimal comfort facilities, and a collection area for tours. Finally, in the North Bridge area, the NPS planned to adapt the Buttrick residence for use as a visitor contact station. The station would encompass interpretive displays, comfort facilities, and accommodations for a ranger during peak

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 10.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 3.

visitation periods. The *Master Plan* also included a recommendation to have a park overlook structure at the North Bridge contact station, either integral to the building or not.¹⁷¹

The fourth major issue addressed by the *Master Plan* involved the historic structures and landscapes. Park planners wanted MIMA to reflect the historic scene of 19 April 1775. Using stabilization, preservation, and restoration, such historic features as houses, stone walls, ruins, and outbuildings would draw visitors into the park to learn its stories. Planners allowed for limited reconstruction, mainly for certain outbuildings of historic house museums, to lend authenticity to the site. The plan called the North Bridge a “complete reconstruction,”¹⁷² although later professionals would argue that not enough information about its exact appearance in 1775 has been uncovered. Plantings similar to those from the historic period would aid in demarcating woodlands, pastures, croplands, and orchards. Vegetation could also serve as an effective screen of any modern intrusions, whether adjacent to park land or on it. When practical, planners recommended using livestock to add a farming dimension to the scene.¹⁷³ The *Master Plan* also urged that park officials give “imaginative consideration” to maintenance efforts, to “break new ground, if needed, to devise techniques necessary” to achieve the feel of the historic scene. “Maintenance should be seen as the effective tool,” according to the plan, “of preserving the historic integrity of the landscape...”¹⁷⁴

What should the park do with the many buildings dated after the 1775 historic period? The approved *Master Plan* includes general guidance, but drafts and other documents provide more specifics. According to the 1966 approved plan, the NPS should remove post-1775 structures “to justify the costs of land acquisition and to re-create the historic scene.” The plan also acknowledges that a number of buildings with “such intrinsic merit” should be preserved. However, the 1966 plan states that “funds should not be expended on these unless needed to carry out the primary purpose of the park.” The NPS should remove all other buildings unless “their retention is specifically called for to further the purpose of the park.” Modern buildings, save those for administrative or other designated purposes, should be removed so as “not to be inimical to the re-creation of the historic scene.” Visitor facilities may be allowed on the historic scene to provide “good visitor use of the area.”¹⁷⁵

These general guidelines left much room for negotiation, but previous drafts provide some indication of where the NPS leaned. Small wrote in his April 1962 draft of the master plan that one park objective involved preserving buildings of period and character constructed “not only prior to 1775 but down through the period of late Federal architecture or approximately to 1830.”¹⁷⁶ A 1964 Management Programs document (with no listed author or specific date) states, “a clear policy must be formulated which will justify the

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁷² Ibid., 15.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 7, 10, 15.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷⁶ 1962 *Master Plan*, Vol. I, chapter 1.

retention of any structures post-dating 1830 or thereabouts.”¹⁷⁷ Clearly, park officials and planners considered 1830, or roughly 50 years after the American Revolution, a cut-off date for historic structures. Historian Ronsheim also intimated this preference during his December 1963 presentation before the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission. The minutes for this meeting state Ronsheim informed members that, “in accordance with guidelines set up for the development of the Park, houses built after 1830 will not be retained as exhibits or as part of the setting in the Park.”¹⁷⁸

To address the literary subtheme represented by The Wayside, the *Master Plan* included strong emphasis on the contributions and wishes of its former owner, Margaret Lothrop. The Wayside should reflect the “flow of history” from its initial construction as a farmhouse, through its many additions and changes to the time when Lothrop’s mother lived and wrote there. With the barn rehabilitated for visitor services, the house would suffer fewer intrusions. Park planners also recommended making Hawthorne’s path to the ridge behind the house, available. The path was a favorite haunt of that author.¹⁷⁹

Finally, the *Master Plan* made clear that research should serve as the bedrock for all subsequent development of MIMA. Research was the “basic first step” to achieve accurate re-creation of the historic scene. Historians, historical architects, and archeologists needed to uncover the history of land ownerships, locations of boundaries and stone walls, locations of crops, locations of wood lots, and information about historic structures, including those that had since disappeared except for trace ruins. This mission-oriented research had to precede development to ensure accuracy. The *Master Plan* described the park’s existing research efforts as inadequate, as they did not produce data on time for planning, development, and land acquisition efforts. This inadequacy likely stemmed from a combination of factors. The park encompassed a number of historic structures and a lot of ground where the Patriots battled the British Regulars. Finding documentation about these people and buildings would take time. In addition, staffing did not meet park needs. This situation did not show signs of changing. Ronsheim tried to combat the staffing deficit by using interns. Hartzog had Ronsheim’s interpretive duties reassigned so that he could focus on research. However, the workload still loomed. Many people from NPS personnel to local residents, wanted to see the park emerge as a truly historical recreation of American Revolutionary times. The *Master Plan* called for additional means, not specifically identified, to gain timely results.¹⁸⁰

Achieving the goals within the *Master Plan* would create a large reservation reminiscent of the days when the American colonists transformed into American Patriots. As stated in Small’s 1962 draft and detailed in the approved version, MIMA would provide visitors with a “sizeable sampling of the terrain and countryside in which the formal struggle

¹⁷⁷ *Management Programs: The Land, Historical Features*, [1964], 2, File D18 CY 1964 Master Planning, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁷⁸ Minutes, Eighth Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 14 December 1963, 3.

¹⁷⁹ 1966 *Master Plan*, 7.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3, 6, 10.

for American liberty began.” The recreated natural landscape and built features would embrace the era of the embattled farmers. Small believed the park’s mission went beyond telling that story. Small had high expectations for the park he helped establish, wanting it to “stir the imagination” and “inspire sentiments of patriotism and pride in the Nation’s heritage.” This language never made it into the approved *Master Plan*, but its essence touched each page.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ 1962 *Master Plan*, vol. 1, chapter 1, p. 4.



Figure 11. Elisha Jones House, also known as The Bullet Hole House. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 12. Stedman Buttrick Residence. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: North Bridge Unit*, Figure 69.



Figure 13. The Wayside. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



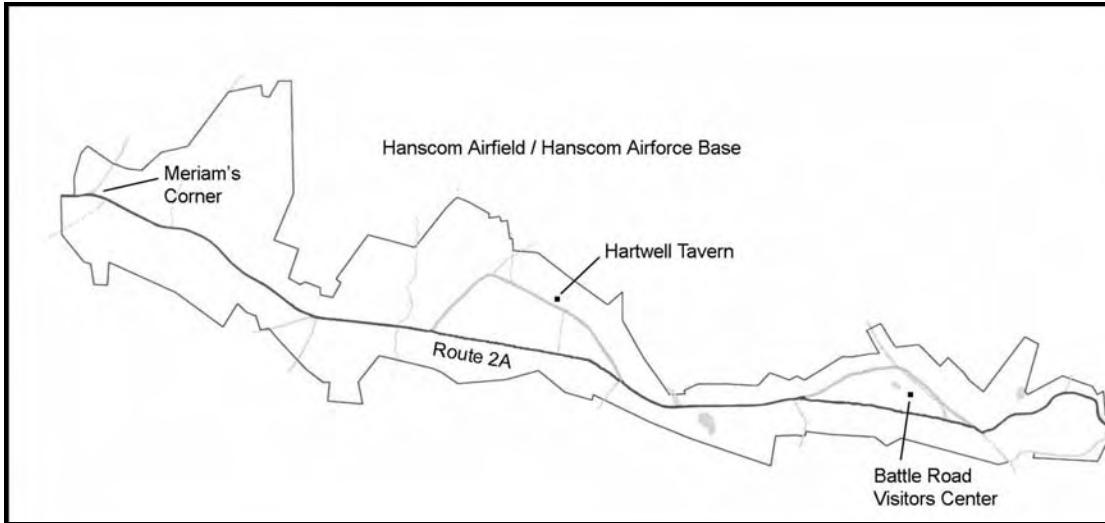
Figure 14. The Wayside, Rose Hawthorn bedroom. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



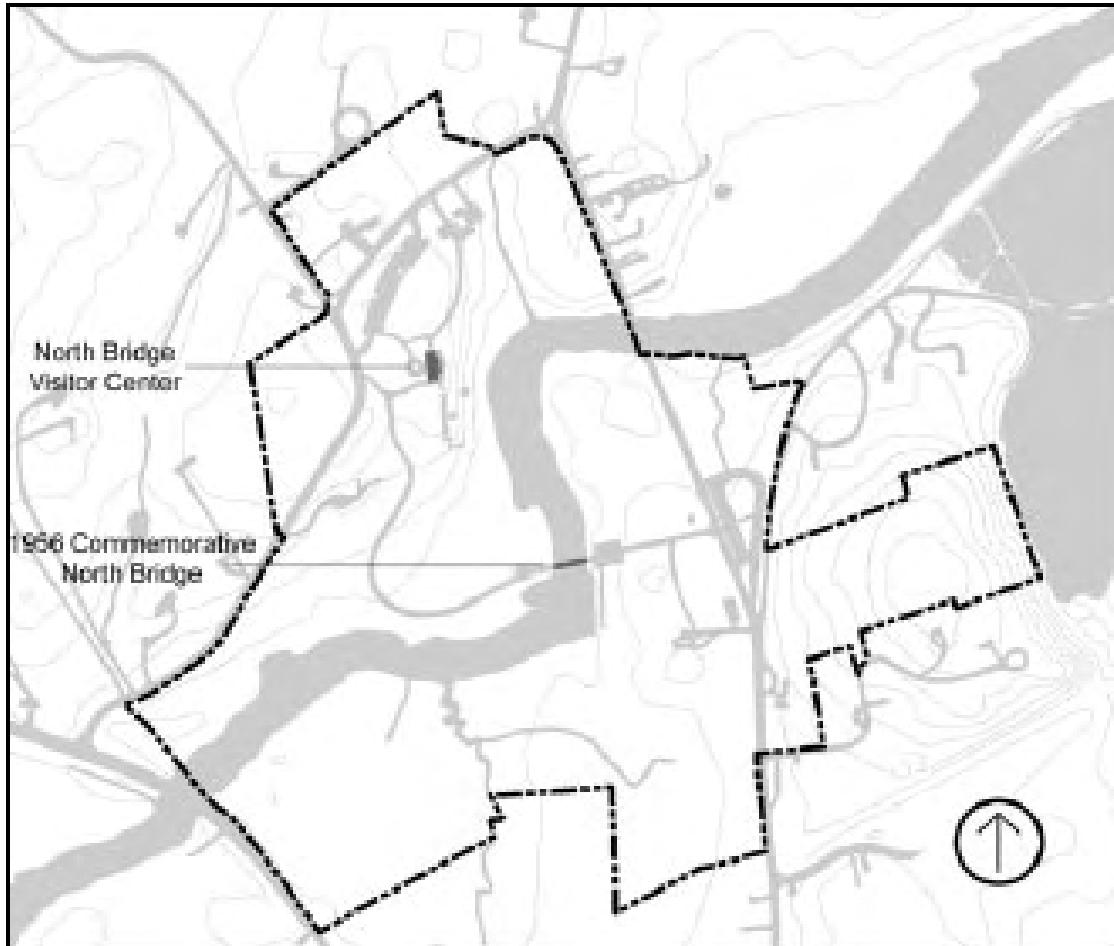
Figure 15. The Wayside Parlor. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



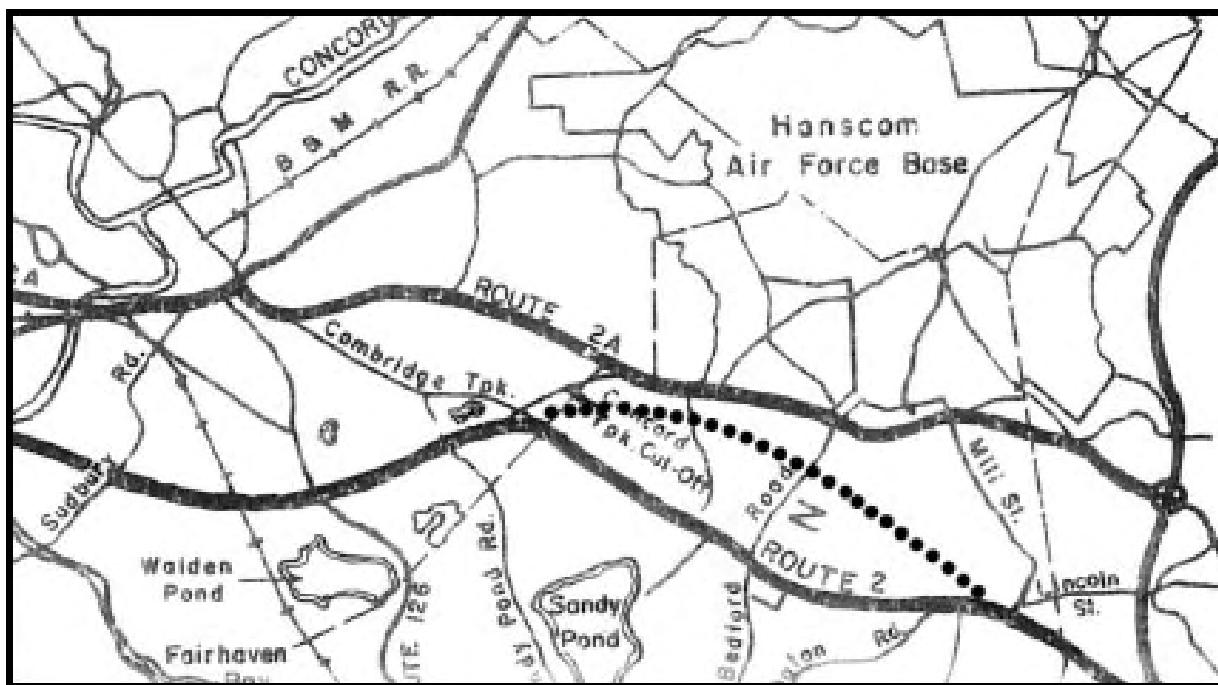
Figure 16. Jacob Whittemore House. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Map 8. Battle Road Unit. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 2.



Map 9. North Bridge Unit. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: North Bridge Unit*, Figure 2.



Map 10. Proposed realignment for Route 2, 1968. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure. 68.

CHAPTER FOUR

GETTING READY

Ben Zerbey understood what he and the NPS had to accomplish at MIMA.¹ This was the site of the opening shots of the American Revolution and where the first American blood had been lost in the name of liberty. Historic buildings dotted the landscape and reminded passersby of the sacrifices made on 19 April 1775. Those sacrifices made possible the freedoms and responsibilities of United States citizens today. From the time of his 1965 start at MIMA to 1976, Zerbey and the NPS had to give the American people a park that could serve as a proud reminder of the nation's 200th birthday and plan the looming Bicentennial celebration.

Fortunately, Zerbey had a plan to guide him. He had a slowly growing staff of exceptional skill to bring this *Master Plan* to life. He had the interest and support of regional and Washington office park personnel. Zerbey also had the background and the capabilities to bring these people and his plan together. After completing four years in the United States Navy and his undergraduate studies in government at the University of New Mexico, he interviewed for a position serving as a summer park guide at Carlsbad Caverns National Park in New Mexico. He returned for a second summer as park guide, and then had the opportunity to take the park ranger examination. This was the first time in several years the NPS had offered the exam. Zerbey was awarded the position of park ranger at Saguaro National Monument (Arizona), starting in May 1950. By the time he left Saguaro in 1958 Zerbey had been promoted to chief ranger. He served next at Isle Royale National Park in Michigan, again as chief ranger, before serving as superintendent at Hopewell Village National Historic Site in his home state of Pennsylvania. Zerbey, with his wife Jane and their children, left Hopewell Village in 1965 for MIMA.²

As David Moffitt recalled from his days as chief of maintenance under Zerbey, he involved "people into things other than what their job description required. He allowed you to participate in the total management of the park." Such an approach made him friends with everyone, from "the lowliest maintenance man to the chief ranger." Moffitt believed that Zerbey "didn't have favorites, he didn't pick on people, and he treated them all well."³ Such

¹ Roy Appleman, NPS chief, Branch of Park History Studies, made this assessment during his 1969 visit at the park. See Memorandum, Appleman to Chief Historian, 24 November 1969, 24, File MIMA Correspondence 1965-1972, NRHE Files.

² Benjamin Zerbey, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 13 April 2005, 1-2, MIMA Archives. "Supt. Zerbey Speaks Nov. 18," *Hear Ye* (November 1968). NPS Press Release, "Personnel Changes for Boston Area Announced by National Park Service," 18 March 1965, File Edwin W. Small, NPS History Collection, HFC.

³ David Moffitt, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 23 April 2005, 5-6, MIMA

a managerial approach gave park staff permission to contribute their own ideas and have a commitment to see them through.

Zerbey needed that commitment to accomplish his goals for the park, especially in the face of some huge obstacles. Within three years of his arrival at MIMA, the NPS depleted the \$5,000,000 allotment for land acquisition.⁴ But, about 35 percent of the identified acreage remained privately owned, including important historic structures. The park needed renewed legislative authority and congressional appropriations to complete its land acquisition program, but the Vietnam War shifted nonessential federal dollars and attention to that conflict. Zerbey could also see and hear more and more traffic zooming along Route 2A through the park. In 1968 Hanscom Air Force Base completed its new access road, spitting vehicles onto the Battle Road, and Honeywell Corporation opened a new operation across from the Fiske Hill area.⁵ Neither the state nor the federal government had made any further progress on relocating this road so that the park could concentrate on restoring the eighteenth-century character of the environs. There was also the question of what to do with the expected one or two million people visiting for the Bicentennial. The park needed a full-fledged visitor center, with exhibits, an audio program, and facilities, to accommodate the expected crush of tourists. Interpreters needed reliable programming in place to educate visitors and disperse them throughout the park so as not to degrade or overwhelm the primary commemorative area at the North Bridge. Zerbey had a few suggestions on how to resolve these issues, but now he and his staff had to implement them. Would they be successful by 19 April 1975?

This chapter examines the period from 1965 through 1972 from the time of Zerbey's appointment as superintendent of MIMA until the start of David Moffitt's tenure in the position. NPS reorganizations added a few additional supervisors at MIMA between Zerbey and Moffitt. Robert Perkins served as unit manager of MIMA following Zerbey's promotion to General Superintendent of the Boston Group. The Boston Group represented a collection of national park sites in the Boston area with its headquarters in Concord. Edwin Small had served between 1965 and 1969 as project coordinator of the Boston Historic Sites Project before becoming Assistant to the Regional Director (New England Field Office) with his office remaining in Boston. Zerbey eventually moved to the regional office, and Herbert Olsen replaced him as general superintendent, with Boston Group offices still in the Stedman Buttrick House. Another reorganization removed the Boston Group designation, and David Moffitt came to MIMA as a full superintendent. This history does not make comprehensive evaluations of how the Boston Group arrangement worked for the overall NPS presence in Boston, but some discussion looks at its effects on Minute Man administration.

Archives.

⁴ *National Park Foundation Project Prospectus*, 1, attached to Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 24 March 1969, File H30 1963-1969, Box 3, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁵ Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 13 December 1968, 1, File D30 CY 1968 Route 2A Relocation.

FISKE HILL

Big ideas had long circulated about what MIMA would look like once the state had relocated Route 2A and the NPS had restored an eighteenth-century feel to the landscape and its historic structures. However, such a long-range plan did not help present visitors who came in increasing numbers to learn about the beginnings of the Revolutionary War. In addition, people traveling along Route 2A would be hard pressed to identify the NPS and its work, beyond the temporary park headquarters building in the former Geophysics Laboratory site. George Hartzog, when he first became Director of the NPS in January 1964, toured MIMA and insisted that the park provide an interim visitor area at Fiske Hill. This site, which had easy access to major roadways thanks to its proximity to Route 128, offered historic interest and sufficient space to allow visitors to immerse themselves into Revolutionary War times. Hartzog did not want to lose even another visitor season without such a contact area and gave Zerbey and the regional office just a few short weeks to develop some initial ideas.⁶

Zerbey's ideas involved restoring about 40 acres of landscape and providing a minimal number of visitor facilities. Where trees had taken root in the area of the Fiske Farm site, Zerbey advocated clearing this land to return it to the look and feel of a historic field and pasture. Mowing, grazing, and clearing of brush in another section would keep vegetation down and further retain the appearance of a pasture. Zerbey estimated that about one and a half miles of stone walls needed restoration and the historic trace of the Battle Road in this confined area required attention. Archeological studies would provide necessary clues for this work. In keeping with Hartzog's vision, Zerbey included in his suggested plans a lunch area with picnic tables and a public contact facility. The lunch area would sit near the site of the former turkey farm while the contact station might reuse an old residence at the site. Zerbey argued that such adaptation of a building would save money and allow for quick operation. Plus, he was always interested in finding environmentally positive alternatives. A loop trail would take visitors to the nearby historic sites, providing a hands-on lesson in the Revolutionary War history of the area.⁷

Regional and other sources further refined Zerbey's initial thoughts. Lack of parking space and concerns over visitor safety in crossing an intersection near the former residence led park planners to consider other options for the contact station. Zerbey then pointed to a recently acquired small service building that could be moved and adapted for the purpose, again with an eye toward reusing and recycling.⁸ However, the chief of the Eastern Office of Design and Construction recommended a new structure. He wrote that "The visitor's impression of the Park Service in a situation like this is critical and must be enhanced as

⁶ Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 30 June 1965, 1, File D18 CY 1965 Developed Area Plan Fiske Hill, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷ Ibid., 2-3. Moffitt, transcript of interview, 7.

⁸ Memorandum, George Palmer to Director, 2 July 1965, 1, File D18 CY 1965 Developed Area Plan, *Fiske Hill*, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 14 January 1966, 2, File D18 CY 1966 Developed Area Plan, *Fiske Hill*, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

much as possible.”⁹ Placed next to the proposed parking area, the shelter would offer “uninterrupted viewing of the historic Bluff.”¹⁰ NPS personnel considered this location important also for public relations purposes. With a properly designed structure, accompanied by an outdoor terrace where visitors could mill around, this location would be in a “position readily noticeable to visitors coming from any direction.” The information shelter would establish “The first real identity of the Service at the beginning of the park near the confluence of the important avenues of travel.”¹¹ Completed in 1967, the information shelter had shingled walls to “reflect the use of native materials,”¹² giving it a distinctive “Park Service” look and making clear that the area was a national historical park site.

As originally planned, the loop trail went to the luncheon area, up the gently sloping Fiske Hill, and on to the Fiske Farm and Hayward Well sites. Visitors could then walk along a restored section of the Battle Road back to the parking area. By December 1969 Zerbey and his interpretive staff began exploring the idea of expanding the history emphasis of the trail to include environmental awareness. This heightened interest in the environment reflected both social concerns and a longstanding responsibility of the NPS toward nature and environmental issues. By 1971 park interpretive staff had prepared a booklet for visitors to use along the trail, pointing out evidence of glacial action and its remnants, as marked in one place by a red maple swamp. A hardwood forest offered the opportunity to explain the many uses of tree products for the colonists while a historic stone wall with its algae and fungi provided evidence of symbiosis. This initial exploration in environmental topics quickly exploded as people gained interest. Park historian Cynthia Kryston reported in 1972 that interpreters led regularly scheduled walks during the summer and for a local Environmental Education Week in September. Teacher workshops attracted representatives from nine nearby towns as well as the Massachusetts Department of Education. As a result of special presentations for non-educators, the park established ties with scouting groups and worked with them on developing programs for badges. All of these activities stepped beyond the historical themes and incorporated environmental studies.¹³

⁹ Memorandum, Robert Hall to Zerbey, 13 January 1966, File D18 CY 1966, *Developed Area Plan, Fiske Hill*, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁰ Memorandum, Eugene DeSilets to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 17 June 1966, 1, File D18 CY 1966, *Developed Area Plan, Fiske Hill*, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹ Memorandum, Eugene DeSilets to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 20 September 1966, 1, File D18 CY 1966, *Developed Area Plan, Fiske Hill*, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹² Memorandum, Hodge Hanson to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 28 December 1966, 2, File D18 CY 1966, *Developed Area Plan, Fiske Hill*; Photo of completed structure, File D18 CY 1967, *Developed Area Plan, Fiske Hill*, both in Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³ Memorandum, DeSilets to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 17 June 1966, 2; Minutes, 19th Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 6 December 1969, 2, File A18 CY 1969, Park Admin Files, MIMA; *Interpretive Prospectus*, MIMA, 1971, 12-13, File Interpretive Prospectus, NPS Reports, Park Library, MIMA; Fiske Hill booklet, no date, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Margie Hicks Files, MIMA; Memorandum, Cynthia Kryston to Supervisory Park Ranger, MIMA, 26 October 1972, 1-2, File K1815 CY 1972, Interpretive Activities, Services, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

The information shelter, loop trail, and picnic area provided an interim solution for the NPS and gave them time to work on the *Master Plan* of building a full-fledged visitor center at Fiske Hill. Park officials admitted the incongruity of combining in a fairly limited space both interpretive (shelter and trail) and recreational (picnicking) elements. Planners opted to use the parking lot as a physical divider between the two activities, keeping recreation and interpretation separate. Once the NPS had successfully completed land acquisition, the visitor center complex as envisioned in the *Master Plan* would take shape. Yet, the information shelter and trail would remain as additional ways to explore and learn about the historical and environmental influences shaping the MIMA landscape.¹⁴

ROADS

Further planning for Fiske Hill and its immediate area tied directly to an upsurge in discussions about relocating major roadways around MIMA. Significantly, during this period, both the state and the NPS were at odds on how best to address the relocation proposal. The state opted to engineer its way through the problem with expanded roadways capable of carrying many vehicles through the area as quickly and efficiently as possible. The NPS found itself caught between wanting to support any feasible relocation proposal and ensuring that its preservation mandate remained intact. No decisions would be made before the Bicentennial, but clearly the NPS had to reckon its desire to remove Route 2A from the park and dealing with the consequences upon its landscape and historic structures.

As described in the previous chapter, state planning by 1965 had proposed a Northerly Alternate, having Route 2 skim the southern boundary of the park through Lincoln. It dipped well south of the park at Meriam's Corner. A relocated Route 2A would begin at Route 128, the main connecting roadway around the Boston metropolitan area, and feed into Route 2 at the new Hanscom Air Force Base access road. A major interchange would join these two roadways. Routes 2 and 2A would continue as combined highways, removing the necessity of constructing an additional roadway for 2A. The Southerly Alternate for Route 2 swung well below MIMA and required an extensive rebuilding of Route 2A. In June 1966 state authorities held a public hearing for review and discussion of the two Route 2 relocation proposals. Members of the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission submitted a statement supporting the Northerly Alternate, recognizing that it removed Route 2A from the park and it eliminated the substantial expense of totally and separately relocating Route 2A. In June 1966 the NPS did not give formal preference to either the northern or southern alternatives. However, after review, Director Hartzog did agree to give NPS personnel authority to negotiate a cooperative arrangement for federal and state financing of relocating traffic out of the park.¹⁵

¹⁴ Memorandum, DeSilets to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 20 September 1966, 2.

¹⁵ Minutes, 13th Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 2 June 1966, 1-2; Annual Report, 1966, Town of Lincoln, 125, Lincoln Public Library. Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 17 May 1966; and Memorandum, Charles Krueger to Director, 20 June 1967, both in File D30 Roads and Trails 1966-1967, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

For the NPS, these discussions had to focus on the larger goal of removing heavy traffic from the park and returning the landscape to the feel of the eighteenth-century Revolutionary War period. Road improvements had to clear park boundaries to ensure the historical integrity of park. But, further refinements of plans for Route 2A indicated that the state wanted to add a western extension of Route 2A beyond Route 2. Route 2A in each section would be a divided highway. The state also decided to go forward on the Northerly Alternate for Route 2, making it a limited access highway of interstate quality. In March 1968, NPS and state representatives met to review these updated plans, airing design concerns and financing issues for relocating Route 2A. How would the relocated road connect future visitors to the proposed major visitor center near Fiske Hill? What exactly did the NPS envision for a tunnel or depressed passageway for the new Hanscom Air Force Base access road as it crossed the park and joined the relocated Route 2A? Would a stoplight at a crossing for Meriam's Corner be sufficient or would traffic load measurements require an interchange? What level of financial contribution could the state expect of the NPS? From this exchange came the clear message that the NPS needed to crystallize its own plans for development of roadways and visitor services at MIMA so that state and NPS plans could join seamlessly. Yet, the demands of other park projects kept the Eastern Office of Design and Construction from focusing on MIMA.¹⁶

In the meantime, the state further expanded its plans and submitted them in December 1968 to the park for review.¹⁷ When Zerbey first saw what the state had in mind, he exclaimed, "My God, I shot the wrong Civil Engineer." Zerbey questioned why the plan made not only Route 2A but also Massachusetts Avenue into divided limited access roads, requiring extensive interchanges to funnel traffic to the different roads. He wanted to remove one proposed separate entranceway at the Honeywell Corporation location that threatened a "most picturesque and interesting bog."¹⁸ Zerbey also questioned the need for the proposed interchange at Mill Street and the new Route 2A since it encroached on parkland. Other NPS reviewers echoed Zerbey's concerns. Landscape architect Arthur Beyer wrote that the "park is in serious trouble if the state builds the highways" as proposed.¹⁹ Charles Krueger of the Philadelphia Service Center's Design and Construction Office questioned the state's plans to build numerous connections and large interchanges to

Memorandum, Howard Baker to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 22 November 1967, 1, File D18 *Trails and Structure Plan*, 1968; and Charles Krueger to F. C. Turner, 12 December 1967, File D30 CY 1967 Route 2A Relocation, both in Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁶ Memorandum, Lemuel Garrison to Director, 2 April 1968; and Memorandum, David Turello to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 1 February 1968, 2, both in File D30 Roads and Trails 1968-1969, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. *Selectmen Annual Report*, Town of Lincoln, 1968, 2, Lincoln Public Library.

¹⁷ John Hannon to Zerbey, 4 December 1968, File D30 CY 1968 Route 2A Relocation, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁸ Both quotes, Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 13 December 1968, 2, File D30 CY 1968 Route 2A Relocation, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁹ Memorandum, Arthur Beyer to Chief, Design and Construction, PSC, 31 January 1969, 1, File D30 CY 1969 Route 2A Relocation.

support Route 2A as a limited access highway.²⁰ And at the Boston Group staff meeting in March 1969 the “general consensus was that everybody was rather upset by the number of interchanges proposed.”²¹ Team members agreed that before the NPS could offer an alternative, it needed the traffic counts used by the state to develop the roadway plan. Zerbey found, however, that the state was then only collecting traffic counts and had not used traffic numbers in developing its plans. Landscape architect Beyer replied that the state had “apparently overdesigned their plans” for relocating Route 2A. The proposed “complicated interchanges” would eat up sizeable areas of the park without necessarily addressing actual traffic needs.²²

Beyond the interchanges, NPS personnel recognized that decisions had to be made regarding the proposed major visitor center near Fiske Hill. Beyer noted that the state’s intention to have an interchange for the current (Massachusetts Avenue) and new Route 2A would “cut up this area [near the visitor center] excessively.” Topography, historic features, and natural features already curtailed use of the space without adding the complications of a major interchange. Beyer recommended instead that park officials talk to the state and recommend the state’s former idea of having a divided highway with breaks in the median for turns and cross traffic.²³ These discussions successfully resulted in deletion of one interchange and removal of the separate entrance for the Honeywell plant and associated industrial development at another interchange. The state, however, held fast to its proposal for a limited access highway. The major interchange at Route 2A and the proposed visitor center location near Fiske Hill would serve as a major entrance point for the park. Pressure from the state to obtain NPS approval “points up the need,” wrote landscape architect Charles Schuster, “for us to come to grips with our planning for Minute Man and coordinate our plans with the State.” Schuster went on, admitting that for years the NPS had desired removal of traffic on Route 2A. “We are now faced with both the opportunity of obtaining our goal and the problem of coordinating our development plans” with the proposed highway plans.²⁴

Further discussions and walking around the area to see how the proposed roadways would lay on the land brought the NPS and state even closer together. Beyer optimistically concluded that the revised Route 2A relocation plan “can be adapted suitably to the purposes of visitor entrance to the Park with some modifications.” A key change involved shifting the Massachusetts Avenue interchange further east to “preserve the attractive and historical area” around the Bluff and Fiske Hill. The park’s visitor center would then stand where the

²⁰ Memorandum, Charles Krueger to Chief, Design and Construction, Philadelphia Service Center, 20 February 1969, File D30 Roads and Trails 1968-1969, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

²¹ Minutes, Boston NPS Group Staff Meeting, 20 March 1969, 1, No File Name, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

²² Memorandum, Arthur Beyer to Chief, Design and Construction, PSC, 3 April 1969, File D30 CY 1969 Route 2A Relocation, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Quote on p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.* 2.

²⁴ Memorandum, Charles Schuster to Assistant Director, Design and Construction, 28 May 1969, 2, File D30 CY 1969 Route 2A Relocation, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

animal hospital sat, immediately north of the proposed Route 2A interchange. Beyer cautioned that the state would cooperate with making some modifications, but the NPS needed to act expediently. “The sooner we can present our proposals for modifications to the State,” he wrote, “the more I think they will cooperate with us with these changes.”²⁵ In response, NPS planners prepared in December 1970 a *Developed Area Plan* which evolved into the formal Development Concept.²⁶ In presenting this plan to representatives from the Town of Lincoln, the NPS made clear its “general acceptance of the limited access [highway] proposal of the State” for Route 2A. As Charles Schuster reported after the meeting, the NPS does “not object as long as encroachment is at a minimum.” In pointed language, Schuster also wrote that “Removal of 2-traffic from the park . . . is of prime importance to the park’s future development, and we should make every effort to offer encouragement to the State and should give no impression that we opposed their efforts.”²⁷

With this statement, the NPS effectively handed the road planning back to the state. Park officials continued developing ideas for visitor services and waited. In the meantime, state and federal authorities gathered more data and made more recommendations about relocating and enhancing roads. A May 1972 meeting with the Federal Highway Administration, NPS, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation discussed the Route 2 plans with respect to Section 106 concerns. Benjamin Levy, Executive Director of the Advisory Council, determined that screen planting and earthen berms would minimize adverse effects on historic structures. In Levy’s opinion, “the positive aspects of the project” more than offset these negative influences.²⁸ NPS authorities also kept an eye on the larger goal of removing traffic from MIMA. Even before the state had released its Environmental Impact Statement for the road relocations, the Sierra Club and some local residents expressed opposition to the project. In answer to these potential threats, the NPS Washington Office registered its intention to make a “strong recommendation for this relocation” because without it, “the park can never be fully achieved.”²⁹

BICENTENNIAL PLANNING

Ever since establishment of MIMA, 19 April 1975 had loomed as a deadline. By the time of the nation’s Bicentennial, NPS officials had hoped the park would have all or most of

²⁵ Memorandum, Beyer to Chief, Design and Construction, PSC, 4 June 1969, 2-4, File D30 Roads and Trails 1968-1969, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Quotes, in order, on pp. 2, 3, 4.

²⁶ *Design Analysis, Fiske Hill Development*, attached to memorandum, Beyer to Director, Northeast, 2 December 1970, File D18 DCP’s Fiske Hill VC (1969-1973). *Fiske Hill Development Concept*, 1970, File Fiske Hill, NPS Reports, MIMA Research Library.

²⁷ Memorandum, Charles Schuster to Director, Eastern Service Center, 17 November 1969, 2-3, File D30 Roads and Trails 1969-1969, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Quotes, in order, on pp. 2, 3.

²⁸ Memorandum, Herbert Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 24 May 1972, 1, File H34 National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings and National Landmarks, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁹ Memorandum, Raymond Freeman to Director, Northeast Region, 12 September 1972, 4, File IV (*Administrative History*), *Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection*, MIMA. See also MIMA Master Plan Revision Study Meeting, 26 September 1972, 3, File D18 Master Plan Revision Study 1972, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

its land, have Route 2A relocated, have its historic buildings spruced up, and have interpretive facilities and programming in place to greet the expected throngs of visitors. Zerbey's 1966 *Master Plan* still set 1975 as an important date for accomplishing these goals. There were, however, a few obstacles standing in the way. As of 1968, the park had depleted its \$5 million land acquisition budget. The NPS would have to go back to Congress for new legislation for additional funds. How and when this legislation came through will be discussed later in the chapter. Nothing could be done until the land acquisition office at MIMA got congressional approval to continue its work. Bicentennial plans also stumbled over the issue of Route 2A. As late as 1972 the park waited for the Environmental Impact Statement. Review and incorporation of probable changes would not be completed until 1973. That left only two years, at most, to build the new road and restore the original to its historic context. Clearly, the NPS could not meet this tight time schedule. Route 2A would still have to carry traffic through the park, requiring some interim solutions to enhance the Revolutionary War character of the park's landscape.

Roy Appleman, as chief of the NPS Branch of Park History Studies, made clear his concern following a trip to MIMA in summer 1969. He wrote about the need for extensive historical, architectural, and archeological research to support development planning. "It will take a lot of man-year effort and a great deal of money," Appleman concluded in his trip report, "to get this park ready for the Bicentennial. Whether it can be done must remain a serious question."³⁰ MIMA would encounter difficulties and setbacks, but also many successes when it opened to the public in 1975. This chapter and the next two recount these stories.

Beyond the particulars of MIMA, thinking about the 200th anniversary had started at the national level. By the late 1960s President Nixon had made appointments to the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, giving its members responsibility for envisioning the overall form of the celebration and how individual agencies and cities might contribute. This commission soon found itself embroiled in a competition for a world's fair among three major cities: Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. Any decisions about the Bicentennial hinged upon whether the United States would host a fair, slowing down planning on any other possibilities. A decision not to have a world's fair came in 1970, leaving planners scrambling for other ideas to celebrate properly the historic anniversary. As time slipped away, the commission decided to have the individual towns and cities across the nation determine their own celebrations, leaving out any national event.³¹

One federal agency would work with cities and towns to mark the event. That agency, the NPS, with its national collection of historic sites relating directly to the Revolutionary War period, carved out its own significant slice of the planning. High-level

³⁰ Memorandum, Appleman to Chief Historian, 24 November 1969, 24.

³¹ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 6 December 1969, 4, File A18 CY 1969 Advisory Groups, Park Admin Files, MIMA. "Let's Hear It for the Bicentennial," *Boston Globe* [no date], attached to Memorandum, Jerry Wagers to All Superintendents, North Atlantic Region, 20 May 1974, File #1 Jan-Sept 1974 A8215 Bicentennial, Box 4, Acc. 79-83-0001, Waltham Federal Records Center (FRC).

administrators, especially from the regions having the most pertinent sites, assembled committees, drafted plans, and developed their ideas into working orders. In 1973, Congress finally backed up these plans with \$100 million. Bricks and mortar changes, the focus of NPS Bicentennial plans, began appearing. MIMA would get its Battle Road Visitor Center. Fort Stanwix National Monument gained a fully reconstructed fort. Restoration efforts made it possible for visitors to see the earthworks and other military fortifications at Yorktown. These and other capital improvement projects significantly enhanced the physical shape of the parks. Interpretive planning, especially living-history programs, talks, and dramatic offerings, made them come alive.³²

Not surprisingly, the little towns that would eventually host their fellow Americans and other visitors in celebrating the Bicentennial got organized a bit earlier than the federal government. Certainly, recognition of the national importance of the event drove this early planning. Towns associated with the historic actions of 1775 as opposed to 1776, when Americans officially asserted their independence, also had one less year to plan. Plus, such simple logistics as figuring out how smallish towns could accommodate hundreds of thousands or more people in a confined space sparked concern. Concord, home of the North Bridge, began giving the Bicentennial celebration serious consideration as early as 1960. Its Public Ceremonies and Celebrations Committee urged the reinstitution of minute man companies from the original towns that had sent troops against the British in 1775. These groups would then, in the committee's mind, march in the town's parade in 1975. As a result of a special committee report, in 1967 the Selectmen appointed a nine-member Executive Committee of the 1975 Celebration Committee to oversee planning. John Finigan chaired the entire effort.

By 1970, before the federal government had moved on from the world's fair idea, the Celebration Committee had carefully evaluated the town's goals and responsibilities for the event, using these to guide all future planning.³³ "We should seek to develop a program which will be simple and non-political," the committee wrote, "with emphasis on the principles for which the battle was fought rather than on the glorification of the battle itself."³⁴ John Finigan remembered that the town's vision for the Bicentennial

was to see if we could celebrate, not in the way that the
celebrations the next year [1976] would take place, but more in a
spiritual way, in a thanksgiving way, and in a commemorative way

³² For an overview of NPS Bicentennial building projects, see Merrill J. Mattes, *Landmarks of Liberty: A Report on the American Revolution Bicentennial Development Program of the National Park Service* (Washington DC: NPS, 1989), 1-13. An example of early NPS planning for the Bicentennial can be found in memorandum, George Palmer to Director, 7 August 1972, and attached National Park Service Action Plan, File Admin—Action Plans, Group 2, Series I, RG 18 Bicentennial Records, NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center (HFC).

³³ National Park Study Committee, "A History of the Fight at Concord on the 19th of April, 1975," 1976, MIMA Archives. Concord's planning for the Bicentennial will receive full attention in the next chapter.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

so that the events that took place would be appropriately honored and respected by a thankful population of our country.³⁵

This ambitious goal could not be accomplished without careful and attentive planning. By 1967 the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission began to worry about the logistics and how best the towns and park could prepare. How would the towns accommodate overnight guests and requests for camping spaces? Where would visitors picnic as they enjoyed the festivities? Where would people park? At first, commission members supported the suggestion of its Concord representative, William Faxon, to have the towns address planning for the expected heavy traffic and visitation through a joint committee. This joint committee, made up of two or three representatives from each of the three towns and led by the advisory commission, would work together on mutual problems associated with preparing for the Bicentennial.³⁶ The advisory commission, in Faxon's mind, would function as a "catalytic agent" in encouraging cooperation among the towns.³⁷ However, upon further reflection, Faxon and his fellow commission members decided that the towns should make the first attempts at addressing issues. If problems arose that had become of "such common interest, magnitude and comprehensive scope as to require coordination and solution" between the towns and parks, then the commission could step in.³⁸ For now, commission members stood ready to hear reports from the towns and assist. It would also prod the park and even the state in addressing such concerns as facilities for public events and camping locations in nearby state parks.³⁹ Chapter five of this history examines how the Bicentennial planning played out.

1970 LEGISLATION

Bicentennial planning at MIMA largely depended upon developing interpretive facilities and services within an intact and recognizable park. Commercial properties, including the veterinary hospital near Fiske Hill, restaurants, and a gas station, still sat along the Battle Road within the designated boundaries of the park. Crucial land acquisition depended upon funding, and the park reached its legislative limit of \$5 million less than a decade after its establishment. To address this situation, even before MIMA had depleted its land acquisition funds, NPS officers sought an increase in this legislative ceiling. In spring 1966, Zerbey presented justifications for an increase of \$3 million above the original \$5 million limitation. He justified this amount by stating that over the past several years, land

³⁵ Finigan, transcript of interview, 8.

³⁶ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 15th Meeting, 21 June 1967, 1-2; and Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Special Meeting, 20 September 1967, 1, both in File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

³⁷ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Special Meeting, 20 September 1967, 3.

³⁸ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 16th Meeting, 6 April 1968, 4, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

³⁹ Ibid. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 17th Meeting, 14 December 1968, 4, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

costs had increased about eight percent per year in the area, eating up the land acquisition funds much faster than Congress in 1959 had anticipated. Zerbey felt in 1966 that the additional \$3 million would suffice since appraisers had formally appraised more than 50 percent of the still-designated lands and had firm estimates for the remaining lands.⁴⁰ He pointed at the Bicentennial as reason for action as soon as possible. “It behooves us,” Zerbey wrote, “to move ahead more rapidly with our land acquisition program so that the necessary development of the park may be completed” by 1975.⁴¹

Further concerns about MIMA prompted discussion on possible legislation. Zerbey watched closely the \$3 million development ceiling for the park and asked for consideration of a \$2 million increase of this limitation. The park had accomplished some construction and interpretive work, but much remained, especially building the new visitor center at Fiske Hill. Having The Wayside refurbished and ready for public tours offered challenges not originally envisioned in the MIMA legislation. He worried that these and other development costs would outstrip the funding ceiling and leave the park incapable of meeting its goals in time for the Bicentennial.⁴² Route 2A relocation presented another cause for congressional action. As described earlier, state plans by the late 1960s had fixed on building a northerly version of Route 2 in which Route 2A would feed. This new combined highway with rights-of-way would in certain places skim the park’s southern boundary. To facilitate this important road building, Zerbey asked in June 1966 that future legislation provide for the ability of the NPS to conduct land exchanges within the park area, allowing for “evening out of the boundary along the proposed highway right-of-way.”⁴³

Beginning in 1967 Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission members pushed for the new legislation. Initial steps focused on land acquisition. State Senator James DeNormandie (Republican), with support from his commission members, talked to United States Representative F. Bradford Morse (Republican). Agreeing to the necessity of the proposed legislation, Morse and other members of the Massachusetts delegation in the US House of Representatives on 13 July 1967 introduced HR 11463. This bill provided for another \$5 million in land acquisition funds for MIMA, but it did not address land exchanges or the development ceiling. Upon further reflection and study at subsequent meetings, the advisory commission wondered if the acreage ceiling should also be raised to 1,000 acres. This increase would allow the NPS to acquire all the lands along Lexington Road from The Wayside to Meriam’s Corner. DeNormandie and others wanted to thwart plans to relocate Route 62 to Old Bedford Road, another aspect of state road work being contemplated. In April 1968 DeNormandie asked Zerbey to consult with NPS officials

⁴⁰ Memorandum, Zerbey to Chief, Office of Land and Water Rights, 23 May 1966, 1, File L1425 CY 1966 Holdings; and Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 2 January 1969, and attachment, *Justification to Increase Legislative Ceiling on Land Acquisition*, MIMA, 2, File L1425 CY 1969 Holdings, both in Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴¹ Memorandum, Zerbey to Chief, Office of Land and Water Rights, 23 May 1966, 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴³ Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 22 June 1966, File L1425 CY 1966 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

and compile a complete list of changes that might be included in a revised bill.⁴⁴ Planning within the NPS collided with the demands of the Vietnam War. The Northeast Regional Office directed Small and Zerbey in July 1968 to stop working on revision of such legislation. Raising the ceiling on funding was not “practical at this time in view of the war economy.” New legislation would wait until such time when “the rigid fiscal policies of the Federal Government have been relaxed.”⁴⁵

Undeterred, the advisory commission continued to voice support for new legislation. At its December 1968 meeting, members voted to submit a resolution to Congressmen Morse and Philip Philbin (Democrat) for increased acreage and higher funding for land acquisition and development. This resolution sparked further congressional involvement, despite renewed threats to funding initiatives. As Small reported to the advisory commission in April 1969, the federal government had cut all land acquisition funds normally available to the NPS and the Forest Service for that year.⁴⁶ But, Representative Morse and other Massachusetts delegates submitted HR 13934 on 23 September 1969. This bill allowed for boundary revisions to accommodate relocation of Route 2, so long as any net acreage increase from these land exchanges did not count toward the overall acreage limitation. Instead of revising the funding limits for land acquisition and development, the bill’s sponsors opted to remove these restraints. HR 13934 required that “There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.”⁴⁷ On 28 October 1969 Senator Edward Kennedy introduced a companion bill. The Senate version, however, contained funding limitations, allowing for an additional \$5.9 million for land acquisition. The Senate version did not provide for an increase in the development ceiling. Language similar to the House bill allowed for land exchanges for accommodation of the Route 2 relocation. Neither bill included language to increase the acreage limit for the park.⁴⁸

Further visible progress followed collection and study of information. On 2 June 1970 Zerbey and DeNormandie both attended the hearing before the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation. The Interior Department presented a formal statement of support. With visitation levels already surpassing half a million in 1969, the Interior Department believed that MIMA needed the next four years to finish land acquisition and

⁴⁴ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 15th Meeting, 21 June 1967, 4; and Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 18th Meeting, 26 April 1969, 3, both in File A18 Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. By June 1970, thanks to strong opposition from the Town of Concord, the state had withdrawn its proposal for relocating Route 62. See Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 17 June 1970, 2, File A18 CY 1970 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁵ Memorandum, Lemuel Garrison to Small, 25 July 1968, File L1425 CY 1968 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁶ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 17th Meeting, 14 December 1968, 3; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 18th Meeting, 2; and Resolution, rev. of 11 September 1969, all in File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 19th Meeting, 2, File A18 CY 1969, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁷ HR 13934, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 23 September 1969. Quote on p. 2.

⁴⁸ S. 3090, 91st Cong., 1st sess., 28 October 1969.

prepare for the expected crowds for the 200th anniversary of the battle. Departmental estimates now set acquisition costs for the remaining identified 144 acres at \$5.9 million, recognizing the realities of escalating land values. Some of that amount might be recouped through authority of the leaseback-sellback arrangements provided under the amended *Land and Water Conservation Act of 1968* (Public Law 90-401). Fourteen historic homes, six of which the NPS already owned, could have scenic easements placed on them to allow for private ownership. The NPS would have to acquire and rehabilitate the remaining eight homes before reselling them with the easements. With respect to land exchanges with the State of Massachusetts for Route 2, the Interior Department emphasized that the federal government would not incur any expense for land acquisition under this authority. Instead, administration of the area would benefit greatly by adjusting the boundary to accommodate the new highway right-of-way. The land exchanges elicited the only serious comment from subcommittee members. Zerbey easily laid to rest the concern that the state might have the primary advantage instead of the park in such an exchange program. DeNormandie, in reporting to the advisory commission later that month, remained optimistic that the subcommittee and full House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs would report favorably on the bill.⁴⁹

He assessed the situation correctly. In August the House committee recommended some changes but reported favorably for passage of HR 13934. The land exchanges remained, but the committee inserted language requiring that such exchanges “be accomplished without cost for land acquisition.” Not surprisingly, based on the Senate version of the bill, the committee replaced the authorization limitation for land acquisition and development that the original House bill had deleted. The development ceiling remained unchanged at \$3 million and land acquisition rose to \$10.9 million, providing an additional \$5.9 million for new acquisitions, just as the Senate version had done. With regard to sellbacks and leasebacks, the committee recommended some caution. Such arrangements “should be thoroughly and carefully considered,” and the committee wished the NPS to keep it informed of any tentative leases or other conveyances in advance of any binding arrangements. “A reasonable lapse of time should be allowed for consideration” before execution of any agreement. Both the Interior Department and the Bureau of the Budget agreed to the changes recommended by the House committee and supported passage of the legislation.⁵⁰

With this favorable report in hand, the House in September 1970 debated and passed the revised bill. Most questions related to the expected costs of finishing land acquisition at

⁴⁹ Statement, *Department of Interior before the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation*, June 1970, File W3823 MIMA Legislation History, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Examples of the study materials collected for Congress include visitation trends, current and projected staffing requirements, land ownership analyses, and land acquisition estimates, all found in this file. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 20th Meeting, 17 June 1970, 2, File A18 CY 1970 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁰ House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Amending the Act of 21 September 1959*, 91st Cong., 2d sess., 10 August 1970, H. Rep. 91-1398, 1, 3, 4, 6. Quotes, in order, on pp. 1, 4.

the park. Representative Morse explained to his colleagues that the additional \$5.9 million would cover land acquisition of the final 144 acres designated for inclusion in the park. He said that the development ceiling of \$3 million would not need revision, so that the only other expected expenses would involve maintenance and administration. Representative Philbin made clear the urgency of the bill, reminding his fellow members that the 200th anniversary of the battle approached and the park needed to finish its land acquisition to prepare for this important commemoration. Philbin believed that action now on HR 13934 “will do much to promote patriotic sentiment and assist the Nation and the American people in appropriately celebrating this great anniversary.” The House agreed and voted for passage.⁵¹

The Senate followed suit. After a November 1970 presentation before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, the full Senate voted for passage of the House’s revised bill. The *Congressional Record* indicates that the bill passed without debate. After the voice vote, Senator Kennedy marked the bill’s passage in a speech before his colleagues, reminding them that the events of 19 April 1775 “have inspired each succeeding generation of Americans.” He also referred to the importance of preserving historical areas, “areas of quiet and peace which have been so meaningful and important in the development of this country.” Such a call for quiet and peace may be a long-term wish in light of the noisy traffic both along Route 2A and above from Hanscom, but Kennedy’s language made clear the inspirational and meditative spirit he at least envisioned for MIMA. President Richard Nixon signed the bill on 14 December 1970 (see Appendix for a copy of the act).⁵²

ACQUIRING LANDS

The 1970 legislation came with a notable shift in public perception towards land acquisition at MIMA. Even before park establishment in 1959 a group of Concord residents, led by Walter Beatteay had publicly opposed the designation. Beatteay and a few other neighbors, most notably the Quinns, had continued to express their concerns to Concord officials and others until quietly, as the first round of acquisitions ended in 1968 both of these families submitted to appraisals and sold their properties to the federal government. With the new round of land acquisitions beginning after 1970, the NPS encountered a surprising uproar against its work from Lincoln residents. Individuals from this town, such as the Levins, had sounded their frustrations in previous years, but these had stayed within the affected neighborhoods and had not involved town representatives. Elected officials from Lincoln had largely expressed support for the park and its acquisition efforts over the years. In the 1970s this cordial relationship between park and town suffered some battering with

⁵¹ *Revising Boundaries of MIMA*, HR 13934, 91st Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record* (14 September 1970): H 31441-43. Quote on p. 31443. See also “MM National Park Gets \$5.9 Million More, after Iowa ‘Hard Time,’” *Minute Man Supplement*, 24 September 1970.

⁵² Quote from *MIMA*, HR 13934, 91st Cong., 2d sess., *Cong. Rec.* (4 December 1970): S 39930. See also Statement, *Department of the Interior before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation*, November 1970, File W3823 MIMA Legislation History, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA; and “US Senate Passes MM Natl. Park Funds on Voice Vote, Fri.,” *Minute Man Supplement*, 10 December 1970.

the renewed land acquisition. As a result, the NPS opted to use such devices as term leases and life estates to accomplish its larger goal of incorporating all of the designated land into the park's boundaries.⁵³

Fueled by a \$1.8 million congressional appropriation for fiscal year 1972, the park began acquiring some long-awaited properties. Maurice Timmerman led the MIMA effort this time. Almost 20 acres of land came under NPS control in Lincoln, including sizeable contributions from the McHughs, who owned Hartwell Tavern, and Alfred Rogers, who owned the historic Brooks Tavern. The park *Master Plan* had identified Hartwell Tavern for composite restoration of the exterior and restoration-reconstruction of the interior for use while the Brooks Tavern would serve as headquarters space. In Concord, large plots of land came from the Sargents and Ruggieros. The park planned to use the Sargent land to expand parking and comfort facilities for the North Bridge area, as described in the next chapter. By the end of the fiscal year, though, Timmerman had left the park due to illness, and Daniel Farrell, from Cape Cod National Seashore, had replaced him. Some delays resulted from this transition.⁵⁴

Before leaving, Timmerman heard the uproar from Lincoln. Upon receiving NPS letters asking to have their properties appraised as the first step toward acquisition, residents resisted. These families remembered when former NPS Director Conrad Wirth had visited their town. They supported establishment of MIMA because they felt assured from Wirth's statements that they would not be forced out of the park. They also expected to have an option of life tenancy, as they remembered being promised by NPS officials back in 1959.⁵⁵ One park resident described the feeling of fellow protesters, saying that "we're not against the park. It's just that we're the old hardcore group. We want to live our years out in our homes."⁵⁶ These park families all saved and shared a March 1962 letter from Wirth to the then chairman of the Board of Lincoln Selectman, Roger Fitts. In this letter, previously discussed in Chapter 3, Wirth wrote that the NPS would not condemn residential property unless the owners had misused it or if the property was necessary for park development. Wirth also stated that the NPS would acquire property with homes on them "if the owners wish to sell."⁵⁷ These two points led the Lincoln protesters to demand the right to stay in

⁵³ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 14th Meeting, 9 November 1966, 2; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 15th Meeting, 21 June 1967, 3.

⁵⁴ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 21st Meeting, 29 April 1971, 2; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 22nd Meeting, 21 October 1971, 3, both in File A18 CY 1971, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24th Meeting, 10 March 1973, 2, 13, File A18 CY 1973, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Maurice Timmerman to Acting Chief, Office of Land Acquisition and Water Resources, ESC, 19 July 1971, File Alfred Rogers, Tract No. 03-114, Lands Files, MIMA. 1966 Master Plan, 15.

⁵⁵ "Residents in Park Bounds Say Land Takings Imminent," *Concord Journal* (20 April 1972); Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 2 May 1972, 1, File L1425 CY 1972 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA. "Park Residents United against Takings," *Fence Viewer* (4 May 1972).

⁵⁶ Joan Mahoney, "Park Residents Resist Eviction," *Boston Globe* (11 July 1972).

⁵⁷ This letter has already been discussed in chapter two. A copy of it is found attached to Memorandum, Herb Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 2 May 1972, Meeting with Special Assistants, File L1425 CY 1972 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

their homes until they were ready to sell. They chose to ignore another statement by Wirth in his letter, emphasizing that the NPS wanted “to move ahead with the acquisition of the land as expeditiously as possible” although the agency would “give landowners every reasonable consideration consistent with the conducting of an orderly and fair land acquisition program.”⁵⁸

This initial protest against having appraisals done on these Lincoln properties soon escalated. People began looking more critically at the way the NPS had handled its past acquisitions. Many non-historic houses remained standing beyond their acquisition by the park. Some became eyesores while others served as housing for sometimes non-park employees. In fact, many Air Force families rented these houses due to housing shortages on the base. The Town of Lincoln, feeling a bit overwhelmed, maintained fire service to these residences and welcomed any children to its schools, though the town argued that it did not receive any tax benefit from these now federal properties.⁵⁹ Some Lincoln residents remarked that the park itself appeared “progressively run down,” littered by cans and trash along roadways.⁶⁰ By late May 1972 the town’s selectmen had joined with the protesters by unanimously opposing “any family being forced out” of the park boundaries.⁶¹

And the displeasure and confusion grew. Even Katharine White, who had served as the Lincoln representative on the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission since its founding, expressed surprise over the perceived change in NPS policy. She and others wondered why the park had stepped up its land acquisition efforts and had set 1975 as its deadline instead of adopting a gradual pace. Park officials and planning documents had long set 1975 as the date to complete the park, but as that date neared, people in Lincoln searched for more time. White and the Lincoln selectmen sent their congressional representatives and senators identical letters requesting that these park residents will not have their homes taken from them against their will. The town also established a Relocation Committee to assist families affected either by the park or the Route 2 relocation to find new house lots within Lincoln. White and the selectmen wanted assurances that these residents could stay until they chose voluntarily to sell. This request soon gained the full formal support of the town. At a special town meeting in June 1972, the people of Lincoln

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ “Park Residents United against Takings,” 4 May 1972. Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 5 May 1972, 1; and Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 12 May 1972, 2, both in File L1425 CY 1972 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA. “Town Opposes MM Park Forcing Families to Move,” no publication information [probably *Fence Viewer*] (25 May 1972), File IV, Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection, MIMA. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 23rd Meeting, 27 April 1972, 2, File A18 CY 1972, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Moffitt, transcript of interview, 2. For a sampling of building rentals in 1967, showing eight USAF families, see Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 18 September 1967, 4, L1425 CY 1967 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁰ “Park Residents United against Takings,” 4 May 1972. Cynthia Kryston, “Minute Man National Park,” *Concord Free Press* (19 December 1968).

⁶¹ “Town Opposes MM Park,” 25 May 1972.

unanimously supported a resolution of support for residents living within the park's boundaries and opposed any efforts at condemnation.⁶²

The experience of the Rooneys provides an insight into land acquisition soon after the 1970 legislation. Edward and Elizabeth Rooney received a letter in 1972 from the land acquisition office asking for permission to have their property appraised. The Rooneys replied that they did not want their property appraised at that time. In June 1973, they received another letter, this time from Chester Brooks, the regional director. Brooks wrote that the Rooneys had asserted their "prerogative" and refused appraisal of their property in preparation of negotiations for land acquisition for MIMA. As a result, "I have reluctantly instructed my staff to prepare a condemnation proceeding."⁶³ The Rooneys shot an angry letter back. They wrote that "in your letter, you have threatened to resort to the subterfuge of condemnation in order to deprive us of what you call our 'prerogative' but what we call our Civil Right." They went on to refer to the principles and ideals of the Minute Men whose memory the park memorialized. They believed the actions of the NPS in its land acquisition dealings made "a mockery" of those ideals.⁶⁴

How did MIMA respond to this growing discontent? Herbert Olsen, who replaced Zerbey as general superintendent of the Boston Group and who worked out of the Stedman Buttrick House, worked directly with Unit Manager Bob Perkins to resolve the situation. With the advisory commission, Olsen, Perkins, and Land Acquisition Officer Timmerman reiterated NPS policy and answered questions. Olsen also explained that appropriations for land acquisition did not include maintenance or demolition funding, leaving the park with some buildings that it could not afford to maintain or remove.⁶⁵ In a meeting with the Lincoln Board of Selectmen, Olsen and Perkins again fielded questions and discussed the value of having appraisals done. The selectmen agreed that with appraisals completed and negotiations opened, the park residents would learn what their options were. The benefits of the *Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1970*, which offered the possibility of helping with moving costs, might also prove a deciding factor. And, the efforts of the town to assist through its relocation committee gained the ear of some park residents.⁶⁶

In the end, though, the NPS used life estates and term leases to gain control over the properties of these reluctant residents. At first, Olsen had only agreed to offer long-term leases for historic houses. But, interest in this option grew among residents of modern

⁶² Ibid.; "Letter Supports Park Residents, but Seeks 'Voluntary Relocation,'" *Fence Viewer* (8 June 1972); "Lincoln Rejects Taking Land for Park," *Boston Globe* (20 June 1972); "Bleacher Vote Reversed; Heat Sensors, Resolution Approved at 4th Session," *Fence Viewer* (23 June 1972). *Lincoln Annual Report*, 1972, 152, Lincoln Public Library.

⁶³ Chester Brooks to Edward and Elizabeth Rooney, 22 June 1973, 1, File Rooney, Edward, Tract No. 03-108, Lands Files, MIMA.

⁶⁴ Edward and Elizabeth Rooney to Chester Brooks, 26 June 1973, File Rooney, Edward, Tract No. 03-108, Lands Files, MIMA.

⁶⁵ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 23rd Meeting, 27 April 1972, 3.

⁶⁶ Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 2 May 1972, Meeting with Special Assistants.

Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 2 May 1972, Land Acquisition, 1, L1425 CY 1972 Holdings. Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 12 May 1972, 1-2.

houses, too, and the NPS agreed to its extension to all property owners.⁶⁷ As Acquisition Officer Farrell explained later, the NPS accepted the possibility of life estates along Route 2A because it saw “redevelopment of that area as being probably about a 25-year proposition.” This admission recognized the delays the park had encountered over the past almost 15 years to relocate Route 2A. Farrell and the rest of the park also knew that the amount of work needed to complete the restoration of the Battle Road and realize the vision of the *Master Plan* required funding over a long period of time.⁶⁸ While waiting for these factors to play out, the park could accommodate having private citizens living in houses on park land, being a good neighbor while also fulfilling its congressional obligations. In 1976 Edward Rooney, by then a widower, sold his property to the NPS with a life estate.⁶⁹

Despite this concession, the NPS did not intend to slow down or halt its land acquisition efforts. Under the mandate of the 1970 law the agency had an obligation to undertake acquisition of the remaining private properties designated for inclusion in the park. Park officials could not accommodate a gradual process when land values continued to escalate, potentially hindering further settlement of properties.⁷⁰ The NPS did offer, in certain situations, to temporarily “back off for awhile and wait” until the owner had some time to re-evaluate the offer.⁷¹ As Olsen stated for a newspaper, “We’re not pressing.” He went on to emphasize that the NPS hoped to “conclude amicable agreements with all those still living inside the park.”⁷²

HISTORIC HOUSES

These new properties came with many buildings to remove or rehabilitate. The park slowly but steadily made progress on completing these tasks, as it had before the new legislation. Zerbey’s interest in environmental alternatives led him to find willing buyers for some modern houses. Buyers paid a flat fee for the modern buildings that were later moved to a new lot off park property. Zerbey also supported proposals for having some of these houses used for moderate-income housing or to form a new neighborhood in Lincoln for relocated residents. Research continued on the older park houses, whether to trace legal ownership or uncover foundations. Robert Ronsheim stayed long enough to complete the *Historic Structure Report* on The Wayside, to be discussed later in the chapter, and he started the furnishing plan for the house. He left in 1969 just as Zerbey took over the General Superintendency of the Boston Group and Robert Perkins became unit manager. Two new people devoted considerable talent and energy to making MIMA’s buildings come alive:

⁶⁷ *Lincoln Annual Report*, 1973, 125; and *Lincoln Annual Report*, 1974, 119, both in Lincoln Public Library.

⁶⁸ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24th Meeting, 10 March 1973, 17.

⁶⁹ Memorandum, Thomas Coleman to Files, 4 November 1982, File Rooney, Edward, Tract No. 03-108, Lands Files, MIMA.

⁷⁰ Olsen to Robert Gargill, 2 June 1972, 2; and Chester Brooks to Edward Brooks, 10 July 1972, both in File L1425 CY 1972 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷¹ Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 12 May 1972, 3.

⁷² Mahoney, “Park Residents Resist Eviction,” *Boston Globe* (11 July 1972).

Cynthia Kryston and Orville Carroll. Kryston joined the staff in April 1967 as a park historian/ranger. Carroll served as historical architect, first assigned to MIMA in March 1966 through the Denver Service Center but eventually working under the Boston Group. The next section of this chapter describes one aspect of Kryston's important influence upon MIMA's interpretation. Carroll played an equally influential role in preserving the historic buildings. Both people continued to shape the park in succeeding years, as later chapters demonstrate.⁷³

Carroll had a passion for old buildings. Although trained at the University of Oregon in modern architectural design, he had also gained hands-on experience working in his early NPS career under some of the luminaries of historic preservation, including Historic American Building Survey founder Charles Peterson. Carroll immersed himself in the architectural details of each of his projects, whether restoring the courthouse at Appomattox or rehabilitating the fortifications of Fort McHenry. He sought every possible avenue to learn more about old buildings. At the invitation of owners, he studied and gave his opinion about the evolution of old houses around New England and worked with some people to save buildings slotted for demolition. He expressed surprise if someone offered him gifts for his efforts. For him, he gained immeasurably from the opportunity to add to his knowledge of architectural history. He took photographs and kept careful notes, saving notebooks filled with information that spoke of his breadth and depth of understanding in architecture.⁷⁴

He also felt a responsibility to the original fabric, or historic building elements. He collected the odd weatherboarding and doors that accumulated from abandoned or lost buildings and saved them to study and reuse. If someone else replaced an original window or other feature with a modern version, he took such action as a personal affront. Herbert Olsen, at one point, had agreed to using an off-the-shelf lumberyard window for the Joshua Brooks House. Forty years later, this decision still "distressed me immensely," as Carroll recalled it.⁷⁵ David Moffitt affectionately called Carroll the "historic restoration expert par nobody." But Moffitt also did not enjoy the battles he faced when Carroll tried to uphold his high standards for architectural integrity.⁷⁶ Carroll personally held a high regard for Zerbey simply because this superintendent wouldn't let anyone touch the buildings until he had approved the work. Carroll demanded that level of commitment from everyone.⁷⁷

⁷³ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 7. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 12th Meeting, 4 December 1965, 3; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 17th Meeting, 14 December 1968, 2; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 19th Meeting, 6 December 1969, 1, 3. Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 29 March 1968, 1, File D18 *Trails and Structure Plan 1968*, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Robert Ronsheim, *The Wayside: Home of Authors, Historic Structure Report, Part II, Historical Data Section* (NPS: Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1968). Cynthia Kryston, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 27 January 2005, 1, MIMA. Memorandum, Appleman to Chief Historian, 24 November 1969, 20. Orville Carroll, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 22 October 2004, 2, MIMA.

⁷⁴ Carroll, transcript of interview, 1-2, 4-5, 9-10.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 3-4, 17-18. Quote on p. 18.

⁷⁶ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 20.

⁷⁷ Carroll, transcript of interview, 17.

Carroll understood what MIMA could ultimately achieve with its collection of historic structures. He and Ronsheim wrote to Zerbey in April 1968, asking that the park think about the explicit values of these buildings, beyond what these buildings could do to recreate the historic scene of the Battle Road. They wrote that the interiors and exteriors of these houses “are historical documents of the way of life” in rural Massachusetts in 1775. Only a limited number of such buildings still existed, and MIMA had, by far, the richest amount. Carroll and Ronsheim admitted that these buildings may not be the best architectural examples or the homes of outstanding leaders, but “they reflect the life of the majority of the colony, a society which produced the ideals for which men fought on 19 April 1775 and the men who fought.” By saving these houses, Carroll and Ronsheim believed that the park would “in a unique way show the people.” Steps taken in the 1960s could open possibilities for interpretation that could not even be imagined for the twenty-first century. At the same time, not taking every step possible now to preserve these buildings as a whole would eliminate later explorations. Both men, driven by their devotion to history, urged the NPS to take the most preservation-minded course in restoring and rehabilitating these structures.⁷⁸

How to put these high ideals into practice proved challenging. Exactly which structures required full restoration to the 1775 period? What should the NPS do with buildings constructed later than 1775 but before the unofficial 1830 timeline cut-off date for the park? How should the park address the interior and exterior of buildings changed by a succession of owners? The *1966 Master Plan* provided guidance, based on the existing historic preservation standards and practices. The plan favored composite restorations or rehabilitation for the majority of the park’s historic structures. Yet, what was a composite restoration and how did it differ from rehabilitation? The *Master Plan* did not explain, except to argue that “rehabilitation will be given preference over restoration, and those increments to structures not clearly inimical to the visitor’s appreciation of the historic scene will be retained.”⁷⁹ Administrative policies for the NPS, dating from 1964 and revised in 1968, do not address composite restoration versus rehabilitation. Restoration, according to the policies, required that historic structures “be fully and exactly restored when of the first order of significance” or partially or adaptively restored when of second or third orders of significance.⁸⁰ Underlying this idea of restoration is the favoring of one particular time period over all others. But, a composite restoration of structures at MIMA suggests the amplification of more than one time period. Such restoration work might be necessary due to incomplete documentation or the desire to showcase the changes within a family from colonial times, through the Revolutionary War period, into the Federal period, and beyond. Other terms relating to historic structures help to explain the strategies planners used at MIMA. The 1964 administrative policies do not define rehabilitation, although later

⁷⁸ Memorandum, Carroll and Ronsheim to Zerbey, 11 April 1968, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

⁷⁹ *1966 Master Plan*, 3.

⁸⁰ NPS, *Compilation of Administrative Policies for the Historical Areas of the National Park System*, (Washington, DC: GPO, rev. September 1968), 23.

meanings of the word suggest that extensive work would be needed to repair and replace deteriorated historic elements and that depiction to a particular time would not be appropriate.⁸¹ Rehabilitation allows, for example, use of a historic structure as housing stock. Reconstruction involves constructing a new structure using sufficient historical, archeological, and architectural data to approximate a vanished structure. This latter approach provides a less favored alternative in addressing historic structures.

What did the *Master Plan* say about specific buildings? Keeping in mind the above definitions and suggested meanings, the *Master Plan* laid out its recommendations. Only a few buildings would serve as historic house museums and thus required both interior and exterior work. The *Master Plan* proposed rehabilitation of The Wayside, to take into account that little of its exterior or interior had been altered since 1924. The plan recommended for the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern composite restoration of the exterior and restoration-reconstruction of the interior for use as a historic house museum space. For the Nathan Meriam House, the *Master Plan* proposed composite restoration of the exterior to an appearance compatible with the historic scene and preservation of the old fabric, or historic elements, in the interior. To provide an alternative educational experience for visitors, the *Master Plan* identified the Job Brooks House as a site for a self-guiding museum on domestic building practices and methods. To accomplish this goal, the plan recommended restoration-reconstruction of the exterior and rehabilitation of the interior, leaving portions exposed to show 1775 fabric.

The other 11 identified historic structures inside the park's boundaries would receive varying levels of attention. Most, like the Jacob Whittemore House, would have composite restorations to appear compatible with the historic scene. The 1963 *Historic Structures Report* for the Whittemore House provided some guidance. If not enough architectural and archeological information could be found to restore the exterior to 1775 then the report advised that "a restoration to some date between 1775 and 1830 is likely to be preferable."⁸² The 1966 *Master Plan* identified a few others, such as the George Minot House (now known as the George Hall House), for preservation and maintenance. Brooks Tavern, identified for eventual park headquarters, would also receive maintenance status. Built between 1798 and 1806 this tavern on the Battle Road had aesthetic architectural value. Carroll referred to this building as "swanky" with a chimney at each corner.⁸³ The NPS would disturb the interior fabric of buildings not serving as museums as little as possible based on assigned uses. The *Master Plan* also urged that the park find uses for as many historic buildings as possible. Some could serve as quarters. Other options listed in the *Master Plan* included park office

⁸¹ Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Structures: Rehabilitation, http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/tps/standguide/rehab/rehab_approach.htm#top, as accessed 10 October 2006.

⁸² Edwin Small, *Historic Structures Report*, Part I, Jacob Whittemore House, 1, File Jacob Whittemore House, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA.

⁸³ Carroll, transcript of interview, 22 October 2004, 12.

space and rental leasing to private parties or organizations. Possible leasebacks and sellbacks, as explored with the 1970 legislation, might also result for some buildings.⁸⁴

Carroll had the joy and responsibility of translating these few guidelines into practice. Upon arrival in March 1966 he first turned his attention to the Elisha Jones House, popularly known as the Bullet Hole House. This house had a whole set of challenges for any architect. First, thanks to an extensive renovation in 1865 by its then-owner Judge John Keyes, the house's basic construction and design had changed almost beyond recognition. As NPS historian John Luzader wrote in his *Historic Structure Report*, Judge Keyes had "destroyed so much of the original fabric that the evidence that might have provided a record of its structural history" was lost. Researchers could not uncover what architectural features might have dated from the period just before the Keyes renovation let alone how the house may have looked at the time of the 1775 battle.⁸⁵

Second, Carroll and others began to raise doubts about the story of the "bullet hole." As recounted in the first chapter, a tradition in Concord had told that when the British retreated from the North Bridge on 19 April they marched past the Elisha Jones House. Jones had yelled out at the British, and one of the soldiers had fired upon Jones, missing him but, according to the story, leaving a bullet hole in the shed near where Jones had stood. However, when NPS historical architects George Wrenn and Hank Judd had examined the house and its famed bullet hole in 1965 they found no splitting of the framing member from the impact of the bullet, a result found in other buildings with a similar fate. Judd, in his report, also remarked that the story of the bullet hole first appeared nearly 100 years after the event, raising suspicions. Luzader, in his 1968 study of the house, noted that the diameter of the so-called bullet hole was actually smaller than what would result from a musket ball. The too-small diameter removed the likelihood that a musket ball had caused the hole.⁸⁶ Luzader also uncovered that Jones's daughter Mary, who had been four at the time of the 1775 battle, had shared the story with Judge Keyes when she was in her early 80s. Keyes had subsequently published the story and popularized it. With his extensive remodeling of the house, he wrote that he had moved the famed shed and connected it to the main house, raised its roof, and placed the bullet hole in the front. Luzader included Wrenn's and Judd's assessment that the framing members had come from other buildings, without any regard for how these older buildings may have looked. Nor could the architects determine from which buildings these members may have come. They might have been borrowed from the shed in question or they might have come from entirely unrelated structures. If the shed had been

⁸⁴ 1966 Master Plan, 3, 11, 15.

⁸⁵ John F. Luzader, Historical Data Section, *Historic Structure Report*, Parts I and II, Elisha Jones House, 26 September 1968, 12, File Elisha Jones House, NPS Reports, Park Library, MIMA.

⁸⁶ Architectural conservator James Lee reported in his 2007 historic structure report on the Elisha Jones house that, according to his measurements, the questionable hole measured large enough for a musket ball. Lee concluded that there is still insufficient evidence to positively identify the hole as resulting from a British musket ball. Instead, Lee argues that the lore of the bullet hole serves to embellish the events of the day and adds to the commemorative nature of the site. See James J. Lee III, *Elisha Jones House and Shed, Historic Structure Report*, 2007, 40-42, File Elisha Jones House, MIMA Library.

moved, the NPS hoped to locate its original foundation through archeological explorations. However, test trenches in the most likely spots on the property, where level ground could have housed such a structure, turned up negative. Archeologist Leland Abel did offer some promise that the shed may have been originally located across Monument Street, but he could not excavate this private property.⁸⁷

In April 1966 Carroll conducted his own architectural review of the shed. He found that the building could in fact date to pre-1775. He agreed that many of the framing members came second-hand to the shed, but close inspection revealed an earlier shed underneath the 1865 remodeling work. He could not specifically date this shed, but its building frame compared favorably with other eighteenth-century sheds in the area. Carroll then found a depiction of the shed in an 1875 Centennial edition of *Harper's Magazine*. This illustration, providing no sources for its basis, purported to show the 1775 shed as it stood detached from the house. Using this drawing as a guide, along with his own architectural examination of the building, Carroll presented two alternatives for disposition: removal from the house and restoration of the shed based on the 1875 drawing or restoration of the shed to its 1865 appearance as attached to the house. Removal of the shed would, as Carroll noted, emphasize the story of the bullet hole while retaining its present location would “lessen the story’s impact.”⁸⁸

Decisions on the Elisha Jones House spread over a period time. The first step addressed an immediate need to fulfill housing needs for NPS personnel. Unlike Edwin Small, who chose to live and work outside MIMA while serving as superintendent, Zerbey decided to stay with his growing family in the park. He chose the Bullet Hole House for quarters.⁸⁹ This decision received a mixed reception within the community. As Zerbey later remembered, people in Concord liked the idea of having the superintendent living in their town. However, the “historical people,” as Zerbey characterized them, looked aghast at all of Zerbey’s young kids running around the front lawn. That didn’t “look historic” at all to them, he later chuckled.⁹⁰ The house needed work to accommodate the demands of a modern family. As Carroll recalled, his first job as historical architect at MIMA involved

⁸⁷ Ibid., 10-16. H. A. Judd, Architectural Data Section, Part I, *Historic Structure Report, Elisha Jones House*, October 1965, 1, File Elisha Jones House, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA. Leland Abel, Archeological Data Section, *Historic Structure Report Part II, Elisha Jones House*, January 1967, 8-10; and Abel, *Supplement for Archeological Data Section, Elisha Jones House*, 2-3, both in File Elisha Jones Archeology, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA. Orville Carroll, *Historic Structure Report, Part II, Shed, Elisha Jones House*, May 1973, 1, 3, 5, 7-9, File Elisha Jones Shed, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA. *Elisha Jones Historic Structures Report*, Parts I and II, 26 September 1968, 16, File Elisha Jones House, NPS Report Library, MIMA Library.

⁸⁸ Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Part II, Shed, Elisha Jones House, May 1973, 1, 3, 19, 25-26. Quote on p. 25. Carroll, EODC Weekly Field Reports, 8 April 1966; 22 April 1966; 29 April 1966, all in No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA. Carroll, transcript of interview, 2-3.

⁸⁹ One NPS report noted that having the park superintendent live in the Bullet Hole House made for good public relations. See Office of Planning, Philadelphia Planning and Service Center, *Special Study: Historic Motor Trails and Disposition of Structures in MIMA*, February 1968, 10, File *Historic Motor Trails: Special Study*, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA.

⁹⁰ Zerbey, transcript of interview, 7.

“gutting [the Elisha Jones House’s] inside and remodeling it.” He put in a new kitchen and replaced the heating system.⁹¹ None too early. Zerbey had pleaded with the regional office to get the work done to put the house into “more livable condition.”⁹² Subsequent superintendents have lived at least part of their tenures at the Elisha Jones House.

Ultimately, the NPS decided to keep the shed attached to the house. The roof over the kitchen lean-to, added on in 1865, could not be removed to restore the shed to its supposed 1775 appearance. Beginning in spring 1974, Carroll oversaw park maintenance personnel in completing the restoration work, largely finished in time for the Bicentennial.⁹³

With each historic structure at MIMA, as illuminated by the Elisha Jones House example, the realities of the existing structure and the limitations of historical research largely determined how the NPS preserved the buildings under its care. Carroll later gave the example of the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern. According to the 1966 *Master Plan*, the NPS would complete a composite restoration of its exterior to 1775 and do a restoration-reconstruction of the interior to accommodate a historic house museum.⁹⁴ Yet, architectural examination of the building demonstrated that later generations of the Hartwell family had made changes worth keeping. An addition on the side and a shed in the back spoke to the growth and changes of the family. Carroll asked, “Do we tear them down?” And he answered emphatically, “No!” “Why would you want to tear down this continuation of this family story just to get back to 1775?” He recognized how “complicated [it was] trying to make a particular story fit with the growth of buildings and the farmland.”⁹⁵ In the end, he advocated for a preservation policy that fit both the 1775 mandate of the park and the realities of the buildings as they stood in the late-twentieth century. This “continuum approach” to historic preservation, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, eventually became adopted in NPS management policies.

Carroll offered another twist on preservation to the 1775 story line with regards to the Jacob Whittemore House. This historic house had always served as quarters for park personnel. As a consequence, cars and trucks often parked around the lot in plain view of travelers. On another lot owned by the NPS, an old barn stood, the only remaining pre-twentieth-century barn (aside from The Wayside Barn) in the park. Carroll wondered, why couldn’t the NPS move the barn to the Whittemore House and set it up as a garage to hide the cars?⁹⁶ The barn itself dated from 1865-1875, but Carroll remarked that its size and exterior character retained “much of the quality built into colonial barns.”⁹⁷ By using the

⁹¹ Carroll, transcript of interview, 11. To see the completion report for the work, see Orville Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Part III, Architectural Data Section, Elisha Jones House, January 1967, File Elisha Jones House, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA.

⁹² Memorandum, Robert Smith to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 21 January 1966, File H30 1963-1969, Box 3, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁹³ Orville Carroll, *Historic Structure Report, Completion Report*, October 1975, 3, File Elisha Jones Shed, NPS Report Files, Park Library, MIMA.

⁹⁴ 1966 *Master Plan*, 15.

⁹⁵ Carroll, transcript of interview, 8.

⁹⁶ Carroll, transcript of interview, 9.

⁹⁷ Memorandum, Carroll to Boston Group Superintendent, 12 May 1971, No File, Park Admin Files,

barn in this manner, the park would further meet its goal of recreating the historic scene of the Battle Road. Park managers agreed and in 1979 moved the barn to its new home.⁹⁸

For the Samuel Hartwell House in Lincoln, destruction of the building by fire before ownership by the NPS brought a whole new set of challenges. Jane Poor and Marion Fitch had purchased and converted this house into a popular restaurant known as Hartwell Farms. Open since 19 April 1925, this country-eating establishment had gained many devoted customers from around the region. It held special memories for people thanks to its part in the story of Paul Revere's Ride, as reenacted each year. Warren Flint, Jr., remembered being bundled up by his parents each April 19 around 1 AM and driving up to the restaurant for some warm beef stew and biscuits, all cooked in the original central fireplace. After this "magnificent feast," the hundred or so people would anxiously await for the reenactment of Samuel Prescott knocking on the door to give the alarm that the British were coming.⁹⁹

When this building burned on 18 February 1968 a significant part of Lincoln's history burned, too. By then, Jane Poor had already passed away, and Marion Fitch had survived the fire with only her night clothes. Since Fitch had long anticipated that the NPS would buy the property, she did not endeavor to rebuild the restaurant. Unfortunately, MIMA's ability to purchase the property relied upon the 1970 legislation. In the meantime, in spring 1968 Judd directed Carroll to measure the house's remains as the NPS had not had HABS drawings done of the building. Carroll also interviewed Fitch several times for clues about the design and structure, and he photographed sections of the remaining frame.¹⁰⁰ Carroll noted in his *Historic Structures Report* that although much of the house was beyond salvage, "the central chimney survived the fire with little damage and is one of the more interesting chimney constructions in this area."¹⁰¹

Once acquired, what should the NPS do with this damaged building? Fitch and many people in Lincoln advocated for reconstruction. Carroll reported early on that "There is strong local interest in Lincoln to reconstruct this house."¹⁰² Zerbey favored reconstruction, largely due to the "high level of local interest" and the connection of the property to the events of 19 April 1775.¹⁰³ Going into the 1970s, fans of Hartwell Farms expressed their preference for having the Hartwell House reconstructed. Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission member James DeNormandie remarked in one meeting that the

MIMA.

⁹⁸ Orville Carroll, *Completion Report, Moving and Rehabilitation of Hargrove Barn*, November 1979, File Hargrove Barn, NPS Report Files, Park Library, MIMA.

⁹⁹ Warren Flint, Jr., transcription of oral history interview by author, 28 April 2005, 3, MIMA Archives.

¹⁰⁰ Orville Carroll, EODC Weekly Field Reports, 23 February 1968; 8 March 1968; and 5 April 1968, both in No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA. Robert Taylor, "Hartwell Farm Destroyed," [no source], 7/13/67-4/28/68 MIMA Scrapbook.

¹⁰¹ Orville Carroll, *Historic Structures Report*, Part I, Samuel Hartwell House, May 1968, Section D Fire Damage of February 1968.

¹⁰² Carroll, *EODC Weekly Field Report*, 23 February 1968.

¹⁰³ Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 26 April 1968, File H30 1963-1969, Box 3, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

Hartwell House had “tremendous sentimental value to Lincoln.”¹⁰⁴ Miriam Lovins echoed this feeling when she wrote to the NPS describing “the very special place in the hearts of several generations of New Englanders” for the house and its former restaurant. With “Miss Fitch” around 80 years old, Lovins urged the NPS to reconstruct the house so that the former owner could answer questions about details of the house and see it standing again. In Lovins’s mind, “it would be a tragedy if [Miss Fitch] could not be present when the house is finally restored.”¹⁰⁵ When Lincoln residents began opposing land acquisition following passage of the 1970 legislation, they reminded the NPS about the Samuel Hartwell House and their wish to have it refurbished.¹⁰⁶

NPS philosophy and policy on reconstruction determined the final outcome for the Hartwell House. Strictly following the agency’s 1916 *Organic Act*, many NPS personnel have argued that preservation of the historic scene and original remains took precedence over building a reconstruction over a site. Reconstruction, in the minds of such anti-reconstructionists, meant creating a new resource of limited historical and archeological basis. These new buildings might be accurate, but they were not authentic. In fact, due to limited historical and archeological evidence, reconstructions often reflected more of the tastes and values of the time in which they were rebuilt instead of the historic times of the original building. Reconstructions also had the possible effect of watering down the truly original structures in a park. Yet, reconstruction had a place within the NPS’s official policy for historic preservation. *The Historic Sites Act of 1935* authorizes the NPS to “restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical or archeological significance....”¹⁰⁷ The *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* also defines historic preservation to include reconstruction. NPS policy itself placed careful restrictions on reconstructions. According to the 1968 policy the NPS could authorize reconstructions only when almost all traces of the original structure had disappeared and its recreation was essential for public understanding and appreciation of the site. Plus, sufficient historical, archeological, and architectural information existed for reconstruction.¹⁰⁸

For many NPS reviewers, the Hartwell House did not meet these tight requirements. As a result, acting Regional Director George Palmer argued for stabilization of the building remains. “Better this,” he thought, “than to dilute the impact of the other historic Park holdings (all of them original) with a reconstruction.”¹⁰⁹ Ernest Allen Connally, chief of the NPS Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, agreed. Local pressures for

¹⁰⁴ Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 24th Meeting, 10 March 1973, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Miriam Lovins to Walter Hickel, 8 July 1970, 2, attached to Carroll, *Historic Structures Report*, Part I, Samuel Hartwell House, May 1968.

¹⁰⁶ “Town Opposes MM Park Forcing Families to Move,” 25 May 1972.

¹⁰⁷ Dilsaver, ed., *America’s National Park System*, 133.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 303; Barry Mackintosh, “To Reconstruct or Not to Reconstruct: An Overview of NPS Policy and Practice,” *CRM Bulletin* 13:1 (1990): 7. See also Joan M. Zenzen, *Reconstructing the Past and Partnering for the Future at Fort Stanwix National Monument* (SUNY Press, in press).

¹⁰⁹ Memorandum, George Palmer to Director, 9 May 1968, attached to Carroll, *Historic Structures Report*, Part I, Samuel Hartwell House, May 1968.

reconstruction should not sway the decision. He pointed out that “other needed park developments” took precedence over such action. Plus, historical research had placed some doubts as to whether it was the Samuel Hartwell House or the Ephraim Hartwell Tavern that played a direct role in the story of Paul Revere’s Ride. Connally conceded that the Samuel Hartwell House “was very old, parts of it dating from the seventeenth century” but that this fact “cannot be considered a sufficient reason for reconstructing it.”¹¹⁰ However, the house’s central chimney intrigued Carroll and others, leading to other preservation steps, as described in Chapter 6.

With each historic building at MIMA, NPS planners took into account the historic fabric (the remaining skin and bones of the historic building) and significance but also had to make decisions that later reviewers might critique. For example, the idea of a composite restoration does not exist in today’s lexicon of historic preservation terminology. Restoration should strictly focus upon a single identified time period. Preservation, which would allow for saving accretions in historic structures, might have offered an alternative, except that the park’s *Master Plan* made clear that interpretation and education would focus on 1775 and at most a period extending to about 50 years after the Revolution to 1830. The *Master Plan* did not support an extended time frame. In addition, Carroll’s suggestion to move a barn to a new location to hide modern transportation vehicles would also provoke concerns today. The barn’s period of architectural significance did not match the house it now stood beside, and the barn itself lost its architectural and historical significance in relation to its original location. Historic preservation has changed and developed over time. Keeping track of changes at particular sites aids understanding and informs subsequent decisions.

