THE MUSEUM PROGRAM, 1964-1982

During the 18 years reviewed in this chapter the exhibit function of park museums remained in the spotlight. The National Park Service considered museums principally as interpretive media rather than as essential custodians of basic park resources. Substantially more money and manpower went to provide displays than to manage collections. Exhibits, however, had to fit into a new interpretive equation in which audiovisual elements became a prime factor.

The first half of the period brought unprecedented growth to the national park system. Under a director gifted with promotional skills the system gained 78 parks totaling about 4,200 square miles in area. They came in faster than adequate funds to study, develop, and operate them.

Actively promoted special interpretive goals demanded much staff effort. Amid growing perceptions that the natural environment was gravely endangered, public officials and private organizations rallied opposition to numerous exploitative proposals and practices. The Park Service made its contribution by launching an environmental awareness program. This involved all levels of staff, extended far beyond the usual audience of park visitors, and threatened to inject propaganda into museum exhibits where policy traditionally called for impartiality. At a time when New York City faced imminent bankruptcy, American cities generally wrestled with critical economic and social problems. The Service reacted with new urban park programs. Park staffs could measure the intensity of the emphasis by the degree to which experience in urban situations aided career advancement. Enthusiastic encouragement for developing "living history" as an interpretive method in the parks coincided with a wave of official and public interest in the performing arts. Communicative skills soon overshadowed knowledge of content in the qualifications desired of park interpreters. These diverse and overlapping program thrusts accompanied years of turmoil in American life marked by angry or violent confrontations on racial issues, the Vietnam War, and other concerns.

For most museums these years brought financial cutbacks and insistent demands that they become relevant to current social concerns. Museum reactions somewhat paralleled those of the Park Service. The American Museum of Natural History, for example, had a contract designer construct in its main entrance hall an expensive, labyrinthine, multimedia display hammering home concepts of the environmental crisis. The Metropolitan Museum of Art installed a highly publicized exhibition, "Harlem On My Mind." The Museum of the City of New York staged major exhibitions on venereal disease and drug addiction.

By comparison, the second half of the period under discussion seemed stable. Although the Park Service had a succession of four new directors and frequent administrative reorganizations, attention centered on the basic mission. Emphasis bore on improved preservation of the parks old and new and on better-informed management of their resources "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" as Congress had directed in the act establishing the Service. Although the momentum of expansion continued, including a massive accession of Alaska parks, Service effort remained in focus on the deep-rooted goals. In such a climate managers began to see more clearly that museum collections did indeed constitute significant park resources requiring responsible care.

Redirection of Exhibit Functions

Many factors in the 1960s and 1970s fostered a public taste for more visually exciting exhibits than museums had customarily provided. In response to this trend, some museums hired professional designers to enliven their display techniques. Others contracted with design and exhibit production firms, which grew in number to meet the demand. When design considerations dominated, installations sometimes appeared to have more impact on the emotions than on the mind. Because museums generally continued their concern for the educational purpose of exhibition, debate ensued on the communicative role exhibits should or could play. Natural history and other science museums tended to focus on the refinement of didactic rather than affective displays and on developing ways to measure their effectiveness. Park Service participation in this flow of change depended for its direction and rate largely on the person in charge.

William Everhart brought to his new duties as chief of interpretation and visitor services ideas about museum exhibits strongly influenced by his experience as park historian at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. There he had worked closely enough with John Jenkins on plans for the Museum of Westward Expansion to appreciate constraints imposed by narrative sequences. The memorial had a story to tell far longer and more complex than most park museums encountered. The Jenkins exhibit plan, excellent as it was, did not quiet the critical questions being raised about sequential display. Neither did it fully overcome objections to the limited dimensions characteristic of park exhibit units and the consistent practice of protecting specimens by encasement.

Everhart also worked with Eero Saarinen and his staff who were designing space for the Museum of Westward Expansion in the underground visitor center at the base of the Gateway Arch. Here was an architectural team already famous for bold design innovations. Its personnel radiated confidence in the potency of design to accomplish multiple purposes—to

communicate, influence behavior, and solve practical problems with fresh ideas.

As construction proceeded on the great arch, Everhart watched a talented St. Louis film maker, Charles Guggenheim, produce a stirring documentary of the process. Impressed with this example of the power of the film medium to present an unfolding story, he determined to include a motion picture as a complement to the museum in the visitor center. Colonial Williamsburg had demonstrated the value of a film as the main interpretive feature in its reception center, and he could see many advantages that static exhibits seemed to lack. Contracting with Guggenheim to create such a film, he traveled widely in the West to select key locations. From these contacts with Jenkins, Saarinen, Guggenheim, and others he carried to future assignments three apparent interpretive partialities. He doubted the efficacy of exhibits as then used in park museums, supported the application of creative design in all interpretive media, and saw great potential for audiovisual programs - especially motion pictures - in park interpretation.