THE WAYSIDE

Unlike the other historic houses within MIMA, the NPS had a clear idea of how to address the extensive architectural changes made to The Wayside over its 250 years. This vision largely came from Margaret Lothrop, who sold the property to the agency in 1965. As noted earlier, Lothrop had definite opinions of how the NPS should present the house to visitors, wanting to ensure that all time periods had a voice. She also did not want the house to become a mere museum, staid and lifeless. She had been born and raised in this venerable edifice, and she had felt the tangible presence of each of the authors who had made the house such a remarkable place in the literary history of the United States. As park interpretive ranger Margie Hicks explained, Lothrop “always wanted to see [The Wayside] as living, a continually living history,” giving people the feeling that Hawthorne, for example, had just put down his cigar and left. For this reason, interpretive ranger Cynthia Kryston placed eucalyptus leaves around the house because Lothrop’s mother, Harriett, liked that kind of

¹¹⁰ Memorandum, Ernest Allen Connally to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 21 May 1968, attached to Carroll, *Historic Structures Report*, Part I, Samuel Hartwell House, May 1968.

leaf in her floral decorations.¹¹¹ To guide interpretation of The Wayside, the NPS adopted Lothrop's fluid approach to the history of the house, allowing the influences of each author to shine. Interpretation and rehabilitation of the house would extend through 1924, when Harriett Lothrop died.¹¹²

Before The Wayside could host visitors, the NPS had a lot of work to complete. As Carroll remarked in his *Historic Structure Report* for The Wayside Barn, both the house and barn were in "extremely poor condition" when acquired. Miss Lothrop's energies "were completely spent," according to Carroll, as a result of maintaining the house on a fulltime basis since 1932.¹¹³ However, she enthusiastically answered myriad questions about the house. Robert Ronsheim led the historical research effort, aided immeasurably by the donation of Lothrop's meticulous research files. One NPS observer noted that Ronsheim's work with Lothrop was "particularly exemplary."¹¹⁴ Carroll, in charge of the architectural rehabilitation, interviewed Lothrop on several occasions in August and September 1966, asking how she and her family had changed the house over the years. Carroll also spent time examining the architectural details of the house and reviewing the historical documents assembled by Ronsheim, looking for clues as to when previous owners added their own stamp to the building. To prepare for the rehabilitation work, the NPS cleared out the furnishings and readied them for cataloging and appraisal by expert conservationists. Unfortunately, the park had difficulty finding available and qualified contractors to complete this work. After careful review of the house and source materials, Carroll and Ronsheim submitted in 1968 their sections of the overall *Historic Structure Report* for The Wayside and its barn. Anna Coxe Toogood completed in 1970 a *Historic Grounds Report* for the site.¹¹⁵

Rehabilitation work proceeded in two stages, driven by funding availability. Between April 1968 and August 1969, workers focused on the exterior of the house and a portion of the barn. The workforce ranged from six men in the warmer months to two fulltime men once winter hit. Workers completed enough interior work on the house so that once funds reappeared, they could apply a final finish. The Northeast Region provided critical additional funds in September 1970, backed by labor and supplies from the park. In memory

¹¹¹ Margie Hicks, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 21 January 2005, 8, MIMA.

¹¹² 1966 Master Plan, 15.

¹¹³ Orville Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Architectural Data Section, The Wayside Barn, March 1973, 31, File Wayside Barn, NPS Report Files, Park Library, MIMA.

¹¹⁴ Memorandum, Horace Willcox to Regional Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services, Northeast Region, 20 August 1965, File Minute Man (1 of 2), Unprocessed Material, Museum Collection, MIMA.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., vi, 3; Ronsheim, *Historic Structure Report*, Part II, Historic Data Section, The Wayside, February 1968, Preface; Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Part II, Architectural Data Section, The Wayside, June 1968, Foreword, 2; Anna Coxe Toogood, *Historic Grounds Report*, The Wayside, March 1970, vii, File The Wayside Historic Grounds, NPS Report Files, Park Library, MIMA. Orville Carroll, EODC Weekly Field Report, 19 August 1966, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA. Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Part II Architectural Data Section, The Wayside Barn, March 1972, 27, File Wayside Barn, NPS Report Files, Park Library, MIMA. Memorandum, Willcox to Regional Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services, Northeast Region, 20 August 1965. Memorandum, Frank Barnes to Zerbey, 14 December 1965, and attached Memorandum, Ralph Lewis to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 2 November 1965, File D6 223 Museums and Exhibits, Box 2, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

of Margaret Lothrop, who passed away on 14 May 1970 before seeing the house entirely refurbished, the National Society of Children of the American Revolution made a generous donation for purchasing wallpaper. Harriett Lothrop had founded this national organization and had named her daughter Margaret Lothrop its first official member.¹¹⁶

Carroll oversaw much of the work. Outside, to correct a serious undermining of the house's foundation wall, caused by extensive soil excavation in addressing termites in 1952 workers built concrete retaining walls around the east and north foundation walls of the kitchen and "Old Room." In addition, workers poured a concrete slab around the interior base of the tower bay window to arrest soil erosion and keep water out of the crawl space. The lower front section of the kitchen chimney required reinforcement with concrete and then rebuilding. The brickwork had collapsed when workers had removed the subfloor for repair work. The park put new floor joists between the existing ones in the kitchen, "Old Room," the west wing, dining room, and sitting room. The enclosed porch required new floor joists. Carroll had workers replace rotted sills in many rooms of the house with new pressure treated ones having the same dimensions as the original ones. Workers removed more than 300 clapboards from around the house and replaced them with spruce. Carroll could not locate a local mill that cut old-growth white pine clapboards with a vertical grain, as used on the house, but he did find in Vermont probably the last remaining clapboard mill in New England to do the work. Carroll noted in his report that "Every effort was made to repair the original clapboards wherever salvageable." He did have workers replace western red cedar clapboards put on after 1924 as this wood type cannot hold paint. In reglazing many windows, and always with an eye toward historical accuracy, Carroll matched the 1860 red-tinted putty.¹¹⁷

Inside, Carroll continued to exercise patience and attention for historical details in stripping away the post-1924 changes while also upgrading safety and convenience features. Contractors added a burglar alarm and fire detection system. Electricians put in a new distribution panel, rewired the house, and added convenience switches, hidden from view, to control wall fixtures. Workers salvaged several rotary wall switches and outlet receptacles from the Stedman Buttrick House, and a local company fabricated brass cover plates. Carroll had a radiator that had been moved to the "Old Room" around 1936 returned to its home in Una's [Hawthorne] room and repainted. The piazza room gained a "new" radiator to match the design of the one in the first floor hallway. Workers put a new low radiator into the kitchen, removing the 1936 version. Decorative aspects received steady attention, too. Workers matched an original carpet dating from 1899 with a reproduction, replacing the worn first-floor sections but saving the old carpet and pad for later reference. With the funds from the National Society of Children of the American Revolution, workers either replaced

¹¹⁶ Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Part III, Architectural Data Section, no date [circa 1971], Foreword. Obituary, Margaret Lothrop, *Boston Globe* (29 May 1970). Carroll, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Weekly Field Report, 4 June 1970, No File Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

¹¹⁷ Carroll, HSR, Part III, Architectural Data Section, [1971], no pagination—see Section III. A-B. Carroll, EODC Weekly Field Report, 5 April 1968, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

wallpaper in several rooms that had deteriorated or patched torn areas. Carroll borrowed a bi-ocular microscope and lamp from Concord-Carlisle High School to examine paint samples and determine the best color match for each room. He had workers mix all paint, except for the brick chimney stems, on the job using lead paint.¹¹⁸

The Wayside Barn received attention, too. Workers structurally repaired the west wall and rear addition for installation of a gas meter and regulator. Discovery of a rotten post in the northwest corner of the barn required cutting away all but the interior surface and inserting a pressure-treated post in its place. Workers also replaced sills at the northwest corner and under the track for the sliding door between the barn and the lean-to. In 1974 additional work would involve re-roofing with cedar shingles and rehabilitating the interior for interpretive use. A kitchenette and rest room added to the rear shed served staff members.¹¹⁹

With work largely completed on the house, the NPS held a formal re-opening ceremony on 17 April 1971. Approximately 200 people attended and had the opportunity to tour the house throughout the day for free. Following this special day, admission fees would then apply, similar to those charged at other historic houses in the area. Speakers included Francis Moulton, Jr., Concord Selectman and representative on the park advisory commission, and Lance Ehmcke, president of the National Society of Children of the American Revolution. The Concord Minute Men provided colonial fife and drum music.¹²⁰ Northeast Regional Director Henry Schmidt emphasized in his remarks “the spirit of cooperation between governmental levels” and urged its continuation as the Bicentennial neared.¹²¹

With The Wayside re-opening came publication of MIMA’s Interpretive Prospectus. This IP provides an indication of how the NPS originally wanted to handle visitors at this historic house. Self-guiding devices, including audio stations and a guide booklet, would lead visitors through the many rooms. Staff members, stationed in strategic locations, would answer questions, monitor the numbers of visitors, and provide protection for the house and its furnishings. Lothrop’s wish to keep the house alive comes through in the overall interpretive approach. The IP states that The Wayside “will be interpreted not as a house but rather as a home, a family home, altered by the needs of successive family occupations.” Interpretive efforts will describe the houses’ former occupants as “people living in a changing and growing house within the context of philosophical, literary, and other changes occurring in the Concord and broader national community –the American Renaissance.” The IP called

¹¹⁸ Carroll, HSR, Part III, Architectural Data Section, [1971], Section III. E-H. Carroll, EODC Weekly Field Report, 23 June 1967, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

¹¹⁹ Carroll, HSR, Part II, Architectural Data Section, The Wayside Barn, March 1972, 27-28; Joseph Godfrey, *Completion Report*, The Wayside Barn, no date [circa 1974], no pagination—see Narrative Statement.

¹²⁰ Carroll, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation Weekly Field Report, 20 April 1971, No Files, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA. Wayside Re-Opening Ceremonies, 17 April 1971, Program, File A8215 Special Events CY 1971 Wayside Dedication, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹²¹ Draft Proposed Remarks for Henry Schmidt, The Wayside, 17 April 1971, 1, File A8215 Special Events CY 1971 Wayside Dedication, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

for the park to “humanize The Wayside,” to include interpretive touches, such as the eucalyptus leaves or decorative additions to match the changing seasons, that brought life into the house and left a lasting impact upon visitors.¹²²

In practice, visitors kept asking questions and quickly the staff accommodated by providing guided tours. Before the NPS had outfitted the barn for interpretive purposes, interpretive ranger Hicks and her comrades sat in the piazza and waited for visitors to ring the front doorbell. The park staff then greeted the newcomers and took them throughout the house, even such rooms as the bathroom and maid’s room. Kryston, whom Hicks described as creative and collaborative, began various programs to add depth and interest to the interpretive programming. In 1972 the park held a Children’s Hour each week for seven weeks. Special guests gave presentations on topics ranging from colonial archeology to period clothing and lifestyles. Later programs, all near and dear to Kryston’s heart, gave children the opportunity to try their hand at writing a poem, for example, while learning about the various authors who had lived at The Wayside. Kryston also explored cooperative programs with local organizations. A staff member from next-door Orchard House shared items that once belonged to the Alcotts at a children’s hour. In the later 1970s, Kryston helped start the Concord Consortium, a collection of historic houses and museums in town. Every two years, the houses would “dress” based upon a common theme or time period and open their doors for free.¹²³ Kryston remembered the first year hoping maybe one hundred people would show up. Instead, it was “wildly successful,” and Kryston stopped counting at the 2,000th visitor.¹²⁴

ADMINISTRATION

Throughout this fairly short period between 1965 and 1972, with many big projects happening, park management shifted and changed. The park continued to advance its priority goals, with each person contributing his strengths. But, by the end of this time, some rumblings indicated that MIMA operated under some stresses and strains.

In response to belt tightening and the desire to reduce duplication of effort among the various Boston national park sites, the Service instituted the Boston Group in late 1968 with Zerbey as the Boston Group Superintendent. The Boston Group included MIMA, Adams National Historic Site in Quincy, John F. Kennedy Birthplace in Brookline, Salem Maritime NHS, and Saugus Ironworks NHS. The Boston Group combined some jobs across parks, such as Carroll being historical architect for all of these parks, to increase efficiency. How did the activities of the Boston Group differ from the work Edwin Small did as Project Coordinator of the Boston Historic Sites Project? The Boston Group had an inward administrative focus on the national parks of the Boston area while the Boston Historic Sites

¹²² Allen Kent and Douglas Scovill, *MIMA Interpretive Prospectus*, 1971, 23-24 (includes quotes), File IP, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA..

¹²³ Hicks, transcript of interview, 3, 8. Kryston, transcript of interview, 3, 7. Memorandum, Kryston to Supervisory Park Ranger, MIMA, 26 October 1972, 2.

¹²⁴ Kryston, transcript of interview, 7-8. Quote on p. 7.

Project had an outward focus of addressing the concerns and queries of history-minded individuals in the area. Small, for instance, took primary responsibility for ensuring regular meetings of the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission and offered recommendations to fill empty positions. He kept careful connections with the many historic preservation circles of the Boston area. With establishment of the Boston Group, Small continued this work but as assistant to the regional director in a New England Field Office in Boston, separate from the Boston Group.¹²⁵

Zerbey, a personable man with a friendly disposition and unfaltering faith in his charges, extended these characteristics to the entire Boston Group. He and his wife Jane opened their already full house to any and all Boston Group employees for the annual 19th of April festivities, saying “Come early and stay late” for an open house following the parade.¹²⁶ In his statement for the December 1969 Group Scoop newsletter he established, he wrote that “The Group is not so much a group of parks as it is a group of people. People do things and make things happen. . . . The Group operation now is far from perfect, but any success it had, is the result of everyone’s energies and hard work.”¹²⁷ Such a commitment shines through the folksy newsletter, with its hearty welcomes to new employees, announcements of twisted knees and cut feet of the children of Group employees, and its regular updates on the social activities of the park women’s organization. Zerbey used the newsletter to unite the disparate parks and people into a cohesive work force.¹²⁸

By mid-1969, Robert Perkins had become unit manager of MIMA. Perkins’s responsibilities focused on the daily management of MIMA while Zerbey provided overall guidance on issues involving the public and higher NPS administrative levels. Zerbey remained at MIMA, for he kept the Boston Group’s offices in the Stedman Buttrick House, while Perkins maintained his presence in the former Geophysics Laboratory building along Route 2A. Like Zerbey, Perkins also had a long career with the NPS, starting as a seasonal ranger at Grand Teton National Park (Wyoming) in 1948. He went on to serve at six other national parks, including Everglades in Florida and Great Smoky Mountains in Tennessee before moving to MIMA. He had earned two unit citations from the secretary of the interior for his contributions to the Grand Teton Mountain Rescue Team.¹²⁹

More changes came in the early 1970s. In May 1971 Zerbey left Concord for his new position as chief of the Employee Evaluation Division in the Northeast Regional Office in Philadelphia. Regional Director Henry Schmidt assigned Herbert Olsen as the new general superintendent, also keeping his offices in the Buttrick House. Olsen, a native of Denmark, had begun his NPS career in 1950 as a historian at Saratoga National Historical Park in

¹²⁵ Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 17th Meeting, 14 December 1968, 2; Justification for Meritorious Service Award, Edwin Small, [1971], File Edwin W. Small, NPS History Collection, HFC.

¹²⁶ Group Scoop, 7 April 1970, 1, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA. See also Group Scoop, 13 April 1971, 1, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

¹²⁷ Group Scoop, December 1969, 3, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

¹²⁸ See for example, Group Scoop, 15 September 1970, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

¹²⁹ “Minute Man Has New Manager,” *Concord Free Press* (30 October 1969).

upstate New York. After a variety of historian assignments, he served as superintendent of Russell Cave National Monument in Alabama and Shiloh National Military Park in Tennessee. He then moved to the NPS Washington Office to serve as historian of the Division of Personnel Management and Manpower Development before accepting the general superintendency of the Boston Group.¹³⁰

Olsen maintained a visible presence in MIMA, attending public meetings regarding land acquisition and keeping informed about developments relating to the Routes 2 and 2A relocations. This involvement in these clearly public issues certainly related to his responsibilities as group superintendent. In the case of the troubled land acquisition efforts in Lincoln, both Olsen and Perkins attended meetings and addressed concerns. Olsen's reports of these meetings went to the regional director, as would be expected based on the organizational distinction between the two positions. However, some underlying tensions existed between the two men, leading to further problems with the MIMA staff. Perkins later alluded to these tensions in a letter to Moffitt. In talking about the North Bridge and the park's relations with Concord, Perkins wrote that he was glad Moffitt apparently had a "free hand" to deal with the local citizens. "This is the way it should be," Perkins wrote. "To have continued interference for a long period of time from others makes for a bad situation and makes it impossible for one to accomplish a job he was assigned to do."¹³¹

This feeling of tension and interference came to the surface with a September 1972 report on MIMA filed by Raymond Freeman, associate director of operations in the Washington Office. Freeman and a group of other NPS representatives from the Washington and regional offices visited MIMA to review how the park was addressing such issues as historic structures, non-historic buildings, management, personnel, and maintenance. In the course of meetings with Olsen, Perkins, and MIMA staff members, Freeman and his fellow reviewers found that Olsen and Perkins "did not see things from the same viewpoint." In fact, Olsen dominated meetings and staff members failed to participate by providing their own perspectives or insights even when "virtually ordered to contribute." Freeman found that MIMA staff seemed to "be more on the side of the Park Manager," for "the 'troops' do not seem to be fully following the leader," or Olsen. Freeman recommended interviews with staff members to resolve difficulties or reassign personnel if such actions failed.¹³²

Freeman saw this flare up between Olsen and Perkins especially with regard to park maintenance. While Freeman agreed that the park maintained well the North Bridge area and the Fiske Hill information site, vacant areas along the Battle Road had trash that the park staff refused to pick up. Since sections of this route could be owned by the state, one of the towns, the NPS, or private individuals, park staff did not take responsibility for clearing out

¹³⁰ "New Superintendent of National Park Appointed," *Concord Free Press* (6 May 1971).

¹³¹ Perkins to Moffitt, 16 April 1974, 2, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³² Memorandum, Raymond Freeman to Director, Northeast Region, 12 September 1972, 4, File IV, Unprocessed materials, Museum Collection, MIMA.

the litter. Freeman argued that the public when driving down this road would not know who owned the land but would see the trash and assign blame to the NPS, as already seen in the Lincoln land acquisition dispute. Olsen had discussed the situation with Perkins “in great detail,” according to Freeman, but Perkins did not seem “oriented to this type of maintenance.” No system seemed in place to address the situation, and the rough relations between Olsen and Perkins exacerbated the situation.¹³³

David Moffitt commented much later that he recognized the tensions between these two men. Olsen and Perkins did not get along well, Moffitt recalled, and Olsen “was an extremely demanding, probably the most demanding supervisor I ever had,” but a “good person, a perfectionist, and Bob was not a perfectionist.”¹³⁴ After a rocky year or so together, the NPS transferred Perkins to Philadelphia. He resisted and retired early. Olsen remained as head of the Boston Group until its dismantlement following the December 1973 creation of the North Atlantic Regional Office. Moffitt, who had served first at MIMA as chief of maintenance, then had kept his position while also heading maintenance functions for the entire Boston Group, completed a NPS management training course and accepted his first superintendency at MIMA. Having trained under Zerbey and sharing Zerbey’s friendly disposition, Moffitt would have the public relations skills and long perspective that would serve him well under the pressures of the Bicentennial.¹³⁵

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 4.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 3-4.



Figure 17. Fiske Hill Information Shelter. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 18. Job Brooks House, 1962. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 19. Joshua Brooks House, 1962. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 20. Samuel Hartwell House, 1963. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.

CHAPTER FIVE

BICENTENNIAL

One day while working at the North Bridge in the mid-1970s NPS interpreter Margie Hicks had two amazing encounters. First, a woman from Israel shared how she felt standing at this site of American liberty, saying that it reminded her of 1948 when Israel gained independence. The North Bridge represented for her the starting place where people around the world stood up for self-governance. Later that same day, Hicks met another woman, this time from Palestine. She shared her wish for self-governance with Hicks, saying that Palestinians struggled for that right. Years later, Hicks clearly remembers that day and her realization of the true significance of MIMA. “This park is just so much more than just this flag-waving patriotic place,” Hicks explained. “It actually talks to the ideals of human self-governance.” For Hicks and others, the park’s message goes beyond the buildings, the land, and the events to commemorate 19 April 1775. People around the world recognize that MIMA and the North Bridge represent the search for, the fighting for, and the fierce defense of human self-governance.¹

Along with self-governance comes responsibility. The United States Constitution and Bill of Rights recognize that all kinds of people live in and contribute to the strength and endurance of this nation. Everyone has a voice, whether expressed individually under the protections of the First Amendment’s Freedom of Speech or exercised in the election of representatives who act on behalf of their constituents. By preserving and interpreting the North Bridge, the NPS has accepted its own responsibility for upholding the rights and responsibilities inherent in this sacred space. On 19 April 1975 the NPS renewed its obligation to preserving self-governance by allowing the People’s Bicentennial Commission to stage a peaceful, anti-Establishment protest on the same day the Town of Concord hosted President Gerald Ford at the North Bridge for a commemoration of the nation’s Bicentennial. Many people in Concord and the surrounding area vociferously opposed the NPS’s decision to grant the permit to the protesters, but the NPS held firm. Then-associate regional director for operations Denis Galvin remembered vividly the discussions within the NPS. His boss, Regional Director Jerry Wagers, had said, “We’re not going to do anything to celebrate the Bicentennial that besmirches the Constitution of the United States.”²

Within this mix of controversy and commemoration stood a tall, lanky Texan named David Moffitt. Moffitt had a broad smile, great sense of humor, and easygoing personality that readily collected friends and supporters. These qualities bolstered him during his years

¹ Hicks, transcript of interview, 17.

² Denis Galvin, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 13 March 2003, 6, Fort Stanwix National Monument Archives.

at MIMA. Trained as an ornamental horticulturalist at Texas A&M University, he applied these skills to the NPS first in Washington, DC, and then in the Philadelphia regional office. He started at MIMA in 1969 working as chief of maintenance under Zerbey and then Perkins before his assignment as the Boston Group's Maintenance Specialist. He continued to address the maintenance demands of MIMA while offering training workshops and providing overall direction for maintenance within the Boston Group. After participating in an NPS Mid-Level Manager Development Program under the mentorship of Zerbey, in 1972 Moffitt was assigned the superintendency of MIMA. He stayed until 1976. Usually, the NPS would assign a superintendent to another park rather than keep a person at the same park he or she had already worked, but Moffitt had certain advantages to offer. He loved the park and its neighboring towns and had developed good relationships with some organizations, such as local garden clubs. He had also contributed to early planning for the Bicentennial. With the Bicentennial date looming, it made sense to choose a superintendent who had an understanding of the issues and a familiarity with the people and land. Moffitt served for a few months under the Boston Group framework. The Group dissolved in December 1973 leaving Moffitt solely in charge of MIMA.³

This chapter examines in a fair amount of detail how the NPS handled the Bicentennial celebration at MIMA. The Bicentennial and other significant anniversaries provide NPS managers with an opportunity to consider the challenges that may accompany the 250th or 300th anniversaries. Specific actions taken by Moffitt and the NPS rankled many local people, leading to divisive and unproductive relationships years after the Bicentennial celebration. What changes might the NPS have made to prevent these relationships from souring? By looking carefully at the Bicentennial, later managers might have the opportunity to thwart such negative outcomes, or at least be prepared for their possibility. Finally, in the life of MIMA, 1975 had always loomed large with respect to planning and developing the park. Edwin Small had set the Bicentennial as the deadline for readying the park for visitors. The NPS accomplished much of its vision, and this chapter describes its successes and continuing projects.

NORTH BRIDGE AND CONCORD

The North Bridge captured increased public attention even before the Bicentennial as a place of contemplation and remembrance, protest and defiance. Many people recognized the site's historic significance and used this connection to the past to advance their own mid-twentieth-century causes. This need to find symbolically laden places for public protests came hand-in-hand with the social fervor of the 1960s and 1970s. Americans of different backgrounds and beliefs marched for civil rights for Blacks, demanded equal rights for women, and urged an end to the Vietnam War, among many other issues. Two protests provide a sense of how the public used the North Bridge just before 1975. In 1970 more than

³ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 1-5; Hicks, transcript of interview, 6; Kryston, transcript of interview, 4. *The Group Scoop*, 12 August 1969, 1; 10 February 1970, 1; 15 January 1971, 2, all in No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

400 students from Concord-Carlisle High School staged a peaceful protest on the meadow by the North Bridge in the aftermath of the Cambodian incursion and deaths of four protesting Kent State University students.⁴

A year later, over Memorial Day Weekend in 1971 Vietnam Veterans Against the War “reversed” Paul Revere’s ride and marched from Concord’s North Bridge to Boston Common in protest of the nation’s continued involvement in Indochina. Upon first receiving the request, the NPS granted permission for the group to spend one night at the bridge, and Concord police assisted with additional patrols. Robert Perkins described the 150 protesters as orderly and cooperative, even clearing trash. As part of the ceremony at the bridge, Betty Levin’s daughter Jennifer dressed as a young Paul Revere and presented the protesters with a List of Grievances of veterans.⁵ Levin later remarked that the NPS was “very decent” in its handling of the anti-Vietnam War protest. “They stood up well on that one,” she said, in contrast to how she viewed the park’s handling of land acquisition.⁶ Many local residents joined the veterans when they lunched at Fiske Hill the following day, showing support for the cause. In contrast to the reception at the North Bridge, Lexington officials refused to grant permission to the veterans to spend a night on that town’s Battle Green. At 3 AM, Lexington police began arresting the now more than 450 protesters, who spent the rest of the night in jail before appearing in court and paying \$5 fines for violating curfew.⁷ Former Navy Lieutenant John Kerry, as a leader in Vietnam Veterans Against the War, spoke following his own arrest, saying that the government “shouldn’t be concerned with the legalities of sweeping people from a village green, but with the legalities of bombing and dying.”⁸ Perkins wondered aloud to the regional office about future cooperation with Lexington, especially since many in that town voiced opposition to the NPS and Concord for allowing the veterans group in the area. In this case, Concord clearly aligned with the NPS in supporting the constitutional rights of the war protesters.⁹

In contrast to these two peaceful protests, the North Bridge also served as a magnet to more violent episodes. Before dawn on 20 June 1969 unknown individuals set and exploded sticks of dynamite on the bridge. One cross stringer, guard rails, and planks connected to that location on the north side of the bridge suffered damage from the blast. Police investigated but never apprehended anyone. A newly hired park carpenter, Mike Fortin, completed the repairs with “superb craftsmanship,” according to Zerbey. Fortin

⁴ *Group Scoop*, 18 May 1970, 1, No File, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

⁵ Memorandum, Perkins to Director, Northeast Region, 2 June 1971, 1, File A8215 CY 1971 Vietnam Veterans, Park Admin Files, MIMA. “Over 400 Arrested, Fined in Lexington, Sunday, as Antiwar March Stalled,” *Minute-Man Supplement*, 3 June 1971.

⁶ Levin, transcript of interview, 9.

⁷ Don Sarvey and Bob Whitcomb, “458 Seized in Lexington Protest,” *Boston Herald Traveler*, 31 May 1971.

⁸ John Kerry, as quoted by Gerry Maraghy, “Kerry says Vets Point to US ‘Mistake,’” *Boston Herald Traveler*, 31 May 1971.

⁹ Memorandum, Perkins to Director, Northeast Region, 2 June 1971, 2.

simulated adze marks on the timbers to give the appearance of hand-hewn lumber, then applied a wood bleach to match the coloring of the remaining portions of the bridge.¹⁰

On 26 November 1973 other unknown individuals set a bomb on the Minute Man statue. A young man from Bedford High School had been reading the statue's inscription when he saw and picked up a brown paper bag at the base of the pedestal. When he heard ticking inside the bag, he quickly dropped it onto the path and went to report the device. NPS officials cleared the area and provided support to the police. State explosives expert Leo Voight used a device to flip the bag, emptying a tackle box inside of which were four sticks of dynamite and a timing device set to go off in 15 minutes. Voight disarmed the bomb in 10 minutes. Despite investigations by local and federal authorities, no arrests were made in connection with this incident. The NPS and Concord strengthened surveillance of the area.¹¹

In investigating the ramifications of the bomb threat, Moffitt quickly learned some disconcerting news: no mold or duplicate of the bronze statue existed. The traditional wax casting process that originally created the bronze statue naturally destroyed the mold by sculptor Daniel Chester French. Moffitt wondered, what if the bomb had succeeded and destroyed the statue? With this horrible thought in mind, he asked his counterpart at Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, preserving the New Hampshire home of American sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, for advice on locating a suitable place for making a duplicate cast. With this information in hand, Moffitt asked if such a casting could be done onsite, knowing that the Town of Concord would probably refuse any idea of removing the statue. However, the Boston sculpting firm made clear that the casting would best be accomplished in its facility. Trying to do the casting at the park would involve building a covering around the statue and bringing in water, electricity, and a range of specialized tools to do the work. In addition, casting would require doing complicated individual sections to capture the fine work of French's original.¹² Moffitt gulped when he realized the enormity of the idea, losing the statue for two months during the casting or possibly losing the statue forever with another well-placed bomb. He admitted to one Concord resident that "I gave up the idea until I had time to think it over."¹³ He then started talking unofficially to Concord officials,

¹⁰ Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 20 June 1969, and attached report; NPS Press Release, Repairs to Old North Bridge Completed, 10 December 1969; and Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 19 December 1969, 1, all in File A2623 Damage to North Bridge, Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection, MIMA. Quote from Zerbey in 19 December 1969 memorandum, 1.

¹¹ "Bomb Almost Blew Up Minute Man Monument," *Concord Journal*, 29 November 1973. "Bomb Dismantled Monday at Old North Bridge Site," *Concord Free Press*, 29 November 1973. "Box Bomb Defused at Concord," *Boston Herald American*, 28 November 1973.

¹² Moffitt, transcript of interview, 18. Moffitt to Adio di Bicarri, 25 October 1974; Adio di Bicarri to Moffitt, 3 December 1974, both in File D66 CY 1974 Minute Man Statue, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 31st Meeting, 19 December 1974, 4-6, File A18 CY 1974 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³ Moffitt to Robert Parks, 17 December 1974, File D66 CY 1974 Minute Man Statue, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

who gave him the “distinct impression that the Town will never permit removal of the Statue for any purpose.”¹⁴

Moffitt continued to push this issue. He sent a formal letter to Concord’s Town Manager, Paul Flynn, asking for further consideration of the idea. He included the letter from the sculpting firm, making clear the delicate work that would need to be done to make a faithful copy of the statue. Moffitt admitted that he disliked having to remove the statue, but he also knew that the park and town “should take every precaution to insure that if the statue was ever damaged we would have the opportunity to recreate it.”¹⁵ The town slowly came around. One local resident, Robert Parks, encapsulated the thoughts of many. He wrote to Moffitt that the NPS and Concordians had a serious responsibility as “custodians of this most historic monument” and that Moffitt’s proposal deserved careful consideration. In the end, Parks trusted that the “citizens of Concord will join me in supporting your recommendation that future generations will never be deprived of seeing this visible memorial which so truly depicts the spirit of 1975.”¹⁶ At their 23 December 1974 meeting, the Concord Selectmen concurred that having the casting done was a “needed and worthwhile project.”¹⁷

Removal of the Minute Man statue for casting on 16 January 1975 prompted further preservation action.¹⁸ Moffitt had expected to find an 1875 time capsule underneath the statue, but none appeared.¹⁹ Instead, he suggested that the Town of Concord capture a record of life in the Bicentennial year and insert it under the statue after the casting. John Finigan, as Chairman of the 1975 Celebrations Committee, accepted this offer and asked the Girl Scouts of Concord to collect worthy items for inclusion. Members of each of the 25 troops in town wrote to elected officials, citizens of ancestors who had fought at the North Bridge, leaders in various professions, and other esteemed Concord residents, asking their thoughts about the town and its place in American history. The Girl Scouts also collected current and historical photographs, coins, stamps, and other meaningful documents. They even recorded sounds of children playing in Concord. The Eastman Kodak Company assisted by microfilming the mass of material so that it would fit. At a special ceremony on 29 March 1975 the Girl Scouts filled the time capsule and saw its placement beneath the base of the newly returned Minute Man statue.²⁰

¹⁴ Memorandum, Moffitt to Regional Director, NAR, 9 December 1974, File D66 CY 1974 Minute Man Statue, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁵ Moffitt to Paul Flynn, 9 December 1974, File D66 CY 1974 Minute Man Statue, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁶ Robert Parks to Moffitt, no date [December 1974], File D66 CY 1974 Minute Man Statue, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁷ Minutes, Selectmen’s Meeting, Town of Concord, 23 December 1974, 1, Concord Library.

¹⁸ All correspondence and the purchase order for the work indicate that a casting of the statue would be done. At the end of the two months, the park received sections of a plaster copy of the statue. This plaster copy, held within the park’s museum collection, can be used to make a replica if necessary.

¹⁹ The time capsule actually sat underneath the granite pedestal upon which the statue stands.

²⁰ Mrs. Arvin Smith, Time Capsule Report, March 1975, No File, Box 6, 1975 Bicentennial Records, Concord Public Library; Concord Girl Scouts’ Bicentennial Time Capsule, March 1975, File Time Capsule, Terrie Wallace’s Files, MIMA. Jason Korell, Report of the 1975 Celebrations Committee, 1979,

Taking care of the preservation and security of the Minute Man statue reflected the larger NPS goal of ensuring the overall successful management of the many historic features of the park. Parking garnered additional concerns in the North Bridge area. Originally, the Town of Concord had a parking area on the east side of Monument Street, directly across from the walkway to the bridge. This lot, which remained under town ownership after establishment of MIMA, could contain around 60 cars and five buses but often failed to accommodate the large numbers of vehicles during peak visitation times. Visitors also faced a potentially hazardous situation because they had to cross Monument Street to walk to the bridge. Inadequate comfort facilities included a pit privy, with no municipal sewage disposal available at the site. With the opening of the Stedman Buttrick House to visitors, the NPS built a nearby parking lot that could hold another 50 cars and five buses, helping to alleviate the traffic directly across from the bridge. But, the safety concerns and continued crush of vehicles forced NPS officials to consider more parking alternatives.²¹

Two ideas eventually emerged. First, the NPS in 1971 investigated relocating Monument Street so that it would pass further east of, or behind, the existing Town of Concord parking lot. In this way, visitors would simply walk to the bridge without crossing any roads. However, Monument Street would have to take a sharp curve in the short distance between the Elisha Jones House and the vehicle bridge over the Concord River, thereby constricting traffic flow and introducing a new safety hazard. The park would not gain any new parking spaces from such relocation, nor would it have the ability to improve the existing comfort facilities. Excavation and fill for the new road would also intrude upon the pastoral landscape. Initial work on the North Bridge Development Concept fleshed out this plan until General Superintendent Herbert Olsen suggested another approach.²²

Olsen recommended that the NPS consider acquiring land on the west side of Monument Street. One four-acre vacant lot, known as the Prescott lot, had been on the market for some time. Next door, Winthrop Sargent had recently put his almost nine acre-properties up for sale. The park had long identified acquisition of a little more than three acres of the back portion of the Sargent property, paying some kind of severance for the remaining acreage. All of this land sat next door to the Old Manse and thus in close proximity of the North Bridge. Why not acquire the Sargent and Prescott properties and build a new parking lot on them? The existing Sargent house could even serve as a visitor

Preliminaries and Opening of the Celebration Section, File 3, Box 2, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

²¹ Memorandum, Nathan Golub to Director, Northeast Region, 8 September 1972, and attached Briefing Statement, North Bridge Developed Area, MIMA, 1, File D18 MIMA Jan-Dec 1969, Box 12, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham Federal Records Center (FRC). Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 16th Meeting, 6 April 1968, 3, File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham. Memorandum, Zerbey to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 23 July 1968 and attached *Progress Report, 1968 Goals for MIMA*, 1, File L34 Recreation Activities 1970/1972, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Exact numbers of vehicles that could park in the town lot vary from 50-60 cars with five buses.

²² Memorandum, Golub to Director, Northeast Region, 8 September 1972, and Briefing Statement, 1; Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 11 August 1971, 1, File D18 MIMA Jan-Dec 1969, Box 12, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC.

contact station with municipal sewage capabilities. Such an arrangement would remove the cost and disturbance of relocating Monument Street. Plus, the park would gain a larger parking lot that did not intrude on the historic scene. The town could even remove its existing lot by landscaping it or converting it into a picnic area.²³

NPS officials agreed to this new approach and began the land acquisition process. Olsen and Robert Perkins appeared before the Concord Board of Selectmen to advise its members of the park's plans. The selectmen appreciated hearing of these developments and expressed no opposition. The finalized January 1972 North Bridge Development Concept, incorporated this west-side parking lot proposal. In addition to having space for around 80 cars and five buses, the new location offered the possibility for expansion if needed in the future. However, further investigation of the site determined that it sat within a Flood Plain Conservancy District subject to local and state restrictions regarding construction. These restrictions led the NPS in the *Development Concept Plan* to suggest some new designs in using the site. To avoid encroachment on wetlands, the park would obliterate the existing house and establish an Environmental Study Area along the Concord wetlands area. Bus parking would sit closest to the street so as to avoid having to fill in wetlands on the back portion of the property to accommodate the size and weight of the buses. To provide interpretive opportunities, the plan called for constructing a wayside exhibit area along the access trail between the lot and the bridge. A separate comfort facility would go next to the access trail just north of the parking area. Due to the close proximity to the Old Manse, the *Development Concept Plan* recommended having an agreement between the Service and the Trustees of Reservations, who owned the Old Manse, to allow access across the property and removal of the Old Manse parking lot. Old Manse visitors would then use the NPS lot.²⁴

Proceeding with this plan, the NPS acquired the Sargent property in March 1972 and obtained an option on the Prescott lot. Keeping in mind the April 1975 Bicentennial date, the NPS proceeded at a steady pace toward construction of the new parking lot. Fine points on parking angles and screening received careful attention at a December 1972 planning meeting hosted by the regional office. The park also worked out where to place the access trail and how to work out a long-term arrangement for building a low stone wall to funnel pedestrian traffic past the Old Manse to the North Bridge without harming the Trustees property. Further consideration by the Concord Board of Selectmen in April 1973 indicated tacit approval of the parking plan. The selectmen voiced support for converting the town's parking lot to a natural condition once the NPS's lot opened. Throughout 1973 the NPS made an environmental assessment of the North Bridge area, following federal government regulations for taking into account environmental consequences of construction and development work. A Section 106 review of the proposal received a favorable result,

²³ Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 11 August 1971, 1-2.

²⁴ Memorandum, Olsen to the Files, 26 August 1971; Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 26 August 1971, 1; Memorandum, Olsen to the Files, 31 August 1971; Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 17 September 1971, 1; Memorandum, Chester Brooks to Olsen, 22 September 1971; North Bridge Development Concept, January 1972, 2-3, all in File D18 CY 1971 North Bridge Area, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Golub to Director, Northeast Region, 8 September 1972, 2-3.

providing the required approval of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. In December 1973 NPS review of the potential environmental effects of the proposed parking lot resulted in a negative declaration for a full-fledged *Environmental Impact Statement*, or acceptance of action without further study.²⁵

NPS officials informed the towns and local organizations of this negative declaration, following the procedures as laid out in the 1969 *National Environmental Protection Act*. A negative declaration precluded any further study of the environmental impact of the parking lot and also removed the necessity for a public hearing.²⁶ However, the Town of Concord urged the NPS to gather “vital public opinion” for an “impartial evaluation.” In the town’s mind, “every action to expand or develop the Park has an effect on the quality of life of the residents of Concord” and those residents should be “invited to comment publicly . . .”²⁷ In response to these concerns, the NPS held a public hearing in March 1974 at Concord-Carlisle High School. While many Concord residents simply asked questions to clarify the project and some even voiced support for the lot, others expressed skepticism. One couple noted that the extra twenty spaces gained from the new lot would make little difference on a sunny Sunday afternoon when visitors typically park up and down Monument Street. In addition, they argued that the new parking lot would lessen the enjoyment of the residential properties on the street.²⁸ Ultimately, they asked, “is it worth it for the net gain?”²⁹

Following this meeting, a group of Concord residents sent a petition to the Board of Selectmen detailing their reasons for opposing the new parking lot. They worried about the diesel fumes from the buses, parked in the area closest to the street. No amount of screening from plants could fully mask those vehicles and their fumes, the petitioners wrote. In addition, the net gain of only about twenty spaces for the new lot made clear that safety concerns, rather than increased parking spaces, drove the decision. The petitioners argued that such modifications as a walk light, an overpass, or an underpass, would address visitor safety without adding a new lot. But, most importantly, the concerned residents turned to the issue of the “reverence for the spirit of Concord.” The North Bridge area recalled the

²⁵ Memorandum, Olsen to Acting Chief, Office of Programs and Budget, NER, 5 May 1972, 2, File D22 CY 1972 Battle Road Restoration, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Moffitt to Olsen, 1 December 1972, plus Olsen’s handwritten notes regarding the planning meeting, File D34, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, William Redmond to Assistant Director, Operations, Northeast Region, 28 February 1973, 1, File D18 MIMA Jan-Dec 1969, Box 12, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC. Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 22 May 1973, and attached 17 April 1973 letter Arthur Stevenson to Francis Moulton, File D18 CY 1973 North Bridge Area, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Moffitt to Director, Denver Service Center, 19 March 1973; Kay Tapman to Chester Brooks, 9 October 1973; Memorandum, David Kimball to Superintendent, Boston Group, 11 December 1973, all in File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁶ Moffitt to Conservation Commission, 21 January 1974, plus attached list of other addressees, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁷ Paul Flynn to Moffitt, 20 February 1974, 1, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁸ Moffitt to F. Bradford Morse, 6 March 1974, and attached Department of the Interior New Release; and Minutes, Public Meeting, 14 March 1974, 6-12, both in File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁹ Minutes, Public Meeting, 14 March 1974, 13.

patriotic acts of courage and cultural glories of Americans from past times. “The past nourishes the present,” wrote the petitioners, “and in this troubled era, we need the peace, we need the pride that this small shrine gives us. To despoil that shrine, to cover quiet fields with parking lots and cars is to rob millions of Americans of a bit of their inheritance.” For these reasons, the residents urged the town selectmen to oppose the new parking lot.³⁰

The Concord Board of Selectmen concurred. In an early April 1974 letter to Moffitt, the board asked the NPS to abandon the new parking lot. Echoing the concerns in the petition, the selectmen wrote that “placing another parking facility in such close proximity to the Historical site will be detrimental.” The aesthetic tone of the visitor experience would suffer. Instead, the selectmen urged that the NPS “leave this parcel open as a buffer strip, separating the site from the residential homes further back on Monument Street.”³¹ The selectmen also believed that having more parking spaces, even the “token” amount provided by the new lot, would only encourage more traffic and more problems. “Realistically,” they argued, “there is no way to provide ENOUGH parking at the North Bridge.”³² Using mini-buses in a kind of shuttle system offered an attractive alternative in their minds. Such a system would reduce the numbers of vehicles while also serving visitors with quality interpretive programming during the rides. If a new lot still figured in NPS plans, the selectmen offered the idea of having one placed off Liberty Street, closer to the Stedman Buttrick House.³³

In response to this opposition, the new North Atlantic Regional Director Jerry Wagers removed the new parking lot from NPS planning. Wagers cited the town’s opposition to the lot as his reason. He did worry about the proposed comfort facilities that the Service also would not build. The town’s privies at the North Bridge desperately needed upgrading, and he instructed the park to cooperate with the town to find a solution. However, the town would remain primarily responsible for these facilities.³⁴

Within the NPS, Moffitt quietly voiced to his predecessor Perkins that the park needed the new lot. The town parking lot was “unsightly, unsafe, and too close to the North Bridge.” Moffitt also believed that even with a mini-bus shuttle system, which would only effectively run four months of the year, the park needed a place to drop off and board passengers. Using Monument Street did not make sense. In his mind, the NPS had carefully planned to landscape the new lot so that it “would not be one large blacktop field.” So, in exasperation, Moffitt remarked that “this is beside the point. We are going to do as the Selectmen requested. To heck with the visitor!”³⁵ Perkins disagreed. He liked the idea of

³⁰ Petitioners to Board of Selectmen, 29 March 1974, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³¹ Concord Board of Selectmen to Moffitt, 2 April 1974, 2, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³² *Ibid.*, 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

³⁴ Memorandum, Jerry Wagers to Moffitt, 16 April 1974, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁵ Moffitt to Perkins, 10 May 1974, 1, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and

using the Sargent property as a buffer of green space and protection for the North Bridge area. He did not think that the new parking lot would substantially alleviate the crush of vehicles during peak visiting times. Perkins also encouraged Moffitt and the rest of the agency to continue listening and conferring with the town. Although MIMA came into existence in 1959, the Town of Concord had been around since 1635. “One must relate to consider the past, present, and future historical values,” Perkins wrote to Moffitt. “This value is one of the main items that makes Concord what it is.”³⁶

PREPARATIONS

Keeping track of MIMA’s Bicentennial plans requires looking at three different levels of involvement: the NPS as a whole, the individual towns, and the park itself. Each acted based on its own institutional background and vision. As related in the fourth chapter, Concord wanted its celebration to serve as a spiritual thanksgiving, having a solemn tone. This approach resulted in part from Concord’s long history of having simple parades and cannon firings to mark April 19. At the back of everyone’s mind also sat the experience of 1875 when too many people had flooded and overwhelmed the town. Human comfort and safety figured prominently in Concord’s 1975 planning. The NPS, on the other hand, had a history of addressing big occasions by building or rehabilitating visitor service areas to meet the demands of the expected throngs. During the Mission 66 period between 1956 and 1966, for example, the NPS had celebrated its 50th anniversary by building visitor centers, roads, and accommodations for the crush of post-World War II visitors. In a similar manner, 60 percent of the total \$100 million allocated by Congress to the NPS for the Bicentennial went into building projects. One of the largest construction projects involved an ultimately failed National Visitor Center in the nation’s capital. Many projects also involved historic structure preservation and rehabilitation, while three projects, such as Fort Stanwix, included reconstruction. MIMA, on the other hand, approached the Bicentennial without any big plans for the actual day of 19 April 1975. In the past, the park had established a regular pattern of acting as a supportive host to the Patriot Day celebrations planned by Concord and the other towns. Park superintendents and interpreters acted as resources of information and guests at North Bridge commemorations, but the park itself shied away from any direct planning. Interpreters saved their special presentations for other days, and this model served in 1975 too.³⁷

Dignity and respect guided Concord’s planning for the Bicentennial. Citizens wanted to have a simple program. It would have to accommodate the demands of many people interested in this significant anniversary, but Concordians repeatedly made clear in meetings and committee work that its observance would be non-political, with an emphasis on the principles for which the battle was fought, not on the glorification of the battle itself. They

North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁶ Perkins to Moffitt, 16 April 1974, 2, File D18 1972-1974 Planning Program DCPs Fiske Hill VC and North Bridge, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁷ Mattes, *Landmarks of Liberty*, 4-5.

planned to have a reenactment of Dr. Samuel Prescott's ride to warn Concord of the British march, accompanied by a sunrise flag raising and firing of a salute by the North Bridge. A large parade would wind its way through Concord Center to the bridge. Following the tradition of 1875 in which President Ulysses S. Grant attended the festivities, Concord invited President Gerald Ford for the Bicentennial. As a permanent marker for the event, the town planned to dedicate its new Performing Arts Building at 51 Walden Street and later that evening show the premiere of *A Flurry of Birds*, winner of a special contest initiated by the town to honor the occasion. Committees and subcommittees planned other activities for the days surrounding April 19, ranging from athletic events to dancing and musical performances for young and old, plus the town offered a special commemorative coin.³⁸

Keeping close to its vision, the town also took tremendous steps to make sure it could accommodate safely the crush of expected visitors. One of the major lessons learned from the 1875 experience dealt with the 50,000 people who had crammed into an unprepared Concord, leaving the town at a standstill without clear transportation channels or enough food. Concord would not allow a repeat of that overwhelming time, which reduced the very sense of dignity and respect sought by the town. In reaction, twentieth century planners set about their task with precision and vigor. Using mathematical formulas, they determined that the town could handle up to 120,000 people on that day, including the expected 40,000 residents and their guests. Once visitation reached that magical number, the selectmen expected to seal the town off and keep any others out. Citizens also voted at the 7 May 1974 Town Meeting to limit the parade to 6,000 marchers. Priority went to regional regiments over national ones and historic units over contemporary ones to focus attention on the fact that soldiers from the local towns had opened the shots of the American Revolution. As many as 14,000 marchers had expressed interest in the parade, but town members believed that that number overwhelmed resources. To keep visitor numbers low, the town refused to advertise its events in state Bicentennial brochures, nor did it ask for increased commuter train service to Concord.³⁹ Repeatedly in newspaper articles, town representatives emphasized a "low-key role" for Concord in Bicentennial observances.⁴⁰ As Town Manager Paul Flynn stated six months before the big day, "we don't want to over-publicize the events or encourage too many people to come."⁴¹

With 120,000 people expected in Concord for the day, planners anticipated anything that might go wrong. School buses would take marchers, along with town residents and their guests, to the parade area and back out to designated dispersal areas. Box lunches, provided

³⁸ National Park Study Committee, *A History of the Fight at Concord on 19th of April, 1975*, 1976, 3, MIMA Archives. The 1975 Celebrations Committee, Tentative Program, 1 February 1975, File Minute Man, Series IV, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC. Philip Suter to David Moffitt, 1 April 1975, 2, File 3, Box 1, 4/19/1975 Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

³⁹ National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Fight*, 4. "With 23 Weeks to Go, Town Manager Outlines Many 1975 Plan Details," *Concord Journal*, no date [November 1974]; and "Selectmen Ask Questions about Bicentennial; '75 Committee Replies," no provenance [*Concord Journal* (February 1975)], both in File Minute Man, Series IV, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC.

⁴⁰ "Concord & Lexington Brace for Battle of Bicentennial," *New York News* (10 March 1975).

⁴¹ Flynn, as quoted both times in "With 23 Weeks to Go," *Concord Journal*, no date [November 1974].

by the town, would feed parade marchers. Kiwanis volunteers would have food booths set up in various locations to meet the needs of on-lookers. A military helicopter would constantly survey the scene and give personnel an opportunity to re-route traffic to reduce build-ups. The basement of the post office would serve as an emergency operations center with its own communications system. Concord hired 400 auxiliary Civil Defense police officers to support efforts by the local service to maintain crowd control while the National Guard and Red Cross expected to establish first-aid units every half-mile of the parade route and in other high-volume areas. Coast Guard boats would patrol the Concord River.⁴²

Underlying these extraordinary Bicentennial efforts was a great worry for the residents of Concord. Concord, with a population of 17,500, had resolutely over the years rejected its status as a tourist town. Residents certainly welcomed visitors and prided themselves on the nationally significant pieces of history within the town boundaries. Yet, the town did not extend this welcome by having hotels, restaurants, large parking facilities, comfortable rest stops, or even a prominent visitor center to direct people to the sights. As ranger Hicks stated later, many Concordians preferred that tourists stop to see the sights, shop in Concord Center, and then leave. They did not want visitors to stay and think about living in Concord, forcing the town to grow and become another commercialized suburb of Boston.⁴³ Michael Ryan wrote in *Boston Magazine* that “Concord is a charming town, a little pocket of affluence just far enough away from Boston to be able to live by its own lights.” Ryan went on to describe the typical Concordian, who had “flaxen hair, sturdy tweeds, tortoise shell glasses, and sensible shoes.”⁴⁴ That typical Concordian also had a fierce belief in the ideals fought for at the North Bridge. John Finigan, chairman of the 1975 Celebrations Committee, wrote that “Concord is among the few places left in the world where one is allowed to exercise the spirit of freedom our predecessors fought for” and Finigan hoped that “all those who live in this Town will carry on in the same spirit.”⁴⁵ Would that commitment to freedom and its practice in daily town affairs survive if Concord became suburbanized? Town Manager Paul Flynn encapsulated this fear when he wrote, “I think the major concern of the Town in this year of 1975 . . . is the fear of losing the small townness that we presently enjoy; the small village areas; the ruralness; the social involvements; the gentility and open and friendly climate; all of those attributes and characteristics which describes Concord in 1975.” He went on to describe the alternative: “Is our community to retain its village character and amenities, or is it to follow the path of so many suburban

⁴² Ibid. Town of Concord, Patriot’s Day Information Brochure, 18 March 1975, File 1, Box 1, 4/19/1975 Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives. “Concord & Lexington Brace,” *New York News* (10 March 1975). “Selectmen Ask Questions,” no provenance [*Concord Journal* (February 1975)]. Moffitt, transcript of interview, 11.

⁴³ Hicks, transcript of interview, 16.

⁴⁴ Michael Ryan, “The Spirit of ’75,” *Boston Magazine* 67(June 1975), n.p., 1975 Bicentennial Materials, Special Collections, Concord Public Library.

⁴⁵ John Finigan to Kathy Bailey, 10 March 1975, Box 6, 1975 Bicentennial Materials, Special Collections, Concord Public Library.

communities and become part of an urban sprawl?”⁴⁶ That question hung above Concord’s residents as the Bicentennial approached.

Lexington residents also shuddered when they thought of how many people would choose to attend Bicentennial events on their town’s green. As Robert Tarlin, head of Lexington’s Bicentennial Commission, told reporters, “All the [national and state] publicity urges visitors to come to Boston—which we think is a good idea. But if people come to Boston, they will almost certainly come to Lexington and Concord, too. And we’re not so sure we want them to do that.”⁴⁷ Lexington planned to begin 19 April 1975 with bells ringing the alarm at 5 AM. Half an hour later, men dressed as militia men and British Regulars would reenact the battle at Lexington Green. The town also scheduled a parade and hoped to have President Ford participate in the observances. Lexington was a different place than Concord, though. Close to Boston, on major commuter routes, and more than double the size of Concord, Lexington had managed to combine its historical charm with a knowing cosmopolitanism that set it apart from its quiet neighbor.⁴⁸

Lincoln embraced an entirely different identity from Concord and Lexington, as seen in its Bicentennial observances. Residents of Lincoln valued the rural and natural character of their land and actively sought mechanisms to preserve it. Bicentennial planning involved creating a new conservation district along the borders of the town and MIMA, along both sides of the Sudbury River, and extending into Weston and Wayland. By the year 2000, the town would permanently preserve roughly one-third of its land. Its 1975 Bicentennial Study Group, led by Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission member Katharine White, also recommended restoration of the old mill site on Mill Street as a permanent marker. To preserve Lincoln’s documentary history, White’s committee urged that the town collect, organize, and store for safekeeping and access records of the town and its residents. These would eventually go into the Lincoln Public Library, a historic building in Town Center. For 19 April 1975 the town hosted its own small parade and ceremonies honoring the day.⁴⁹

The NPS had big ideas for celebrating the Bicentennial but a limited budget and even more limited time. The \$100 million congressional appropriation did not come on top of its regular construction outlay but rather as a substitution, requiring deferral of many non-Bicentennial related projects. This money also started pouring in about a year later than would normally be expected to complete construction projects. NPS budget cycles had typically used a three-year period for preliminary design through drawings to contracting

⁴⁶ Paul Flynn to Karen Kelsall, 5 March 1975, Box 6, 1975 Bicentennial Materials, Special Collections, Concord Public Library. Both Flynn and Finigan wrote these letters to Girl Scouts who were putting together a time capsule to fit under the Minute Man statue once returned to its base after the re-casting had been completed. A discussion of the statue and time capsule follows in a later section in this chapter.

⁴⁷ David Langworthy, “The Tourist Invasion of ’75,” *Christian Science Monitor* no date [1975], File Minute Man, Series IV, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC.

⁴⁸ “Concord & Lexington Brace,” *New York News* (10 March 1975). Hicks, transcript of interview, 16.

⁴⁹ Lincoln 1975 Bicentennial Study Group, The Bicentennial Celebration in Lincoln, 15 May 1972, 7-9, File 14, Box 1, Town of Concord Comm Materials, Concord Fight Bicentennial 1975, Special Collections, Concord Public Library; Levin, transcript of interview, 3-4; Warren Flint, Jr., transcript of interview, 1.

through initiation of construction. But, the congressional money began in July 1973, and the NPS Director made clear that all Bicentennial work should be completed by December 1975. That gave only two and a half years. As Merrill Mattes described in his administrative history of the agency's Bicentennial construction program, the prevailing mood in summer 1973 ranged from "skepticism to downright pessimism." Slowly, though, motivations shifted when people realized "the specter of ingloriously 'flubbing it' when handed the greatest crash program in the history of the National Park Service...." Mattes characterized the "flowering of a quixotic attitude" within the agency as, "All right, it's ridiculous and it seems impossible, maybe it really is impossible, but on the other hand maybe it's possible if we give it an all-American try"⁵⁰ and see these projects completed. The NPS mostly succeeded in its task, with most buildings opening on time for the big event. At MIMA, despite attempts to open the Battle Road Visitor Center for the April 1975 festivities, as described in the next chapter, it did not open until 1976.

Along with working on these major construction projects, the NPS developed guidelines for interpretive programming geared to recognizing the Bicentennial throughout the system. MIMA acted as one of 22 officially recognized Bicentennial park sites, having a direct connection to the events of the American Revolution. However, the National Park System included approximately 300 units, with nearly 200 of those classified as historical areas. Why shouldn't all of the sites mark the occasion? This attitude fit with the local slant in Bicentennial planning that the federal government had adopted. Plus, this approach allowed people from all over the country to honor America's beginnings without having to travel to one of the 22 official sites. William Everhart, then serving as NPS assistant director of interpretation, laid out guidelines for all parks in readying for the Bicentennial. He emphasized that successful programs had their base in local programming. Parks should seek the assistance and cooperation of local community organizations to develop sustained activities. Decisions about what programming would fit best with which parks relied upon local considerations, understanding what the local communities wanted. Not leaving the parks alone in their efforts, the NPS provided starting kits that parks could adapt to fit local circumstances. Slide kits, for instance, included visual slides and audio tape addressing cultures, politics, and the land during the late 1700s. Park interpreters could adapt these kits for use in off-site presentations. School kits developed by the agency also aided parks as interpretive rangers visited local schools.⁵¹

Everhart also reported on the results of a task force, providing a list of considerations to structure discussions and guide planning. Bicentennial interpretation, according to the interpretive task force, should celebrate the nation, not the war, and tell a representative story about the United States in addition to that of an individual park. The park story should

⁵⁰ Mattes, *Landmarks of Liberty*, 5.

⁵¹ Memorandum, William Everhart to Field Directorate, 30 August 1974, 1-2, and attached Summary Report, Interpretation for the Bicentennial, 6, 8, File Visit—Interpretation, Group 3, Series XIV, RG 18 Bicentennial, NPS History Collection, HFC. The 10 themes are individualism, independence, equal justice, community, consent of the governed, natural/technological interdependence, private property/competition over land, cultural diversity, expansionism/mobility, and preservation of places.

introduce broad themes of the American experience, giving visitors the opportunity to examine their heritage and gain new insights. Everhart also reported on what broad themes relating to the Bicentennial that the NPS had adopted for its interpretive efforts during this period. These ten themes ranged from the ideas of individualism and independence to cultural diversity and equal justice.⁵²

A desire to tell stories about everyday Americans of the past to relate to everyday Americans of the present lay beneath this interpretive planning. This emphasis reflected the social upheavals of the past two decades, with different groups of people demanding notice not just in the courts and in their cities but also in the history books. Social historians began compiling data and telling stories that went beyond what the generals and political leaders had done to change the course of American history. The NPS incorporated this approach in its Bicentennial programming. In addition, a combination of the environmental focus of the 1970s and the NPS's longstanding preservation role in land management translated into interpretive approaches that looked at the changing relationship between people and land. The NPS produced two films for circulation throughout the system. "The Early Americans 1776" told the story of different people and their cultures who lived beyond the Appalachian Mountains at the time of the Revolutionary War. "The Americans 1776" film demonstrated the importance of the land to how people lived, worked, and played from colonial times to the Revolution. Living history also provided many opportunities for telling stories about everyday people for everyday visitors. The NPS put together three traveling units with equipment and facilities to present living-history interpretation throughout the country in summer 1976 (with a pilot program circulating in fall 1975). Each traveling unit had actors who represented different aspects of military and civilian life during the eighteenth century. The program emphasized "the common man" to allow viewers "maximum identification with members of the troupe." Another traveling program had professional actors play famous historical figures taking a little look around and comparing life during their time period with the twentieth century.⁵³

MIMA incorporated many of the programming suggestions from the NPS for the Bicentennial years, except for the actual day of 19 April 1975. Following the tradition set by previous superintendents, Moffitt embraced a supportive role to the parades and observances hosted by the towns. When NPS planners asked what MIMA would do on the big day, Moffitt made clear that Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington each acted of their own accord and firmly resisted any attempts to combine activities. Instead of competing with the towns by offering additional programming, Moffitt intended park personnel to assist the towns, especially Concord with its North Bridge ceremonies.⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid. [Summary Report], 1-3.

⁵³ Ibid. [Summary Report], 5-6. Quote on p. 6. See also Memorandum, Jerry Wagers to David Pickman, 10 December 1974, 2, File #2 Oct-Dec 1974 A8215 Bicentennial, Box 4, Acc. 79-83-0001, Waltham FRC. Wagers writes that there will be a strong emphasis in Bicentennial programming in the North Atlantic Region on "the roles of minorities, women, ethnic groups, the young and the volunteer" with "an activities program with literally something for everyone."

⁵⁴ Memorandum, Ben Butterfield to Jack LaCovey, 16 December 1974, File Minute Man, Series IV, Group

Beyond the big day, 1975 planning at MIMA incorporated guidelines from both the agency's Bicentennial efforts and the park's 1971 Interpretive Prospectus. The IP reinforced the central message of MIMA's 1965 *Master Plan*. The park should educate visitors about the political and social environment in England and America that led to the events of the Revolution, examine the subsequent issues, dramas, and events of the armed conflict of 19 April 1775, and discuss the social, political, and military consequences of that clash.⁵⁵ In addition, the interpretive planners urged the park to "provoke thought on the contemporary relevance of the fundamental issue of self-determination through representative government to its citizens."⁵⁶ The planners wrote that the responsiveness of local, state, and federal governments had recently been "severely and sometimes violently at issue" and that what had happened at Concord and Lexington was "far from a dead issue Rather it is the essence of the contemporary relevance of the drama enacted almost two centuries ago . . . - the firing of shots which still reverberate around the world."⁵⁷

Cynthia Kryston and her staff worked to realize this interpretive approach for MIMA. Kryston, who had contributed to the IP, believed wholeheartedly in focusing on the national themes and national significance of parks. She approached this perspective in a creative way while seeking collaborations with the community. Thanks to the approaching Bicentennial, MIMA attracted many people who made it possible for the park's programming to succeed. As many as 1,250 volunteers contributed to the park during this period, making MIMA the largest Volunteers-in-the-Parks program in the NPS.⁵⁸ A "huge increase in excitement" fueled the commitment of these people.⁵⁹ Many of these volunteers came as a result of the late 1960s establishment of independent Minute Man companies, which re-created the groups that had served during the American Revolutionary period. During weekends, the park hosted regular black powder firings. These proved popular and gave the reenactors an opportunity to talk with visitors, explaining the firearms and military actions at the North Bridge. These Minute Man companies also portrayed colonial fife and drum players, providing visitors with other sights and sounds from the past. Concerts featuring this music frequented the park's summer interpretive schedule.⁶⁰ However, Kryston carefully followed NPS policy and her own inclination to keep interpretation at the North Bridge low-key. The black powder firings never approached a full-scale reenactment

², RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC. Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission, 24th Meeting, 10 March 1973, 5, File A18 CY 1973 Minute Man Advisory Board, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁵ *MIMA Interpretive Prospectus*, 1971, 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁸ Memorandum, Moffitt to Assistant to the Regional Director for Public Affairs, NARO, 6 January 1975, 1, File K1815 CY 1975 Services, Park Admin Files, MIMA; Hicks, transcript of interview, 13. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 19 December 1974, 11, File A18 CY 1974 Minute Man Advisory Board, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁹ Hicks, transcript of interview, 13.

⁶⁰ Kryston, transcript of 2005 interview, 3; Hicks, transcript of interview, 2; Memorandum, Moffitt to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 9 November 1973, 3-4; Memorandum, Moffitt to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 14 November 1973, 1, File A8215 CY 1973 Special Events April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

of 1775 events, which NPS policy forbade. Instead, the combination of firings, talks by rangers, and even living history portrayals of people dressed in colonial attire provided essential context for visitors. Dressed in the garb of a Concord townswoman of the period, Hicks might answer questions about life in the eighteenth century or a Minute Man might describe farming methods of the time.⁶¹

To address the Bicentennial's emphasis on telling stories of everyday life, Kryston further explored living-history possibilities. Park staff worked with seasonal employees and the volunteers to cultivate a kitchen garden, for instance, to reflect how local people lived during colonial times. By 1976 the Concord Public Schools began assuming major responsibility for the development and maintenance of the garden, using it as a teaching opportunity. Park staff and volunteers demonstrated colonial crafts, such as cooking, baking, and spinning, with the garden harvest. To give visitors the chance to understand the political mechanics of living in places like Concord and Lincoln, park interpreters and volunteers reenacted colonial town meetings. Here, the performers debated key issues that would have concerned colonists just before the events of 1775 and regularly engaged park visitors in the conversation. Hicks also started a "Touch and Try" room at the Stedman Buttrick House, allowing younger children the opportunity to play with wooden toys or work on a spinning wheel reminiscent of the period. This activity generated so much interest that it evolved into a more structured interpretive program with the Concord schools, moving into the Major John Buttrick House. School groups would make reservations and participate in educational programs based on the age groups of the students. Activities might include learning about Minute Men, with students drilling with fake muskets, rolling cartridges, and seeing how nurses cared for wounded soldiers. Older children might have a spirited debate about boycotting tea or fabric.⁶²

PEOPLE'S BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Beginning in early November 1974 planning for the Bicentennial celebration at the North Bridge changed unexpectedly. Concord's Town Manager Paul Flynn received word that representatives from the People's Bicentennial Commission wished to join in the festivities. This organization's followers sought alternative opportunities to celebrate the nation's Bicentennial from what they believed to be the dominance of large corporations in officially sanctioned Bicentennial events. Flynn invited Randy Barber of the PBC to a meeting, where Barber outlined his organization's ideas. The PBC asked for space in the

⁶¹ Kryston, transcript of 2005 interview, 8.

⁶² Ibid., 1-2, 4; Kryston, transcript of 2005 interview, 3; Memorandum, Moffitt to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 9 November 1973, 3, File A8215 CY 1973 Special Events April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Kryston to Seldon Whitaker, 31 October 1975, and attached letter from Whitaker, File K1815 CY 1975 Services, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Kryston to Chief of Interpretation, NARO, 25 November 1975, 1, File K1817 MIMA, Box 13, Acc. 79-83-0001, Waltham FRC. Examples of brochures from this period, describing the "Touch the Past" program at the Buttrick House are available in Margie Hicks Files, MIMA. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 31st Meeting, 19 December 1974, 11-13, File A18 CY 1974 MIMA Advisory Board, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

parade for a marching group, to hold a non-denominational sunrise service at the North Bridge on April 19 to perform skits and other vignettes along the parade route, and to end the day by marching along the Battle Road from Concord to Lexington. Flynn urged Barber to approach various people with authority to obtain necessary permits and provide specific plans as soon as possible. Barber followed up by submitting five requests to MIMA for use of park facilities on the Bicentennial day. These requests included holding the sunrise service both at the North Bridge and on Fiske Hill, staging various activities at the former park headquarters grounds (at the Geophysics building along Route 2A), and performing ceremonies at the North Bridge following those of the Town of Concord. A short article in a local paper reinforced this low-key approach by the PBC, referring to having short speeches made by farm workers and a small ceremony. Flynn remained in touch with Barber either by meeting in person or via telephone contacts through mid-February 1975.⁶³

In mid-March, broadsides started appearing in the Boston area advertising the PBC's latest plans for the April 19 commemoration at Concord's North Bridge. These plans differed radically from the original request submitted by Barber. Instead of a small sunrise service and street entertainment, the PBC invited supporters to take midnight ride caravans to Concord and assemble at the bridge for "on-going musical and theatrical entertainment, old fashioned oratory, hot soup and bread kitchens, and a host of surprises." At 11 AM, a culminating event would include reading from speeches by Tom Paine, Sam Adams, and John Hancock and then having all participants sign a Declaration of Economic Independence. The 10-page broadside promised hot-air balloons, liberty pole raisings, patriotic music, and more. Adding fuel to the fire, the PBC estimated an "enormous" crowd, referring to some unknown sources that as many as a quarter million people could attend. Since the Town of Concord had already warned that it would close off access routes once visitation had reached 120,000, the PBC urged its followers to get to the North Bridge by 2 AM.⁶⁴

Jeremy Rifkin and John Rossen founded the PBC in Washington, DC, in 1971. They wanted their organization to provide an alternative to the government-sanctioned Bicentennial programming, which they saw as heavily connected to and indebted to the more than 300 corporations sponsoring activities under the presidentially-appointed American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration. Instead, they envisioned nationwide citizen participation, especially by people from different economic and racial backgrounds. Rifkin and Rossen dedicated their organization to restoring the democratic principles that had shaped the beginnings of the United States.⁶⁵ To present its views and build support, the

⁶³[Paul Flynn], Chronology of Contacts with PBC, no date [March 1975], 1; and Randy Barber to David Moffitt, 19 November 1974, both in File 2, Box 1, 4/19/1975 Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives; "People's Bicentennial at Concord Bridge," *Fence Viewer* [date incorrect, probably November 1974], File V, Unprocessed materials, Museum Collection, MIMA; National Park Study Committee, *A History of the Fight at Concord on the 19th of April, 1975, 1976*, 5-6, MIMA.

⁶⁴ People's Bicentennial Commission [PBC], Broadside, [March 1975], 3, File 3, Box 3, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

⁶⁵ Ibid; Seema Sohi, "The People's Bicentennial Commission and the Construction of Public Memory," *The*

PBC produced and Bantam Books published in early 1975 *Voices of the American Revolution*, a recounting of American history leading to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. More than half of the book includes quotes from the founding fathers (and mothers). The book also has a modern-day call-to-arms, urging Americans from the 1970s to consider the current situation and recognize the need for further action. “We Americans of today,” the PBC states, “must come to grips with the principles of that first Revolution of two hundred years ago. The great drama cries out to be re-opened. Will we stand by, allowing history to sweep our democracy aside? Or will we, like our ancestors, assert ourselves and the power that lies within us, to regain control of our lives and the institutions around us?”⁶⁶ This call for action also permeates the broadside advertising programming for the North Bridge. The fourth page includes a call for volunteers to help promote the April 19 event. It states: “Sons and Daughters of Liberty TAKE NOTICE. The People’s Bicentennial Commission needs 1,000 modern day Paul Reveres to spread the word. We’re planning an economic rally at Concord Bridge to commemorate ‘The Shots Heard Round the World.’ On April 19, 1775 the patriots stood up for their rights and sent a message to King George. This time, we’re going to SEND A MESSAGE TO WALL STREET.”⁶⁷

What message did PBC’s leaders have? Rifkin, Rossen, and their followers believed that the economic, social, and political issues that had prompted the Minute Men and other American patriots to fight the British for American liberty still existed in similar form in 1975. Massive unemployment combined with high taxes and rising costs for such things as food and gasoline had left twentieth-century Americans with a prospect on life not much different from that of the colonists. Rifkin and others argued that the top executives of large corporations had grabbed political and economic power well beyond their numbers, leaving citizen workers with little opportunity to change their bleak economic fortunes. As stated in the *Voices of the American Revolution* book, “we have resigned ourselves to the notion that our giant business corporations will continue to buy and sell our elected representatives, will continue to make record profits by fabricating shortages and raising prices, will continue to control our very lives without our consent.”⁶⁸ The PBC wanted the people, not the corporate executives, to make the powerful economic decisions. But, the people had to act now. “If we who believe in the principles of our first revolution do not act,” the PBC wrote in its book, “others, who do not believe in them will act for us, taking our silence for cowardice, our despair for acceptance.”⁶⁹

To attract attention and gain support, the PBC dressed this essentially New Left argument in the cloak of the American Revolutionary War. By using quotes from such leaders as Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine, the PBC tried to convince listeners that just as

⁶⁵ UVM [University of Vermont] History Review 10 (December 1999): 3-4. Jeremy Rifkin declined the author’s invitation for an interview.

⁶⁶ People’s Bicentennial Commission, *Voices of the American Revolution* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975), 92.

⁶⁷ PBC, Broadside, [March 1975], 4.

⁶⁸ PBC, *Voices of the American Revolution*, 93.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

American patriots had fought against the tyranny of the British monarchy, so American workers should fight against the tyranny of the corporate giants.⁷⁰ PBC plans for the North Bridge included signing a revised version of the Declaration of Independence, calling for economic independence. As the broadside declared, “It’s time to reclaim our basic birthrights, just as our founders did 200 years ago. It’s time to challenge the stranglehold that the corporate monarchs exert over the life of our country. It’s time to join together in a new movement to apply democratic principles to the American economy. This April 19 at Concord Bridge, we plan to do just that. We’re going to take up the banner of Liberty and Freedom that Adams, Paine, and Jefferson led to victory two centuries ago. Join us.”⁷¹

David Moffitt remembers chuckling to himself when he first saw one of the PBC’s broadsides. This advertisement reminded him of the free spirited hippies that congregated around Cambridge, and he couldn’t imagine them organizing such a program and coming out to Concord. They were always stoned, he figured. But, a few days later, one of their representatives appeared in Moffitt’s office, requesting a permit for their program, what Moffitt now understood to be a political demonstration. Moffitt pointed out that the Town of Concord already had a permit, granted in September 1974, for April 19 from daybreak until after the parade came through the area. The organizer, who had helped to put together the well-known Woodstock rock concert a few years earlier, said that the PBC wanted the Buttrick hillside from the evening of April 18 through the morning of April 19, around the times the town had requested the bridge area. He referred to needing a sound system and other equipment for 10,000 or more people. Moffitt gulped, realizing that this request was real. He admitted later, “I began to panic just a little bit. I mean, this was my first superintendency.”⁷² He immediately called the North Atlantic Regional Director, Jerry Wagers, who happened to live in Concord, and asked for guidance. Wagers asked for a legal review of the request by people in his office and the Washington office.⁷³

CONCORD RESPONSE

A range of emotions and reactions flared within Concord as a result of the PBC’s sudden change in plans. As Philip Suter, chairman of the Board of Selectmen, related in a personal oral history soon after the events, “this broadside was most upsetting to us when we saw it.”⁷⁴ What specifically upset Suter and other town residents? First, the PBC had broken a sense of trust that the town felt had existed. In a list of items for discussion with the PBC for a 21 March meeting, the town expressed disappointment and embarrassment at the turn of events and called for the “absolute need for honesty and integrity” if cooperation could

⁷⁰ Sohi, “PBC and Construction of Public Memory,” 5-7; PBC, Broadside, [March 1975], 6, 8, 10.

⁷¹ PBC, Broadside, [March 1975], 10.

⁷² Moffitt, transcript of interview, 11.

⁷³ Ibid.; Denis Galvin, Chronology of Events, in North Atlantic Regional Office [NARO], MIMA Bicentennial Celebration, 19 April 1975, Report and Analysis, 18 June 1975, 1-2, File Bicentennial Celebration 4/19/1975, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁷⁴ Philip H. Suter, Bicentennial Celebrations, Town of Concord, transcription of oral history, 21 April 1975, 20, MIMA Archives.

continue.⁷⁵ Suter later emphasized this feeling of betrayal, saying that the PBC organizers “really deceitfully get your confidence and then do something entirely different on a different scale than they had been talking about all along.”⁷⁶

Second, the town worried that the PBC’s program would detract from and even overwhelm the theme of spiritual thanksgiving that had shaped the Bicentennial programming. Many factors contributed to this fear. If the broadside correctly predicted even half the numbers of people to attend the PBC event, then the crowd would certainly overwhelm the ability of Concord to provide safe and solemn ceremonies. Town manager Flynn expressed this consideration in a letter to one PBC supporter, writing that the limited planning and lack of organization by the PBC “can only have an adverse affect on what has presently been planned and detract from the significance of the day and the rededication of America that is needed.”⁷⁷

Suter expanded upon these same feelings. To a *Washington Post* reporter just before the big day, he compared the situation to a “Brahms symphony which we had prepared for the celebration of the Town being interrupted and having a rock concert superimposed over it.”⁷⁸ He said that the town worried about the danger of having so many people in a confined area all night, that sanitary and health issues would necessarily arise, that loud music would be playing. In another communication to the NPS, Suter referred to the “dangerous riot potential” of such a large crowd.⁷⁹ When specifically asked at the 21 March meeting with the NPS and Town of Concord, the PBC representatives had expressly “denied any intention of fomenting acts of civil disobedience and affirmed their intention to have a peaceful demonstration of their views.”⁸⁰ Suter and others continued to worry about what might happen.

Fear of the unknown, combined with knowledge of how the PBC and other similar groups of young people had acted in recent years, spurred Suter and others in their opposition. The August 1969 Woodstock Music Festival had attracted four hundred thousand young people to upstate New York, despite torrential rains. The world-class rock music accompanied recreational drug use and signaled another turn in the countercultural revolution storming the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Woodstock sat at the back of people’s minds, as something that could happen again, maybe prompting ugly and dangerous behavior. The PBC had already shown its ability to attract attention and make a political statement. On the 200th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party, the PBC had sponsored a commemoration and economic protest. In December 1973, 25,000 people braved a snowstorm and frigid temperatures to carry signs saying such slogans as “Put the

⁷⁵ Items for Discussion with People’s Bicentennial Commission on 21 March 1975, 1, File A8215 CY 1975, April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷⁶ Suter, transcript of interview, 53.

⁷⁷ Paul Flynn to Ramsey Clark, 24 March 1975, 1, File A8215 CY 1975 April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷⁸ Suter, oral history, 31.

⁷⁹ Philip Suter to David Moffitt, 1 April 1975, 5, File 3, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

⁸⁰ Galvin, Chronology of Events, 2.

Heat on the Oil Co.,” “Make the Oil Companies Pay!” and “John Hancock Didn’t Sell Insurance.”⁸¹ The PBC considered this protest a success, but some Boston area residents thought differently, calling the exhibition a “travesty,” desecrating the solemnity of the original event.⁸²

In looking at Concord’s response to the PBC proposal, one could easily describe many townspeople’s opposition as a signal of a generational gap. Established people like Suter and Flynn butted against the young revolutionaries Rifkin and Barber. Suter admits in his oral history of the event that he “got into a heated discussion” with one of his own teenaged children about the “merits and demerits of this kind of demonstration.”⁸³ In its remarks to the PBC and NPS on 21 March, Concord urged for the park to “require and insist on proper deportment and decorum consistent with dignity and solemnity of not only the day but the Bicentennial,” a call for respect for the ceremonies as planned by the town’s elders. The young people of this Woodstock generation, with their ragged jeans and long hair, crying out for revolutionary action, did not fit the expectations of town planners, who had long sought a dignified program to commemorate the Bicentennial.⁸⁴

Yet, Concord’s opposition reached beyond the generations. Town planners did not want anyone or anything to interfere with their planned ceremonies. When President Gerald Ford made clear that he would attend the North Bridge ceremony, many other politicians expressed interest in speaking at the event. 1975 Celebrations Chairman Finigan put his foot down and refused to allow anyone but the President and a few key Concordians take the podium. This day would be free of politics, with the town setting the rules. As Suter later commented, “Once you had politicians up on the TV stand it would become more of a political function, which we wanted to avoid.”⁸⁵

The town showed its fierce resistance to another proposed celebration competing for the North Bridge on April 19. Michael Wadleigh, an Academy Award-winning documentary and educational filmmaker, asked, through his representative Geoff Cowan, to erect a sound system and stage at MIMA the weekend of April 18-20 to present educational oratory, music, song, dance, reenactments, and other activities related to the Bicentennial celebration.

Wadleigh wanted to “restore a balance by presenting an educational program” alongside the already scheduled parade, entertainment events, and festivities. He established the 19th of April Society explicitly for this purpose and voiced in his 13 March 1975 letter to the NPS that the Society’s offerings would reflect the diverse cultural heritage of the nation. Wadleigh envisioned having African tribal music, Indian songs, folk dancing, readings of poems and speeches from the American Revolutionary era, and a host of other performances to reflect the country’s rich cultural background. Wadleigh also proposed inviting some well-known performers, including James Taylor, Arlo Guthrie, and John Voigt. Although Wadleigh’s

⁸¹ PBC, Broadside, [March 1975], 3, 5.

⁸² Catherine Boyle to Gentlemen, 27 March 1975, File 4, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

⁸³ Suter, oral history, 49.

⁸⁴ Items for Discussion with PBC on 21 March 1975, 2.

⁸⁵ Suter, oral history, 32-34. Quote on p. 34.

letter insisted that he did not intend to bring more people to Concord than the 120,000 already allowed by the town, the reference to these famous people heightened the concern. In addition, the NPS quickly realized that Cowan had produced the Woodstock film, bringing further red flags to this proposal.⁸⁶ Again, the regional and Washington offices began their reviews of this new inquiry. Concord officials expressed unanimous opposition to the 19th of April Society's ideas, just as they opposed the PBC's plans.⁸⁷

NPS PERMIT

Meetings among all concerned individuals happened in rapid succession, pushed by the looming presence of April 19, less than a month away. On March 21, the NPS met in the Massachusetts State Office for Communities and Development with representatives from the state, Town of Concord, and the PBC. State officials offered help in handling the events of the big day. This meeting ended with the state exploring possible places to allow overnight camping for PBC supporters. Following this meeting, the NPS met with the town and the PBC. Town manager Flynn used questions drawn up by the Concord Selectmen and "interrogated" Barber about the broadside and its impact upon the town. Barber insisted that his organization would readily comply with specific limitations set by a permit. At the meeting's conclusion, he picked up a permit application from the NPS North Atlantic Regional Office. The following day, Regional Director Wagers hosted Moffitt, Associate Regional Director Denis Galvin, and other NPS officials at his Concord home to discuss the situation. This group made clear that "no position would be taken by the National Park Service in conflict with the First Amendment." The agency would work towards developing a permit for the PBC. With regard to the 19th of April Society's proposal, Wagers and the others did not see this request as a First Amendment issue and planned to turn it down.⁸⁸

The NPS had learned in federal court rulings reaching up to the Supreme Court that it could not infringe the rights of citizens to gather and exercise their First Amendment Right of Freedom of Speech. In the Supreme Court's 1939 ruling for *Hague v. CIO*, the court stated that "Such use of the streets and public places [for public assembly and communication] has, from ancient times, been a part of the privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties of citizens." However, the court also noted that use of streets and parks for public communication "is not absolute, but relative, and must be exercised in subordination to the general comfort and convenience, and in consonance with peace and good order . . ." Agencies could impose limitations, but the basic right "must not, in the guise of regulation, be abridged or denied."⁸⁹ In 1972 the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit further refined the issue of First Amendment assemblies by stating in *Women Strike for Peace v. Morton* that "if the

⁸⁶ Geoff Cowan to Arthur Abell, 13 March 1975, 1-2, attached to Memorandum, Sandra to Charlie, 20 March 1975, File Minute Man Celebration, Series IV, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC. Quote on p. 1.

⁸⁷ Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 1-2. National Park Study Committee, *A History of the 1975 Fight at Concord*, 9.

⁸⁸ Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 2.

⁸⁹ *Hague v. CIO*, 307 US 496, pp. 515-16.

state has allowed some to invade that interest [of holding a public assembly], it is obvious that the purpose of a restriction on others is to suppress their speech rather than to vindicate any independent interest.”⁹⁰ As a result of these rulings, the NPS developed guidelines concerning demonstrations and other peaceable forms of assembly and free speech. People wishing to assemble had to obtain a permit specifying the purpose of the assembly, the expected number of participants, its organization or plan, and duration. In historic areas, the NPS reserved the right to hold assemblies where they did not threaten imminent danger, through crowding or other threats, to the historic properties. In addition, no group could be discriminated against or denied the right of assembly, so long as it followed the Service’s guidelines.⁹¹

Wagers and NPS lawyers viewed the PBC request as falling under the purview of the First Amendment, but they did not at first consider the 19th of April Society’s request similarly. In light of all the activities planned or proposed around the North Bridge for April 19, and spilling into April 18 and April 20, the NPS did not feel equipped to assure crowd control and traffic control for the Society’s added presence. Concerns that performers such as James Taylor and Arlo Guthrie would draw many more people than might come simply for the Bicentennial ceremonies further convinced the NPS that it could not permit such an activity.⁹² Before the NPS sent its refusal⁹³, though, the 19th of April Society’s legal representatives made clear in a March 27 letter to Moffitt that their client and its associates had “important messages and statements which they wish to communicate” and that “individuals assembled at Concord, Massachusetts for the events of April 18-20, 1975 should have the right to obtain, if they so desire, the information that Mr. Wadleigh and his associates seek to communicate.”⁹⁴ The 19th of April Society’s legal representatives also noted that the lack of action by the NPS in granting a permit had almost effectively denied the Society from assembling its people and materials to present its program. The Society threatened to pursue litigation if the NPS failed to issue a permit. With this letter, the 19th of April Society asserted its First Amendment rights, and the NPS now had two proposals for permits.⁹⁵

On March 28 the NPS invited representatives from the PBC, the Town of Concord, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to MIMA for a meeting to discuss the PBC’s permit while Associate Regional Director Galvin worked on the 19th of April Society’s request. Suter, as the chief representative for the town, made clear that Concord opposed the granting of any permits. Using an agenda developed by Town Manager Flynn, Suter pointed out that the town opposed having amplified sound all night, which would potentially disturb residents living nearby. He raised concerns about the possibility of outdoor fires,

⁹⁰ *Women Strike for Peace v. Morton*, 472 F.2d 1273 (DC Circuit 1972), p. 1285.

⁹¹ NPS Guidelines, VII-26 –VII-27, as compiled in File 1, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

⁹² Moffitt to Michael Wadleigh, 28 March 1975, File 5, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

⁹³ Galvin notes in his chronology that the NPS did not send this letter. See Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 3.

⁹⁴ Terry Lenzner to Moffitt, 27 March 1975, 1-2, File 5, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 2-3. Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 3.

which normally required town permits, and the peddling of food. Parking issues and worries about tying up the roadways also received attention, especially as the PBC's representatives stated their intention to attract as many as 40,000 to 50,000 people to their event.⁹⁶ The meeting attendees then went to the Buttrick Hillside, and Suter recalled being "appalled at the way the PBC acted. They pointed out to the NPS just exactly where they wanted their bandstand, their stage and their other elements and were going around giving orders in effect to the Park . . ."⁹⁷ Suter particularly objected to the PBC's proposed placement of the stage immediately behind the Minute Man statue, potentially detracting from it and getting in the way of floodwaters. The Concord River routinely flooded around the area of the Minute Man statue as the ice and snow melted and spring rains fell.

But, he knew his objections only went so far. He recalled that "After coming back from that meeting I was most discouraged and upset because it looked to me like the Park was going to kowtow and bow down to everything that the PBC had requested."⁹⁸ Wanting the town's objections in writing before the NPS granted the permit, Suter presented his thoughts before the Board of Selectmen and submitted the resulting letter to MIMA on April 1. Key points raised in this letter involved limiting the proposed number of attendees to 20,000 people, prohibiting the use of amplified sound during the hours of 1 AM and 6 AM, and eliminating any outdoor fires. Suter closed the letter by referring to the "sober responsibility" of the town's elected officials to take every step necessary to protect the safety and health of the town's residents. He also pleaded one last time for intervention, stating that "The size, scope and noise of PBC's proposal on its face lacks common sense and is completely unreasonable and intolerable."⁹⁹

Suter and other town officials could not accept the PBC's or the 19th of April Society's proposals because they adversely infringed upon what the Town of Concord had planned. A key concern for town officials involved the rights of one group overwhelming the rights of another. Town manager Flynn had encapsulated this belief in his March 24 letter to a PBC supporter, acknowledging that "Politically, Concord is an independent community which focuses on issues rather than personalities and parties. . . . The thrust of the PBC is one in which many reasonable people in town could be intrigued. The concept may not be totally accepted but the right to express it would be carefully protected." However, Flynn made clear that fellow Concordians "would be unanimous" in the view that "in protecting the right of the PBC to express its message, the rights of the townspeople or others not be trampled in the process."¹⁰⁰ It seemed to many Concordians that their own rights suffered as a result of these new intrusions into the Bicentennial commemorations. As Suter argued to the NPS on April 1, "The Park must balance the right of the citizens of Concord who live in this area

⁹⁶ Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 3; Suter, oral history, 21-22.

⁹⁷ Suter, oral history, 22.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 22-23. Quote on p. 23.

⁹⁹ Suter to Moffitt, 1 April 1975, File 3, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives. Quotes on p. 7.

See also National Park Study Committee, *A History of the 1975 Fight at Concord*, 8.

¹⁰⁰ Flynn to Clark, 24 March 1975, 1-2.

against the PBC's attempt to dominate a celebration which has been planned for six years.”¹⁰¹ Suter also made clear in his oral history, “we had no problem with the fact that the PBC had a right to free speech but we thought that time, that place, and that hour was not the proper time for them to exercise that right.”¹⁰²

When confronted with this view, Moffitt stood firmly on the side of judicial opinion. When walking through Concord Center just before the big day, he ran into one of the editors for the local paper. “How can you do this?” the editor asked Moffitt. Moffitt replied that the NPS’s stance was dictated by the Constitution and Freedom of Speech. As Moffitt remembers, the newspaper editor said, “Well yeah, but that’s okay, but not on April 19th.” And Moffitt, in a cajoling way, said “that’s the difference between you and me. I am not selective when I uphold the Constitution.” Moffitt later remembered that this viewpoint made its way into an editorial for the *Boston Globe*, congratulating him and the NPS on protecting the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.¹⁰³

Another turn in the permitting story came on March 30. One of the state representatives informed the NPS that the 19th of April Society had dropped its request for April 18-20. In negotiating with the state, the Society had decided to find an alternative site on a later date for a program similar to the one requested at MIMA. The 19th of April Society did ask for, and receive, a permit to film the events of April 19, focusing largely on the PBC demonstration. Now the NPS could focus its energies on completing the permit process with the PBC. On April 2 the NPS invited the Town of Concord and the PBC to MIMA to discuss preliminary details of the proposed permit. In response to concerns raised by the town, the NPS revised the draft permit to limit the number of people to 25,000 (using a calculation of 12 square feet per person) and to establish sound levels at the periphery of the crowd. The agency also agreed to prohibit open fires. On April 3, the NPS released a second draft of the permit. This permit included the above changes and also moved the PBC stage further from the North Bridge, away from high water and more in line with the town’s preferences. The second draft permit also restricted PBC participation from midnight to 5 AM, assuming the town could show its need for the area for the entire time afterwards. The NPS then met one more time with a PBC representative to review the draft permit. The PBC accepted all of the provisions except the restricted time span, ending at 5 AM. The organization had planned a focal part of its demonstration for one additional hour between 7 and 8 AM. After more discussion, the NPS decided to allow this additional one-hour period in the permit. On April 4 the NPS issued the PBC the special use permit, which included 22 specifications, and both groups held separate press conferences.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Suter to Moffitt, 1 April 1975, 7. See also National Park Study Committee, *A History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 8.

¹⁰² Suter, oral history, 31.

¹⁰³ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 3-5. Leonard Frank, William McQueeney, and Donald Jackson, Analysis of 19 April 1975, in NARO, *Report and Analysis of the Bicentennial Celebration*, 2. For a copy of the permit, see Annex E, National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*. See also John Finigan, transcript of oral history, 7.

Now the Town of Concord had to make a decision. Should it accept the provisions of the permit and move forward with its own final arrangements for the Bicentennial celebration or should it pursue some legal action against the NPS? Town Manager Flynn argued to move forward with planning. He wrote to the selectmen on April 7 that further action by the town would only give “more publicity to a matter which has already received too much publicity.” This adverse publicity could even attract “splinter radical groups who see confrontation developing” and give more ammunition to the PBC for advocating its right of free speech. Flynn also pointed out that thanks to the PBC’s aggressive advertising campaign, many thousands of people would make the trip to Concord on the night of April 18, whether the NPS had issued the permit or not. NPS representatives had admitted to Flynn that they had no choice but to issue the permit, not just for constitutional reasons but because the agency needed some way to control the sheer numbers of people expected. Flynn warned that “An organized program provides a focal point and is used as a control technique. Without the organized program, a chaotic mob action can develop.”¹⁰⁵ And, the permit specified that both the NPS and the PBC had responsibility for the proper conduct and use of the area. The permit also dictated that the PBC provide 250 trained and identified marshals to help ensure good order and compliance to the conditions of the permit. Spontaneous conflicts might arise without such additional personnel. In the end, Flynn believed that the town had a “distasteful problem.” By living with it, the town took a superior position in his mind rather than fighting it. “Let us not be the ones to force the confrontation.”¹⁰⁶

Suter disagreed with Flynn. He argued in the executive session of the selectmen meeting that they had an obligation to do what they could to protect the town. In his view, the NPS had made a serious error in issuing the permit, especially allowing for the size and scope of the PBC’s attendance. To achieve the fastest and best relief, given the time constraints, Suter believed that the town should seek an injunction. In this way, even if such action failed, the town would know that the selectmen had done all they could to protect residents. The debate continued until a final vote put Suter alone in wanting to pursue an injunction. Instead, the town registered its protest to the permit with the Secretary of the Interior and asked for an immediate review. The Interior Department complied but did not make any further changes to the permit.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the Interior Department defended the NPS’s handling of the entire situation. The Service had demonstrated “the highest standard of concern for the orderly and timely expressions of all interested parties.” The very events being celebrated on 19 April 1975, wrote the Interior official, “speak to the expression of individual rights for which our democratic form of government has paid such a high price.” But, the Interior Department reassured Concordians by stating that “We have no intention in

¹⁰⁵ Paul Flynn to Board of Selectmen, 7 April 1975, 1, Annex F of National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Suter, oral history, 26-27; Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 5; Suter to Secretary of the Interior, 7 April 1975, File 4, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

letting any group, no matter how patriotic their aspirations, disrupt the importance of the celebration so laboriously planned by our neighbors and your constituents.” The Interior official closed by affirming that by having a peaceful celebration, “we can again prove to the world that our form of Government still allows for dissent within our democratic system.”¹⁰⁸

Moffitt also wrote to address Suter’s continuing concerns. The NPS believed that it had taken into careful consideration the First Amendment rights of the PBC and also the rights of the citizens of Concord. Moffitt noted that “Specifics of the permit are tailored to protect the legitimate interests and concerns of the citizens of Concord that you have expressed.”¹⁰⁹ These concerns had resulted in the prohibition of open fires, the reduction in the accepted number of attendees to 25,000, and the ceasing of PBC activities so as not to conflict with the sunrise cannonade and reenactment of the arrival of Dr. Prescott. The NPS did allow for amplified sound, but the agency argued that such allowance met the needs of audience members to be able to hear the demonstration and gave the law enforcement officers good crowd control measures. Plus, the NPS specified amplification levels at the periphery of the audience and controlled the electrical power. The NPS kept elected officials from the area informed about the situation and logged many phone calls from the public registering reactions to the permit. People who called the North Atlantic Regional Office largely supported the issuance of the permit while calls to MIMA almost overwhelmingly opposed the NPS’s action.¹¹⁰

These negative comments also came to the park and its personnel through the mail and in one-on-one situations. One Concord woman wrote “disgustedly” that the PBC was a “trouble-seeking group” and that Moffitt had “blatantly demonstrated that you care not what happens to the carefully laid plans” or property of those living nearby.¹¹¹ Another Concordian considered the issuance of the permit to the PBC a “hasty decision” and “violated our rights as citizens and taxpayers of this town.” She went on to write that the NPS had taken “more than a little of the joy out of the celebration,” and called for the park to be returned to the people of Concord.¹¹² Park Interpretive Ranger Margie Hicks remembered being verbally assaulted when going to a local restaurant in uniform. Moffitt had insults slung at him at the grocery store and one distressed Concordian even woke him up one night, telling Moffitt to get out of town.¹¹³

Still smarting from the turn of events, Town Manager Flynn delineated Concord’s expectations and limitations. Flynn made clear, for example, that the town could not provide police services to the park as these had to ensure security and traffic and crowd control for

¹⁰⁸ Douglas Wheeler to Suter, 17 April 1975, File A8215 CY 1975 April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁰⁹ Moffitt to Suter, 4 April 1975, 1, File Minute Man Celebration, Series IV, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC.

¹¹⁰ Galvin, *Chronology of Events*, 5-6; NARO, *Statement to the Public*, 8 April 1975, 3, File 2, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives. See also the NPS permit to the PBC, 4 April 1975, Annex E, National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*.

¹¹¹ Mrs. John Klinck to Moffitt, 7 April 1975, File 4, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

¹¹² Pauline Eaton to Moffitt, 15 April 1975, File 4, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

¹¹³ Hicks, transcript of oral history, 5; Moffitt, transcript of interview, 12, 16.

the town's own events. In addition, because the PBC demonstration would necessarily create extra demands on the town's law enforcement officers, Flynn requested that the park employ routine cruiser patrol services around the park's periphery. Envisioning possible disturbances but pleading that the town already had its own hands full, Flynn warned that "Under no circumstances will we allow firefighting personnel or equipment to be used to remove or quell a disturbance, incident or riot." Flynn also made clear that the town would give priority medical and first aid care to its own residents, guests, and observers. With this attitude, the Town of Concord focused on the approaching big day.¹¹⁴

19 APRIL 1975

From the perspective of native Concordian Larry Smith, who was finishing high school at the time of the Bicentennial, the parade and all of the special activities encapsulated the spirit of the day, the remembrance of the fight at the North Bridge. Growing up in Concord, he had long thought the parades were "just so vivid, and so real, it was just a fabulous time." Each year at sunrise, he would race with friends on bikes to the North Bridge so that they could hear the cannons go off. He considered April 19 one of his favorite holidays. And, he thought the 1975 parade topped all the previous ones, being the biggest, "the epitome of April 19th. I thought it was fabulous. I thought it was very, very well done. The parade was huge."¹¹⁵ Smith could have some innocence about the events of that day, having not been involved in all of the negotiations and worries. But, he also represented the average spectator who went to Concord's celebration, wanting to share in the sheer joy and excitement. Many things would not go exactly as planned by the Town of Concord, but from the vantage point of the Larry Smiths, 19 April 1975 was a fabulous day.

Careful attention to security made it possible for spectators to enjoy the parade and other festivities. MIMA requested and received from the NPS Washington Office confirmation that the agency would treat the Bicentennial celebration as a Law Enforcement Emergency. With this designation in hand, the park gained 60 park rangers and technicians from three regions and another 65 US park police, 12 of them on horseback, from the National Capital Parks. Concord had already planned to provide protection for all 24 square miles of the town, having more than 800 police officers from 47 towns helping. More than 600 of these officers volunteered their services without pay. In addition, State Police controlled the town's entrances, beginning at 5 PM on April 18. Due to the heavy influx of traffic, State Police closed these entrances earlier than expected, between 10 and 11 PM on that Friday and kept them closed, except to those with passes, until about noon on Saturday, April 19. Those who did not make it to Concord before these entrances closed left their vehicles outside town limits and walked as much as five or six miles to the Buttrick hillside. As dictated by the special use permit, the PBC also fulfilled its obligation by providing 250 marshals, who, according to NPS reviewers, performed well in controlling the audience for

¹¹⁴ Flynn to Moffitt, 11 April 1975, File 3, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives. Quote on p. 2.

¹¹⁵ Larry Smith, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 1 December 2005, 12, MIMA.

its demonstration. Secret Service police provided an added level of security while ensuring the safety of President Gerald Ford during his appearance at the North Bridge.¹¹⁶

Park rangers and US park police intentionally followed a low level of law enforcement for the PBC demonstration.¹¹⁷ With all of the traffic and the size of the crowd, officers understood that “it would have been virtually impossible to have accomplished numerous individual or mass arrests.”¹¹⁸ Making those arrests would also have spurred confrontations, possibly spiraling to violence. People on the Buttrick hillside had brought plenty of beer and many illegal substances. Moffitt recalled that he got high just walking through the crowd, the marijuana was so thick. Finigan, when he toured the hillside at 1 AM with his son and two police officers, saw an “extensive use of foreign substances, I will say. It was controlled.”¹¹⁹ According to Moffitt, Suter requested that the park rangers arrest everyone smoking pot, but Moffitt argued they would have far worse trouble if they tried.¹²⁰ Such action would spark a riot, “there’s no question.”¹²¹ Not reacting to these infractions also reduced the chance of adverse publicity. The demonstrators certainly had the attention of the press and adding arrests and accusations of police brutality to the mix would have heightened the situation. When about 100 PBC demonstrators cut into the parade at the North Bridge on Saturday morning carrying a huge American flag, the NPS and Concordian town leaders chose not to react. As Finigan recalled, he counseled to let the demonstrators go by and leave the town quietly. “They did go quietly,” Finigan stated, “went by the reviewing stand, they had little attention paid to them as they went by the stand.”¹²² As Park Ranger Hicks stated in her journal about the Bicentennial, “most of the crowd responded with dead silence” to the PBC people under the flag. And, the demonstrators left, gladly, tired and wet from the night’s rain, recovering from all the substances they had ingested.¹²³

A steady light rain and cold temperatures had kept the numbers of demonstrators down. Initially, young people of high school and early college age had populated the Buttrick hillside. Many of them probably came from the surrounding area or were guests of residents. By 11 PM, the crowd had shown signs of restlessness, and the NPS asked the PBC to begin its program. With the program going, the crowd settled down. It also started changing at this point. Many of the younger individuals left, replaced by an older, more subdued group, which had walked many miles in the rain to the site. According to NPS reports, at about 2:30 AM, there were as many people leaving as arriving. Estimates put the PBC crowd at its peak

¹¹⁶ Frank, McQueeney, and Jackson, *Analysis of 19 April 1975*, 4. National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 10-11. Jason Korell, *Report of the 1975 Celebrations Committee*, Public Health and Safety Section.

¹¹⁷ Memorandum, Andrew Hutchison to Assistant Director, Visitor Services, 21 April 1975, 1, File 6, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

¹¹⁸ Frank, McQueeney, and Jackson, *Analysis of 19 April 1975*, 7.

¹¹⁹ Finigan, transcript of interview, 7.

¹²⁰ Suter, oral history, 46, 49. Moffitt, transcript of interview, 14-15.

¹²¹ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 14-15. Quote on p. 15. See also Margie Hicks, oral history transcript, 7.

¹²² Finigan, transcript of interview, 7.

¹²³ Margie Hicks, *Please Don’t Trample the Purple Loosestrife: A Park Ranger’s Journal of Concord’s Bicentennial Days*, draft, April 1975, 19, MIMA.

number of 30,000. After this point, the numbers slowly dwindled until about 5 AM when local townspeople started arriving in anticipation of the Town of Concord's events. Another peak in crowd attendance came between 9:30 and 10:30 AM, during the President's visit, reaching 75,000 people. However, PBC numbers had fallen to about 12,000. Once the parade had crossed over the North Bridge and gone into Town Center, people largely left the area, and the NPS commenced cleanup.¹²⁴

The PBC's program contained three elements: oratory, calls for action, and entertainment. Just as its book *Voices of the American Revolution* heavily quoted from the founding fathers and mothers, the April 19 program had individuals recite key statements by famous Revolutionaries of the period. Appearances by such entertainers as Arlo Guthrie and Pete Seeger interspersed this oratory. Speakers tied the Revolutionary War oratory to relevant topics of the day. Environmentalist Barry Commoner spoke about environmental issues and corporate America while union leader Richard Chavez related the experiences of farm workers. Actor Richard Dreyfus read selections from Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Jeremy Rifkin and other PBC leaders urged action throughout the evening and in the morning read from the Declaration of Economic Independence. The organization recorded in its recap of the event that a resounding cry from the thousands of audience members ratified the document.¹²⁵

Concordians and their visitors had mixed experiences with the PBC demonstrators. One resident considered the young people a "terrifying sight" until he took the opportunity to greet them and "found them to be not unlike his own children." In Town Center, though, residents found "hangars-on, the followers of no ideology other than their own, abusers of drink and drugs, violent in word and deed."¹²⁶ On Friday night, Finigan and others had planned to leave the Bicentennial Ball at the State Armory and visit the Youth Ball across town, but reports of revelers interfering with the removal of illegally parked cars kept them from this destination. Rocks thrown at the tow trucks had shattered windshields. Rumors added to the tension, with stories that young people had smashed windows and looted stores. The next morning, residents saw that the storefronts had suffered no physical damage. Around the North Bridge, PBC demonstrators did wander from the Buttrick hillside onto private property. Seeking some shelter and warmth from the rain, they lit some open fires and worried neighbors about the safety of their property. One family on Liberty Street reported afterwards that they spent the entire night patrolling their twenty acres of fields and woods, putting out campfires and politely urging the demonstrators to head back

¹²⁴ Frank, McQueeney, and Jackson, Analysis of 19 April 1975, 3-4; National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 13.

¹²⁵ PBC, Program, 12, 20, 28, 39, 43, as found in NARO, *Report and Analysis of the Bicentennial Celebration*. See also, "They Spoke and Sang for Economic Democracy" and "New Patriots Unanimously Adopt Declaration of Economic Independence," both in Annex H, National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*.

¹²⁶ National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 12.

to parkland. They did not encounter any resistance, but they also saw people either drunk or under the influence of drugs.¹²⁷

A cold grey dawn welcomed the Bicentennial revelers on Buttrick hillside. Suter recalled being “greeted with the most repulsive sight I had ever seen in that area” with beer cans and bottles strewn everywhere. He heard profanity everywhere, not belligerent, “just simply completely disrespectful it seemed to me for the occasion that we were about to celebrate.”¹²⁸ Park rangers and PBC marshals started the slow task of clearing people from the space for the town’s planned activities. The reenactor playing Dr. Samuel Prescott made it over the North Bridge 30 minutes late due to the mass of people. At 6:35 AM, the Concord Independent Battery fired its two cannon in a 21-gun salute to mark the great day. At 7 AM, Secret Service requested park police to clear the road from Monument Street to the Minute Man statue in anticipation of the President’s arrival. Park police pushed about 8,000 people back to the stone walls lining the road to the statue, cleared the bridge, and made way for the parade. Starting at Thoreau and Everett Streets, the parade wound around to Liberty Street and down the old road across the Buttrick meadow to the North Bridge, where the forward echelon stopped. Rail fences and barricades, along with park rangers and US park police, kept the crowd back. Overhead, people could hear the whirling sounds of helicopters as President Ford arrived at the nearby Fenn School. Soon after 9:30 AM, the President’s limousines drove down Monument Street and arrived at the bridge.¹²⁹

After welcoming remarks by John Finigan, the invocation by First Parish Church minister Dana Greeley, and an introduction by Philip Suter, President Ford gave a short speech. Up to this time, the remaining PBC supporters had cheered during the cannonade and marching of the parade, but they quickly turned their attention and ire to the President. As President Ford referred to the world-power status of the United States, the demonstrators booed, held up banners, and shouted obscenities. A few members attempted to break police lines, but park police restrained them. Town residents did not take kindly to these protestations, as the town’s history of this day states, “This was not the way Concord treats its guests, whether or not we agree with them, and the rudeness was widely resented.”¹³⁰ Suter recalled that his wife was visibly upset from the situation, wishing that visitors would come back another year and “see how we celebrate this occasion.”¹³¹ Ford pressed on with his remarks, despite further boos and jeering, calling for reconciliation of all threats to peace, not recrimination or rancor. He stated that “It is time to place the hand of healing on the heart of America – not division and blame. When all is said and done, the finest tribute that

¹²⁷ Ibid., 12-13; Suter, oral history, 46-47; Mrs. Charles Leighton to Gary Everhardt, April 1975, File 4, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

¹²⁸ Suter, oral history, 49.

¹²⁹ National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 18. For a detailed schedule of the events at the bridge and locations of speaking platforms and stands, see Director’s Schedule and maps, [April 1975], File Minute Man Celebration, Series IV, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC. For a description of the parade and its exact route, see Official Patriot’s Day Parade Map, April 1975, File A8215 CY 1973 April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 19.

¹³¹ Suter, oral history, 50.

may ever be paid this nation and people is that we provided a home for freedom.”¹³² In concluding, Ford declared that “The volley fired here at Concord two centuries ago – the shot heard ‘round the world – still echoes today on this anniversary.”¹³³ Ford then crossed the North Bridge and placed a wreath at the base of the Minute Man statue. British Ambassador Sir Peter Ramsbotham placed a wreath on the Grave of the British Soldiers. Both men then quickly exited, with President Ford riding in his motorcade to Lexington Green for further Bicentennial ceremonies.¹³⁴

A few PBC supporters tried unsuccessfully to wade across the river toward the stage while Ford spoke. Park police held them back. The PBC would later publicize this action, saying “History was being made” with this “true-life re-enactment of the battle for Concord Bridge.” This article also referred to some police brutality, saying that the “uniform police clubbed him [someone wading in the water] to submission in a foot of water.”¹³⁵ Other reports did not characterize the action in this way.¹³⁶ Following Ford’s exit, the parade continued across the North Bridge and followed Monument Street to Town Center and finally down Lexington Turnpike past the reviewing stand in front of the First Parish Church. The first four divisions proceeded without incident, with the Minute Man companies sporting their colonial uniforms and many different bands playing patriotic music. With the fifth division, though, PBC demonstrators with the huge flag made repeated attempts to join the parade. Consultations over radio between police and town officials resulted in allowing the intrusion. As the town history of the event later reported, “the television cameras were ready to transmit the action; the spectacle of uniformed police, some of them on horseback, beating earnest young patriots, their American flag trampled to the ground, would have been a propaganda victory for the PBC.”¹³⁷ The protestors heckled the parade viewers in the stands and made obscene gestures, but they did not receive much attention in response. Town residents would not have the PBC or anyone else spoil their celebration.¹³⁸

In remembering the Bicentennial, Finigan remarked of one thing he was most proud. He had reassured his fellow residents that on Sunday, the next day, “the town would be the same as it always was. It would be clean and neat and that we would all go to church if we cared to and enjoy Concord as we knew it to be.” He lived up to that statement, having the

¹³² President Gerald Ford, as quoted by Dick Solito, “Pres. Ford Shares Bicentennial with Concord, Lexington,” *Concord Journal*, 24 April 1975.

¹³³ Ford, as quoted by Judy Wasserman, “Crowds and Colors Converge on Concord April 19,” *Concord Journal*, 24 April 1975.

¹³⁴ National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 19.

¹³⁵ “Thousands Boo Ford Speech, Recapture North Bridge,” Annex H, National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*.

¹³⁶ See National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 19; Wasserman, “Crowds and Colors Converge.” US Park Police, Minute Man NHP, April 18-19, 1975, File 5, Box 2, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

¹³⁷ National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 21.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

streets clean and ready for life as usual.¹³⁹ Park rangers and city workers, aided by volunteers and the Boy Scouts, picked up tons and tons of trash throughout the event and afterwards, but the feared violence and destruction of private property never happened. The NPS, in reviewing its actions, concluded that the event went well and that for those who had “managed the affair [there was] a feeling of great accomplishment because it greatly exceeded their expectations.”¹⁴⁰

ASSESSMENT

Both the NPS and the Town of Concord produced accounts of the event and presented some suggestions for future similar happenings. NPS reviewers gave positive marks to the agency for its handling of the event. No significant injuries had occurred, nor had the events been marred by violence or destruction. Always recognizing room for improvement, though, reviewers did offer a series of recommendations. Intensive planning should happen sooner, reviewers thought, and the park should invite neighbors to participate in planning meetings and be kept informed. Instead of having extra rangers and park police arrive on April 18 when the event essentially started, NPS reviewers also suggested that this help come a day earlier, and supervisors should arrive two full days ahead of time for briefings. Problems with knowing the terrain would best be handled by having trained dispatchers controlling the radios. Briefing packets sent ahead of time to participants would have provided helpful information about the area. The NPS also needed to provide specific guidelines on uniforms and defensive equipment for park rangers. But, despite these recommendations, the NPS came out well.

The Bicentennial demonstration and celebration at the North Bridge was the largest of its kind on NPS land outside the nation’s capital, and it had gone forward with no deaths and no significant injuries, aside from about 20 emergency room visits for drug or alcohol overdoses.¹⁴¹ In terms of resource protection, the NPS found some broken tree limbs and rail fence damage requiring attention. A stone wall on Liberty Street needed repair, and the NPS reseeded the Buttrick hillside.¹⁴² As Moffitt later exclaimed, “it was a fantastic accomplishment on the part of Park Service and the part of the town.”¹⁴³ Concordian Ruth Salinger echoed this sentiment, congratulating Moffitt for “your stand, your dignity in carrying through the PBC events and the traditional ceremonies on the Bridge and your restraint and good humor during the debate and BIG weekend.” She closed by recognizing

¹³⁹ Finigan, transcript of interview, 7.

¹⁴⁰ Frank, McQueeney, and Jackson, *Report and Analysis of 19 April 1975*, 5.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 4-7

¹⁴² Gary Everhardt to Barbara MacDonald, 12 June 1975, 2, attached to MacDonald to Rogers Morton, 26 April 1975, File 4, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 31 October 1975, 3-4, File A18 CY 1975, Minute Man Advisory Board.

¹⁴³ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 15.

Moffitt's contribution in "exemplifying the principles for which the revolution was fought."¹⁴⁴

In its own review, the town expressed its concerns and gave recommendations for the future. The town wanted back some control over the space at the North Bridge, to set limitations on its use so that neither the park nor the town would be overwhelmed. In particular, the town's National Park Study Committee, chaired by David Little, a former member of the MIMA Advisory Commission, urged that the town and NPS add to the 1963 cooperative agreement that the town would have exclusive use of the North Bridge and MIMA areas for a 24-hour period each April 18-19. Little and other Concordians believed that the First Amendment rights of the town's residents had been subsumed by the rights of the PBC protesters. He wrote in a position paper that he saw "no other course of action to be taken in future demonstrations" at the North Bridge, unless the "First Amendment rights of the local people can be given priority on the anniversary day."¹⁴⁵

The National Park Study Committee also made specific recommendations for action. Any permits proposed for the park had to be granted no later than three months prior to the event date and representatives for the permit should meet with the park and town to develop the ground rules for the permit. Wanting greater town involvement in park decisions, the study committee reminded readers of the cooperative agreement's language, that the NPS would encourage and cooperate with the town in the annual observance of Patriot's Day and other celebrations, using the area and facilities, which "have the approval of the selectmen." By setting limits on the numbers of people at future events and banning the use of alcoholic beverages in the park at all times, the study committee also hoped to avoid another PBC-type of event.¹⁴⁶

The NPS took seriously the town's recommendations. In a meeting with the town selectmen and the National Park Study Committee in March 1976 Moffitt agreed to work with the town in establishing park hours, noting that "setting hours is the most critical aspect of future control."¹⁴⁷ As further evidence of a cooperative spirit, park rangers had also received training and responsibility as special police officers, allowing them to enforce local regulations within the park. In November 1976 the park met directly with the town's National Park Study Committee. The town had designated Philip Suter as the selectmen's representative for negotiating with the NPS. James DeNormandie of the MIMA Advisory Commission and NPS regional office representatives joined Moffitt at this meeting. The group agreed that the park would draft regulations on closing hours and the use of alcoholic beverages within its boundaries. Both Concord and Lexington had recently passed ordinances banning the open use of alcoholic beverages. Moffitt's departure from the park in early 1977 caused some delay in implementing these rules. However, the park continued

¹⁴⁴ Ruth Salinger to Moffitt, 20 April 1975, File 1, Box 1, Bicentennial Records, MIMA Archives.

¹⁴⁵ David Little to Moffitt, 6 August 1975, and attached position paper, 5, File A8215 CY 1975 April 19, 1975, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴⁶ National Park Study Committee, *History of the 1975 Concord Fight*, 23, and Recommendations section.

¹⁴⁷ Jason Korell, "National Park Study Leads to Discussion of New Regulations," *Concord Journal*, 25 March 1976.

to strive for open communication with each of the towns. The Bicentennial strengthened this commitment.¹⁴⁸

Each of the recommendations calls for action provided by the town and the NPS address details relating to the specific events of the Bicentennial. What are some larger lessons that future managers can use? One lesson would reinforce the importance of upholding the United States Constitution in the face of multiple, conflicting demands. By using this document as a guide, the NPS cannot steer down a wrong path. Another lesson would emphasize the importance of building relationships with all key participants from an early stage in planning. Moffitt encountered some bitter and even resentful people, but he also had a host of supporters who helped buffer him from a full blunt attack. The Bicentennial event would have resulted in total disaster if he had not built and nurtured relationships early and often. In addition, those relationships relied upon open and honest communication with all parties, another lesson from the Bicentennial. People wanted and expected that their views and concerns would receive a thoughtful hearing and consideration. Moffitt tried to ensure such communication throughout the negotiations with the PBC and the Town of Concord. If he had met with only one side, his difficulties would have increased exponentially. Finally, one lesson would point to the importance of planning. Of course, managers cannot predict every possible action or outcome, but they can develop a firm foundation for dealing with the unexpected. That firm foundation includes making sure visitor services are in place and prepared, interpretive programs have been tested and modified, basic communication and access routes are secure, and parkland and structures are safe and protected. Well trained and committed employees, at all levels of service, ensure that this foundation is well grounded and adaptable to whatever circumstances may result. With these lessons in mind, future park managers have the basic tools for addressing other large public events.

¹⁴⁸ Moffitt to Suter, 20 December 1976, and attached meeting minutes, File A8215 Special Events CY 1976 National Park Study Committee, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Jason Korell, "Route 2A Must Be Closed to Traffic if Natl. Park Completion Is To Be Met," *Supplement to Concord Journal*, 24 June 1976.



Figure 21. Plaster casting of Minute Man Statue, 1975. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 22. Reenactors in Spring, 1972. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 23. People's Bicentennial Commission protest, 1975. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 24. People's Bicentennial Commission on the North Bridge, 1975. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 25. President Gerald Ford on North Bridge for the Bicentennial. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.

CHAPTER SIX

TOUCH THE PAST

An important aspect of a visitor's experience in a national historical park is the mere act of touching the places where history happened. Through that sensory connection, people gain an appreciation for the historic moment. The North Bridge offers many opportunities for touching the past, whether crossing the Concord River at the same place the Patriots defended their liberty or running fingers across the rough granite bases of the monuments. The Wayside also has many sensory experiences. Visitors clutch the handrail while climbing the steep stairs to Hawthorne's Tower Room or they feel the floors creak underneath as they enter one of the comfortable rooms. These brushes with the past ripple to the present and leave indelible impressions.

In the Battle Road Unit, the NPS in the 1970s and 1980s made huge strides in providing ways for visitors to touch this history. For so long, the historic structures along the Battle Road remained either in private hands or under extended leases and life estates, leaving them closed to the public. Once the NPS gained control of each building, the agency had to work hard to incorporate the structure into the park. Architectural, historical, and archeological studies traced the building's evolution and ensured historical integrity. Experts then analyzed the results of these studies and made recommendations for action. How would the NPS prepare each building for use and what kind of use would the building sustain? Would historical architects like Orville Carroll remove modern additions and changes? Would park personnel rehabilitate a building's interior and exterior or just the exterior? Might a building serve as quarters for a NPS family? What interpretive possibilities did each of these structures suggest? Shifting historic preservation practices and policy recommendations within the agency guided this work. The NPS broadened its consideration of the historic fabric of structures, recommending a continuum approach for remembering a sweep of time in a building's history. With each building came a decision. The end result gave new opportunities for visitors to touch the past.

TAKING CARE OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Beyond the North Bridge area, the park's imaginative ideas for rehabilitating and interpreting structures butted against reality, forcing the park to make do with less. Historic buildings and important spaces along the Battle Road offered many possibilities, but time and budget constraints often pushed these attempts to the side. Plus, Route 2A continued to carry increasing numbers of vehicles through the park, requiring park managers to adopt new strategies to accommodate these modern intrusions. The fact that so many buildings remained in private hands due to the use of life estates and term leases also restricted what

the park could do. The park's 1971 IP had marveled that around Hartwell Tavern "this area has a delightfully rural atmosphere" reminiscent of 1775.¹ In the immediate period following the Bicentennial, though, visitors had to block from their vision the suburban neighborhood of a dozen houses and paved roads that surrounded Hartwell Tavern and this "rural atmosphere." Much work remained. As initially suggested in the 1965 *Master Plan*, the *Interpretive Prospectus* recommended turning Hartwell Tavern and Farm into a major interpretive facility by restoring the tavern building and grounds and reconstructing some outbuildings. A gambrel roof added in the 1780s to the main building would remain, according to the IP, "as its presence is consistent with the period."² At the nearby Bloody Angle, visitors would learn more about the British retreat after the North Bridge engagement. Using a proposed audio presentation, visitors would gain an appreciation of the panic felt by the British Regulars under fire from the colonists. The IP recommended restoration of the Samuel Hartwell House exterior to its 1775 appearance, a considerable feat since the building had suffered a catastrophic fire in 1968 and subsequent arson attempts. When considering Hartwell Tavern, though, Cynthia Kryston and David Moffitt suggested scaling back these ideas to accommodate the realities of its relatively small size and available documentation. They feared that a full-scale living-history activity would overwhelm the limited interior space and become a false reconstruction due to the lack of specific evidence about what the inside of the tavern looked like or how the Hartwells farmed the land. Instead, they wanted to interpret the building, Battle Road, and Hartwell family through self-guiding devices and reproduction furnishings and objects to suggest a typical colonial tavern.³

Carroll started working on Hartwell Tavern in 1973 removing sections of plaster and floor finishes. He uncovered the original framing and determined the shape and design of the structure as it changed over two centuries. By July 1974 Carroll had identified building features dating from 1733, 1783, 1830, and later remodeling. Continued investigation relied upon an infusion of money from the Denver Service Center, as the federal Office of Management and Budget had removed the programmed \$200,000 for the restoration. This sum threatened to exceed the legal authority of MIMA's development funding. Construction of the Battle Road Visitor Center required the remaining amount allowed under the \$3 million development ceiling. Using his own findings, plus archeological investigations and historical research by outside consultants, Carroll worked with fellow architect Christopher Mulhern. They completed the *Hartwell Tavern Historic Structure Report*, Architectural Data Section, in January 1975 and had the building painted and boarded up until the park could budget further work.⁴

¹ MIMA Interpretive Prospectus, 1971, 14.

² Ibid., 15.

³ Ibid., 15-16. Memorandum, Hugh Miller to Chief Historical Architect, 19 February 1974, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1973-1974, NRHE Files. See also Anna Cox Toogood, *Historic Structure Report*, Historical Data Section, Hartwell Tavern, 1973, File Hartwell Tavern, NPS Reports Files, Research Library, MIMA.

⁴ Memorandum, Carroll to Manager, Historic Preservation, DSC, 1 December 1973; 29 July 1974, both in unnamed file, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA. Memorandum, Miller to Chief Historical Architect, 19

The fate of other historic structures in MIMA echoed that of Hartwell Tavern. NPS planners had grand ideas to restore buildings and tell important stories about colonial life. At the Job Brooks House site, for instance, planners recommended reconstructing part of the interior to show a progression of stages of completion from the stripped framing to a finished room. Demonstrations on woodworking techniques could accompany discussions about the role of craftsmen in colonial society. These ideas for the Job Brooks House site never went beyond the IP, suggesting that other priorities took precedence. In fact, this house would eventually serve as a major collections storage facility. Plus, Kryston and Moffitt had already shown their reluctance with Hartwell Tavern toward any kind of reconstruction work. Planners wanted the Meriam House and its associated land to capture at a “gut level how far the Colonials had committed themselves.” Using an audio message and brief interpretive signs, they hoped to convey the sense of determination the Patriots displayed as they committed themselves to war against Britain.⁵ The Meriam House remained under a life estate, and the park had to wait another decade before it could begin interpretive development.

For all of the historic structures under its care, MIMA had difficulty maintaining them as well as restoring them to their period of significance. NPS Historical Architect Hugh Miller reported in his February 1974 trip report that Hartwell Tavern and the other three vacant buildings owned by the NPS are “fast mouldering away” because the park could only give them minimal physical care. The tavern suffered from water damage caused by basement flooding. Foundation walls and the first-floor timber framing system showed signs of structural failure. These vacant buildings suffered from frequent vandalism, with one house losing its historic front door to thieves. Five other historic structures owned by the park served as residences, maintained adequately but not restored to the relevant period. Four other identified historic houses remained in private ownership as of early 1974, necessarily reflecting façade changes by current and previous owners.⁶

Miller did not take into account a range of extenuating circumstances when assessing the park’s historic structures. With the Elisha Jones House and The Wayside, for instance, both had undergone significant structural changes following the Revolution, and the NPS made the decision to retain those changes as opposed to tearing down significant sections of these houses to uncover how they might have looked in 1775. MIMA Advisory Commission member and State Senator James DeNormandie offered another idea for historic houses in the park. He had considered as far back as 1968 the idea of reconstructing each of the house sites along the Battle Road, along with restoring those still standing, to replicate the look of the road as Patriots and British Regulars would have seen it on that fateful day.

February 1974, 1; Memorandum, Harry Pfanz to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 7 March 1974, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1973-1974, NRHE Files. Christopher Mulhern and Orville Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Architectural Data Section, Hartwell Tavern, January 1975, vi, 4-6, File Hartwell Tavern, NPS Reports Files, Research Library, MIMA.

⁵ MIMA *Interpretive Prospectus*, 1971, 16-18. Quote on p. 17.

⁶ Memorandum, Miller to Chief Historical Architect, 19 February 1974, 3. Vandalism is also reported in Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission, 31st Meeting, 19 December 1974, 4.

DeNormandie believed that funds could be secured from private organizations. While the NPS certainly wanted to restore historic buildings that remained, the idea of reconstructing so many others based on archeological and historical research went against basic NPS policy that severely limited reconstructions in national parks. DeNormandie floated his idea in later years, hoping to generate more support, but it never did.⁷ As Regional Director Lemuel Garrison wrote to the senator in May 1969, the park's first commitment "must be toward those colonial houses which are extant. . . . It is better to preserve than to repair, better to repair than restore, better to restore than reconstruct."⁸

The NPS had also been struggling since the late 1960s with the possible idea of arranging leasebacks or setbacks of some of its historic buildings. Until the agency made a decision about ultimate dispensation of these buildings, it could not spend time and money on restoration. Former NPS Director George Hartzog had championed the setback approach as a way to reduce the costs to the federal government of maintaining historic buildings, and Congress in 1970 allowed for discussion of this possibility, so long as caution prevailed. The NPS quickly decided against leasebacks since the properties would not return to public tax rolls, an issue for local towns. In 1972, the NPS identified two historic buildings for potential setback with protective covenants: the Major John Buttrick House and another not yet owned by the agency, either the Widow Olive Stowe House, Farwell Jones House, or Minot House. According to this plan, other historic buildings in the park either would have public functions for interpretation or administration or would serve as quarters. Further investigation in 1973 reaffirmed the suggestion to setback the Major John Buttrick House and to seek a preservation easement on the Widow Olive Stowe House. However, historical research determined that the Farwell Jones House and the Minot House (now known as the George Hall House) dated from the mid-nineteenth century, beyond the 1830 date that the park's *Master Plan* identified for saving buildings, thus negating the need for preservation easements. Their proximity on the Battle Road required fee simple acquisition. When touring MIMA in September 1973, Miller noted that the park still awaited approval for the proposed setback of the Major John Buttrick House so that it could continue with the essential work of maintaining the building to historic structure standards. An April 1974 review of the status of all historic structures in the park reaffirmed the idea of a setback of the two identified properties. However, the NPS took no further steps toward setbacks.⁹ In

⁷ Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission, 16th Meeting, 6 April 1968, 3; and Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 18th Meeting, 26 April 1969, 2, both in File A18, Box 1, RG 79 MIMA Subject Files, NARA Waltham.

⁸ Lemuel Garrison to James DeNormandie, 6 May 1969, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1965-1972, NRHE Files.

⁹ Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 29 February 1972, 4-6, File L1425 CY 1972 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA. See also Memorandum, George Palmer to Zerbey, 22 December 1965, 1, attached to Memorandum, Palmer to Olsen, 13 June 1972, File MIMA Correspondence 1965-1972, NRHE Files. This 1965 memo recounts Hartzog's interest in scenic easements as a way to reduce the number of historic houses acquired by the park. Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 11 May 1973, 1, File L1425 CY 1973 Holdings, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Chester Brooks to Deputy Associate Director, Operations, WASO, 23 May 1973, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1973-1974,

October 1975 Moffitt admitted to the Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission that the park considered the Major John Buttrick House one of its most important historic houses and “it would be desirable that the public at least have access to the house.” This statement closed the door on the setback idea.¹⁰

Miller re-emphasized in 1974 the original *Master Plan* vision for the Battle Road. He wanted the historic houses restored and open to the public as the Bicentennial approached. But, the inability of the NPS to make a determination about setbacks combined with funding limitations, land acquisition slowdowns, and the continued presence of commuter traffic along Route 2A forced deferral of this dream. The park did move forward in removing or demolishing modern houses vacated along the Battle Road. Three of the houses went to the Lexington Housing Authority to provide moderate and low income housing. This step helped to restore the historic look of the road.¹¹ Yet, Miller reminded the NPS chief historical architect that this situation opened the agency to valid criticism. “It appears that the National Park Service,” wrote Miller, “may be in the embarrassing position of having constructed a new visitor center at a cost of over a million dollars and not having provided funds for preservation treatment of any of its historic resources.”¹² Work did continue with historical, architectural, and archeological research on these historic spaces, but full restoration remained elusive. That would have to wait until after the Bicentennial and completion of the new park visitor center.

BATTLE ROAD VISITOR CENTER

The NPS had planned to open its new visitor center at Fiske Hill in time for the April 1975 Bicentennial celebration. Delays plagued this project, though, and the Battle Road Visitor Center, now known as the Minute Man Visitor Center, opened instead a year later in early May 1976. One of the continuing problems revolved around land acquisition. Since the park’s founding, land acquisition agents had approached Carl Benton, for example, and discussed his six-acre holding along Route 2A near the Route-128/Interstate-95 interchange. This site had long attracted NPS attention for an eventual visitor center, thanks to its ease of access to connector roads and location along the eastern end of the Battle Road. Benton, however, had established his veterinary practice there and had his home next door. He knew the location served him well, and he did not want to sell until he could find another attractive place for his business, preferably where the state relocated Route 2A. As the Route 2A relocation talks continued, Benton held out on selling. Eventually, he passed away, and his

NRHE Files. Memorandum, Miller to Chief Architect, 5 October 1973, 5, attached to Memorandum, Robert Utley to Regional Director, Northeast Region, 18 October 1973, File MIMA Correspondence 1973-1974, NRHE Files. Memorandum, Philip Stewart to Deputy Director, 16 April 1974, File MIMA Correspondence 1973-1974, NRHE Files.

¹⁰ Moffitt, as quoted in Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission Meeting, 31 October 1975, 7, File A18 CY 1975 Minute Man Advisory Board, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹ Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission, 31st Meeting, 19 December 1974, 7. Moffitt to Bradford Morse, 30 October 1974, 1, File A18 CY 1974 MIMA Advisory Board, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹² Memorandum, Miller to Chief Historical Architect, 16 February 1974, 2.

widow leased the space to another veterinarian. She remained living in her house. With the Bicentennial looming, in 1971 talks resumed between Barbara Benton and the NPS regarding her property. She asked for a life estate, as she remembered being promised when the NPS first introduced the idea of establishing MIMA in the late 1950s. The NPS responded that, in the case of her property, immediate plans included building a visitor center on the site. They suggested she might have the option of staying an extra year, but certainly no longer. After further negotiations, including an appeal to Senator Edward Kennedy, Benton agreed. In October 1972 the NPS gained title to this property. An individual bought and removed the house while the park donated the veterinary building to the Town of Lexington, saving the NPS from demolishing either structure.¹³

Across Route 2A from the Benton property sat another piece of land requiring continued attention of the land acquisition officers. Owned by the Hargrove family, this holding totaled about 19 acres, but the Park Service only needed the front 7 ½ acres to construct an access road to the new visitor center. The back 11 ½ acres would lose access, requiring the payment of severance damages to the Hargroves. At the same time, in 1972, representatives from the new Minuteman Regional Vocational Technical School had identified the remaining Hargrove property for purchase for school construction. The NPS debated how best to approach this issue, whether to act separately or together with the school's own land acquisition officers. In the meantime, the Hargroves resisted any attempts to purchase their land. In the end, the NPS acquired almost eight acres of the Hargrove property in January 1975 allowing the Hargroves one year to vacate the premises. The high school eventually took the rest of this holding.¹⁴

Before construction could begin, the NPS had to complete a review of the environmental impact of the proposed visitor center complex and draw up its recommended design for the project. In the course of completing this environmental assessment of the *Development Concept Plan for Fiske Hill*, the NPS followed procedures and consulted with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the State Historic Preservation Office for Massachusetts. These agencies agreed that the proposed construction project would have no adverse effect on National Register property. The environmental assessment found few adverse impacts, most of which the NPS could easily mitigate. These included additional run-off from the paved surfaces, additional congestion on Route 2A around the visitor center entrance, and reduced enjoyment of nearby residential properties. Using proper drainage and screening could largely handle two of these impacts. For this reason, the NPS in late 1973 made a negative declaration, ending the environmental review. The regional director

¹³ Memorandum, Zerbey to Files, 29 March 1971; Barbara Benton to Senator Kennedy, 4 March [1972]; Henry Schmidt to Barbara Benton, no date; Schedule A, File No. 33-22-1781, all in File Benton, Barbara, Tract Nos. 01-109 and 01-110, Lands Files, MIMA. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 10 March 1973, 10. Also cite MIMA Adv Commission about early talks with Benton?

¹⁴ Memorandum, Maurice Timmerman to Chief, Lands Division, Northeast Region, 13 January 1972; Memorandum, Daniel Farrell to Moffitt, 27 March 1975, both in File Hargrove, Erma, Tract No. 01-107, Lands Files, MIMA.

affirmed this negative declaration in April 1974 at the same time he rejected the NPS proposal for a new parking lot near the North Bridge. Architectural drawings and construction plans could proceed for the visitor center.¹⁵

The NPS chose a striking modern design, full of angles and glass, to distinguish the new visitor center from the park's historic structures. The NPS also cloaked the visitor center in cedar planking and nestled it within a stand of trees. This design reflects NPS's continued interest in using modern design in the post-World War II period, specifically as expressed during the 10-year parks development program of Mission 66.¹⁶ Working further with the new vocational technical high school, the NPS also made arrangements to reimburse the high school for installing oversized water and sewer pipes, which would connect with the visitor center. In spring 1974 the park advertised for construction bids, with Vaghini Construction Company of Stirling Junction winning the contract at just under \$540,000. MIMA hosted a formal groundbreaking for the visitor center on 2 August 1974. By this date, the park admitted that the center would probably not open until July 1975. Rep. Paul Cronin (R-MA) gave the keynote address, and David Richie, deputy regional director, provided welcoming remarks. Fife and drum corps music enlivened the ceremony.¹⁷

Construction proceeded slowly but steadily. Moffitt does not reveal the cause of delays, but he admitted to the MIMA Advisory Commission in October 1975 that "all sorts of delays have been experienced."¹⁸ One major change happened with respect to the proposed parking lot. The NPS had planned to remove a small section of Route 2A so that the parking lot could go in front of the visitor center, where Route 2A had been. The Hargrove property would have allowed for such relocation. The NPS could not achieve this removal of Route 2A, however, and the agency instead built a slightly smaller parking lot on the same side of Route 2A as the visitor center. This new location required a longer walk for visitors from their vehicles to the building so as not to intrude upon the natural setting. Visitors pass over a small wooden bridge, walk past a variety of trees and shrubs, and see a small pond, which serves as a frequent stopping place for migrating birds. Despite these construction delays, the park proceeded with its plans for a dedication ceremony for the visitor center and also considered tying this ceremony with a formal declaration establishing MIMA. With most of the land acquisition completed, the NPS could delineate final formal boundaries, making a declaration of establishment appropriate. The park advisory commission agreed that the two

¹⁵ Memorandum, David Kimball to Superintendent, Boston Group, 11 December 1973, and attached *Environmental Assessment*, File D18 1972-1974 *Environmental Assessment* and Public Review, Park Admin Files, MIMA. The *Environmental Assessment* of the Fiske Hill development had become tied to the North Bridge parking lot one due to similar timing. Memorandum, Jerry Wagers to Moffitt, 16 April 1974.

¹⁶ See Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with Library of American Landscape History, 2007).

¹⁷ Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission Meeting, 10 March 1973, 9-10; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 26 April 1974, 3, 7. NPS Press Release, Representative Paul Cronin to Speak at Minute Man Groundbreaking, 29 July 1974, File Development Minute Man, Series VII, Group 2, RG 18, NPS History Collection, HFC.

¹⁸ Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission Meeting, 31 October 1975, 4, File A18 CY 1975 Minute Advisory Board, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

should be linked and recommended holding the combined ceremony in warmer weather, in spring 1976. The ceremony took place on 8 May 1976 and was attended by local officials from each of the three towns and NPS regional staff.¹⁹

Soaring, angular ceilings, wood planking, and large expanses of glass greeted people as they entered the new visitor center. The lobby displayed an exhibition of colonial artifacts and replicas from the 1775 battles at both Lexington and Concord. Visitors could see a powder horn, a pewter box, and broadsides. One prized artifact was a porringer made in the shop of Paul Revere. A rotating exhibit also featured the experiences of women, Blacks, and other segments of colonial society. Two 100-seat auditoriums offered the same 24-minute film titled *To Keep Our Liberty*, documenting the rising tide of protest and revolt from the 1763 *Stamp Act* controversy until the eve of the Lexington and Concord battles. In an alcove between the two theaters, the NPS used a colorful combination of photographs, graphics, and a fiber-optic light show to depict the movements and clashes of the Patriots and British soldiers. This fiber-optic and slide show, in particular, challenged the park's patience, with frequent breakdowns and technical glitches. The film, which park interpretive ranger Kryston had had to rewrite after an outside firm had made a first try, won an award for "creative excellence in the field of history" from the Industrial Film Festival in Chicago.²⁰ Overall, Kryston commented later that the park strove to tell the stories of the beginning of the American Revolution from different perspectives. "There was a particular emphasis," she said, "on trying to tell the story of the people involved from both sides. These were American colonists but they were also British soldiers."²¹

One planned aspect of the visitor center did not materialize as hoped. As early as the 1971 IP, the park had intended to establish a significant mass transit program within the park. This system would use as its base the visitor center and offer two routes, one going west to Concord and the North Bridge and the other heading east to Lexington and its Battle Green. Visitors would pay a modest fee and have the option of exiting and entering the transit system at their leisure. The park planners envisioned that stops would include many of the park's historic structures and other significant areas. Visitors would have the option of either taking the shuttle or walking and bicycling through the Battle Road Unit.²² Park planners

¹⁹ Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission Meeting, 19 December 1974, 3, File A18 CY 1974 Advisory Board; Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 31 October 1975, 4-5; "MM Park Dedication," Supplement to *Concord Journal*, 6 May 1976; Memorandum, Moffitt to Regional Director, NARO, 8 March 1976, File A8215 CY 1976 Battle Road Visitor Center Dedication; Minute Man National Historical Park, *Federal Register*, vol. 41, No. 87 (4 May 1976), 18447; Program, Establishment Ceremony, 8 May 1976, File Dedication of Battle Road Visitor Center, Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection, MIMA.

²⁰ NPS Press Release, Rep. Paul Cronin to Speak, 29 July 1974, 2; "New Visitors Center Opens in MM Park, *Minute Man Supplement*, 19 May 1976; Memorandum, Kryston to Assistant Director, Interpretation, 30 October 1975, 1, File A8215 Bicentennial #7 1/76, Box 5, Acc. 79-83-0001, Waltham FRC; Memorandum, James Corson to Manager, HFC, 26 October 1976, and attached Memorandum, Moffitt to Regional Director, NARO, 14 October 1976, File D6215 Fiber-Optics Program, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Michele M. West, Exhibits: MIMA, 4, File: MIMA Curatorial, Northeast Museum Services Center.

²¹ Kryston, transcript of interview, 27 January 2005, 6.

²² 1971 *Interpretive Prospectus*, 6, 10-12.

justified the transit system by explaining that “The individual motorized vehicle . . . is incompatible with the historical and environmental character that the Service seeks to achieve here.” Instead of cars and trucks driving through the park by the thousands, park planners held forth a different idea: “the park will be an island of restored historic scene and rejuvenated natural setting providing in imperfect microcosm the environment so avidly sought by the American people today.”²³ Tied with this vision, the NPS still hoped that the state would relocate Route 2A.

Eager to test this mass transit idea for the Bicentennial year, the NPS initiated a pilot program in July and August 1975. Since the visitor center still had a year until completion, the park arranged for visitors to park their cars at the former Fairway Restaurant on Route 2A in Concord and take a free shuttle bus to the bridge and back. The US Department of the Interior funded this project. However, results of the pilot program demonstrated that visitors preferred to stay with their cars and tour the park. The shuttle buses did not gain ridership and proved a financial disaster, as Moffitt reported to the MIMA Advisory Commission. The park also contracted with a private planning firm to conduct a transportation study for a mass transit system. This firm delivered its final report in October 1976 recommending that the park run for two seasons a trial operation of chartered buses providing shuttle service between the Battle Road Visitor Center and the North Bridge. This trial operation would depend upon aggressively marketing the shuttle bus system to visitors, convincing them to leave their vehicles. Over the next years, the park did experiment with various shuttle bus ideas, but none proved successful. One effective way to reduce pressure on the limited parking facilities at the North Bridge involved moving the living-history presentations to the Battle Road Visitor Center. Musket firings and other special programs drew people to the new visitor center, encouraging visitors to shorten their stays at the bridge and free up limited parking spaces.²⁴

MOVING ON

Before the Bicentennial celebration in April 1975 NPS Director Gary Everhardt had promised Moffitt that he could move to a new assignment after the big day. Moffitt had been at MIMA, in one capacity or another, for almost eight years. Everhardt recognized that Moffitt made positive contributions to the park, and he would do the same elsewhere. However, people in Concord, especially, continued to hold the park and its superintendent in disregard due to the decision to allow the PBC protest. As Moffitt recalled later,

²³ Ibid., 6.

²⁴ “New Bus Service for Nat’l Park; Tourists Increase,” *Minute Man Supplement*, 26 June 1975; Priscilla Korell, “Sen. Atkins: MM Park Revisited,” *Concord Journal*, 30 September 1976; Minutes, Minute Man Advisory Commission Meeting, 31 October 1975. Vollmer Associates, *MIMA Transportation Study*, 1976, cover letter and pp. 69-71, File Transportation Study, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA. Minutes, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission Meeting, 18 June 1976, 2.

I was no longer as welcomed in the town as I had been . . . April 19 to those people in Concord is like Christmas Day; it was something sacred. So I was no longer comfortable there.

He had people sneer at him in the grocery store, and one Concordian even publicly made his young daughter uncomfortable with a pointed slight against him. In this situation, Everhardt had no choice but ask Moffitt to stick it out a little longer. People called for Moffitt's firing, and the Director would not bend to these threats, nor could he bring in a new person to address this explosive situation. Moffitt agreed to stay, enduring as best he could.²⁵

He did not hold grudges and instead tried to work cooperatively with the Town of Concord in its quest to address the recommendations of the National Park Study Committee's report on the Bicentennial celebration. In addition to the meeting with the park committee in late 1976, Moffitt also worked with the MIMA Advisory Commission to determine whether to have closing hours for the park. The commission members supported the idea, suggesting that the park close between 10 PM and 6 AM. These recommendations also helped to address a frightening surge in vandalism in the park. Vandals, mostly local young people, had taken or destroyed six Battle Road signs in a six-month period and had reduced 50 feet of split rail fencing to splinters. Police had also caught some young people breaking and entering into some of the historic structures. Further attention in this area had to wait until the change in park's administration.²⁶

In January 1977, Moffitt moved on to the superintendency of the Statue of Liberty. When he saw the position announcement for this opening, he jumped as quickly as he could, "not because I wanted out of Minute Man that bad, but I loved the Statue. They needed some important work done there, and I thought it was an honor to be called upon to do it."²⁷ In looking back at the April 1975 Bicentennial event, Moffitt offered some words of advice for the Tricentennial. "It's never too early to start planning," he admitted. He had thought planning for the Bicentennial had started too early, but in retrospect he admitted that "planning is most important." He also insisted that future superintendents "involved in any sort of controversy can [n]ever forget that the Freedom of Speech, the Constitution is the most important thing. The National Park Service is unimportant, the Town of Concord is unimportant; the Constitution is. As long as you are within that, then you probably have nothing to fear."²⁸

With Moffitt's departure came another important change in the park and its relationships with the towns. As of 1 January 1977 the US Office of Management and Budget abolished the MIMA Advisory Commission. The Carter administration had ordered that all advisory commissions not created expressly by statute suffer this fate. Appeals by the NPS,

²⁵ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 16.

²⁶ Minutes, MIMA Advisory Commission Meeting, 18 June 1976, 5, 8. Parke Rhymer, "Suter Key Man in National Park Policy Talks," *Concord Patriot*, 12 August 1976; Priscilla Korell, "MM Park 'Should be Subject to By-Laws,' Study Group Indicates," *Concord Journal*, 23 September 1976. Moffitt to Paul Flynn, 12 January 1976, 1, File A8215 CY 1976 April 19, 1976.

²⁷ Moffitt, transcript of interview, 16-17.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

the Department of the Interior, local residents, and congressional representatives failed to overturn this decision.²⁹ Moffitt had expressed to advisory commission member DeNormandie in one of his last communications before leaving the park that he was “completely at a loss to explain the action,” especially when considering how helpful the commission had been in previous relations with the park.³⁰ Moffitt recognized the value of the commission in helping to restore “communications and mutual cooperation between the National Park Service and the town [of Concord]” following the Bicentennial. The Commission had also helped in public information efforts for the *Fiske Hill Development Concept Plan* as the park planned to build the new visitor center. Even in land acquisition issues, the advisory commission had worked hard in the early 1970s to ward off “expected adverse criticism” when the NPS threatened condemnation procedures against the few residents refusing to allow appraisals. These efforts and more had proved the value of the advisory commission.³¹

Without the assistance of the commission, Robert Nash, as MIMA’s new superintendent, had to quickly pick up where Moffitt had left in discussions with the park committee. Selectman Philip Suter, appointed to negotiate an agreement with the park, had a letter waiting for Nash when he arrived, asking for continuation of these talks. Suter pointedly informed Nash that “There is much work still to be done in Town-Park relationships.”³² Nash readily agreed to such a meeting, with the park and town coming to agreement on three issues. The park would restrict visiting hours to the time between 5 AM and 10 PM. Consumption of alcoholic beverages would be prohibited except in controlled use in designated picnic areas. The park would also prohibit from public areas washing, cleaning, lubricating, repairing, or doing any other mechanical work on vehicles. Nash had these new federal regulations readied for final review, but there is no evidence that the NPS ultimately adopted them.³³ The Statements for Interpretation for 1981, 1983, and 1985 list hours of operation for the North Bridge as “open year round 24 hours.”³⁴ Any discussion of these regulations stops in 1977.

²⁹ Jack Stark to Moffitt, 6 January 1977; William Bonsteel to Anna Manion, 4 March 1977; both in File A18 CY 1977 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Denis Galvin to Edward Brooke, 14 March 1977, 1, File A18 Minute Man #2, Box 1, Acc. 79-83-0001, Waltham FRC.

³⁰ Moffitt to DeNormandie, 18 January 1977, File A18 CY 1977 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³¹ Memorandum, Moffitt to Acting Regional Director, NARO, 3 September 1976, 1, File A18 CY 1976 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³² Suter to Nash, 7 February 1977, 1, File A8215 CY 1977 National Park Study Committee, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³³ Memorandum, Nash to Associate Regional Director, Management and Operations, NARO, 9 May 1977, and attached draft NPS Press Release, New Regulations Developed for MIMA, File A8215 CY 1977 National Park Study Committee, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁴ MIMA, *Statement for Interpretation* [combined], 1981 and 1983, 16, File Museum Collection, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library; MIMA, *Statement for Interpretation*, 1985, I-5, File K18 FY 1985 *Statement for Interpretation*, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

A CONTINUUM OF HISTORY

With the Bicentennial done and the Battle Road Visitor Center in place, the park could turn its attention again to its historic buildings and archeological sites, to provide places for visitors to touch the past. But, the NPS approached this work with a slightly different mindset than planners had when first establishing the park. First, the park still had Route 2A carrying commuter traffic through the park at increasing rates. The vision of having an isolated park that could come close to representing the look and feel of the 1775 landscape simply did not exist in any near-term scenarios. Yet, these spaces needed work, both to maintain their historic fabric, or building elements, and to meet the expectations of the one million people who now visited the park. Plus, the park finally had acquired a good number of historic houses and could develop interpretive programs for them. Funds continued to be tight, but Nash and his staff recognized that opportunities now existed to showcase some areas.

Second, the NPS adopted a slightly changed management philosophy to guide work in preserving historic buildings. An emerging historical consciousness for the value of a continuum of history approach had taken root within professional circles. William Appleton Sumner directed his Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities to adopt conservative restoration techniques with its houses. Appleton insisted that architects save and mark original fabric, or historic elements, in buildings. He wanted each house to tell its own successive story, and he opposed removal of historic fabric in the name of “beautifying” a building to fit expectations of visitors and needs of historical societies.³⁵ In 1936 the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments echoed Appleton’s ideas and noted that “It is ordinarily better to retain genuine old work of several periods, rather than arbitrarily to ‘restore’ the whole, by new work, to its aspect at a single period.”³⁶ Interestingly, Edwin Small had expressed his concurrence with this continuum approach when he was still superintendent at Salem Maritime. He wrote a brief but thoughtful policy statement in November 1938 that argued against wholesale reconstruction of the wharf buildings to a specific time period. Such action, in his mind, would destroy the sense of continuity that distinguished Salem’s wharf from other maritime areas. He even favored retention of the Victorian cupola on the federal-styled Salem Custom House, again signaling the continuity among time periods.³⁷ The 1966 passage of the *National Historic Preservation Act* further pushed this changed philosophy into mainstream historical circles. Then, the National Trust for Historic Preservation adopted in the late 1970s its influential Main Street program, making people aware of the value of city centers as a whole, as opposed to individual buildings. Local and national jurisdictions began establishing historic districts,

³⁵ Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 284-87.

³⁶ Advisory Board, as quoted in NPS, Management Policies, 1978, V-15. Interestingly, the previous revision of the Management Policies, dating from 1968, do not include this reference or this continuum approach toward historic structures.

³⁷ Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 656. Unfortunately, the author has not found any direct references to Small’s views about a possible continuum approach toward historic buildings in Minute Man.

again centering attention on extended spaces. The 1976 revision of the federal tax code, which encouraged developers to rehabilitate existing buildings as opposed to pursuing new construction, also contributed to the acceptance of this continuum of history idea. Developers could house modern shops or condominiums in historic buildings, expressing in real terms the stretch of history across generations.³⁸ The NPS's revised Management Policies for 1978 incorporated this increased awareness for a historical continuum. According to these policies, the agency would now accept architectural changes to historic structures. "Alterations to a structure are often of historical or architectural value in themselves and convey a desirable sense of evolution over time."³⁹

Specifically for MIMA, initial steps taken toward revising the *General Management Plan* incorporated this evolving perspective. One NPS planner noted in a draft management option paper for MIMA that "philosophical and practical considerations" had to guide park managers in their decisions of "how complete the recreation of the historic scene must be in order to give visitors the kind of understanding they should have of the Park." This planner admitted that "there is indeed a limited opportunity for recreating an eighteenth-century environment."⁴⁰ Preservation meant maintaining a historic building in much the same appearance as when the park acquired it. Restoration meant returning the building to its size, shape, and appearance of the important historic period. This planner also noted that "the continuum of history can be as interesting to Park visitors as learning about the events of April 19, 1775." Life in Concord-Lincoln-Lexington did not freeze after the British marched back to Boston and the "post-1775 structural elements can serve in a positive manner."⁴¹

The park had to consider for each of its buildings how many of the later additions should be retained and how much of the original building should come forth, if any at all. In some cases, the park adopted a program of selective restoration, trying to balance the old and the new. Current historic preservation practice does not support this approach, but in the 1970s and 1980s at MIMA, Historical Architect Carroll did use selective restoration. The problem becomes, then, what time period does the building represent?

MIMA had previously adopted a continuum approach in fits and starts. The 1966 *Master Plan* had identified 1775 as the prime date for restoration. However, the plan did allow for buildings constructed after that date but still within 50 years of the Revolution (or 1830). Individual buildings with significant changes over time required further consideration. When addressing the Elisha Jones House, for example, the NPS decided not to tear apart and reconfigure the house to approximate its Revolutionary War size and shape. Lack of adequate documentation and respect for its existing structure dictated that this house retain its revamped 1865 character, as done by Judge John Keyes. With The Wayside, the park also kept the many additions and changes introduced by Bronson Alcott, Nathaniel

³⁸ William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1997), 112-15.

³⁹ NPS, Management Policies, 1978, V-15.

⁴⁰ P. Kenyon, Draft Management Option Paper for MIMA, no date [1980-1981], 5, File D18 Inactive, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

Hawthorne, and Harriet Lothrop (Margaret Sidney). The third-story Tower Room, used by Hawthorne for writing his last manuscripts, and the comfortable screened porch, which housed parties and get-togethers when the Lothrops lived in the house, dramatically illustrate the value of a continuum approach to historic preservation.

Changing historical interpretations may have encouraged some revisions in planning, but the NPS continued to maintain its overarching commitment to maintaining the integrity of these spaces. Using the historical studies and archeological surveys completed under his predecessor, Nash tasked his staff with doing much-needed maintenance and preservation work. By the end of 1979 the park had rehabilitated the John Nelson Barn's lean-to, which had collapsed from heavy snow; re-roofed the Noah Brooks Tavern and Daniel Taylor House; conducted necessary landscaping work around the Elisha Jones House to improve drainage and remove dying shrubbery; and repainted the exterior of this house and the Taylor house. These steps certainly brought approving smiles from neighbors and helped ensure the longevity of the properties.⁴²

Archeological sites also received attention. In 1979 the park had a team of archeologists from the regional office survey and make recommendations for stabilizing five sites, including the David Brown House, Casey's Quarters, and the Josiah Nelson House. These archeologists supervised repair of the brick and stone fireplace at the Nelson House and dug a test trench at the Casey site to determine the integrity of its fireplace and chimney area. They also eradicated vegetative growth and recommended periodic weed removal to preserve these remains. The threat of ongoing vandalism also prompted the archeologists to ask for close patrol and monitoring.⁴³ Additionally, for several years beginning in 1985 the park hosted an archeological survey to identify the primary remains within the park and classify artifacts found in earlier excavations.⁴⁴

Aware of the array of valuable artifacts, mainly from The Wayside, and the archeological pieces held at the park, Nash also took important steps toward safeguarding these collections. This work gained immediate positive notice from the NPS's Chief of Museum Services, who welcomed "Nash's informed interest in collection management."⁴⁵ In 1978 he had staff convert the squash court near the caretaker's cottage of the Stedman Buttrick House into a two-story artifact museum collection storage facility. Then in 1981 he hired the park's first curator, Michelle West, to oversee the safekeeping, proper use, and

⁴² Orville Carroll, *Completion Report, Repairs to the John Nelson Barn*, January 1979, File John Nelson Barn; Orville Carroll, *Completion Report, Reroofing the Noah Brooks Tavern and the Daniel Taylor House*, January 1979, File Noah Brooks Tavern; Orville Carroll, *Completion Report, Landscaping at Elisha Jones (Bullet Hole) House*, October 1979, File Elisha Jones Landscaping; and Orville Carroll, *Completion Report, Painting Exterior of the Elisha Jones and Daniel Taylor Houses*, November 1979, File E. Jones and D. Taylor Houses; Thomas Mahlstedt, *Archeological Impact Assessment*, Elisha Jones House, December 1979, 1, File Elisha Jones Archeology, all in Park Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁴³ Joan Bleacher, *Stabilization Measures at Five Archeological Sites in MIMA*, September 1979, 1, 47-48, File MIMA Correspondence 1981-1985, NPS History Collection, NRHE Files.

⁴⁴ MIMA, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, 1985, 1, File A2621 CY 1986, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁵ Memorandum, Arthur Allen to Regional Curator, NARO, 1 August 1977, File D6215 MIMA 74-76, Box 9, Acc. 79-83-0001, Waltham FRC.

display of these materials. West helped the park's efforts in developing a *Furnishings Management Plan* for The Wayside, completed by an outside contractor in 1983.⁴⁶ West's successor, Lynne Leopold-Sharp, conducted in 1983 a thorough review and assessment of the collection. She estimated the total size of the archeological collection as holding some 250,000 items, taken from 20 different sites throughout the park from 1964 to the date of her study. About 5,000 items from The Wayside represented the bulk of the park's decorative arts and historical collections. The park's library also contained two important sets of papers, the Harriett Lothrop collection and local historian Allen French's notes. Old photographs and postcards also resided in the park's library.⁴⁷

One more step toward conserving historic artifacts involved the Minute Man statue. Leopold-Sharp oversaw the development of a preventive maintenance program to clean and protect the statue. Following accepted practices of metals conservators, trained sculpture conservators washed, lacquered, and waxed the statue. They also trained Leopold-Sharp and two other park staff members in the process. Twice each year, park staff expected to wax the statue. About every five years, staff planned to have trained conservators strip the wax and lacquer and reapply. In accordance with the 1963 Cooperative Agreement, the park notified the Town of Concord of its preventative maintenance plans and received approval. This treatment strategy would help arrest the ill effects of acid rain and air pollution on the statue.⁴⁸

Having taken these important first steps towards ensuring the longevity of the park's artifact collection and buildings, Nash and his staff moved forward with the task of restoring two of its important historic houses, Samuel Hartwell Tavern and Captain William Smith House. (A description of the NPS's acquisition of Smith House comes in the following chapter.) In addition, the park addressed how to preserve the ruins of the Samuel Hartwell House, which had burned once in 1968, just before park acquisition, and then twice more by arsonists. With each building, the park carefully weighed the extent of documentary evidence and the size and shape of the existing structures before proceeding with recommendations for action. Although the 1966 *Master Plan* and 1971 IP provided some overall guidance, the park planners in the late 1970s and early 1980s departed from these documents in key ways, keeping in mind their goal of preserving the historic fabric.

With the Hartwell House ruins, for example, the *Master Plan* had envisioned restoration of this house, but the fires had left only the central chimney intact. NPS policy put strict limitations on reconstructing buildings, and what remained of the Hartwell House

⁴⁶ Doris Fanelli, *Historic Furnishings Plan*, The Wayside, 1983, File The Wayside—Historic Furnishings, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁴⁷ *MIMA Resources Management Plan*, 1981, IV-B-8; Memorandum, Gilbert Calhoun to Regional Director, NARO, 22 January 1979, 1, File A5427 MIMA, Box 2, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC; Lynne Leopold-Sharp, *MIMA Status of the Collections*, 1-2, 13, MIMA Research Library and Archives.

⁴⁸ Memorandum, Leopold-Sharp to Ann Hitchcock, 16 October 1974, File D66 CY 1984 Minute Man Statue; and Nash to Steven Scheiffer, 22 November 1983, 1, File D66 CY 1983, Minute Man Statue, both in Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Charles Clapper to Nash, 7 September 1983, File Minute Man Statue, Vertical Files—Landscape Features, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

was not a good candidate.⁴⁹ Documentary evidence did not provide sufficient details to complete a full-scale reconstruction nor did the park have measured drawings of the existing structure before the fires. Historical Architect Carroll did salvage what pieces had remained after the first 1968 fire, measured them, and drawn up how he thought the building had looked in 1775. But, subsequent fires destroyed any other evidence. In addition, it had never been in the park's overall planning or budget to complete such an extensive reconstruction as the Hartwell House ruins would require.

Still committed to preserving what was left of the building, however, the park tried in 1977 to stabilize the massive chimney. This work involved repointing the brick, filling the chimney flues (except the first-floor level smoke chamber) with reinforced Perlite concrete, and capping the chimney to reduce entry of moisture. In 1981 the chimney showed further signs of deterioration, and members of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA, now known as Historic New England) attempted to consolidate the soft brickwork in the chimney. This effort proved unsuccessful as well. As a result, in 1985, the NPS erected a ghost structure approximating the size and shape of the original building, providing a protective shelter for the historic chimney. Carroll recalled later that the park used the same sized members and the same construction style as the original.⁵⁰ However, the NPS did not attempt to imitate the hand-craft methods of the original, using instead steel angles for mortise and tenon joints and concrete sills for wooden ones. "I think people do like to look at a central chimney," Carroll explained, "I think it is very interpretive of the colonial period, and they can walk around the house, and they can see how the house was built." The roof varies slightly from the original lines, but the ghost structure essentially captures the structure's footprint and the arrangement of the historic framing.⁵¹

With Hartwell Tavern, the NPS had a complete standing building that echoed changes wrought by its many past owners. Carroll and others had to determine where the family had kept their colonial-era tavern. They also had to see how subsequent architectural additions and subtractions might detract from or enhance the essential 1775 story. According to the 1971 IP, the NPS had initially planned to restore the eighteenth-century appearance of the Hartwell Tavern. This restoration work would have included establishing a living farm and reconstructing some outbuildings. Period costumed attendants would have given brief interpretive talks. Selected goods and beverages normally served to patrons of the period would have been offered for sale to visitors wishing "an authentic gastronomic

⁴⁹ NPS, *Management Policies*, 1978, V-15.

⁵⁰ Specification of Intent, Chimney Stabilization, Samuel Hartwell House, no date [1977]; and Memorandum, Carroll to Chief, Historic Preservation, NARO, 22 August 1984, 1, both in File Samuel Hartwell Foundation Shelter, Vertical Files, Landscape Features, Maintenance Records, MIMA. Orville Carroll, *Completion Report*, Construct Shelter Over Chimney at Sgt. Samuel Hartwell House Site, September 1985, foreword, summary, Museum Collection, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA. See also Orville Carroll, *Historic Structures Report*, Part II, Architectural Data Section, Samuel Hartwell House, April 1973, Museum Collection, NPS Reports Files, Park Library, MIMA.

⁵¹ Carroll, transcript of interview, 19. See also Orville Carroll, Weekly Field Reports, 30 April 1985, 1-2; 30 August 1985, 1-2; and 30 September 1985, 1, all in No File Name, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

experience.”⁵² As noted above, park interpreter Kryston and others had questioned this approach, knowing that historical documentation did not necessarily provide the needed details about how the Hartwells had run their tavern or kept their land.

Architecturally, the 1733 house had undergone some significant changes since 1775, including the 1847 dismantling of the original central chimney and building of two chimneys on either end of the house with the salvaged bricks. Other changes included a circa 1783 gambrel addition to the original gabled west end, a circa 1830 kitchen lean-to, and new porches placed in 1900. However, as Carroll explored the physical evidence contained in the building’s architecture, he generated more questions, especially about the tavern. Wanting confirmation of his findings, he requested that the NPS conduct additional research on the interior use of tavern rooms during the colonial period. Anna Coxe Toogood completed this research, ultimately uncovering some but not extensive documentation on colonial tavern interiors. What she did find assisted Carroll in his assessment of the building. For example, Carroll found evidence that the ceiling beams in the first-floor west room had been exposed to considerable amounts of smoke, unlike any other rooms in the house. Toogood’s research indicated that many other New England taverns of the period had exposed ceiling beams, confirming that this west room had served as the tavern during the Revolutionary War period. Carroll also found evidence of a narrow closet or cabinet in the northwest corner of the room, fitting the description of the typical enclosed bars of colonial taverns that Toogood researched. Carroll could not find evidence for the location of the Hartwell Tavern kitchen, probably due to the subsequent dismantling of the central chimney. However, Toogood’s work indicated that the kitchen probably stood on the north side of the house, convenient to the barroom and fitting the pattern of many other colonial tavern layouts. The room directly above the tavern contained markings on the ceiling and floor, probably dividing space for sleeping quarters as other colonial taverns had done. Carroll did not find such markings in east side rooms, suggesting that the west side served as public rooms and the east side for the Hartwell family only.⁵³

With this information in hand, the NPS selectively restored Hartwell Tavern between 1979 and 1981. Following Carroll’s guidance, the park decided to keep many of the structural additions that owners had added in the post-1775 period. The park did remove a 1922 dormer, but it kept the circa 1783 gambrel addition and circa 1830 kitchen lean-to.⁵⁴ Carroll argued later that “Why would you tear down this continuation of this family story just to get back to 1775?” He admitted, too, “how complicated [it is] trying to make a particular story fit the growth of buildings and farmland.”⁵⁵ But, with “Hartwell Tavern,

⁵² 1971 IP, 15.

⁵³ Christopher Mulhern and Orville Carroll, *Historic Structure Report*, Architectural Data Section on the Hartwell Tavern, January 1975, vii-ix; and Anna Coxe Toogood, *Historic Structure Report: A Comparative Study, Ephraim Hartwell Tavern, 1974*, iii, 18-19, both in File Hartwell Tavern, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁵⁴ Orville Carroll, *Completion Report, Restoration of the Hartwell Tavern*, May 1983, Section I, Museum Collection, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁵⁵ Carroll, transcript of interview, 8.

you'd see an extension of the family as it added on to the house. That's a story in itself, it has nothing to do with 1775," but in his mind that story also deserved preservation and telling through the architecture.⁵⁶

These additions might extend the story, but rebuilding the central chimney rooted the structure in its colonial past. Park laborers in 1979 removed two existing chimneys, salvaged the bricks, and cleaned them for reuse. In 1980 the park rebuilt the central chimney with these original bricks, plus ones saved from other historic homes from the area that had come down. Always careful to use historic fabric to maintain authenticity, Carroll also had saved and reused in Hartwell Tavern original kitchen floor boards, oak floor joists, and pine sub-flooring from an old house in Concord. To address the presence of rotting wood, the NPS conducted a two-week training seminar at MIMA for park employees in the use of epoxy repairs as developed by a Dutch company. Two Dutch representatives came to the park and led the seminar, providing hands-on practice with Hartwell Tavern's deteriorated wooden members. NPS employees removed the rotted wood, built formwork, applied wax and clay, strengthened the wood with an immersion solution, installed fiberglass rods through drilled holes, and applied an epoxy resin to build up deteriorated wooden members to their original shape and size. Carroll carefully matched the replacement clapboarding to the style of the original. He also allowed for changing styles over time for different additions. For example, the NPS hand-riven and hand-smoothed the clapboards for the 1733 house and circa 1783 gambrel addition while the supplier mill-sawed and planed the clapboards of the circa 1830 lean-to kitchen addition. Park laborers then hand-planed the clapboards and lapped the ends to match those used in circa 1830. The park installed new steel conduits underground to update utility conduits. To keep water from entering the cellar and stabilize the walls, the park pumped cement grout into wall cavities around the east and south foundation walls. Carroll also recommended that the park excavate around the west and north walls, waterproof them, and install a concrete apron with drainage to reduce seepage into the cellar from this area.⁵⁷

By selectively restoring the central chimney while keeping the later additions intact, Carroll introduced an incongruity into the building. If one contemplated the expanded house itself with just the central chimney, meant for the original, smaller structure, then that central chimney probably could not provide the needed heat. Of course, modern heating and electrical additions took care of the job, but from an architectural perspective, the Hartwell Tavern becomes a bit lopsided, with a colonial-era fireplace in an essentially nineteenth-century building.

Smith House, located with Hartwell Tavern and the Hartwell House ruins near the Bloody Angle along Virginia Road, regained its 1775 appearance with a NPS restoration effort between 1983 and 1984. The Smith House had suffered deterioration and neglect from

⁵⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁷ Carroll, *Completion Report, Hartwell Tavern*, Sections A-C, E-G, I-J. Orville Carroll, Weekly Field Reports, 3 August 1979; 31 August 1979; 11 March 1981, all in No File Name, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

its last owner before acquisition by the Park Service. Yet, underneath all of the surface changes and mounds of junk that had accumulated inside, Smith House had retained much of its basic shape and configuration over two centuries, making a full-scale restoration possible. The Park Service would have to replace some modern window frames and doors instead of grappling with additions of whole rooms. The park did have to reconstruct the kitchen lean-to. The park justified this reconstruction due to having good architectural and graphic evidence for the original lean-to. Plus, once the park had removed non-historic ell's at the back of the house, the historic fabric would need protection. Reconstructing the lean-to, as opposed to using modern plexi-glass for protection, offered a historically attractive alternative. In completing this reconstruction, park laborers used early eighteenth-century framing methods and mortise and tenon joints pegged together in the traditional manner.⁵⁸

In this special instance, though, Carroll admitted to “fudging” the architectural design in order to protect the overall structure. At the time of the Revolutionary War, Smith House had only half a lean-to across the back. Carroll decided the house should have the lean-to all the way across the back, “because I thought it was the best protection for the old house. . . . That’s just something I decided,” Carroll admitted, “and I think it works out pretty good that way.” He made this decision by drawing upon his extensive professional experience with historic buildings. “Nobody today I think knows that only half the lean-to should be there,” he later stated, although now they do.⁵⁹

Carroll opted for protection of the historic fabric, but his decision introduced an important deviation from the full-scale restoration effort. This building did not look exactly as it did in 1775. Park interpreters and informational brochures would have to acknowledge this change and justify it. The fact that Carroll did not tell people about his decision, nor seek guidance and direction, has created over the years an uncomfortable situation. Should the park restore the half lean-to or should Carroll’s concern for protecting the building be accepted? The Smith House is a commanding building that sits on a hillside overlooking Route 2A. People generally do not see the lean-to, except when traveling along the Battle Road Trail, completed in 1998. Yet, action must be taken to resolve the tension that Carroll introduced in the building.

The most visible undertaking at Smith House involved restoring the central chimney. Like Hartwell Tavern, previous owners in circa 1910 had dismantled the central chimney and installed two smaller chimneys with the reused bricks. Park laborers, in turn, dismantled these two chimneys, salvaged and cleaned the bricks, and rebuilt the central chimney. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs gave graphic evidence as to the chimney’s original design of brick coursing and the distinctive pilaster, double-arched design. However, park researchers could not locate evidence as to what the chimney caps

⁵⁸ Orville Carroll, Completion Report, Restoration of the Captain William Smith House, January 1985, 6. Dwight Pitcaithley to Kate Perry, 14 January 1983, attached to Memorandum, Charles Clapper to Nash, 31 March 1983, File Captain William Smith House, Vertical Files—Building Information, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

⁵⁹ Carroll, transcript of interview, 9.

and kitchen lean-to flue looked like. Following the recommendation of the NPS Chief of Historic Preservation, the park agreed to use concrete blocks as the foundation for rebuilding the central chimney. The park then reused the salvaged bricks above the roofline. Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site provided bricks for the East and West Parlors fireplaces. Carroll placed tiles from Salem Maritime NHS that former superintendent Edwin Small had collected to reconstruct the remaining Smith House hearths. This decision followed the standard practice of most seventeenth-century houses in Massachusetts to line hearths with tiles.⁶⁰

Park employees completed other work to restore the interior and exterior of Smith House. Using their training with epoxy resins, park employees reinforced the original log joists, which had deteriorated, using fiberglass rods and an epoxy grout. They jacked up the southeast corner of the house to correct for some settling. Carroll kept the five window frames on the second-floor, dated to circa 1828, although he did replace one twentieth-century sill with a new reproduction. On the main floor, he put in reproductions of mid-eighteenth-century window frames and sashes. He used hand-wrought nails to fasten these frames to the walls. Carroll based the sash design on a piece of stile found in the attic. He had to use the information gained from his architectural survey and some conjecture to restore the front door. He found a set of pintel holes in the studs on each side of the opening, leading him to believe that in 1775 the owners had installed double doors. Weathermarks on the wallboard suggested the width of the entranceway and the existence of a pediment. Carroll drew upon the Whittemore House, owned by the Park Service in the Lexington section of the park, to determine the design of the frontispiece and pediment. Inside the house, Carroll kept the circa 1828 window trim and repaired some dating from 1775.⁶¹ He shifted the doorway in the north wall of the East Parlor about 12 inches to conform to alterations made in circa 1750 to make a wider and higher doorway. He also restored the remaining doorways in the chambers, parlors, and hallway rooms to their original size. Carroll added a meeting room with kitchenette and lavatory to the west end of the lean-to for the comfort and convenience of interpreters.⁶²

Despite the continued presence of many modern homes nearby and roads carrying vehicles directly past these historic structures, Virginia Road had a new historic feel to it, thanks to the completion of these three important projects. Another important factor toward this restoration work involved the Battle Road itself. The Park Service had acquired and removed all of the modern houses along the two small legs of the Bloody Angle. In recognition of this action, the Town of Lincoln in 1980 deeded these unused sections of Virginia Road and Bedford Road to the park. The Park Service in 1981 removed the hardtop

⁶⁰ Carroll, *Completion Report, Captain William Smith House*, ii, 3-4.

⁶¹ Carroll does not provide a rationale for keeping the c. 1828 treatments. The park *Master Plan* had allowed for architectural diversity to go beyond 1775 to about 1830, and Carroll may have chosen to use this date as the outside limit for restoration purposes. Keeping these window and door treatments as is also saved significant amounts of time and money.

⁶² Carroll, *Completion Report, Captain William Smith House*, 5-6, 8-9, 11-12, 16. Orville Carroll, Weekly Field Reports, 11 March 1981; and 2 April 1984, both in No File Name, Orville Carroll Papers, MIMA.

surface and restored the roadway along these two small areas to its historic 1775 appearance.⁶³ Archeological work along Nelson Road uncovered the original road surface of the Battle Road, allowing for its restoration, too. This work did not affect the main travel routes of Virginia Road or Bedford Road, which still carried cars between the contemporary residences and Route 2A.⁶⁴

The park had some difficulty realizing its vision of re-creating the sense of history Hartwell Tavern, the Smith House, and Hartwell House evoked. Early on, to celebrate its accomplishment at Hartwell Tavern, the park invited the theater department at Emerson College to write and produce, with special funding from Eastern National Park and Monument Association, a play titled *Scarlet Grain*. Throughout July and August 1982 the park hosted weekend performances. This 50-minute production focused on the impact of the events of 18-19 April on the Hartwell family. The park repeated dramatic presentations in 1983, yet it still sought more interpretive opportunities.⁶⁵

Chief of Interpretation Fred Szarka wrote in the Fiscal Year 1985 Statement of Interpretation about the “peculiarities” of this historic district. “The structures are not particularly interesting,” he admitted, “because nothing significant happened in them. However, taken together, they give a pretty good approximation of typical colonial living.”⁶⁶ The park did not have furnishings for the buildings and did not have plans to place any inside the buildings. The surrounding wooded landscape also did not reflect the eighteenth-century pastures. The NPS had taken a big step toward re-creation of the historic scene with the recently completed and extensive *Historic Grounds Report*. This report documented where fields, woods, buildings and roads had existed across the landscape.⁶⁷ However, the park did not plan landscape restoration until after it had an approved *General Management Plan*. In the meantime, Szarka believed that these structures offered “a challenging interpretive problem” which required “the individual interpreters [to] go flat out to develop programs around concepts rather than things.” Living-history volunteers using dress, tools, and equipment of the period might work, Szarka admitted, but volunteers and staff had to stay alert to prevent confusion. Crafts may “become more important than the history they are trying to tell.”⁶⁸

⁶³ MIMA, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, 1980, File A2621 CY 1981; and MIMA, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, 1981, File A2621 CY 1982, both in Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁴ MIMA, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, January-September 1985, File Reports Semiannual CY 1986, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁵ Minute Man 1982 Programs; and Local Points of Interest, 1983, both in File Guides, Box MIMA, NPS History Collection, HFC. Invitation, Hartwell Tavern Public Opening Celebration, 3 July 1982, File Preview Showing Hartwell Tavern, Unprocessed Materials, Museum Collection, MIMA. Fred Szarka, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Agent's Annual Report 1982, File A42 Eastern National Annual Report, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁶ Frederick Szarka, *MIMA Annual Statement for Interpretation*, FY 1985, II-13, File K18 FY 1985 *Statement for Interpretation*, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁷ Joyce Lee Malcolm, *The Scene of the Battle, 1775: Historic Grounds Report*, MIMA, *Cultural Resources Management Study No. 15*, NARO, 1985, Museum Collection, MIMA Library.

⁶⁸ Szarka, *MIMA Annual Statement for Interpretation*, FY 1985, II-13.

Despite these reservations, Szarka did believe that the Virginia Road area “as a whole is one of the most evocative of the eighteenth century in the Park, as it is removed visually and aurally from most modern influences.”⁶⁹ Of course, visitors would have to stretch their imaginations a bit because not far from any of these structures, modern roads and houses still stood. To help visitors step into the past and with programmed base increases from Congress to support operation of both Hartwell Tavern and Smith House, the park asked a group of volunteers known as Colonial Life, affiliated with the Concord Minute Men, to move their living-history portrayals from the North Bridge to Hartwell Tavern. The park also supported this effort because it might help to alleviate increased crowding and parking problems that had plagued the North Bridge area. However, the Colonial Life members grew discouraged from the lack of publicity and signage which resulted in dramatically reduced public participation at their North Bridge presentations. In response, Colonial Life volunteers moved their programs to the Old Manse (separately administered from the park) in 1986, and the NPS struggled with developing interpretation at Virginia Road.⁷⁰

Szarka had a difficult time interpreting the Virginia Road Houses because he favored the military aspects of the park’s major theme. He introduced a program for having visitors practice the eighteenth- century musket drills of Baron Von Steuben. The park purchased a dozen reproduction muskets, and Historian Douglas Sabin trained employees in musket and marching drills. With these interpretive employees trained, they then led programs on the grounds of the Battle Road Visitor Center drilling visitors. Visitors largely enjoyed the musket drills as opposed to the marching drills. Musket firings with black powder remained the province of reenactors and living-history volunteers. The park under Nash’s tenure did not allow for employee-led musket firings with black powder. Once Nash left and Szarka served a short time as acting superintendent, he allowed for such demonstrations by trained park employees.⁷¹ Another factor influencing Szarka’s interpretive efforts was the issue of reduced staffing. As Sabin later wrote, “at times it was a struggle just to keep the information desks and The Wayside staffed and to keep the Ranger Talks at the North Bridge going.”⁷²

With each interpretive effort and historic house rehabilitation, the NPS provided opportunities for visitors to reach out and touch pieces of a tangible past. Yet, these efforts slowed while the park struggled in defining its next set of goals through development of a *General Management Plan*. The GMP would dominate Nash’s superintendency.

⁶⁹ Ibid., I-7.

⁷⁰ Eugene Prowten to Robert Nash, 2 January 1986, and attached response from Nash, File K18 CY 1986 VIP Program, Park Admin Files, MIMA. The park invited Colonial Life volunteers back to Hartwell Tavern in 1988, under a new method of addressing concerns. See Szarka to Prowten, 5 February 1988, File K18 CY 1988, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷¹ Douglas Sabin, 1991 *Administrative History for MIMA*, 1, MIMA Library.

⁷² Ibid., 2.



Figure 26. Battle Road Visitor Center, now known as the Minute Man Visitor Center.
Courtesy NPS, MIMA.



Figure 27. Major John Buttrick House. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 28. Ephraim Hartwell Tavern. Courtesy NPS, MIMA.



Figure 29. Samuel Hartwell House ghost structure. Courtesy NPS, MIMA.



Figure 30. Captain William Smith House. Courtesy NPS, MIMA.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MANAGEMENT PLANNING

Robert Nash remembers two telling episodes about MIMA when he arrived in 1977. First, he and his family toured some of the local attractions, including Wright's Tavern in Concord Center. Having just moved into the Bullet Hole House, he asked the gift shop clerk if he had any postcards of the house. The clerk "basically called it a load of crap," as Nash recalled later, "didn't carry things because it was part of that stinking park."¹ Second, Nash quickly realized that, aside from the North Bridge area, the park was incomplete, it "was pretty much waiting to be done." When Nash drove down Route 2A for the first time, he couldn't distinguish the park from the towns, leaving him thinking that "it wasn't really a park." He could think of many ways to give the park its own identity, but he also recognized that these ideas had to wait until the NPS revised the 1966 *Master Plan*, creating what the agency now called a General Management Plan (GMP). As Nash said later, "a lot of the things that we could have done, a lot of the things that we should have done, we didn't do because it was things that should wait until the plan."² Nash wanted to move forward on developing the park, but he was stymied by the expectation for a yet-to-be-started GMP and hard feelings by some local residents in the aftermath of the Bicentennial. The NPS would end up waiting until 1985 to begin working on a GMP, with other parks taking priority.³

Nash came to MIMA with nine years experience with the NPS. A native of Long Island, NY, he had a bachelor's degree in history and government from Adelphi College in New York. After a short period working as a technical writer for the Navy, he joined the NPS as a historian, developing a living-history farm program at George Washington's Birthplace National Monument (Virginia). He moved on to Herbert C. Hoover National Historical Site (Iowa), Moores Creek National Military Park (now National Battlefield, North Carolina), and Shiloh National Military Park (Tennessee). By then, he had served as chief of interpretation resources management or chief ranger. His next assignment at Manhattan Sites (New York) evolved into a superintendency of Castle Clinton National Monument, Federal Hall National Memorial, Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site, Hamilton Grange National Memorial,

¹ Robert Nash, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 17 May 2005, 6, MIMA Archives.