Everhart's enthusiastically held views infused his divisional programs. His publications chief, Vincent L. Gleason, contracted with taste-setting designers and artists who helped produce striking park posters and illustrate interpretive booklets. Gleason spearheaded the engagement of a leading design firm, Chermayeff and Geismar, to devise a "Parkscape" symbol for the Service and a new seal for the Interior Department. In the spirit of the decade the first was expected to replace the representational arrowhead emblem; the other substituted an abstraction suggestive of supporting hands for the historic bison.[1] Carl Degen, head of the enlarged Branch of Motion Pictures and Audiovisual Services, initiated the design and production of an impressive series of award-winning films and slide-sound programs tailored to specific park visitor centers. For interpretive planning supervisor Everhart in 1966 selected Marc Sagan, who had worked on such plans at regional level after leaving a Museum Branch exhibit planning team. Sagan fully shared his reservations about exhibits as the principal medium to tell a park's basic story. Design emphasis in the Branch of Museum Development would come from Russell Hendrickson. He promised strong capability and interest in new exhibit approaches. The branch added designers to its planning staff and moved quickly into working with contract designers of established reputation on most major exhibit plans.[2]

The Ford's Theatre project, completed in early 1968, typified the exuberance with which the entire division began operations. Congress directed the Park Service to reconstruct the Ford's Theatre stage and auditorium of 1865 within the historic walls of the building. The legislators aimed to recreate the setting of Lincoln's assassination as a further memorial to the martyred President. The Service accepted the task with

some misgivings. Lincoln's killer had made his deed so theatrical an act that it would be hard to keep him from stealing the show. Nevertheless the Service applied its best talents to the costly and difficult job.

The division's part in the project took three forms. The Branch of Museum Development would create a completely revised Lincoln Museum in the enlarged basement. The Branch of Museum Operations would collaborate in a special committee refurnishing the theater in detail to match the moment of assassination. The division chief with the aid of other branches would concentrate on developing a sound and light program for the refurnished interior that would interpret it properly.

The museum exhibits recalled Lincoln's life. Three open stages formed a circle around an impressively installed life cast of Lincoln's face and hands. The stages held specimens and graphics interpreted in turn by an audio script synchronized with spotlights. The museum's specimens related to the assassination plot, intentionally deemphasized, were compactly exhibited in a small alcove. In the theater itself the special interpretive program told the dramatic story of the assassination in a manner that kept Lincoln the center of concern.

As all three division projects neared fruition, an impresario persuaded higher authority to allow regular use of the theater for live performances.

Lincoln Museum, Ford's Theatre National Historic Site, 1968. An early example of the exhibit design principles set under the 1964 reorganization.

This proved the proverbial camel's nose. Soon the sound and light program disappeared along with the carefully researched and expensively reproduced stage scenery. The comfort of theater patrons overrode historical accuracy in auditorium seating. The museum had to serve in part as an inter-act promenade on the way to restrooms. What remained of the project as conceived could serve its intended purpose only at the convenience of the theater operation.[3] The new direction would have to find adequate fulfillment elsewhere.

The influences channeled through Everhart's dynamic leadership assured specifically that exhibits in park museums would have a new purpose and new forms. His prohibition of exhibits arranged in narrative sequence effected the more profound change. Concurrent warnings to avoid the case and panel stereotype produced the more visible alteration.[4] Freed to extend exhibits from floor to ceiling in largely open arrangement and urged to make every park museum visually unique, designers conceived a wide variety of displays. Planners most often described the new purpose of exhibits as giving visitors discrete impressions.[5] These impressions or vignettes, not to be viewed in any set order, would give morsels of information and by cumulative effect stimulate interest, evoke appropriate emotional responses, and lead to enriched insights into the park's meaning.

The Kings Mountain National Military Park museum, before and after, affords a representative example of the new direction. The exhibits installed there soon after World War II followed the prewar exhibit plan, drafted with minimal design input. They had three stated purposes: to interpret the significance of the "mountain men," tell those phases of the park story not occurring on the battlefield, and help portray the specific nature of the combat. A stirring quotation from Theodore Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* dominated the end wall of the small museum room. A counterclockwise sequence of exhibits lined the four walls. Six cases containing specimens and models, five open graphic panels, a diorama, and an automatic slide unit conveyed pertinent factual information backed with objective evidence where possible. A topographic model occupied the center of the floor.

In 1975 the old exhibits gave way to a new installation. This aimed to interpret the regional cultural and political challenges that precipitated the battle. It presented visitors with an open display of original and reproduced objects typical of 18th-century rural life in the affected area. The specimens were arranged in theatrical tableaux. In lieu of labels the exhibit had an audio accompaniment involving imaginary dialogue among people of the Revolutionary period. The audio actuated spotlights calling attention to specific objects and settings.[6]

The old and new installations obviously differed in their concepts of how visitors make intellectual use of park museum exhibits. Which came

nearer to meeting visitor needs? The answer, unfortunately, must remain a matter of unverified opinion. The Museum Branch before the change had failed in its efforts to obtain objective evaluations of the effectiveness of its sequential narrative exhibits. Proposals to measure the effect of new-style exhibits in park museums late in the 1970s also came to naught. The Southeast Region asked for pretesting of the revised Ocmulgee exhibits in 1978 with full-scale mockups to observe how people reacted to their form and content, but by the time concepts had evolved far enough to allow detailed mockups, too much money had been invested in design to permit further substantial changes.[7]