² Ibid., 5.

³ As early as 1972, park officials had recommended revision of the 1966 plan. With the Bicentennial approaching, though, any master planning took a secondary position. See Memorandum, Herbert Olson to Director, Northeast Region, 22 December 1972, File D18 Master Plan Revision 1972, Park Admin Files, MIMA. As an example of the delays in starting the GMP process, see John Raferty, Operations Review Report, MIMA, 26-27 January 1978, 3, File A5427 MIMA, Box 2, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC.

and Ulysses S. Grant National Memorial. He had the pleasure of meeting Queen Elizabeth and participating in the huge Bicentennial celebration in New York City on 4 July 1976.⁴

Nash ended up staying at MIMA until 1989. The first part of his NPS career had involved frequent moves, typical at the time for the agency, which followed the military model of moving people to a new park or office in order to get promoted. By the time Nash reached MIMA, though, the NPS had instituted changes that encouraged people to stay put longer than in the past. During the Reagan presidency, senior government jobs became scarce as agencies tried to absorb high-level people from the defunct Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service created under the Carter administration. Following the momentum of the women's movement, more and more wives of park rangers sought outside jobs, complicating the family's ability to move every couple of years. In addition, the NPS began reducing the amount of park housing, forcing families to buy locally. As housing prices and interest rates soared upwards, people had less incentive to move. In Nash's case, he also had two school-aged children. Not wanting to disrupt their education and move to less than ideal schools, he chose instead to stay at MIMA. This combination of reasons led Nash to contribute his skills and energy to the park for close to 13 years.⁵

The NPS had begun encapsulating its long-term planning and management goals into GMPs for individual parks, replacing the original master plans. GMPs, meant to define and direct park development for 10 or more years, differed from master plans in one important aspect, public participation. From the very first meetings and planning initiatives, the NPS invited and expected members of the local community, elected officials, residents, and other interested individuals and groups to share their thoughts and ideas in formulating the GMP. Master plans, on the other hand, had largely come into being insulated from any public scrutiny or participation. GMPs also relied upon the accumulation of specific studies and supporting planning documents to inform the overall management plan. These individual studies also reflected and benefited from public involvement. Open government in the post-Watergate years required such an approach, and the NPS largely tried to embrace this commitment.

Since the Carter administration had abolished the park's advisory commission, park officials would have to find alternative means of engaging the public. They had scattered success. One of the recurring themes in later oral history interviews and documentary sources about the 1989 final GMP revolved around the sense of surprise and anger felt by many local community members about the entire GMP process. People felt that the NPS had not invited them into the process, that the 1988 draft GMP represented the ideas of NPS personnel, some from as far away as Denver, rather than the contributions of residents from Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington. In actuality, the park had consulted with a range of local organizations and governments, but, in some cases, specific neighborhoods had felt blindsided by the draft plan and its potential impact on them. These hard feelings made for a difficult transition as Nash left MIMA and Larry Gall took over as the next superintendent.

⁴ Ibid., 2; "Robert Nash, New MM Park Supt. Arrives," *Concord Journal*, 17 March 1977; Mary Loraine Heaton, "Profile of Robert Nash," *Concord Patriot*, 24 March 1977.

⁵ Nash, transcript of interview, 3-4.

ROUTE 2

The continuing saga of what to do about Route 2A resolved in 1977. The state's decision would have broad ramifications for management of MIMA, requiring the park to re-evaluate its expectation that the Battle Road could become a historic road again. However, the NPS took many missteps and roused considerable public ire before recommending a course of action palatable to the towns, neighborhoods, and other local interests. The park's longtime management objective to have traffic removed was a hard one to let go. Yet, as subsequent chapters will make clear, the park could finally proceed with its work of creating a National Historical Park. This one decision by the state ultimately moved the park forward in exciting and remarkable ways.

Relocation of Route 2 to a northerly position, brushing the park's southern boundary, offered the NPS the most promising avenue in the early 1970s for directing non-park traffic from Route 2A. Having Route 2 pushed north meant that state authorities could direct Route 2A traffic south and merge the two roads into one outside the park's boundaries. The park would have to ensure that interchanges did not intrude upon important historic and natural resources, but the positive benefit of removing heavy traffic far outweighed these concerns. As left in Chapter 4, the NPS and towns awaited the opportunity to review the state's draft *Environmental Impact Statement* (EIS), which the state released in August 1972. This draft EIS recommended a 60-mph, grade separated, limited access expressway with six travel lanes. This design recommendation largely followed the proposed alignment from 1970 except for adjustments to side roads, service roads, and interchanges, reflecting comments from public hearings and the NPS. By December 1972, after two public meetings in Concord and the submission of more than 500 pages of correspondence commenting upon the draft EIS, the Massachusetts Department of Public Works appointed a multi-disciplinary team to re-evaluate the entire Route 2 relocation project. This re-evaluation would take into account the many comments and concerns raised by citizens and organizations, plus respond to new federal mandates which had emerged after the release of the draft EIS.⁶

This re-evaluation took until January 1976 when the state released its detailed environmental analyses. During this time, following the new federal mandates, the state had to identify and develop a range of alternative highway improvements. Then, officials had to define each alternate precisely based on detailed air, noise, ecological, and open space data. To ensure careful understanding of the status quo and including predictions for the future, the state also had to conduct traffic surveys and forecasting along the actual Route 2 corridor. The state adopted the concept of full disclosure for this re-evaluation project, involving citizens in working committee meetings, holding public briefings for town officials, and scheduling public information meetings attended by more than 250 people. Informal public workshops also allowed individuals to raise specific concerns related to the design of the alternatives. The state

⁶ Massachusetts Department of Public Works, Route 2: *Summary of Environmental Impact Analyses*, January 1976, 71-73, Massachusetts State Library. A copy is also available in the Parks Reports Files in the MIMA Library.

published a newsletter and kept local libraries stocked with related reports, correspondence, technical memoranda, and other printed materials. All of the data from this re-evaluation came together in late 1974-early 1975 with the state offering nine, fully studied, alternatives for Route 2. In May 1975 Secretary Frederick Salvucci of the Governor's Executive Office of Transportation and Construction and Commissioner John Carroll of the Massachusetts Department of Public Works issued a joint memorandum narrowing the number of alternatives from nine to five. They removed all alternatives having a roadway of greater than four lanes, removing from consideration the alternative recommended in the 1972 draft EIS. The 1976 EIS examined the remaining five alternatives.⁷

State authorities admitted in the 1976 summary EIS that the NPS's desire to close Route 2A with the relocation of Route 2 would prove a challenge. Looking at each of the five studied alternatives and considering known traffic levels along Route 2A, the state determined that about 1,000 additional vehicles would use Route 2 during the peak morning rush hour period if the state closed Route 2A to non-park traffic. Recognizing that the state had limited construction of Route 2 alternatives to four lanes (two in each direction), the summary EIS admitted that Route 2 would experience "poor levels of service" with low operating speeds and a "high degree of traffic congestion." Without any alternative built for Route 2A, traffic would also increase on Route 128/I-95 and pose access issues for Hanscom Field facilities.⁸

Following the detailed analyses in the January 1976 EIS, on 27 June 1977 Secretary Salvucci and Commissioner Carroll released their joint decision on the Route 2 relocation project. They decided to implement safety improvements to the existing Route 2 and removed from consideration any relocation or reconstruction of Route 2. As presented in their letter to the affected towns, which the Town of Lincoln fully reproduced in its 1977 *Annual Report*, Salvucci and Carroll argued that environmental laws, funding realities, and the transportation needs and priorities of the region dictated this decision. Traffic studies had made clear that Route 2 had adequate carrying capacity, with little difference projected for 1995, if state and local authorities aggressively promoted a mass transit program. In addition, Salvucci and Carroll referred to public responses in meetings, which had strongly discouraged authorities from any "big build" options, especially in light of scarce funds. Instead, the secretary and commissioner directed attention to the lack of median protection, uncontrolled grade crossings, lack of adequate sight distances at intersections, and excessive speeds as the major contributing problems for the existing Route 2. They offered for the state and Town of Lincoln, which the Route 2 decision most affected, to work together in developing suitable designs to solve these problems.⁹

Secretary Salvucci emphasized the negative environmental impact a relocated Route 2 would cause in his remarks about the decision. "If you take at all seriously the state and national

⁷ Ibid., 73-76.

⁸ Ibid., 611-15. Quotes on p. 615.

⁹ Schedule A, Frederick Salvucci and John Carroll to Officials of Acton, Concord, Lincoln, Lexington, and Route 2 Working Committee, 27 June 1977, 5-6, 9, as reproduced in 1977 Annual Report, Town of Lincoln, Lincoln Public Library.

environmental policy acts,” he argued, “you can’t justify ripping through all those woods and wetlands and water supplies and everything else to build a road which is essentially the same thing as the road you’ve got.”¹⁰ He pointed to the Hobbs Brook Reservoir, owned by the City of Cambridge, saying that it would suffer damaging effects to this important water supply both during and after construction if the state chose a northern alignment. By keeping Route 2 in its existing location, Salvucci and Carroll wrote in their joint decision that the state would best preserve and minimize intrusions unto the historic and beautiful open spaces and conservation lands in the northern alignment area. Effective environmental improvements would further reduce intrusions on the existing roadway, bringing more positive benefits to the decision. Strong consideration also went to the overall transportation goals of the state and nation. Salvucci and Carroll noted that large commitments to public transportation meant that scarce highway resources went to those projects that directly served or complemented transit routes. Having a major relocation of Route 2 would act counter to this transit goal, while also fueling a rise in unnecessary energy usage in a time of heightened interest in conservation.¹¹

Underlying this decision was the Big Dig. As early as 1972 the state had begun completing studies for this Central Artery/Tunnel project, in which parts of I-93 through the heart of Boston would be put underground. Secretary Salvucci worked closely with Governor Michael Dukakis and others to devise a proposal that would remove the rusting elevated central artery from Boston while also addressing businesses and their desire to have a third tunnel connection to Logan International Airport. By linking the airport tunnel idea to the I-93 tunnel proposal, they won the support they needed. But, any further large road projects, such as relocating Route 2 or Route 2A, necessarily would take a backseat.¹²

Salvucci and Carroll tried to assuage the NPS by officially leaving the door open on Route 2A. In their June 1977 decision they acknowledged that the NPS had long wanted this roadway closed to non-park traffic. However, they extracted this NPS goal from the Route 2 decision, stating that “this is an issue which must be dealt with separately from the major Route 2 options, since Route 2A serves different traffic functions than any of the Route 2 options studied.” Once park plans had reached completion in 10 to 15 years, the secretary and commissioner believed that “it would be possible to close Route 2A, if necessary, without overloading Route 2.” In the meantime, they offered the possibility of closing Route 2A for certain park peak-times, such as important weekend days. Such an arrangement would require closer cooperation between the NPS and the United States Air Force “than has so far appeared evident.” The state offered to work with these two federal agencies in developing possible scenarios for achieving this goal, but Salvucci and Carroll also made clear that the NPS and Hanscom had to take the lead in this objective.¹³

¹⁰ Salvucci, as quoted by Thomas Watterson, “Route 2 Realignment in Lincoln Rejected,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 29 June 1977.

¹¹ Schedule A, 27 June 1977, 9-10.

¹² Thomas P. Hughes, *Rescuing Prometheus* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), chapter five.

¹³ Ibid., 7.

Lincoln town officials responded swiftly and vehemently against the Route 2 decision, which they called “terribly wrong and, indeed, disastrous.” Since 1954 town planning had centered on the eventual relocation of this roadway. A substantial amount of open space land sat on either side of the existing Route 2. Town planners had long believed that this open space land, and the town itself, would see reunification with the relocation of this intrusive road. Some open land to the north would fall to development for the northern alignment, but far more would gain access under the relocation proposal. On behalf of MIMA, Lincoln town officials also noted the beneficial aspects of moving Route 2. A sensitively designed northern alignment would significantly reduce noise levels both within the park and in the immediate surroundings, whereas present noise levels exceeded permissible limits for national parks. Lincoln officials flatly rejected the negative environmental impact Salvucci and Carroll pointed at with regard to the Hobbs Brook Reservoir. The Lincoln officials argued that the northern alignment would pose no threat to the storage capacity or water quality of the reservoir. Road salt was the true culprit in threatening water supplies, and the existing Route 2 posed as much as a threat to Hobbs Brook as a projected northern alignment, in their opinion, so long as the state continued to use road salt near watersheds and reservoirs.¹⁴

Lincoln officials expressed skepticism toward the state’s interest in using safety improvements as a way to improve the existing Route 2. By having a grade separation at Crosby’s Corner, where Route 2 takes a 45-degree turn, and by implementing other changes there, Lincoln officials stated that “one inevitably comes to the conclusion that you will have gone far in creating a limited access expressway in the present corridor.”¹⁵ Such steps, in their mind, would enable the existing road to “carry greater volumes of traffic at higher speeds and thereby result in additional safety problems.”¹⁶ Refusing to accept the state’s decision, Lincoln officials asked that the state not sell any of the land it had so far acquired for the northern alignment. They also requested that the state take no action with regard to Crosby’s Corner, reminding it that the present EIS did not study such changes and that another environmental study would be necessary. The Town of Lincoln then asked for the state and governor to review the Route 2 decision.¹⁷

Two years later, the town’s annual report admitted that the Route 2 decision continued to weigh heavily. With sardonic humor, the Board of Selectmen opened its annual report by saying that “There is a chance that, before the year 2000, this report . . . will not have to mention our continuing saga with the State and Route 2. Such is not the case for 1979.” The selectmen reported that they were anxious to work with the state on safety improvements for the existing road, but “we were unwilling to agree with any plan which did not include a commitment to a northern relocation.”¹⁸ This stance continued until 1984, when the Town of Lincoln had the

¹⁴ Exhibit B, Robert Gargill, Harold Levey, and Ann Sutherland to Hon. Frederick Salvucci, 29 July 1977, 13, 17-19, as reproduced in *Town of Lincoln, 1977 Annual Report*, Lincoln Public Library. Quote on p. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

¹⁸ *Town of Lincoln, 1979 Annual Report*, 1, Lincoln Public Library.

opportunity to purchase the 100-acre Ricci Farm along the pathway of the northern alignment. A large religious institution also considered developing the farm, and the town planning board wanted to preserve the option of having the farmland saved as open space until some hopeful time in the future when the state would reverse its 1977 decision and relocate Route 2 to the north.

The planning board recommended at the 1984 Town Meeting that the town purchase the farm as conservation land, with the understanding that it would be released at a future date for construction of the highway. However, the town's residents acted in opposition to this proposal and adopted a "sense of the meeting" directive, informing the town's boards to cease planning for Route 2 realignment. Instead, town residents voted that Lincoln should vigorously pursue safety improvements of the existing road. This decision effectively ended Lincoln's quest for a relocation of Route 2. The Town of Lincoln acquired the Ricci Farm solely for conservation purposes.¹⁹ In 1988, after many years of careful study and design work, the town stated with relief that "we are pleased to see the start of 'safety upgrades' on Route 2." These improvements included widening the eastern end of the road and placement of center dividers. The state also began reconstructing the Bedford Road intersection and designing improvements to Crosby's Corner.²⁰

In another effort to improve circulation without any major road relocations, the state in 1983 also redirected Route 2A traffic. The state had Route 2A traffic travel south to Route 2 at the Brooks Houses, removing this traffic from Concord Center. Lexington Road, the former carrier of this Route 2A traffic, continued past Meriam House and into Concord, leaving this road available to travelers. However, many more travelers chose the convenience of bypassing the Town Center and taking advantage of the road improvements on Route 2.²¹

From the park's standpoint, its main roadway continued to carry heavy traffic loads, requiring further evaluation and determination of a solution. However, as evidenced later in this chapter, the park and its management planning team stuck dogmatically to the idea of recovering the historic feel of the Battle Road. They did not face the reality of the state's Route 2 decision.

EMINENT DOMAIN

Public opinion and awareness continued to shape the park's land acquisition program. As left in Chapter 4, the NPS under land acquisition officer Daniel Farrell had pushed forward with finishing the purchase of identified properties, allowed by the increased funding limitations authorized under the 1970 MIMA legislation. This push had included openly threatening to use condemnation procedures if owners refused to negotiate. The Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission and Town of Lincoln officials had worked with the NPS to address resident concerns about this approach, resulting in the adoption of use and occupancy permits and life estates. Through this effort, the park acquired a little more than 42 acres by April 1972,

¹⁹ Town of Lincoln, *1984 Annual Report*, 87-88, Lincoln Public Library.

²⁰ Town of Lincoln, *1988 Annual Report*, 2, Lincoln Public Library.

²¹ NPS, *Draft General Management Plan*, 1988, 7, Museum Collection, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

raising the overall park acreage to 551 acres. Many people accepted the offer to remain in their homes either for a set number of years or life. In addition, the NPS removed a few properties from its acquisition list because the Town of Concord had revised its Historic District Zones Act, protecting land without the necessity of NPS ownership. Some other properties remained identified but still outside federal ownership. Of these, 11 residents in Lincoln and one in Concord refused the federal government's attempts to have appraisals done of their land. These properties amounted to a relatively small amount, 13 acres, but included some important pieces of the MIMA historic experience, including the Meriam House and Captain William Smith House, with the latter's restoration described in the previous chapter.²² In the case of the Smith House, its elderly owner had subdivided the historic house into four rental apartments but had not maintained the overall structure. The historic house showed signs of "rapid deterioration,"²³ and Farrell commented that it "is in imminent danger of destruction" unless acquired quickly by the NPS.²⁴ Meriam House owners had showed respect for the historic fabric and had allowed annual commemorative ceremonies to take place on their private property.²⁵

Farrell continued to make contact with all of these recalcitrant owners, and by 1975 all but four of the 11 had submitted to agreements for federal acquisition. The Smith House came under federal ownership in May 1975, but the Meriam House remained elusive. Seven other tracts had owners in extended negotiations with the NPS.²⁶ One notable tract, where Concord's Willow Pond Kitchen stood, eventually came into the park in 1979 with a use and occupancy permit lasting until October 1985. This eatery had become a landmark to the local residents, and, as Nash remembers, thousands of people petitioned when the park threatened to vacate the premises at the end of the original use and occupancy permit.²⁷ The NPS extended the use and occupancy agreement under the next two superintendents until the Willow Pond's last owner, Peter Sowkow, finally decided to close the restaurant in 1998. When finally torn down, people would still remember the Willow Pond fondly.²⁸ As late as 2000, reenactors paused respectfully for a moment of silence at its site, recalling how they had regularly gathered there and enjoyed this "old-style New England roadhouse."²⁹

²² Minutes, 24th Meeting, MIMA Advisory Commission, 10 March 1973, 13, 20-21; Minutes, 32nd Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 31 October 1975, 1-2.

²³ Memorandum, Olsen to Director, Northeast Region, 16 February 1973, File Silva, Mary E., Tract No. 02-108, Lands Files, MIMA.

²⁴ Memorandum, Farrell to Director, Northeast Region, 16 April 1973, 2, File Silva, Mary E., Tract No. 02-108, Lands Files, MIMA.

²⁵ James Ingraham to President Carter, 27 September 1977, File Ingraham, James and Margaret, Tract No. 04-106, Lands Files, MIMA.

²⁶ Minutes, 24th Meeting, MIMA Advisory Commission, 10 March 1973, 13, 20-21; Minutes, 32nd Meeting, Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 31 October 1975, 1-2.

²⁷ Nash, transcript of interview, 21. See also File Sowkow, Peter, Tract No. 04-104, Lands Files, MIMA.

²⁸ Written comment, NPS Review Comments, First Draft, 6 June 2006, 5, MIMA. The Willow Pond Kitchen was demolished after the finalizing of a Memorandum of Agreement between the State Historic Preservation Officer and the park on 18 October 1999.

²⁹ Cathy Stanton, "Out of Step: Two Regimes of Fact at Lexington and Concord," paper read at the New England American Studies Association Meeting, Boston, 26-28 April 2002, 8, copy provided with permission of the author, MIMA Archives.

This example emphasizes that although MIMA stood in an increasingly urbanized setting with many changes happening around it, people had long memories and loyalties. Most of the park's neighbors supported the historic preservation efforts of the NPS, but these residents also had strong attachments to the places now included in the park. They continued to stop at the remaining farm stand, operated under a Special Use Permit, and they enjoyed the coverage of trees that blocked out glimpses of encroaching developments while giving the landscape a natural appearance. As MIMA's superintendents and personnel began the long planning process for restoring historic landscape features, they had to keep the public informed and involved about what the park hoped to accomplish. GMP development would officially initiate this attempt, but it could not end with the approved GMP. Rebuilding stone walls and removal of trees to regain a sense of the 1775 open farmlands met with some concerns and required education and discussion.

The agency closed MIMA's Land Acquisition Office in late 1975 and transferred its final work to the North Atlantic Regional Office in Boston. Before taking a direct stand with the four owners refusing appraisals, the NPS discussed the issue with the not-yet abolished Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission and leading local officials. Not surprisingly, residents and officials expressed hesitation in supporting the idea of condemnation proceedings. As Under-Secretary for the United Nations (and former US Congressman for Massachusetts) F. Bradford Morse stated in one meeting, we could "get our ears pinned back" by pursuing condemnation.³⁰ But, Farrell pointed out that MIMA could lose its programmed land acquisition funds if the agency did not take action, leaving the prospect of long-term inholders in the park and the further escalation of land values. The NPS, therefore, continued to threaten condemnation. Once Farrell left, the regional office took over negotiations, and by June 1976 two owners continued to refuse appraisals and discussions about sale to the federal government. In addition, some rights-of-way, easements, and municipally owned tracts (mainly roads) remained identified but outside federal ownership until such time as the NPS could exchange them with the Air Force and the various towns.³¹

In June 1976 the NPS announced its intention to resort to condemnation proceedings against the two owners who continued to refuse appraisal and sale of their property. The agency set the end of 1976 for negotiations, and then warned that it would file condemnation proceedings in federal court, in which case the US Attorney's office would handle all matters relating to these acquisitions.³² NPS spokesperson Tom Mercer stated that "we're letting everyone know our intentions are strong to conclude the acquisition process begun 15 years

³⁰ Memorandum, Farrell to Regional Director, NARO, 24 February 1975, 2, File A18 CY 1975 Advisory Boards, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³¹ Ibid., 2-3; Minutes, 33rd Meeting, MIMA Advisory Commission, 18 June 1976, 6. Moffitt, Land Acquisition Program, no date [1975], 1-2, File L1425 CY 1975 Acquisition of Lands, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³² NPS Press Release, "Land Acquisition to Conclude at MIMA," 7 June 1976, File K3415 Press Releases—MIMA, Park Admin Files, MIMA. "National Park Service Renews Threat of Eminent Domain Use," Supplement to local papers, 10 June 1976, MIMA Scrapbook November 1975-1976, MIMA.

ago.”³³ Owners of Meriam House responded to this intensified situation by directing a plea to President Jimmy Carter. They did not want to sell. They wanted to stay in their house through their lifetimes and then have the house pass to the federal government, as they had no heirs. “We cherish our right to own our home,” they wrote. “We do not wish to sell it and we do not want it seized by our Government by means of eminent domain.” Instead, they wished for “some kind of solution to the transfer of our property without blemish to its glorious past.” The owners also proudly referred to their careful upkeep of the historic house and surrounding land, saying “we maintain our grounds and house better than the Park does.” They urged the President to “help us to receive fair and equal treatment and just compensation,” possibly even initiating “a change in policy” to address the situation.³⁴ The NPS responded by initiating in September 1977 an environmental assessment for the property, one of the first actions in filing for condemnation. This environmental review supported acquisition through condemnation. The NPS took final ownership of the Meriam House and property in April 1987 providing life estates to the owners.³⁵

One more land issue demonstrated the park’s unwillingness to work with its neighbors in a collaborative way, suggesting how future encounters would be as the park started working on its GMP. The Minuteman Regional Vocational Technical School, a high school serving 12 area communities and providing after-school, weekend, and summer programming for students of all ages, began the process of constructing a second access road to its grounds. Once the state had announced its plans to complete safety enhancements of Route 2 instead of building the northern alternate, the regional Vocational Technical School realized that its single access road could not safely support the needs of its community. The school had planned to have a second access road built to feed into the proposed Route 2 relocation. Without that option available, the school sought another location for this second entryway. As detailed in a special report of the situation, the school argued that long traffic back-ups along Route 2A during morning and afternoon bus runs had created a “daily game of traffic roulette.”³⁶ Severe traffic congestion made it nearly impossible for vehicles to enter and exit the school grounds without “literally forc[ing] their way into or across east-west traffic against the resentment of east-west drivers frustrated by the unreasonable congestion and delay” at Route 2A and Massachusetts Avenue, near the on and off ramps for Route 128.³⁷ Near and real accidents, according to the report, occurred regularly. Fortunately, the intersection had not experienced any serious injuries or deaths, and the school wanted to take action before such a possibility. Due to the extreme traffic

³³ Tom Mercer, as quoted in “NPS Renews Threat,” 10 June 1976.

³⁴ Ingraham to President Carter, 27 September 1977.

³⁵ NARO, *Environmental Assessment*, Condemnation of Tract 04-106, and attached Memorandum, Cynthia Kryston to Regional Director, NARO, 29 December 1977; and Memorandum, Gerald Kirwan to Nash, 7 May 1987, both in File Ingraham, James and Margaret, Tract No. 04-106, Lands Files, MIMA.

³⁶ Minuteman Technical High School, Route 2-A Traffic and the Need for a Second Access Road to Minuteman Tech, November 1978, 1, File D30 MIMA, Box 14, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC. The report puts these words in all caps.

³⁷ Ibid., 2.

congestion, school officials also worried that safety and fire rescues vehicles could not gain immediate entry to school grounds.³⁸

To address these concerns, the school commissioned consultants to develop a feasibility study for access-road alternatives. This study resulted in five possible choices, with one clear first choice and a lesser but still possible second choice. The other three alternatives did not provide good sight distances, presenting potential safety problems. The first-choice, known as B-2, would require the NPS to exchange a road easement with the high school. The high school would then build the access road across park property, on the opposite side of Route 2A near the entryway to the Battle Road Visitor Center. The high school already had an easement at the Lexington-Lincoln town line, but this alignment went over bedrock, requiring extensive cutting to build a roadway, and crossed a former house site with potential archeological remains. The second, less-favored choice involved building a longer roadway directly across state land to Mill Street, where vehicles would then turn and join Route 2A further west of Route 128 than the first-choice alternative. This second-choice alternative would not require action by the NPS, but it would require significant improvements to Mill Street to improve its usability and safety. Lincoln selectmen, in reviewing the different access-road proposals, opposed the Mill Street alternative “under any circumstances.”³⁹ They argued that the existing Mill Street would not stand up to heavy traffic, and it did not offer good sight distances in both directions for feeding onto Route 2A. In response, the high school went forward in pursuing its first choice, B-2, and requested NPS review and concurrence.⁴⁰

The NPS did not initially support the high school’s request. Nash wrote to the chairman of the school committee that federal regulations required completion of an environmental assessment and a separate study of alternatives. Citing the second-choice access road as preferable since it did not cross NPS land, Nash admitted that “we are unable at this time to be optimistic about an early or even an eventual approval of your proposal,” leaving little room for negotiation or hope at this early stage in the process.⁴¹ The regional office echoed this stance in a separate letter to the high school, and the NPS reiterated its opposition to the exchange of easements for the access road in mid-December 1978. However, the NPS did recognize that the high school already had an easement for a road and that the school would build a road on that easement if it could not get its favored alternative. Nash admitted in late December that, given this circumstance, the NPS should review the alternatives and determine which one worked best for both the park and the school. As he stated in a memorandum to the files, it seemed that the road would be built no matter what and that “it is in the best interests of all parties to proceed as expeditiously as possible with the transfer of right of way.”⁴² In his assessment, B-2 had promise because fewer trees would be cut and the right-of-way would not cross any known cultural or

³⁸ Ibid., 1-2.

³⁹ Larry Paxton to Jack Stark, 14 November 1978, File D30 MIMA, Box 14, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Minuteman Technical High School, Route 2-A Traffic Report, 10-13.

⁴¹ Nash to Ruth Wales, 16 November 1978, 1, File D30 MIMA, Box 14, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC.

⁴² Memorandum, Nash to Files, 22 December 1978, 3, File D30 MIMA, Box 14, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC.

archeological resources, as an initial study indicated. The regional office agreed with Nash's assessment of the situation and ordered its lands division to take action towards the exchange of easements.⁴³ In January 1979, the State Historic Preservation Officer concurred that the road construction would have no known effect on historic, prehistoric, or archeological remains.⁴⁴ The park hinted at its continued reluctance to granting this easement, noting in its 1981 *Resources Management Plan* that "the park recently was required to allow construction of an entrance road into Minuteman Regional Vocational High School."⁴⁵ This declaration does not suggest that the NPS entered negotiations in a positive, community-minded way. This situation had offered an opportunity to act in good faith with the larger area and to build some local support. Yet, the NPS chose instead to offer resistance until it had to act. Such an approach could not help its future GMP development.

BATTLE ROAD

Before the NPS embarked on the multi-year process to produce MIMA's GMP, the agency had to contend with a proposal to widen Route 2A in two places involving park land. This focus on the Battle Road and threats to its historical integrity produced two important results. First, the NPS had the opportunity to refine its arguments for defending the road from modern assaults, stating flatly that incremental changes to Route 2A in the park would produce cumulative deleterious effects on the park and its historic features. Second, the NPS began to conflate its own goals for the park, having them revolve almost completely around removal of all traffic from the Battle Road section of Route 2A. The agency would then go into the GMP process with this mindset, leaving itself open to later public criticism. One other aspect of the Route 2A widening deserves attention. According to Nash, some public officials and others viewed the NPS as dragging its feet, being unresponsive, and being impossible to deal with during negotiations over this proposal. Nash tried to correct this viewpoint, putting together a lengthy chronology detailing his involvement. Yet, this public perception persisted in some circles, again coloring reactions to the GMP efforts.⁴⁶

Beginning in January 1981 the Town of Lexington, with concerned business community leaders, Vocational Technical high school administrators, and neighbors, began discussing possible improvements to various roads in northern Lexington, including along Marrett Road at New Massachusetts Avenue within MIMA. NPS officials did not know of the initial meeting on this topic but did attend a later presentation in September 1981 at the high school. Specific to MIMA, the town wanted to address the continuing issue of traffic backing up along Route 2A in

⁴³ Memorandum, Charles Clapper to Chief, Lands Division, NARO, 26 December 1978, File D30 MIMA, Box 14, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC.

⁴⁴ L. J. Hovig to Ruth Wales, 22 November 1978; Memorandum, Terry Savage to Nash, 17 January 1979, both in File D30 MIMA, Box 14, Acc. 79-88-0002, Waltham FRC. See also "Park Opposes Access Road," *Concord Journal*, Lincoln edition, 14 December 1978.

⁴⁵ MIMA, *Resources Management Plan*, May 1981, IV-B-17, File D18 CY 1981 Resources Management Plan, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁶ Memorandum, Nash to Regional Director, NARO, 20 May 1980, File MIMA Correspondence 1981-1985, NPS History Collection, NRHE Files.

the park as it tried to make its way to Route 128 and other points east. Another NPS concern resulted from a Hanscom Area Transportation Study (HATS) involving entry and exit from Hanscom Drive. The State of Massachusetts wanted to signalize the intersection and widen lanes, providing a left-turn lane on eastbound Route 2A. These separate projects forced the NPS to contend with the attempts to improve Route 2A instead of removing it from the park.

Resulting from its initial discussions regarding Marrett Road, Lexington began the process of ordering surveys and contracting with Boston Survey Consultants (BSC) for engineering services. In December 1981 representatives from the town, BSC, and the Massachusetts Department of Public Works (DPW) met with Nash and other NPS officials to discuss the procedures needed for agreement on these widening proposals. Nash stated at the meeting and reiterated in a letter to the town that relinquishment of any park lands for road construction required review under three separate laws, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (Section 102), the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Section 106), and the Department of Transportation Act of 1966 (Section 4(f)). This review required careful study of alternatives for the widening proposal and a no-action possibility. A year later, Nash repeated his request for such a study, stating that the NPS could not conduct any preliminary reviews or predict outcomes of those reviews until it had a satisfactory study in hand.⁴⁷

By 1983 the situation became more heated. State transportation officials began applying pressure to the governor's office, requesting approval of the proposed implementation of a signal light and turn lane on Route 2A at Hanscom Drive.⁴⁸ This project did not directly involve any NPS lands, but it did fall within park boundaries. North Atlantic Regional Director Herb Cables reminded the state transportation office of the original understanding between the state and the NPS when the state first built Hanscom Drive in the 1960s. The NPS had agreed to this drive because the plan would have included construction of a tunnel underneath the Battle Road, directing traffic out of the airport facility onto a relocated Route 2A. With the present proposal, Cables argued that this improvement would "detract from the experience of those people, from near and far, who come to visit the places where the American nation began."⁴⁹ However, thanks to pressure from the state department of transportation, this project moved forward with construction beginning in July 1984.

The NPS's "considerable efforts" in this regard helped cement a relationship with Secretary of Transportation Salvucci, who admitted that he regretted having to continue with the Hanscom Road/Route 2A widening. As NPS regional planner Terry Savage characterized this situation, "we now have considerably more clout with the Executive Office of Transportation and Construction." The state expected to take a tour of MIMA with Nash to see the concerned areas, and it also invited the park to join a working group and meet directly with Secretary

⁴⁷ Memorandum, Nash to Regional Director, NARO, 20 May 1980, and attached Chronology of Correspondence Regarding the Widening of Route 2A "Marrett Road" in the Town of Lexington, 1-3.

⁴⁸ Record of Telephone Conversation, Terry Savage and Juan Evereteze, 28 October 1983, File D30 MIMA 1981, Box 8, Acc. 79-87-0001, Waltham FRC. It is not clear if the signal light refers to a full-blown traffic light or a flashing yellow light. This intersection would eventually get a flashing yellow light.

⁴⁹ Herb Cables to Juan Evereteze, 20 September 1983, 1, File D30 MIMA 1981, Box 8, Acc. 79-87-0001, Waltham FRC.

Salvucci. This example points to the positive steps Nash and other NPS officials had taken to develop open communication among different representatives in the area, especially necessary for the Battle Road and as the GMP came into focus.⁵⁰

In the meantime, BSC began its design work for the Marrett Road widening. Archeologists conducted a survey in test pits where the road improvements would go. Following this archeological work, the town asked the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to make a declaration regarding the impact of road widening on historic resources. The Deputy SHPO determined a “no effect” finding, clearing the town of this one hurdle.⁵¹

In response to these events, the North Atlantic Regional Office put together and distributed in fall 1983 a brochure titled “Battle Road: Memorial or Arterial?” Meant to inform the public about the situation and generate discussion, this pamphlet outlined the two proposals to widen Route 2A. Other threats included new office park sites proposed along the east and west ends of the park. The Vocational Technical high school also awaited approval to build a 200-room hotel/conference center on its site. Massport considered expanding the Hanscom Field complex, adding more traffic to Route 2A.⁵² The brochure made plain that “the cumulative effect of all of these proposals on traffic and on the park may irrevocably destroy what remains of the Battle Road’s historic character.”⁵³ It went on to say that “telling the story of the events of the Battle Road, however, is becoming increasingly difficult in the midst of a busy arterial highway. The substantial investment and effort that has gone into preserving the Battle Road and Minute Man is being progressively eroded as more and more traffic is funneled onto the road and through the park.”⁵⁴

The NPS recognized that it was one of many neighbors involved in the future of the Battle Road, and it sought to “support cooperative regional efforts.”⁵⁵ In this vein, the agency produced the brochure to share its serious concern about the Battle Road with friends and neighbors and to begin collecting comments and opinions. “It is clear that the future of the Battle Road is not ours alone to shape,” the brochure concluded, and so the agency sought to educate people and hopefully gain some supporters.⁵⁶ The public responded positively to the brochure. At its first appearance upon publication, Nash distributed 600 copies at a Lincoln Land-Use Conference.⁵⁷

More studies came in 1984. Early in the year, the NPS received a copy of BSC’s Functional Design Report and Environmental Review Package for the Marrett Road widening. In its assessment, the NPS found that this study failed to take into account the possibility of

⁵⁰ Record of Telephone Conversation, Terry Savage and Juan Evereteze, 28 October 1983.

⁵¹ Memorandum, Francis Fields to Walter Tonaszuck, 20 May 1985, Marrett Road/Route 2A Progress Dates Chronology, 1-2, File D30 CY 1985 Marrett Road, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵² NARO, Battle Road: Memorial or Arterial? October 1983, Losing Ground on Battle Road section, File Battle Road, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., What Is at Stake section.

⁵⁵ Ibid., Losing Ground on Battle Road section.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Where Do We Go From Here section.

⁵⁷ Memorandum, Rolf Diamant to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NARO, 2 November 1983, File D30 MIMA 1981, Box 8, Acc. 79-87-0001, Waltham FRC.

relocating roads. Nor did the study consider the larger context of the project's relationship to other roads or the park. Nash wrote to BSC that the study needed more specific information about the potential effect of the project "upon the level of traffic using the road, the amount of development induced into the area and the impact of both upon the integrity of the park and upon the quality of our visitors' experience." Without this crucial information, he could not accept the study.⁵⁸

The Town of Lexington did not take lightly this rejection and asked Nash to describe possible ways in which changes to the proposed widening could gain NPS acceptance. Nash responded that the agency would like consideration of lane reductions, with one through lane and one left-turning lane west of the Marrett Road and New Massachusetts Avenue intersection and one through lane and one left-turning lane and one right-turning lane east of the intersection. In addition, Nash asked that the town consider such aesthetic aspects as placing utilities underground and eliminating street lighting. With the establishment of New Massachusetts Avenue as the main thoroughfare, the NPS also requested that the town vacate Old Massachusetts Avenue and transfer it to the park. Finally, Nash wrote that if the state ultimately relocated Route 2A, the park would like any transferred land from the Marrett Road widening to revert to the NPS. These considerations, Nash concluded, "are ideas only and should not be considered as absolute conditions." The town still needed concurrence with the federal Departments of the Interior and Transportation.⁵⁹

BSC and the town did not accept these suggested changes to the road widening project. BSC pointed out in a September 1984 letter to Nash that reducing their suggested number of lanes and removing Old Massachusetts Avenue as a thoroughfare would result in "excessive queues, increase[d] traffic congestion and lower overall levels-of-service along Marrett Road while still requiring land takings" at the park.⁶⁰ The town reiterated the conclusions of the BSC analysis, leaving little room for further negotiation. Nash tried to delineate the deficiencies of BSC's analysis, which the NPS considered overdesigned for the actual traffic conditions. He pointed out that the reduced lanes in his proposal would not significantly reduce the overall effectiveness of the road widening, but the Lexington selectmen continued to support the full project.⁶¹ Nash also tried to convey in a separate letter to the town's selectmen that the agency worried about "the cumulative impact of road projects within the Battle Road corridor" having the "potential to adversely affect those qualities for which [the park] was created." In particular, Nash wrote that "we are concerned that segments of the road are being upgraded one at a time without a clear view of their overall effect on the park's resources and on the integrity of the historic road." He invited the officials to meet at the park to discuss these concerns further.⁶²

⁵⁸ Nash to BSC Engineering, 10 February 1984, File D20 Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁹ Nash to Walter Tonuszuck, 28 June 1984, File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Quote on p. 2.

⁶⁰ William Carlson to Nash, 14 September 1984, 3, File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶¹ Walter Tonuszuck to Nash, 13 November 1984; and Nash to Board of Selectmen, Town of Lexington, 9 November 1984, both in File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶² Nash to Board of Selectmen, Town of Lexington, 16 November 1984, File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

Separate to but in consonance with the NPS's attempts to reduce or eliminate the road widening stepped Thomas Boylston Adams. A columnist for the *Boston Globe* and a direct descendant of Presidents John and John Quincy Adams, Adams publicly expressed in a series of articles for his regular column "History Looks Ahead" his frustration over the continuing modern incursions to the historic road. In July 1984 he called the state's improvements to Route 2A and Hanscom Drive a "desecration of Battle Road." He opened dramatically by stating that "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has chosen this 208th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence to destroy 10,000 more square feet of the battlefield where was created that independence."⁶³ He wrote in April 1984 that the Battle Road was "in danger of quicker and more complete oblivion" than the Parthenon. "That section of it which is of most interest to the people in the world who care about the meaning of the word freedom is threatened by the ultimate destroyer, the bulldozer."⁶⁴ To thwart such modern advances, Adams called for the closing of the park area from all traffic. "Rip up the blacktop," he urged, "and restore [the] road and surrounding countryside to its appearance in 1775. The cost certainly would be less than a single MX missile and its value for education in the foundations of democracy worth considerably more."⁶⁵ Adams steadfastly supported the park throughout this period, although he favored his independence and refused direct participation in any friends' organization that the park tried to establish.⁶⁶

Within this climate of heightened public attention, Lexington took an aggressive stance. In response to Nash's invitation for another meeting, the town's selectmen threatened "to take this matter to higher authority" should delays persist in the road widening proposal.⁶⁷ A January 1985 meeting failed to resolve the issues, and the NPS went back to reviewing the data and waiting for some negotiation room. This came in February when town, NPS, and state and federal transportation authorities met to hear a downsized proposal by BSC. This changed proposal, which would not involve taking any park land, essentially encapsulated what the NPS had offered earlier. The park would have to agree to the building of a retaining wall on the north side of Marrett Road. The NPS gave its tentative approval, but the town's selectmen voiced their continued opposition to any project less than a full widening of Marrett Road.⁶⁸

Even before the February meeting, town officials began contacting congressional representatives and federal agencies asking for support in their effort to achieve the maximum solution for the road widening. The town characterized its proposal as "modest" and emphasized that negotiations had already lasted four years. In addition, the town made a point

⁶³ Thomas Boylston Adams, "Desecration of Battle Road," *Boston Globe*, 1 July 1984.

⁶⁴ Thomas Boylston Adams, "The Bulldozer Threatens a Historic Road," *Boston Globe*, 29 April 1984.

⁶⁵ Thomas Boylston Adams, "The Battle Road of 1775 Must Win Its New Battle," *Boston Globe*, 8 April 1984.

⁶⁶ Memorandum, Herbert Cables to Director, 13 April 1987, File D30 MIMA 87-89, Box 6, Acc. 79-95-0013, Waltham FRC.

⁶⁷ Robert Hutchinson to Nash, 6 December 1984, File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁸ Memorandum, Maurice Miller to Nash, 8 January 1985, 6-8; and Memorandum, Maurice Miller to Assistant Manager, Northeast Team, DSC, 27 February 1985, 2-3, both in File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Memorandum, Nash to Regional Director, NARO, 20 May 1985, File MIMA Correspondence 1981-1985, NPS History Collection , NRHE Files.

in these letters of its willingness to exchange 56,000 square feet of town land for the needed 16,000 square feet of NPS land to accommodate the widening. The town officials indicated that everyone involved faced a “serious credibility problem” due to the lack of any timely response on the part of the NPS and/or the federal highway authority.⁶⁹ After a heated exchange of chronologies documenting the responsiveness and cooperation of the federal authorities and the frustration of the Lexington officials, the town called another meeting for September 1985. The NPS defended its past actions, noting that the agency had “set a clear course of action from inception of the project.” The agency also emphasized that the town and state had not formally followed the procedures for Section 4(f) process as required under the federal highways act. In addition, NPS officials renewed their argument that the original BSC proposal represented an overdesign of expected future traffic counts while the NPS proposal fell within acceptable transportation limits for urban areas. Further discussion led to no compromise action, and the Lexington Town Manager concluded that he would recommend to the board of selectmen the earlier solution from February 1985. This situation would wait at a virtual standstill until 1992.⁷⁰

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

This battle between the NPS and the Town of Lexington over the proposed Marrett Road widening shaped initial GMP efforts. Nash and his staff recognized that the park needed to analyze a range of development opportunities for the Battle Road from an interpretive standpoint and plan for the most promising ones. With this information in hand, the park could more strongly address outside development proposals. As a result, Nash asked the regional office to fund a Battle Road Development Concept Plan. This plan would gather public and political views about different development proposals for Battle Road within the park and chart their viability. The development plan would also propose an interim method for addressing park features within the existing situation.⁷¹ The NPS contracted with Harvard University’s Department of Landscape Architecture within the Graduate School of Design with this task. Professor Carl Steinitz and 13 graduate students worked with NPS staff and many local residents and officials to explore the purpose of the park and its potential.⁷²

At the outset, the NPS and the Harvard group expected the background research and conclusions of this study to serve as key information resources for GMP planners. However, GMP planners largely ignored the Harvard study, focusing instead on the Battle Road and removing all traffic from it. The value of the Harvard study, though, is that it did offer innovative

⁶⁹ Margery Battin to Senator Edward Kennedy, 21 January 1985, File D30 MIMA 1984, Box 4, Acc. 79-93-0003, Waltham FRC. Quotes follow in order on pp. 1 and 2.

⁷⁰ The chronologies date from 20 May 1985 by Nash and 18 June 1985 by Paul Marshall. Memorandum, Maurice Miller to Assistant Manager, Northeast Team, DSC, 16 September 1985, File D30 MIMA 1984, Box 4, Acc. 79-93-0003, Waltham FRC. Quote on p. 2. Memorandum, Maurice Miller to Assistant Manager, Northeast Team, DSC, 27 February 1985, 2, File D30 MIMA 1984, Box 4, Acc. 79-93-0003, Waltham FRC.

⁷¹ Memorandum, Nash to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NARO, 10 May 1984, File D20, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷² Carl Steinitz, et al., Alternative Futures for Minute Man National Historical Park, Spring 1985, 1, 34, File Alternative Futures for MIMA, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

approaches to address the park's entire interpretive story. Its findings deserve attention and reflection.

Released in spring 1985 the Harvard Study "Alternative Futures for Minute Man National Historical Park" went to the heart of the conflicts facing the park in the mid-1980s. The researchers identified three aspects needing attention for full realization of the park. These included clarification and improvement of the visitor experience, resolution of existing conflicts between traffic and park attractions, and countering the effects of outside pressures. In the case of the visitor experience, the Harvard researchers found interpretation confusing because most visitors came off Route 128 and headed in a westerly direction into the park. However, park interpretation followed the historical route from the North Bridge east. Due to the proximity of modern buildings and presence of heavy traffic, the park also seemed fragmentary with indistinct boundaries. Lack of signage and the heavily wooded landscape prevented visitors from recognizing park areas and their importance to the story. The Harvard group admitted that most visitors stopped at the North Bridge and its monuments, but they failed to appreciate the other historic resources contained within the park.⁷³

The Harvard study did not foresee a positive outcome for current traffic issues and outside pressures. Researchers noted that traffic problems along Route 2A involved two separate sources: commuters from the western suburbs traveling to Route 128 and commuters exiting Route 128 and heading to the new office parks. Both forms of traffic showed increases. Route 2 did not offer an alternative to taking traffic off Route 2A, and state authorities increasingly used park land to build turn lanes at busy intersections. This provided more pressure to widen the road to four lanes. Visitors faced heavy traffic between historic sites. Exhaust fumes and traffic noise interrupted guided tours and detracted from the intended relaxing experience. Massport's Hanscom Civilian Field and the United States Air Force Base posed the biggest outside development pressures within the park. An increasing number flights out of the base and Air Force research laboratories contributed to noise and traffic. Massport also sought more development of its lands around Hanscom. These potential developments would hinder the park's wish to conduct landscape restoration in the area. People would clearly see modern buildings as they surveyed the historical grounds.⁷⁴

The Harvard researchers warned that unless the park took timely action to counter this range of pressures, "there is a real danger that the park will lose all value as a historic site." They called for "a new and innovative master-planning from park authorities," in cooperation with state and local officials and the community "to avoid such a sorry and needless outcome."⁷⁵ Guiding this action, the study group offered three key goals: interpretation of the significance of the events to the development of democracy in the United States, recognize subsequent historic events in park areas, and respond to the area's contemporary needs. With these potential goals in mind, the Harvard group described its three alternative futures for MIMA. Each of these proposals, in the group's estimation, offered to reduce visitor disorientation and confusion,

⁷³ Ibid., 6-7.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 8-9.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 9.

mainly because the proposals directed visitors from west to east. The group also believed that each design represented politically realistic proposals that had a feasible chance of implementation.⁷⁶

The Selective Restoration Alternative identified four zones within the park representing crucial places for communication of the events of 1775. All restoration and interpretive efforts would focus in those zones, namely the North Bridge, Meriam's Corner, the Bloody Angle, and the Virginia Road area. The design proposal would isolate these four sites from modern incursions, restoring landscape features and using some screening to mask modern buildings. The NPS would de-emphasize the land-areas between these four sites, leaving any modern influences hidden by existing trees. This design would involve short relocations of Old Bedford Road at Meriam's Corner and Route 2A at the Bloody Angle. In addition, the researchers recommended realigning and upgrading Route 2A to a four-lane limited access highway at the park's easternmost end, from Hanscom Drive to Massachusetts Avenue, along the park's southern boundary. With this change, the park would remove the heaviest commuter traffic and thus keep visitor and commuter traffic separate. The eastern end of the park would receive less attention from a historic standpoint and instead serve as a recreational outlet with picnicking facilities, bike and walking paths, trails, and limited group camping shelters.⁷⁷

The General Restoration Alternative sought to re-create as much as practical of the 1775 landscape throughout the length of the park, using the Historic Grounds Report by Joyce Malcolm as a guide. The researchers proposed in this alternative to rebuild farms that had existed at the time of the Revolutionary War and to isolate them visually from modern influences with screening. To achieve this historic landscape restoration, the study group recommended relocation and parkway treatment of Route 2A between Meriam's Corner and Fiske Hill. Route 2A would go to the southern boundary of the park, and a tunnel would direct traffic from Hanscom Drive to the relocated Route 2A. To enhance the historic experience at Meriam's Corner, the state would also have to relocate Old Bedford Road to the east. The researchers do not elaborate on the appearance of the Battle Road once freed of commuter traffic, whether it would still have pavement or have a dirt base. This alternative does mention that the restored Battle Road would have four miles free of intersections and interference from vehicles, but somehow people could still get to the various sites via vehicular traffic. Walking and biking trails would also take visitors to such stops as the top of Revolutionary Ridge, where Americans shocked British Regulars with their attacks. This alternative, the Harvard researchers admitted, created a fitting setting for the interpretation of the first battle of the American Revolution, but it relied heavily on the "closest cooperation" with the towns and their residents, the DPW, Massport, and the Federal Highways Administration.⁷⁸

The Historic Continuum Alternative took an evolving historical approach to the landscape, recognizing that the events of 1775 led to other important developments that deserved attention. This design would educate the public about significant events from all

⁷⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 13-15, 18-19.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 13, 20-21, 24-25. Quote on p. 25.

periods of history which occurred in the region. The NPS would develop MIMA as a progression of historic landscapes. With this alternative, the Harvard group recommended establishing a new visitor orientation center on the eastern fringe of Concord Center near the junction of Routes 2 and 2A. Run cooperatively by the NPS and Town of Concord, the visitor center would emphasize the interrelationship of the town and countryside over the course of time and introduce visitors to the range of historical and cultural features in the area. From this new center, visitors would choose from a number of different loops that would take them to various sites, such as the North Bridge, The Wayside, the Battle Road, or into Concord Center. Visitors could walk, bike, or drive these loops. Interpretive displays along each loop, plus audio programs and brochures, would explain the significance of the sites. Aside from a short relocation of a portion of Old Bedford Road and another short realignment of Route 2A at the Bluff near Fiske Hill, this alternative would not include any major road changes. Visitors would see the evolution of farming practices around historic buildings while some vistas would also include selected contemporary views, emphasizing the continuum in history along the landscape. The Battle Road Visitor Center's emphasis would shift from historical interpretation to serving as a focus for active recreational use. The center would offer bicycle and cross country ski rentals and host group gatherings, even serve as a hostel. More trails would allow visitors opportunities for exploring the landscape. The Harvard group noted that this alternative relied upon a shared vision with the Town of Concord for the new visitor center. In comparison to the other two alternatives, this one would require the least disruption of the existing landscape and provided the least disruption to surrounding communities.⁷⁹

These three alternatives did not depart radically from previous proposals for MIMA, although they did emphasize different approaches that could aid GMP planners. Certainly, the General Restoration alternative fit closest to what the Boston National Historic Sites Commission had ultimately adopted in its recommendation for establishing the park and what the park's 1966 *Master Plan* had set forth. The Selective Restoration alternative compared with what Edwin Small and the BSC had initially considered for a park. As described in Chapter 2, Small had first thought the park would encompass discrete units of land along the Battle Road, acting as buffers from the commercial and residential developments. Not until the threat of the Hanscom housing proposal did Small and the commission push for preservation of a continuous strip of landscape along four miles of the Battle Road. The Historic Continuum alternative offered a sort of compromise with the other approaches, having selective restoration along with recognition of modern intrusions. This latter approach, in particular, allowed the park to maximize its historic resources while also accommodating the inevitable succession of historic and modern changes. However, the NPS paid only limited attention to the alternative futures ideas, losing what momentum the study provided. This lack of interest hints to what problems the agency would face as it developed a draft GMP.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 13, 26-27, 30-32.

GMP: FIRST STAGE

From its inception in February 1985 MIMA's formal GMP effort focused on the Battle Road and its traffic woes. GMP team members, who largely came from the Denver Service Center, probably relied upon Nash, other park staff members, and some regional officials for obtaining background information. Given the attention on the Marrett Road widening proposal and Hanscom Drive improvements, Battle Road concerns certainly would have topped these discussions. When GMP team members made their first trip to MIMA, their meeting minutes indicate that the Battle Road and its traffic problems took the forefront in conversations. Professor Steinitz and other members of the Harvard study group presented their findings and shared data with the GMP planners. GMP team members attended a Hanscom Area Traffic Study monthly meeting to gain additional appreciation of the issues facing that transportation corridor. Another morning was dedicated to meeting with state transportation authorities, including Secretary Salvucci, who had made the final determination not to relocate Route 2. The initial GMP session also included separate meetings with the Lincoln and Lexington Board of Selectmen and the town manager and staff for Concord. Planners also had the opportunity to discuss timelines and issues with key regional and park officials. Nash gave the team a tour of the park. Original advisory board member James DeNormandie and Lincoln resident Thomas Boylston Adams joined the GMP planners in discussions, too.⁸⁰

Following on the heels of this initial GMP session, the team sought public participation. Planners prepared for a series of public meetings to capture what people thought were the issues and management alternatives for the park. These four workshops in each of the three towns plus Cambridge would follow a large group-small group discussion format. In anticipation, park planners also joined public officials in three special sessions, one with elected representatives of Lincoln, Lexington, and Concord, one with staff from these three towns, and one with state transportation officials. The regional office produced and distributed the first in a series of newsletters, titled "The Correspondent," to discuss the history of the park, raise issues, advertise the public meetings for late April and early May, and ask for public comments.⁸¹

About 100 people participated in the four workshops. Along with feedback received in the mail, the NPS compiled the responses and determined how most people viewed the various issues. With regard to the Battle Road, a large majority of respondents felt that the road was an obstacle to the use and enjoyment of the park. People did not have a clear consensus of what to do about the traffic on Battle Road, although more people favored complete relocation of Route 2A or development of a northern alignment for Route 2. Interestingly, neither road widening nor keeping the status quo elicited much support.⁸² The Town of Lincoln Planning Board echoed these thoughts, urging for the study of an "alternative commuter access to allow the

⁸⁰ Memorandum, Dan Huff to Assistant Manager, Northeast Team, DSC, 15 February 1985, 1-2, File D20 Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸¹ Ibid., 2-3; *The Correspondent*, April 1985, File D18 MIMA 1984, Box 4, Acc. 79-93-0003, Waltham FRC.

⁸² Summary of Public Response: Pre-Planning Phase, MIMA GMP, July 1985, 3, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

Battle Road to realize its historic intention as a symbol of freedom.”⁸³ However, in its written response to the call for comments, Lexington officials wrote that the park “should accept the fact that 2A is there and make the best of it.”⁸⁴

In terms of park identity, people expressed support for the central story of the 1775 patriot fight against the British regulars. The majority of respondents felt that the park should focus on the events of 19 April 1775. The theme of eighteenth-century life followed closely as a park theme people supported. A range of potential secondary themes recommended by participants included the nineteenth-century authors (most popular), nature study (second most popular), and studies of rural agriculture. Some other people believed that the park should stay focused on the events of 19 of April 1775 but leave other themes to interested-outside organizations. In terms of theme-related activities, most people favored living-history presentations, with a second most popular activity being lectures relating to the park. People wanted picnicking but not weddings. Opinion varied fairly evenly for and against public assembly. People liked the idea of hiking through the park, but they did not want races. They wanted bike paths and walking trails, but people did not express much support for shuttle buses.⁸⁵

People also expressed their ideas of how the park should look. A common concern related to park identity. Most participants agreed that the park needed more identifiable signage, while some thought the park needed delineating landscape features, such as perimeter walls or fences. The majority of participants wanted a combination of landscape restoration and modern agricultural practices. Others liked the idea of landscape restoration and historic agriculture. People next favored maintaining contemporary landscapes while the fewest wanted modern agricultural use of park land. Respondents favored a case-by-case selective restoration program for the park’s 28 historic structures. Next, people preferred exterior restoration of the buildings. In terms of uses of historic buildings, participants most wanted the buildings used for interpretation, then for restaurants or bed and breakfasts. Only a few people supported historic leases or residences for park staff. With respect to land protection, the majority of respondents also favored preservation of open space.⁸⁶ Lincoln had recently set into conservation the muster field where Lincoln residents had gathered before the Battle at Concord, expressing in deed what many respondents wanted done within the park.⁸⁷

Based on these initial sessions with public officials, interested individuals, and park and regional staff, the GMP team adopted in June 1985 its Task Directive for completing MIMA’s GMP and *Environmental Assessment*. Team members admitted that “the park finds itself in a position of having done the basic work of acquiring the land and introducing visitor facilities, but at the same time having to reconsider some of its principal ideas that formed the basis for the park’s development.” Various factors influenced this stance, including the constant pressure to

⁸³ F. Douglas Adams to Nash, 14 June 1985, 2, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸⁴ John Eddison and John McLaughlin, 13 June 1985, 2, File D18 1985, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸⁵ Summary of Public Response, 1985, 2-3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁷ Adams to Nash, 14 June 1985, 2.

widen Route 2A through the park and the transformation of open land into office and residential developments. Plus, the park slowed its own development possibilities with the granting of term reservations or life estates, allowing park residents to stay in their homes and keeping the park from removing modern houses or restoring some of the historic ones. The 1966 *Master Plan* idea of restoring the eighteenth-century landscape seemed far-off and naïve when considering the situation facing MIMA 20 years later.⁸⁸

The task directive went straight to MIMA's issues and bypassed any discussion of what might be the park's revised goals and objectives or, even more importantly, how the GMP team expected to delineate them. The list of issues and accompanying discussion make clear that GMP planners accepted the goals of the 1966 *Master Plan* and sought ways to address them with the changed environment. The task directive named traffic as the number one issue for the team to consider. Historic homes and sites within the park suffered from isolation as traffic rushed past, visitors experienced hazardous situations as they tried to stop and go through the park, and interpreters fought for visitors to hear them as traffic noise often drowned out their voices. The Battle Road, a primary focus of the park, sat "submerged in a sea of traffic and cannot be used for park purposes." Traffic patterns also left visitors unsure of where the park's boundaries started and ended, contributing to concerns over park identity. Land protection was another issue. Commuter traffic and the rise of modern office developments visibly encroached on any attempts to restore eighteenth-century pastures.⁸⁹ Other issues listed in the task directive related to interpretive focus, treatment strategy for structures, and treatment strategy for landscape.

Landscape architect Deirdre Gibson argued strenuously about the need to establish goals for the MIMA GMP in a revealing memorandum to Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Preservation Charles Clapper. Gibson pointed out that this tiny park was "beset by disproportionately complicated circumstances—tricky environmental conditions, legal and jurisdictional crossties, and encroachment by 200 years of use and development." Despite these disadvantages, she recognized its potential as a commemorative, educational, and recreational resource. To extract these resources, though, Gibson argued that the NPS had to approach the plan with an open mind and a "willingness to use innovative methods to protect and interpret." She did not want the NPS to revert to its Mission 66-style, "that the NPS can exercise so much control and spend so much money that we can create an insular little world on this narrow strip of suburbia." She asked, "is total control and restoration necessary or even desirable?"⁹⁰

To answer this question, Gibson believed that the GMP team had to establish the goals for the park. Yet, she found active rejection⁹¹ of any attempts to do just that during a set of weeklong meetings following release of the task directive. "Goals for the park were not considered or discussed, and so there was no baseline against which proposals could be

⁸⁸ NPS, Task Directive for MIMA, 24 June 1985, 3, File D18 1985, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 4-5. Quote on p. 4.

⁹⁰ Memorandum, Deirdre Gibson to Charles Clapper, 30 July 1985, 1, File D18 1985, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁹¹ Gibson uses the term "actively rejected," underlining hers, on p. 2 of her memorandum.

measured.”⁹² Instead, relocation of Route 2A became the single master plan component. GMP team leader Dan Huff indicated in his report of these meetings this same embracement of the relocation idea. The Denver Service Center (DSC) team had decided in July that “all Battle Road redevelopment options (except the “No Action” of status quo) must include removal of all non-park traffic from the historic road alignment.” DSC members dissented when Clapper recommended that the team also pursue a fall-back alternative not requiring full relocation of traffic. Huff and others believed that the Battle Road itself was the “most significant cultural resource in the unit and that any development option that leaves commuter traffic on the historic trace would not meet the intent of the park’s enabling legislation.”⁹³ Clapper, agreeing with Gibson, later required that the DSC team include a partial relocation alternative, saying in a memo that “we are putting all our eggs in one basket” by only recommending complete removal of Route 2A from the Battle Road unit and that the NPS “should explore all reasonable alternatives.”⁹⁴

Gibson agreed that such relocation and restoration of the landscape may end up part of a preferred alternative, “but without goals and objectives, there is no way to support such a conclusion, and it will be indefensible when it comes time to seek public approval and funding.”⁹⁵ At the same time, Gibson worried that the GMP team seemed to have stepped away from all of the research and analysis done by the Harvard study group. If the NPS did not plan to use the Harvard work, then Gibson wanted NPS to start over and establish its own method and approach for a new pre-planning study, adding to the schedule and timelines for the GMP.⁹⁶

Gibson offered some tantalizing possibilities that planners might consider once they had clear goals for the park. Instead of treating the post-1775 resources and recreational opportunities as “skeletons in the closet,” she suggested consideration of a continuum approach. “Just as there were good reasons why the rebellion began in Concord, the fact of that rebellion colored much of what happened in the region in the next centuries. An understanding and presentation of this continuum can do a great deal to illuminate that one day.” Put bluntly, Gibson wrote that “people live in the present—they want to know how we got from then to now.” With such an approach, The Wayside would not be treated as “the anomaly that some would claim. It is currently treated as an orphan, but the opportunity exists to skillfully weave it and other local resources into a time line that starts long before the Revolution and extends to today.” Building cooperative relationships with local and regional organizations, as originally envisioned in the park’s 1959 legislation, could result in smoother visitor experiences than presently encountered and provide for unequaled benefits, such as connecting to the proposed Bay Circuit Greenbelt.⁹⁷

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Memorandum, Dan Huff to Assistant Manager, Northeast Team, DSC, 23 August 1985, 2, File D18 1985, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁹⁴ Memorandum, Charles Clapper to Team Manager, Northeast Team, DSC, 14 August 1985, File D18 MIMA 1984, Box 4, Acc. 79-93-0003, Waltham FRC.

⁹⁵ Memorandum, Gibson to Clapper, 30 July 1985, 2.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 3.

Gibson closed with a warning. In her opinion, the NPS needed to use a “sincere cooperative spirit” in working with Massport and state transportation authorities. “The standard confrontational approach makes us losers.” Through skillful negotiation and accommodation, the NPS could demonstrate its integrity and commitment to achieving mutual aims. “Anyone who doesn’t believe that the park is not and does not have to be interconnected with its surroundings does not have a realistic grasp on politics and contemporary park administration.” Having clear goals and an innovative, flexible approach would take the planning team far in pulling the “park out of mediocrity and into excellence.”⁹⁸

Another red flag in this initial effort by the GMP team involved expectations for public involvement. The GMP team did not anticipate any further formal meetings until after it had presented its concepts to the regional director and had compiled a draft GMP. Only after the draft GMP appeared would the NPS solicit responses from the communities. The GMP team expected to develop its plan with park and regional input, using the initial sets of public responses, but there would not be any further formal invitations to the towns.⁹⁹ Daniel Dattilio, who first came to MIMA in 1986 as park supervisory ranger, immersed himself in the GMP process and stayed through its eventual passage and implementation. He saw the NPS work out its own ideas for confronting the issues without bringing in the public. Some of these ideas involved additional land takings, and as Dattilio later stated, there isn’t anything “people will rise up and object more against than plans that could impact their land, especially when they’re not notified about it.” In his estimation, there was not “enough pre-planning with community folks, or neighbors, or inholders to make them aware of what ideas were being considered, and to give them an idea of what different options were available to them.”¹⁰⁰

This initial effort, and the concerns it raised, passed without further substantive action. Due to a reorganization of the DSC, several GMP team members, including the captain, received new assignments. Following a several-month delay, a newly constituted team in early 1986 began reviewing the work of their predecessors. Part of this re-evaluation involved amending the task directive. In its new guise, the directive again focused on issues, but it named visitor use and interpretation first. Traffic fell to number three in the list, but realignment remained a significant consideration.¹⁰¹ Nash expressed his concern with this rearrangement of the task directives, arguing that “we cannot agree to its being relegated to a sometime problem. Because of the central nature of the road to the Park, because of the Park Service’s inability to formulate a position with regard to the road and because of the sensitive political and public opinion issues involved, we continue to maintain that the traffic and road issues must be given complete analysis.”¹⁰² However, the regional office voiced caution over any proposals involving major

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ NPS, Task Directive, 1985, 7-8.

¹⁰⁰ Dan Dattilio, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 23 November 2005, 15, MIMA Archives.

¹⁰¹ Memorandum, Kenneth Raithel to Regional Director, NARO, 7 February 1986, 1-2, File D18 1986, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁰² Memorandum, Nash to Regional Director, NARO, 19 February 1986, 2, File D18 MIMA 1984, Box 4, Acc. 79-93-0003, Waltham FRC.

road relocations. The Boston metropolitan area experienced in 1985 the fastest appreciating real estate market in the country, giving pause to any notion involving significant land acquisition. In addition, the new federal *Gramm-Rudman Law* to rein in spending put a damper on any thoughts that the federal government would fund such a proposed project. As a result, regional planning and design chief Terry Savage urged that “innovative approaches to solving the problems at Minute Man must be found.”¹⁰³

Despite this call for moderation and innovation, GMP planners continued to focus on complete relocation of Route 2A. Team members did introduce a limited amount of public participation in its work, presenting three conceptual alternatives to unidentified “selected publics” in May 1986. A year later, after distributing another edition of “The Correspondent” newsletter, the NPS hosted more public meetings and collected written responses about its proposed alternative plans for the park. The NPS identified its favored alternative, Reconstructed Road, which involved restoration of the Battle Road to its approximate historic character, including removal of pavement, and the total relocation of traffic. A second-alternative, called the Tour Route, included relocation of Route 2A but kept the Battle Road as a modern touring road capable of handling visitors in their cars. The third alternative, String of Pearls, would not require relocation of traffic from the park and would instead establish selected areas for interpretation and development for visitor use. The NPS named the Reconstructed Road its preferred alternative. Most of the newsletter described how the agency expected to implement this preferred alternative in three phases, leaving little detail about the other two possibilities.¹⁰⁴ The agency presented three possible alternatives for the North Bridge Unit and asked for feedback before choosing a preferred one. Alternative A would increase signage and enlarge the parking lot at the Stedman Buttrick House. Alternative B would relocate Liberty Street to accommodate visitor access to a new parking area. Alternative C would explore the possibility of closing Monument Street on either side of Flint Bridge. Local traffic in and out of Concord Center would travel via Liberty Street and Lowell Road.¹⁰⁵

Many different groups provided written responses to the draft management alternatives as outlined in The Correspondent newsletter. Concordians favored little to no change of parking and traffic circulation conditions at the North Bridge Unit. The town’s Long Range Planning Committee, which favored Alternative A, wrote that it “does not view the circulation and parking problems to be severe enough to warrant the extensive disruption” of either the B or C Alternatives.¹⁰⁶ The Concord Board of Selectmen echoed this response, saying that it did not believe that the parking and pedestrian problems were severe enough to warrant the disruption from relocating Liberty or Monument Streets.¹⁰⁷ A large group of Concord residents living near the North Bridge indicated its unwillingness to support any of the proposed alternatives for that

¹⁰³ Memorandum, Terry Savage to Chief, Office of Park Planning, WASO, 24 February 1986, 2, File Minute Man, Mass., Planning Office Files, NPS Washington.

¹⁰⁴ NPS, The Correspondent, April 1987, Front Page and Section on North Bridge Unit, File Minute Man, Mass., Planning Office Files, NPS Washington. Quote on p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., Section on North Bridge Unit.

¹⁰⁶ Carol Dwyer to Nash, 7 May 1987, 2, File D18 1987, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Loughlin to Nash, 27 July 1987, 1, File D18 1987, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

unit. Instead of enlarging the parking lot under Alternative A, this group wanted the NPS to institute shuttle buses. These nearby residents also argued that Liberty Street had historic importance dating from 1793, and that the new proposed route would cross part of the historic muster field, potentially disrupting this site. In response to the idea of closing of Monument Street, the group pointed out that Lowell Road already supported heavy traffic and that some intersections offered serious problems without carrying more traffic.¹⁰⁸

For the Battle Road Unit, Nash wrote in a memorandum to the North Atlantic Regional Director about the “almost universal support we received for the idea of closing the road.”¹⁰⁹ However, written responses indicate a range of opinions. The Concord Long Range Planning Committee expressed unabashed support, stating it “applauds the National Park Service for adopting as its preferred alternative the restoration of the Battle Road” and relocating Route 2A.¹¹⁰ The Lincoln Board of Selectmen, however, cautioned that its support for the Reconstructed Road alternative for the Battle Road required careful accommodation of access issues for residents, emergency vehicles, and users of its waste transfer site, located just outside park boundaries.¹¹¹ The Concord Board of Selectmen admitted no consensus but stated the majority of board members did “not believe it is realistic with today’s traffic problems around Concord Center” to return the Battle Road to its historic unpaved surface. “The relocation of Route 2A,” the board chair wrote, “in the Town of Concord does not make good planning sense to this Board at this time.” Instead, the Concord selectmen considered the String of Pearls alternative as a viable option and encouraged the NPS to consider it in its future discussions.¹¹²

The NPS defined its position both with regard to its GMP recommendations and its approach toward the idea of a continuum in history in its notable exchange with the state’s history community. SHPO and Executive Director of the Massachusetts Historical Commission Valerie Talmage wrote to the regional office expressing disappointment that the “GMP is unfortunately sterile as it attempts to isolate the Park from its community context.”¹¹³ Talmage pointed out that the State of Massachusetts followed a continuum approach to history, emphasizing a “recognition and understanding of the dynamically changing aspects of history and prehistory in the cities, towns and regions.” The GMP, in Talmage’s opinion, did not address sufficiently the archeological record of several thousand years of human occupation before the Revolutionary War, nor the historical or architectural developments in the post-1775 period. In addition, Talmage believed that the 1987 GMP alternatives failed to take into context

¹⁰⁸ Concord residents [petition] to NPS, 3 May 1987, File Minute Man, Mass., Planning Office Files, NPS Washington. See also Draft GMP, 1988, 155-57.

¹⁰⁹ Memorandum, Nash to Regional Director NARO, 10 September 1987, 1, File MIMA Draft GMP June 1987, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹⁰ Dwyer to Nash, 7 May 1987, 1.

¹¹¹ Susan Fargo to Nash, 2 July 1987, File D18 1987, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹² Loughlin to Nash, 27 July 1987, 2.

¹¹³ Valerie Talmage to Herbert Cables, 10 October 1987, 2, File MIMA Correspondence 1986-, History Collection, NRHE Files.

the experiences of and contributions of residents in Concord and Lexington over the stretch of time.¹¹⁴

NPS representatives, recognizing the importance of the SHPO response, made contact to try to clarify positions and possibly negotiate some compromises. Regional Historian Dwight Pitcaithley called the Massachusetts Historical Commission and talked to commission member Brona Simon. Pitcaithley questioned Simon on the commission's steadfastness in wanting interpretation and development of historic sites to witness the full stretch of time. Pitcaithley noted that such an approach would effectively subvert the importance of the American Revolutionary period in comparison to the long history of the towns. Simon made clear that she "disagree[d] with the idea that Congress sets aside areas (national historic sites, national historical parks, and the like) because one event in the past overshadows all others in that particular locale." She believed that the "Service is following an antiquated preservation philosophy," one that in the case of MIMA "is exceedingly narrow and only involves 1% of the archeological, architectural, and historical resource base which is incredibly rich." Pitcaithley tried unsuccessfully to "convince her that different planning approaches might, and do, exist for cities and states and for specific historic sites."¹¹⁵

In response to this call, the regional director asked for clarification from the Washington Office regarding what had clearly become the NPS's dual set of responsibilities for historic preservation. Those guidelines codified in the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines* prescribed a process for preserving the diverse cultural resources of an individual state, as expressed by the Massachusetts Historical Commission members. On the other hand, the NPS had its own Management Policies that directed development and administration of NPS-managed historic parks and sites, placing emphasis upon identified time periods, events, and individuals. What approach should the NPS take and how could it resolve the issue at MIMA?¹¹⁶

The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation offered its own answer, advocating for a balanced approach. The council wrote that the 1987 draft GMP recognized the literary theme of the nineteenth-century authors, but it did "not dispel an impression of isolation of this and all other secondary themes from the central theme and goal" of the park.¹¹⁷ In addition, the council urged reconsideration of the "potential irreversible loss of post-1775 fabric" during proposed development of the Battle Road Unit, especially if the park implemented extensive landscape restoration before having definite approval and funding of the Route 2A relocation. The council suggested a "more comprehensive and flexible approach" than identified in the draft plan.¹¹⁸ Nash, not mincing words, expressed his own opinion of the state's and council's approach toward a continuum of history. He wrote to the regional director that "To grant the daily

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 1-2.

¹¹⁵ Memorandum, Dwight Pitcaithley to Files, 28 October 1987, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1986-, History Collection, NRHE Files.

¹¹⁶ Herbert Cables to Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resources, 29 October 1987, 1, File D18 1987, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹⁷ Don Klima to Herbert Cables, 10 November 1987, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1986-, History Collection, NRHE Files.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 2.

activities of aboriginal fishermen and suburban joggers the same significance as those of the embattled farmers on that glorious morning is to degenerate the acts of the latter and to trivialize our cultural heritage.” He went on to argue that “it is this kind of misguided egalitarianism that produces cultural illiterates who do not know their own history and for whom Revere means little more than a kind of cookware.”¹¹⁹

1988 DRAFT GMP

In May 1988 the NPS released its Draft GMP, also containing an *Environmental Assessment and Land Protection Plan*, for MIMA and initiated a five-month period for giving presentations, hosting public meetings, and gathering comments.¹²⁰ The draft *Management Plan* embraced as its central proposal the Reconstructed Road alternative as presented the year prior in “The Correspondent.” Alternatives included minimal action, the Tour Road approach, and the String of Pearls concept. Citing “overwhelming support” from the public, the agency made clear its intentions in the draft plan to have a park that emphasized the area’s 1775 character.¹²¹ Visitors would have the opportunity to step away from modern developments and enjoy the park’s historic resources. MIMA would offer the public a “holistic image” of a nationally significant resource with all motorized traffic taken off the Battle Road and its historic alignment restored to a dirt surface.¹²² The NPS clearly took into account the town’s previous concerns about the North Bridge Unit and proposed instituting minimal changes, such as slightly extending the existing parking lot where the restrooms had once stood, while maintaining the site’s commemorative character. Continued efforts would try to reduce the length of stay of visitors at the North Bridge and direct them to other park areas where parking and space could accommodate them. However, if traffic and visitor safety concerns required changes, the agency did recommend rerouting Monument Street and possibly Liberty Street.¹²³ The NPS offered a limited action plan for The Wayside, meant to address some structural deterioration and to conduct substantial rehabilitation to preserve the historic fabric and ensure environmentally safe conditions.¹²⁴ The draft management plan incorporated environmental assessments of its proposed actions. The *Land Protection Plan* (LPP) argued that the NPS should acquire through fee, donation, and transfer some land outside the park’s existing boundaries in order to ensure protection of historic resources and view-sheds. The LPP also suggested that about 44 acres of excess land currently within the park be deleted. MIMA had about 749 acres currently under its

¹¹⁹ Memorandum, Nash to Regional Director, NARO, 20 November 1987, 1-2, File D18 SHPO, Council Comments, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹²⁰ The Park Service first recommended a three-month review period, but extended it to November 1988 in response to concerns raised by the towns. See Herbert Cables to Fan Cabot, 22 July 1988, 1, File Minute Man, Mass., Planning Office Files, NPS Washington.

¹²¹ Draft GMP, 1988, iii.

¹²² Ibid., 31.

¹²³ Ibid., 98-99.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 118.

control, and the changes offered in the draft plan would necessitate congressional action to raise the 750-acre ceiling to about 960 acres.¹²⁵

The draft management plan outlined a three-phase process for achieving its goal of restoring the 1775 environment within the Battle Road unit.¹²⁶ In the first phase, the NPS would begin the process of “replicating the historical balance of open fields, orchards, and natural woodlands” by developing a landscape restoration plan.¹²⁷ Ongoing archeological and documentary research would support eventual restoration work. The NPS also proposed to retain all pre-1920 structures, moving up the 1830 date that the 1966 *Master Plan* had originally set. Justifying this shift, the draft plan argued that because a number of eighteenth-century structures had been lost, the nineteenth-century buildings would “help restore a sense of balance between structures and open fields that was present at the time of the battle.”¹²⁸ The park would also improve directional signing and implement a Wayside exhibit plan. The NPS in phase two would begin initiating its landscape replication plan in three areas, Fiske Hill/Nelson Road, Virginia Road, and Meriam’s Corner. The park would use vegetative cover to screen modern intrusions. The park would remove all traffic from those places where the historic Battle Road diverged from Route 2A and Lexington Road and restore the road to its 1775 appearance. The replicated road surface would overlie the original, protecting it. Where appropriate, the NPS would also establish hiking and biking trails parallel to the Battle Road and, as possible, feed them into regional trails.¹²⁹ A notable aspect of this phase would involve establishment of a visitor contact station at the historic John Nelson House and Barn and removal of the Battle Road Visitor Center, its modern design seen as “inconsistent with the long-range goal of restoring the historic scene to the maximum extent feasible.”¹³⁰

Phase three for the Battle Road unit would involve full relocation of Route 2A, with this new road providing visitor access to key park sites. Unlike earlier proposals from the state highway department which would have upgraded the relocated Route 2A, the NPS suggested a “heritage highway” concept for this new road, keeping it as a two-lane limited access thoroughfare with “moderate” speeds while providing visitor access to various park sites. Another narrow, curvilinear park connector road, not meant for commuters, would travel north of Meriam’s Corner as a link between Old Bedford Road and the relocated Route 2A. The draft plan offered several possible routes for the proposed heritage highway, with its favored alignment leading at the east end of the park from the intersection at New Massachusetts Avenue and Route 2A south around Folly Pond to an underpass at the historic Battle Road at Hanscom Drive. Joining Hanscom Drive, the new Route 2A would then cross Virginia Road via the new North Lincoln development road and cross part of the Bedford Levels. The new Route 2A would then underpass the Battle Road a second time at Hardy’s Hill and join with Bypass Road

¹²⁵ Ibid., 127-29.

¹²⁶ Ibid., iii.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 34.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 34, 37.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 34, 37, 39, 42, 47.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 47.

to head towards Route 2. The draft plan recommended redesigning Hanscom Drive to reduce its existing scale and maintain a uniform appearance with the relocated Route 2A.¹³¹

Some fine points of the draft GMP indicate the NPS's overall vision for MIMA. The draft GMP provides for the establishment of walking and bicycling trails, especially in the Battle Road Unit. Unlike the Harvard researchers in their *Alternative Futures* report, however, the NPS did not embrace any active recreational sports, such as cross country skiing, nor did it make accommodations for providing bike rentals or spaces for overnight camping or a hostel. Clearly, the restored 1775 environment took precedence with the planners for the Battle Road Unit. However, the draft GMP does attempt to consider the concerns raised by the SHPO and the Advisory Board for Historic Preservation. The NPS did incorporate some changes to address their desire for a continuum approach. The major change involved saving all pre-1920 structures. In addition, interpretive efforts would include examining the nineteenth-century literary phenomenon in Concord. Yet, no one could look at this draft plan and miss the importance given to re-creating aspects of Revolutionary War Massachusetts.¹³²

The public and their local officials reacted quickly and furiously to the proposals in this draft GMP, catching the NPS off guard. Nash remembered later that, in his mind, the draft GMP represented nothing new in the NPS's thinking about MIMA. "We had a plan," Nash stated, "the plan was well known, the park was founded on it, and it was just simply a matter of restating it, it was not a matter of developing a plan from the ground." That original plan, as Nash emphasized, involved relocating Route 2A so that visitors could go from Meriam's Corner to Fiske Hill without encountering non-park traffic.¹³³ Yet, the draft GMP stepped away from earlier planning ideas, especially in its commitment to restore the 1775 landscape along the entire stretch of the Battle Road. Small and the Boston Historic Sites Commission had called for the relocation of Route 2A, joining it with Route 2, but the Commission did not offer any further details about park development, leaving that task to the NPS.¹³⁴ The enabling legislation for MIMA, another source of planning information, orders that the federal government preserve "certain historic structures and properties of outstanding national significance associated with the opening of the War of the American Revolution."¹³⁵ This legislation did not delineate how the NPS should accomplish this charge. Thus, the 1966 *Master Plan* serves as the first formal explication of how the NPS wanted to develop MIMA. In this plan, developed without public input, the agency recommended relocating Route 2A to the park's southern border, as might have happened with the Route 2 northern alignment, and maintaining the roadway through the park as a tour road. The park would restore selected areas of the Battle Road to its historical appearance, but the 1966 *Master Plan* had not anticipated removing all vehicle traffic from the Battle Road unit as proposed in the 1988 draft GMP. In addition, the extensive landscape

¹³¹ Ibid., 48, 51.

¹³² Ibid., 165-66. See also Dwight Pitcaithley to Martha Catlin, 31 May 1988, 1, File MIMA Correspondence 1986-, History Collection, NRHE Files.

¹³³ Nash, transcript of interview, 14.

¹³⁴ *Interim Report*, 20-21.

¹³⁵ 1959 legislation.

restoration outlined in the 1988 draft does not appear in the 1966 plan. Neither does the proposed increase to the land acquisition limit. To planners in the 1960s MIMA would have discrete areas where visitors could immerse themselves in the Revolutionary War landscape.¹³⁶ In these ways, the draft GMP set itself apart and surprised many local residents.

Opposition to the draft GMP focused on two major areas of concern, road relocations in both the Battle Road and North Bridge Units and taking additional land without guaranteeing owner consent. As evidenced in meetings and public hearings, people living in Concord felt that the NPS presented “radical proposals” by recommending elimination of Route 2A without necessarily providing an equal substitute highway. Would the displaced traffic use Concord’s roads and side streets and leave the town with new traffic headaches? People living near the North Bridge continued to express opposition to any suggestion of relocating Monument or Liberty Streets, with one resident calling the notion “absurd” for it would destroy the “nice quiet country lane” atmosphere while not solving the larger problem of handling visitor traffic.¹³⁷

The Town of Concord also worried about the proposed land takings, saying that “no one is certain as to which properties will be taken, and how and when they might be taken.”¹³⁸ Erich Veyhl, a Concord resident and member of the National Inholders Association, fed this uncertainty. Veyhl shared how people in other parts of the country had fared when the Park Service wanted their homes through editorials for the local paper, appearing at meetings, and talking to residents. Veyhl referred to actions that “literally wip[ed] out rural communities” in such areas as Cuyahoga Valley in Ohio and Buffalo River in Arkansas. He also pointed at the experience of Angelo Inferrera in Concord who suffered through a 10-year condemnation suit by the federal government, eventually seeing his siblings agree to sell the family farm.¹³⁹ Veyhl promoted the actions of the Inholders Association, which sought to defend the civil rights of people threatened or abused by the NPS. He invited its national president, Charles Cushman, to Concord. Cushman raised the fear level by suggesting that “the Park Service is interested in gradual, constant expansion. Within 20 years,” Cushman predicted, “the Park Service would want to put a significant portion of Concord under its control.”¹⁴⁰ Such a warning only added to the sense of foreboding and confusion residents felt.

More people expressed further resistance to land acquisition plans. Residents of Hayward Pond Neighborhood Association, a reasonably priced housing area in Lexington, strongly opposed the draft plan’s intention of acquiring their homes. The NPS wanted to reduce the visible presence of modern intrusions in this location, plus the agency wanted to close off Old Massachusetts Avenue, a primary access road for the neighborhood, and restore it to its historic

¹³⁶ 1966 *Master Plan*, 6, 10, 14.

¹³⁷ Sally Seaver to Nash, 26 October 1988, 1, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³⁸ Fan Cabot to Herbert Cables, 27 June 1988, 1, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³⁹ Letter to the Editor, Erich Veyhl, *Concord Journal*, 19 May 1988. Angelo Inferrera refused to acknowledge the settlement by accepting his share of the payment or leaving the house. He has remained living at the house as a squatter. The United States Attorney’s Office refused to support his removal because of his advanced age.

¹⁴⁰ Katherine Croteau, “Political Action Is best Bet for Park Plan Opponents,” *Concord Journal*, 14 July 1988.

appearance as part of the Battle Road. Yet, people in this affordable housing area knew they would not find similar alternative housing, and one person asked “Is this a policy to take from the small vulnerable people while not daring to touch bigger money and political locations,” such as the nearby Sheraton Hotel?¹⁴¹ Land acquisition also brought forth memories of the past, as people started recalling stories about neighbors being pressured to sell to the federal government. One letter of opposition noted that “the threat of Condemnation and the Use of Eminent Domain can pressure a resident to make a deal with the park and then be termed a ‘willing seller.’” It went on to ask, “Is this another variation of the Spanish Inquisition, or the Salem Witch trials?”¹⁴² These declarations took a shrill note, but the underlying fact remained that people opposed the draft management plan. As Fan Cabot, Chairwoman of the Concord Board of Selectmen, said at one public meeting, “we don’t want to be swallowed up, but that is the feeling that we are getting – that we are being closed in and there is nothing we can do.”¹⁴³

Town officials in Lincoln expressed guarded support for the draft GMP and, although linked to many conditions, for the NPS’s preferred alternative. They agreed with the idea of relocating Route 2A, but the park would have to address several access points first. For example, the town’s permanent waste transfer station needed a new service road, and the new Battle Road Farm Housing development, a mixed-income area off Route 2A, also required sufficient access along Bedford Road. The town wished that the NPS would carefully analyze options for the actual Route 2A corridor, and officials made specific suggestions on where the route might traverse and how it might connect with existing roads. In terms of land acquisitions, the town echoed Concord’s call for only willing sellers. Its letter to the NPS discussed each possible property for acquisition, listing the owners and indicating how these people viewed the proposal. If they did not want to sell to the park, the town asked for consideration of these wishes and no pressure to change their minds. The town continued to call for open communication with the NPS for the successful resolution of these issues.¹⁴⁴

Other towns and organizations had mixed responses to the draft GMP. The Town of Lexington opposed any extension into the Hayward Pond neighborhood, but officials generally supported the plan’s concepts. Hanscom Air Force Base opposed any closing of Airport Road, but the base commander expressed support for occasional closures during peak park times that did not conflict with commutes to and from the base. Both the state’s Executive Office and Transportation and Construction and the Lexington Conservation Commission expressed worries about the possible environmental consequences, especially to wetlands, of the draft plan. The EOTC requested completion of a full Environmental Impact Statement. The regional vocational technical school opposed any relocation of Route 2A due to stacking of buses and cars

¹⁴¹ Lalla Shaffer to Herbert Cables, 20 June 1988, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴² Marjorie and Robert Bergwall to Nash, 26 September 1988, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴³ Fan Cabot, as quoted by David Saltonstall, “Concord Plan Draws Protest,” *Middlesex News*, 21 June 1988.

¹⁴⁴ Susan Fargo to Nash, 9 November 1988, File D18 Lincoln, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

on site and environmental and safety issues for its students. All elected officials from the region expressed opposition to any unfriendly land takings.¹⁴⁵

In terms of the overall goal to restore the 1775 landscape, the NPS received many fervently supportive and avidly opposed responses. A landscape architect called the plan “both realistic and visionary,” and urged the retention of hedgerows, fencerows, and stone walls to give a strong adherence to the eighteenth-century landscape.¹⁴⁶ One Lincoln resident wrote that “the only scrap of land left in the whole United States where it is possible to preserve at least the setting of rural colonial New England is the land your Plan seeks for the Minuteman Park.” He went on to say that “the nation should not diminish this whole array of memorials [such as Yorktown and Saratoga] because it may require some small political courage to assure its proper foundation.”¹⁴⁷ However, a Concordian wrote that “past and present can live happily together” without some “vain striving for historical reconstruction that is really unattainable.” This resident believed that “no matter what the Park Service attempts to do, it cannot recreate the past, nor should it. Concord, like every other town in the country, is a product of organic growth.”¹⁴⁸ Another Concord resident pointed at the Lexington Road portion of the park, calling the park’s aims to remove the pavement and modern intrusions to reconstruct the past as “incredibly destructive to one of Concord’s more beautiful and genuinely special neighborhoods, and displays a very distorted sense of priorities and a callous disregard for what is already very unique, special and irreplaceable.”¹⁴⁹ And, wondered one other Concordian, who would want to walk miles and miles of a dirt road “to capture the flavor of the revolutionary time”? This man certainly never had any guests at his house expressing such a desire.¹⁵⁰ One local paper editorialized that the entire notion of spending \$45 million to restore the Battle Road deserved a Golden Fleece Award for its apparent wastefulness of taxpayers’ dollars. In this editor’s estimation, “not only does the National Park Service want to rip up the highway, it wants to level about 30 homes, relocate those families to parts unknown, burn vegetation, grow weirdo Revolutionary War turnips as well as anemic Revolutionary cows and generally smoke you and I, the taxpayers, in the name of historic authenticity.”¹⁵¹ To emphasize this point, the same paper had one editorial cartoon graphically making fun of the NPS’s idea for a restored Battle Road, depicting tourists knee-deep in mud trying to navigate by foot the peculiarities of the restored landscape.¹⁵²

Congressman Chester Atkins, who had initially expressed support for the NPS’s ideas about the park, came down hard in opposition as his constituents made clear their displeasure

¹⁴⁵ MIMA, *Record of Public Involvement, 1989 General Management Plan*, 5-7, 9, 11.

¹⁴⁶ Leslie Sauer to Lauren McKean, 26 September 1988, 1, 5, File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Quote on p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Paul Marsh to Nash, 31 October 1988, 1, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴⁸ WH Bond to *Concord Journal*, 8 August 1988, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴⁹ Gary Griffis to Nash, 5 August 1988, 1, File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁵⁰ Robert Holcomb to Nash, 3 August 1988, 1, File D18, Park admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁵¹ Editorial, Tom Moroney, “Battle Road’s Trip into Time Not Worth a Dime,” *Middlesex News*, 4 August 1988.

¹⁵² County Fare by Dave Granlund, *Middlesex News*, [no date], File D18, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

with the draft plan. A Concord resident who also represented Lincoln voters, Atkins made clear that Congress would not provide funding for relocating Route 2A and suggested that the NPS focus on land acquisition of nearby undeveloped land, as opposed to areas where people had houses.¹⁵³ Once he gained appointment to the House Appropriations subcommittee overseeing the NPS in early 1989, he also had the weight of this position to declare the draft GMP “is a ridiculous proposal which will never be funded.”¹⁵⁴ Atkins would ultimately prove a key player in working towards concessions and ultimate success for MIMA’s management plan.

During the five-month public response period, the NPS worked hard trying to hold meetings, gather responses, and address concerns raised by the draft GMP plan. It held open houses within the park that attended by more than 300 persons. Park officials also met on three separate occasions with Hayward Pond representatives and another three times with the Hanscom Area Traffic Study group. NPS personnel participated in a bus tour arranged by the Lincoln selectmen, met with congressional elected officials on two occasions, and also met with the state transportation office. Multiple meetings went on with various town officials, ranging from selectmen to planning board members. Sometimes, as with Lincoln, these communications proved successful and appreciated. Correspondence from Lincoln officials always reiterated the good communication pathways between the town and park.¹⁵⁵ Thomas Boylston Adams helped foster more local support with the formal establishment of the Friends of the Battle Road group.¹⁵⁶ But, many park meetings had outcries that outsiders had tried to decide the future of the park and the local communities. As Supervisory Park Ranger Dattilio remembered at several GMP meetings, “people would come out and be resentful and would say, ‘You’re from Denver, and you’re telling us how to run our community.’”¹⁵⁷ With Concord, the NPS had a difficult time. Misunderstandings seemed to plague this relationship, with Concordians expecting invitations from the NPS to attend certain meetings and the NPS waiting for Concordians to invite the agency to committee meetings held by the town. In the end, Concord selectmen and their appointees for the National Park Committee viewed the park with some “hostility” and wariness.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Jon Towne, “Atkins Blasts Battle Road Expansion Plan,” *Accent*, 15 September 1988. For information on Atkins’s initial views of the draft GMP, see Mark Conti, “Atkins Calls for Preservation Planning,” *Concord Journal*, 2 April 1987. See also Douglas Sabin, *MIMA Administrative History for Calendar Year 1990*, 2, No File Name, MIMA Library.

¹⁵⁴ Chester Atkins, as quoted by Mark Sullivan, “Atkins Reiterates Opposition To Park Expansion Plans,” *Concord Journal*, 2 March 1989.

¹⁵⁵ MIMA, Record of Public Involvement, 1989 GMP, 1-3; Fargo to Nash, 9 November 1988, 2.

¹⁵⁶ Letter to the Editor, Ted Kochanski, “Committee Assembled to Preserve Historic Park,” *Lincoln Journal*, 8 December 1988.

¹⁵⁷ Dattilio, transcript of interview, 16. See also Katherine Croteau, “Park Service Expansion Includes Nine More Houses,” *Concord Journal*, 23 June 1988.

¹⁵⁸ Fan Cabot to Herbert Cables, 21 February 1989, 1, No File Name, Park Admin Files, MIMA; Herbert Cables to Fan Cabot, 1 March 1989, File D18 Town of Concord, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

1989 GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN

Changes came as the NPS developed its response to this public review of the draft GMP. Most significantly for the park, Nash accepted a budget position in the North Atlantic Regional Office, leaving the park by February 1989.¹⁵⁹ Fred Szarka, chief of interpretation at MIMA, stepped in as acting superintendent until late 1989 when the regional office appointed Lawrence Gall as the park's new superintendent. Szarka had contributed to the GMP development and thus could address the situation with Nash's departure. Nash left with a mixed record of success. He never had the opportunity to implement any big changes at the park due to the delays in developing the GMP. He did make positive contributions toward historic restorations, overseeing the work on Hartwell Tavern and Captain William Smith House. He also instituted important changes for safeguarding the park's artifact and archeological collections with the design of storage areas and hiring of a curator. During his administration, park staff also restored a small section of Nelson Road to its historic appearance as part of the Battle Road. With respect to the larger Route 2A issue, Nash proved resilient in resisting nearly any attempt to upgrade or expand the road. This resistance to intrusions served the park well in maintaining its historic qualities. However, Nash's approach failed to win overwhelming public support, which might have helped the park overall. Nor did his approach allow for deliberate and open discussions about a range of possible approaches to addressing Route 2A within the park. The Harvard alternative futures study offered one set of possibilities, but these never gained more than a passing glance.

The way Nash handled his staff suggested some gaps. Dattilio noted that Nash supported the "old school" ways of his Chief of Maintenance, Maurice (Mo) Kowal. According to Dattilio, Kowal gave assignments each day to his staff, of which only a couple wore the NPS uniform. No one had advance notice of the work, and Kowal kept close control of his employees, leading to some tension. Nash considered Kowal one of his best staff members, dedicated to the park and getting things done, even though they weren't always by the book. He retired before Gall became superintendent. Other hints about staff relations under Nash come from Gall. Gall remembered having to convince his staff to take a stake in the management of the park. Nash had held the park's budget close, Gall had found, and often moved money among departments without prior notice, leaving his division heads without control. Gall took a different stance, encouraging his staff to work together on overall goals and for division chiefs to manage their own budgets.¹⁶⁰

Before Gall's assignment to MIMA but after Nash had left, the NPS released its *Record of Decision* (ROD) and, following a short public comment period, the final GMP. The ROD essentially scrapped the most controversial aspects of the draft GMP plan. While having Route 2A relocated from the park would remain a long-range goal for the park, the ROD took out any

¹⁵⁹ Nash initially left on a temporary detail but never returned to Minute Man. See "Park Superintendent on Special Assignment," *Lexington Minute-Man*, 9 February 1989. Sabin, 1990 MIMA Admin History, 3.

¹⁶⁰ Nash, transcript of interview, 25; Dattilio, transcript of interview, 11; Lawrence Gall, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 21 January 2005, 8-9, MIMA Archives.

specific proposals for its removal. Instead, the park would restore those discrete sections of the old road as opportunities came available and focus on establishing a continuous trail system to link historic resources and aid interpretive efforts. The NPS decided against pursuing the Route 2A relocation because this goal could not be achieved within the lifetime of the GMP. However, the agency made clear that it would oppose any attempts to widen Route 2A or Lexington Road beyond their existing rights-of-way. The NPS also expressed continued support for increasing its land acquisition allotment by 250 acres to protect historic resources and preserve open space. However, the agency dropped its proposal to acquire property in the Hayward Pond neighborhood, seeking instead to use screening and find an alternative access route for removing traffic from Old Massachusetts Avenue. The NPS stated explicitly that “properties would be acquired at fair market value on an opportunity purchase basis from willing sellers only.” The ROD emphasized managing visitation at the North Bridge to reduce overcrowding through careful scheduling of interpretive programs and making efficient use of available parking. Trails would link important resources, and the park would investigate installing an informal canoe landing point adjacent to the bridge. The park would also implement erosion control along the river banks and restore vegetation. Nothing in the ROD referred to road relocations for Monument or Liberty Streets. The Wayside Unit received the same recommendations for action as the draft plan had outlined.¹⁶¹

In July 1989 the NPS submitted copies of the ROD to the town selectmen and interested landowners, asking for responses within 45 days. The Town of Concord continued to resist the NPS’s planning proposals. In reviewing the ROD, the town’s National Park Committee expressed concern over the document’s “ambiguity—the lack of specificity” on such large issues as acquiring another 250 acres and proposed uses of the Lexington Road area. The committee also worried about potential environmental impacts from the NPS’s proposals and wanted detailed statements.¹⁶² Essentially, Concordians felt battered and skeptical of any proposals the NPS might present. As the new Concord Board of Selectmen Chairman, William Sullivan, wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, the town’s committee had a “growing suspicion of your intentions that superficial information has fostered. We will not support even the most desirable of statements in the *Record of Decision* without knowing what its real ramifications are, especially for the long term, and to what extent it represents a real commitment by the Park Service.”¹⁶³ Sullivan characterized the entire GMP process as a “convoluted and nebulous approach” which went from a “detailed overkill to vague generalities” resulting in the fact that the town and park never achieved a satisfactory partnership.¹⁶⁴ In a second letter to the Interior Secretary, Sullivan emphasized that “we are deeply disappointed and discouraged by the entire process and

¹⁶¹ Memorandum, Fred Szarka to Regional Director, NARO, 6 July 1989, 5-9, File D18 1989, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Quote on p. 6.

¹⁶² David Allen to William Sullivan, 20 July 1989, File D18 MIMA Transfer 6 Years, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC. Quote on p. 1.

¹⁶³ William Sullivan to Manuel Lujan, 21 July 1989, 1-2, File D18 MIMA Transfer 6 Years, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 2.

approach that the National Park Service has pursued relative to substantial changes proposed in Concord.”¹⁶⁵

More attempts at communication came. In one revealing letter, Eugene Prowten, a longtime resident of the area who led the Colonial Life volunteers, pointed at what he thought were the underlying reasons for the discord between the NPS and Concord. Prowten felt that changes in ownership within the town had led new residents to worry more about house appreciation and the local schools than having pride in the historical associations of the town. Prowten also believed that people worried about the possible eviction of elderly residents who had accepted from the NPS term leases on their properties and had now outlived those allowances. Prowten admitted that “the situation locally is rapidly approaching the point that there is almost no salvage.” The town’s selectmen wrote to the Secretary of the Interior because they “felt that they had encountered The Brick Wall” and were desperate. In Prowten’s mind, he suggested to the regional director to “find another Ben Zerb[e]y, give him the same support as Ben had and this will be resolved.”¹⁶⁶ Regional Director Gerald Patten reassured Sullivan and Prowten in fall 1989 that he would find a new superintendent “who can catalyze positive, cooperative action towards the preservation and improvement of Minute Man.”¹⁶⁷ Patten also offered to withhold final approval of the GMP until after the town and NPS could discuss concerns.¹⁶⁸

The NPS printed the final GMP in September 1989, released it in January 1990, and approved the plan in July 1990. This GMP departs from the 1988 draft plan in several significant ways. First, the 1990 plan includes a clear and detailed statement of the management goals and objectives for the park. Such a statement never saw development or expression in the draft plan. Second, the 1990 plan steps away from a single-minded focus on restoration of the 1775 landscape and the Battle Road and instead calls for the protection of all cultural resources associated with the park. Certainly, the park should pay special attention to the Revolutionary War period and its associated resources, but the 1990 plan does not limit all attention to this time period. Third, the 1990 plan suggests a cooperative spirit and openness to communication that the draft lacked. In working to reduce adverse impacts from increased traffic, the 1990 plan tasked the NPS to seek “coordinated planning efforts with the state, towns, and regional traffic management groups.” Instead of forcing traffic off the Battle Road, for example, the NPS would find ways for a separation of pedestrian and vehicular use through an extensive trail system running the length of the Battle Road unit. The NPS would make plain its objections to any

¹⁶⁵ William Sullivan to James Ridenour, 25 August 1989, 1, File D18 MIMA Transfer 6 Years, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC.

¹⁶⁶ Eugene Prowten to Gerald Patten, 8 August 1989, 1-2, File D18 MIMA Transfer 6 Years, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC. Quotes on p. 2.

¹⁶⁷ Gerald Patten to Eugene Prowten, 12 October 1989, File D18 MIMA Transfer 6 Years, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC.

¹⁶⁸ Gerald Patten to William Sullivan, 20 September 1989, File D18 MIMA Transfer 6 Year, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC.

attempts to widen the rights-of-way for Route 2A and Lexington Road. However, the overall tone of the 1990 plan suggests less confrontation and more cooperation than the 1988 draft.¹⁶⁹

For the Battle Road Unit, the NPS recommended selective restoration, improved interpretive development, and cooperative efforts to manage traffic. Route 2A would continue to flow through the park, and the NPS would work with state, regional, and local offices to implement improvements to other road corridors as a way to reduce traffic on Route 2A. If state officials in the future proposed road widening, the NPS would seek “alternatives that best meet the needs for resource protection and interpretive opportunities” while looking for ways to remove traffic from the Battle Road.¹⁷⁰ Some key components of the plan for this unit included establishing hiking and biking trails parallel to the Battle Road. These might link with regional trails, and the NPS registered its interest in coordinating with other organizations to develop recreational or greenbelt systems across the larger region. Additional historic buildings would receive restoration treatment, including the Jacob Whittemore House, the Brooks Houses, the Farwell Jones House, the Olive Stowe House, the George Minot House, and the Meriam House.¹⁷¹ The park would develop additional interpretive opportunities at the approximate location of the Paul Revere Capture.

In response to concerns raised by the SHPO, the 1990 GMP extended the dates for architectural significance of historic buildings. The 1966 *Master Plan* had emphasized a period between 1775 and 1830 for retaining buildings. The GMP instead stated that all pre-1920 buildings would be saved. The NPS noted that since so many eighteenth-century buildings had been lost, the presence of the nineteenth-century buildings would help balance the landscape. However, the NPS continued to emphasize that those buildings dating within 50 years of the American Revolution would serve primarily to tell the Revolutionary story.¹⁷²

Selective restoration would focus on recreating the eighteenth-century environment in discrete areas of the Battle Road Unit. The NPS would work to approximate the 1775 landscape where practicable, establishing open fields, orchards, and natural woodlands to create “the basic land use and cover conditions present at the time of the battle.”¹⁷³ In addition, the agency would rebuild stone walls and ensure the study and protection of archeological sites. The NPS would restore select portions of the historic Battle Road, such as in front of the Meriam House. Vegetative screening would provide necessary visual barriers from modern intrusions, especially around the Hanscom airfield and residential developments. Unlike the draft plan, the 1990 GMP kept the Battle Road Visitor Center. Finally, the plan did not recommend extending the lease for the Willow Pond Kitchen.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ MIMA, GMP, September 1989, [hereafter 1990 GMP] 32-33, File GMP, NPS Report Files, MIMA Library. Quote on p. 32.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 42.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 43-45.

¹⁷² Ibid., 16, 39.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 34.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 44-46. Local newspapers had chronicled the efforts of the Willow Pond’s proprietor Peter Sowkow in trying to get extensions on his leases with the Park Service. His most recent success had come in August 1985 when the Park Service, under pressure from US Rep. Chester Atkins, had agreed to a 3-to-5-

Within the North Bridge unit, the NPS adopted a low-impact approach that tried to address the concerns raised by the residents and officials of Concord. To reduce overcrowding, the park would shorten the duration and intervals between interpretive programs to use available parking space as efficiently as possible. Trails would link the Muster Field and Buttrick House to the rest of the unit, allowing for safe pedestrian passage. The NPS would also cooperate with the town and historic groups to develop a trail linking the North Bridge to Town Center. Due to new load limits instituted by the state on Flint Bridge, the NPS would direct buses along Lowell Road if they wished to stop at the North Bridge Visitor Center. The park supported having a canoe landing 50 to 150 feet upriver of the North Bridge and restoring eroded river banks with vegetation. Through continued study of parking counts and vehicle speed monitoring, the NPS expected to develop, in cooperation with the town, minor reconfigurations of parking lots and hazard reduction steps.¹⁷⁵

The 1990 GMP also laid out a LPP that recommended acquisition of 250 additional acres. All of this land would fall within the Battle Road Unit. Such action necessarily required congressional action to amend MIMA's enabling legislation, which limited land acquisition to 750 acres. The 1990 plan made clear that the NPS would not use eminent domain in its acquisition efforts. All sales would result "through an opportunity-purchase basis, subject to availability of funds; that is, when owners offer the property and funds are available."¹⁷⁶ The NPS explained its rationale for these additional acquisitions, stating that "just as the primary elements of the historic scene are integral to evocation of the colonial atmosphere, the historic setting is also important. It is visually important as a transition from the historic moment to the present day." However, some of that crucial historic scene and much of the view shed are outside the park's boundaries. Another consideration for land acquisition involved working with state and local authorities to find alternative access points for neighboring residential communities, such as Hayward Pond, and eventually acquiring the rights-of-way for the roads leading into Route 2A and Lexington Road. This effort would help to reduce traffic along this major corridor and provide additional places for possibly restoring sections of the historic trace of the Battle Road. Acquisition of these rights-of-way would also remove access to developable land and keep the roadways from becoming paved, heavily illuminated, and signed.¹⁷⁷

Gall's job as he stepped into the MIMA superintendency involved more than implementing the GMP. He had the daunting task of reinvigorating fragile community relations that had suffered from the changing proposals and at times oblique process. He would approach this effort with openness, commitment, and a steady attitude.

year extension on the lease. See Mark Browne, "New 3-Year Lease on Tap for Willow Pond Kitchen," *Concord Journal*, 15 August 1985.

¹⁷⁵ 1990 GMP, 47-48.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 56, 58.

CHAPTER EIGHT

REACHING OUT, BRINGING TOGETHER

Larry Gall had potentially revolutionary ideas for MIMA as he began his work as superintendent in December 1989. He wanted to expand beyond 19 April 1775 and its associated military events to a “much broader understanding of the New Englander’s way of life over a broad space of time.” The essence of the park was more than “muskets and musters, although that’s part of it. It’s really about a clash between two civilizations, two theories of government, two ways of life.” Why would colonists “do something as illogical as standing up and fighting the most powerful army on earth? There had to be something there.” By putting April 19 into context, Gall believed, “we use April 19th not as the be-all, end-all, but just as the fulcra.” And, Gall breathed “we make our landscape come alive.”¹

At the beginning of his term, Gall encountered negative energy from the park’s neighboring towns and residents. Robert Nash had left while the park swirled in controversy over the draft *General Management Plan* (GMP) and *Record of Decision*, leaving Frederick Szarka as acting superintendent until the regional office found the right person to take over. Gall brought with him extensive experience and a strong commitment to forge ties with the surrounding communities and achieve consensus. He had just completed 10 years at Lowell National Historical Park (Massachusetts), a park that relied upon building ties with a range of local and regional constituents for its existence. Gall worked at Lowell first as a planner for visitor services in developing that park’s GMP, then he became the chief of visitor services, having to implement what he had planned. He later moved successively into the assistant and then deputy superintendents’ positions. Lowell has served as a model for partnership parks within the NPS, especially in the Northeast, because it has worked as a catalyst among various partners, with a goal to bring economic revitalization to its depressed community.² Commenting later, Gall wanted the MIMA job because he thought “it was a good fit for my abilities.”³

Those abilities included a commitment to reaching out to the public to find common ground and bringing people together in relationships. Gall had originally trained to teach academic history. With a bachelor’s degree in history from Kenyon College in Ohio, he went on to a critical languages program at Princeton University, where he studied Russian and Eastern European language, history, and culture. With the Vietnam War going on, he joined

¹ Lawrence Gall, transcription of oral history interview with Douglas Sabin, 26 February 1992, 9, MIMA Archives.

² See Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

³ Lawrence Gall, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 21 January 2005, 1-2, MIMA Archives. Quote on p. 2.

Army Intelligence and studied Japanese before serving as an interpreter-translator with military intelligence. Once he completed this service, he went to Harvard University, earned his Master's Degree, entered the Ph.D. program, and also worked as a teaching fellow. In the meantime, while researching a possible dissertation topic at the Adams National Historic Site, he started working seasonally as a historian at the park. When park officials asked him in 1975 to consider the Chief of Interpretation position, he accepted. By this time, the academic history route looked bleak with decreased job offerings. But, more importantly, Gall found that he preferred public history. He liked working with the public and felt that it fit his temperament and abilities. From Adams NHS, he went in 1979 to Lowell and finally MIMA.⁴ When Representative Chester Atkins learned that Gall would take Nash's place, he expressed support for the decision, stating "I know Larry from his work at Lowell National Park He has a strong commitment to working with the community."⁵ Gall would find success in building relationships with the people of Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington, moving the park toward his larger vision of making the landscape come alive.

FIRST ATTEMPTS

By the time Gall started in mid-December 1989 the NPS had printed but not publicly distributed MIMA's finalized GMP. Gall asked for the regional office to wait a few weeks for its release until he had had a chance to review the plan and let people in the three towns meet him. In his first conversations with the press, he emphasized that he would have "an open-door policy" to work closely with area officials and residents. He also referred to how the park and area communities shared a pride in history, linking themselves together. "We have a lot of common interests and, if we can begin on that common ground, I think we'll be able to work well together."⁶ He then went out to meet with residents and officials, started joining organizations like the Rotary Club, and listened to concerns. As he stated later, "I spent a lot of personal time and effort in attempting to build relationships with the community." He tried to "position the park so that we could become a part of various community activities," such as the Chamber of Commerce and even the local garden club.⁷ When the NPS released the GMP on 22 January 1990 Gall stood ready to take comments and address them.⁸

Concord continued to pose the greatest challenge. In its March 1990 comments, the Concord Board of Selectmen expressed a lingering fear of a "hidden agenda" on the part of the NPS and listed three priority items for discussion and agreement. First, the town requested establishment of a commission to work with the park in planning and

⁴ Ibid., 1; Ann Toda, "Gall to Head Minute Man Park," *Lexington Minute-Man*, 14 December 1989. This same article appeared in the Concord and Lincoln papers, too.

⁵ Atkins, as quoted in Toda, "Gall to Head Park."

⁶ Gall, as quoted by Toda, in Ibid.

⁷ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 3. See also Gall to Mrs. John Alexanderson, 13 March 1990, File D32 CY 1990, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸ NPS Press Release, "NPS Releases the New General Management Plan for MIMA," 22 January 1990, File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

implementing the GMP. Such a commission might serve as a replacement for the missed Minute Man National Historical Park Advisory Commission. Second, the town required “total elimination of any form of eminent domain procedure.” Finally, the selectmen wanted provision for a “submarket life tenancy” for people still living in park-owned housing through special-use permits.⁹ This latter situation involved four families who had sold their properties to the NPS between 1966 and 1968. They had accepted special-use permits to stay in their former homes, believing that they could stay through their lifetimes. According to these families, they had not been offered the life tenancies that residents in the 1970s had taken. The park had renewed these special-use permits without any changes until a Solicitor’s opinion in 1979 granted the NPS the right to adjust the permit fees. In response to further legislative changes, in 1989 the park readjusted rates due to recent changes in NPS policies, which forced another more accurate market-rate adjustment. Such an adjustment would have raised rates considerably, forcing these now elderly residents on fixed incomes to face eviction. To provide time until a legislative solution could be found, the park raised the annual permit fees based on rates charged for employee housing, well below market rates. The issue remained of what the park would have to charge in the future if it followed NPS policies. The town wanted the park to assure the continued residence of these owners and their spouses through their lifetimes.¹⁰

Gall demonstrated his commitment to addressing all of these concerns and offered language for incorporation in the GMP. The Concord selectmen acknowledged Gall’s attempt, noting in a July 1990 letter, after the regional director had approved the plan, that “we also understand and appreciate your commitment to, and so far, your actions in greatly improving these critical relationships” between the town and park. However, the town demanded more stringent language than Gall proposed in removing the possibility of eminent domain in future land acquisition. In addition, the selectmen rallied behind the plight of the four tenants with expiring special-use permits. They stated clearly that “the level of trust between the Town and the Park can never be significantly improved if even a few of our residents are paying a heavy price for earlier errors or misunderstandings. A new level of trust must be created by the correction of these old faults.”¹¹ The selectmen related the tenant issue directly to land acquisition, arguing that “this lack of trust leads directly to the Town’s absolute fright over the land taking issues.”¹²

In the meantime, Representative Atkins submitted to Congress in May 1990 HR 4912, a bill authorizing revision of MIMA’s boundaries from 750 to 1,000 acres.¹³ Reassured by

⁹ William Sullivan to Gall, 15 March 1990, 1, File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁰ Ibid., 3-4. Chester Atkins, Edward Kennedy, and John Kerry to James Ridenour, 27 April 1990, 1, File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Gall, Briefing, 17 September 1993, 1, File A38 CY 1993 Briefing Statements, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Deborah Stoloff, “Park Tenants Could Be Hit Hard by Rent Hikes,” *Lincoln Journal*, 13 September 1990. Peter Noll, “Permits Extended for Minute Man Park Tenants,” *Lexington Minute-Man*, 15 November 1990.

¹¹ D. Elliott Wilbur to Gall, 13 July 1990, 1-2, File D18 MIMA, Box 4, Acc. 79-95-0001, Waltham FRC.

¹² Ibid., 2.

¹³ *Revise the Boundary of MIMA*, HR 4912, 101st Cong., 2d sess., 24 May 1990.

Gall's commitment to working with the communities on issues of concern, Atkins had submitted this proposed legislation as a show of support for the park and its GMP. In particular, Atkins knew that without this legislation, the park could lose to developers two prime pieces of open-space property recently placed on the market. The existing legislation limited the park's acreage to 750 acres, which the park nearly met already. These new properties, the Perry Farm and the Fletcher Farm in Concord, would add another 50 acres to the park, allowable only if the park could secure new legislation, as Atkins recognized in submitting HR 4912. The House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands held its hearing on the bill in July 1990, just after approval of the GMP, and Atkins asked for consideration of five other additions to the bill, responding to the concerns of his constituents in Concord and the realities of funding the legislation. He asked that Congress allow for an additional \$15 million for development of the park under the *Management Plan* and for \$9.5 million for land acquisition. He also asked that the bill allow for an exchange of a small amount of land between the NPS and Department of Defense for land at Hanscom Air Force Base. To assure landowners that the NPS would not force the sale of their properties, Atkins asked that the subcommittee insert appropriate language into the bill. Finally, he referred to the situation with the four tenants and asked for a legislative resolution to this situation.¹⁴

Due to an acute case of appendicitis, Gall did not make it to the hearing, but others did testify.¹⁵ D. Elliott Wilbur, Chair of the Concord Board of Selectmen, submitted his "qualified support" for the proposed bill, so long as the final legislation adequately addressed the issues of eminent domain and the four tenants.¹⁶ Such confidence in Gall spoke volumes for the new superintendent's efforts at building ties with the local communities. Warren Flint, Jr., representing the Town of Lincoln, echoed Concord's concerns, testifying that a number of local residents "harbor a deep-seated mistrust of the Park Service and feel gravely threatened by the possibility of new adverse acquisitions." People in Lincoln thus supported language restricting condemnation. But, Flint made clear that the Town of Lincoln supported the proposed legislation because it offered further protection of open space and historic resources.¹⁷ As Flint later said, "it was a tragedy that the Minute Man National Park . . . was just 750 acres with a busy road running through it. They [Lincoln residents] wanted to see it developed into a suitable symbol for the country."¹⁸ Flint remembered later, though, that at least one person rallied against the proposed legislation. A Concordian, this person vehemently opposed any park expansion, on the grounds that the NPS had mistreated

¹⁴ Chester Atkins, Testimony before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, 17 July 1990, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁵ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 4.

¹⁶ D. Elliott Wilbur, Testimony before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, 17 July 1990, 1, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁷ Warren Flint, Jr., Testimony before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, 17 July 1990, 1-2, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Quote on p. 2. See also Flint, transcript of interview, 4.

¹⁸ Flint, transcript of interview, 4.

property owners during the initial land acquisition period. This person's strongly held opposition would prove prescient of the bill's outcome.¹⁹

Tasked with adding the requested language to the bill to address the issues raised by Atkins, the House Subcommittee's staff debated and came to a resolution on each proposal. However, with regard to the eminent domain concern, the staff did not submit "the specific language that some would have liked to see," according to Atkins. Due to time constraints and the commitment of Subcommittee Chairman Bruce Vento (D-MN) "to act expeditiously on this matter," House subcommittee staff member Heather Huyck faxed a copy of the proposed bill to Gall, giving him only five minutes to review it and send back comments.²⁰ "That was rather breathtaking," Gall remembered. He managed to get a sentence added, but he admitted that the bill as changed by the subcommittee did not have the language required by the local communities.²¹ It did pass the subcommittee in early August 1990, and Atkins wrote to Gall warning that the subcommittee would not accept further changes. Chairman Vento had done what he could, but he also had to make sure that the MIMA bill did not impair long-standing national precedents. Hot issues such as eminent domain and inholders' rights could easily aggravate attempts by other national parks, especially in the western states, to acquire and consolidate land holdings. Atkins made clear to Gall that not accepting the legislation as-is would jeopardize funding initiatives Atkins had sought to acquire the two threatened properties and also lose protections for the four tenants.²²

At a selectmen's meeting in Concord in late August, Gall saw the undoing of his work. Dorothy Quinn, who lived on Shadyside Avenue in an area slated for park acquisition, presented the Board a petition with 1,200 signatures of Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington residents all opposed to the bill.²³ Going into that meeting, Gall figured he had at least three of the five votes of the selectmen for passage of the bill. By the end, Quinn and her petition had run like a "buzz saw" through the meeting, leaving Gall with no votes.²⁴ "We went down, absolutely down in flames," Gall later recalled. He also remembered his regional director saying at the conclusion of the meeting, "it's going to be years before you ever will come back again with another piece of legislation." But, Gall refused to accept defeat. "Oh, I don't think so, not if I have anything to say about it." He would rather "just pack it in and leave. Look for another job," than wait years for another opportunity to get this crucial legislation.²⁵

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Chester Atkins to Gall, 8 August 1990, facsimile from Julia Blatt to Gall, 1, File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²¹ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 4.

²² Atkins to Gall, 8 August 1990, 1-2.

²³ Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 28.

²⁴ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 4. Kyle Nitzsche, "Concord Opposes Park Bill; Legislation Nixed," *Lincoln Journal*, 6 September 1990.

²⁵ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 4. See also Editorial, "Voters Well Represented," *Concord Journal*, 13 September 1990.

AMENDING THE GMP

Gall understood from that selectmen's meeting that he would have to approach his goals for the park in a new, active way. He had to demonstrate his commitment to the residents' concerns with visible action before moving ahead with legislation. He asked the regional director for permission to amend the GMP. Such an action on a *Management Plan* so soon after its approval elicited surprise, but Gall knew he had no choice. Atkins had withdrawn HR 4912 in response to the Concord vote and would not submit new legislation until after he received assurances from his constituents that they would support it. Gall knew he did have some support, from the preservation and conservation community in Concord and Lincoln. In fact, these people did not expect defeat with the 1990 bill and rallied to Gall's cause. He decided to build on this support.²⁶

He took these conservation people and others out into the park. They walked through the areas slated for acquisition and talked about where trails might go and how housing or office developments would infringe on the historic views. "We slogged them here and there," Gall recalled, "and we showed them the old stone walls that were hidden in the woods," and people gained a new appreciation of the NPS's vision for MIMA. "There's nothing like getting people out there, getting their boots muddy,"²⁷ Gall stated. In particular, Gall cultivated Judy Walpole, a newly elected Concord selectman who had strong conservation leanings. "I zeroed in on her. I cultivated her very carefully," Gall noted. He thought she was a swing vote on the Board, and if he could earn her trust, he would succeed. He did succeed in getting Walpole and others thinking positively about the park. As Gall later characterized the change, they came to realize "how wonderful some of that land was back there, how much it represents classic New England farmscape, and what a loss it would be if that land were to be developed."²⁸

All of this good feeling toward the rural landscape would only take Gall so far. He still had to address the opposition voiced by Quinn and others, especially about land acquisition along Shadyside Avenue. He went out into the park and viewed each area proposed for acquisition and considered its true importance to the overall protection of the park's historic resources and view sheds. In looking at two proposed properties (Tracts 03-Area E1 and 03-Area E2, as delineated in the March 1991 Amendment to the GMP) on Shadyside Avenue, he decided that the land's topography, which dropped off steeply to the north of Battle Road, allowed effective use of vegetative screening of possible developments. In addition, he imagined that proposed trails could cross on already park-owned land without necessitating further land acquisition here. He recommended removal of these tracts from the land protection recommendations of the GMP. In the case of the southernmost portion of Tract 04-Area A (Lot 2A, as delineated in the 1991 Amendment to the GMP) of Fletcher Farm, Gall believed that acquisition of the other portions of the farm

²⁶ Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 28-29; Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 4-5. Larry Gall, transcription of oral history interview with Douglas Sabin, 18 June 1992, 2, MIMA Archives.

²⁷ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 5.

²⁸ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 5.

would provide suitable visual protection from possible developments, allowing for this parcel's release from the *Land Protection Plan's* recommendations.

Finally, Gall reviewed two parcels in Lincoln on Bedford Road that attracted additional unrest. Tract 02-Area A contained a private residence whose owner opposed selling, while the Commonwealth of Massachusetts owned the undeveloped Tract 02-Area B (both as delineated in the 1991 Amendment to the GMP). Using vegetative screening, Gall decided that the park could forego acquisition of this residence and associated property. Since the NPS would not pursue this tract, it did not have a rationale for the other undeveloped tract. The Town of Lincoln had expressed interest in acquiring this land for affordable housing, and Gall offered to sell park-owned modern residences slated for demolition or removal in support of this effort. These changes to the GMP *Land Protection Plan* would reduce total land acquisition additions to 200 acres.²⁹

Despite these deletions, Gall held his own for a few other properties that people questioned. On the Perry Farm, the NPS insisted that a small subdivision of four houses should eventually be removed. These houses sat "right in the middle of a critical landscape." To convince others, Gall took people out there and showed them, and "it couldn't be denied really when you were able to present our perspective, our vision, that this was important." Along Airport Road in Lexington, Gall also made clear that the NPS should eventually acquire the two houses there so that one day maybe that road could be closed, reducing modern traffic through this important area.³⁰

In the case of the deletions from the park's boundaries, Gall justified his decisions by remembering his overall mission for MIMA. As he argued soon afterwards, "I could either sit back and watch this ship go down with all flags flying, or I could make a decision that we could live without certain things." He felt that "we didn't give up that much, that we kept the essence of it, and we gained a great deal more in coming to terms with the town, coming to terms with the property owners, and positioning ourselves so we could have this legislation that would allow us to go forward and develop the park."³¹ Gall's plan for the park's future included keeping developers off the Perry Farm and the other sections of the Fletcher Farm he still identified for acquisition. However, the park could not purchase these threatened lands without the new legislation. The conservation people and the Trust for Public Lands also got involved with this issue. The Trust offered to negotiate for the purchase of these tracts and hold them until the NPS could act. However, the Trust would not make its

²⁹ Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, North Atlantic Region, 17 April 1991, and attached amendment to the GMP, 1-2, File GMP, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library. Memorandum, Gall to Chief, Lands Resources Division, Mid-Atlantic Region, 25 January 1990 [really 1991], File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Gall to Warren Flint, Jr., 5 June 1990, 1, File D18 Lincoln, Park Admin Files, MIMA. In this letter, Gall notes the resistance of Vernon Welch, owner of the tract in Lincoln who opposed selling. In June 1990, Gall still supported acquisition of this land, but following the defeat of the legislation, he revised his thinking. This letter also refers to the town's desire for placing affordable housing on the vacant parcel.

³⁰ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 6.

³¹ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 5-6.

commitment until Concord's selectmen indicated that they could support the eventual passage of these lands into the national park. At the November 1990 Concord Board of Selectmen meeting, many people came out to speak positively about what the Trust, and ultimately the NPS, wanted to do with the acquisition of these two farms. Gall also made clear that he had asked for, and received, a positive response from the regional director for an amendment to delete the Shadyside and two Lincoln properties from the GMP.³² This announcement paved the way for the selectmen to endorse the Trust for Public Land's purchase of the farms for eventual acquisition by the NPS. "That was the beginning," said Gall, "of moving in a very positive direction," a turning point in his relationship with Concord. And it hadn't taken years, as the regional director had feared.³³

In comparing drawings for proposed park boundaries from the time of the 1966 *Master Plan* through the 1990 GMP, one can see the fluid nature of how park planners envisioned the shape of MIMA. A narrow line of park property had extended from the Brooks Houses to Meriam's Corner. With the GMP, the park's reach extended into historic farming fields behind the Olive Stowe House. This mass of land is then cut off at Shadyside Avenue with Gall's deletions, around the area of the Brooks Houses. Here, the park narrows where chunks of land have remained private. Looking at a map, this narrowing seems disjointed. Yet, park interpretation over the years has found ways to work within these confines and still give visitors the historical and cultural information they need to understand the unit. Gall made the deals to ensure a larger future for the park. Within ten years of his work, the park would have much to celebrate with the opening of the Battle Road Trail.³⁴

In another demonstration of its cooperation with the towns, the NPS released in February 1991 for public comment a copy of the draft amendment to the GMP. Gall received positive and constructive comments from Concord and Lincoln, plus one individual, Erich Veyhl. Taking these comments into account, the NPS further revised the GMP amendment and approved the final version in May 1991. In addition to deleting the 50 acres of land from the GMP *Land Protection Plan*, the amendment responded to a request by the Town of Concord to allow for renewal in three-year increments of the Willow Pond Kitchen. Gall justified this step, stating that the NPS's ability to make planned improvements to Meriam's Corner, where the restaurant stood, would extend for four to five years at best. Gall also understood that the agency's treatment of the Willow Pond's former owner generated a lot of sensitive attention locally, and that "our capacity for flexibility will go a long way towards winning support needed for authorizing legislation and future park development."³⁵ Another paragraph in the amendment reassured residents of Concord,

³² Gall to Peter Forbes, 21 November 1990, 1, and attached letters between Forbes, Gall, and Concord Board of Selectmen, File L1425 CY 1990 Perry and Fletcher Land, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 29. Kyle Nitzsche, "Parkland Purchases Approved," *Concord Journal*, 22 November 1990. Kyle Nitzsche, "NPS Drops Interest in Six Residences," *Lincoln Journal*, 29 November 1990.

³³ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 5.

³⁴ The author thanks Lou Sideris, Chris Davis, and Nancy Nelson for their thoughts about this subject.

³⁵ Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, NARO, 29 March 1991, 1-2, File D18 Amendments—

Lincoln, and Lexington that the NPS would cooperate in efforts to find solutions for the four tenants living on expired special-use permits without causing economic hardship. The last paragraph confirmed that the NPS would involve the towns in discussion of major park issues, including legislative initiatives and development planning.³⁶

1992 LEGISLATION

This amendment to the GMP made a huge difference for the NPS's larger goal of obtaining the necessary legislation to move forward with park development. As one indicator, the Concord Board of Selectmen, who in August 1990 had resoundingly defeated any legislative attempt, wrote to Representative Atkins in April 1991 that it looked "forward to a successful outcome [of appropriate legislation for the park] in this session."³⁷ As Gall wrote to the regional director, "You will note that the Selectmen are actually urging the Congressman to go forward with park legislation."³⁸ This demonstration of support indicates the sea change that Gall accomplished.

More issues required attention before Representative Atkins could submit new legislation to Congress. This time, however, Gall worked closely with the House Subcommittee to hammer out what he thought the towns would accept. Plus, he gathered input from the Concord National Park Committee. As he told the selectmen, "I'll work with anybody that you want me to work with. I'll be very happy to," and he spent a lot of time with these committee members, "cultivating those people and gaining their personal trust." The Concord Selectmen also used Veyhl, the Inholders Association member, as a sounding board.³⁹ This combination of communication channels kept Gall aware of the lingering issues and how his proposed ideas for the new legislation accommodated those concerns. He recognized that local residents still had "a lot of worry and insecurity about which lands the government might decide it needed to buy." To address these concerns, Gall offered to follow the Acadia National Park model and use a fixed boundary on a map. He deleted all mention of acreage ceilings, as the enabling legislation had.⁴⁰ He figured that the NPS had been at MIMA for 30 years, and "if we don't know where the park boundaries ought to be, then shame on us."⁴¹

The Acadia legislation also offered another solution for Gall, this time revolving around the condemnation issue. Initially, the Concord Board of Selectmen declared that it would not support the possibility of condemnation in any park expansion. Yet, in Gall's

Draft, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁶ Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, NARO, 17 April 1991, and attached GMP amendment.

³⁷ D. Elliott Wilbur to Rep. Chester Atkins, 3 April 1991, File D18 Town of Concord, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁸ Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, NARO, 29 March 1991, 2.

³⁹ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 5.

⁴⁰ Gall to Judy Anderson, 10 May 1991; and Memorandum, Gall to Assistant Director, Office of Legislative and Congressional Affairs, 30 May 1991, both in File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴¹ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 6.

mind, that position removed the possibility of the federal government responding to any true development threats. Instead, he offered for the Secretary of the Interior to establish a set of guidelines and publish them, naming what development actions could trigger condemnation. In particular, the NPS wanted the properties to stay either undeveloped or, if already single-family homes, to stay as such. Once he sat down and talked to people, Gall found that the towns accepted such a provision.⁴²

Gall addressed other concerns with the crafting of the new legislation. He recommended similar language as had been in HR 4912 with regard to the four special-use permittees who faced eviction. These four families would have the option of having their permits extended until the death of the owner or the owner's spouse, whichever was later. Payment through an annual fee would remain set to the amount required as of 1 July 1991. In addition, Gall addressed new concerns raised by the Trustees of Reservations, owners and caretakers of the Old Manse. This organization wanted legal assurances that the NPS would not force the taking of this private property, even though it lay within the park's boundaries. Gall shared this concern with the legislators and staff members. When the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands reported on the bill, it specified that the NPS had no plans to acquire this property and expressed encouragement over the already existing mutually cooperative relationship between the park and private organization.⁴³ Other aspects of the bill reflected HR 4912, with authority given for the exchange of land between the Department of Defense (Hanscom) and the NPS. Also, the bill raised the development ceiling by \$15 million and allowed an additional \$7.3 million for land acquisition of the remaining identified properties on a willing seller basis.

Despite his attempts at forging consensus, Gall ran into difficulty with the House Subcommittee staff concerning the language relating to the four permittee families and condemnation authority. The subcommittee staff director questioned these allowances, especially in relation to how they might apply in other national parks where people wanted to retain their property. At the time, inholders had generated public attention in their fight against the NPS at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Gall presented arguments in response to each concern, emphasizing that each piece of legislation dealt with individual cases, that each park had unique circumstances that Congress had to take into account.⁴⁴ However, the staffer refused to move the legislation beyond the staff review, and Representative Atkins "took the ball on this one," as Gall recalled. Atkins recognized how crucial this legislation was to his and the park's future, and he went directly to subcommittee

⁴² Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 3. MIMA Fiscal 1992 Budget Briefing Statement, 10 December 1990, 1, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴³ Gall to Jonathan Keyes, 12 July 1991; Frederic Winthrop to Gall, 15 July 1991, both in File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA; House Committee of Interior and Insular Affairs, *MIMA Additions*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 28 October 1991, 3, H. Rpt. 102-276.

⁴⁴ Gall, Responses to Rick Healey's Concerns about Draft Legislation, 10 June 1991, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 5. See also Douglas Sabin, MIMA Administrative History for Calendar Year 1991 [hereafter 1991 Admin History], 21, MIMA Archives.

chair Vento, a longtime friend of national parks and conservation issues. Atkins made clear the situation, and Vento cleared the bill for subcommittee review and vote. As Gall stated later, “that was unusual in that the chairman actually overruled his staff people, and I think that put their noses out of joint considerably.”⁴⁵

HR 2896 made its way slowly and steadily through the House. The bill came before the subcommittee on 17 September 1991 where representatives from the local area registered their support.⁴⁶ Subcommittee members voted favorably for the bill, as did the members of the committee on Interior Affairs. The House of Representatives debated the bill on 28 October 1991. Representative Craig Thomas of Wyoming (R) noted that the MIMA bill “recognized the importance of taking private property rights into consideration in this park expansion bill,” and he hoped similar language would enter into future bills. Atkins presented a powerful defense of the bill, noting that he had recently taken Reverend Lazlo Tokes, who had sparked the Romanian revolution, to see the monuments at the North Bridge. He recalled for the House that “our visit together to Minute Man was poignant. I who had visited the park so many times before—saw for the first time how deeply affecting our experience with revolution could be to those whose memories are still so fresh and alive.” He went on to emphasize how the new legislation would give “peace of mind” to residents by fixing the boundaries and spelling out the rights of homeowners within those boundaries. Atkins also recognized the contributions of Gall, whom he called the “backbone of this enterprise,” and “an energetic and sensitive park superintendent.” Special mention, however, went to Representative Vento, whose “understanding and guidance and perseverance” made the bill possible. Vento crafted a bill, in Atkins’s estimation, “that responded to local concerns without tampering with precedents that affect our entire Park System.” Following this debate, the House passed HR 2896 and sent it the Senate for review.⁴⁷

At this point, supporters of the MIMA bill wanted to avoid having a bill with different language introduced to the Senate. Changes in the bill, if passed by the Senate, would have to face reconciliation in a conference committee, using valuable time and providing the opportunity for additions or changes that could cause problems. Gall and Atkins had worked hard to get a bill that met the needs and expectations of local residents. Plus, the language regarding the four permittees and land acquisition from only willing sellers made the bill a target for amendments. To avoid this situation, supporters waited to file the bill and opted to work with the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, led by Senator Dale Bumpers, to arrange acceptance of the House bill.⁴⁸ This subcommittee

⁴⁵ Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 5.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Statement of Paul Marsh, before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, Concerning HR 2896, 17 September 1991, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁷ *MIMA Amendments of 1991*, HR 2896, 102d Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (28 October 1991): H 8552.

⁴⁸ Edward Kennedy and John Kerry to Dale Bumpers, 8 November 1991, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Gall, transcription of oral history interview with Douglas Sabin, 17 September 1993, 1, MIMA Archives.

ultimately accepted the House bill, holding a hearing in February 1992 and passing the legislation to its Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.⁴⁹

In committee mark-up, at least two senators expressed interest in offering amendments to the bill, addressing situations in their own states. Quiet negotiations and discussions kept these proposed amendments from being attached to the bill, and the Senate committee voted favorably on the bill on 24 June 1992, moving the bill to the full Senate.⁵⁰ As Gall later said, “it was touch-and-go, and for many months, [during the committee review process], it wasn’t clear what was going to happen.”⁵¹ But, despite the horse trading going on behind the scenes, the bill made it through, with the Senate voting for passage on 7 October 1992.⁵² Gall breathed a sigh of relief in remembering those harrowing days, remarking that “we just made it by a matter of hours” before the congressional session closed.⁵³ President George Bush signed the bill into law on 24 October 1992 (see Appendix for a copy of the act).⁵⁴

Gall’s accomplishment in getting this legislation passed so soon after his 1990 defeat cannot go without notice. One indicator of his success comes from his most vocal critics. When presenting the bill’s language to the Concord Board of Selectmen for formal approval before going to the Senate, Gall received some unexpected support from Veyhl, of the Inholders Association. A few Concord residents had worried about the bill’s “friendly taking” clause, but Veyhl stepped up, saying this was a standard clause and was in the property owners’ interest should they decide to sell. Gall knew that if he had said the same thing, people would not have necessarily believed him. Veyhl’s statement helped reassure the few still anxious property owners. At this same meeting, Fran Cabot, whom Gall characterized as being the most vociferous Selectman opposed to the park, stood up and declared that this was the first time she had voted for anything for the park. Gall knew he had done his work.⁵⁵ In a letter to Senator Edward Kennedy, the town made clear that “this legislation is strongly supported by our Board on behalf of the citizens of Concord.”⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, *Miscellaneous National Park and National Trails Measures: Hearings on HR 2896*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 19 February 1992, 133-34. Statement of John Kerry before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, Concerning HR 2896, 19 February 1992; and Statement of Chester Atkins before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, Concerning HR 2896, 19 February 1992, both in File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁰ Status of Legislation, MIMA, with attached Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Mark-Up, 24 June 1992, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, *MIMA Amendments*, 102d Cong., 1st sess., 23 July 1992, S. Rpt. 102-330.

⁵¹ Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 1.

⁵² *MIMA Amendments*, HR 2896, 102d Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (7 October 1992): S 17336.

⁵³ Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 2.

⁵⁴ *MIMA Boundary Amendments*, Public Law 488, 102d Cong., 1st sess. (24 October 1992). See also Douglas Sabin, MIMA Administrative History for Calendar Year 1992 [hereafter 1992 Admin History], 23, MIMA Archives.

⁵⁵ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 7.

⁵⁶ Judith Walpole to Edward Kennedy, 5 May 1992, File W3815, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

Representative Atkins also deserves mention for his importance in achieving this legislation. He had listened to his constituents and adjusted his support for the GMP and legislation accordingly. His denunciations of the draft GMP and his attention to the property holders and their concerns reflected the political realities of his position. Yet, once the NPS, with Gall, started on the track of building consensus through improved communication and commitment, Atkins responded in turn.⁵⁷ He spent the time on Capitol Hill getting the proposed legislation written and reviewed. When the House Subcommittee balked at some of the provisions in HR 2896, he went straight to his colleague Representative Vento to keep the legislation going. However, Atkins did not have long to relish success with the passage of the MIMA legislation. He lost to a fellow Democrat in the primary election for 1992, ending his eight-year term of service in the US House of Representatives. As Gall stated soon afterwards, “we’ve lost a great deal in losing Chet Atkins, there’s no question about it.”⁵⁸ Atkins had served on the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, and he had worked hard to bring funding to his district, including funding for its national parks at Lowell and MIMA. Gall had already established a productive relationship with Atkins while at Lowell, and this connection had clearly continued at MIMA.

With this legislation, Gall also made a lasting contribution beyond moving the park forward with development. He gave that development an expanded focus by broadening the purposes of the park. According to the 1959 enabling legislation, MIMA should preserve certain historic structures associated with the opening of the American Revolution. Gall made sure that MIMA went beyond this initial charge. Certainly, the park’s mission had to encompass the addition of The Wayside, and the 1992 legislation includes provision for discussing the works of Alcott, Hawthorne, and Sidney as illustrations of the nineteenth-century American literary renaissance. And, the 1992 legislation formally recognizes the importance of the Battle Road to the park’s mission. More importantly, though, Gall took the park beyond the opening of the American Revolution and specifically added that the park should preserve and interpret “sites associated with the causes and consequences of the American Revolution.”⁵⁹ As he emphasized later, “you can see in the transformation of the landscape what the consequences of that war were.” Winning the American Revolution meant that the patriots could break away from the British mercantile system and engage in foreign trade. This situation then allowed, according to Gall, “all of that American energy and creativity to burst forth.” Subsistence farming gave way to commercial enterprises capable of supporting the explosive growth of cities like Boston. The landscape encompassed in MIMA tracks these changes. As Gall remarked, “there are a lot of touchstones for American history here, plus it’s a beautiful place.”⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Chester Atkins, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 28 June 2005, 2, MIMA Archives.

⁵⁸ Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 3.

⁵⁹ PL 102-488, Section 2. Gall states in his oral history interview that he “personally slipped” in this clause. See Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 15.

⁶⁰ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 15.

In many ways, Gall only formalized what the park had long been doing. Historical architect Carroll and others had adopted a continuum approach toward preserving historic structures. Former interpretation Chief Cynthia Kryston had explored many living-history activities that spoke about colonial and post-Revolutionary War times. North Bridge talks had always acknowledged how the events of 19 April 1775 had meaning to people worldwide seeking self-determination and liberty. By having this new wording in the legislation, though, the park could expand these approaches and make MIMA relevant and significant to twenty-first- audiences.

Many people accepted and celebrated this new wording. Paul Marsh, a Lincoln resident and president of the Friends of the Battle Road, welcomed this change in his testimony before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He referred to the fact that many people currently seeking freedom from oppressive governments see the North Bridge and Battle Road as “symbol[s] of liberty for all people for all time.”⁶¹ Marsh believed that MIMA should “evolve into the cultural park—not simply battlefield memorial—that the Congress had in mind.” MIMA goes beyond the military events of 19 April 1775, Marsh stated, and instead the park “is a turning point in world history, where two fundamentally different notions of government parted company for good.”⁶²

Most people did not expect MIMA’s Revolutionary War roots to disappear under this expanded focus. As previous chapters make clear, the NPS showed sensitivity to a continuum approach in restoring historic buildings like Hartwell Tavern, keeping additions and changes that successive generations wrought. However, the NPS rejected the reduction and dissolution of the Revolutionary War story that the State Historic Preservation Office had demanded. Under the new legislation, that Revolutionary War story instead could become the focal point for discussing the American experience as a whole. What happened in Massachusetts, the United States, and the world as a result of the battle on 19 April 1775? Why did that battle make such a difference? How can people trace the consequences of that battle in the park’s landscape? Park interpreters, such as Kryston during the Bicentennial era, had begun exploring these questions and more. The new legislation made such explorations an integral part of the park’s mission.

INTERNAL CHANGES

So far, this chapter has followed the long road of getting the park’s development proposals approved through passage of new legislation. This effort succeeded under Gall’s guidance. However, other issues, sometimes complicating Gall’s work on the GMP and legislation, also deserve attention. Just as Gall inherited a difficult community situation with the GMP, he also found challenges internally at the park, relating to staffing and funding. In 1990, the park had a funding shortfall of \$239,000 and a personnel shortage of 5 Full-Time Equivalents (FTE), leaving Gall with the difficult task of balancing his budget while asking his

⁶¹ Marsh, Statement before House Committee on Interior Affairs, 17 September 1991, 2.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3.

already strapped employees to cover extra duties. The regional office supplied \$28,000 in emergency funds, making all the difference for hiring seasonal employees to help with the summer interpretive program. Gall still had to make decisions about where to cut in each of his divisions.⁶³ He chose to give as much money to maintenance as he could. In his justification to the regional office, Gall explained that the “potential for future surprises and disasters is greatest in this area” because the park had responsibility for so many historic structures, visitor facilities, and housing. More importantly, though, Gall had his eyes on public perception. At a time when he tried to assert his interest in and commitment to the local communities, Gall did not want people retorting that the park looked a shambles. “Nothing is worse for the Park Service’s public image,” wrote Gall to the regional director only a month into his job at MIMA, “than unkempt grounds and buildings.” He went on to write that “it is never possible to explain visibly bad maintenance, which the public automatically assumes is the result of poor management.”⁶⁴

This budget shortfall required hard decisions. Gall put what money he could into maintenance to get overgrown areas cleared of brush and repairs made. He also made sure that the park replaced a non-functioning mower, responding to criticisms about the unkempt look of the grounds. Adverse comments from visitors regarding the gardens at the Stedman Buttrick House prompted Gall to organize seasonal “garden parties” where employees and volunteers pulled weeds. He could not afford to hire a gardener to work on rehabilitating these gardens. He also could not hire seasonal laborers for general maintenance tasks and painting. Interpretation absorbed more cuts. North Bridge talks went from every half hour to once per hour, and the North Bridge Visitor Center often remained unstaffed by interpretive personnel. Eastern National clerks filled in to give basic directions. Gall cut all guided tours along Virginia Road between Hartwell Tavern and the Smith House, although he did invite volunteers to demonstrate colonial crafts and skills outside Hartwell Tavern on Sunday afternoons during summer and early fall. The Wayside went to a five-day schedule for the summer only, having tours only once per hour. Permanent interpretive staff had to serve on the front-lines, thus abandoning volunteer recruitment and coordination, repair and production of temporary exhibits, and some supervisory duties.⁶⁵ “We just got by on a wing and a prayer that first summer,” Gall recalled.⁶⁶ He bristled at this situation, especially since the park had just released its GMP and “needs to create a sense of forward motion to win

⁶³ Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 29-30; and attached Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, NARO, 18 January 1990, 1, and attached MIMA, Fiscal 1991 Budget Briefing Statement, 24 January 1990. Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 2.

⁶⁴ Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, NARO, 18 January 1990, 3.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 2-4. Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 12. Memorandum, Gall to All Employees, 7 June 1990, File D3215 Buttrick Garden, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 28-29. MIMA, Annual Statement for Interpretation, FY 1991, I-7, File K18 FY 1991 Statement for Interpretation, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁶ Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 8.

back the confidence of the communities in which it operates.” He warned that “expectations are rising, but it will be difficult to offer much more than promises in the near term.”⁶⁷

Gall did not let the critical funding situation go unattended. He notified the congressional delegation. Senators Kennedy and John Kerry supported an increase and prepared appropriate legislation. Atkins’s place on the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee proved crucial, convincing the House to defer to the Senate version of the bill. Through this congressional action, MIMA’s funding increased by a \$100,000 line item added by Congress, plus an additional \$85,000 in the President’s budget, and another \$30-\$40,000 from a large block of funds distributed proportionately to the national parks. This increase gave the park more than \$200,000 in operating increases in the next fiscal year, making it possible to catch up further on maintenance backlogs and do more interpretive programs, especially along the Battle Road. The park also gained two more FTE slots, from 33 to 35, providing a little more room for covering the long stretch of parkland.⁶⁸

Staffing proved another challenge in his first year at MIMA. Gall found staff members interminably stuck in low-grade positions with equally low morale. He also encountered unhealthy communication channels, in which personnel formed alliances to achieve their ends instead of following the normal chain of command. In Gall’s opinion, staff members used this approach because Nash had kept a close hand over the park budget and moved funds among the divisions without input from his division heads. Gall stopped this practice and brought his division chiefs together as a team. Gall made clear that he expected the team to make budget decisions collectively. Each chief would then have authority and responsibility for their individual allotments. Gall would not look over their shoulders, and if situations required budget adjustments, the entire team would provide input and make decisions.

Gall also moved people out of the lowest ranks and gave them some supervisory duties. He tried to match people’s actual functions to their job descriptions. Supervisory Park Ranger Daniel Dattilio became Chief Ranger, in charge of visitor protection and resources management. In 1991 Gall reorganized some of the divisions to best fit the demands of the park and skills of his employees. In the Interpretation division, he instituted Districts, combining the North Bridge and The Wayside as one and the Battle Road as another, with each District Ranger reporting directly to the Chief of Interpretation. These new District Rangers, Bob Derry and Mark Nichipor, had previously languished in GS-5 positions. Derry had long enjoyed his interpretive work at The Wayside, so Gall put him in charge of this unit plus the North Bridge. Nichipor’s interest in reenacting and military history fit for the Battle Road Unit, where Gall had more of these activities start taking place. Gall also assigned Park Ranger Janice Black to take over educational programming fulltime, allowing her to develop school programs that proved very popular.

⁶⁷ Memorandum, Gall to Regional Director, NARO, 18 January 1990, 5.

⁶⁸ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 3; Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 8; Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 23. Alice Hinkle, “Higher Park Budget Boosts Jobs, Upkeep,” *Lincoln Journal*, 1 November 1990.

To accommodate space requirements and better serve both the public and staff, Gall established the Division of Cultural Resources and moved it into the Caretaker's Cottage near the Buttrick House. Park curator Teresa Wallace headed this new division, with assistance from museum technician Steve Neth. Park historian Doug Sabin joined this division, freeing his time from direct visitor contact so that he could focus on historical research in support of the park's larger interpretive efforts. Gall also responded to the collections under Wallace's care. He had staff members move the park's library to the Caretaker's Cottage, providing easy access for Sabin to continue his research efforts and freeing up space in the Buttrick House for much-needed offices. The library had previously sat in a third-floor room of the Buttrick House. To better accommodate the park's archeological collections, and part of its architectural artifacts, Gall started the process of having the interior of the Job Brooks House modified for collections storage. Eventually, the park moved these from less than ideal conditions in the former squash court on the Buttrick Estate (see Appendix for organizational charts).

Gall also paid attention to the relationship of the park to the communities. In 1992 he assigned his acting chief of interpretation, Lou Sideris, to a new full-time position as Public Affairs Officer. Sideris also oversaw volunteer coordination and served as the park's liaison to cooperating association Eastern National.⁶⁹

COLONIAL WEEKEND

During the first year of changes and adjustments, Gall took the bold step of having the park host a Colonial Weekend in October 1990. He had several purposes for organizing this event. First, he wanted to serve notice to the local community that MIMA under his superintendency would play a major role in colonial activities. Despite budget and staffing shortfalls, the park would engage the community beyond the 19 April 1775 to a broadened cultural context. Visitors would learn about how people lived during this time period, what crafts they did, what music they listened to, and what distinguished colonial life. Second, Gall saw the need to emphasize the important resources along the Battle Road. In his estimation, this significant area of the park had received little attention in terms of interpretation and programming over the years. He wanted to bring the public into its spaces and convince them of its beauty and importance. Third, he needed to find a way to bring all members of his staff together to work on common goals. Colonial Weekend provided such a stage, requiring the careful coordination of all his divisions plus the volunteers. Finally, Colonial Weekend offered the possibility of reaching out and bringing people together,

⁶⁹ Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 3, 15, 24-30; Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 6; Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 8; Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 7. Memorandum, Gall to Manager, Cultural Resources Center, 12 May 1992, File Job Brooks Rehab, Vertical Files—Building Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA. The squash court collections storage worked well for items stored on the first floor, but the second story had proved difficult to control for humidity and temperature, necessitating the move to the Job Brooks House.

building ties with other organizations and promoting a sense of community, something that Gall needed in his work on the GMP and new legislation.⁷⁰

Colonial Weekend grew over its four-year run. In 1990 a hurricane blew through the opening day, dampening attendance for the two-day event to about 5,000 people.⁷¹ Undeterred, Gall sensed the “positive enthusiasm” of his staff. “They were just happy that something was going on,” he remarked soon afterwards. However, lack of experience meant that the event struck him as a “baling wire and string operation” that first year. Gall wanted to have food vendors to add to the festive nature of the weekend, but the park did not have the contacts to call upon. He used his Lowell connections and brought in a whole range of vendors offering food from different countries. “A lot of people were scratching their heads about the ethnic food at a colonial festival,” Gall laughed.⁷² In subsequent years, his staff invited vendors offering colonial food. Special performers sang, danced, and conducted such colonial arts as stone masonry and blacksmithing.⁷³ People responded in turn, with as many as 18,000 attending in 1992 during a gorgeous fall weekend.⁷⁴

Despite these successful visitor numbers, some staff members questioned the value of the Colonial Weekend. This event proved expensive both in terms of outright expenditures, costing the park \$26,000 in 1993, and personnel time. Both Chief Ranger Dattilio and Chief of Interpretation Lois Winter argued that planning for the event distracted them from their regular duties and taxed their divisions. Initial planning had begun for implementing a centerpiece of the GMP, a new trail through the Battle Road Unit. Dattilio knew that such a huge undertaking required as much of the staff’s attention as possible. Colonial Weekend seemed auxiliary to this larger project and thus expendable.⁷⁵ Winter, who had joined the MIMA staff in October 1992, believed that she could have developed a diverse and expansive interpretive program for the entire summer instead of having the money and time gone to a “one-shot weekend.”⁷⁶

However, Historian Sabin, along with Public Affairs Officer Sideris, argued the value of the Colonial Weekend. Sabin pointed at the valuable connections made between the park and colonial-minded people who possessed skills that the park could use in its interpretive programs. From a financial standpoint, Sabin also saw the event as a real bargain for visitors and tax payers while building crucial local support that would translate into congressional

⁷⁰ Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 12; Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 7; Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 11; Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 9-10; Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 8.

⁷¹ Gall to Thomas Adams, 2 November 1990, File K18 CY 1990 Colonial Weekend, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷² Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 8.

⁷³ Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 7. NPS Press Release, National Park Service Celebrates Colonial Weekend, 10 September 1992, File K18 CY 1992 Colonial Weekend, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷⁴ Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 15. On the 1993 Colonial Weekend, see Art Ballou, “Crowds Get a Taste of History at Colonial Weekend,” *Concord Journal*, 7 October 1993.

⁷⁵ The author thanks Dattilio for sharing his thoughts on this project. See NPS Review Comments, First Draft, 1, Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

⁷⁶ Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 20.

interest. Lowell National Historic Park had done well with its annual Folk Festival (which Gall had helped organize before coming to MIMA) and outreach educational programs, making that park relevant to the voters in that congressional district. MIMA, also in that district, had not always fared so well, and Sabin believed that hosting Colonial Weekends and other such outreach programs could make a real difference in garnering congressional funding. Sabin wrote starkly in his 1993 administrative history that “if we are to receive maximum support in Washington we must be relevant to the voter in this Congressional District.”⁷⁷ The point fell mute. Gall left MIMA in late 1993 to become Chief of Cultural Resources for the North Atlantic Region. Without his commitment to Colonial Weekend, it fell by The Wayside.⁷⁸

LANDSCAPES

Gall embarked on several initiatives to enliven the park’s landscapes and create enriching experiences for visitors. He had limited funds to accomplish these goals, though. As a result, he often sought alternative methods, reaching out to the community in the process. In some cases, his decisions to pursue certain projects came under criticism because people questioned their compatibility with the park’s mission. With his time fairly brief at MIMA, Gall also left some projects for the next superintendent to complete or transform into new endeavors.

Agricultural leasing attracted Gall’s attention from the start. He knew that the park had to open up the landscape along the Battle Road to approximate its colonial appearance and give visitors the sense that they were in a park. He also knew that agricultural fields and pastures had predominated during the key historic period. Farming provided a cost-effective tool to keep open these now wooded areas. The park had some longtime tenants who leased the land and farmed it, evoking the past. But, these individuals were getting on in years, and the park needed to attract new potential farmers. To create a sustainable agricultural program, the NPS needed to identify which lands offered the best opportunities in terms of arable land free of any specific historic or archeological remains. In 1991 MIMA entered into a cooperative agreement with the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning (UMass). This team would assess the park’s cultural landscape and propose a land-leasing program. During the first phase of this agreement, completed in March 1992, the UMass team compiled a digital database and used a Geographic Information System (GIS) to generate and evaluate scenarios for historic leasing. Factors taken into account included soil productivity and economic feasibility, view sheds and historical landscape importance, wetlands protections and historic remains.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Douglas Sabin. MIMA Administrative History for Calendar Year 1993 [hereafter 1993 Admin History], MIMA Archives. Lou Sideris to Janet Taylor, 21 December 1993, File K18 CY 1993 Colonial Weekend, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷⁹ University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Development of a Cultural Landscape Management Plan for MIMA, Phase I, March 1992, 1, 32, MIMA Archives. Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 15. Gall, transcript of

The second phase, completed in 1993, provided treatment options for the Battle Road Unit. The UMass team categorized this landscape in terms of its primary significance for rehabilitation. About 170 acres of the park had a high degree of historic character. Its spatial organization, land use, structures, and small-scale features evoked an eighteenth-century feeling. Another 500 acres of the park had a moderate level of historic character, with stone wall frameworks still existing but not historic spatial organization and land use. Some of this land would qualify for reintroduction of agriculture while limited agriculture seemed appropriate in the high-degree category. When looking specifically at potential agricultural resources, the UMass team assessed the land in terms of its soils, waterways, existing land use and land cover, and historic associations. From this assessment, the team identified no more than 180 acres suitable for agricultural practices. Finally, the team considered natural resources, such as wetlands, potentially endangered species, and ecosystem concerns. The team cautioned that the park should complete a comprehensive assessment to understand the values of the different ecosystems within park boundaries to the larger area.⁸⁰

A public meeting held in Concord in February 1993 demonstrated that this cultural landscape assessment and its reliance upon agricultural leasing faced difficulties. Wet and stony soils would need attention. Draining the land required dredging drainage ditches, but such action would have an impact on wildlife habitat. Plus, drainage ditches in the park relied upon functioning ditches in the towns. NPS regulations regarding pest management restricted what commercial farmers could do. The existence of wetlands also required careful consideration of other federal regulations. Could farmers drain some wetlands? Could farmers even drain drainage ditches, or were they considered protected wetlands? Farmers more set in their ways would throw up their hands and not take the challenge, as longtime MIMA farmer Ed Nowalk declared. Young, "hi-tech" farmers might show an interest. Involving cooperative associations and organizations like Codman Community Farms might minimize the management headaches for individual farmers. Gall obtained funding to update the Burke House, hoping that the offer of housing would attract interest from farmers. Gall understood, though, that agricultural leasing would proceed slowly in phases, as the park addressed housing and landscape issues.⁸¹

Trails through the park offered another opportunity to enliven the landscape and allow visitors to connect with its many resources. The park's new GMP also mandated development of trails, as an alternative for the failed attempt to relocate Route 2A. Gall embraced the development of trails early on. Directly following the Concord Board of Selectmen's November 1990 approval of the Trust for Public Lands' acquisition of the Perry

interview, 26 February 1992, 10.

⁸⁰ University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Cultural Landscape Report for MIMA, Treatment Options, 1993, 6-8, 156-60, MIMA Archives.

⁸¹ Beth Gavrin, Meg Rasmussen, Julius Fabos, Jack Ahern, *A Management Plan to Balance Cultural and Natural Resources: MIMA Case Study*, Research Bulletin No. 744, Summer 1993, Appendix H. Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 9, 27. Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 16-17, 24. Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 12. Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 8-9.

and Fletcher Farms for eventual inclusion in MIMA, Gall hosted a charette. He invited conservation-minded individuals and representatives from relevant local organizations to don boots and warm clothes for a walk-through around Meriam's Corner and discussion about trail placement. This gathering helped identify possible trail locations and develop guidelines for trail dimensions and surfacing.⁸²

With funding tight, Gall developed a partnership with the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC) for more trail work. This association proved beneficial in a couple of ways. First, the AMC offered the services of one of its trained trail developers to mark out a trail along the upland, southernmost portion between Hartwell Tavern and the Bloody Angle. Second, this trail blazer trained volunteers in necessary construction techniques. Third, the AMC advertised its involvement in the project and brought in volunteers to help in completing this trail. In 1992, with the park having some flexibility in its budget, Gall brought in a Grounds Foreman to oversee this work.⁸³

The park continued to cultivate its ties to the AMC and other area organizations supportive of trail development. MIMA and the regional office cooperated with the State Department of Environmental Management to contribute to the *Bay Circuit Plan*, a 120-mile greenway corridor of trails and rivers. Gall invited participants of annual Bay Circuit Treks to travel through the park. The mountain club planned and coordinated these treks.⁸⁴ In 1993, the park won a \$5,000 grant from the National Park Foundation to continue its overall trail work in the Bloody Angle area, beyond the work for the vernal pool trail. The AMC, with the Natural Heritage and Endangered Species Program of Massachusetts, worked with MIMA staff to complete the scenic foot trail and install seven wayside exhibits. More work fostered by the park and AMC resulted in construction of a trail spur that crossed a vernal pool between Old Bedford Road and Virginia Road near Hartwell Tavern. AMC members, with the NPS and volunteers constructed more sections of this boardwalk, providing foot access to this wetland area. The vernal pool trail also offered visitors a small observation platform to provide views of the pool's interior.⁸⁵

Another project nurtured by Gall and the North Atlantic Regional Office involved the proposed Battle Road Bike Trail, as originally named. This project would eventually be named under Gall's successor, Nancy Nelson, the Battle Road Trail, a multi-use trail

⁸² Gall to Friend, 2 December 1990, File D18 Landscape Management, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸³ Gall to Steve Blackmer, 24 January 1991, File Trails Info, Vertical Files—Grounds General Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA. Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 20. Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 5.

⁸⁴ MIMA, Briefing for Senator Kennedy, January 1990, File GMP, Park Admin Files, MIMA. NPS Press Release, NPS Provides Assistance to Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management's Bay Circuit Greenway Program, 7 January 1990; and Alan French to Gall, 4 April 1991, both in File Bay Circuit Trail, Vertical Files—Grounds General Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

⁸⁵ See documents in File Vernal Pool Trail, Vertical Files—Grounds General Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA, including a map of the trail; Trail Construction Guidelines; NPS Press Release, Vernal Pool Boardwalk Workdays at MIMA, no date [1992]; and Notice of Intent for Construction of Walking Trail System, 14 January 1992. "5K Grant Earmarked for New MM Park Trail," *Lexington Minute-Man*, 15 July 1993.

intended to provide visitors with access to and interpretive opportunities within the historic and natural landscapes of the park's Battle Road Unit. The bike trail idea grew out of enthusiasm among many people in the greater Boston area to link bikeways across the region. In 1993 while Gall served in a temporary assignment in the regional office, Chief Ranger Dattilio represented the park in meetings with regional staff and other groups. Identification of a viable park trail route through MIMA resulted from these meetings, although Dattilio reported that the NPS would need at least three more years of planning time before its construction.⁸⁶

The bike trail offered many positive opportunities for the park. Bike enthusiasts represented a large and visible special-interest group in the region. MIMA could tap this enthusiasm to gain support for its programs and spread the word about the significance of the park. Federal, state, and local governments all demonstrated their support for such clean recreation with funding initiatives. In 1992 MIMA won almost \$350,000 for planning the bike trail through a congressional add-on Representative Atkins secured. Bikeways promoted a healthy lifestyle and offered a pollution-free alternative to cars. Excluding the park from bikeway initiatives would close the door on future similar partnerships, plus tarnish the park's public image with this large sector of the population. Finally, bike paths would bring people into the MIMA landscape and give them the opportunity to experience its cultural and natural resources.⁸⁷

However, some people both in the park and outside expressed serious concerns about the bike trail. Park Historian Sabin agreed in the park's 1993 *Administrative History* that the park needed "a system of well designed interpretive walking trails," but a hardtop bike path did not fit this purpose, in his opinion. Sabin pointed out that "little can be gained in an interpretive sense" when bikers "zip through the park" on a bike trail. Such a multi-purpose trail would also detract from the walking visitor's desire to contemplate the landscape and learn about its history. "The land we protect and interpret," Sabin argued, "is sacred land drenched by the blood of American patriots in their struggle for liberty." This mission for MIMA must always take precedence, for "we cannot be all things to all people," Sabin concluded, "without running the risk of endangering our uniqueness and diverting attention from the main purpose of our being here."⁸⁸ Daniel Monahan, the Town of Concord's Natural Resources coordinator, echoed Sabin's argument. Monahan predicted that such a bike trail through the park would attract not only bicyclists but roller bladers, runners, parents pushing baby carriages, and other recreational users. While a laudable goal,

⁸⁶ Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 17-18. To trace the development of this trail, see File Battle Road Trail, Vertical Files—Landscape Features, Maintenance Records, MIMA, especially Briefing Statement, Battle Road Bike Trail Development, 18 February 1992; Battle Road Bike Trail Project Outline, 29 April 1993; Meeting Notes for Battle Road Bike Trail Work Group, 14 September 1993; and Battle Road Bike Trail Meeting Minutes, 23 November 1993. It should be noted that Gall led the first meetings for discussing and developing this trail, calling the assembled group the Bike Trail Work Group.

⁸⁷ Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 24.

⁸⁸ Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 18. See also Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 24-25.

Monahan believed that the trail “could have serious negative impacts on [the park’s] commitment to interpretation of history and the environment.”⁸⁹

Another proposed project supported by Gall but questioned by some park staff members involved a regional nursery. A group within the regional office and supported by the superintendent of Olmsted National Historic Site (Massachusetts) suggested converting a portion of the land associated with the Noah Brooks Tavern into a nursery. This development would have tall deer fencing to protect the plants, some of which would include exotic species. Dattilio expressed serious concerns over this idea, relating to MIMA’s mission. Sabin agreed with Dattilio’s viewpoint. He wrote in the 1993 *Administrative History* that having foreign plant species and deer fencing detracted from the historical landscape vision as encompassed in the 1990 GMP. MIMA would also lose operational control of the lands encompassed by the nursery. This proposal did not go further during Gall’s superintendency.⁹⁰

Gall did succeed in making some small but tangible landscape makeovers. Along Route 2A, he had his maintenance staff add split-rail fencing. This fencing had several important effects. First, it kept unauthorized vehicles from entering and adversely affecting the historical landscape. The park had a problem with illegal dumping, spending thousands of dollars each year hauling out this trash. Plus, the fencing kept cars on the road and away from the unpaved shoulder area. Second, the fencing helped people traveling on Route 2A to identify the park. The fencing announced the boundaries and the park presence. Third, the wood fencing contributed to the eighteenth-century agricultural feel of the park. Overall, this work on the right-of-ways along this busy road represented the first steps by the NPS to work with the state in adjusting the look and feel of Route 2A.⁹¹

One last landscape makeover involved the gardens on the Buttrick estate. Gall first sponsored weeding parties with volunteers and staff members to make the gardens presentable. Then in 1992 he brought in a Radcliffe landscape architecture student volunteer to update the 1920s drawings for the gardens and develop a rehabilitation plan. This volunteer, who lived locally, followed the annual succession of plantings and produced a useful base map. In 1993 Gall hired a grounds foreman and gained support from the Concord Garden Club to begin implementing the *Rehabilitation Plan*.⁹² Keeping the Buttrick House and its gardens had been a point of controversy when first acquired by the NPS, with many people saying this 1911 building and formal gardens intruded on the eighteenth-century landscape. Sabin elaborated on this argument, stating that the mansion’s

⁸⁹ Daniel Monahan to Gall, 21 September 1993, 1, File Battle Road Trail, Vertical Files—Landscape Features, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

⁹⁰ Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 18-19.

⁹¹ Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 25. Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 9. Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 12. Memorandum, Gall to Chief, Division of Planning and Design, NARO, 15 June 1992, 1, File D30 CY 1992 Route 2A, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁹² Gall, transcript of interview, 18 June 1992, 11. Assessment of Actions Having an Effect on Cultural Resources: Buttrick Estate Garden Renovation, 1993, File Buttrick Gardens Info, Vertical Files—Landscape Features, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

architectural style reflected the 1760s homes of the Tory class of English country squires. These British nobles had supported the British government's attempts to crush the American patriot cause.⁹³ Sabin called the house "haughty" and its presence "ironic [given that] that this symbol of British Tory class rule should stand on higher ground than the monuments erected to Americans." He went on to state that "to some the domineering presence of this lofty Georgian building mocks the ideals and spirit embodied in the Minute Men of 1775."⁹⁴

Gall argued otherwise. Due to the horrid state of the gardens when he arrived, "we were taking such a black eye in the public's estimation of our stewardship here." Plus, with the new legislation, Gall believed that "since we're taking a more evolutionary view of our landscapes, certainly this is an historic landscape by that standard."⁹⁵ And, improving the gardens made the park more friends, most notably with the Concord Garden Club, which "wouldn't give us the time of day when we first came along."⁹⁶

PARK INTERPRETATION

Gall had a mixed record of success with regard to directing the park's overall interpretation. He inherited a lackluster program from Nash, one that had dropped much of the special programming that Kryston had developed during her tenure. Nash's chief of interpretation, Szarka, had focused interpretive programming on the military aspects of the park. He shied away from the social and economic aspects of colonial life nor did he have his staff conduct environmental programming at Fiske Hill, as Kryston had done. Part of this shift came from interest and temperament but also due to staffing realities that left Szarka's division largely understaffed. Szarka left MIMA a year after Gall arrived, and the park went with an acting chief, Sideris, until Gall hired Winter in fall 1992.⁹⁷ These changes in leadership left the division in limbo during much of Gall's superintendency. The NPS had released a new Interpretive Prospectus (IP) for the park in 1990, but this plan could not take into account the enhanced and enlarged park mission mandated by the 1992 legislation. The 1990 IP recommended changes in exhibits at the two visitor centers, plus installation of waysides throughout the park. But, this IP failed to have any innovative ideas or applicable plans for the park as it could be under the new legislation.⁹⁸

Gall himself had a great interest in interpretation and educational programming. He said later that people in the NPS "are stewards of the American experience . . . to not just protect certain resources within a boundary on a map, but to help people understand the meaning of this country through its heritage." Put simply, Gall stated that he "see[s] us [in the NPS] as really educators, primarily."⁹⁹ However, he also had to contend with a park that had many competing problems and a limited budget. In his mind, addressing the backlog in

⁹³ Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 29-30.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 30.

⁹⁵ Gall, transcript of interview, 17 September 1993, 7.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁹⁷ Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 1-2.

⁹⁸ MIMA, Interpretive Prospectus, 1990, File Interpretive Prospectus, NPS Reports Files, MIMA.

⁹⁹ Gall, transcript of interview, 21 January 2005, 16.

maintenance work took precedence over any other park activities. As noted previously, he “made a shift toward maintenance. I deliberately moved money to maintenance from interpretation in an effort to upgrade grounds and buildings, which were in deplorable shape and gave the Service a black mark.”¹⁰⁰

In light of the serious budget issues and his emphasis on maintenance, Gall largely focused new interpretive programming on collaborative activities that used outside funding or relied on volunteer groups. As Gall stated in 1992, “I’m very committed to educational programs done in cooperation with other historical and cultural organizations and with the various schools.”¹⁰¹ This approach certainly built needed friendships around the community and expanded opportunities for trying new approaches. However, this tact could only sustain itself with continued outside support, limiting its long-term life.

For the 1990 interpretive season, Gall made two important contacts that resulted in an enhanced program without additional cost to the park. First, he invited a host of minute and militia companies back to MIMA. Beginning in 1976, in an attempt to ensure authenticity in costume and appearance, Kryston had restricted and effectively removed from the park’s volunteer program the ceremonial or “dress-alike” companies of Concord, Lincoln, Lexington, Acton, and Bedford. Gall welcomed these companies back, shifting park policy to an inclusive one. To further the colonial military knowledge of these new groups at the park, Gall also instituted a School of the Soldier program. These companies readily accepted Gall’s invitation to perform in the park, enlivening the offerings in the area of the Battle Road Visitor Center. Another volunteer group, known as the Colonial Living Program under Eugene Prowten, staged craft demonstrations at Hartwell Tavern every other Sunday through the summer and fall. These two volunteer activities brought needed attention to the Battle Road Unit.¹⁰²

More changes in the Battle Road area built on these initial steps. Park Curator Wallace researched what furnishings a typical rural tavern would have had during the time Hartwell Tavern operated. The park did not have documentation of how the Hartwells had outfitted their tavern, and when the park had restored the building, it had left the interior empty. Gall believed that visitors should have the opportunity to see furnished rooms. With Wallace’s research in hand, acting chief of interpretation Sideris arranged in 1991 for the students at the Minuteman Regional Vocational High School to construct reproduction furniture. Wallace also obtained 13 chairs built by a craftsman in Massachusetts. When giving tours, interpreters made clear the provenance of the furnishings, but visitors had an easier time imagining how the tavern probably operated during the Revolutionary War period.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Gall, as quoted by Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 33.

¹⁰¹ Gall, transcript of interview, 26 February 1992, 10.

¹⁰² Sabin, 1990 Admin History, 10-11, and attached letter Szarka to Michael Rudd, 15 December 1989; MIMA, Annual Statement for Interpretation, 1991, I-7.

¹⁰³ Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 8-9. Teresa Wallace, Furnishings for the Hartwell Tavern, 1990, MIMA Museum Collection. Wallace to Anne Ireland, 7 June 1990, File H22 CY 1990 Research, Park Admin

Some collaborative programs with area institutions helped extend the reach of the park's interpretive programming. With the Concord Museum, the park won in late 1992 a \$15,000 National Park Foundation grant to hold a Colonial Family Camp. This program, as planned, offered for families to stay a weekend at the park or in local lodgings and immerse themselves in colonial life. Suggested activities included role-playing, preparing colonial foods, learning colonial crafts, and experiencing typical entertainment of the period, such as music and dancing. In 1993, the National Park Foundation awarded the park another significant grant, focusing on the idea of parks as classrooms. The park planned to publish and distribute a guide for teachers to help in coordinating curricula with park resources. Gall had placed an emphasis on connecting area schools with MIMA early in his tenure. His appointment of Ranger Black as the education coordinator had resulted in a popular school program, bringing as many as 8,000 students in 1991 alone. The grant would extend the park's reach to the schools.¹⁰⁴

These successes do not overcome some significant weaknesses within the interpretive division during Gall's superintendency. As already mentioned, the division lacked a chief until late 1992 when Gall hired Winter. Winter's tenure was a time of polarization within the interpretation division. She did not stay for longer than 18 months. Although she worked to develop the education program, she also hampered this effort by reassigning Black to the North Bridge Visitor Center. Longtime interpreter Derry fled the park to the regional office to avoid the continuing disagreements and unproductive work conditions. By the time his temporary work assignment had ended, Winter had left. Winter also paid little attention to issues relating to exhibits, even though Harpers Ferry Center had offered to make necessary changes at the Battle Road Visitor Center.¹⁰⁵

Already spending most of his time out of the park in his temporary assignment in the regional office, Gall could not provide much aid for the difficulties in the interpretive division. When he formally left the park in fall 1993, he left this struggling division for his successor to handle. Whatever the problems with interpretation, Gall left MIMA in a strong position. He had reached out to people and forged relationships with the local communities, gaining their crucial support for the GMP and new legislation. When he first walked into MIMA in late 1989, no one would have expected such accomplishments so quickly. He also laid the groundwork for the Battle Road Trail. This walking and biking trail would become a

Files, MIMA.

¹⁰⁴ James Ridenour to Gall, 22 September 1992, File K1817 Colonial Family Camp Program. NPS Press Release, MIMA and Concord Museum Receive National Park Foundation Grant, 3 November 1992, File Press Releases, Lou Sideris Files, MIMA. Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 11-12, 14.

¹⁰⁵ This characterization is based upon discussions with various park staff members, including Lou Sideris, Bob Derry, and Nancy Nelson. The author thanks these people for their candidness. See also Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 17-18; Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 11-13; Lois Winter, Greetings to Minute Man's Volunteers in the Interpretive Program, 25 February 1993, File Interpretation, Division of, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Gall to James Young, 5 May 1992, and attached documents, File D6215 Exhibit Plans, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Mary Foley to Manager, HFC, 5 November 1993, and attached documents, File D62 CY 1993 BRVC, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

defining resource for MIMA. Nelson, who began her tenure as MIMA's superintendent in November 1993, would oversee the trail's development and foster additional outreach.

CHAPTER NINE

ADVOCACY AND PARTNERSHIPS

Nancy Nelson's attachment to MIMA started in the Bicentennial era. She and her husband passed through Concord on their way from Iowa's cornfields to the history-laden landscape of Boston. "I can remember really loving the landscape," she later recalled, "and admiring the Bullet Hole House long before I ever knew or thought that I'd be living there."¹ But, aside from the North Bridge area, she hadn't recognized a national park, just the possibilities. Seeing possibilities and pursuing them vigorously defines Nelson's contributions to MIMA.

Nelson has a strong sense of place and a real attachment to the land. Born in Chicago but raised in southern California, she had watched "a lot of the things I really loved about southern California disappear in the face of freeways and shopping malls and endless subdivisions."² Hungry for an alternative, she and her husband pursued graduate degrees in Iowa before moving to Boston, where her husband took a teaching position at Boston University. With an undergraduate degree in political science and a master's in urban and regional planning, Nelson took one more step towards cementing her understanding of land issues by training in landscape architecture at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design. She then took a series of positions within the Northeast regional office of the NPS, gaining insights into policy-making approaches and applying them in critical ways to a variety of national parks. In one key position, she worked as a liaison with the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Commission during the huge restoration effort there, gaining invaluable skills from this politically charged project. In addition, she authored a wilderness study at Fire Island National Seashore (NY) and the *General Management Plan* at Olmsted NHS.³

She also watched with interest the ups and downs at MIMA. For Regional Director Herb Cables, Nelson had drafted responses to residents during the early stages of GMP development, and "it was truly amazing to me," she later stated, "how you could be a national park in Concord, Lincoln, and Lexington and have such a hard time."⁴ She had great respect for the people in those communities. In her mind, "any national park would be fortunate to be located within communities like these because they are inherently sympathetic to the values and goals of the Park Service." She also recognized that "they're smart. . . . They know how to do things and how to get things done. There's a lot of talent and commitment" in the park's neighbors, "there's a lot of participation and involvement. There is no apathy. None." Nelson considered these traits as

¹ Nancy Nelson, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 26 January 2005, 2, MIMA Archives.

² Ibid., 1.

³ Ibid., "Welcome to New Superintendent Nancy Nelson," *The Bridge*, Spring 1994, 1, File K1815 "The Bridge" Newsletter, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴ Nelson, transcript of interview, 2.

an “incredible asset,” and she has worked since her arrival in January 1994 to foster communication and build partnerships for the benefit of the park and its surrounding communities.⁵

While Nelson continues as superintendent, complete assessments of her management of MIMA must necessarily wait. Her more than 12 years at the park, however, leave some definable impressions. First, Nelson has a sincere appreciation for the park’s landscapes and their possibilities. Her training in landscape architecture intensified this feeling, but she came by it naturally. When looking through the woods along Route 2A, Nelson “could see the stone walls running off into the distance and so you knew that those fields were there, and they were wanting to come back.”⁶ Second, Nelson has had the commitment to advocate for the park. Her years in the regional office ensured that she understood the NPS’s mission. She also had the opportunities to test approaches to realize that mission. In reflecting on her actions as superintendent, she noted that “one thing I’ve really done is step out, in an advocacy position more boldly, aggressively, assertively than maybe others have done or were able to do.” Third, Nelson has not alienated people with this approach. In fact, she has turned them into partners, building a base from which the park has benefited. By looking at such issues as attempts to widen Route 2A and the development of the Battle Road Unit, Nelson’s success in achieving partnerships while fulfilling her “absolute obligation” to the park provides some key understanding to her leadership at MIMA.⁷

This leadership has led to the transformation of the national historical park. The completed 5.5-mile Battle Road Trail takes visitors along the entire stretch of the Battle Road Unit, providing first-ever access to this largest unit of the park. Where once modern houses owned by private individuals intruded upon the landscape near Hartwell Tavern and the Capt. William Smith House, for example, now visitors can walk and enjoy the historical setting. Land long overgrown with brush and trees has been cleared to resemble the historically predominate farmland. Historic structures gleam after important restoration work. Visitors can stop at waysides and read about the important events that had occurred there in 1775. People can safely turn off busy Route 2A and park their cars in the many convenient and well-marked parking areas. By stepping onto the trail, visitors leave behind the noise and congestion of the commuter road and reconnect to the natural and historical environment. Nelson oversaw this intensive and important transformation, gathering partners from the surrounding communities and jurisdictions and relentlessly advocating for the park. MIMA presents a very different experience to visitors than had been possible even five years before Nelson became its superintendent.

This chapter considers the centerpiece of Nelson’s efforts at the park, completion of the Battle Road Trail, looking separately at trail design and construction, historic structure restorations, landscape clearing, and interpretation. However, before Nelson could address the

⁵ Ibid., 15. Larry Gall left in November 1993, and the park had a series of acting superintendents until early January. See Sabin, 1993 Admin Report, 27-28.

⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷ Ibid., 6.

trail work, she had to work with the state and the Town of Lexington to address efforts to widen Route 2A. What Nelson accomplished with the road widening effort would help set the stage for her success with the Battle Road Trail. The next chapter considers other aspects of Nelson's tenure at MIMA.

LEXINGTON AND ROUTE 2A

One early issue for Nelson to apply her advocacy skills dealt with the Town of Lexington's attempt to widen Route 2A near Route 128/Interstate-95. This project had begun more than a decade earlier during the Robert Nash years, when the town had presented its preferred alternative to widen Route 2A to as many as five lanes, swapping land with the NPS to allow for this action. Nash, with the regional office, had vigorously opposed such widening within the park's boundaries and effectively convinced the planners to conduct an *Environmental Impact Statement* (EIS) and remove some above-ground power lines. The highway planners also agreed to relocate the expansion project outside park boundaries. In August 1992, the Massachusetts Highway Department (MHD) released its *Draft EIS*. The preferred alternative in this draft report involved constructing two signalized intersections and widening Route 2A from two to five lanes next to the 128/95 intersection. In June 1993 the Massachusetts Secretary of Environmental Affairs certified this draft, making it the *Final EIS*.⁸

Nelson understood the ramifications of this proposal, even if no construction would happen directly within the park's boundaries. As she articulated her concerns, she laid a framework for how the NPS would address any attempts to widen or expand traffic capability of Route 2A. Even more importantly, Nelson used her advocacy to build alliances with potential partners and resolve the situation favorably for both the park and outside interests. What Nelson accomplished with respect to the road widening proposal in Lexington serves as a model for future managers.

First, Nelson stated in her public presentations and letters to public officials that the road widening would threaten the safety of park visitors and others traveling within the park. As she made clear in a November 1994 briefing statement, the proposed project would drop a "big highway" solution in an area that needs a 'slow down/you're in a park' message." She worried that commuters would take advantage of the road widening and take Route 2A through the park as a "quick and dirty" shortcut to and from 128/95. Traffic and speeds would increase, while park visitors would have a dangerous and difficult experience trying to pull off to visit park waysides or re-enter traffic. While the park proceeded with plans for the Battle Road Trail, promising to attract a range of hikers, bikers, and other recreational users, Nelson heightened her concern for the safety of all travelers within the park.⁹

Along with safety issues, Nelson raised a voice concerning the natural and historical landscape. She argued that the big-highway look of the proposed alternative would detract from

⁸ See Chapter 7; Bruce Campbell & Associates, Safety Improvements for Marrett Road (Route 2A), Lexington Massachusetts, April 1995, 1, Museum Collection, MIMA. Frank Fields to Nelson, 16 May [1994], File D30 CY 1994 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁹ MIMA, Briefing/Route 2A Expansion Project, 14 November 1994, 2, File D30 CY 1994 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

the historical context of the park and intrude upon the “traditional sense of quiet and seclusion which makes the park distinct.” This important park entrance, which most travelers take to enter MIMA, represented an opportunity to set a tone for visitors, prepare them for the journey into time and space that awaited them. Having large intersections and signal lights would jar people from this historic sense.¹⁰ Wetlands adjacent to the park would also suffer, thus potentially diminishing those at the park’s borders. The proposed project involved removing a rocky outcropping that acted as screen for the park. Without this natural screening, modern developments would further intrude upon the historical landscape.¹¹

Nelson distinguished herself from Nash in how she addressed this issue. She approached the Lexington widening attempt with a desire to build collaborative relationships which worked toward mutual goals and benefited the park. She understood that the park did not have a role in providing or withholding any formal approvals since the widening would occur outside the park. “Rather, our role will be one of influence and persuasion,” she wrote. She hoped that the park would “contribute to the definition of the best possible solution which will protect critical safety needs AND the critical long term protection needs” of MIMA.¹² She, or Chief Ranger Dan Dattilio, attended public meetings, scheduled more sessions with key planners, and wrote letters emphasizing the continued need for working together on solutions. She encouraged and reinforced this collaborative approach whenever she saw it, noting in one letter after a meeting with planners that “everyone involved displayed a great deal of directness, commitment, patience and cooperation.”¹³ Nelson understood that each participant represented important views, all of which should have a voice in determining the final plans.

Nelson’s efforts slowly saw recognition. In July 1994 the Lexington Board of Selectmen voted in favor of the Highway Department’s preferred alternative and passed the proposal to the town’s conservation commission. However, this commission voted in August against the plan, citing wetlands and water quality concerns. The conservation commission also pointed out that the proposal went beyond the initial goals for the project to address safety concerns and instead expanded traffic capacity, too. The MHD appealed the denial, and in fall 1994 the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection began reviewing the case.¹⁴ The “great Rte 2A debate” by late September looked intractable, with Nelson recognizing that “the prospect of a long and contentious legal battle looms large.” However, thanks to her continued expressions of cooperation and collaboration, the Lexington Selectmen made a startling offer. As she described the turn of events, the Lexington Board began to view the NPS as a “quasi neutral party which could develop a credible solution to this knotty problem.”¹⁵

¹⁰ Position Statement/Marrett Road Expansion, June 1994, 2, File D30 CY 1994 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹ MIMA, Briefing, 14 November 1994, 3.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Nelson to Richard White, 25 October 1994, 2, File D30 CY 1994 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴ Matt Shaw, “Lexington Is Moving Forward with Plans for Route 2A.” *[Concord?] Journal*, 28 July 1994, File Press Releases, Lou Sideris Files, MIMA. Andy Dabillio, “Lexington Panel Fears State Won’t Listen to Its Vote on Route 2A,” *Boston Globe*, 7 August 1994. MIMA, Briefing, 14 November 1994, 3.

¹⁵ Quotes from Email, Nelson to Jim Straughton, Lou DeLorme, Terry Savage, Dan Dattilio, 28 September

Nelson jumped at the opportunity, inviting NPS professionals from Denver, the region, and Washington to share their expertise. Recognizing the distance factor and wanting to ensure timely local participation, Nelson also established a collaborative relationship with non-profit consultants Heritage Partners to provide engineering and planning skills. In April 1995 Bruce Campbell & Associates, working through Heritage Partners, released an alternative plan for Route 2A at 128/95. This plan recommended a single intersection at Marrett Road and New Massachusetts Avenue. To accommodate traffic from office parks and the regional Vocational Technical high school, a connector road would consolidate access to Marrett Road at this intersection. This proposal, according to the consultants, had an acceptable load of service comparable to the MHD preferred alternative, reduced wetlands impact, and a lower cost than the highway department's alternative. The consultants also believed that their proposal would infringe less on MIMA and the surrounding environment.¹⁶

This proposed alternative did not meet with acceptance. Representatives of the high school made clear their utter disbelief that the NPS plan would have the connector road, servicing the office parks, feed into the high school's main entrance driveway, potentially creating a "safety and traffic disaster." In addition, the school's superintendent wondered why the NPS had not asked for the school's participation in developing the plan.¹⁷ Nelson accepted this criticism but made clear that "our early attempts to discuss ideas and options with others met with almost complete failure." Instead, she decided to see first if the Lexington Selectmen found the new plan useful, and if so, the NPS would invite others to share their thoughts.¹⁸ The high school registered its complete opposition to the NPS plan with the Lexington Selectmen, leaving the entire project at another standstill.¹⁹ As Nelson wrote in a Letter to the Editor in July 1995, this project "is now virtually deadlocked." She reiterated her two continuing concerns for public safety and protection of park resources. She also asked that the few detractors who "paint the park's concerns as trivial or as being concerned with environment at the expense of human safety" to stop and listen to her consistent message calling for safety.²⁰

Into this deadlock stepped the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection. This agency offered to provide voluntary mediation services to help state, local, and federal authorities reach a satisfactory agreement. Nelson welcomed this turn of events, although she cautioned her fellow participants to "approach the process with a determination to meet the legitimate needs of others." She understood that "no party will get everything they want from the process but the most central safety and environmental concerns could be well met."²¹

1994. See also Richard White to Nelson, 7 October 1994, both in File D30 CY 1994 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁶ Email, Nelson to Straughton, et al., 28 September 1994; Nelson to White, 25 October 1994, 1; Bruce Campbell & Associates, Safety Improvements for Marrett Road, 1-4.

¹⁷ Ron Fitzgerald to Nelson, 9 June 1995, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁸ Nelson to Ron Fitzgerald, 19 June 1995, 1, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁹ Fitzgerald to Nelson, 9 June 1995.

²⁰ Letter to the Editor, "Park Chief Writes about Route 2A Expansion," *Lexington Minute-Man*, 6 July 1995.

²¹ Ibid.

Following a series of mediation sessions, the Environmental Protection Agency announced in October 1995 that the parties had signed a memorandum of agreement, spelling out a set of principles to govern the highway work and allowing it to proceed.²² The agreement delineated a reduction in roadway width for the expansion, having four lanes (instead of five) and a shoulder for safety use funneling down to two as Route 2A approached the park. Water quality preservation would involve improved detention of storm water runoff. In recognition of MIMA, the park, the highway department, and the highway engineers agreed to develop and implement “sophisticated landscaping” to reflect the fact that the “entire project area is a special scenic and historic area as well as the gateway to the national park.”²³

Nelson achieved another crucial accomplishment with this critical agreement. She turned a potentially adversarial relationship between the park and highway department into an “ongoing partnership” that extended well beyond the confines of the park’s eastern entrance.²⁴ As an essential aspect for gaining the park’s concurrence on the road widening, Nelson negotiated for the highway department and park to develop and implement a plan “to address issues of safety, maintenance, landscaping, signage, and other issues” along the entire Route 2A corridor.²⁵ Nelson had laid the groundwork for this idea in March 1995, writing to the Massachusetts Highway Department’s deputy commissioner. She wrote then that she was “very anxious to pursue a stronger, cooperative relationship with MHD for the maintenance of Route 2A.” This desire for cooperative action along the Battle Road fit within the park’s efforts to “create the recognizable image of a national park along this historic roadway.”²⁶

The MHD outlined its expected actions for the Route 2A corridor in a formal commitment letter to Nelson, paving the way for her to sign the Memorandum of Agreement. The MHD first asserted that it “does not have any plans to widen the Route 2A corridor beyond the limits” of the 128/95 and Route 2A project.²⁷ In addition, the department agreed to develop and construct geometric improvements at Old Massachusetts Avenue and Route 2A, using plans developed by NPS consultant Carol R. Johnson Associates, to improve safety conditions. Nelson had argued that the MHD’s original preferred alternative failed to address this dangerous intersection, instead focusing on New Massachusetts Avenue. The highway department also would try to fund the consultation costs of Johnson Associates in completing the landscaping design work of the road widening project. In the commitment letter, the MHD stated, too, that it would initiate the surplus lands process for transfer of Marrett Street and adjacent lands to the NPS. This action depended upon the presentation of a letter of support from Hanscom AFB and

²² Press Release, Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection, 23 October 1995, 1, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²³ Memorandum of Agreement—The Mediation Alternative, 12 October 1995, 1-2, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Quotes on p. 2.

²⁴ Nelson to Laurinda Bedingfield, 17 October 1995, 1, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁵ Memorandum of Agreement, 12 October 1995, 3.

²⁶ Nelson to Kevin Sullivan, 20 March 1995, 1-2, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁷ Laurinda Bedingfield to Nelson, 5 October 1995, 1, File D30 CY 1995 Marrett Road, Lexington, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

a commitment from the NPS that it would continue to allow access on Airport Road, if the park eventually came to own this road.²⁸ Addressing other park concerns, the highway department agreed to use its regulatory authority to reduce speeds and review signing along the corridor. Improvements to signage would include reducing the number and scale of those signs and generally bettering their appearance.²⁹

These commitments alone would have made this agreement a benefit to MIMA. However, Nelson achieved more. Still with an eye toward safety, Nelson asked for and received a commitment by the MHD to accept suggestions for future maintenance work of the roadway within the park. The NPS would make specific recommendations for areas of improvement. These might include cleaning and maintenance of overgrown vegetation, cleaning and removal of vegetation along historic stone walls, and removal of large concrete blocks left in the park. NPS personnel would train and work with the MHD contractors to do this work.³⁰

One significant result of this part of the agreement involved the park's stone walls. Many of these historic walls had fallen into disrepair from neglect and age. The park had watched with alarm over the years as these walls also showed signs of vandalism, with people taking stones to fill their private gardens or line their lots. In 1994 the park stepped up its surveillance efforts and began an educational program. Through articles in local newspapers and special signage, the park made clear that taking of stones took away an important part of the country's heritage, an archeological treasure. Conviction for stealing stones from these historic walls also involved steep federal penalties, including prison and fines.³¹

To bring back these walls and provide for their upkeep, the MHD worked with the NPS to construct or rebuild them. This effort involved careful consultations with a range of trained professionals both within the NPS and within the state's historical commission and highway department. The NPS also paid close attention to federal regulations regarding protection of wetlands and preservation of archeological resources and historic character. Previous studies, including mapping the historic walls using Geographic Information System (GIS) data, helped to ensure that the stone wall paths remained accurate. One problem resulted in the size and color of the replacement rocks. The NPS had approved one type that matched closely existing rocks. When work began, though, it was clear that someone had ordered different rocks, which had a lighter color. However, aging from the weather, plus reseeding around the re-established bases, helped blend the newer ones with the originals.³² In the end, Nelson believed that the highway

²⁸ As of mid-2007, the Massachusetts Highway Department transferred most of the land adjacent to Airport Road to the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation. There is agreement that Airport Road would be retained by MHD but would only be used for maintenance and for local, state, and federal emergencies (as well as residential access for the few remaining homes).

²⁹ Bedingfield to Nelson, 5 October 1995, 1-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

³¹ Sharon Britton, "Pilfering Our History," *Boston Globe*, 15 May 1994.

³² Nelson to Norman and Sue Newlands, 14 October 1997, 1-2, File D30 Stone Wall Reconstruction, Massachusetts Highway Department, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Nelson to Kevin Sullivan, 17 June 1997, File L1425 Marrett and Airport Roads, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Nelson to Kevin Sullivan, 6 February 1998, 1, File D30 Marrett Road, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. The author also thanks Nelson, Chris Davis, and others in sharing information about the stone wall project.

department personnel working on the project gained an appreciation for the importance of their work, “that they were making a long term and highly significant contribution to the Nation’s heritage.”³³

Why would rehabilitating stone walls become a component of the maintenance and safety improvements by the MHD? Nelson understood that until people who commuted through the park actually saw the park, they would not take the time to slow down and respect its resources. By having the state highway department clear away overgrown vegetation and rebuild the stone walls, the park emerged slowly and steadily. People could see the history in the tangible form of those old stone walls and find a connection to the park. With that connection, hopefully came commitment to its continued preservation. As Nelson wrote to two Lexington residents, “20,000 people travel along Route 2A every day with no understanding that they are within a national park or traveling along the historic Battle Road. Trucks and commuter traffic speed through the park with potentially disastrous consequences for motorists, bicyclists, pedestrians and the park’s one million annual visitors.” This combined effort between the park and the state highway department, Nelson predicted, will “make the Park a beautiful, recognizable and safe place for everyone who uses it.”³⁴

Battle Road Unit: Safe visitor access trail

Providing safe visitor access served as the focal point for addressing one of the key components of the 1990 GMP. The GMP had dropped consideration of relocating Route 2A out of the park and instead set the management goal of developing an “interconnected pedestrian trail system” for the entire length of the Battle Road Unit. Former Superintendent Larry Gall had sought ways to address this charge, with his initial ideas focused on funding and partnering opportunities. First, he had built relationships with organizations such as the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC) to lay out trails, such as around the vernal pool near Hartwell Tavern. Second, he had fostered conversations with biking enthusiasts that resulted in extended discussions about a bikeway/walkway through the park. He pursued this approach as a way to gain funding. Third, Gall worked closely with Congressman Chester Atkins, just before losing his seat in the House, to obtain money for the park. One congressional add-on designated \$347,000 for the planning, design, and development of the bikeway/walkway. The second one directed \$287,000 for research, planning, and design funds for the Meriam’s Corner area. This combined money made it possible for the park to explore its options with regard to developing the entire Battle Road Unit. With Gall’s departure, the park continued intensive discussions with NPS representatives and outside organizations and individuals. These talks and walks through the unit led to agreement for an interpretive walking trail that could accommodate bicycle usage but not serve as a major thoroughfare linked to other regional bikeways. NPS staff and people who commented on ideas agreed that the trail running through the Battle Road Unit should engage visitors with the historical and natural stories associated with the landscape. The trail

³³ Nelson to Sullivan, 6 February 1998, 1.

³⁴ Nelson to Newlands, 14 October 1997, 2.

would provide safe access to the land and buildings that the NPS had spent the previous 30 years acquiring and caretaking.³⁵

Two people bridged the development of the trail between the Gall and Nelson superintendencies, Chief Ranger and eventually Assistant Superintendent Dattilio and NPS Landscape Architect John Tauscher. Much of the success of the entire project can be attributed to Dattilio. He lent his attention to detail and strong communication skills toward meeting with residents, communities, and organizations to discuss ideas for the trail and build support. Over the course of the project, he kept all of the documentation, neatly organized for handy reference, and became a key contact person for the public in formal and informal discussions about specific aspects of the trail. In Nelson's mind, Dattilio knew almost every square inch of the park's landscape, and he applied this knowledge to the process of selecting the trail's layout and design. In many ways, he was the design leader for the Battle Road Unit project. Tauscher joined the NPS Regional Office in late 1992 specifically to work on the design and implementation of the trail. As job captain, he worked with MIMA for close to a dozen years, overseeing the entire Battle Road Unit project, including historic structure and landscape rehabilitation, and also overseeing the effort for rehabilitating the North Bridge Unit, as discussed in the next chapter. A trained landscape architect, Tauscher had 15 years prior experience in the private sector, working on park development projects and site planning. He joined Dattilio in meeting with groups. He also gathered data about the lay of the land and any other background materials to help in determining the trail's alignment.³⁶

The park submitted in December 1993 its first development proposal for what it then called a Visitor Access Corridor. Several key components characterized this initial funding request and would be carried forward as the project progressed. The park emphasized that such a trail, in meeting the GMP objectives, would provide safe travel for visitors as they explored the length of the park. People would have access to historic sites and natural areas. They would gain an appreciation for the landscape as the colonists knew it, both as agricultural land and as cover during the hours of the battle on 19 April 1775. The development proposal also made clear that such a trail would remove visitors from the very real physical danger that Route 2A posed. Its fast-moving cars and trucks made it dangerous for people to take a leisurely ride through the park and pull off to see the sights. The trail would have waysides to convey important information about the historical and natural setting. Comfort facilities and designated parking areas would provide visitors with basic necessities.³⁷

The 1993 proposal included historic structure and cultural landscape restoration and rehabilitation. This effort also fit within the GMP objectives, which called for the park's management team to "protect, rehabilitate, and selectively preserve eighteenth- and nineteenth-

³⁵ Quote from 1990 GMP, 32. Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 24-25; Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 17, 28.

³⁶ Sabin, 1993 Admin History, 17; Dattilio, transcript of interview, 19; John Tauscher, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 5 December 2006, 1-3, MIMA Archives. Dattilio's files and binders for the Battle Road Trail remain at the park, still a handy resource.

³⁷ Development/Study Package Proposal, 3 December 1993, unpaginated, File D20 CY 94 Visitor Access Corridor, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Acting superintendent Teresa Wallace signed this initial proposal; Nancy Nelson is listed inside as the park superintendent and contact.

century buildings” for interpretation, visitor uses, and adaptive uses. Plus, the 1990 GMP called for protection and restoration of the historic scene in selected areas, including use of agricultural special use permits. The park asked in its 1993 visitor access proposal for funding to remove scrub brush from fields, repair stone walls, remove two modern houses recently under NPS control, and preserve three historic structures, the Meriam House, the McHugh Barn, and the Jacob Whittemore House. As the trail project would proceed, the park would expand its vision for what it wanted to accomplish for the historic structures and cultural landscapes in the Battle Road Unit. In total, the 1993 proposal asked for a little more than \$9 million, of which site development and trail construction would take almost \$7 million.³⁸

Once Nelson became superintendent in January 1994, she led the park in articulating the urgency for the trail and winning the necessary funding. She also garnered partnerships and collaborations that enhanced the trail and built support. Safety and access became the key identifying words for the project. Nelson and the rest of the park staff made clear to anyone who would listen that the NPS had spent many millions of dollars to acquire 800 acres of land that virtually remained invisible to visitors due to lack of access. That lack of access resulted in large part from the busy Route 2A. Nelson would often point to the park brochure, which warned visitors not to slow down for sightseeing as they drove along that highway. More than 20,000 cars drove down state Route 2A each day and all 2A intersections within the park had the least safe rating for Level of Service. Frequent accidents resulting in injuries requiring ambulance or helicopter response plagued the area, as well as fatalities.³⁹ In the few places visitors could safely turn off, people did not get out of their cars. Landscape Architect Tauscher remembered that park staff referred to the Paul Revere Capture Monument as the “drive-in monument.” Visitors could drive their car up to the monument in a parking lot, read the inscription from their car windows, and then drive on.⁴⁰ In Nelson’s mind, the park was not meeting its mission or its obligations with such a situation. Instead, she argued that “this is a park that should be stellar.” Providing safe and informative access to the Battle Road’s many features with the trail would meet these expectations.⁴¹

Nelson understood that efforts to improve safety and access would in the long run “Create the Park,” as she argued in funding requests. “This was my mantra to the park,” Nelson later stated, “what we’re really doing here is creating the park . . . creating a new national park.”⁴² As Nelson had argued with regard to the stone wall rehabilitation, by opening up vistas and leading people, even if only with their eyes, into the landscape, she hoped that people traveling on Route 2A would begin to see the park and its possibilities and treat it with increasing respect. Creating the park would ensure the survival of the park and the safety and enjoyment of its visitors. Through its commitment to this vision, the park had consolidated partnerships with the

³⁸ 1990 GMP, 32; 1993 Development/Study Package Proposal, unpaginated.

³⁹ Sharon Britton, “Bringing History to Light,” *Boston Globe*, 20 November 1994. MIMA, Environmental Assessment for Safe Visitor Access Trail, May 1996, 2, 22, File Visitor Access Trail, NPS Reports Files, MIMA Library.

⁴⁰ Tauscher, transcript of interview, 4.

⁴¹ Nelson, as quoted by Britton, “Bringing History to Light.”

⁴² Nelson, transcript of interview, 6.

MHD, AMC, local town groups, and the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation. The park had also encouraged in 1998 the re-establishment of a friends group, newly named the Minute Man National Park Association. These efforts then made possible new opportunities to “elevate the profile and identity of the Park through the rehabilitation of the Park’s diverse cultural resources.”⁴³

The Minute Man National Park Association expanded the mission of the original Battle Road friends group, which had sought attention to relocate Route 2A. The new friends group consisted of local leaders who provided crucial guidance and advice as the park began designing the Battle Road Trail. This work helped build support for the trail among the park’s neighbors while also respecting their sensibilities and taking into account their concerns. The park association also served as the repository of major donations from the Meriam Family, the Brooks Family, and other friends of the park. With these funds, the association sponsored landscape restoration through introduction of sheep, historic house rehabilitation (specifically the Meriam House and Joshua Brooks House), plus a host of concerts, lectures, public meetings, and multi-town public events. Currently, the park association is undergoing another change, increasing its board and expanding its focus to fundraising. The group intends to meet the NPS’s 2016 Centennial Challenge by raising funds for a patriot learning center, along with cultural landscape rehabilitation and sustainable agriculture initiatives.⁴⁴

This vision for the park brought attention and the necessary funding, but not as a single package. By late 1994, the NPS had rated the Battle Road Trail project within the top 10 of hundreds of proposals nationwide for the Federal Lands Highway Program (FLHP) funds. Nelson, Datillio, and North Atlantic Regional Development Chief Bob Holzheimer went to Washington, DC, to make their case for MIMA. They succeeded, and the park had the beginnings of its funding in place. But, this \$1.5 million of FLHP money came in two phases and addressed only specific aspects of the trail itself, such as staking the trail, clearing the trail area, and constructing boardwalks through wetlands. The majority of the rest of the money for the project came from Line Item Construction funding through the NPS.⁴⁵ And, again, this money came in phases. Phases three and four, totaling \$3.2 million, completed trail construction, added parking lots, demolished modern buildings, and placed waysides along its 5.5-mile length. But, the historic structures and landscape remained, so Phase five, funded at \$1.6 million, addressed the structures and Phase six, at about \$1 million, addressed the cultural landscape. Finally,

⁴³ MIMA, Development/Study Package Proposal, Save Historic Structures/Cultural Landscape, 13 May 1996, Objective: Improve Efficiency of Park Operations, File D20 CY 1996 Save Historic Structures/Cultural Landscapes, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁴⁴ Information about the Minute Man Park Association can be found by reviewing the organization’s newsletters and minutes of meetings, copies of which are found in File Minute Man Park Association, Superintendent’s Office, MIMA. See in particular *The Rider* 1 (Spring 1999), 1; Director’s Meeting Minutes, 10 June 1998, 1; Director’s Meeting Minutes, 2 February 2000, 1; Director’s Meeting Minutes, 13 June 2000, 1; Director’s Meeting Minutes, 20 September 2000, 2. See also Schedule A to the Articles of Organization of the Minute Man National Park Association, Inc., no date, File Minute Man Park Association, Superintendent’s Files, MIMA.

⁴⁵ Other sources of funding included, for example, the MHD contribution to rebuild stone walls and clear vegetation and its role in building the pedestrian underpass. These other sources of funding are described further down.

Nelson advocated successfully for a pedestrian tunnel underneath Hanscom Drive to connect the eastern and western halves of the Battle Road Trail. Funding, amounting to about \$500,000, came from the federal highway program to the state. The MHD managed the project, Phase seven for the Battle Road, with the NPS completing the design.⁴⁶

This phased approach to construction and rehabilitation had its challenges. Nelson and regional representatives from both Boston and Denver constantly had to keep an eye on the funding situation and ensure that the work remained foremost in the minds of decision makers. When regional staff learned that the agency wanted to split the historic structure and cultural landscape work into two different projects with different timelines, thus endangering one for the other, staffers wrote impassioned responses. Denver Project Manager Shelley Mettlach argued that health and safety reasons required completion of both phases. She pointed out that advanced growth of trees and shrubs in the Battle Road Unit had allowed for extensive problems with illegal marijuana growth, dumping of hazardous materials, illicit sexual activity, and even a recent homicide. As she reminded the Washington office, “we built the trail for visitors to enjoy” but critical health and safety issues must be addressed through the cultural landscape work.⁴⁷ Nelson has argued that the phased approach increased the cost of the overall project and required cuts to stay within budgets. Some important work elements were cut as a result. Tauscher agreed that some savings may have occurred through the sheer volume of the whole project, but “the reality of it was that there wasn’t the money there to do it all at once” and phasing became the only option.⁴⁸

As different phases went out for bid by contractors, more challenges appeared. Government estimates for specific work oftentimes were much lower than what contractors charged in their proposals. In these cases, the park had to sit down with the lowest bidders and negotiate the work, usually removing tasks or altering them to meet what funding the government had allocated for the work. Dattilio remembered that for the historic structures, the park initially expected to place fire suppression systems in each building from top to bottom. When those bids came in prohibitively high, the park opted instead to place fire suppression in each house in the most vulnerable places, such as the basement and attic. In another instance, Dattilio recalled that the park could only afford a portion of the stone wall rehabilitation that it had originally planned to have done.⁴⁹

The park also tried to find places to save money. To meet the requirements of the *National Environmental Protection Act*, the park had to complete an environmental assessment. Usually parks contracted out this work, paying six figures. Instead, MIMA used its own staff, along with support from the Boston Office, to write the report. Curator Teresa Wallace also

⁴⁶ Ibid. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 7-9. Funding history also provided in 1-page documents provided by Tauscher. See also Project Report, 29 September 1998, File MIMA 170A #1, RG 79, Denver FRC.

⁴⁷ Email, Shelley Mettlach to Roger [no last name] and copied to Nelson, 18 September 1998, File MIMA 170A #1, RG 79, Denver FRC.

⁴⁸ Tauscher, transcript of interview, 7. Nelson expressed these thoughts in conversations with the author.

⁴⁹ Dan Dattilio, conversation with the author, 25 October 2007, notes in Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

remembered how Dattilio put his diplomatic and research skills to good use by working closely with the NPS archeologist. Section 106 of the *National Historic Preservation Act* requires that federal agencies take into account the effects of their actions on historic properties and lands. For the Battle Road Trail, one aspect of the Section 106 process involved working with the archeologist to ensure the integrity of any undisturbed archeological resources. Dattilio knew that much of the land where the proposed trail crossed had been previously disturbed for houses, gas stations, motels, farm stands, and other modern intrusions. Using the park's land files, with its many photographs, he convinced the archeologist that fewer test pits would be needed since the trail crossed so much previously disturbed land. This work by Dattilio saved many thousands of dollars for actual trail construction.⁵⁰

Important contributions sustained and moved the project forward through this phased approach. Nelson's successful advocacy during the negotiations over the widening of Route 2A in Lexington resulted in the involvement of the MHD to the amount of \$3.5 million. The MHD realigned the dangerous Route 2A intersection, agreed to sell 12 acres of land to the park, created a landscaped entry at the park's eastern boundary, and restored some of the stone walls in the Battle Road Unit. Hanscom AFB also granted a land easement for the trail, and the Town of Lincoln voted at its 1996 Town Meeting to transfer sections of Old Bedford Road, Virginia Road, and Bedford Lane, all in the area of the Bloody Angle and Hartwell Tavern, to the park. By having Landscape Architect Tauscher onsite and active in the entire development project, the park also gained other important contributions. Tauscher developed relationships with the utility companies, for example, and convinced them to remove the poles along the Bloody Angle. Dattilio's diplomatic skills ensured that the community remained informed and involved, ultimately ensuring that the project kept moving forward. He led the public meetings and met separately with people who had objections or concerns.⁵¹

Even before putting shovel to earth, Nelson and her staff built important partnerships that resulted in design improvements and valuable assistance. Plus, this initial work, lasting for three years, laid important foundations for ensuring success with the actual construction project. Nelson, with Dattilio's important assistance, gained these valuable partnerships by inviting a broad constituency to take walks along sections of the alignment in anticipation of actual construction. Groups participating included local officials, state authorities, neighboring residents, and others. These gatherings helped garner attention for the trail while providing opportunities for hearing ideas and generating enthusiasm. The park also held monthly open forums to hear from people who expected to use the trail. The park communicated with abutters and those families living in the park on life estates or term leases. Park staff also reached out to

⁵⁰ Dattilio, conversation with the author, 25 October 2007. Terrie Wallace, conversation with the author, 23 October 2007, Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

⁵¹ Ibid. Memorandum, Chrysandra Walter to Associate Director, Professional Services, 16 July 1996, 2, File Battle Road Trail, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA. Nelson to Timothy Higgins, 16 January 1996, 1, Binder Battle Road Trail Planning, MIMA. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 6. Email, Bob Holzheimer to Roger Brown, 9 February 1999, File MIMA 170A (1of 2), Denver FRC. Article 31, Town Meeting, Report of the Officers and Committees of the Town of Lincoln, 1996, Lincoln Public Library. The author thanks librarian Jeanne Bracken for obtaining this record.

area teachers, familiarizing them with the trail and providing them with ideas for developing programs to help students understand the events of 19 April 1775. Area historians met in a workshop to learn about the trail and find ways to assist park staff.⁵² Nelson also promoted the support of non-profit groups such as the AMC and The Trust for Public Lands. As one group member noted in a thank you to Nelson, “You are very nice to give such nice exposure to us.”⁵³

These meetings encouraged discussion of important issues and led to improvements to the trail design. AMC members, for example, asked that the NPS use a pervious material for the trail so that it blended with the historic and natural surroundings. Since the trail would cross so many wetlands areas, the AMC members also recommended using boardwalks as opposed to filling in walkways in those areas. Having a shuttle system might help encourage use of the linear trail. Other participants, worried about crowding on the trail, asked that the NPS consider carefully how much parking it would make available at the various wayside stops.⁵⁴

These ideas and more helped shape the location and design. Park staff first considered many different alignments, such as following Route 2A on the side, using a southern alignment, or having the trail follow Route 2A on the north and south and cross Route 2A at different points. They opted for an alignment that stayed on the north side of Route 2A because most of the historic features sat there and it avoided having to cross busy Route 2A. This pathway would provide safe passage and also give visitors the perspective of the British and Patriots as they would have fanned out over the landscape during the battle. Once this decision was made, though, the park had to determine the actual path of the trail. Dattilio remembered this process as similar to “threading several hundred needles.”⁵⁵ He understood the many possibilities and drawbacks for the trail’s possible alignment because he knew the park’s landscape so well, along with all of the competing interests that would ultimately shape it. Neighbors, town officials, professionals, almost everyone had concerns that they aired in the meetings and walks. The park ran into a lot of resistance to having the trail cross any wetlands, for instance. Dattilio, Tauscher, and others also had to take into account archeological resources and farmlands still actively used. The trail could not come too close to these varied resources to cause harm but the designers also wanted to allow visitors to have access for educational purposes. In addition, the Americans with Disabilities Act placed other requirements on the trail to ensure accessibility. All of these considerations meant that the final trail location was essentially absolute.⁵⁶

With the location set, Dattilio and Tauscher worked with representatives from Johnson Associates, including a young landscape architect named Kyle Zick, and representatives from Bargemann, Hendrie, & Archetype to develop the work plans and landscape and engineering

⁵² MIMA, Environmental Assessment for Safe Visitor Access Trail, 58, Appendix N. Andrew Falender to Nelson, 24 May 1994, File A8215 CY 1994 National Park Week, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Kevin Knobloch to Nelson, 31 May 1994; and Open Trail Meeting, 28 March 1995, both in File Battle Road Trail, Vertical Files—Landscape Features, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

⁵³ Broadside, Envisioning the Battle Road Trail, 23 May 1994, with handwritten note, File A8215 CY 1994 National Park Week, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁴ Falender to Nelson, 24 May 1994; Knobloch to Nelson, 31 May 1994; Open Trail Meeting, 28 March 1995, 1.

⁵⁵ Dattilio, conversation with the author, 25 October 2007. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 4-5, 8.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Dattilio, email to the author, 23 October 2007, Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

designs. Since about one-third of the 5.5-mile trail would follow the historic Battle Road, the NPS recognized an opportunity to make that historic connection tangible to users. The team decided to make the trail surface two different colors and textures. They used archeological findings to replicate the historic texture and look for the restored Battle Road, choosing a sand and clay mix bound with a natural plant material to withstand heavy usage from the park's one million visitors each year. The historic segments of the trail vary in width from 11 to 14 feet, again mimicking the original roadway but sitting above the actual Battle Road to preserve this important archeological record. Granite markers and monuments with a chain also mark the sections following the original road.⁵⁷

For the other two-thirds of the trail that did not follow the historic alignment, the team made subtle changes to clue visitors into the difference. The non-historic parts of the trail, or new trail, have a slightly different surfacing and are narrower, either seven-feet wide on the ground or five-feet wide on boardwalks crossing wetlands. This new trail also has a curvier geometry than the historic trail. These choices also met safety and preservation concerns. The narrower widths would reduce the trail's disturbance of natural and cultural resources, plus reduce frequent usage by high-speed bicyclists. Early discussions during Gall's superintendency had considered a 12-foot wide trail, linking with regional bicycle routes. The NPS abandoned such ideas with the final trail design, one that would fit well within the historic landscape and encourage interpretation and leisurely access. The meandering nature of the trail also discouraged fast travel. For the wetlands crossings, the team used boardwalks to intrude the least amount on these sensitive areas. Plus, boardwalk posts were constructed of plastic lumber, and pressure-treated lumber was kept away from the ground. Both of these actions would keep chemicals from leaching into the ground. Contractors constructed these boardwalks during the winter months of 1996-1997, providing the least amount of disturbance to these sensitive areas. Local conservation commissions and groups toured the wetland areas often during the planning stage, and the towns ultimately approved these crossings because they knew the park would have interpretive waysides to educate visitors.⁵⁸

With the initial FLHP funding in place, plus the equivalent of \$3.5 million contributed by the state in services and contributions to the park and trail, the NPS celebrated its official groundbreaking for the Battle Road Trail in late October 1996. (To follow the development course within MIMA 1997-2006 as represented in funded projects, see Appendix.) Public programming included a show-and-tell sharing findings of archeological surveys at Meriam's Corner, a walk inspired by Henry David Thoreau's writings, musical performances by fife and drum players, and living-history demonstrations. Construction proceeded for the next year,

⁵⁷ Tauscher, transcript of interview, 4-5, 8. Heather Hammatt, "Retreating through History," *Landscape Architecture* 2 (2002): 68-70. Lou Sideris, Battle Road Trail Interpretation Brainstorm List, 15 August 1995, 2, File MIMA Interpretation, John Tauscher Files, Boston.

⁵⁸ Nelson to Connie Crosby, 31 January 1996, and attached Proposed Action and Alternatives, Section 2.4, File D30 FY 1996 Battle Road Trail, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Email, Dan Dattilio to John Tauscher, 6 October 1997, File Trails Info, Vertical Files—Grounds General Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA. MIMA, Development/Study Package Proposal, 8 May 1996, 3, File D30 CY 1996 Complete Battle Road Trail, Park Admin Files, MIMA. MIMA, Environmental Assessment, Safe Visitor Access Trail, 6, 59. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 8, 11. Hammatt, "Retreating through History," 67, 69-70.

completing the physical trail but not any of the visitor facilities, such as restrooms, or interpretive areas, both of which relied upon continued phased congressional appropriations.

Demonstrating their approval of the trail and the NPS's work, the local towns and even Massachusetts state house elected officials appealed to the US Congress for these additional funds. Sen. Edward Kennedy succeeded in obtaining \$1.2 million in construction funding to complete these trail improvements, plus a \$250,000 operating increase for addressing responsible operation of the trail. Interpretive waysides, restroom facilities, parking lots, and other visitor services began appearing in 1998.⁵⁹

Nelson's careful attention to the many diverse groups of people who had a stake in the trail kept the project moving forward. When difficulties arose, she responded and sought solutions that addressed both the concerns of these people and the responsibilities of the NPS in completing the trail. For instance, the trail had to cross behind or through land still occupied by people living under term leases or life estates. If the trail crossed onto this occupied land, the NPS had to obtain a formal agreement with the resident. If the trail simply passed by but did not cross such land, the park still worked to ensure a positive outcome. When the trail crew accidentally damaged Walter Beatteay's drainage structure while working behind his garden, Nelson wrote a formal apology and encouraged him to voice any other concerns. Dattilio also provided maps showing the trail's path and worked with Beatteay to ensure adequate separation of the trail from his leased property. Further discussion led the park to narrow slightly the trail behind his garden and build fencing to keep people off the Beatteay land.⁶⁰

In 1996, residents living along Hayward Avenue in the Haywood Pond neighborhood, which had successfully fought the draft 1988 GMP and its intent to acquire some of its property for inclusion in the park, stepped up against the Battle Road Trail as it passed through this area. They voiced safety concerns, stating that the proposed parking lot on Old Wood Street, an abandoned roadway that had served as an overflow lot, would attract more traffic and exasperate the already busy intersection at Old Massachusetts Avenue and Wood Street. They also pointed out that littering, vandalism, and illegal activities occurred with increasing frequency nearby in the Fiske Hill Area of the park. Hayward Avenue neighbors wanted to see engagement by the NPS in addressing these problems. Residents worried that these activities would spread to their neighborhood with the construction of the parking lot and addition of the trail. The neighbors wanted the trail moved as far as possible away from the Hayward Avenue homes, recommending that the trail either dip south of Old Massachusetts Avenue or follow this roadway. The NPS had

⁵⁹ Walter to Associate Director, Professional Services, 16 July 1996, 2. Debra Parkhurst to Rep. Sidney Yates, 10 July 1996; and Lucile Hicks to Rep. Peter Torkildsen, 13 June 1996, 1; and Timothy Higgins to Sen. Slade Gordon, 15 July 1996, all in File D20 FY 1996 Battle Road Trail, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Gordon Bell to Sen. Edward Kennedy, 21 July 1998, 1, File A22 MIMA Association, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Eva Heney, "Work Progresses on Battle Road Trail," *Lexington Minute-Man*, 6 November 1997. Battle Road Fall Festival brochure, 26 October 1996, File A8215 CY 1996 Battle Road Fall Festival, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁰ Memorandum of Understanding between National Park Service and Irene Hagenian, 9 October 1996, File A44 Hagenian, Irene, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Nelson to Walter Beatteay, 11 February 1997; Nelson to Walter Beatteay, 6 March 1997; Nelson to Walter Beatteay, 28 October 1997, all in D20 Battle Road Trail Neighbors, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

requested the Town of Lexington to transfer the abandoned Old Wood Street roadway to the park, but the neighborhood association asked that such a decision wait until further study.⁶¹

Nelson had tried to open the channels of communication a year earlier, having the park host a special neighborhood meeting about the trail. Chief Ranger Dattilio had also been striving to address the illegal and nuisance behavior at Fiske Hill, having rangers make more frequent and visible appearances in the area and closing parking lots at night. The interpretive division developed trail maps for the area while maintenance kept areas mowed and installed picnic tables, all with the intent of encouraging usage by families, as opposed to potential criminals. Once the Hayward Avenue community made clear its opposition to the transfer of Old Wood Street, Nelson continued to talk with members and address concerns. These efforts led the neighborhood association to drop its opposition.⁶² Instead, the park agreed to work with the neighborhood to “address and resolve their safety concerns and littering and traffic issues” prior to the town’s transfer of the land.⁶³

Nelson immediately worked to meet these conditions. However, she also paid close attention to her responsibilities to the general public, refusing to accommodate those demands that conflicted with the park’s attention to the safety and enjoyment of its visitors. Park rangers met with the Lexington police department to discuss the park’s intent to further increase patrolling and enforcement in the area. The park also developed a *Trail Security Plan* and agreed to install safety signs at trail crossings. The park modified trail crosswalks to maximize visibility and safety. Park staff conducted litter pick-ups and closed informal pull-off areas that had attracted illegal dumping. Park brochures would not indicate the location of the Old Wood Street parking lot, but Nelson did refuse to remove this lot, as it had provided important public access without problems for many years. The park also worked with Johnson Associates, the landscape architectural firm designing the trail, to explore other alignments for the trail. However, the area’s hilly conditions largely prescribed the trail’s path to keep it universally accessible. Nelson offered to use vegetative screening or fencing as alternatives. She also pointed out that the preferred alignment traveled no closer than 54.5 feet to Hayward Avenue, exceeding a town standard, and that wooded land buffered the space between the trail edge and the Hayward Avenue homes.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Members of the Hayward Pond Neighborhood Association to Board of Selectmen, 1 May 1996, File D20 Battle Road Trail Hayward Pond Neighborhood Association [hereafter File D20 Hayward Pond], Park Admin Files, MIMA. Fiske Hill had experienced an increase in illicit sexual activity and vandalism during this time period. See Memorandum, Dattilio to Division Chiefs and Protection Employees, 3 May 1995, File D20 Hayward Pond, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶² Nancy Engels and Nancy Nelson to Friends and Neighbors [of Hayward Pond], 30 March 1995; Plan to Controlling Problems at Fiske Hill, Summer 1995; Nelson to neighbors, 14 June 1995, 1; Members of the Hayward Pond Neighborhood Association to Town of Lexington Board of Selectmen, 14 June 1995, all in File D20 Hayward Pond, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶³ Nelson to Town of Lexington Board of Selectmen, 17 June 1996, File D20 Hayward Pond, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁴ Ibid.; Nelson to Lexington Board of Selectmen, 1 July 1996; Nelson to Sen. Edward Kennedy, 17 July 1996; Nelson to Hayward Neighborhood Association, 13 September 1996 and attached Summary Report, all in File D20 Hayward Pond, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

In the end, the park addressed as many of the neighborhood's concerns as possible while remaining faithful to its obligations to the general public. Even as the landscape architects staked out the actual alignment, Nelson asked them to check and double check their calculations to see if the trail could move further south from Hayward Avenue. Grading in that section of the trail proved a deterrent if the park wanted to keep at the 8% maximum grade allowable for universal accessibility. The trail stayed as planned. And, as Dattilio remarked later, people throughout the Hayward Pond neighborhood love it. "They're happy; they just walk 20 feet and they have a trail that takes them, their kids can ride a bike into town without having to ride on the road" or when they have visitors and "they get cabin fever during Thanksgiving, they can put them on the trail, and they can walk to the visitor center."⁶⁵

Many other organizations and people have expressed appreciation for the trail. The park and its landscape architecture consultant, Johnson Associates, won the highly regarded Merit Award from the American Society of Landscape Architects. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts also awarded the trail its Honor Award for Accessible Design in Public Architecture. The Boston Society of Landscape Architecture similarly honored the trail. Individuals have walked the trail and marveled.⁶⁶ Representative Atkins remarked that "it's a beautiful walk through a variety of landscapes. And it's in a fairly highly populated area and with a limited amount of open space that really gives you a sense of peace and quiet and of having a much bigger amount of land preserved than is."⁶⁷ Warren Flint, Jr., a Lincoln Selectmen during the 1990s legislative process, liked having sheep by the trail, so that "one can really walk back and begin to feel that you're back 250 years ago."⁶⁸ And, one Lexington resident wrote to the park in 1999 that "the path has a wonderful sense of peace combined with a sense of the past. I am enjoying it and everyone that I know who uses it, loves it, and cannot wait for the Hanscom crossing to be completed."⁶⁹

That crossing would address a major safety factor. Hanscom Drive, with its 50 miles per hour speed limit and four lanes posed a significant concern for visitors wanting to cross this roadway. The park had already witnessed several "potentially tragic accidents" that were "miraculously avoided." To address this situation, the park worked with the MHD to build an underpass. The state's Transportation Enhancement Program, a federal highway program administered through the states, funded the project. This underpass, delayed for several years due to changes required in design and construction, finally opened in 2005.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Dattilio, transcript of interview, 20.

⁶⁶ Copies of awards in File D30 Battle Road Trail, Awards, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁷ Atkins, transcript of interview, 5.

⁶⁸ Flint, Jr., transcript of interview, 6.

⁶⁹ Wendy Reasenberg to Nelson, 26 July 1999, File D20 Battle Road Trail, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁷⁰ Nelson to Luisa Paiewonsky, 18 May 2001, 1, File D20 Battle Road Trail, Hanscom Drive Underpass, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

BATTLE ROAD UNIT: INTERPRETATION

Interpretation served as one of the key components of the Battle Road Trail. Landscape Architect Tauscher, working with the park's Interpretation Chief Lou Sideris and many others, kept interpretation in mind as he helped design the trail along both the original Battle Road alignment and off it into the fields. Visitors thus had the opportunity to experience the landscape from two perspectives, that of the British Regulars along the historic Battle Road and that of the Patriots as they crossed the agricultural fields and took cover behind huge boulders, buildings, and trees to shoot. One advantage of having Tauscher involved with the entire design and construction project was that he could follow-through on his ideas to aid interpretation. For instance, he placed a sitting area down from Bloody Angle and near the boardwalk that crossed Elm Brook. By angling the sitting rocks and platform in a certain way, he could provide interpretive rangers with an effectively placed area for telling the story of 19 April 1775. He knew what he wanted the visitors and rangers to see as they sat in that little area, and he could ensure that vision by being on hand at each stage of the project. In the same way, Tauscher and Sideris recognized that waysides should be placed strategically to encompass exactly the scene or view that might be mentioned in the text. This careful attention to the stories of the Battle Road Trail have enhanced the visitor experience and made the landscape a special place to explore.⁷¹

Team members also made a noticeable improvement to the visitor experience by removing some obtrusive parking lots and encouraging people to walk, not drive, to some key historic areas. When Tauscher first came to the park, visitors could drive up to the front of the Captain Smith House, and the long driveway became a parking area. As he stated, "it didn't give you the sense of what the landscape might have been like at the time of the battle, because right here, right in front of the house, is a car." And more people would pull up right behind you. The same situation existed at Hartwell Tavern and the Hartwell ghost structure. Modern houses only recently came under NPS control and could be removed. Tour buses, especially during fall foliage season, would drive up Virginia Road, slow down for the historic structures, then proceed down Old Bedford Road and head toward The Wayside and North Bridge. Or, people could take Bedford Lane directly to the tavern. With the Town of Lincoln transferring parts of these roads to the park in 1996, the team could remove the parking lot next to the tavern, align the Battle Road Trail along the historic roadway, and create an agricultural landscape that echoed that of two centuries ago. Team members placed parking lots close to Route 2A, reducing the overall number of lots but enlarging the ones they kept so that the park would have the same net number of parking spaces as beforehand. The entrance for the Battle Road Visitor Center (soon to be renamed the MIMA Visitor Center) was also changed, directing cars from Route 2A to the parking lot instead of having people drive along Airport Road and the historic trace of the Battle Road. With this design change, the park could remove the asphalt and return the roadway to its historic appearance, adding to the interpretive experience.⁷²

⁷¹ Tauscher, transcript of interview, 12-13. Lou Sideris, Draft, Battle Road Interpretation, 8 March 1995, 3, File MIMA Interpretation, John Tauscher Files, Boston.

⁷² Ibid., 3, 19. Quote on p. 3.

For the 25 waysides and other interpretive markers, Interpretation Chief Sideris worked with the design firm of Jon Roll Associates. They thought carefully about possible formats and content. In reading about approaches that other sites were trying, they realized that the trail's interpretive markers could be creative and engaging in different ways. Jon Roll suggested that granite mile markers remind people that, say, Boston Harbor was 13 miles away. Such an unobtrusive marker would bring home how far the British had to go before gaining cover and protection from the endless firing of Patriots along the Battle Road. They also thought about placing sculptures along the trail, to engage children and international visitors who may not be able to read The Waysides. Audio tracks embedded in some waysides might capture the words that participants used to describe 19 April, conveying the emotion and drama. Quotes of opposing views at key sites such as Bloody Angle or Meriam's Corner also would reveal the complexity of the situation.⁷³ Although the park did not adopt all of these ideas, clearly Sideris and others recognized that the trail offered possibilities beyond what had traditionally been tried at the park. In recognition of the British situation, Sideris proposed six markers at the locations along the trail where soldiers are believed to have fallen and been buried. He commented later, saying "I always noticed how deeply people responded to the Grave of the British Soldiers next to the North Bridge, and [I] felt that that would be an important addition to the Battle Road Trail."⁷⁴

Sideris also wanted to acknowledge the changes to the landscape over time, recognizing that the park could never fully restore the eighteenth-century battle ground. Nor would it want to freeze that landscape to 1775. The story of how farmers had used the landscape over 300 years deserved attention. This approach fits within the expanded mission of the park mandated under the 1992 legislation while also addressing the concerns raised by the Massachusetts State Historic Preservation Office. The park would also develop revised guidelines in its 2002 National Register for Historic Places nomination, delineating that the period of significance for agriculture extends to 1951. This topic is discussed further in the next chapter.

With the trail meandering through agricultural fields and along marshes and past stone walls, Sideris knew that many opportunities existed for visitors to connect to that evolving past. At the Stowe and Jones Farmland near Meriam's Corner, a wayside explains that this area had been farmed continuously since the seventeenth century. Evidence of the changes over time could be found in the remains of stone walls, hedgerows, and ditches. At the Job Brooks House and tannery, another wayside makes clear that farmers supplemented their farming ventures with other pursuits. Here, farm diversification included not just the tannery but also a brick kiln, a nineteenth-century slaughterhouse, a saw mill, and livestock farming.⁷⁵

Another important contribution to developing the interpretive story for the Battle Road Unit and the entire national park came with the 1997 replacement of the exhibits and

⁷³ Sideris, Battle Road Interpretation, 8 March 1995, 1-3; Sideris, Battle Road Trail Interpretation Brainstorm List, 1-2.

⁷⁴ Lou Sideris, comments to first draft of manuscript, 6, MIMA Archives.

⁷⁵ Sideris, Battle Road Interpretation, 8 March 1995, 1, 3-4; Sideris, Battle Road Trail Interpretation Brainstorm List, 1-2; Interpretive Points of Interest, Wayside Locations, 4 October 1995, 1-2, File MIMA Interpretation, John Tauscher File's Boston.

introduction of a new media presentation at the 1976 visitor center. In this space, the park made some dramatic improvements to capture and relate the 1775 story. As visitors enter the building, they see above them a 40 by 15-foot mural depicting militia members and British soldiers shooting at each other across a typical landscape with stone walls and cleared agricultural fields. Artist John Rush completed this mural with extensive historical input from Sideris, others at the park, and staff from Harpers Ferry Center. They wanted the mural to convey the grand scale of the depicted battle scene, inviting people to go out into the park and find areas where such action could have taken place. The view would also provide a way for visitors to imagine how the entire stretch of the Battle Road may have been in 1775, as opposed to how modern intrusions had introduced asphalt roads, utility poles, and extensive tree coverage. In the process, the mural would help break down popular views that inaccurately held that the Patriots hid behind trees to shoot at the British. Instead, the land had had few trees, and the Patriots had sniped behind houses, stone walls, and large rocks. Below the mural in the main entry room, new visitor center exhibits give an overview of the causes and events of the war and introduce some of the key people.⁷⁶

In 1998, the park completed its renovation of the visitor center by presenting a new multimedia show titled “Road to Revolution.” Sideris served as the park liaison of this collaborative effort between the park staff, Harpers Ferry Center, designers Jeff Kennedy Associates, Northern Light Productions, and exhibit specialists Exhibitology. Using the historical figure of Amos Doolittle, a Connecticut militiaman and engraver, as the narrator and a life-size replica of Hartwell Tavern, as the primary setting, the multimedia show details the events of 18-19 April 1775. The theatre walls depict fields and woods typical of Lexington, Lincoln, and Concord on one side while church steeples and rooftops suggest colonial Boston on the other side. A grandfather clock face helps audience members keep track of time as the events unfold. A large map with colored lights shows troop movements between Boston and Concord. Crucial scenes at Meriam’s Corner and at the Lincoln-Lexington line where Captain Parker led his remaining Lexington militiamen in a retaliatory attack against the British following the deaths on Lexington Green are also depicted. Doolittle, who came to Concord a few days following the battle, interviewed witnesses and captured scenes in his drawings. Using this character as narrator provides an effective voice for the presentation. As Tim Lay, producer for Northern Lights Production of Boston, stated, “We were struggling to create living and breathing characters and action, not repeat a static series of events. . . .”⁷⁷ Plus, the contributors to the presentation wanted to capture the “tremendous sense of uncertainty for the people then. . . .

⁷⁶ Memorandum, Sideris to Don Branch, Neil Mackay, and John Rush, 19 October 1993, 1; and Memorandum, Sideris to Manager HFC, 3 December 1993, 1, both in File D62 BRVC CY 1993, Park Admin Files, MIMA. MIMA, Long Range Interpretive Plan [LRIP], 1999, 15-16, File Interpretive Prospectus, NPS Reports Files, Research Library, MIMA. Eva Heney, “Work Progresses on Battle Road Trail,” *Lexington Minute Man*, 6 November 1997.

⁷⁷ Tim Lay, as quoted by Alice Hinkle, “Minute Man Park Joins Multimedia Age, To Rave Reviews,” *Boston Globe*, 11 October 1998. Description of this multimedia show is based on the author’s viewing of the show on different occasions between 2004 and 2006. See also LRIP, 1999, 16.

Afraid, yet determined to stick together . . . knowing that nothing would ever be the same again.”⁷⁸

According to audience reaction during its first few months of showings, the presentation succeeded in conveying these emotions. People have erupted in applause at the end. One woman from Los Angeles remarked that “You could see how terrifying it was. . . . The guys with the bayonets. . . . You could really understand what it means to see the whites of their eyes.”⁷⁹ Having many local people involved with its production and scenes shot within the park also aids identification with the story. Middlesex County Volunteers provide fife and drum music. Reenactor groups from His Majesty’s 5th and 10th Regiments of Foot, Prescott’s Battalion, and the Concord Minute Men are featured in battle scenes. John Butman of Concord, who had grown up hearing all of the stories, co-wrote the script. He wanted “a tone much different from the school book version, something to show how amazing it was for colonists to actually go into armed combat against England.”⁸⁰

To help ensure that visitors stop at the newly refurbished visitor center and benefit from these improvements, Sideris suggested a name change to MIMA Visitor Center. He believed that this building should be the primary visitor orientation facility for the park. So many people arrived via Route 128/I-95 and traveled Route 2A before passing The Wayside and going to the North Bridge. With completion of the Battle Road Trail in 1998, people would finally have a sense of a park being along this route and would want information to guide their understanding. With the name change, the visitor center would meet this need.⁸¹

Various living-history demonstrations and interpretive walks brought visitors to sections of the Battle Road Trail. Starting in 1995 Sideris instituted a three-times-daily program at Hartwell Tavern called “Who Were the Minute Men?” With a musket-firing demonstration, this program has proved successful over the years in drawing many visitors to Hartwell. The late Eugene Prowten’s Colonial Life organization also continued to appear regularly. These interpreters provided a wide variety of engaging, hands-on activities, including storytelling, market days, musical performances, and demonstrations of colonial life. Walks led by rangers or special guests explored the open fields associated with Henry David Thoreau or took visitors on the loop trail around the historic structures of Hartwell Tavern, Samuel Hartwell foundation, and the Captain Smith House. Reenactment groups presented programs on artillery or drilling and marching, camp life, or music.⁸²

In April 2000 the park hosted special battle commemorations for the 225th anniversary of battle. This effort fit within a larger NPS-wide commemoration that former superintendent Gall coordinated from the Boston support office and culminated with the 225th commemoration at Yorktown in 2006. To prepare for the big MIMA anniversary, reenactment groups and the NPS evaluated their efforts at Patriot’s Day ceremonies from 1997 through 1999, using this knowledge

⁷⁸ John Butman, as quoted by Hinkle, “Park Joins Multimedia Age.”

⁷⁹ Grace McMullen, as quoted in Ibid.

⁸⁰ Butman, as quoted in Ibid.

⁸¹ Sideris, comments to first draft, 1. LRIP, 1999, 14-15. Discussions between the author and Sideris, 2006.

⁸² LRIP, 1999, 16-17. Review of the park’s *Broadsides* and *Minute Man Messengers* provides a descriptive listing of annual activities from 1993, when Sideris initiated this publication, to the present.

to shape their planning for the 2000 event. Having the Battle Road Trail and its associated areas developed for visitor use provided an expanded opportunity for remembering 1775 beyond the events at the North Bridge. Reenactment programs along the trail occurred at Meriam's Corner, the Paul Revere Capture Site, and Hartwell Tavern.⁸³ As one reenactor wrote to superintendent Nelson, the 2000 commemoration succeeded in being an “emotional event” as the participants “looked across the rail fence and the empty field to see the walking path and adjacent woods filled with spectators as far as the eye could see.”⁸⁴ Although NPS policy forbids battle reenactments with opposed firing and simulated deaths on park land, the 225th anniversary event did capture emotions. At Hartwell Tavern, after the reenactors portraying the American Patriots had moved on, several hundred reenactors of British Regulars lined up along the Battle Road and fired in unison. For the crowd of visitors, the bright red uniforms amidst the smoke of musket fire and the emerging greenery of spring provoked a rich sensory experience that captured the excitement and enchantment of the event.⁸⁵

With the Battle Road Unit made accessible and safe through the development of the trail, activities such as special commemorations, living history, and tactical weapons demonstrations could finally make it possible for people to engage in and explore this vast acreage. Aside from completing the pedestrian underpass at Hanscom Drive, one other important component of the Battle Road project needed attention, the historic structures and cultural landscapes.

BATTLE ROAD UNIT: HISTORIC STRUCTURES AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

The Battle Road historic structures, except Hartwell Tavern with its living-history demonstrations, stood simply as silent witnesses to the events of 1775. They needed attention to preserve their historic fabric and make them serviceable for interpretive programming, mission compatible adaptive use, or income-generating uses. When the park first submitted in December 1993 its proposal for the Visitor Access Corridor, it had relatively modest intentions for the historic buildings and landscapes. Only three structures, Whittemore House, McHugh Barn, and Meriam House, would have received attention. Landscape work would have focused on removing scrub brush on about 40 acres of land and would have repaired a limited number of stone walls. However, Nelson and her staff soon realized that the park needed to expand its vision for historic structures and landscapes to match management objectives and the possibilities of the Battle Road Trail. In its subsequent funding requests, the park identified

⁸³ Cathy Stanton, *Reenactors in the Parks: A Study of External Revolutionary War Reenactment Activity at National Parks*, 1 November 1999, 68-69, MIMA Library; Park brochure, Patriot’s Day 2000, File A8215 April 19, 2000, Current Park Files, MIMA; *2000 Minute Man Messenger*, File Broadsides Old, Lou Sideris Files.

⁸⁴ James Hogan to Nancy Nelson, 23 April 2000, File A8215 April 19, 2000, Current Park Files, MIMA.

⁸⁵ Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 7. MIMA, 2002 Annual Report, 4, File A2621 Superintendent’s Annual Report, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Brochure, Battle Road 2000, File A8215 April 19, 2000, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Cathy Stanton, “Out of Step: Two Regimes of Fact at Lexington and Concord,” paper presented at the New England American Studies Association Conference, 26-28 April 2002, 16. My thanks to Stanton for sharing this paper with me. See also Cathy Stanton, *Reenactors in the Parks: A Study of External Revolutionary War Reenactment Activity at National Parks*, November 1999, MIMA Museum Collection.

seven historic structures, the three already noted plus Noah Brooks Tavern, Sam Brooks House, Joshua Brooks House, and Captain Smith House. The park noted that structural threats ranged from structural decay to unsafe electrical wiring, inadequate mechanical systems to deteriorated roofs, pest infestation to lack of fire suppression systems. All of the buildings had experienced cumulative loss from lack of staffing and financial constraints, effectively resulting in the loss of historic fabric. If this situation continued, the park argued that rehabilitation would become unobtainable with the resulting total loss of the historic resource.⁸⁶

A similar situation existed for the cultural landscapes. If the park did not take offensive action against invasive species, it would lose the ability to reclaim and rehabilitate the agricultural landscape. With each passing year, the park made clear, invasive species and non-indigenous plants would establish themselves, agricultural and landscape integrity would be degraded, and such historic features as stone walls would become further victims. Visitor safety and access would continue to be compromised by vegetative growth overcoming the landscape and screening illicit and illegal activities.⁸⁷

By the time work began on these two phases of the entire Battle Road project, the NPS had begun shifting project management responsibilities from regional offices to Denver. Tauscher continued to serve as the job captain and provide an onsite presence, but the Denver Service Center also played an important role. The Denver office tracked the project and ensured that program requirements remained on time and within budget. If funding situations arose, the Denver office would work to address them.⁸⁸

Between 2000 and 2002, the park completed significant rehabilitation work of the seven historic structures. The Meriam House received careful attention, in part because it came into the park in such poor condition following termination of a life estate. Yet, many people considered this house one of the most historic buildings in the park due to its connection to the beginning of the fighting along the Battle Road. Work included rehabilitating the foundation, roof, and framing while addressing interior and exterior finishes. Park staff also removed inappropriate additions and installed new septic, heating, electrical, and fire protection/suppression systems. The park built public restrooms in the garage to accommodate Battle Road Trail users. The Meriam Family donated funds for important interior rehabilitation of the house.⁸⁹

At the Samuel Brooks House, the NPS completed similar work for this building that suffered in poor condition. Noah Brooks Tavern and the Joshua Brooks House both required framing work, plus the Joshua Brooks House needed repair of interior and exterior finishes. The Brooks Family association has provided support and visibility for this group of houses. The McHugh Barn had foundation work, framing, interior and exterior finish work, mediation work,

⁸⁶ MIMA, Development/Study Package Proposal, December 1993; MIMA, Save Historic Structures/Cultural Landscapes, 8 May 1996, File MIMA 170A 2 of 2, RG 79, Denver FRC.

⁸⁷ MIMA, Save Historic Structures/Cultural Landscapes, 8 May 1996.

⁸⁸ Project agreement, MIMA and DSC, 27 March 1997, File LIC, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 12.

⁸⁹ Nelson to Merriam Family and Friends, 14 December 2001, Reading File December 2001, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

upgrading of utility services, and installation of a fire detection/suppression system. The Whittemore House got a new roof while the Captain Smith House had mediation work and attention to its interior and exterior finishes. The NPS had already completed a significant rehabilitation of this last structure during the Nash superintendency.⁹⁰

Landscape clearing, rehabilitation, and development took many forms. The park removed five modern structures and four garages and replanted these areas with native grasses or hay for agricultural special use permits. Near the Smith House, the park removed solid waste from a former dump and planted trees to screen the house from Hanscom Drive. To aid in having agricultural grazing by farm animals, the park installed electric fencing at the Bloody Angle and near Hartwell Tavern. The apple orchard at Sam Brooks House received attention. The park benefited from an Eagle Scout project that had Concord Boy Scouts, led by Will Lamb, planting additional orchards at Hartwell Tavern and the Smith House. To replicate the 1775 experience further, the park chose apple varieties that were popular during that period. Interpreters hoped that visitors would one day have the opportunity to watch cider making, cooking, and storage.⁹¹ Between 1999 and 2000, crews cleared historically inaccurate vegetation, much of it invasive, around the Samuel Brooks House and the Paul Revere Capture Site. While some people questioned this tree clearing, recognizing that the trees helped insulate private houses and trail users from the noises of Route 2A, there was strong support for the work. More tree clearing came in 2002-2003 around the Bloody Angle.

Maintenance of these cleared areas continues to prove a challenge. Agricultural special use permits provide one possibility. Farming keeps fields open and free of invasive plants. Farming maintains land use patterns that have characterized the Concord-Lincoln-Lexington area since the first colonists arrived. Farming provides an environmental and scenic relief from the urban surroundings. And, farming maintains positive relationships with those few families in the area who continue to work the earth, even while surrounded by the growth of the metropolitan area. According to a 1993 report by the University of Massachusetts' Agriculture Experiment Station, MIMA had 106 acres deemed most suitable for agriculture, 75 acres deemed suitable, and another 114 acres seen as not suitable for agriculture. These determinations largely took into account farmable acreage minus wetlands and 100-foot buffers around those wetlands. Over the years, MIMA has allowed haying and row crops, though the numbers have declined recently. In 1996 for example, virtually all most suitable land and some suitable land (for a total of 135 acres) were farmed under special use permits. In 2002 total acreage farmed under special use permits equaled 107 acres, and in 2006 only 91.2 acres were farmed. This steady decrease probably has many factors, including the demands of developing the Battle Road Unit and the accompanying increase in visitor use in this area.⁹²

⁹⁰ MIMA, Development/Study Package Proposal, Save Historic Structures, 5 June 1996, Attachment A. MIMA, FY 2000 Annual Performance Plan, 16 December 1999, 14, Bookshelf, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

⁹¹ MIMA, Environmental Assessment for Save Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes, April 1999, 23-27, File BRT, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA.

⁹² Agricultural use data at the park provided by Chris Davis, former Resource Manager at Minute Man, and Terrie Wallace, park curator. See also Gavrin, A Management Plan to Balance Cultural and Natural

Aside from agricultural special use permits, the park also experimented with farm animals as natural mowers. Between 2001 and 2004 the towns of Concord and Carlisle joined with MIMA to have sheep graze areas that had been overrun with exotic species. Each jurisdiction shared time that they had the sheep. Funding for the park in the first year came from the MIMA Association, the park's friends' group, and Eastern National. In subsequent years, the park, the National Park Foundation, and Eastern National shared the cost. Visitors loved seeing these farm animals along the Battle Road Trail, and the park loved seeing areas cleared efficiently and naturally. But, this effort cost the park money in leasing the animals. The project ended when the sheep company went out of business. Tauscher remarked later that he could see 6-inch high trees cropping up around the Bloody Angle, a reminder of what the park will lose if it does not maintain the openness that the trail construction project had brought.⁹³

BATTLE ROAD UNIT: TAKING A WALK

The best way to assess all of the changes to the Battle Road Unit is to walk along its trail. For the first time since the establishment of MIMA, visitors can get out of their vehicles and experience the historical and natural setting. This accomplishment is monumental. For 40 years, people could only view this 800-acre unit of the park from their car windshields. In limited areas, such as where the visitor center stands or by Hartwell Tavern, people could explore. Otherwise, private residences, overgrown vegetation, and lack of trails kept people out. People, like the Landscape Architect Arthur Shurcliff and early Superintendent Edwin Small, had recognized the historical value of this area and had worked to call attention to it in the name of preservation. In fact, MIMA as a national park came into existence precisely because people feared that an Air Force housing development proposed for this area would have irreparably infringed upon the historic scene. It was the threat to land along the Battle Road that had led to the establishment of the park. Yet, that very land continued to remain largely invisible until the completion of the Battle Road Trail and the accompanying historic structure and cultural landscape restorations.

Walking along the Battle Road Trail offers many opportunities to bridge past and present. Historic farming fields just east of Meriam's Corner, at the Olive Stowe and Farwell Jones Houses, envelope visitors with the sights, sounds, and smells of land that has been continuously farmed since the seventeenth century. Historic field patterns remain largely intact, including ditches and stone walls. Views across the landscape are extensive, although hedge rows between fields and some forest growth have diminished east-west views. Wetlands have also returned and are preserved. This landscape, however, does not completely capture time at 1775. Waysides remind people that colonial militia and minute men exchanged fire with British

Resources: MIMA Case Study, 1993, 77.

⁹³ Erica Noonan, "Into the Thicket of Time," *Boston Globe*, 18 July 2002; Diana Brown, "Minute Man Crews Adding to Park's Roadside Attractions," *Boston Globe*, 13 February 2000; Nelson to Jenifer LoVetere, 12 March 1999, and attached LoVetere to Nelson, 15 February 1999, File D30 Battle Road Trail, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. "Minute Man Tests Sheep Grazing," *National Parks* (November/December 2001): 14-15. Kerry Drohan, "Shepherds Face Hard Day's Work," *Boston Globe*, 9 September 2001. Nelson to Gordon Bell, 29 April 2002, Reading File April 2002, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 14, and conversation with the author, same day. Environmental Assessment, Historic Structures/Cultural Landscapes, April 1999, 25.

soldiers at Meriam's Corner, beginning the running battle back to Boston Harbor. Yet, in the open fields, visitors do not follow the historic Battle Road. Although visitors experience a similitude of 1775 by wandering around low hills and along stone walls, through woodland and an old orchard, the landscape has been shaped by succeeding generations.⁹⁴

Continuing eastward, visitors rejoin briefly the historic Battle Road and enter the Brooks Farm area, with its collection of four distinctive historic homes and associated buildings straddling Route 2A. On the north side of the highway, the Samuel Brooks and Job Brooks Houses illustrate how people adapted to changing economic and social conditions. An apple orchard adjacent to Sam Brooks House refers to the colonial preference for cider, as opposed to beer, and its statement of identity in opposition to English custom. The Job Brooks site reveals evidence of a tannery, a slaughterhouse, a saw mill, and a kiln that may have supported brick making. In the nineteenth century, residents of this house also pursued raising specialized livestock, moving into beef and dairy production to meet new market conditions. On the south side of Route 2A, Noah Brooks Tavern and Joshua Brooks House also testify to life beyond 1775. The tavern served as a place to sell goods from the household orchard while providing a social outlet and place for discussion of the latest news. Clearing of woodlands in the Brooks Farm area has revealed historic field patterns and uncovered remnant orchards.⁹⁵

In crossing Elm Brook to the east of the Brooks Farm area, visitors have a unique opportunity to view the results of an evolving landscape. They can sit in a small seating area and see a protected wetland that provides natural habitat for native species. Remains of drainage ditches, though, show how earlier residents distributed water from this naturally marshy area to create much-needed pasture and meadowlands for grazing, crops, and hay production. A stone wall runs behind the Job Brooks House, indicating how people historically divided up their fields for different uses and delineated their property. On 19 April 1775 colonial militia men scrambled over this wall and climbed up the hill on the far side. They hid behind trees in ambush of British soldiers passing in front of them at Bloody Angle. That day in that spot, in some of the fiercest fighting, eight British soldiers and three Patriots died. Many more were wounded. Bloody Angle remains a wooded area, allowing visitors to peak around trees and imagine the shots firing.⁹⁶

Between Bloody Angle and Hartwell Tavern, visitors can venture on a side looped trail to a vernal pool. Here, nature takes a front-row seat. The elevated walkway brings people into a fragile ecosystem that supports such life as wood frogs, several species of salamanders, and fairy shrimp. These pools largely dry up by mid-summer but provide essential habitat for these animals to breed and for the resulting eggs to develop during the high water levels in the spring.

⁹⁴ The description in this section relies upon the author's own travels along the Battle Road Trail and use of various sources, including CLR: *Battle Road Unit*, 137; Environmental Assessment, Historic Structures/Cultural Landscapes, April 1999, 6-7; Judith McDonough to Nancy Nelson, 4 March 1997, and attached Section 106 Case Report, Construction of a Pedestrian Access Trail, MIMA, Property Description Section (unpaginated), File H4217 #96-03 Battle Road Trail, Park Admin Files, MIMA. See also Trail Outline, no date, 1; Interpretive Points of Interest, Wayside Locations, 4 October 1994, 1; and The Battle Road Trail: 20 Suggested Waysides, no date [1995?], 1, all in File MIMA Interpretation, John Tauscher Files, Boston Support Office.

⁹⁵ Trail Outline, 1-2; Interpretive Points of Interest, 2; CLR: *Battle Road Unit*, 122, 141.

⁹⁶ Trail Outline, 2; Interpretive Points of Interest, 2.

MIMA is one of only a few places in Massachusetts with a boardwalk to a vernal pool, providing unequaled access to study and appreciate this setting.⁹⁷

Continuing back on the Battle Road Trail, visitors pass Hartwell Tavern, Samuel Hartwell House Site, and Smith House. People are now on the historic Battle Road, and they see where the NPS has done important landscape clearing and removal of modern houses. The rehabilitated setting around the tavern, with a remnant orchard augmented with new trees, is the best representation in the Battle Road Unit of how the landscape looked when Patriots and British fired against each other. The rehabilitated buildings and structures draw people into the scene. Nearly every weekend during the summer, plus many fall weekends, the park hosts reenactors at Hartwell Tavern. Visitors might watch a display of musket firing or see what surgical equipment colonial doctors used to save the injured. At Samuel Hartwell House Site, people can view the distinctive chimney and construction method of the framing members. Captain Smith House provides another architectural treasure for people to see as they make their way to the Paul Revere Capture Site.⁹⁸

In getting to the capture site, visitors now can safely walk underneath Hanscom Drive, a heavily-traveled road with high speed limits that takes drivers into the military airbase and civilian airfield. This underpass, completed in 2005, represents an important accomplishment for the park because it allows unfettered safe access along the entire length of the Battle Road Trail. Further restoration work in this area involved removal of one modern house near Hanscom Drive. An Air Force housing development just north of the capture site is screened in part by forest growth along the upper edge of a hill. In 2000, the NPS made some significant improvements to the marker at the capture site, turning it away from Route 2A and towards the trail. The park also built a semi-circular stone wall, extending on either side of the marker, inviting people out of their cars and into the historic area. No longer would the capture site be considered simply a “drive-thru” stop.⁹⁹

As visitors continue on the trail, they pass the Minute Man Boulder, or Thorning Boulder. Local tradition, as recounted in the opening of this book, has remembered this as the place where a Lincoln minute man hid and shot and killed two British soldiers. When the Air Force had declared its intention to build the housing development in this vicinity, the boulder served as a rallying point for preservationists, and this effort eventually led to the establishment of MIMA. Today, visitors can read about Thorning in a wayside marking the boulder. Walking further along the historic Battle Road, visitors enter the Nelson Farm area. More local tradition defines this area. Josiah Nelson rushed out of his house at 2 AM the morning of 19 April, as his family has remembered, to ask passing horsemen if they had seen British soldiers. These

⁹⁷ For information on vernal pools in Massachusetts, see S. Abruzzi, “Leave Only Footprints? How Many Footsteps Make a Path? How Many Paths Damage the Habitat? Achieving Educational Goals while Sustaining the Ecosystem of Vernal Pools,” *Conservation Perspectives* online journal of the New England Chapter of the Society of Conservation Biology (Fall 2001), <http://www.nescb.org/epublications/fall2001/vernalpools.html>, accessed 9 October 2007.

⁹⁸ CLR; *Battle Road Unit*, 122-23; Trail Outline, 2; Interpretive Points of Interest, 3.

⁹⁹ CLR; *Battle Road Unit*, 152; Trail Outline, 3; Interpretive Points of Interest, 4. Nancy Nelson to Connie Crosby, 12 July 1996, 1-2; and Section 106 Case Report, unpaginated [Paul Revere section], both attached to McDonough to Nelson, 4 March 1997.

horsemen were in fact an advance patrol for the British, and one of them hit Nelson in the head with his saber. After his wife bandaged his head, Nelson rode north to spread the alarm. Local tradition holds that this was the first bloodshed of the Revolutionary War.¹⁰⁰

Visitors have the option of going to the MIMA Visitor Center or continuing behind this center on the trail. As previously described, new exhibits and a multimedia presentation provide an essential understanding of the events of 19 April 1775. Around the visitor center, people have the opportunity to pass through small woodlands and even cross a wetland area. The modern building with its wood siding and large glass openings seems to sit lightly within the natural and historic setting.

In the far eastern section of the Battle Road Trail, visitors continue to follow large sections of the historic Battle Road. Modern roads with asphalt had once covered sections of the historic roadway, but as the NPS acquired homes and the need for these roads to access private property disappeared, the park removed vehicular traffic, took up the asphalt, and returned the roads to their historic appearance. People can walk along the compacted stone dust trail, with the historic sections distinctively colored, and see up close additional key sites. At Parker's Revenge, Captain Parker led his Lexington militia to the Lincoln town line and waited in ambush for the returning British soldiers, exacting revenge for the losses incurred early that morning on Lexington Green. The colonial-style Whittemore House stands as another witness to the events of April 1775. Over time, its past inhabitants divided their land with stone walls for pastures, meadows, and orchards. The remains of a blacksmith shop represents one way former residents sought supplemental income. At the Bluff, visitors can see where British soldiers sent light infantry to hold off the colonists. Yet, not much farther, people come to the area where exhausted British troops, running low on ammunition, fell apart into a disorganized mass until reinforcements from Boston arrived. At Fiske Hill, more stone walls delineate where generations of the Fiske family farmed their land. A large rock pile stands as an enduring reminder of the huge task past farmers faced in clearing this rocky land for agriculture.¹⁰¹

A walk along the Battle Road Trail makes clear how this pathway allows visitors to enjoy the park and its diverse historic and natural offerings. Superintendent Nelson, in partnership with many different entities and individuals throughout the area, has overseen the transformation of the entire Battle Road Unit. Trail construction, rebuilding of stone walls, clearing of farm lands, rehabilitation of historic structures, and a myriad other steps have allowed access and enjoyment, preservation and caretaking of these unique resources. With the exception of the Brooks Farm area, though, all of this work has taken place north of Route 2A. As the next chapter will describe, the park is exploring ways to develop access points and trails in the section of the Battle Road Unit south of Route 2A. With time, visitors may have many choices to explore the entire unit and take away an expanded understanding of the park.

¹⁰⁰ Interpretive Points of Interest, 4.

¹⁰¹ CLR: *Battle Road Unit*, 123, 133. Interpretive Points of Interest, 5-6.

PARK INTERPRETATION

Even before changes to the MIMA Visitor Center, the park completed in 1996 work on The Wayside Barn, which provided orientation information for visitors before they entered the house. Important facility improvements included repairing the roof, installing a new heating and air conditioning system, and upgrading the electrical system.¹⁰² With this work came a complete redesign of the exhibits. Longtime park interpreter and Nathaniel Hawthorne scholar Bob Derry led this effort. Derry wanted to help visitors understand the interconnectedness of the lives of each of the authors associated with the house, plus tie their lives to the larger events in American history. As an opening panel declares, “Their lives and that of the house are intertwined with everyday occurrences and sweeping events in America’s history....”¹⁰³ Ultimately, Derry wanted visitors to walk away understanding the truly national importance of this historic house and its occupants.¹⁰⁴

Text panels, illustrations, and illuminating quotes shared the interconnected details about the families who had lived at The Wayside. Ancestors of the Alcotts, Hawthornes, and Lothropes had played roles in or witnessed key events during the American Revolution. The house itself had housed muster master Samuel Whitney, who had participated in the events of 19 April 1775. The beginnings of the American Industrial Revolution in the early nineteenth century allowed for the mass publication of books and magazines, a situation that would sustain each of The Wayside’s authors. In addition, the rise of factories and shift in population from country to city to fill these factories brought a new social order for writers and philosophers of Concord and elsewhere to contemplate. Slavery and abolitionism also touched the house, from Whitney’s ownership of two slaves to the Alcott’s sheltering of a fugitive slave in the house. Issues relating to children’s education and enjoyment also rang in the house over time. Bronson Alcott advocated for a child-centered approach to education that included field trips and physical education. Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Sidney each wrote moral tales for children and encouraged reading and acting out stories.¹⁰⁵

These shared points of contact in the national story become alive and tangible with the four life-size cast figures of the principal inhabitants, Bronson and Louisa May Alcott, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Sidney. Bronson Alcott sits facing the door as visitors enter, lost in thought as he holds a book. His warm compassionate face welcomes all ages as they come inside to explore. Louisa stands as a young teenager, dressed in a costume and ready to act out a play about pirates or villains. Hawthorne is across the room, his back to visitors, standing at his specially designed writing desk as if he is in his tower room, or what he called his sky parlor. Before leaving the exhibit area, visitors see Margaret Sidney, sitting in a wicker chair as if she is out on her veranda on a warm spring day. Her intricate lace shirt and veined hands speak of her longtime care and keeping of her beloved home. These figures capture the personalities and

¹⁰² Email, Blaise Davi to Tom Nieves, 15 September 1995, File Wayside Barn, Vertical Files: Building Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

¹⁰³ MIMA, The Wayside Barn Final Exhibit Plan, May 1995, 1, Bob Derry’s Files, MIMA.

¹⁰⁴ This description of The Wayside Barn exhibits results from documentation and a special tour in November 2006 by Bob Derry. The author thanks him for sharing his ideas in creating these exhibits.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 4, 8, 11, 17, 24-25, 38-39.

accomplishments of each author/educator and build connections as people learn about their lives.¹⁰⁶

Helping visitors safely and enjoyably traverse MIMA has prompted some innovative approaches by the park. Sideris designed the first park program and events newsletter, *The Broadside*, in 1993. In addition to listing programs and highlighting other historic sites of the area, this newsletter, now known as the *Minute Man Messenger*, has suggested how visitors might plan their time if they only had an hour, or a couple of hours, or a full day to explore the park. Working with Harpers Ferry Center, Sideris also redesigned the park brochure to help visitors access the park in a cohesive way. Visitors often found the park challenging due to its disconnected units and many different entrance roads. Through a combination of the park newsletter/program guide, Web site, and park brochure, Sideris endeavored to help visitors see the park holistically and follow a sequential park tour, beginning at the MIMA Visitor Center and continuing to Hartwell Tavern, following the Battle Road Trail. Once leaving the Battle Road Unit, people could stop at The Wayside and complete their exploration at the North Bridge. Here, the Ranger program links the eighteenth-century American Revolutionary War events at the site and its setting to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century commemorative landscape.¹⁰⁷

Sideris worked with others to experiment with additional ways to help visitors navigate the park. He served on the Lexington Selectmen's Tourism Committee, which oversaw the Liberty Ride, a guided bus tour launched in 2002. Originally meant to connect the historic attractions in Lexington, Sideris suggested that the tourism committee extend the route into the Lexington and Lincoln portions of MIMA. During its third year of operation, the ride built on its success and went as far as Concord. Another innovative idea Sideris and the park tried involved working with the private firm Spatial Adventures to develop three cell phone audio tours of the park. These cell phone tours were a first for the NPS. Each tour focused on a specific park theme. Although little used by visitors, the park had a lot of publicity, including a widely distributed Associated Press article and an article in *Time* magazine.¹⁰⁸

Along with the development of the Battle Road Unit, the park realized that it needed to update its vision for park interpretation. Beginning in 1998, the park worked with an interpretive planner from Harpers Ferry Center to determine the scope of a new long range interpretive plan, select team members, and identify people from various backgrounds to provide guidance. Team members included park interpreters, representatives from Harpers Ferry Center, the Boston Support Office, and other NPS sites within the region, and a representative from Eastern National. Focus groups met in late 1998 and early 1999 to provide assistance with respect to living history, literary associations, and teaching. William Fowler, a historian who had long ago

¹⁰⁶ MIMA, *Broadside*, 1996 Edition, "New Exhibits Open at The Wayside," File Old Broadsides, Lou Sideris Files, MIMA. Neil Mackay to James Jeffries, 7 March 1995, 1, File Wayside Barn, vertical Files: Building Info, Maintenance Records, MIMA.

¹⁰⁷ See examples of park newsletter and park brochure, Lou Sideris Files, MIMA.

¹⁰⁸ *Minute Man Messenger*, 2004 edition, File Broadsides Old, Lou Sideris Files, MIMA.

worked at MIMA as a seasonal interpreter, reviewed the draft plan. The final report does not identify any other professional historians who actively engaged in the plan's development.¹⁰⁹

The planning process resulted in the identification of five themes for future programming. First, MIMA was the starting place of the American Revolution. Citizens gained the resolve here to stand up for and die for the ideals of liberty and self-determination. Second, the people of colonial New England developed political, social, and economic community structures separate from Britain and gave impetus for challenging British authority. Third, landscape elements from colonial times, including stone walls, roads, orchards, and homes, helped shape the events of April 1775. Many of these elements remain today for visitors to experience. Fourth, The Wayside authors kept alive the spirit of the American Revolution through creation of a unique literary identity. And, fifth, MIMA is one of more than 380 national park sites that help protect the nation's cultural and natural heritage.¹¹⁰

Programming ideas in the *Interpretive Plan* built on these themes. A self-guiding tour along the Battle Road Trail would interpret how colonists shaped the landscape and explain how this land shaped events in 1775. Living-history demonstrations scattered along the trail during busy summer weekends would allow visitors to encounter different vignettes relating to the Patriots and British soldiers. At Hartwell Tavern, introduction of an herb garden or vegetable garden, along with using farm animals, would help enliven the landscape and engage visitors. Historic structures, such as Captain Smith House, offered the possibility of use for special events, special tours, or concerts of colonial music. Ideas about the North Bridge area included installing new waysides between the parking lot and the historic area. Planners could not reach consensus on the function of the Buttrick House. Ideas ranged from expanding its interpretive role to the entire building to removing all visitor services and convert the building solely to administrative use. The Wayside needed short video to accommodate people who could not tour the house.¹¹¹

The *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* recommended that park staff continue to work with various outside groups to address the park's interpretive needs. To enhance the link between the park and schools, the park was encouraged to work with local teachers and school districts to develop an educational plan that would tie into the park's themes and the Massachusetts curriculum. Subject matter experts, including farmers, local historians, and others might give special tours along the Battle Road Trail. These talks could then be taped and transcribed as written guides. Partnerships with local reenactment groups could aid the park in expanding its knowledge of and skills in colonial life.¹¹²

Beginning in 2000 the park raised awareness about the role of black Patriots in fighting in the American Revolutionary War. Bruce Harris, who had a theatre and music background which he supplemented with a strong interest in history, joined the park in portraying Peter Salem, a black minute man from Framingham who answered the call to arms on 19 April 1775. Records

¹⁰⁹ MIMA, Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 1999, 2, 42-44, File Interpretive Prospectus, NPS Report Files, MIMA Library.

¹¹⁰ MIMA, LRIP, 1999, 6-7.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 26-38.

¹¹² Ibid., 26, 36-38.

show that Salem fought bravely with white militiamen at Bunker Hill and later at Saratoga in New York. Harris effectively used his performance arts background to produce a lively and informative presentation that helped expand people's perceptions about who fought that fateful day.¹¹³

As another way to reach out to more people of different backgrounds and ages, the park expanded its commitment to local schools. Using a fee program to support these activities, the park had recently expanded its offerings and needed space to accommodate the resulting surge of student visitors with their teachers. The Whittemore House, which had stood on the day of the battle, looked promising. The 1990 GMP had stated that the house should be maintained and interpreted. Rehabilitation work, begun as part of the Battle Road Trail project, revealed dangerous structural failings which necessitated that Assistant Superintendent Datillio and his family vacate the building. Sideris saw it as a good candidate for the park's education center, sitting on the Battle Road Trail and directly behind MIMA Visitor Center. School groups could view "The Road to Revolution" theater show and then proceed directly to the education center. The park worked with others to secure NPS project funding for the house's rehabilitation, which is ongoing at this time.¹¹⁴

These efforts belie an underlying challenge for the park's interpretive division. Over the past 25 years, the division has seen an erosion of its staff, both permanent and seasonal. In the early 1980s, the park reported in its Statements for Interpretation that it had close to six permanent Full-Time Equivalents (FTE) and another almost five temporary FTE. By the early 1990s, permanent FTE continued close to six FTE but temporary FTE had dropped to less than two. As described in chapter eight, in the early 1990s Gall had intentionally shifted money from interpretation to maintenance in an effort to address the park's deteriorating resources and raise public opinion. During this period, the Interpretive Division also divided its staff organizationally so that one group focused on the North Bridge and The Wayside while the other concentrated its efforts on the Battle Road area, with Hartwell Tavern and the visitor center. Interpretation did not regain its 1980s staffing levels even as Nelson oversaw completion of the Battle Road Trail and other important work in the park. In 2001 there were about four permanent and four seasonal FTE in the Interpretive Division. The division's organizational chart no longer delineated staff between the North Bridge and Battle Road Units, acknowledging that everyone had to contribute as needed to each park unit. In 2004 both permanent and temporary numbers dropped to three, and by 2006 the park could claim only one permanent FTE and four temporary FTE. This change over time represents more than a 50 percent drop in interpretive personnel, even as the demands have increased as a result of the opening of the entire Battle Road Unit with the trail, landscape restoration, and historic structure rehabilitation. In the next chapter, examination of Maintenance and Protection staffing will demonstrate that the Interpretive Division is not alone in its dwindling staffing numbers.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Alice Hinkle, "Walking in Peter Salem's Footsteps," *Boston Globe*, 2 July 2000. See also *Minute Man Messengers*, 2001, 2002, 2003.

¹¹⁴ 1990 GMP, 43. MIMA, Annual Report, FY 2002, Line Item Construction section.

¹¹⁵ 1981 Statement for Interpretation, 28; 1982 Statement for Interpretation, 28; 1983 Statement for

Volunteer contributions to the park have helped to augment the losses in the interpretive program. Gall had brought large numbers of reenactors back to the park, seeing volunteer hours jump from about 8,500 (1991) to more than 12,500 (1992). Those numbers rose another 3,000 (2002) during Nelson's superintendency. The park's 1999 LRIP identified living-history reenactors as an important source for meeting the park's interpretive goals. Weekend encampments and presentations at Hartwell Tavern and the MIMA Visitor Center have enlivened the park's offerings during summer and fall.¹¹⁶

Interpretation, I.6-1; 1991 Statement for Interpretation, III-2. Staffing numbers for Interpretation Division, 2001-2007 provided by the park's Budget Analyst through Terrie Wallace. A comparison of organizational charts for 1981, 1991, and 2002 makes clear the reduced staffing.

¹¹⁶ Sabin, 1992 Admin History, 7. MIMA, 2002 Annual Report, 4, File A2621 Superintendent's Annual Report, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. LRIP, 1999, 37-38.



Figure 31. Battle Road Trail. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 76.



Figure 32. Battle Road Trail boardwalk. Reprinted from Deborah Dietrich-Smith, *Cultural Landscape Report: Battle Road Unit*, Figure 77.



Figure 33. Meriam House. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 34. Noah Brooks Tavern. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.



Figure 35. Samuel Brooks House. Courtesy NPS Historic Photograph Collection.

CHAPTER 10

FOR THE FUTURE

Nancy Nelson remains committed to the possibilities of MIMA while staunch in preserving its many resources. She is not afraid to use her position as Superintendent to advocate for the park. She recalled that during a mediation session among stakeholders regarding the Route 2A widening, several lawyers and the Chief Engineer had appeared to represent the Massachusetts Highway Department (MHD). Nelson and Dan Dattilio came in uniform, to represent the park. Later, the mediator had revealed his frustration that the NPS had not been playing fair because its representatives had come in uniform. Two in uniform had cancelled out seven lawyers. This reaction surprised Nelson, but she also acknowledged the power of her agency. As Nelson later said, “I think sometimes you can underplay your position. You can go a lot further with it because you have the whole arrowhead behind you, and it’s everything that America loves about the NPS you can bring to it.”¹ She also knows that the future of the park depends upon being very strong and having a clear vision for the future while also being respectful of others.²

With each of the situations and opportunities Nelson has faced as Superintendent, she has kept an eye on what the outcome would mean to the future of the park and the accomplishment of its mission. She has also encouraged staff members to act in the best interests of the park, as opposed to what may be easiest or less controversial. In the case of airport expansion at Hanscom field, she has tirelessly built partnerships and asserted the park’s concerns to ensure the continued preservation of MIMA’s fragile resources especially within the Battle Road Unit. When park employees voted to have a labor union represent them, this action derailed the park for a period of time. Nelson and Dattilio put in the time and focus to make sure that the resulting contract fairly addressed issues on both sides, so that the park could proceed with its work. Nelson and Resource Manager Chris Davis researched the park’s legal requirements for a major rehabilitation project in the North Bridge Unit and asserted those rights when questioned by the conservation commission. This action ensured that the park could continue to manage, maintain, and interpret the cultural landscape. In the area of housing, Nelson argued against a cookie-cutter approach to fulfilling federal law, and the region accepted her argument. Her 13 years at the park have left an indelible mark, a promise for the future.

¹ Nelson, transcript of interview, 18.

² Ibid., 17.

HANSCOM FIELD

One of Nelson's largest continuing challenges in securing the future of MIMA revolves around the degree of development at Massachusetts Port Authority's (Massport) civilian airport at Hanscom Field. Changes in usage over the years have had an impact on the Battle Road and how Route 2A is used, managed, and treated. These changes have led to crucial differences in the mission and operation of the airfield from the 1959 founding of the park to the present. Looking at the history of Hanscom makes clear the issues today. The state originally established the air field in 1940. A year later, the Army Air Corps took over and named the site Laurence G. Hanscom Field, for the late commander and founding member of the Massachusetts Wing of the Civilian Air Reserve. Military operations dominated at Hanscom until the 1950s, when the military and state exercised joint control. In 1959 the state formed Massport, which took over the state's responsibility at Hanscom. In 1974 Massport assumed control of general operations and maintenance of the air field. Military usage declined to occasional use. Instead, the Air Force Base (AFB) has focused on research, being the headquarters of the US Air Force Electronic Systems Center. Other associated military units include the Sensors and Space Vehicles Directorates of the Air Force Research Laboratory. This Air Force research presence has spawned the accumulation of associated private research and development firms in the area. One example includes the Lincoln Laboratory, operated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which services the AFB's Electronic Systems Center, along with a range of other Defense and other federal government customers. This federal government research presence at Hanscom has promoted jobs, generated economic growth, and brought continuing pressures to develop nearby land and accommodate commuters around the national historical park.³

In the meantime, Massport has responded to growing interest in its air field. This independent public authority has managed Hanscom Field as a regional aviation facility, serving a mix of civilian users, including commuter and commercial air services, corporate jet aviation, private pilots, flight schools, charter services, and light cargo. One guiding concern for Massport has involved finding ways to accommodate increasing demand at Logan International Airport in Boston, an already busy field with limited geographic space for additional growth. One answer has included distributing air services to other regional airports.⁴ Hanscom has an enviable location, being only 20 miles from Boston and along the 128/95 Technology Corridor, which is fed in part by the AFB's research mission. As Massport proudly states on its website, "The reason Hanscom Field is New England's premier full-service facility can be summed up in one word—location."⁵

This close proximity to research and development agencies and transportation routes has made Hanscom Field open to possibilities. Massport also has the authority to pursue

³ Hanscom Overview, <http://www.massport.com/hansc/overview.html> (accessed 31 March 2006); Hanscom AFB Fact Sheet, <http://www.hanscom.af.mil/> (accessed 31 March 2006).

⁴ FAQ [Frequently Asked Questions], <http://www.massport.com/airports/faq/html> (accessed 31 March 2006).

⁵ Hanscom Overview.

these opportunities in unique ways. As an independent public agency, Massport is exempt from local laws and has power of eminent domain. This agency does not receive state subsidies. To keep operating, Massport must support itself through the facilities it runs, plus the raising of bonds. At Hanscom, Massport faced a deficit situation in the early 1990s, leading the agency to consider such options as privatizing its management or developing the non-aviation parcels of land within the Hanscom boundaries. The privatization idea died, and Massport has slowly found other ways to increase the field's economic potential. In 1998 the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Affairs weakened regulations by eliminating the restriction of "increases in aviation" as a condition that would trigger an environmental review. This change allowed Massport to alter in spirit if not in fact its 1978 *Master Plan* for Hanscom, which limited planes to fewer than 30 seats and 7,500 pounds payload, without incurring review. In addition, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) granted Massport a higher level of certification than had been allowed previously at Hanscom.

These two changes made it possible for Massport to diversify its offerings at this air field. In summer 1999 Massport granted a license to Shuttle America to fly 50-seat turbo prop planes between Hanscom and Buffalo, NY, and Trenton, NJ. A year later, Shuttle America served five cities with 20 flights per day. Hanscom's operations (or number of take-offs or landings) rose 7.5% in 1999 to 197,300, ranking it as the second busiest airport in New England, a rating that continues. Jet activity, including private jets, has seen the greatest increase at Hanscom, rising 280% between 1992 and 2002. With the jets has come more noise, with jets contributing 92% of the total noise at Hanscom. Further proposals for Hanscom have included accommodating Federal Express operations and, most recently, possibly adding a third Fixed Base Operator (FBO). This FBO, a hangar/passenger terminal/fuel depot/maintenance facility, would add 91,000 square feet (including a 13,000 square-foot passenger area) and a 100-car parking lot, signaling further growth possibilities at Hanscom.⁶

These changes and proposed changes have generated loud responses from residents and their public officials in the four towns surrounding Hanscom: Lexington, Lincoln, Bedford, and Concord. Local groups, such as People Against Hanscom Expansion (PAHE), Safeguarding the Historic Hanscom Area's Irreplaceable Resources (ShhAir), and Save Our Heritage, have organized resources, tracked activities at Hanscom, and registered their concerns in public meetings and letters. ShhAir produced a video in 2004 titled *Raise the Alarm!* in an ongoing effort to educate people about the situation and build support for its efforts. Save Our Heritage has assembled a nationally prominent advisory board and provided a politically active leadership role. The towns themselves appoint representatives

⁶ Larry Gall, Briefing, 14 September 1993, File A38 CY 1993 Briefing Statements; and Stephen Tocco to John Kerr, 29 February 1996, File L38 CY 1996 Hanscom RFP, both in Park Admin Files, MIMA. Fact Sheet #2, MIMA and Hanscom Field, 19 September 2000, 2, File A38 Briefings, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Hanscom Facts and Stats for 1999 and 2003, <http://www.shhair.org/factsstats.asp> and <http://www.shhair.org/factsstats1999.asp>. Letter to the Editor, Margareta Lidskog, "Action Needed against Crosspoint," *Concord Journal*, 10 November 2005.

for two official vehicles for discussion and collaboration relating to the air field: HATS II (Hanscom Area Towns Committee), a 1988 successor to the original Hanscom Area Traffic Study Committee, and HFAC (Hanscom Field Advisory Commission), a representative group serving as an official communication channel between the towns and Massport.⁷

Nelson and the NPS have sought to have a strong voice in the planning for Hanscom Field. Just as she had done with the Route 2A widening proposal, Nelson has asserted her position with respect and a clear idea of her responsibilities as superintendent of MIMA. As she stated later, “I think you can be very strong as long as you proceed with respect and know what your goals and your outcomes need to look like and to know what your vision is.”⁸ When Massport announced that it would develop a Generic Environmental Impact Report (GEIR) for Hanscom, Nelson responded in 1995 with a request for the park to be included in this process. The GEIR would provide existing baseline environmental data and forecast potential aviation use and land development for the next 10 to 15 years. The four towns, through HATS II, had an established role in this evaluation. Nelson also sought a position with Hanscom, not just as an outsider, but as a key stakeholder with major national interests to represent.⁹ Upon consideration of this proposal, however, Massport “felt this would ‘disturb’ the existing relationship with HATS.” The agency did meet separately with Nelson in May 1996, but she lamented afterwards that “an appropriate role for the Park has yet to be established.” Instead, the existing relationship, Nelson wrote, “puts the Park in an extremely undesirable position . . . and establishes a more adversarial and reactionary relationship than we desire.” She offered that “the Park does not view all changes at Hanscom Field as necessarily negative,” for Massport might consider heritage tourism as an appropriate economic consideration as opposed to airport expansion.¹⁰ However, Nelson reiterated her desire for Massport to include the park formally in negotiations and discussions regarding the GEIR.¹¹

By early 1997 Nelson’s irritation clearly showed. Massport had conceded by this time that MIMA would receive separate copies of all correspondence going to HATS members, treating the park as the “honorary ‘5th HATS II Selectman.’” However, an oversight almost kept Nelson from attending one meeting because she had not received written notice. She did find out about the meeting by chance, and she displayed “my obvious, but inappropriate, impatience” for having been forgotten. She apologized but also made clear that “it is essential for the park to maintain a separate and independent standing from the HATS Committee and to pursue its own relationship with Massport.” She did not

⁷ “Residents To Protest Hanscom Plans,” [no newspaper name], 16 September 1993, File A38 CY 1993 Briefing Statements, Park Admin Files, MIMA. Video, ShhAir, *Raise the Alarm!*, 2004, MIMA Public Affairs Office.

⁸ Nelson, transcript of interview, 17.

⁹ Nelson to Myleen Leary, 21 September 1995, File L38 CY 1995 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA; Tocco to Kerr, 29 February 1996.

¹⁰ Nelson to Trudy Coxe, 10 May 1996, 3, File L38 CY 1996 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

discount the HATS liaison, and in fact welcomed the relationship for providing an efficient communication tool, but she knew the park needed recognition of its own voice, too.¹²

That voice remained muted, in her opinion, in the draft GEIR. As she wrote in her comments, the document “has undermined the Park’s fragile confidence in this difficult process and in Massport’s often stated intent to do no harm to the National Park.”¹³ In her correspondence and meetings with Massport, Nelson had repeatedly stated the significance of the Battle Road and other historic features of the park and indicated their fragility in the face of increased traffic and noise from Route 2A and Hanscom. Despite these efforts, the draft GEIR failed to give a baseline description of park resources, failed to identify potential impacts of the various development and expansion scenarios, and therefore failed to provide mitigation measures relative to the park. Specifically, the draft GEIR proposed mechanized traffic lights, modern lighting, road widening, straightened road sections, and realigned intersections without acknowledging that such actions would have a negative impact on the park.¹⁴ “Virtually no mitigation is proposed for impacts to the Park,” wrote Nelson, “because virtually none have been recognized.”¹⁵ In its June 1997 certification of the GEIR, the Executive Office of Environmental Affairs (EOA) did recognize the need for further discussion between the park and Massport regarding “acceptable potential mitigation strategies,” but the EAO did not require these discussions for obtaining the current certification.¹⁶

Nelson continued to take a respectful but strong position in support of MIMA. She shot back that “we must respectfully disagree with this decision” and that “we have no confidence” that such discussions would be any more successful. Nelson wanted correction to the public record, possibly in the form of an amendment.¹⁷ A required Section 61 Finding for the state’s GEIR failed to meet this objective. With hands in the air, Nelson flatly stated that “it must be reiterated that changes to Route 2A (aka the Battle Road) which degrade its historic character will be opposed by the Park. Some impacts, realistically speaking, cannot be mitigated but simply cannot be permitted to occur.”¹⁸

With the 1999 advent of Shuttle America service at Hanscom, Nelson and the NPS, in collaboration with the local communities and citizen organizations, expanded their advocacy campaign for MIMA, building relationships in the process. Nelson contacted the FAA, trying to educate this federal agency about the deleterious impact the new service would have upon noise and traffic through the park. She developed ideas for building partnerships with the affected towns in protecting the Battle Road and the park. Nelson also sought further partnerships and collaborative efforts with other federal agencies. Information to the

¹² Nelson to Peter Blute, 14 February 1997, 1, File L38 CY 1997 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹³ Nelson to Trudy Coxe, 9 June 1997, 1, File L38 CY 1997 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹⁵ Ibid., 4.

¹⁶ Certificate of the Secretary of Environmental Affairs on the GEIR, 30 June 1997, 5, File L38 CY 1997 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁷ Nelson to Trudy Coxe, 10 July 1997, 1, L38 CY 1997 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

¹⁸ Nelson to Trudy Coxe, 6 November 1997, 2, File L38 CY 1997 GEIR, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation resulted in a delay of the FAA's decision regarding Shuttle America service between Hanscom and New York's LaGuardia Airport. With the Advisory Council, the US Department of the Interior and the NPS joined hands in early 2001 with the US Department of Transportation's FAA and Federal Highway Administration to protect MIMA and other significant historic sites in the vicinity of Hanscom. This collaborative relationship resulted in the formation of a federal interagency Working Group acting on behalf of the national historical park.¹⁹

More proactive steps gave voice to the park's plight. In 2001 the park produced with the MIMA Park Association a video aimed at motivating decision makers "to become a part of a vision that protects MIMA for future generations." *Defending the Road to Liberty* captured the reality of visiting the park as airplanes roared overhead and traffic barreled down the Battle Road. Children and adults simply could not hear reenactors and park interpreters describe the historic events of 1775 with these constant interruptions. Plus, the video graphically showed the lines of cars and trucks trying to turn into or out of Hanscom. However, the park's video also acknowledged positive development approaches. Local land developer and Concord native Larry Smith built in the late 1980s and early 1990s an office park and housing development directly north of the park's Hartwell Tavern and Bloody Angle area. However, even in the dead of winter when the trees had lost their leaves, this commercial development is invisible to the park. Smith worked with his architects to ensure this outcome. He put a 200-foot vegetative buffer zone between the building and park, planted it densely with evergreens, and agreed to have a conservation easement placed on it. Smith also rerouted a road and helped with the restoration of the Battle Road at Virginia Road and Old Bedford Road.²⁰ Nelson included Smith's story to keep open the lines of communication between the NPS and developers, "recognizing the need to balance the complex demands of economic development and historic preservation." She did not want to isolate the park and thus lose those communication channels.²¹

Other groups joined MIMA in voicing its plight. When Massport considered welcoming FedEx as a new tenant at Hanscom, this threat prompted ShhAir to produce its own video. ShhAir sought to raise the alarm, not just to save MIMA, but also Walden Pond, the Alcott's Orchard House, the Old Manse, and the many other historic and natural treasures in the region. Save Our Heritage worked to bring national attention to the threat of airport expansion. The National Trust for Historic Preservation responded and listed MIMA as one of its 11 Most Endangered for 2003, citing noise and expansion from Hanscom

¹⁹ Nelson and Kathi Anderson to Jane Garvey, 29 October 1999, 1; and Marie Rust to Carolyn Tiffany, 16 December 1999, both in File L38 Expanded Aviation Services, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Briefing Statement MIMA and Hanscom Field Airport, 19 June 2000, 2; File A38 Briefings, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA. Fact Sheet #2, MIMA and Hanscom Field, 19 June 2000, 3. NPS Press Release, NPS Announces Partnership to Protect and Preserve MIMA, 22 February 2001, 1, File Press Releases, Box MIMA, NPS History Collection, HFC. Denis Galvin to Jane Garvey, 3 July 2001, 3, File L38 Expanded Aviation Services, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁰ Video, Minute Man National Park Association, *Defending the Road to Liberty*, 2001, MIMA Public Affairs Files. Smith, transcript of interview, 5.

²¹ Nelson to Richard Moe, 25 April 2001, 1, Reading Files April 2001, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

as detracting from the historic sites and landscapes.²² However, this national exposure to the park worked in some ways to divide people. Craig Coy, Massport's Chief Executive Officer at the time, wrote in the *Bedford Minuteman* that "This is about clever and well-connected activists of an already-developed and wealthy community who want others to pay the price of that prosperity."²³ Even a former adviser of the National Trust, Boston Mayor Menino, argued that such a designation worked only to divide by elevating one national park, MIMA, over Boston's many historic sites. Such action would raise the likelihood that Logan Airport would build a new controversial runway to address air traffic, Menino believed. Concord's preservation gain would be Boston's loss. As he saw the situation, "I've heard it said that Boston is already noisy, so it can assume airport expansion. Why should it be at our loss?"²⁴ Massport celebrated the opening of that long-fought sixth runway at Logan in November 2006.

In the meantime, Nelson continued her efforts to advocate for MIMA. In late 2001 Massport began the process of developing an *Environmental Status and Planning Report* (ESPR) for Hanscom. "We remain committed," she wrote, "to developing a relationship and an ongoing process with Massport and the Executive Office of Environmental Affairs which will provide for the protection of Minute Man."²⁵ She reminded the state agency of the need to take into account the national park in assessing impacts from traffic, noise, and other factors resulting from possible airport expansion scenarios. But, with the publication of the draft ESPR, as with the draft GEIR, Nelson found any references to the park and its significance "downplayed." Traffic mitigation steps, such as construction of roundabouts at Meriam's Corner and Hardy's Hill failed to acknowledge that these steps required the taking of national park land, an infeasible consideration that Nelson requested the state eliminate.²⁶ As Nelson admitted, "we are disappointed, but not surprised" that the draft ESPR failed to recognize the park's significant resources.²⁷

What truly did Nelson fear? This succession of Massport documents examined Hanscom's expansion potential. They built an argument for developing the non-aviation land within the air field and accommodating increased use of the runways. The 2003 proposal for FedEx to begin cargo service out of Hanscom represented just another step. Nelson knew that she had to continue to keep the park's voice heard and work toward relationships with Massport and other state agencies. Nelson has recently seen some

²² Video, ShhAir, *Raise the Alarm!* Nelson to Moe, 25 April 2001, 1. "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places 2003, *Preservation* 55 (July/August 2003): 10.

²³ Craig Coy, as quoted by Richard Higgins, "The Running Battle at Minute Man Park," *Preservation* (March/April 2004), 38.

²⁴ Thomas Menino, as quoted in *Ibid.*, 38-39.

²⁵ Nelson to Robert Durand, 27 November 2001, 1, File L7621 Hanscom Field 2000 ESPR, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁶ Nelson to Robert Durand, 24 November 2002, 2, File Reading File November 2002, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

promise toward this goal.²⁸ She knows the consequences if she and the NPS did not remain vigilant. As she wrote in 2003,

The National Park will succumb, not to a clear cut, major threat which can be thoroughly vetted...via a legitimate public process. Rather, it will succumb to the incremental and individually less significant impacts over time created by many separate decisions and additions—death by a thousand cuts.²⁹

NORTH BRIDGE REHABILITATION

While the park completed construction of the Battle Road Trail and began clearing landscapes and rehabilitating historic structures in that unit, attention shifted to address the North Bridge Unit. In 1996 a federal highway department inspection of the North Bridge had determined that its decking, railings, stringers, several bracing members, and piles were “severely deteriorated” and in “poor” condition. The department estimated that the bridge had a remaining life of three years. The state highway department had built this version of the North Bridge in 1956. The Town of Concord owned the bridge, and through the 1963 cooperative agreement with the NPS, allowed the service to maintain and interpret the bridge. Town officials had begun to take note of the worsening condition of the bridge and shared the park’s concerns. Nelson and others understood that the North Bridge would only attract more visitors following the opening of the Battle Road Trail, and safe access to this singular resource had to be ensured. Other features within the North Bridge Unit also required attention, resulting in the submittal of a rehabilitation proposal for the area.³⁰

John Tauscher led the effort as project manager. Carol R. Johnson Associates, Inc. served as the designers and provided design drawings that Childs Engineering Corporation used to make construction drawings. By the time the park began work on the bridge in 2004, Tauscher had returned to the Boston Support Office for other duties, and the Denver Service Center managed the entire project. The park’s Resources Management specialist Davis served as the park’s liaison for the project. Input came from the region, Boston, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, and Harpers Ferry Center. As required by the cooperative agreement, the NPS and the Town of Concord had planning meetings and discussions. The park then provided the town with documentation, including an *Environmental Assessment*, describing the entire rehabilitation project. The agency did not implement the plan until after approval from the town.³¹

To assist cultural landscape work, Historical Landscape Architect Deborah Dietrich-Smith from the NPS Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, worked on exhaustive

²⁸ Nelson., transcript of interview, 11.

²⁹ Nelson to Christine Sullivan, 16 July 2003, 2, Reading File July 2003, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

³⁰ MIMA, Development Package Proposal, April 1997, 1-2, File LIC, Nancy Nelson Files, MIMA.

³¹ NPS, Cultural Landscapes Inventory 2006, North Bridge Unit, 62, Terrie Wallace’s Files, MIMA. Tauscher, transcript of interview, 15. Project Agreement, Save Historic Resources and Provide Safe Access to the North Bridge, 13 February 2002, File MIMA Package 100, PMIS 29906, Vol. 2 North Bridge, Technical Information Center [TIC], NPS-Denver.

cultural landscape reports for each park unit. Dietrich-Smith completed the North Bridge report in January 2004 and the Battle Road report in September 2005. The Wayside report remains in draft as of 2007. Each of these reports, whether in final or draft form, have helped the park in understanding the lay of the park's landscapes as they have changed from colonial times to the present. The reports also make recommendations about restoration efforts, guiding work at the North Bridge. Some work has also been completed at The Wayside following this draft report.³²

For the North Bridge itself, discussion revolved around the extent of deterioration and whether repair efforts should in fact result in a different design for the bridge. Childs Engineering conducted a visual and underwater inspection of the bridge in August 2002. Its report echoed what the federal highway department had described. Dry rot, heavy weathering, and impact from debris and ice damage had taken their toll on all but the most interior, and thus protected wood pieces. The park would need to replace most if not all of the wood, except the piles, which remained solid. Should that replacement look like the 1956 version? According to Amos Doolittle's drawings of the scene soon after the 1775 battle, the North Bridge appeared like a simple flat bridge over the Concord River. The 1956 version, however, had a pronounced arch that helped protect the passageway from annual spring flooding. To consider its options and include all interested parties in the discussion, the NPS hosted first a design charette and then a mini-value analysis session in September 2002. Through these two venues, consensus resulted to support replacement in kind of the 1956 version. Specifically, contractors replaced all decking, posts, rails, cross-bracing and stringers with Southern pine. Workers hand-hewed rails and posts and beveled inside edges of rails. Workers also replaced existing footings located behind stone-wall abutments at both ends of the bridge. New anchor bolts secured the bridge. Wood facings and steel frames added extra protection and longevity to the upstream faces of the piles.³³

The areas directly linking the North Bridge also required attention. The MIMA statue and 1836 Monument both experienced erosion around their bases, causing pavers to come away from the ground and soil-holding vegetation to disappear. Workers added soil to the bases and sodded the bare soil with grasses. They also reset the pavers and curbs flush with the ground. To direct run-offs in swales, workers contoured the ground. The park adopted moveable stanchions and ropes, used as needed, as an unobtrusive way to protect the bases from visitors. The pathway leading from the North Bridge Visitor Center to the bridge had its surfacing restored and stabilized with a mix similar to what the park had used along the Battle Road Trail. The NPS stabilized the outdoor amphitheatre area, replaced the benches, and created a wheel-chair accessible path from the main walkway to the sitting area.

³² Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: Battle Road Unit*; Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: North Bridge Unit*; Dietrich-Smith, *CLR: The Wayside*.

³³ Childs Engineering Corporation to Derek Watson, 30 August 2002, File MIMA Pkg 100, PMIS 29906, vol. 3 North Bridge, TIC, NPS-Denver. NPS, Mini-Value Analysis, PowerPoint presentation, 30 September 2002, screens 14-17, Chris Davis Files, MIMA. MIMA, *Environmental Assessment*, North Bridge Unit Rehabilitation, February 2004, 13, File MIMA Pkg 100, PMIS 29906, vol. 4 North Bridge, TIC, NPS-Denver.

Along the commemorative avenue leading from Monument Street to the 1836 Monument and North Bridge, the NPS added native trees in select locations. These plantings would redefine and preserve that historically tree-lined walkway, while use of stabilized stone dust along the walkway and near the monument and statue would help prevent erosion. Plantings of shrubs along the river bank near the Minute Man statue helped prevent erosion and discourage pedestrian traffic. To increase safety and mark the entry to the North Bridge area, the park worked with the town to stripe the crosswalk and place a granite panel flush with the ground. The panel had a quote from Ralph Waldo Emerson etched into its surface, a way to mark the significance of the location and prepare people mentally for entering the cherished area. Other waysides dotted the entire area and provided context for explaining the events of 1775 and identified foundations of former historic house sites.³⁴

Beyond the immediate North Bridge area, the park reclaimed historic views primarily through removal of invasive plants and selective clearing. This action demanded that the park thoughtfully but forcefully stand by its management goals and historical understanding of the area because much of the clearing took place in wetlands. Historically, Patriots had watched from the muster field while the British crossed and guarded the North Bridge on 19 April 1775. This view had helped the Patriots determine their actions on that fateful day. Visitors looking down from the muster field or from the overlook at the North Bridge Visitor Center, however, only had obscured views of the river due to trees, shrubs, and invasive species that had sprouted up over the past 30 or more years. Increasingly strapped for money to meet its expanding maintenance demands, plus reluctant to conduct landscape clearing in wetlands following protections granted by national and state environmental laws in the mid-to-late 1970s, park management over time had found itself watching as invasive species claimed the area. This situation impaired interpretive efforts, leaving visitors questioning how the historic events unfolded as they did. In the September 2002 mini-value analysis session, the park discussed options with the other participants, gaining some measure of agreement. Views from the visitor center overlook and muster field would be restored through selective clearing of overgrown vegetation, vegetation would be cleared away from stone walls, and hayfield productivity would be increased through clearing and replanting of hay.³⁵

Yet, action waited as the park reviewed its legal responsibilities and continued to communicate with the Town of Concord. Did the park, a federal agency, need to obtain state and local approval to clear vegetation from wetlands? Resources Management Specialist Davis began corresponding with the Interior Department's regional solicitor in December 2001 to determine how the laws applied in this specific case. He consistently received legal assurances that the park, as a federal agency, did not need local permits to build or alter

³⁴ MIMA, *Environmental Assessment, North Bridge*, 12-13, 15. MIMA, Mini-Value Analysis, North Bridge, screens 18-21, 30-41.

³⁵ MIMA, Min-Value Analysis, North Bridge, screens 22-25; MIMA, *Environmental Assessment, North Bridge*, 11-12. This discussion about landscape clearing in the North Bridge Unit is also based on a conversation with Resources Manager Chris Davis. The author thanks Davis for his assistance.

federal government property. However, federal laws, such as the *Clean Water Act*, did obligate the NPS and other federal agencies to follow federal and state permitting laws if actions would result in discharge or run-off of pollutants. If, for instance, the park planned to replace the underwater piles of the North Bridge, then it would need to go through permitting procedures. In addition, the regional solicitor stated that if the park planned to dredge the river with bulldozers or reconfigure the river banks, again permitting would be required. In the case of landscape clearing in wetlands, though, the regional solicitor made clear that the park could conduct this activity without permits from the state or local jurisdictions.³⁶ The solicitor did encourage the park to keep the town and its conservation commission, as the state's local regulator, informed of the work. The commission might have useful advice regarding effective management techniques. Plus, keeping communication open would "obviate confusion or misunderstanding. . ."³⁷

Concord's Conservation Commission raised many objections and concerns upon review of the *North Bridge Environmental Assessment*. The commission argued that the assessment did not provide sufficient detail for knowing which trees might be cleared and whether such trees were invasive species of a relatively recent vintage. By clearing such vegetation, the commission also wanted scientific reassurances that impacts to water quality, wetlands, wildlife habitats, and floodplains would have no significance. Commission members worried that removal of so many trees would harm sensitive environmental areas, and they wondered if the park truly had to restore the historic view sheds. They argued that landscapes are "living, dynamic complexes" and that there are many ways to teach the "hallowed history of the North Bridge . . . that would call for something less than the scale of environmental change proposed." In recognition of these concerns, the commission asked that the NPS generate a full Environmental Impact Statement.³⁸

In reviewing this response, and that of others, the NPS determined that its selected alternative for North Bridge rehabilitation would have no significant effect on the human environment and proceeded with its \$1.2 million project.³⁹ In maintaining the park's commitment to communication with the town and its representatives, Nelson described for commission members under what conditions the park would legally need to follow the state and local regulatory guidelines. She also reminded commission members that "we are committed to values which support the diversity and vibrancy of the ecosystems within the

³⁶ Memorandum, Chris Davis to Regional Solicitor, Northeast Region, 14 December 2001; Memorandum, Davis to Anthony Conte, Chief solicitor, 10 December 2003; Memorandum, Anthony Conte to Nancy Nelson, 18 February 2004; Nelson to Chris Ryan and Paul Feshback-Meriney 4 February 2005, all in File Legal Memos, Chris Davis Files, MIMA.

³⁷ Memorandum, Conte to Nelson, 18 February 2004, 3.

³⁸ Markus Pinney to Nancy Nelson, 26 March 2004, with comments added by Chris Davis and Dave Clark, attached to email from Davis to Clark, 31 March 2004, File L7617 MIMA North Bridge Rehab, Dave Clark's Files, NPS-Boston. Quote on p. 7.

³⁹ Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) for Project to Rehabilitate Historic Sites and Landscapes in the North Bridge Unit, 2 June 2004, File MIMA Pkg 100, PMIS 29906, vol. 4 North Bridge, TIC, NPS-Denver. It should be noted that the Park Service considered removal of sandbar sediments, but the park deleted this action in response to numerous comments concerned about canoe-landing space. See Chris Davis's comments to Markus Pinkey letter, 26 March 2004, 6.

park and beyond.” And, she emphasized that “we are looking forward to collaborating on a full range of issues which transcend our boundaries.”⁴⁰ By opening up the views from the muster field and visitor center overlook to the bridge, the park reasserted its stewardship and interpretive responsibilities and enhanced the visitor experience. This action was long-needed, according to Stedman Buttrick, whose grandfather had built the house now used as park headquarters and visitor center. Back in his “grandfather’s days, you could look down the river and just see open land,” and Buttrick wanted that sense of expansiveness back.⁴¹ By having special use permits for agricultural work, largely haying operations, the NPS could return that land to its longtime uses and maintain those historic views.⁴²

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

With passage of the *National Historic Preservation Act* in 1966, MIMA was administratively added to the National Register of Historic Places by virtue of its previous designation as a national historical park. For more than 30 years, the only documentation for the park as a historic area was that for The Wayside, for which National Historic Landmark (NHL) documentation was accepted on 11 July 1980 (The Wayside was originally designated an NHL on 29 December 1962). During the process of developing the GMP in the mid-1980s (recounted in chapter seven), it became clear to the NPS that it had to address the significance of park resources not directly associated with the events of 1775, an issue raised by the Massachusetts Historical Commission, which served as the SHPO. From the time of park establishment, superintendents and their staff had used 1830, or roughly 50 years following the American Revolution, as a cut-off date for preserving buildings. The date of 1830 was extended to 1920 to include resources that the Massachusetts Historical Commission and others deemed significant, including the Stedman Buttrick House that post-dated 1830. The distinctions between local and national significance were de-emphasized in the 1990 GMP, for as the 1990 plan states, all pre-1920 buildings would now be saved, to help restore a sense of balance between structures and open fields that had been present during the time of the battle. Many of these buildings still fell within the 50-year post-Revolutionary War period, and the GMP noted that they could supplement the park’s colonial character. Another step was taken in the 1992 legislation, with the park’s mission expanded to include the causes and consequences of the American Revolution.⁴³

Using 1920 as an end date for significance came under further review beginning in the mid-1990s. As part of its Section 110 responsibilities and the national initiative to update the NPS List of Classified Structures, the regional office, in November 1996 spearheaded consultation with the state historical commission to obtain SHPO concurrence on its List of Classified Structures for the park. In its 8 January 1997 response, the SHPO disagreed with

⁴⁰ Nelson to Ryan and Feshback-Meriney, 4 February 2005, 2.

⁴¹ Buttrick, transcript of interview, 6.

⁴² MIMA, *Environmental Assessment, North Bridge*, 12.

⁴³ 1990 GMP, 16, 39. The author thanks Paul Weinbaum for his help in capturing the history of how the National Register documentation for Minute Man was developed.

the NPS's findings on agriculturally related resources, stating that associations with the area's architectural traditions should be recognized and an agricultural context should be developed. The state historical commission argued that the period of significance should extend well into the twentieth century to reflect how people have commemorated, venerated, and interpreted the site. These continued conversations between the park and the SHPO made clear the need for the park to document fully the park's resources and to have that documentation accepted by the Keeper of the National Register.⁴⁴

This combination of factors resulted in development and submission of National Register documentation for the entire park. The Keeper accepted MIMA's documentation on 29 November 2002 with a Supplementary Listing Record (SLR) accepted on 2 December 2002. The SLR corrected technical errors in the 29 November 2002 documentation. This documentation identifies the park as nationally significant in the areas of military, commemoration, and literature and locally significant in the areas of agriculture, archeology, and architecture. Overall, the park has 133 total resources, of which 105 are contributing and 28 are non-contributing, within its boundaries. Of the 105 contributing resources, 43 are buildings, 41 are sites, 11 are objects, and 10 are structures.⁴⁵

For each area of significance, the park provides a description of why it meets National Register criteria and what the dates of significance are. This latter determination, the dates of significance, is particularly important for shaping future preservation and management decisions. And, it is here that the park addressed the long-expressed concerns of the SHPO. For example, the National Register documentation for MIMA identifies the period of significance for architecture from circa 1705 when the Meriam House was constructed to 1946 when the Beatteay House was completed. This date range allows the park to capture the collection of 13 Colonial period dwellings that have long been associated with the events of 1775 and its immediate aftermath. But, the extension into the mid-twentieth-century acknowledges the importance of local building styles, often reflecting national trends in domestic architecture, in shaping the landscape. In the nineteenth century, the Federal style is represented by the John Nelson and Gowing-Clark houses. In

⁴⁴ Judith McDonough to Nancy Nelson, 27 June 1996, 1; Terry Savage to Judith McDonough, 25 November 1996, 1; McDonough to Savage, 8 January 1997, 1; Memorandum, Terry Savage to Nancy Nelson, 4 March 1997, 1, all in MIMA Admin History Files, MIMA. Originals located at the Northeast Region History Program National Register Files, 15 State Street, Boston, MA.

⁴⁵ National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet, Minute Man National Historical Park, NRIS Reference Number 02001445, 2 December 2002, [no page numbering for the front section, page numbering added by the author. Page numbering in subsequent sections identified by section number and page number], 1, 4, 5, section 7- page 1. As of November 2007, the park had demolished five non-contributing buildings. In addition, the Battle Road Trail, which had been identified in 2002 as a non-contributing structure but by mistake not counted as such, has been added to the number of non-contributing resources. These two changes have made the total number of non-contributing structures at Minute Man as 24. In addition, as of November 2007, the numbers of contributing resources has changed slightly, with 44 buildings, 41 sites, 9 structures, and 11 objects. The number of buildings increased because two buildings, which in 2002 had been counted as one building, were counted separately. The number of structures decreased because one shed had collapsed. The author thanks Terrie Wallace for this updated information.

the twentieth century, the park has such examples as the Dutch Colonial Revival-style Burke House and the Craftsman-style Albano House. The Beatteay House represents a unique example of vernacular architecture. Non-contributing structures within this date range have either suffered radical alterations so that they no longer convey their original architectural appearance or they do not relate to the architectural significance of the district as it has been documented.⁴⁶

National Register documentation extends the period of significance for commemoration to 1959 to include construction of the existing North Bridge (1956) and the establishment of the national historical park (1959), which has been the culmination of the preservation efforts of many individuals and entities at the local, state, and national levels.⁴⁷

The park's National Register documentation for archeology identifies the time period of circa 1663 when the Meriam House was constructed (Joseph Meriam, John's son, built in 1705 the house that stands today) to 1951. This end date was chosen due to the 50-year rule, requiring exceptional significance for resources less than 50 years old from the present.

The National Register documentation extends the period of significance for agriculture to 1951. This date encompasses farm properties in Concord that partook in market gardening and dairying during the first half of the twentieth century. With the growth of metropolitan Boston in the twentieth century, land use in the towns shifted from primarily agricultural to a range of uses, including some farming, housing, and expansion of businesses and retail beyond the city's limits. Some families, such as the Palumbos, continued to play a major role in agricultural pursuits in and around MIMA. Where farming departed, those once open lands saw enclosure by trees and invasion by exotic species. In response to the increased traffic along major roads and highways and the proximity of people in new housing subdivisions, the few remaining farmers opened seasonal farm stands.⁴⁸

It is perhaps too early to assess what impact the National Register documentation will have on park management. However, the expanded responsibilities of the NPS under the *National Historic Preservation Act*, encompassing resources not directly related to the park's enabling legislation, have effectively added budgetary and interpretive challenges to a park that has lost ground in both areas over the past years. As described in chapter nine, the park's interpretive staff has decreased so dramatically that it claimed in 2006 only one permanent FTE. Overall, the park has seen a steady decrease in full time equivalents, going from 35 FTE in 1991 to 31 in 2002 and only 29 in 2006. This decrease has come even as the park has effectively increased by an order of magnitude its management and interpretive responsibilities with the opening of the Battle Road Unit with the trail, landscapes, and structures. With the expanded National Register dates of significance, the situation becomes even more pronounced. Buildings, such as the Beatteay House, that the park had once

⁴⁶ Ibid., section 8-page 23.

⁴⁷ Ibid., section 8-pages 17, 22-23; Memorandum. Savage to Nelson, 26 March 1997, 3; McDonough to Savage, 8 January 1997, 1.

⁴⁸ MIMA National Register documentation, 2002, section 8-page 37.

thought would be removed after life estates had been fulfilled, now must receive care and attention as the park determines how best to meet its mandates. Agricultural features and structures that date from the twentieth century also require the park's intervention, challenging the park's one grounds maintenance worker and his almost 1,000 acres to maintain.⁴⁹

From a budgetary standpoint, beginning in 2005 the park did obtain a permanent add-on of \$138,000 to maintain and operate new facilities in the Battle Road Unit, thus acknowledging to a certain degree the added work associated with caring for this improved unit. However, the park's operating budget remained essentially flat as it underwent major development in the Battle Road Unit and expanded its dates of significance under the National Register documentation. This situation is especially apparent when understanding that the Northeast Region put its regional archeology program money, of about \$473,000, into MIMA's budget from 2000 until 2004, when the region transferred that money to Valley Forge. If one takes out this archeology money (which MIMA never touched), the park's budget remained at just over \$2 million between 2000 and 2004 even as its fixed operating costs skyrocketed to care for the development changes in the Battle Road Unit. Certainly, many other parks within the National Park System have seen steady decreases in the past years as budgets have tightened overall within the federal government. But, when considering the level of visitation, acreage, and development work at MIMA, the lack of growth in its budget is startling (see Appendix for organizational charts).⁵⁰

HOUSING

Every national park site gains its existence, general mission and purpose, and management direction from the people of the United States, as expressed by the United States Congress. The laws passed in Congress and signed by the President determine the direction and scope of activities taken by the NPS and Department of the Interior. With these laws in hand, the NPS acts under authority of the Secretary of the Interior. Through NPS headquarters and regional offices, the NPS Director develops priorities and policies to guide the management of the National Park System. What works well for one set of parks, though, may not be the case for another set. As of November 2007 there are 391 units within the system, with these sites ranging in size and complexity from a single historic house to millions of acres filled with natural and cultural resources. Plus, a wide range of parks dot the landscape, from national recreation areas to historic battlefields, and from parks filled with wildlife and natural habitats to those noted for their archeological treasures. Implementation of the intent of Congress and the American people requires dexterity and deep appreciation of the many jewels in the nation's crown. In the area of housing, Nelson

⁴⁹ Sabin, 1991 Admin History, 36. Recent FTE and budgetary numbers provided by the park budget analyst.

⁵⁰ Information about the regional archeology program provided by Paul Weinbaum. He consulted with Northeast Region Comptroller Alexa Molnar. See NPS Review Comments, 11 May 2007, 7, MIMA Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

has argued for flexibility and attention to individual circumstances while addressing new laws.

In response to Public Law 104-33, the *Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996*, NPS Director Roger Kennedy began developing a revised approach to government housing in national parks.⁵¹ The law's intent has been to ensure an adequate amount of employee housing, encouraging partnerships with the private sector and thus reducing federal expenditures. The law also seeks to eliminate unnecessary government housing and to locate such housing so as not to impair a park's primary resource values. The Director made clear first in a Director's Memorandum of 24 November 1997 and subsequently in the still draft form of Director's Order No. 36 (2002), that use of government housing must be essential to the accomplishment of the NPS mission. There must be a clear need, because an adequate supply of alternative housing is not within commuting distance or that government housing is needed to supply necessary services or protection.⁵²

How does such a law and NPS policy direction affect MIMA? The NPS and MIMA over the years have provided limited government housing in both the park's historic structures and in some of the acquired modern houses. The Elisha Jones House, for instance, has been the park superintendent's residence since the days of Benjamin Zerbey. Park protection rangers, maintenance workers, interpretive rangers, and others, including people from the regional office and other park superintendents, have lived with their families in other buildings. Seasonal rangers have also been granted housing within the park. With this new policy, the park, working with the region, had to identify and justify how many members of the staff had to live in government housing to fulfill the park's mission. In addition, the region had to identify the total number of housing units approved for the park. Not all housing units would necessarily be used by park personnel. Excess units could be available for historic leasing or other opportunities. A first attempt at making these identifications, done by contractors in 1998, resulted in an explosion of protest from Nelson. The 1998 study recommended that the park had no justification for any park personnel to live in housing units within the park except to accommodate seven seasonal rangers. To meet security, safety, and preservation needs, the contractors recommended use of pagers, sharing law enforcement with local jurisdictions, and partnering with local agencies to procure low-cost housing for NPS employees.⁵³

Nelson argued that to meet the preservation mandates of the park, specific personnel had to live within the boundaries. Protection and maintenance representatives in structures deterred vandalism of historic and archeological resources. They also had the intimate knowledge of the park's landscape, structures, and roadways to address quickly and effectively any random and immediate circumstance. As an example, in 1998 Dattilio and

⁵¹ See section 814 of PL 104-33.

⁵² <http://www.nps.gov/policy/DOrders/DOrder36.htm>. See also Memorandum, Nelson to Director, 18 March 2003, 1, Ed Rizotta Files, NPS-Boston.

⁵³ *Housing Needs Assessment and Local Market Analyses*, September 1998, iv-vi, Ed Rizzotto Files, NPS-Boston.

protection rangers, while off-duty, provided essential direction and protection services in the aftermath of a fatal airplane crash in the park. Local emergency personnel needed guidance in terms of access into the accident site and how best to preserve resources while addressing the situation.⁵⁴ Nelson did not dispute the need to determine objectively what MIMA and other park units required in terms of housing, but she did believe that the very short time the contractors spent at her park had not allowed for fair attention to the complex situation under which the park's personnel worked. The fact that the park's Battle Road Trail neared completion at the time of the contractor's visit suggested to Nelson that making any hard and fast decisions regarding housing requirements would be premature. Resource requirements and handling of increased visitation along this newly opened area would probably increase demands for an all day/everyday NPS presence. She also argued strenuously that successful management of the park required that the superintendent live within the community. Local politics would view the NPS as an outsider if park leadership did not have a 24-hour presence. If she did move, she reasoned, she could not attend nearly the number of evening meetings she regularly did, reducing her overall effectiveness in building ties with local residents. Ultimately, Nelson moved from park housing and purchased a home in Concord. By purchasing a house in Concord, she maintained the presence of the superintendent in the community.⁵⁵

Ultimately, Nelson believed that extreme care needed to be taken in addressing the housing issue. As she wrote to the Washington office, "We also believe that the need for service wide 'consistency' has been overemphasized. Much more important is accountability and the application of intelligence and judgment in structuring park housing programs so that laws are respected and individual park mission needs are met."⁵⁶ The agency needed to consider carefully each individual park. No simple formulas or analyses would adequately address the demands and constraints each park faced. After consideration of the results of the contractor assessment study for MIMA and other parks, the region and Washington office agreed with Nelson that flaws existed in the report's findings and conclusions. The final report carried in its first page a cautionary notice explaining its shortcomings and notice that the Washington office had embarked on an effort to retool its housing policy. This revision came out in 2002 as NPS Director's Order No. 36, which continues to exist in draft form.⁵⁷

A larger issue revolved around the intent of the 1996 *Omnibus Parks Management Act* to consider a full range of alternative uses for park housing. Did partnership alternatives exist that could help reduce federal expenditures for upkeep of park structures? Did each

⁵⁴ Memorandum, Nelson to Housing management Specialist, WASO Housing Office, 2 November 1998, 1, attached to *Housing Needs Assessment*. Email, Nelson to Ed Rizzotto, 28 May 1998, Ed Rizzotto Files, NPS-Boston.

⁵⁵ *Housing Needs Assessment*, v; and attached memorandum, Nelson to Housing Management Specialist, WASO Housing Office, 2 November 1998.

⁵⁶ Memorandum, Nelson to Housing Management Specialist, 2 November 1998, as attached to *Housing Needs Assessment*, 1.

⁵⁷ *Housing Needs Assessment*, inside page.

park truly need all of the housing it may have or were there other opportunities to use these buildings? When considering these ideas, MIMA had many possibilities. Larry Gall had tried to encourage agricultural special use permits within the park by renovating up to two houses and making them available to farmers. This effort did not succeed in encouraging farmers, but beginning in December 2003 one, the Burke House, did become home to the non-profit Thoreau Society. Other ideas involved the historic Brooks houses. Could one become a bed and breakfast, another a tavern or tea room? A 1998 market analysis offered some promise. Noah Brooks Tavern had the space and guest access ease that made it a good candidate for lodging. Joshua Brooks and Samuel Brooks Houses, with smaller rooms and access issues, could serve supplementary roles to Brooks Tavern. The park still had to complete its historic structure rehabilitation of these buildings, under the Battle Road project, before it could pursue any special use arrangement. Once the park completed this work on Noah Brooks, one short-term opportunity presented itself. In 2003 the Junior League of Boston staged its Annual Show House at the tavern. The park benefited from having a whole new audience inside the park. Plus, the Show House effort resulted in valuable in-kind donations, totaling about \$70,000, including new wallpaper, interior paint, electrical wiring, light fixtures, carpets, cabinetry, appliances, and a large gravel parking area in the back. The Show House people even completed historically appropriate hand-painted murals and hand-stenciled walls.⁵⁸

Special use permits and development possibilities continue to have some success at MIMA. With Nelson's move out of the Elisha Jones House, this historic house has since benefited from renters living in it. The Samuel Brooks House hosted a Mother's Day Tea and Father's Day Brunch in 2005 giving approximately 150 people access to a building usually closed to the public. Respondents to a short questionnaire at this event expressed their overwhelming enthusiasm for having a food service operation in the park. The park has met with real estate and food service professionals to consider other partnership possibilities. In the meantime, some of the park's historic and modern structures continue to provide seasonal employees and full-time employees with a place to live. In the eyes of regional housing specialist Ed Rizzotto, historic structures in particular benefit from having people live in these buildings. Air temperatures are moderated, water flows regularly through the pipes, and people can make daily assessments about any problems that may appear.⁵⁹

GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE AND RESULTS ACT

The *Government Performance and Results Act* (GPRA) of 1993 has provided a new opportunity for MIMA and parks in general to report their successes and challenges each

⁵⁸ Gall, transcript of interview, 12. Junior League of Boston, Show House 2003 Booklet, 26, File H30 2003 Decorator's Show House; Nelson to Bob Nolan, 20 March 2000, 1, File H30 Historic Leasing; and Bargmann, Hendrie, & Archetype, Feasibility Study of Brooks' Houses, September 1998, File H30 Feasibility Study, all in Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁵⁹ Email, Diana Shiba to the author, 11 July 2006, MIMA Admin History Collection, MIMA Archives. The author thanks Ed Rizzotto for his candid remarks and access to his files during a December 2006 visit to the Boston Support Office.

year. To increase confidence in the American public in the federal government, this act sought to shift the focus of government decision making and accountability. Instead of focusing on activities, GPRA puts attention on the results of those activities, such as real gains in safety, responsiveness, or program quality. Beginning in 1997 agencies have been required to develop multiyear strategic plans, annual performance plans, and annual performance reports to help them in developing and assessing their goals. GPRA has not changed the work of agencies, but it has mandated how that work would be assessed against the agency's overall goals. By placing emphasis upon reportable outcomes that largely have a numeric value, GPRA did prove an initial challenge for some agencies whose work is not so easily summarized and tallied. The NPS's managers, for instance, had to find a way to delineate tangible results from activities that generally do not have a hard product. How could the agency quantify the health of an ecosystem or measure visitor satisfaction? The agency appointed a task force to develop a system-wide strategic plan that integrated GPRA requirements into the existing NPS management system and planning process. This strategic plan identified certain key mission goals, such as protecting and restoring natural and cultural resources. Long-term goals for achievement within five years would provide a way to measure success at accomplishing the mission goals.⁶⁰

For managers and their staff at MIMA, it took some time to address the requirements of GPRA. People needed to report the achievements for each goal, a burdensome endeavor when they had so many other tasks that seemed central to their mission to complete. The benefits of the GPRA approach were not immediately evident for many. However, once park managers became more accustomed to the reporting requirements, the effort became more routine and less time-consuming than previously.⁶¹

COMPUTERS, FACILITIES, AND COLLECTIONS

Advancements in technology and communication systems have helped MIMA address its mission and meet its goals. Yet, keeping track of all the technological possibilities and implementing them successfully for each staff member can itself be a challenge. Nelson recognized that computer management was becoming more than an ancillary duty for then-Chief Ranger Datillio, and so she brought David St. Louis to the park as a computer, later information technology specialist. St. Louis has installed computers for the past 10 years so every staff member has access. He has linked the park headquarters, the Cultural Resources Center, and maintenance computers through fiber-optic cabling. Another system links together the five computers for protection rangers in Lincoln. All have access to color printers and copiers. Demands for security, brought about first by a lawsuit by the Bureau of Indian Affairs against the Interior Department, and later in reaction to Homeland Security

⁶⁰ NPS, *Strategic Plan*, 1997, 1-2, 9, Terrie Wallace's Files, MIMA.

⁶¹ NPS Review Comments, *MIMA Administrative History*, Second Draft, 11 May 2007, 10, MIMA Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, have helped to build efficiency into the overall reporting process.⁶²

Computer systems have become increasingly integrated into the work of some of the park's divisions. One of the best ways to coordinate, collect, and keep track of park activities is through computer database systems. To aid budget analysis, paycheck disbursement, and other financial reporting, the NPS early on had a system-wide accounting operation in place. More recently, the agency has addressed its enormous maintenance responsibilities by implementing a specific computer system, Facility Management Software System, for this area of activity. According to Facility Manager Bruce Firth, this system will allow him to plan ahead for preventive maintenance tasks. Plus, he will have the ability to see where his work needs are and plan for employees to do that work in an efficient manner. What frustrates him about the system, though, is the need to sit at a computer and enter the information. Each day, workers must enter how much paint they used on a structure or how many hours it took to clear a stone wall. That computer time takes away from the necessary outdoor time, doing the actual work. Plus, Firth knows that his maintenance people do that outdoor work in part because they don't want a desk job and are not trained for that work. He needs to be out with the workers, too, not tied to his desk all day. He wants more training and more staff to fulfill the promise in this computer system.⁶³

For the park's historical and archeological collections, Curator Teresa Wallace has overseen many improvements. Wallace oversaw the removal of the archeological collection from the Squash Court and its installation in the Job Brooks House, following external and internal changes. The house interior was adapted for use as a collection storage facility while the exterior was rehabilitated to its eighteenth-century appearance. The maintenance division then transferred old shelving units from the squash court to the Brooks House and completed the move of about 500 boxes of archeological materials to their new home. This action for the Brooks House provided an adaptive reuse of a historic structure and ensured the continued preservation of this collection. With the squash court emptied of the archeology collection, Wallace put in new shelving and museum cabinets, readying them to take furniture and other items stored at the Noah Brooks Tavern. This action opened the tavern for reuse possibilities. To meet changing environmental standards, Wallace also had fire suppression systems, first a Halon system and then a water sprinkler system, placed in the squash court. A new heating, ventilation, and air conditioning system was also installed to improve the environmental conditions for the stored artifacts. Wallace systematically addressed the archeological collection's backlog cataloging of the items uncovered before 1987, completing that work in fiscal year 2003.⁶⁴

⁶² St. Louis, transcript of interview, 9-11.

⁶³ The author thanks Bruce Firth for sharing in November 2006 his knowledge about the computer system and its demands on his division.

⁶⁴ The author thanks Terrie Wallace for sharing in November 2006 her accomplishments over the past dozen years. See also Memorandum, Nelson to Acting Director, Northeast Museum Services Center, 8 May 2001; PMIS Project Detail, Catalog Archeology Backlog in FY 2002, PMIS 74463; and PMIS Project Detail Sheet, Catalog Archeology Collection Excavated Since 1987, PMIS 84026, all in File

The archeological collection continues to grow in response to archeological investigations completed as part of Section 106 compliance reviews of the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*. Section 106 requires all federal agencies to review any project that affects a historic building, cultural landscape, archeological resources, or ethnographic resources. If projects will disturb previously undisturbed ground, then an archeological investigation is necessary. Any resulting artifacts uncovered during these investigations are stored in the park. As described in chapter nine, during the entire development project in the Battle Road Unit, archeological surveys and reports formed an essential part of the planning. Interestingly, when MIMA was first established, the park employed archeologists to research locations of house foundations and aid in the effort to interpret the park's resources. Currently, archeological work is considered more preventive, to make sure that development or maintenance projects do not affect any archeological sites. MIMA has many important sites. Any planning must provide funds for this requisite archeological survey work, adding time and money to projects. The park has become an active player in the entire Section 106 process following the 1995 NPS decision to delegate this work to the individual parks. Regional offices had previously overseen Section 106 compliance.⁶⁵

UNION

In January 2000 park employees voted successfully for a union, beginning the process of negotiating a contract with management representatives at the park. This effort sought to address issues that had been festering in the park for the past several years. Beginning with the maintenance division but reaching into all areas of park staffing, employees had expressed concern about their jobs. Although the park had experienced huge funding increases to support the Battle Road Trail project, this money did not supplement the annual operating budget. In fact, the park steadily lost money for its annual operations, and staffing positions often remained open due to retirements or reassignments. Nelson wrote in her 2002 annual report that the park had experienced a 30% reduction in staff, at the same time that the park itself had grown in terms of access and interpretive possibilities with the trail.⁶⁶ Assistant superintendent Dattilio remarked later that the trail project had a "major effect on the staff morale, in terms of fatigue, and emotional input. . ." With that project finishing up and the North Bridge rehabilitation project beginning, Dattilio believed that "it's somewhat

Comprehensive Call FY 2002 and FY 2003, Terrie Wallace's Files, MIMA. For an example of the goals Wallace has set under GPRA, see MIMA, Annual Performance Plan, FY 2000, 14, 17, File D18 Annual Performance Plan FY 2000, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁶⁵ Author's discussion with Wallace, November 2006. The park has files for each of the Section 106 projects completed since 1995.

⁶⁶ Park employees had voted unsuccessfully for the union the prior year. David St. Louis, transcription of oral history interview with the author, 5 December 2006, 3, MIMA Archives. MIMA, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, FY 2001, 1, File A2621 State of the Park; and MIMA, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, FY 2002, 1, File A2621 *Superintendent's Annual Report*, both in Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

related to the extra strain that was put on the staff because of all that . . . development work.” This strain, in his mind, had contributed to calls for formation of the union.⁶⁷

Beyond the stresses of a complex park with fewer people and resources to run it, some employees voted for the union because of concerns over park management. From the perspective of one employee, the union offered the opportunity to stand up for the rights of employees. As this informant said, “we wanted a Big Brother—that’s all we were looking for.”⁶⁸

With the positive vote for the union, negotiations began. Employees asked St. Louis, the park’s IT specialist, to serve as president and lead negotiator. St. Louis had started working at MIMA in 1996 handling the computers and other technology systems to ensure the park had the correct capabilities to meet its obligations. He had good qualities for serving as union president. A naturally easy-going and friendly personality, St. Louis had experience in dealing on a daily basis with both managers and staff members. As he stated later, as the only IT person at the park, “you can’t be unapproachable or you’re not going to do a good job, and that’s how it is. . . .”⁶⁹ His background also gave him an understanding of the issues facing the maintenance division, in particular. His first position with the NPS had been at Women’s Rights NHP in Seneca Falls, NY, where he had worked as a carpenter helper.⁷⁰

How St. Louis moved from a carpenter helper to IT specialist reveals his commitment to the issues raised by the union and his contribution to the negotiating process. While at Women’s Rights, he had cut his thumb on a table saw and had to take worker’s compensation. On light desk duty at the Cultural Resources Center at Lowell NHP, he learned that the NPS wanted to lay him off but couldn’t because he was on worker’s compensation. Wanting to know his rights, he made some phone calls, with the result being that he kept his job. Still in the office, he also kept asking for work to do, and people appreciated his abilities and ambition. He eventually worked on the budget for about five years and became permanent doing a wide range of catch-all jobs, including shipping, receiving, and computers. Faced with a downsizing situation, St. Louis accepted an offer from Nelson to oversee MIMA’s computer and technology needs. When the labor union situation arose, he accepted the presidency and took his commitment for fairness to the negotiating table.⁷¹

For St. Louis, having the union and contract at MIMA helped to institutionalize federal regulations and make clear the rights and responsibilities of everyone. He wanted the union to “protect the little guy, that’s what it’s for.” But he did not support people using it to “get a leg up or a free ride. . . .” This attitude was shared by at least one other employee who

⁶⁷ Dattilio, transcript of interview, 12-13.

⁶⁸ The author interviewed other park employees who wished to remain anonymous about the union.

⁶⁹ St. Louis, transcript of interview, 3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1, 4.

spoke anonymously about the union, emphasizing the need for a union to stand up for employee rights.⁷²

Negotiations lasted for more than a year, and they wore down everyone. St. Louis recalled “that was the longest, most excruciating event in my life, let me tell you.”⁷³ Nelson reported in her annual report for 2001 that union related activities and issues had taken up about 40% of her and Dattilio’s time. She wrote that, along with contract negotiation, she faced “difficult and time consuming personnel problems” and several “unfair labor practice” charges, all ultimately withdrawn. It cannot be documented how time spent on the union directly took away time from other park issues, such as completing development projects in the Battle Road Unit and starting work at the North Bridge. However, whenever the union has been discussed informally by Nelson, it is clear that negotiations took a lot of time, effort, and energy.⁷⁴

Signed on 6 September 2002, the contract addressed everything related to job performance and expectations. As St. Louis stated, “now there are rules that everybody has to follow . . . [and] everybody’s kept honest.”⁷⁵ The contract defines work schedules, for example, and provides opportunities twice a year for employees to request changes in those schedules. The contract makes clear that employees must be present during core park hours of 9 AM and 3 PM and employees must take lunch between 11 AM and 1 PM. There is a provision for the designated amount of time for workers, who might need to pick up tools or wash up from dirty work, before taking lunch or ending their day. Employee development and training will be fostered, with the park ensuring that employees have training to meet mandatory requirements, critical park needs, and enhance their professional development. More sections address overtime, travel, leave, disciplinary action, safety and health working condition, promotions, and telecommuting, among many other issues.

From the point of view of Nelson, though, there were some losses. She characterized contract negotiation as a “sadly adversarial process.” Management, in her opinion, retained and even gained some ground, but employees lost some flexibility and a direct line of communication with management.⁷⁶

Soon after adoption of the union contract, one park employee petitioned to seek an election to determine if employees no longer wished to be represented by the union. As another park employee later recalled, the petitioner worked in the protection division and believed that the union was not necessary. In mid-November 2002 park employees voted on the petition. By a one-vote majority (13 to 12), the union contract was certified. Such a slim margin of support for the union may reflect changes in management that employees saw as already positive and promising. The slim vote may also speak to uncertainty among employees about showing their support. With the vote to keep the union, its activities have

⁷² Ibid., 4. Also based upon conversation with another park employee.

⁷³ St. Louis, transcript of interview, 5.

⁷⁴ MIMA, 2001 *Annual Report*, 2.

⁷⁵ St. Louis, transcript of interview, 7.

⁷⁶ Nelson, Comments, 20 March 2007, 5-6, MIMA Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

been relatively quiet in subsequent years. The contract had an initial life of four years, with opportunities to open discussions, and then the agreement would be renewed each year until one party signaled its desire to re-negotiate. Since its adoption, there have been no attempts to open negotiations.⁷⁷

MORE OPPORTUNITIES

A historic opportunity presented itself to the Town of Concord and the NPS in summer 2002. Confidential meetings disclosed that Michael and Patrick McGrath wished to arrange for the sale of two pieces of property, including the historic Barrett's Farm and house. The brothers wanted to ensure public ownership and preservation of this land and building. British Regulars had Barrett's Farm as their planned destination point when they left Boston and headed to Concord in April 1775. In 1959 the NPS had considered but not included the farm site in the proposed MIMA park boundaries because it appeared to be in capable and historically minded hands. By 2002 however, the McGraths' circumstances led to their interest in sale of these properties. They wished to avoid a private sale that would lead to development of the property contrary to the historic significance of the land.⁷⁸

Unfortunately, neither the town nor the NPS had the resources or legislative ability to act with the speed needed to secure these properties. Nelson made clear the park's interest in seeing the farm and house preserved, but she could not make any commitments. Barrett's Farm stood well outside MIMA's boundaries, and the park did not have authorization or money for such a purchase. Instead, both the park and town sought a private partner as an interim purchaser and holder of the properties until the NPS or another preservation organization could obtain the necessary authorizations. That private partner appeared as the nonprofit organization Save Our Heritage, led by Anna Winter Rasmussen. In a successful campaign, Save Our Heritage raised \$2 million to purchase these lands and building. In a revision of the original proposal, Michael McGrath agreed to move out of the historic farmhouse and into a new residence constructed for him by Save Our Heritage on a portion of his brother's land.⁷⁹

Congressman Martin Meehan (D-MA) sought to secure a boundary study for possible inclusion of the farm in MIMA. Meehan introduced HR 394 in January 2005. The House passed this legislation in September 2005. Senators Edward Kennedy (D) and John Kerry introduced the companion S. 2034 to the Senate, where it passed in August 2006. The following month, the park held a public scoping meeting and open house to discuss the

⁷⁷ Collective Bargaining Agreement between National Association of Government Employees Local R1-99 and Minute Man NHP National Park Service, 2002, David St. Louis Files, MIMA. See also St. Louis, transcript of interview, 7-8. Case No. BN-RP-02-0059, Certification of Representation, MIMSA and National Association of Government Employees, 22 November 2002, and accompanying documentation, MIMA Admin History Files, MIMA Archives.

⁷⁸ Michael McGrath and Patrick McGrath to Christopher Whelan, 8 July 2002, File Barrett's Farm, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA. BNHSC, *Interim Report*, 129-31.

⁷⁹ Email, Nelson to Whelan, 3 December 2002; Meeting Notes, 14 December 2002; Memorandum of Understanding Regarding the Barrett/McGrath Farm, November 2003, all in File Barrett's Farm, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA.

proposed boundary changes. After the study is complete, Congress may opt to expand the park's boundary and, ultimately, purchase the farm for incorporation into the park.⁸⁰

In 2002 Nelson and her staff also began considering what possibilities existed for managing the revitalized Battle Road Unit. In response to adjacent airport expansion at Hanscom Field and continued development pressures and increased traffic along Route 2A, Nelson pursued funding for a GMP Amendment, specific to this section of the park. Nelson did not pursue a full GMP effort at this time. She and her staff had accomplished many of the goals of the 1990 GMP, especially with respect to the Battle Road Unit. They had created the park, with its new resources and properties, and they needed a new plan and guidance to move forward. However, some have questioned whether the park should also conduct management planning on the North Bridge Unit, which may expand to include Barrett's Farm. For now, the amendment remains focused on the Battle Road Unit. Nelson could point to her successes in this unit with completion of the trail and new visitor facilities, rehabilitation of historic structures, and restoration of select areas of the cultural landscape. She needed management guidance and new goals to strive for. Revised housing requirements, for instance, did not support use of the park's many houses for quarters. These newly rehabilitated structures and landscapes also required increased attention, draining the park's operational base and reducing staffing as a result. Agricultural special use permits, considered an important option in the original GMP, have decreased in recent years. Yet, agricultural work on parklands offered to maintain the historic look and feel of the land while also keeping invasive species out. Perhaps the GMP Amendment could find ways to address this decline.⁸¹

In developing the GMP Amendment, the park could explore fresh approaches to protecting and using park lands and structures. A great public interest existed to make the park's historic structures available for public use and enjoyment while also being operationally sustainable. Private partners had expressed interest in developing reuse ideas, such as a colonial tavern, bed and breakfast, youth hostel, or private agricultural ventures. The GMP Amendment would allow the park to consider all of these ideas and more, making decisions following a holistic, criteria-driven approach for reuse as opposed to a piecemeal, structure-by-structure one. Nelson also pointed to the fact that the park's relationship with the three towns had improved tremendously since adoption of the 1990 GMP, providing opportunities for comprehensive and cooperative ventures. Existing buildings housing maintenance functions and collections storage, for instance, were proving inadequate. The

⁸⁰ HR 394, Colonel James Barrett Farm, 109th Cong., 1st sess., (26 January 2005); US Congress, *Congressional Record*, 109th Cong., 1st sess., 20 September 2005. Marty Meehan to Nancy Nelson, 6 October 2005; Statement of Sue Masica, 6 April 2006; Email, Marty Pepper Aisenberg to Friends of Save Our Heritage, 8 August 2006; Meeting Notice, 21 September 2006, all in File Barrett's Farm, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA.

⁸¹ Project Detail Sheet, PMIS 84024, GMP-Amendment, 26 February 2002, 5-6, File GMPA, Nancy Nelson's Files, MIMA.

GMP Amendment allowed for a park-wide facility requirements evaluation and recommendations.⁸²

Nelson moved Lou Sideris from his interpretive duties to a new position as chief of planning. This allowed Sideris to support the amendment process. Bob Derry became the acting chief of interpretation. What were the possibilities under the Amendment? Already, the state had designated Route 2A as a Scenic Byway, helping to build on the park's own work to make this stretch of road historically captivating with safe access. To continue the park's work, more ideas have been considered. How can historic structures provide further visitor use and enjoyment? What can be done to make both sides of the cultural landscape along Route 2A to have public use and benefit? How can sustainable agricultural uses, including use of farm animals, be a prominent part of the visitor experience? Maybe the Minute Man Visitor Center can be enlarged to support varied activities and have improved parking and access. Next door, the Whittemore House might become an Education Center and serve diverse visitors. The park might expand its Volunteer-in-Parks program and have the National Center for Colonial Life to aid interpretation. Finally, the park wants to continue to work with neighboring towns to encourage compatible development along park borders. These ideas and others are helping Nelson and others imagine MIMA for the next twenty years.⁸³

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL: THE FUTURE

During her more than dozen years at MIMA, Nelson has focused her attention on developing largely successful and productive relationships with outside organizations and agencies, with park neighbors and the towns. What about the internal health of the park? How has the park fared under Nelson's management? This assessment cannot rely upon the informative and revealing annual administrative histories Historian Doug Sabin completed during Gall's superintendency. Instead, some oral history interviews, a review of correspondence, and an assessment of accomplishments provides clues. Simply in terms of breadth of achievements, the park's staff has made enormous strides. These staff members, along with contractors and partners from state and local organizations, have completed the Battle Road Trail, upgraded the Minute Man Visitor Center, rehabilitated several historic structures so that they could be shown to the public, and opened the landscape with vegetative clearing and rebuilding of stone walls.

While Nelson has made important changes to the park's management, her commitment to the park's relationship with the outside community remains her greatest contribution. She has worked to communicate the park's requirements while also building partnerships across a wide spectrum of potential partners. She has been faced with many supporters but also some detractors. Some people, like Walter Beatteay and Angelo Inferrera, who remained in their houses after the NPS acquired them, continued to express their discontent over the process of land acquisition. This frustration led to two lawsuits,

⁸² Ibid., 6-7.

⁸³ MIMA, GMPA Vision Points, 3 November 2006, Lou Sideris Files, MIMA.

both dismissed for lack of evidence. But, Nelson and her staff have continued to respect the place these people have in the life of the park, while also asserting the larger mission of the park. Those relationships make a difference.⁸⁴ Her advocacy has helped advertise the park's predicament well beyond its boundaries. In considering the Hanscom Area Town Selectmen's meetings, for example, Nelson believes that "we've worked really hard to increase our profile with them, and now I think they see us as a major stakeholder and a player."⁸⁵

Maintaining those carefully developed relationships remains a primary concern for Nelson. But, she also recognizes the need for advocating for the park within its own agency. MIMA is "viewed as a little park. It's not viewed as a complex park." It has more than a million visitors each year, ranking with 12 other parks in the NPS Northeast Region, but even with about 1,000 acres of land, it has less acreage than some of these other well-visited parks, like Acadia National Park in Maine. When a former regional director told Nelson once that the region viewed MIMA and Valley Forge (nearly three times larger in acreage) as comparable, Nelson agreed and wished that her park could get a proportionately similar amount of the almost 100 FTEs and \$6 million budget that its sister park had. Instead, MIMA has steadily lost full-time personnel slots over the course of Nelson's tenure because limited operating increases have not staved off inflation and rising operations and maintenance costs resulting from a decade of development. The park offered teachers only a fraction of the educational programming that it had during the Bicentennial years, nor does the park have its visitor centers or historic buildings open for as many hours as in the past. In 2006, the park had only one fulltime grounds maintenance employee and one full-time interpreter.⁸⁶

Nelson looks at this situation, and she worries. The federal government has invested almost \$12 million in historic landscape and structure rehabilitation, and construction of the Battle Road Trail and visitor amenities. If the park continues to lose funding, though, all of the gains in the last 10 years might be lost, and "that's my worst nightmare," Nelson admitted. Thanks to Nelson's public outreach, people are noticing and registering their concern. "Our reenactor community is very, very upset about what's happening here. The towns are very upset," she stated recently. "So that's my job now, trying to raise awareness of what the park is becoming and how we can keep it from . . . sliding back." The trees will grow back and obscure the 1775 vistas, and the historic houses will sag and rot as victims of maintenance backlogs. Nelson's focus for the future involves communicating this potential scenario to the NPS hierarchy while keeping an eye on maintaining external relations.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ For a review of these lawsuits, see File W32 Civil Litigation Sowkow, Inferrera, Beatteay, Current Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸⁵ Nelson, transcript of interview, 11.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 9. See also Memorandum, Interpretive Specialist, NARO, to Nelson and Chief of Interpretation, MIMA, 17 February 1994, No File Name, Park Admin Files, MIMA.

⁸⁷ Nelson, transcript of interview, 10.

EPILOGUE

IN MEMORY: NORTH BRIDGE

In late October 2005 John Finigan took his daughter Susan to the North Bridge. Finigan had served as the Town of Concord's chief representative for the 1963 Cooperative Agreement and the planning for the Bicentennial. He had shared his memories of these events in an oral history interview with the author. With the trees still hanging onto a few golden leaves and the air crisp around Finigan and his daughter, they walked along the path past the 1836 Battle Monument and over the bridge to see the Minute Man statue. Finigan easily slipped into his storyteller's mode, telling his daughter stories that she knew well but enjoyed hearing again. Wanting a photograph to hold onto the day, Susan went back to their car for the camera. When she came back, she found her dad on the North Bridge talking to a young man whom she learned had recently returned from Iraq. Her dad shared the "not-so-brief" history of the Concord Fight to a willing ear. His retelling echoed the story as told by interpreters since park establishment. Perhaps having just returned from a place where Americans and coalition forces tried hard to establish democracy made the young man especially receptive to Finigan's history lesson. Certainly the story of the American Patriots declaring their desire for liberty in the face of British musket fire resonated for the young man after his experiences abroad.¹

Each day at the North Bridge and along the Battle Road Trail, individuals touch this connection to the past and feel its power for today. Remembering the story, as told by the park, of the American Patriots and their declaration for liberty speaks not just to Americans of generations past, present, and future. This story speaks to the world, to any people seeking the same principles of democratic self-government, liberty, and ultimately freedom. People respond to this story and want to touch the places where it happened. By setting aside the land in MIMA, the people of the United States have declared their allegiance to the principles for which the park stands. They have also declared their commitment to the continued preservation and interpretation of the North Bridge, of the Wayside, and of the length and breadth of the Battle Road within the national park. Finigan passed away in January 2006 but his love for the story at the North Bridge and its meaning for generations to come continues.

¹ Email, Susan Finigan Coons to the author, 3 March 2006, MIMA Archives.

APPENDIX A

MASSACHUSETTS RESOLVE, 1924

RESOLVE RELATIVE TO A PROPER OBSERVANCE ON THE PART OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE APPROACHING SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Resolved, That an unpaid commission of nine persons, to be appointed by the governor, be established for the purpose of considering and recommending an appropriate programme for the patriotic observance by the commonwealth of the approaching one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the war of the American revolution and making an estimate of the cost of the same. The commission may expend from such amount, not exceeding two thousand dollars, as may be appropriated by the general court such sums as may be approved by the governor and council, and shall file a report of its recommendations and estimate with the clerk of the house of representatives, and a copy thereof with the governor and the budget commissioner, on or before October fifteenth of the current year.

Approved May 16, 1924.

APPENDIX B

ARTHUR SHURCLIFF 1925 REPORT

REPORT OF
ARTHUR A. SHURTLEFF,
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT.

January 5, 1925.

Charles B. Barnes, Esq., Chairman,
Commission On The One Hundred Fiftieth
Anniversary of the American Revolution.

Dear Sir:

At the request of your Commission I took up the subject matter of the following report. It is based on the memorials and the decorative schemes which were presented to me for consideration by your Board, in connection with the proposed plans for highway layout and for the preservation of historic ground which were evolved during conferences. The accompanying plan indicates present conditions along the highway, the sites proposed for memorials, and the ground which should be preserved. The report outlines facts and considerations which your Board brought to my attention and those which developed during the course of study in the field.

Until recently this historic road retained much of its ancient appearance although nearly a century and a half of time had elapsed since the events of 1776. A decade or two ago, no effort of the imagination was needed to picture the setting of the events of the day when the troops of the King marched along this highway. Many of the dwellings of the Revolution still remained, and the roadside walls, trees, open fields, and woodlands were also essentially unchanged. The narrow winding gravel road bed retained its original character. The valley through which Prescott made his detour from the main road when he and Paul Revere were accosted by British officers, the ground from which the Americans opened fire near the site of Viles Tavern, the bend of road known as the "Bloody Angle" on the westerly side of the Virginia triangle where the invading forces were heavily attacked and nearly routed by the "rebels", and a great number of other important topographical features which marked the memorable events of the march could be seen in approximately their original state.

During the past decade changes have taken place which have transformed a large part of the roadside and many of its nearby landscapes to such an extent that visitors cannot

review the ancient line of march and the sites of the local conflicts with a clear picture of the conditions which surrounded those events. Evidently many of these changes, regrettable though they may be from the point of view of the antiquarian, are both necessary and desirable for the development of the towns themselves. For example in the less thickly settled portions of Lexington, Lincoln and Concord, modern dwellings are increasing in number, and naturally enough these structures distract attention from historic houses and at the same time interfere to a certain degree with a view of the fields, pastures and woods of the skirmish lines. Roadside shrubbery, trees and stone walls have been removed in places. By far the most marked change has taken place in the modernizing of the roadbed. A large mileage of the narrow winding and rather abruptly undulating roadway of gravel has been widened radically, straightened, evened, and surfaced with bituminous macadam to meet the necessary requirements of safety and convenience in the operation of motor vehicles.

While these changes have been taking place the number of visitors to the road and the battle fields has enormously increased. In fact the widening and straightening of the road was made necessary in large part to accommodate the motors of sightseers and the fleets of sightseeing busses which now make regular trips in mild weather. There is little wonder that vending stands, booths, small roadside restaurants, resting rooms and oiling stations which usually spring up along sightseeing motor routes have made inroads upon the scenic attractiveness of this historic highway. The more important the landmark or the monument the more thickly these vending stands have come in along the road of march, as shown on the accompanying plan page. The visitor is confronted with appeals to make purchases, to employ guides, or to notice gaily painted signs and vending devices which beside obscuring views of historic ground, detract from the significance of monuments and inscriptions of the most vital interest and of national importance. These undesirable conditions can be remedied by means of zoning regulations of the kind which many cities and towns about Boston have adopted to prevent similar disfigurement in residence districts and to prevent the general depression of the property values. To impose protective zoning regulations of this kind along this highway would require no special legislation and would work no unusual hardship. The processes are familiar and they can be made effective over the whole route when the three towns are ready to act.

The changes which have taken place and the great increase in the number of visitors clearly shows the need of permanent markers of appropriate design like that proposed by your Commission to indicate the line of march, as visitors are frequently misled at cross street intersections. The presence of special tablets and monuments to mark points of unusual historic interest also becomes more important as the local topography is transformed, but steps should be taken to prevent the erection of lesser memorials in such number that the importance and interest of the chief monuments may not become lost or injured. In case, as is to be hoped, the road forming the line of march may be dedicated to form a memorial in itself, adequate markers like the pylons suggested by your Board will be needed where the highway enters the closely- built-up sections of Concord and Lexington, preferably near Meriam's Corner and Hastings Park, (see A and D on the plan). An effort

should be made to include within the limits established by land takings for the margins of such a memorial highway, a strip of land on each side sufficiently wide to include remaining ancient stone walls, fine roadside trees, the site of existing and proposed memorials, pylons and markers, and to form with additional setback lines a permanent limit for the construction of future buildings which might otherwise cramp this highway to a width out of keeping with its historic importance and its increasing use. Setback restrictions of this kind have been established already over a large mileage of the highways about Boston to permit future street widenings and can be applied here without unusual procedure. Such restrictions would undoubtedly enhance the value of the abutting property. If widening of the traveled way should be needed subsequently along the line of march the present stone walls might be moved back to preserve them. As indicated by your Board the significance of these walls at special points, as for example at the roadside well of the Benjamin Fiske place and at Battle Road, where walls were used for breastworks, indicates the desirability of including these features in public control, otherwise they may be removed by private owners.

The above description of the changes which are taking place in the highway may give an impression that the time has passed for preserving the ancient line of march as a historic monument, and that today little more can be done than to save strips of roadside and to erect markers and memorials. Fortunately, however, the opportunity to preserve nearly two miles of the original line of march essentially in its original condition still remains. Reference to the plan (see page) indicates three important bends in the original highway. These bends have been completely detoured in the construction of the modern straight road, and as a consequence they have escaped the modernizing influences which have transformed so large a part of the line of march.

The first of these detoured bends, known as Hastings Road, (see D on the plan) is small, embracing a few hundred yards length and has been acquired already as a portion of Hastings Park. This piece of road is preserved at its ancient width, crooked line, and with old walls and trees. The second bend (see C on the plan) occurs between the point where Paul Revere was captured and the point where the British subsequently made the historic rally when hotly attacked by the Patriots in the vicinity of Viles Tavern. This bend embraces over a half mile of ancient road in little changed condition. The third bend (see B on the plan) occurs at Virginia Road and embraces the scene of the charge made near the Lincoln line by the Patriots who took advantage of the level ground west of the road to make a flank attack upon the retreating British forces at the so-called "Bloody Angle".

It is an extraordinary piece of good fortune that these two comparatively long sections of the original line of march should have been preserved nearly in their original state until our day. Both sections of road and the ground adjacent to them are especially rich in historical associations. The fact that the invading troops were forced by these bends to encounter the flanking operations of the Patriots explains the military activities of these triangles and adds vastly to their interest as historic records.

Acquisition of these stretches of road and the adjacent ground which is so rich in historic association ought to be made promptly if the State or the National Government

wishes to preserve them before the territory has been transformed by the progress of the changes which are taking place rapidly about it. As shown on the plan the suggested taking of land for both triangles shown on the plan is confined wholly to farm property, little developed, and containing scarcely over a half dozen dwellings of which at least four existing structures or sites are recorded in history of the march. The roads are little used, and the land behind them is undeveloped. The suggested taking lines include a depth of about four hundred feet on each side of the ancient highway. This should be regarded as a minimum space for the preservation of the roadsides and the landmarks of the nearest fields and stretches of woodland. Within these limits it would be possible to safeguard the roadway in its present site and with a sufficient depth of background to protect it from the future development which may take place in the surrounding property. Greater space to maintain protective backgrounds and to embrace larger areas of the ground over which the Patriots advanced during the flanking operations would be desirable. With greater space, sightseers could be accommodated more comfortably, more ample parking spaces could be provided, and roads could be installed which would preclude for all time the transformation by widening or by modern paving of the ancient line of march. An extension of the takings to unite both triangles, thus including the historic ground traversed by Prescott who escaped to alarm the town of Concord when he and Paul Revere were confronted by British officers, would also be desirable. This would simplify the administration of the parcels of ground and would permit visitors to view the historic ground without mingling with the through traffic of the short link of about a quarter of a mile of connecting State Road.

Respectfully submitted,

APPENDIX C

ORDER DESIGNATING MINUTE MAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ORDER DESIGNATING
THE MINUTE MAN NATIONAL
HISTORIC SITE, MASSACHUSETTS

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States has declared it to be a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the outbreak of the War of the Revolution was essential and prerequisite to the achievement of American independence and the creation of a Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, the events which relate to the beginning of Revolutionary hostilities on April 19, 1775, along the road and roadsides between Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, associated with Paul Revere, the Minute Men and the British, are of great importance in American history; and

WHEREAS, the two parcels of land, described below, along the Lexington-Concord Road contain the original stone walls, boulders, and other features of the natural setting where, on April 19, 1775, the opening day of the American Revolution, Colonial Minute Men fired on the British troops retreating along this historic route; and

WHEREAS, the said Lexington-Concord Road has been declared by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments to be of national historical significance; and

WHEREAS, the properties described below have been recommended for immediate preservation by the Boston National Historic Sites Commission, which was created by the Congress by Joint Resolution of June 16, 1955 (69 Stat. 136), to investigate the feasibility of establishing a coordinated local, State and Federal program in the city of Boston,

Massachusetts, and general vicinity thereof, for the purpose of preserving the historic properties, objects, and buildings in that area:

NOW, THEREFORE, under and by virtue of the authority conferred by section 2 of the Act of Congress approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C., secs. 461-467), I do hereby designate the following described lands to be a national historic site, having the name "Minute Man National Historic Site":

A tract of land along the Lexington-Concord Road in Massachusetts, more particularly described as follows:

PARCEL A

A certain parcel of land situated in the Town of Lincoln, County of Middlesex, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being a portion of Tract No. A-137 of Hanscom Air Force Base and more particularly bounded and described as follows:

Beginning at the corner of a stone wall on the north side of State Highway Route 2A which marks the boundary line between land now or formerly Charles Carruth and land now or formerly J. C. and I. R. Haganian and is located south 11° 39' 20" east 203.65 feet from a point from a Land Court Disc at the northeasterly corner of land of said Charles Carruth;

Thence running north 80° 51' 50" east by the stone wall and the northerly side of said State Highway Route No. 2A and Nelson Road 83.63 feet, and north 83° 08' 10" east 76.73 feet to the true point of beginning;

Thence running north 11° 39' 20" west by land of said Haganian 201 feet, more or less, to a point;

Thence turning and running north 63° 35' 40" east through land of the owner 190 feet, more or less, to a point on a curve;

Thence turning and running southeasterly by a curve to the left and whose radius is 1,500 feet, a distance of 153 feet, more or less, to a point of tangency;

Thence continuing south 29° 19" east 122 feet to the stone wall and northerly side of said Nelson Road;

Thence turning and running by the northerly side of said Nelson Road south 76° 16' 20" west and 100 feet, more or less, and south 83° 08' 10" west 165.64 feet to the point of beginning,

Containing 1.19 acres more or less.

PARCEL B

A certain parcel of land situated in the Town of Lincoln, County of Middlesex, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being a portion of Tract No. A-137 of Hanscom Air Force Base and more particularly bounded and described as follows:

Beginning at a drill hole in the corner of a stone wall on the northerly side of Nelson Road at land now or formerly James P. & Henry Neville;

Thence running by a stone wall on the north side of Nelson Road south 74° 18' 50" west 203.23 feet to a drill hole, south 85° 39' 30" west 54.00 feet, south 80° 36' 50" west 100.75 feet, south 74° 54' 30" west 142.76 feet, south 51° 30' 08" west 45.59 feet, south 60° 30' 50"

west 123.54 feet, south $56^{\circ} 55' 20''$ west 197.52 feet, south $55^{\circ} 57' 30''$ west 205.13 feet, south $58^{\circ} 33' 00''$ west 55.77 feet, more or less, to a point;

Thence turning and running north $29^{\circ} 19'$ west thru land of the owner 141.43 feet to a point of curve;

Thence continuing to run northwesterly by a curve to the right whose radius is 1,400 feet, a distance of 143 feet, more or less, to a point on the southeasterly boundary line of Hanscom Field, Family Housing Project, Parcel No. C-2;

Thence turning and running by the southeasterly boundary of the said Family Housing Project, north $64^{\circ} 41' 37.5''$ east 150 feet, north $55^{\circ} 55' 45''$ east 400 feet, more or less, to a point;

Thence turning and running north $78^{\circ} 56'$ east 86.00 feet, north $42^{\circ} 22'$ east 36.0 feet, north $57^{\circ} 38'$ east 36.0 feet, north $74^{\circ} 35' 30''$ east 131.0 feet, north $70^{\circ} 35' 30''$ east 138 feet, north $50^{\circ} 35' 30''$ east 127 feet, more or less, to a point on stone wall at land now or formerly James P. and Henry Neville;

Thence turning and running by the stone wall of certain level south $30^{\circ} 33' 30''$ east 120 feet, more or less, to a point and south $29^{\circ} 49' 20''$ east 236.72 feet to the drill hole and the point of beginning,

Containing 6.89 acres more or less.

Subject, however, to existing easements for public highways, roads, railroads, pipelines, and public utilities.

The administration, protection, and development of this national historic site shall be exercised in accordance with the Act of August 21, 1935, supra.

Warning is expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, deface, or remove any feature of this historic site.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the official seal of the Department of the Interior to be affixed, in the City of Washington, this 14 day of April, 1959.

(Sgd) Fred A. Seaton
Secretary of the Interior

APPENDIX D

MINUTE MAN ENABLING LEGISLATION, PUBLIC LAW 86-321

Public Law 86-321, Approved 21 September 1959

H. R. 5892

Eighty-sixth Congress of the United States of America

At the first session

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday, the seventh day of January, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine

An Act

To provide for the establishment of Minute Man National Historical Park in Massachusetts, and for other purposes.

Whereas the outbreak of the War of the American Revolution was essential and prerequisite to the achievement of American independence and the creation of a Federal Government; and

Whereas the events relating to the beginning of Revolutionary hostilities on the 18th and 19th of April 1775, and associated with Paul Revere, the Minute Men, and the British are of great importance in American history; and

Whereas a number of historic properties, buildings, sites, and objects in Boston, Massachusetts, and the vicinity, thereof, including the road and roadsites between Lexington and Concord, are intimately connected with the events that opened the war, and consequently, merit preservation and interpretation in the public interest as prime examples of the Nation's historical heritage: Therefore

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to preserve for the benefit of the American people certain historic structures and properties of outstanding national significance associated with the opening of the War of the American Revolution, Minute Man National Historical Park is hereby authorized to be established in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The park shall comprise not more than seven hundred and fifty acres as may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior from within the area beginning at Fiske Hill and thence lying along Massachusetts Avenue, Marrett Road and Marrett Street in the town of Lexington, along Nelson Road, Virginia Road, Old Bedford Road, and North Great Road or State Route 2-A in the town of Lincoln, and along Lexington Road, Monument Street,

Liberty Street and Lowell Road in the town of Concord to and including the North Bridge and properties on both sides of the Concord River in the vicinity of the North Bridge.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by donation or with donated funds, or with funds hereby authorized to be appropriated, lands and interests in lands within the area designated for the park. Administrative jurisdiction of Federal lands lying within the area designated for the park shall, with the concurrence of the Federal agency involved, be transferred to the Secretary of the Interior for administration as a part of the park.

The park shall be established as Minute Man National Historical Park by notice in the Federal Register when the Secretary of the Interior finds that sufficient lands within the designated area have been acquired to warrant such establishment.

Sec. 3. To provide further for the preservation and interpretation of historic sites, structures, and properties lying along the entire route or routes where significant events occurred on the 18th and 19th of April 1775, in the cities of Boston, Cambridge, Medford, and Somerville, and the towns of Arlington, Brookline, Concord, Lexington, and Lincoln, including the area generally described in section 1 as lying between Fiske Hill and the North Bridge, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized, in accordance with the purposes of this Act, to enter into cooperative agreements with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, political subdivisions thereof, corporations, associations, or individuals, and to erect and maintain tablets or markers, in accordance with provisions contained in the Act approved August 21, 1935, entitled "An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes" (49 Stat. 666).

Sec. 4. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to appoint an advisory commission of five members to advise him on the development of Minute Man National Historical Park, to consist of one member to be recommended by the selectmen of each of the towns of Concord, Lexington, and Lincoln, Massachusetts; one member to be recommended by the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and one member to be designated by the Secretary.

Sec. 5. When established pursuant to this Act, the park shall be administered, protected, and developed by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1-4), as amended and supplemented, and the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; U.S.C. 461-467).

Sec. 6. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, but not more than \$8,000,000, as may be needed for the acquisition of lands and interests in lands and for development of the Minute Man National Historical Park, of which not more than \$5,000,000 shall be used for acquisition purposes, and in addition thereto, such sums as may be needed for its administration and maintenance.

APPENDIX E

MINUTE MAN 1970 AMENDMENT, PUBLIC LAW 91-548

Public Law 91-548
91st Congress, H. R. 13934
December 14, 1970

An Act

To amend the Act of September 21, 1959 (73 Stat. 590), to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to revise the boundaries of Minute Man National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 1 of the Act of September 21, 1959 (73 Stat. 590) is amended by inserting “(a)” after the word “that” in the first sentence and adding two subsections, as follows:

“(b) Notwithstanding the description set forth in subsection (a) of this section, if the Secretary should determine that the relocation of Highway 2 by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts makes it desirable to establish new boundaries in common with, contiguous or adjacent to the proposed right-of-way for that highway, he is authorized to relocate such boundaries accordingly, and shall give notice thereof by publication of a map or other suitable description in the Federal Register: Provided, That any net acreage increase by reason of the boundary revision and land exchanges with the Commonwealth shall not be included in calculations of acreage in regard to the limitation set forth in subsection (a) of this section, but shall be in addition thereto.

“(c) Any lands added to the Minute Man National Historical Park, pursuant to subsection (b) may be acquired only if such acquisition can be accomplished without cost for land acquisition and, when so acquired, shall be subject to all laws, rules, and regulations applicable thereto.”

Sec. 2. Section 6 of the Act of September 21, 1951 (73 Stat. 590), is amended by (1) deleting “\$8,000,000” and inserting “\$13,900,000” and (2) deleting “\$5,000,000” and inserting “\$10,900,000”.

Approved December 14, 1970.

APPENDIX F

MINUTE MAN 1992 AMENDMENT, PUBLIC LAW 102-488

PUBLIC LAW 102-488 – OCT. 24, 1992

An Act

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to revise the boundaries of the Minute Man National Historical Park in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Minute Man National Historical Park Amendments of 1991".

SEC. 2. AMENDMENTS TO MINUTE MAN PARK ACT.

The Act of September 21, 1959, entitled "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Minute Man National Historical Park in Massachusetts, and for other purposes" (Public Law 86-321; 73 Stat. 590; 16 U.S.C. 410s and following) is amended by striking so much of the first section as follows the first sentence thereof (including all of subsections (b) and (c)) and inserting the following: "The purposes of the park shall include the preservation and interpretation of (1) the historic landscape along the road between Lexington and Concord, (2) sites associated with the causes and consequences of the American Revolution, and (3) the Wayside on Lexington Road in Concord, the home of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bronson Alcott, Louisa May Alcott, and Margaret Sidney, whose works illustrate the nineteenth century American literary renaissance.

"(b) The park shall be comprised of the lands depicted on the map entitled 'Boundary Map NARO-406-20015C' dated June 1991".

(3) Section 2 is amended by inserting "(a)" after "Sec. 2." and by adding the following at the end thereof:

"(b) The Secretary of the Interior shall transfer, without reimbursement, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of Defense the two parcels currently administered by the Secretary of the Interior, as depicted on the map dated April 1990 and numbered NARO-406/80805. The Secretary of Defense shall transfer to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, without reimbursement, for inclusion in the Minute Man National Historical Park the 4 parcels now administered by the Secretary of Defense, as depicted on the maps dated April 1990 and numbered NARO-406/80804 and NARO-406/80805.

"(c) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, lands or interests in lands within the areas included within the boundaries of the park pursuant to amendments made by the Minute Man National Historical Park Amendments of 1991 (hereinafter referred to as '1991 additions'), except that—

"(1) lands, and interests in lands, within the 1991 additions which are owned by the State of Massachusetts or any political subdivision thereof, may be acquired only by donation, and

"(2) lands, and interests in lands, within the 1991 additions which are used for noncommercial residential purposes as of July 1, 1991, may be acquired only with the consent of the owner thereof unless the property is being developed, or is proposed to be developed, in a manner which the Secretary determines to be detrimental to the scenic, historical, cultural, and other values of the park.

Nothing in paragraph (2) shall be construed to prohibit the use of condemnation as a means of acquiring a clear and marketable title, free of any and all encumbrances for any lands within the 1991 additions. Not later than 6 months after the enactment of the Minute Man National Historical Park Amendments of 1991, and after notice and opportunity for public comment, the Secretary of the Interior shall publish specific guidelines for making determinations under paragraph (2). Such guidelines shall provide for (A) written notice to the Secretary prior to commencement of any proposed development on the lands referred to in paragraph (2), (B) written notice by the Secretary to the owner of such lands of any determination proposed to be made under paragraph (2), and (C) a reasonable opportunity for the owner to comment on such proposed determination.

"(d)(1) Any individual who owns private property acquired by the Secretary under subsection (c) may, on the date of such acquisition and as a condition of such acquisition, retain for himself and his successors or assigns, a right of use and occupancy of the property for a definite term of not more than 25 years from the date of acquisition by the Secretary or a term ending at the death of the owner or the owner's spouse, whichever is later. The owner shall elect the term to be reserved.

"(2) Unless the property is wholly or partially donated, the Secretary shall pay to the owner reserving a right of use and occupancy under this subsection the fair market value of the property on the date of its acquisition, less the fair market value on that date of the right retained by the owner.

"(3) For purposes of applying this subsection, ownership shall be determined as of July 1, 1991".

(4) At the end of section 6 insert "For fiscal years after fiscal year 1991, there is authorized to be appropriated an additional \$15,000,000 for development and an additional \$7,300,000 for acquisition of lands and interests in lands."

(5) Add the following new section at the end of such Act:

"SEC. 7. RESIDENTIAL OCCUPANCY.

"(a) Offer – In the case of each individual who –

"(1) sold residential property between 1966 and 1968 to the United States for purposes of the park, and

"(2) continues to occupy such residential property pursuant to a residential special use permit as of the enactment of this section,

the Secretary of the Interior shall offer to extend such residential special use permit for a term ending on the death of such individual or such individual's spouse, whichever is later.

"(b) Terms and Conditions. – Any residential special use permit extended pursuant to subsection (a) shall—

"(1) permit the reasonable residential use and occupancy of the property by the individual to whom such permit is granted and such individual's spouse; and

"(2) be subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe (including termination) to ensure that the permit does not unreasonably diminish the values of the the park.

The extension of any such residential special use permit shall be conditional upon the parent by the individual holding such permit of an annual fee in the same amount as required as of July 1, 1991.

"SEC. 8. Definition.

"As used in this Act, the term 'residential property' means a single-family dwelling, the construction of which began before July 1, 1991, together with such land on which the dwelling and appurtenant buildings are located as is in the same ownership as such dwelling and as the Secretary designates as reasonably necessary for the owner's continued use and occupancy of the dwellings."

Approved October 24, 1992.

APPENDIX G

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH TOWN OF CONCORD

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TOWN OF CONCORD MASSACHUSETTS, AND THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RELATING TO THE TOWN PROPERTY KNOWN AS THE BATTLE GROUND AREA

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this 6th day of June 1963, by and between the United States of America, acting in this behalf by Conrad L. Worth, Director of the National Park Service, party of the first part, and the Town of Concord, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, hereinafter referred to as the "Town," party of the second part,

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, the Minute Man Statue, Old North Bridge, and associated historic structures and objects, located in the Town on land bounded northerly by land now or formerly of Tanner, easterly by Monument Street, southerly by land of the Trustees of Reservations, and westerly by land now or formerly of Buttrick, hereinafter referred to as the "Battle Ground area," which reference shall include the parking lot adjacent thereto bounded northerly by Simmons Landing Lane and easterly by Great Meadows Road, are recognized as possessing national significance as associated with the American Revolution; and

WHEREAS, the Act of Congress approved September 21, 1959, (73 Stat. 590-591) has provided for the establishment of the Minute Man National Historical Park for the purpose of preserving for the benefit of the American people the above-named and other nationally important historic lands and structures in the Town associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the Town by vote of its Annual Town Meeting held March 11, 1963, has authorized the Selectmen and Town Manager to execute and deliver this agreement on behalf of the Town; and

WHEREAS, the United States in all matters hereinafter referred to will act through the National Park Service or such other body as may be legally substituted therefore; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of the Town to bring about the preservation of the said historic structures, objects, and grounds in the Battle Ground area as a national historical park that they may be devoted to public use and to the perpetuation of the greatest traditions of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of the United States to cooperate with the Town in preserving the integrity of the above-mentioned historic structures, objects, and area, and to interpret them to the American people as a great national heritage.

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of the foregoing and pursuant to the authority contained in the act of Congress approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), entitled "An Act to Provide for the Preservation of

Historic American Buildings, Objects, and Antiquities of National Significance, and for Other Purposes," and the act of Congress approved September 21, 1959 (73 Stat. 590-591), entitled "An Act to Provide for

the Establishment of the Minute Man National Park, and for Other Purposes," the said parties have covenanted and agreed, and by these presents do covenant and agree to and with each other and in consideration of the mutual promises herein expressed, as follows:

ARTICLE I. The Town will retain ownership of the said historic structures, objects, and grounds in the Battle Ground area but hereby agrees: (a) To permit the United States to occupy them exclusively, except as otherwise provided herein, during the term of this agreement for the purpose of preserving, exhibiting, and interpreting them to the American people and otherwise utilizing them for national historical park purposes.

(b) To permit the United States to have curatorial responsibility for the care and display of such exhibits of historical interest as may be available in the Battle Ground area for exhibit and interpretive purposes.

(c) To supply customary municipal services, including police and fire protection and water facilities without charge therefore.

ARTICLE II. The Director hereby agrees, on behalf of the United States:

(a) That he will occupy the grounds and associated structures for the purposes set forth in Article I of this agreement, and for no other purposes, and that he will not sublet or assign to another person or organization any part of the structures, objects, or grounds without prior approval in writing by the Town; that he will (as funds become available through appropriations by Congress) operate and maintain the structures, objects, and grounds and make all repairs thereto; remedy all defects in the structures and objects which may arise from any cause whatsoever, including ordinary wear and tear; and undertake such work of restoration or major alteration as may be mutually agreed upon under the provisions of Article III (b).

The director may apply such reasonable rules and regulations therein as may be necessary properly to perform his functions.

(b) That he will exercise reasonable care to prevent damage to, or destruction of, any part of the structures, objects, or grounds.

(c) That he will provide public access to the area at all reasonable times, and will provide the services of a competent person, or persons, to furnish information to the visiting public.

(d) That he will encourage and cooperate with the Town, Civic groups, and patriotic societies in the annual observance of Patriots' Day and other celebrations in which the area and its facilities may be appropriately used which have the approval of the Selectmen.

ARTICLE III. It is mutually understood and agreed:

(a) That nothing herein contained shall be construed as binding the United States to expend in any one fiscal year any sum in excess of appropriations made by Congress for that fiscal year, or to involve the United States in any contract or other obligation for the future expenditure of money in excess of such appropriations.

(b) That any work of restoration or any alterations or major repairs in the area shall not be undertaken until the plans for such work shall have been mutually agreed upon with the Selectmen.

(c) That neither of the parties to this agreement will erect or place, or permit the erection or emplacement of any monument, marker, tablet, or other memorial in the area without the written consent of the other. This section shall not be construed as prohibiting the placing of signs within the area for the information and direction of the public. The design and location of any signs within the area to indicate that it is occupied and operated by the National Park Service acting in cooperation with the Town, shall be subject to the approval of the Selectmen.

(d) That it is the purpose of both parties to this agreement to develop a unified, long-range program of preservation, development, protection, and interpretation for the area for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, and, to secure this result, a high degree of cooperation is necessary with each other, and the parties hereto pledge themselves to consult on all matters of importance to the program.

(e) That nothing herein contained shall be held to deprive the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or the Town of their civil and criminal jurisdiction in and over the said structures, objects, and grounds.

(f) That wherever in this agreement the Director is referred to, the term shall include his duly authorized representative or representatives.

(g) No member of or delegate to Congress or resident commissioner shall be admitted to any share or part of this agreement or to any benefit that may arise there from, but this restriction shall not be construed to extend to this agreement if made with a corporation or company for its general benefit.

(h) This agreement shall become effective upon its execution, but occupation, operation, and maintenance by the United States in accordance with Article II shall begin on July 1, 1963, or as soon thereafter as practicable. It shall continue in effect until such time as Congress enacts legislation inconsistent with its continuance or expressly providing for its termination, or until terminated by the Director, National Park Service, who shall give six months' notice to the Town of such intention, or if the Town at an annual or special town meeting, held after January 1, 1968, shall vote to terminate this agreement, it shall terminate not less than six months from the date on which such vote is taken by the town meeting.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have subscribed their names and affixed their seals (in quintuple) the day, month, and year aforesaid.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By /s/ Conrad L. Worth

TOWN OF CONCORD

By /s/ John B. Finigan, Chairman

Robert E. Sheehan

Herbert P. Wilkins

Frederick J. Robbins

Robert J. Rodday

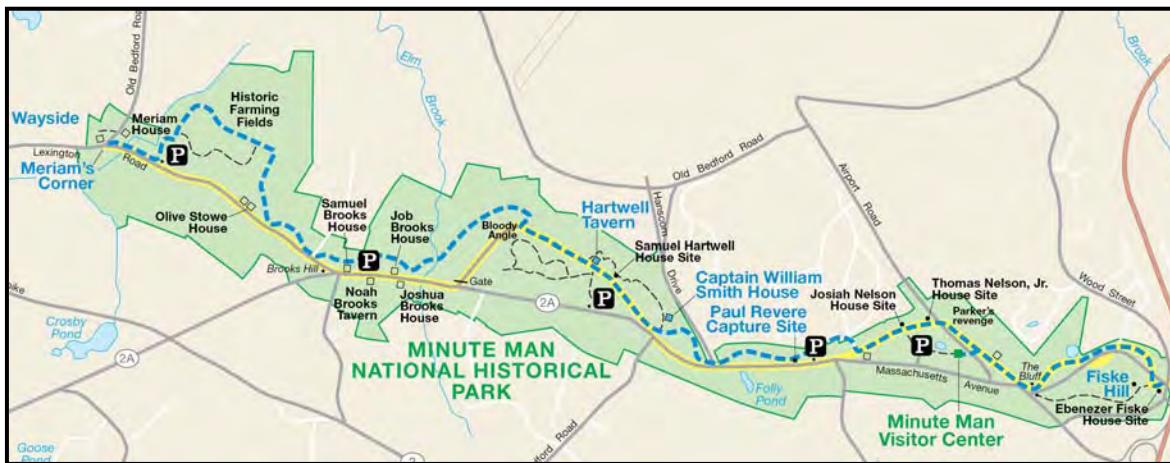
Board of Selectmen

Theodore M. Nelson

Town Manager

APPENDIX H

PARK MAP



COURTESY OF NPS.

APPENDIX I

MIMA SUPERINTENDENTS AND DATES OF SERVICE

Edwin Small 1960-1965
Benjamin Zerbey March 1965-1969
Robert Perkins (Unit Manager) 1969-1972
David Moffitt 1972-1976
Robert Nash May 1977-1989
Larry Gall December 1989-October 1993
Nancy Nelson January 1994-present

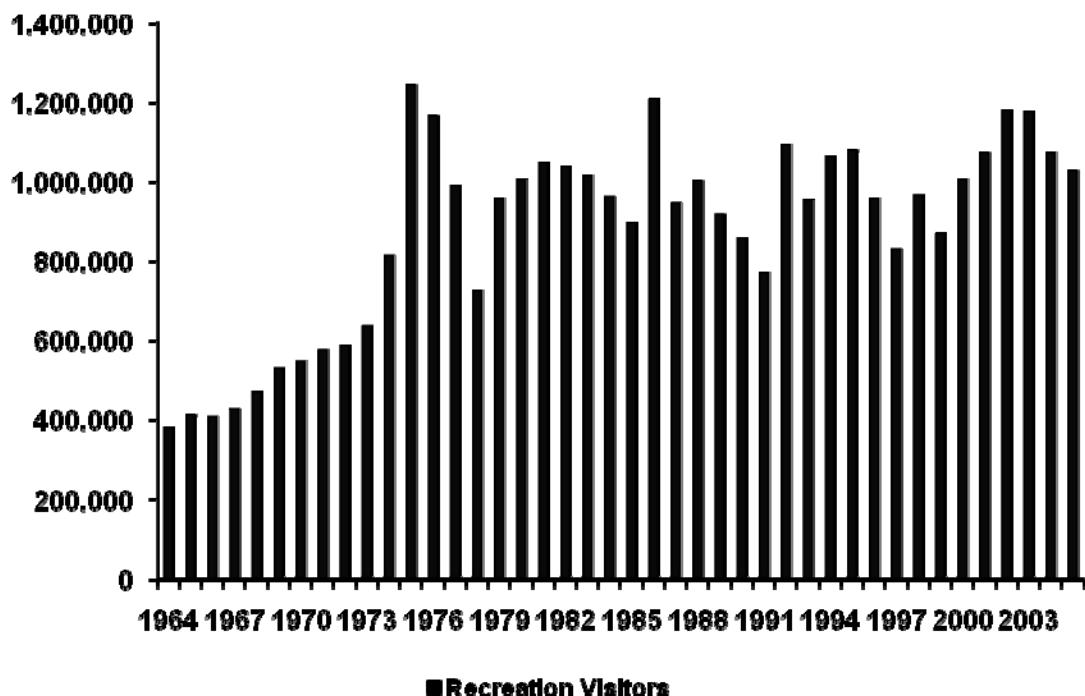
APPENDIX J

ANNUAL VISITATION NUMBERS

Recreation Visitors Only

1964	380,400	1985	895,775
1965	412,300	1986	1,208,554
1966	407,300	1987	945,530
1967	426,300	1988	1,001,990
1968	470,300	1989	916,595
1969	529,300	1990	857,156
1970	546,700	1991	769,746
1971	575,800	1992	1,091,964
1972	586,655	1993	953,630
1973	635,700	1994	1,062,161
1974	812,800	1995	1,078,632
1975	1,243,600	1996	955,938
1976	1,165,200	1997	828,902
1977	989,100	1998	965,253
1978	724,850	1999	869,884
1979	956,954	2000	1,004,195
1980	1,005,047	2001	1,072,979
1981	1,047,239	2002	1,179,317
1982	1,037,897	2003	1,176,283
1983	1,015,027	2004	1,072,149
1984	960,840	2005	1,027,033

<http://www2.nature.nps.gov/stats>



APPENDIX K

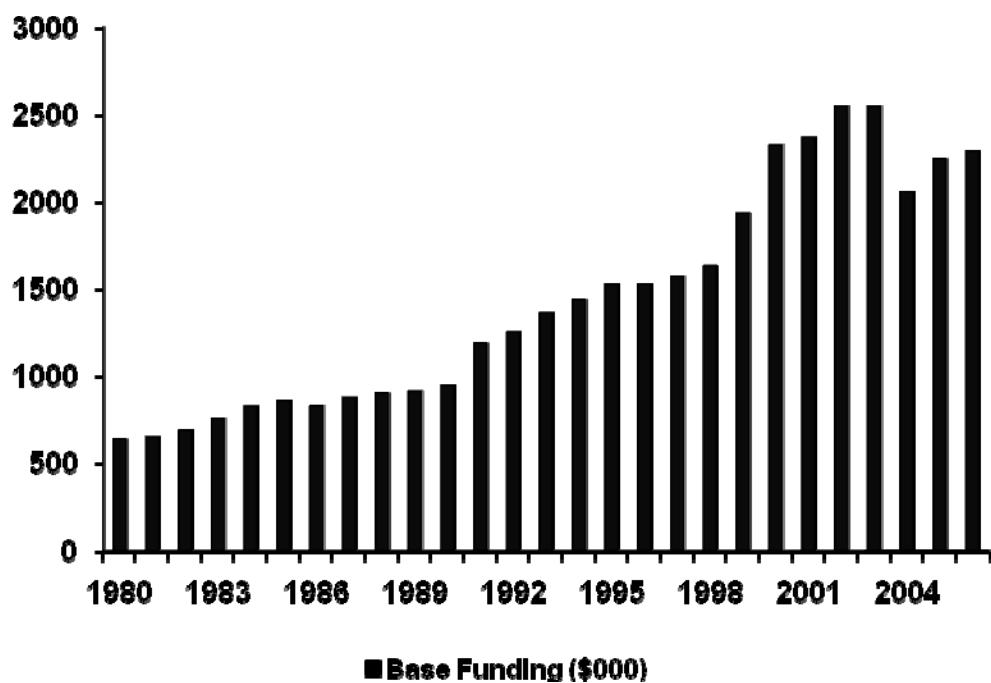
ANNUAL BUDGET

Base Funding (\$000)

1980	642	1994	1,439
1981	653	1995	1,527
1982	690	1996	1,529
1983	759	1997	1,573
1984	828	1998	1,632
1985	861	1999	1,934
1986	832	2000 ¹	2,324
1987	878	2001*	2,368
1988	904	2002*	2,548
1989	914	2003*	2,547
1990	948	2004	2,057
1991	1,190	2005	2,246
1992	1,253	2006	2,291
1993	1,364		

WASO Budget Formulation

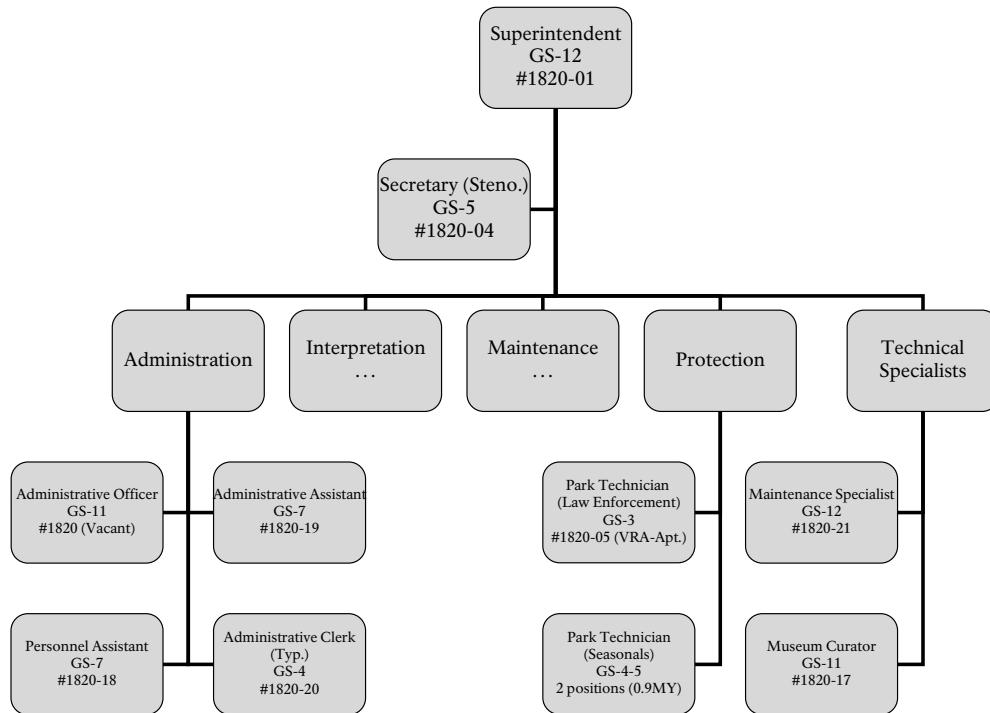
¹ FY2000 through FY2003 budgets include \$473,000 for Northeast Region archeology program, transferred out in FY2004.



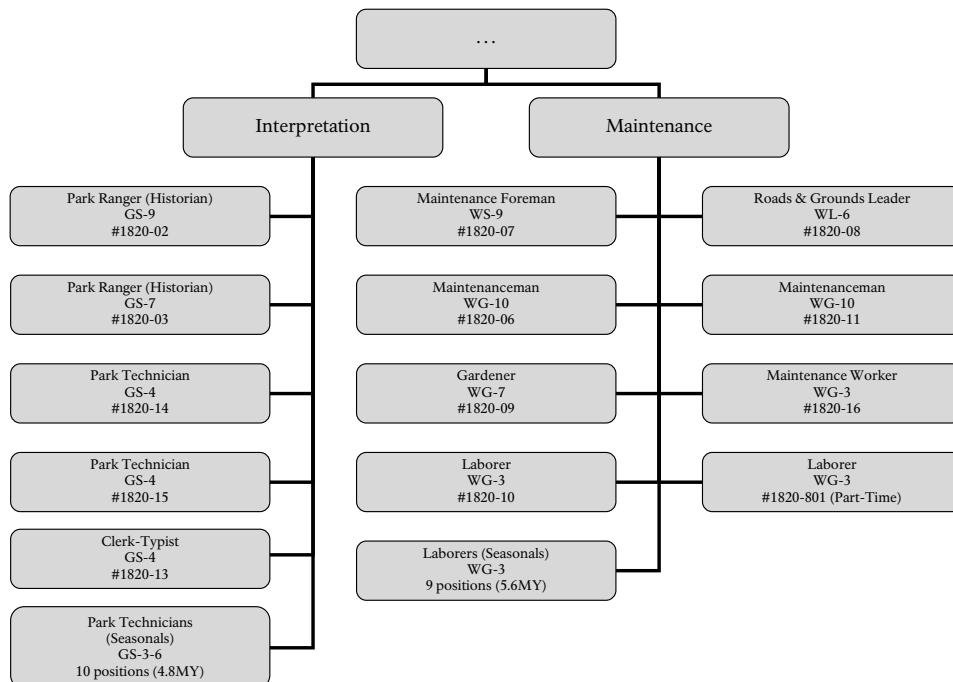
APPENDIX L

MIMA ORGANIZATIONAL CHARTS 1974, 1976, 1981, 1987, 1991, 1998, 2002

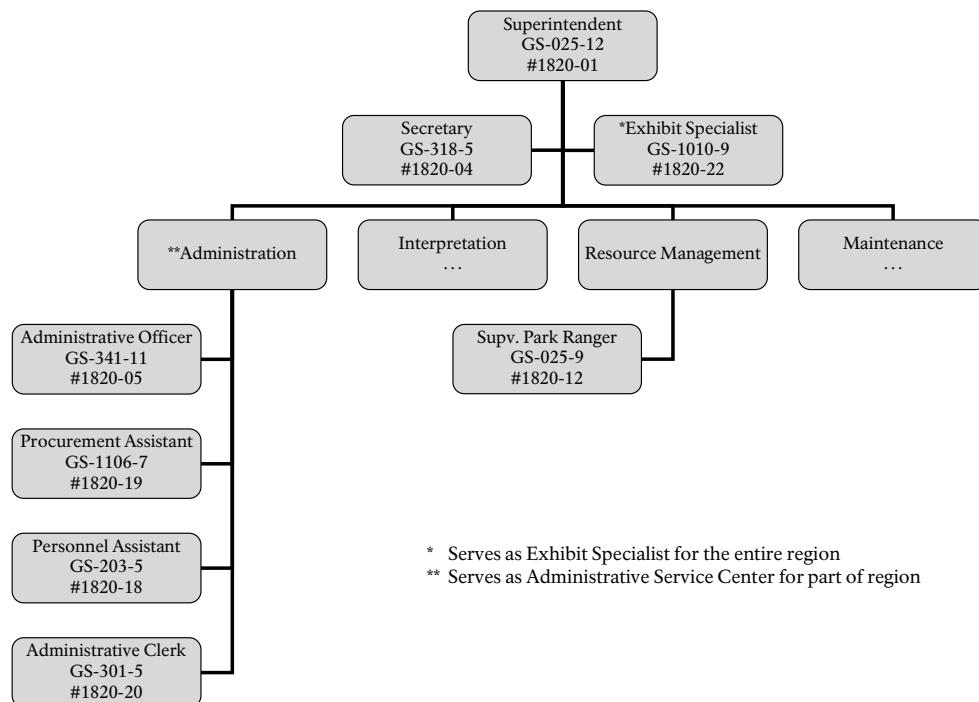
March 21, 1974



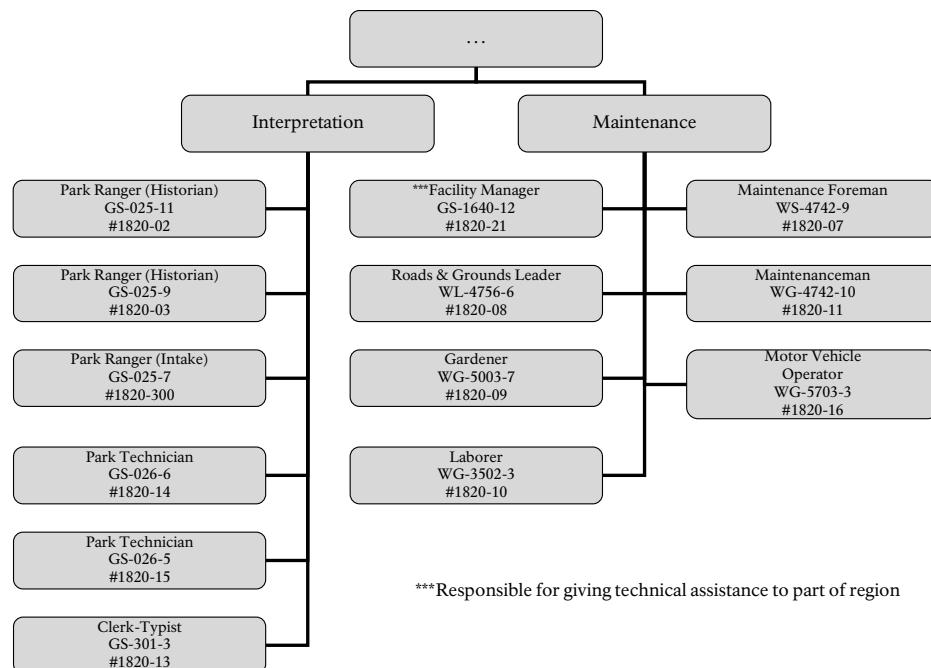
March 21, 1974 – Interpretation and Maintenance



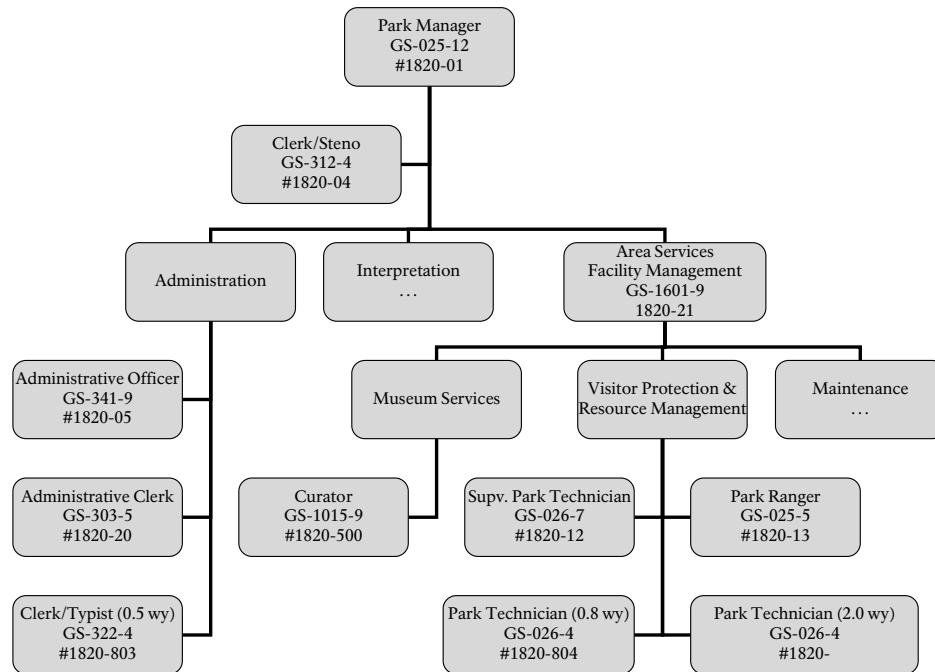
September 23, 1976



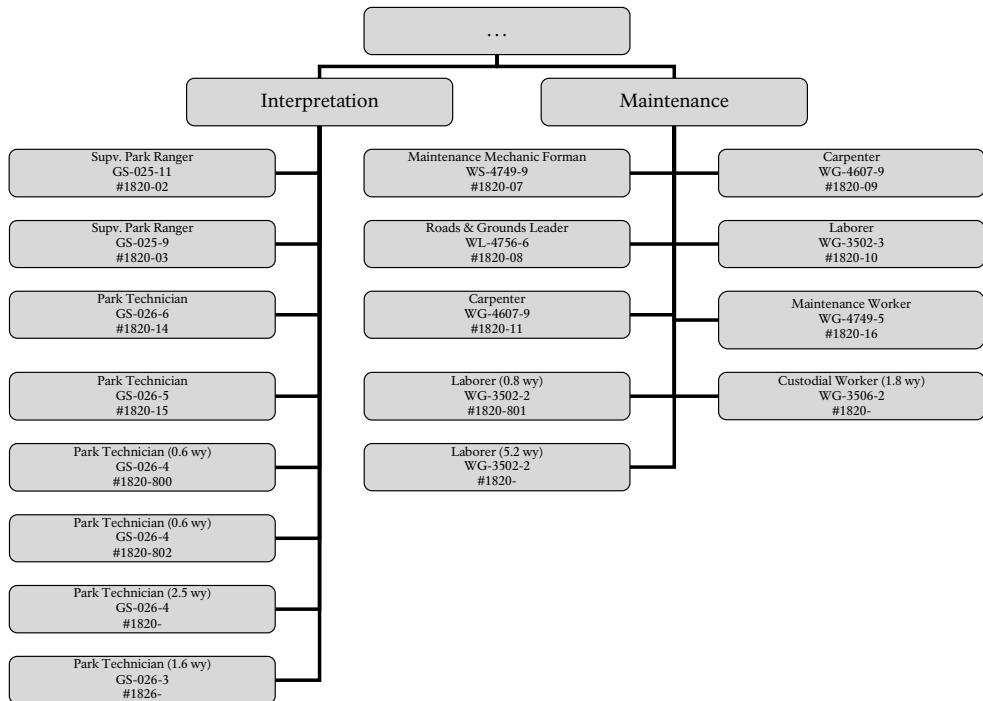
September 23, 1976 – Interpretation and Maintenance



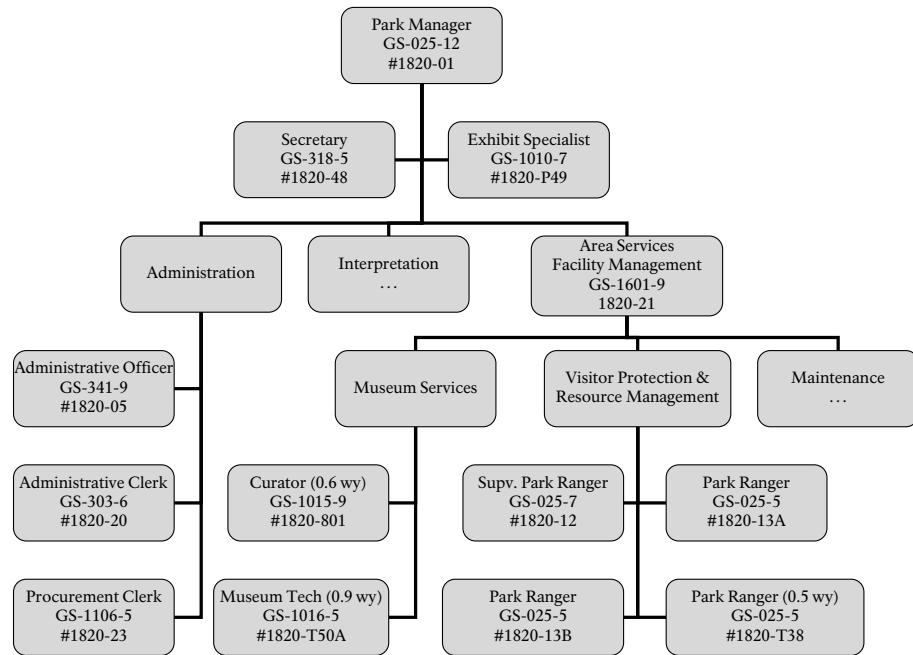
July 1, 1981



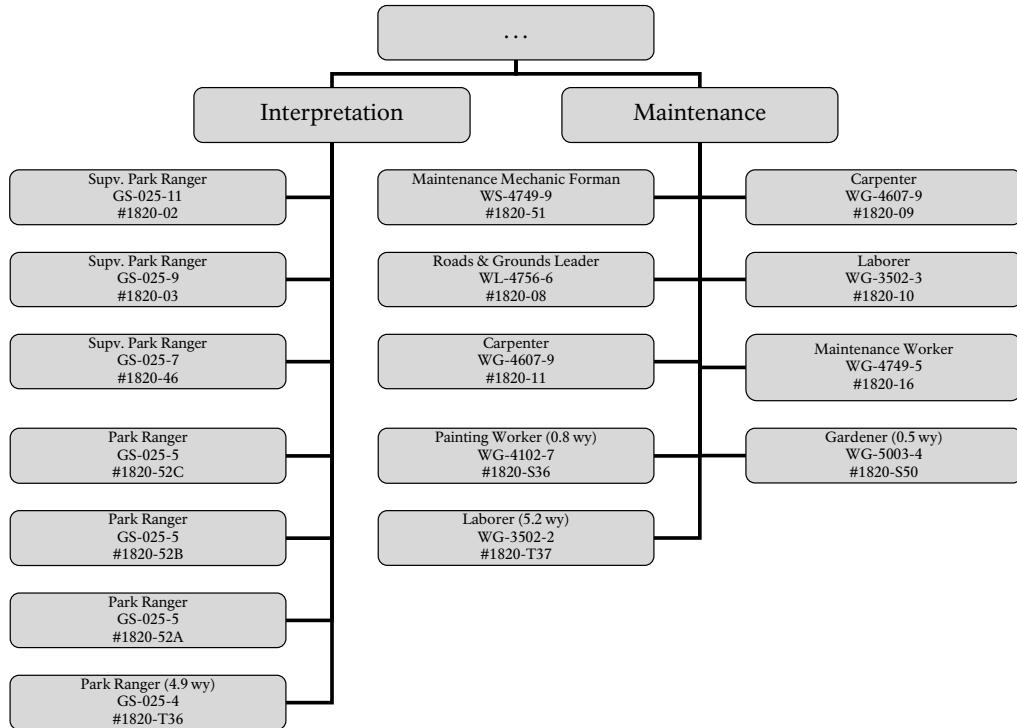
July 1, 1981 – Interpretation and Maintenance



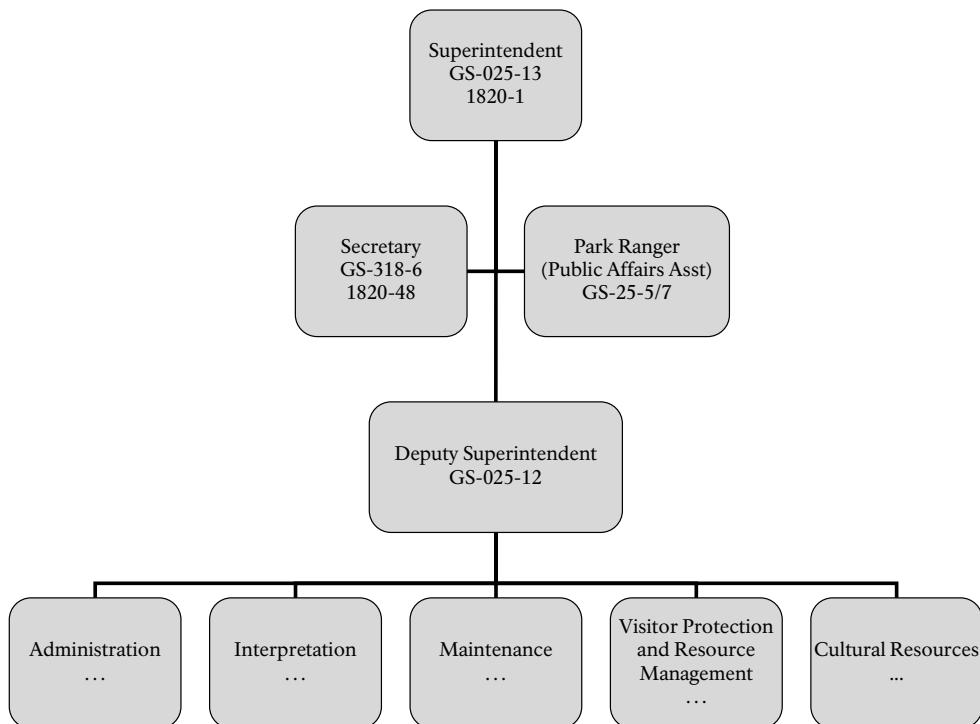
July 8, 1987



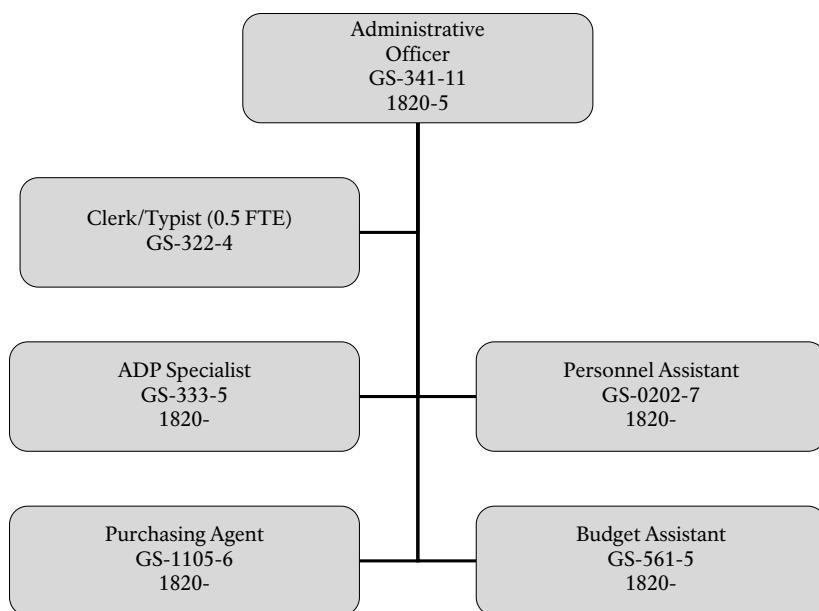
July 8, 1987 – Interpretation and Maintenance



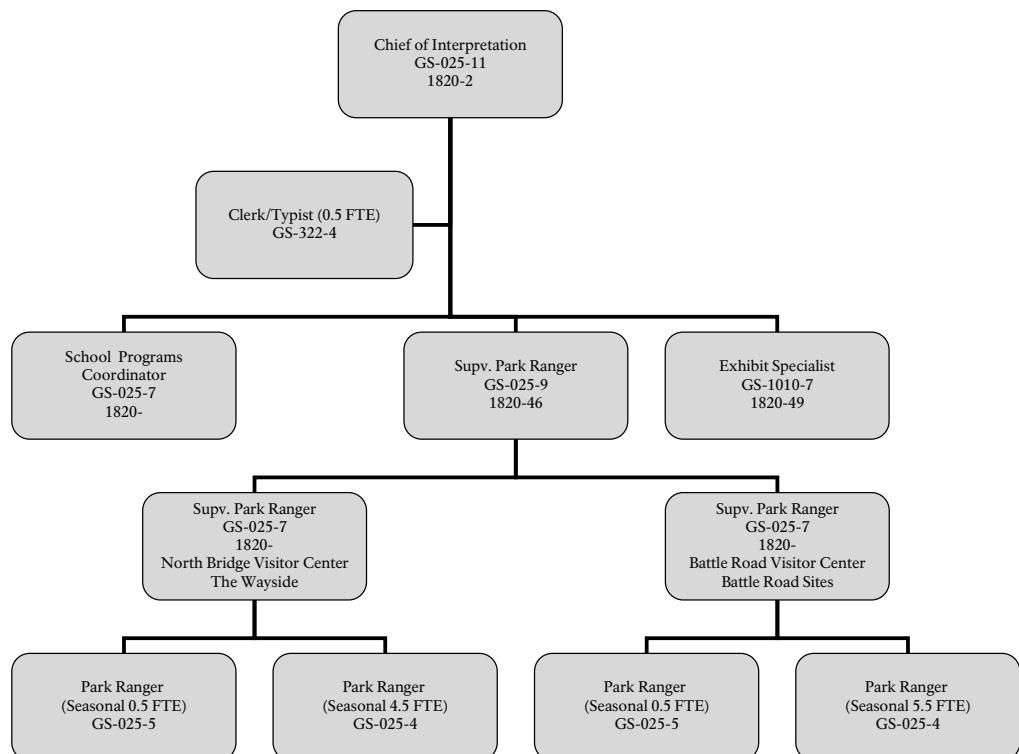
June 28, 1991



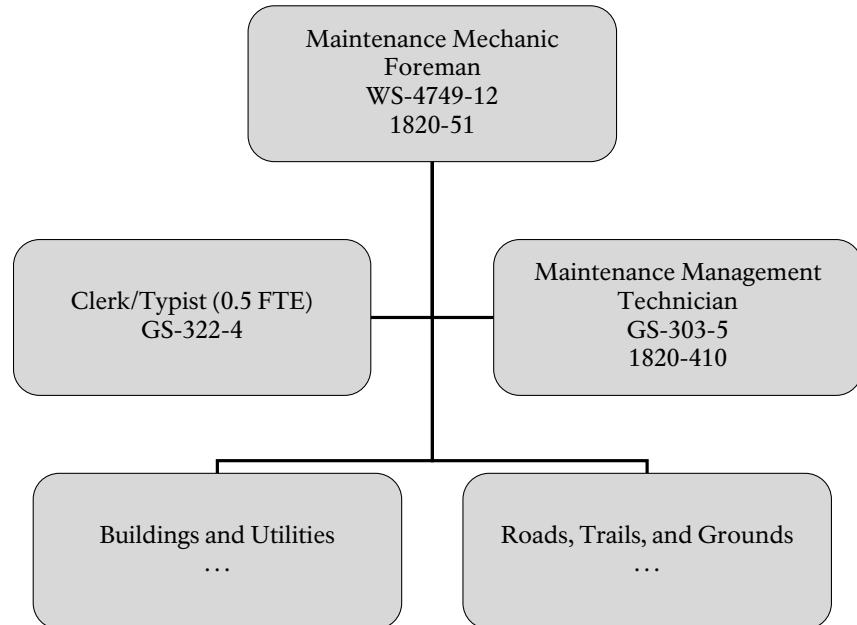
June 28, 1991 - Administration



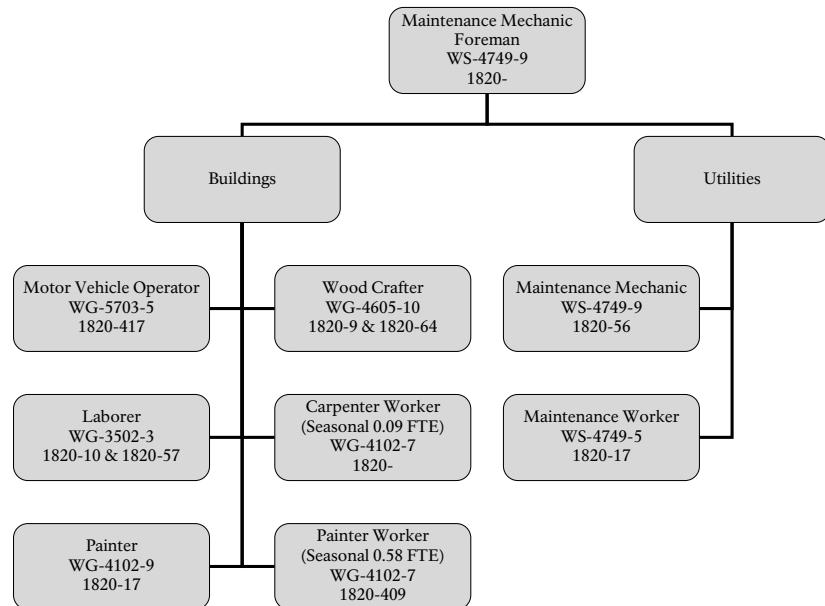
June 28, 1991 – Interpretation and Visitor Services



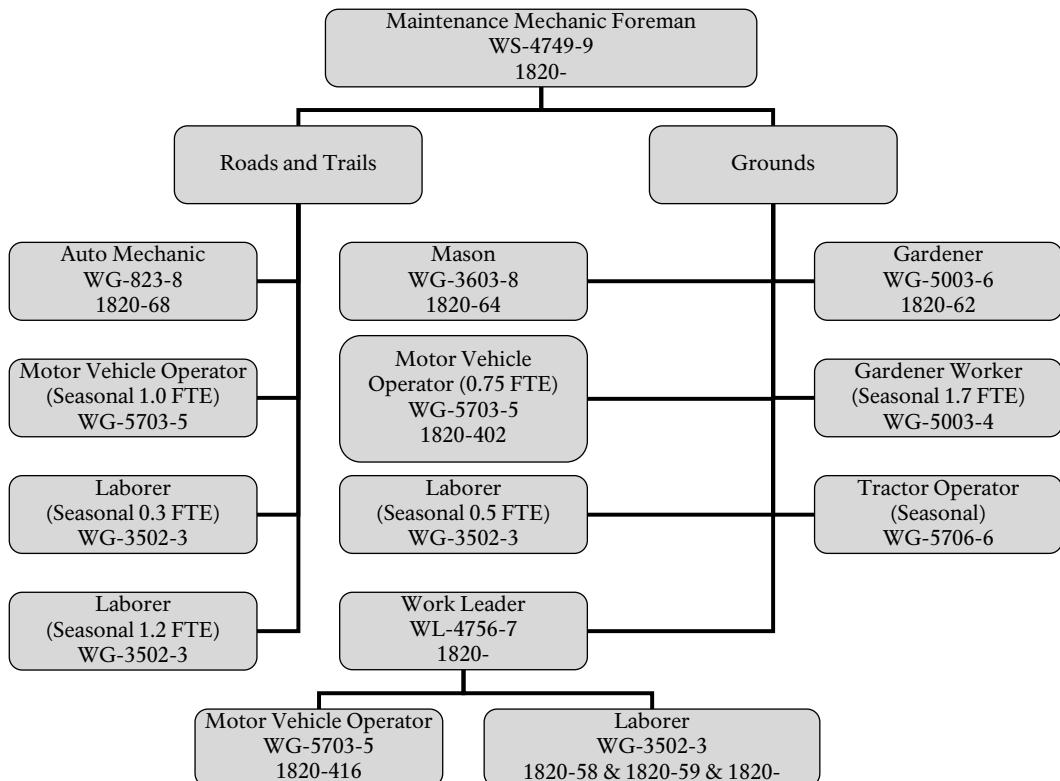
June 28, 1991 - Maintenance



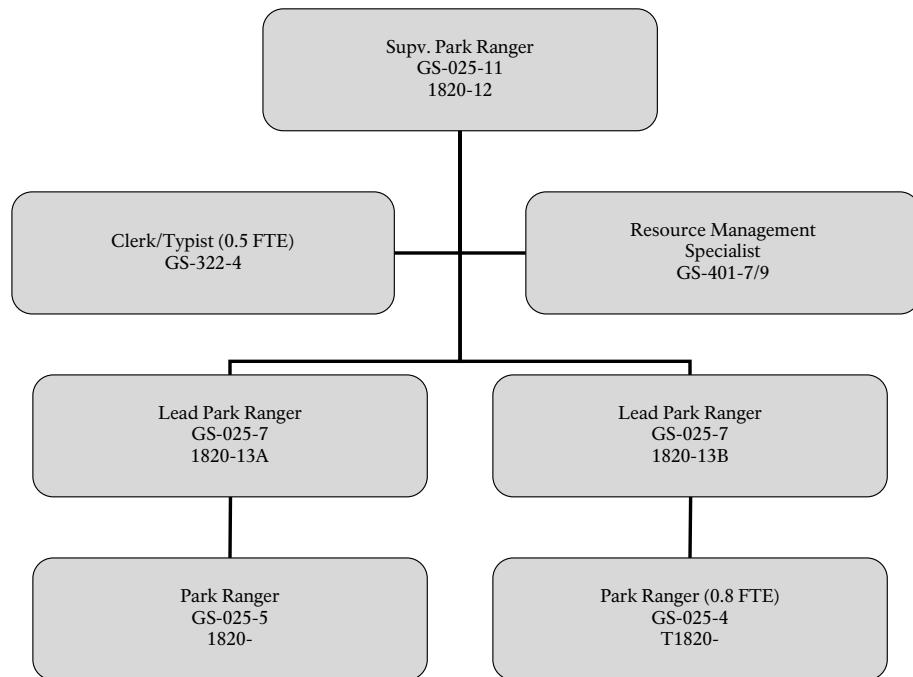
June 28, 1991 – Maintenance – Buildings and Utilities



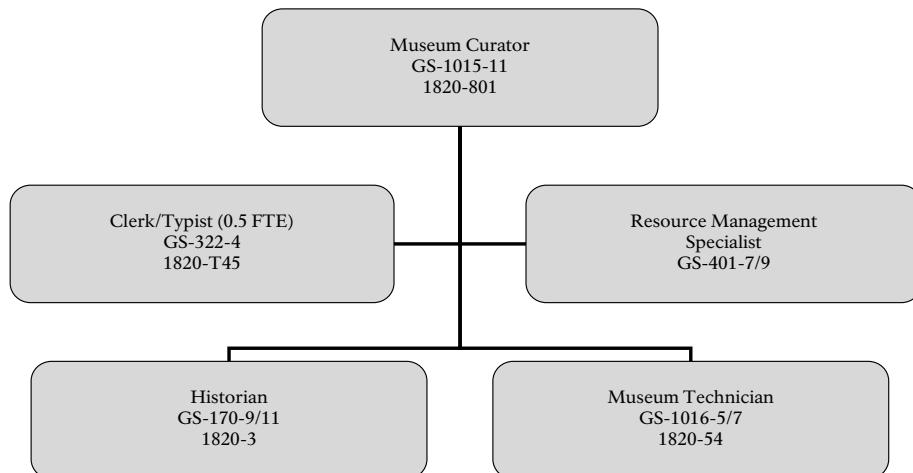
June 28, 1991 – Maintenance – Roads, Trails, and Grounds



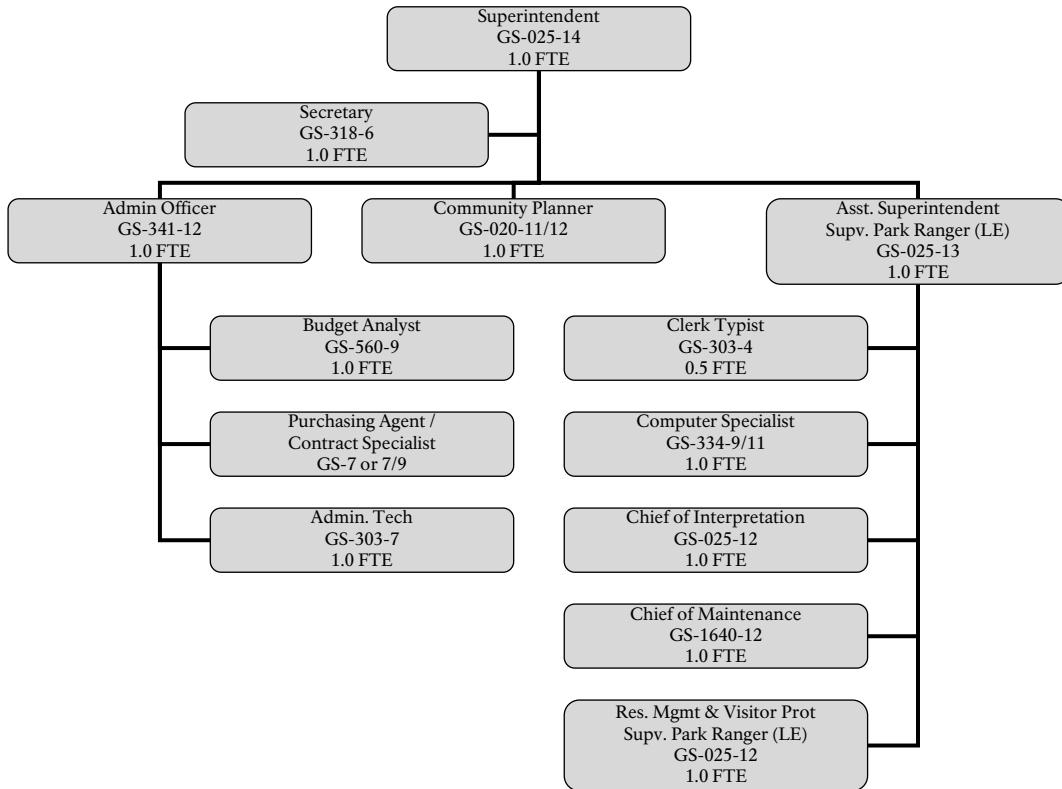
June 28, 1991 – Visitor Protection and Resource Management



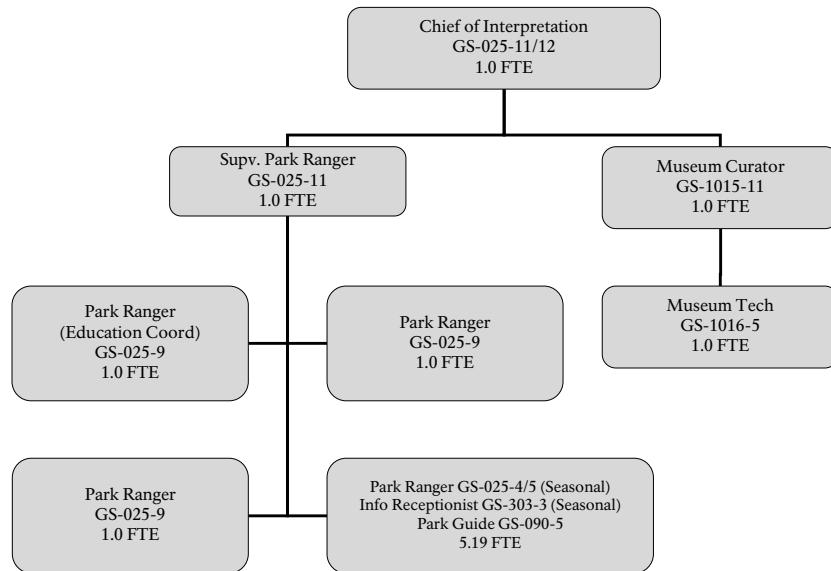
June 28, 1991 – Cultural Resources



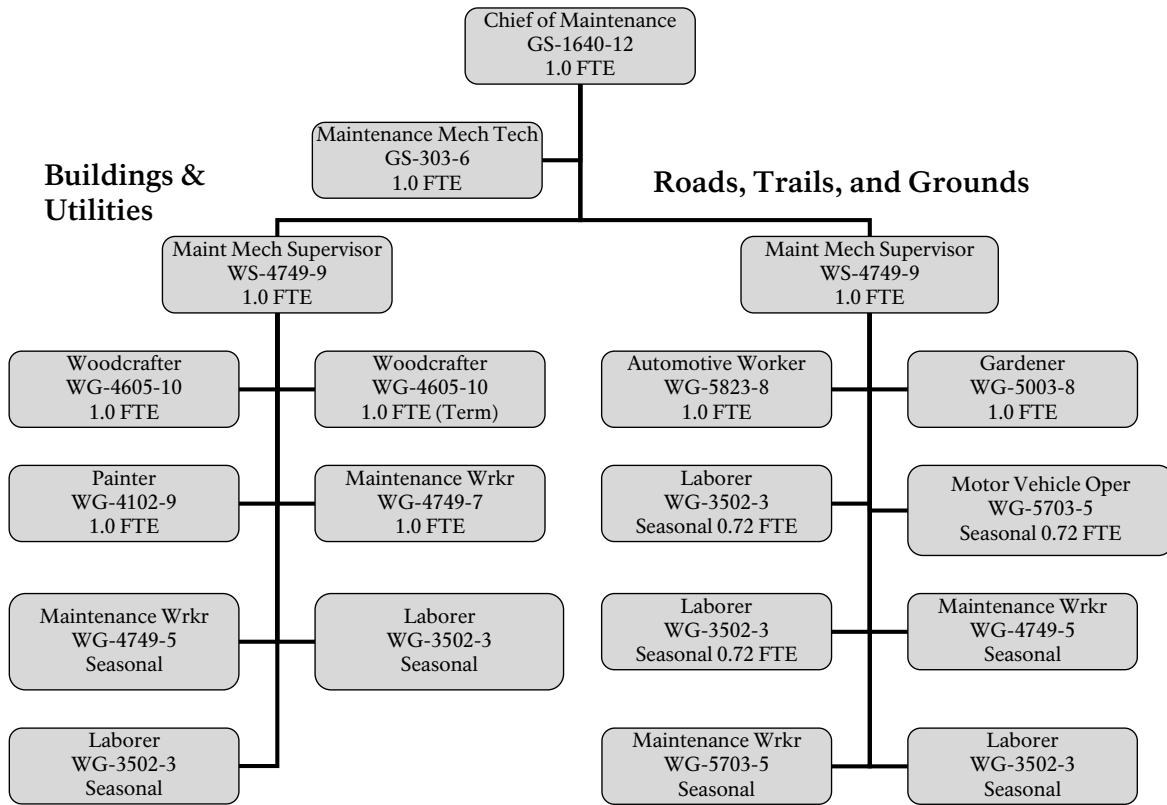
April 8, 1998



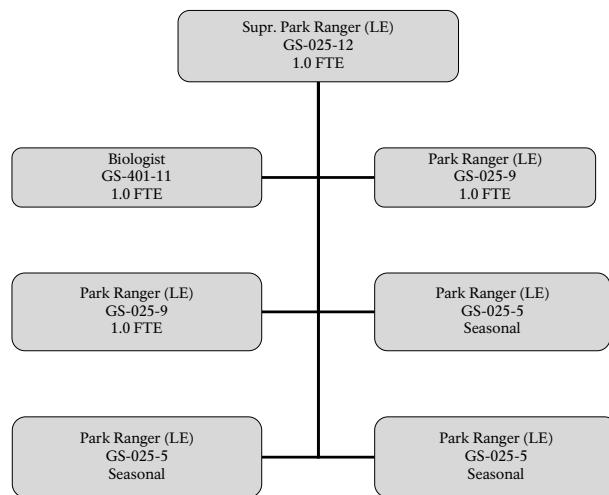
April 8, 1998 – Interpretation



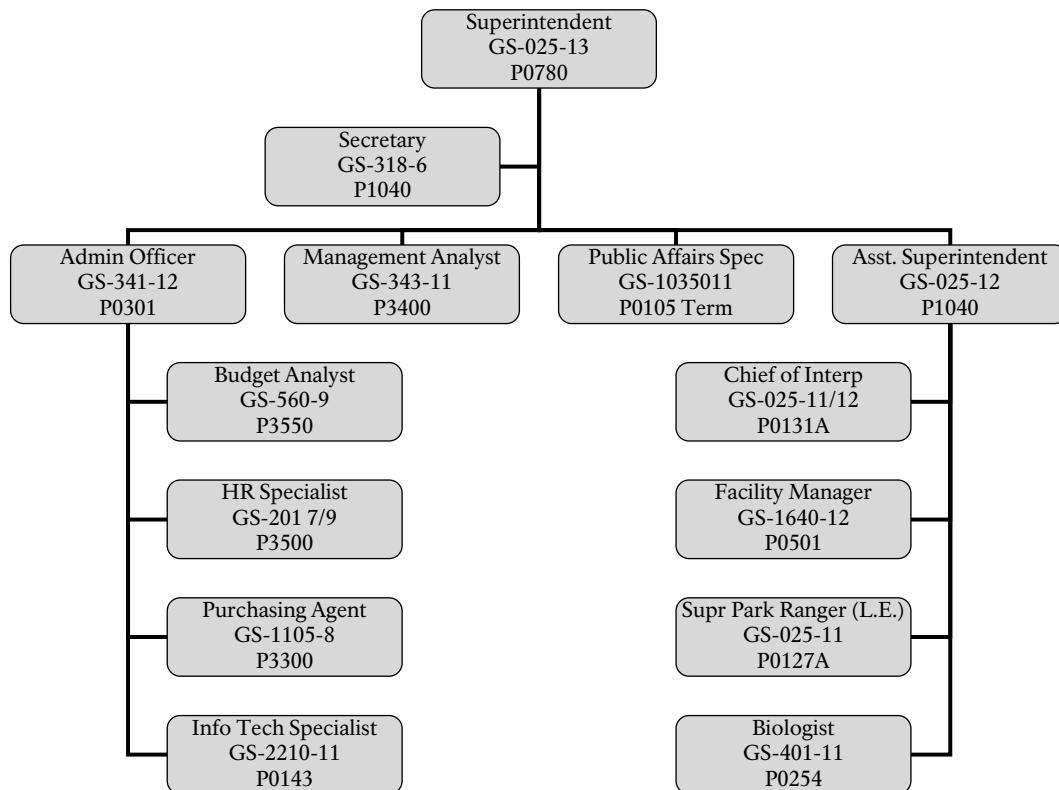
April 8, 1998 – Maintenance



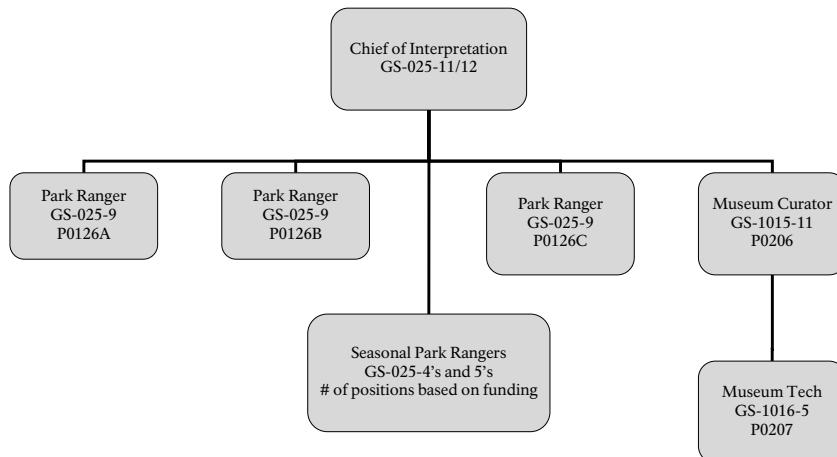
April 8, 1998 – Resource Management and Visitor Protection



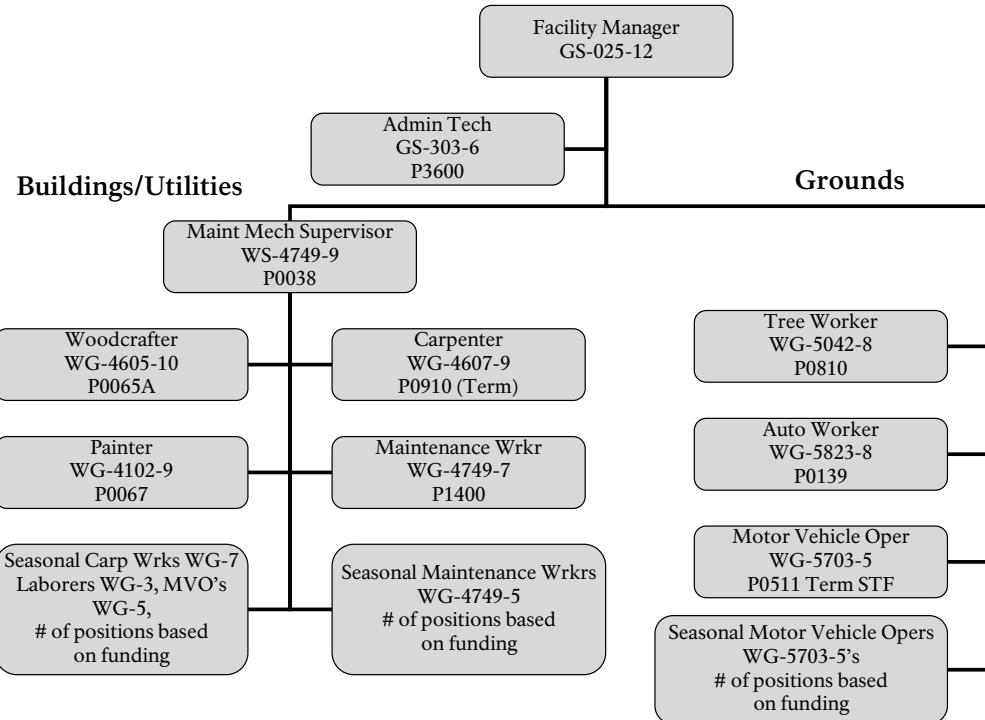
June 1, 2002



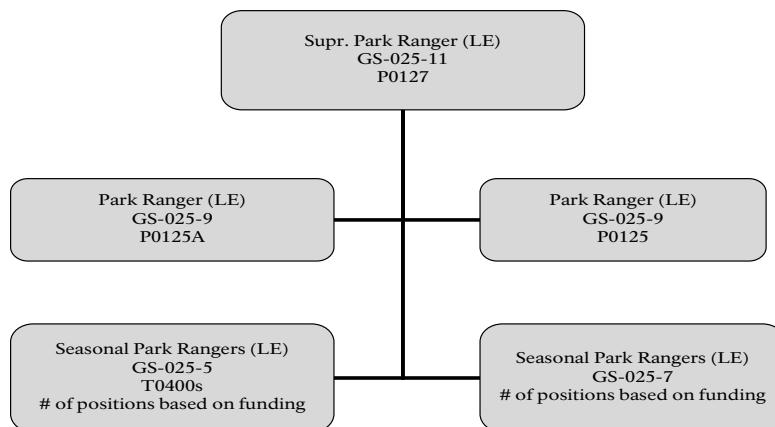
June 1, 2002 – Interpretation



June 1, 2002 – Maintenance



June 1, 2002 – Resource Management



APPENDIX M

FUNDED PROJECTS FY1997 TO FY2006

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: CRPP - Archeological Resources Inventory (SAIP)					
103076A	Conduct SAIP Archeological Overview and Assessment	2004	1820-0444-UCA	\$50,000.00	\$50,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$50,000.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Museum Collections Backlog Cataloging					
35823A	Catalog Archeology	2001	1820-2114-UOC	\$43,000.00	\$43,000.00
74463A	Catalog Archeology Backlog, Phase 1	2002	1820-0213-UOC	\$46,000.00	\$39,600.00
74463B	Catalog Archeology Backlog, Phase 2	2003	1820-0304-UOC	\$53,000.00	\$23,500.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$106,100.00
FUNDING SOURCE: CRPP - Cultural Resources Preservation Program Base					
12627A	002.0 STABILIZE ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES ON INTERPRETIVE TRAIL	1999	4525-0199-uca	\$30,000.00	\$30,000.00
12628A	Prepare Cultural Landscape Report for the Battle Road	2001	1820-2121-UCL	\$40,000.00	\$40,000.00
64158A	Prepare Cultural Landscape Report for the Battle Road, Phase 2	2002	1820-0215-UCL	\$35,000.00	\$35,000.00
70663A	Research and Write Park Administrative History	2004	1820-0411-UCH	\$60,000.00	\$65,300.00
72878A	Historic Structure Report for the Elisha Jones House and Shed (Update)	2006	1820-0607-UCH	\$38,115.00	\$35,000.00
91906A	Cultural Landscape Report, Volume 3	2003	1820-0315-UCL	\$35,000.00	\$34,000.00
100248A	MIMA Historic Structure Survey for Future Treatment & Use (Phase I)	2004	1820-0412-UCS	\$25,000.00	\$24,500.00
100248B	MIMA Historic Structure Survey for Future Treatment & Use (Phase II)	2005	1820-0505-UCS	\$20,000.00	\$12,600.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$276,400.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Cooperative Conservation Initiative - Natural Resource Projects					
90146A	Delineate Wetlands, Evaluate Alternatives and Develop Restoration Plan	2004	1820-0420-SCH	\$43,050.00	\$43,050.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$43,050.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: Cultural Cyclic Maintenance					
11791A	Rehabilitate Stone Walls : South of Route 2A	2003	1820-2231-CMZ FY 02 \$120,432.73; fy 03 \$14280.00	\$150,000.00	\$284,712.73
14663A	PROVIDE CONSERVATION TREATMENT FOR MONUMENTS	1999		\$12,070.00	\$0.00
14669A	Preserve Historic Stone Walls: North of Route 2A	2005	1820-2527-CMS	\$305,000.00	\$100,000.00
63660A	Replace Fire Boxes with Required Radio Controlled System	2004	1820-2431-CMY	\$30,000.00	\$27,500.00
106087A	Repaint Job Brooks House	2006	1820-2625-CMC	\$30,000.00	\$30,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$442,212.73
FUNDING SOURCE: Environmental Management Program - Clean up of Contaminated Sites					
40863A	Close Out two Hazardous/Solid Waste Dump Site	1999	1820-1009-MHM	\$30,000.00	\$35,000.00
44556A	Complete Closeout of Folly Pond	1999		\$5,000.00	\$10,000.00
100615A	Removal And Disposal Of Asbestos Transite Panels	2004	1820-1004-MHM	\$1,500.00	\$1,500.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$46,500.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Equipment Replacement - Construction Equipment/Vehicles/Other Equipment					
89216A	Replace 1997 Ford Crown Victoria Patrol Vehicle	2004	4501-417	\$22,000.00	\$25,000.00
94077A	Replace 1996 LE 4X4 Jeep Cherokee (I-169293)	2006	1820-MIM1-417	\$35,000.00	\$35,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$60,000.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Equipment Replacement - Telephones					
73664A	Upgrade Phone System To Accommodate All Park Buildings And Staff	2003	4501-417	\$65,000.00	\$56,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$56,000.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: Equipment Replacement - Radios - Narrowband					
49958C	Rehab and Upgrade Radio System to Narrowband Digital - WASO Share	2004	1820-NBRA-413	\$89,562.00	\$89,562.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$89,562.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Emergency Storm and Flood Damage					
99895A	Emergency Storm Damage Repair	2003	1820-FY03-405	\$19,500.00	\$19,500.00
114767B	Remove falling trees	2005	1820-2004-515	\$4,000.00	\$4,051.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$23,551.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Recreational Fee Demonstration, 20%					
29548A	Upgrade/Expand North Bridge Comfort Station, Connect to Town Sewer	1998	1820-2000-M2B	\$51,687.00	\$166,000.00
29548B	Rehabilitation of the North Bridge Comfort Station	2004		\$114,313.00	\$114,313.00
48007A	Rehabilitate Critical Landscape	2001	1820-2000-M2G	\$10,075.00	\$10,075.00
49958A	Rehabilitate and Upgrade Radio System to Narrowband Digit-Non WASO Share	2004	1820-NBRA-M2U	\$128,883.00	\$128,883.00
54680A	Inventory Threatened Revolutionary War Sites in the Northeast Region	1999	1820-2001-C2H	\$20,000.00	\$20,000.00
81526A	Restore Cultural Landscape Through Sheep Grazing	2006	1820-MIMAC2L	\$40,400.00	\$40,400.00
81526B	Study to Manage Invasive Plants through Sheep Grazing	2006	1820-MIMA-N2P	\$41,100.00	\$41,100.00
89066A	Historic Structure Report (HSR) for Jacob Whitemore House	2004		\$33,000.00	\$33,000.00
89066B	Rehabilitate Whitemore House	2004		\$239,000.00	\$239,000.00
89066C	Develop Interpretive Plan to utilize Whitemore House as Educational Center	2004		\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00
89551A	Preserve 18th century stone walls; Rehabilitate 18th century fields	2002	1820-2002-M2L	\$18,000.00	\$18,000.00
105884A	Repair Minute Man Visitor Center HVAC System	1998	1820-9801-M2B	\$80,156.00	\$80,156.00
105884B	Repair deficiencies in HVAC system	2005	1820-9801-M2B	\$14,844.00	\$14,844.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$910,771.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: Recreational Fee Demonstration, 80%					
29860A	Fee Interpretation	1998	1820-0303-V8Z	\$68,000.00	\$68,000.00
53849A	FY 2000 - Cost of Collection	2000	1820-2000-V8F	\$15,980.52	\$15,980.00
53869A	FY 2001 Cost of Collection - Operations	2001	1820-2001-V8F	\$8,370.00	\$8,370.00
66420A	Fee Interpretation	2001	1820-0202-V8Z	\$13,290.00	\$13,290.00
77787A	FY2002 Cost of Collection - Operations	2002	1820-0202-V8F	\$8,370.00	\$8,370.00
88137A	FY2003 Cost of Collection - Operations	2003	1820-0301-V8F	\$8,370.00	\$8,370.00
96455A	FY2004 Cost of Collection - Operations	2004	1820-0401-V8F	\$9,570.00	\$9,570.00
96456A	FY2005 Cost Recovery - Expand Interpretive Programs at The Wayside	2005	1820-0303-I8F	\$9,360.00	\$9,360.00
96456B	FY2006 Cost Recovery - Expand Interpretive Programs at The Wayside	2006	1820-0303-I8F	\$9,612.00	\$9,612.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$150,922.00
FUNDING SOURCE: FLHP Category III - Alternative Transportation Program					
87345A	Conduct GMP Alternative Transportation Study at Minute Man NHP	2004	1820-P002-579	\$173,353.13	\$125,000.00
89883A	Corridor Management Plan	2004	1820-P003-579	\$210,600.00	\$175,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$300,000.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Environmental Management Program - Fuel Storage Management					
44551A	SPCC Plan - Minute Man	1999	1820-4009-mhm	\$15,000.00	\$5,000.00
90733A	Provide adequate secondary containment for fuel storage tanks in 3 park buildings	2003	1820-4003-MHM	\$4,472.50	\$4,472.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$9,472.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Line Item Construction					
29906A	Save Historic Resources And Provide Safe Access To The North Bridge	2004	1820-7100-473,1820-7100-477	\$1,037,411.16	\$1,348,000.00
37023A	Rehabilitate Unsafe Historic Residences- Landscape Phase	2001		\$803,001.70	\$1,619,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$2,967,000.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: Museum Collections Preservation and Protection					
20907A	Design/Install Fire Suppression at Job Brooks	1999	4525-0099-coc	\$35,000.00	\$35,000.00
38254A	Purchase Museum Collection Storage Equipment	1998	4525-0118-COC	\$20,000.00	\$27,000.00
38256A	001.0 INSTALL FIRE SUPPRESSION/DETECTION SYSTEMS IN WAYSIDE	2000	4525-0178-COC	\$50,000.00	\$86,000.00
64137A	Design Fire Suppression System for Squash Court	2002	1820-0219-COC	\$9,000.00	\$9,000.00
64137B	Install Fire Suppression System in Squash Court Museum Collection Storage Facility	2003	1820-0301-COC	\$70,000.00	\$81,000.00
64784A	Purchase Dataloggers to Monitor the Collection	2001	1820-2122-COC	\$10,000.00	\$10,000.00
90920A	Update Collection Management Plan	2003	1820-0330-COC	\$25,000.00	\$9,600.00
93854A	Purchase Cabinets and Shelving Units for Museum Collection	2004	1820-0426-COC	\$15,053.00	\$13,600.00
101221A	Upgrade Wayside Electrical System to Support Air Conditioning/Dehumidifying Equipment	2004	1820-0408-COC	\$8,000.00	\$14,500.00
110671A	Purchase Data Loggers to Monitor Conditions in Museum Collection Storage Facilities	2005	1820-0529-COC	\$1,800.00	\$1,800.00
110837A	Purchase Additional Museum Collection Storage Cabinets and Shelving Units	2005	1820-0526-COC	\$7,300.00	\$7,300.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$294,800.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: ONPS - Operations of the National Park System					
66434A	Reupholster Theater Chairs & Replace Theatre Carpet at Minute Man Visitor Center	2001	1820-CXZ	\$18,425.00	\$18,425.00
94131A	Replace 1993 LE 4X4 Jeep Cherokee (I-162093)	2003		\$35,000.00	\$30,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$48,425.00
FUNDING SOURCE: National Parks Pass, 70%					
89170A	Purchase Folding Chairs for Public Special Events	2003	1820-2003-I7Z	\$2,400.00	\$2,400.00
89180A	National Park Pass 70% FY03 - Repair Auditorium Sound for Public Programs	2003		\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
105548A	Support Living History Public Programs -- Clothing and Equipment	2005	1820-2005-I7F	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$9,400.00
FUNDING SOURCE: Regular Cyclic Maintenance					
20695A	Park Wide Core/Key/Lock Replacement	2004	1820-2423-MCB	\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00
109247A	Emergency Hazard Tree Removal	2004	1820-2456-MAG	\$3,700.00	\$3,700.00
109542C	Contract to inspect and correct groundwater drainage problems.	2004	1820-2459-MCB	\$6,000.00	\$6,000.00
109726A	Emergency Boiler Replacement at Hartwell Tavern	2005	1820-2468-MCU	\$10,000.00	\$10,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					\$34,700.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
FUNDING SOURCE: Repair / Rehabilitation					
11789A	Rehabilitate the Wayside House Cultural Landscape	2003	1820-2317-MAL	\$37,000.00	\$37,000.00
11789B	Component Created by Splitting component 11789A: Rehabilitate the Wayside House Cultural Landscape	2005	1820-2512-MRL	\$30,000.00	\$30,000.00
11789C	Component Created by Splitting component 11789B: Component Created by Splitting component 11789A: Re	2006	1820-2520-MAL	\$88,000.00	\$88,000.00
11790A	Replace Failed Cesspool At CRC And Maintenance Barn	2000	1820-2030-MRS	\$64,064.00	\$0.00
13633A	Replace North Bridge Visitor Center Septic System	2000	1820-0469-MRS	\$147,840.00	\$0.00
13634A	Rehabilitate John Buttrick House	2005	1820-2544-MRB	\$191,300.00	\$191,300.00
13634B	planning & design	2004	1820-2438-MAB	\$30,400.00	\$12,400.00
13634D	Rehabilitate John Buttrick House	2006	1820-2544-MAB	\$10,000.00	\$19,000.00
13641A	Repair & Rehabilitate the Olive Stow House	2002	1820-2254-MAB	\$94,716.00	\$92,100.00
13641B	Emergent Repairs	2004	1820-A254-MAB	\$294,594.00	\$231,000.00
13641C	Restore Olive Stowe House exterior	2006	1820-2254-MAB	\$45,000.00	\$45,000.00
46339A	Replace Northbridge Visitor Center Septic System	2000		\$70,000.00	\$0.00
46372A	Rehab The Daniel Taylor House	2002	1820-2237-MAB	\$225,000.00	\$280,000.00
46372B	Additional structural repairs	2004	1820-2237-MAB	\$40,000.00	\$36,281.00
62021A	Rehabilitate the Farwell Jones Barn	2005	1820-2518-MRB	\$175,000.00	\$194,000.00
62021B	Rehabilitate Farwell Jones Barn - Historic Structure Report for House and Barn	2004	1820-2323-MAB	\$43,000.00	\$84,016.00
62021C	Rehabilitate Farwell Jones (Carty) Barn	2006	1820-2518-MAB	\$10,000.00	\$15,000.00
62021D	Additional Structural Repairs	2006	1820-2646-MAB	\$52,024.00	\$52,021.00
77903A	Replace Failing Sewer System - John Nelson House	2002	1820-2261-mau	\$56,000.00	\$56,000.00

Date: 08/08/2006

Park Unit: MIMA

Region: NE

Funded Year: 1997 - 2006

Total Funding Request Amount Returned By Your Search: \$6,923,499.01

Total Number of Funded Components Returned By Your Search: 107

FUNDING COMPONENTS FY 1997 - 2006					
Component ID	Component Title	Funded FY	Account Numbers	Funding Request	Funded Amount
89941A	Treat and stabilize large oak tree in high visitor use area	2002	1820-2269-MAG	\$4,400.00	\$5,000.00
99779A	Emergency Ceiling Repair	2003	1820-2261-mau	\$12,607.00	\$10,000.00
117765A	Whittemore House: Rehabilitate Lean-to, Design	2005	1820-2584-MRB	\$12,000.00	\$12,000.00
117765B	Construction	2005	1820-2584-MRB	\$137,000.00	\$161,000.00
117765D	Complete Archeological Investigations	2006	1820-2634-MAG	\$60,000.00	\$60,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					
FUNDING SOURCE: CRPP - Historic Structures Stabilization					
13635A	STABILIZE ELISHA JONES HOMESTEAD	2001	1820-2152-UCS 1820-2061-UCS	\$21,000.00	\$67,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					
FUNDING SOURCE: Volunteers in Parks					
72423A	Volunteer In Parks - VIP - 2002	2002	1820-4600-SVC	\$6,000.00	\$5,000.00
84155A	Support Volunteer In Parks Program	2003	1820-4600-SVC	\$6,500.00	\$4,775.00
84155B	Support Volunteer In Parks Program	2004	1820-4600-SVC	\$6,900.00	\$5,518.00
110042A	Volunteer In Parks - VIP - 2005	2005	1820-5600-SVC	\$7,250.00	\$5,040.00
114153A	Volunteer In Parks - VIP - 2006	2006	1820-6600-SVC	\$7,350.00	\$4,230.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					
FUNDING SOURCE: Youth Conservation Corps					
89740A	YCC	2002	1820-0206-MTN	\$24,060.00	\$24,060.00
98234A	YCC 03 Project Ground Force invasive plant survey and identification & stone wall restoration	2003	1820-0306-MTN	\$57,800.00	\$50,000.00
SUB TOTAL FUNDED AMOUNT					
\$74,060.00					

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

National Park Service (NPS) Repositories

Minute Man National Historical Park (MIMA)

MIMA Current Park Administrative Records are working files centrally located in a filing room. These records contain memoranda, correspondence, reports, planning documents, and news clippings.

MIMA Lands Files, kept locked near the Resource Management Offices, contain individual files for each property acquired. Files are arranged alphabetically and include correspondence, records of land transfer.

MIMA Lou Sideris Files contain news clippings, press releases, and materials relating to interpretation dating from the 1990s-2000s.

MIMA Maintenance Records contain planning reports, studies, and memoranda related to the activities of this division.

MIMA Park Administrative Files are a vast collection of inactive records, kept in boxes, which detail the history of the park. These files include reports, planning documents, correspondence, memoranda, and news clippings. These files are currently being organized and readied for transfer to the Federal Records Center in Waltham, MA.

MIMA Reports Files, in the Park Library, contain the most comprehensive collection of historical, architectural, and archeological reports relating to the park. Reports are arranged alphabetically by subject matter.

NPS Offices, National Register, History and Education, Washington, DC
Advisory Board Files include the minutes of meetings of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments.

Planning Office Files contain correspondence and reports related to management planning.

History Division Collection includes park-specific memoranda and reports relating to the operation of the site.

NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (HFC)
MIMA File contains memoranda and planning documents.

Record Group (RG) 18, Bicentennial Celebration, is organized by park and contains planning documents, memoranda, reports, minutes of meetings, and examples of promotional materials related to the NPS Bicentennial celebration. The collection also includes the manuscript and published versions of Merrill Mattes's summary report of the project.

NPS Historic Photograph Collection, Charles Town, West Virginia
This extensive collection of photographs provides some images of the historic structures in the park. There are also park-specific files with memoranda and reports related to exhibits and interpretation.

NPS Technical Information Center, Denver
Reports, memoranda, and planning files are found both in hard copy and on microfiche relating to construction projects, such as the Battle Road Trail's Historic Structures and Cultural Landscape work.

Non-National Park Service Repositories

Federal Records Center (FRC), Waltham, Massachusetts
RG 79, NPS, includes trip reports, memoranda, and planning documents related to the early operation of the park. This repository also has the full-sized 1966 Master Plan and maps.

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Waltham, MA
RG 79, Boston National Historic Sites Commission Files contain minutes from each meeting of the commission, plus memoranda, correspondence, and its official reports.

RG 79, MIMA Subject Files contain the early records of the park, including memoranda, correspondence, and planning documents.

Cary Memorial Library, Lexington, MA
Reference Collection contains town annual reports and a few MIMA reports.

Concord Free Public Library, Concord, MA
Special Collections contains minutes of meetings of the Board of Selectmen, Town Annual Reports, official town reports on the anniversary celebrations, memoranda and correspondence about anniversary celebrations, and a few MIMA reports.

Lincoln Public Library, Lincoln, MA
Lincoln Room contains the town annual reports.

SECONDARY SOURCES

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LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND DATES

Interviews done by the author.

Tapes and transcripts are kept in the MIMA Archives.

Chet Atkins 28 June 2005
Stedman Buttrick 23 November 2005
Orville W. Carroll 22 October 2004
Dan Dattilio 23 November 2005
John Finigan 20 January 2005
Warren Flint, Jr. 28 April 2005
Larry Gall 21 January 2005
Margie Hicks 21 January 2005
Cynthia Kryston 27 January 2005
Betty Levin 26 April 2005
David Moffitt 23 April 2005
Robert Nash 17 May 2005
Nancy Nelson 26 January 2005
David St. Louis 14 November 2006
Larry Smith 1 December 2005
John Tauscher 5 December 2006
Benjamin Zerbey 13 April 2005