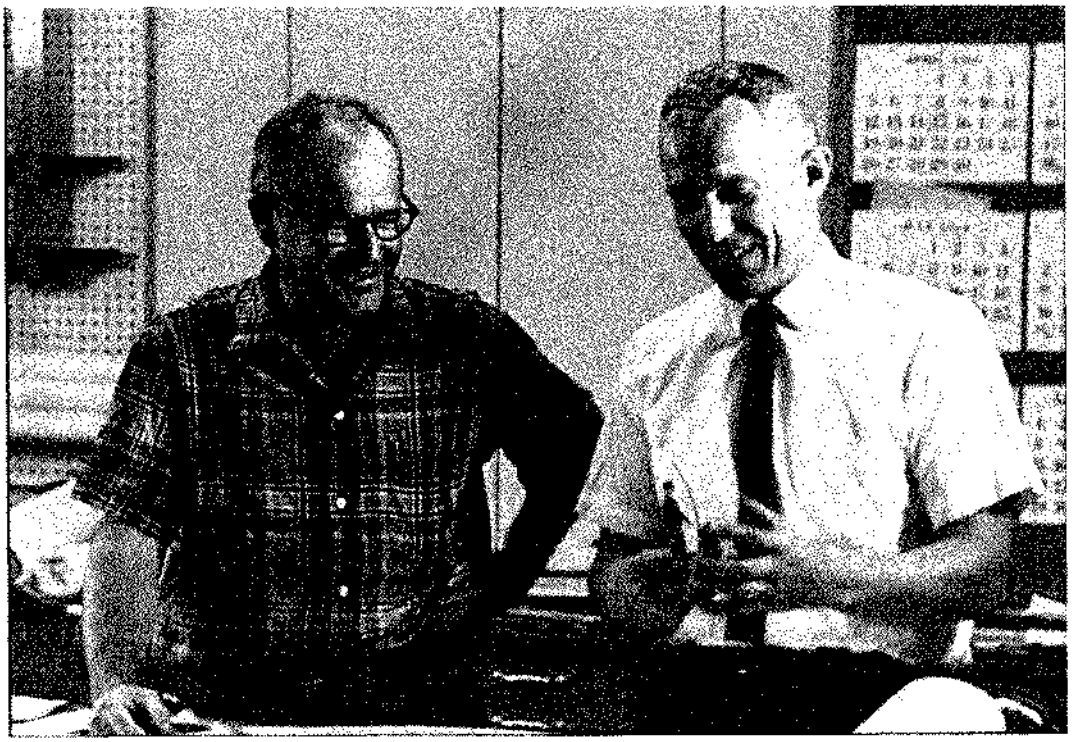
In 1979 exhibit planner Saul Schiffman, who had taken part in a Smithsonian exhibit evaluation seminar, arranged for the Smithsonian to present a two-day session at the Mather Training Center. About twenty Park Service planners and exhibit designers attended discussions led by Chandler Screven and Robert Wolf, both practicing specialists in measuring exhibit effectiveness. These experts were primarily concerned with the amount of specific learning an exhibit produces, however, and Service supervisors concluded that park exhibits did not have defined learning goals measurable by such methods.

The new exhibits took many forms besides the tableaux at Kings Mountain. Designers made frequent use of what they called supergraphics, usually pictures photographically enlarged to cover wall sections or background panels. Freestanding pylons supported specimens or models or carried graphics, often on two or more sides. Artfully spaced throughout a floor area rather than along the walls, they facilitated random viewing. Another characteristic approach involved varied visual elements in a series of receding and partially overlapping planes. Such arrangements offered an overall impression from which visitors could sort out and focus on individual parts. Groups of specimens might form more or less prominent design elements in these compositions. In many instances the contribution of specimens to the design appeared to outweigh placing and lighting them to encourage detailed examination and comparison. Design considerations also threatened to compromise the protection of specimens at times. Specimen and graphic labeling tended to be minimal. General labels, which might well be apt quotations, played a larger role unless replaced by audio devices. Use of audiovisual techniques increased, as did their sophistication. But one superintendent rebelled at a proposal to have projected white figures flow along the carpeted walls of his museum to create a desired mood.[8]

Branch of Museum Development, 1964-1967

Harold Peterson continued as acting chief of the branch until the fall of 1967. He held responsibility for getting the exhibit program firmly set in its new direction while tightening management practices. He oversaw formulation of annual goals and budgets, kept an eye on production schedules and costs, reported progress, and maintained liaison with other programs within the division. He succeeded in having many of the exhibit planning and production positions upgraded. At the same time he carried on his important duties as chief curator in the Branch of Museum Operations. Because he maintained his old office in the Interior Building, he left day-to-day supervision of the museum development staff to Russell Hendrickson, the new chief of the Eastern Museum Laboratory. Hendrickson's effectiveness led to growing reliance on his management of branch matters. He, rather than the acting chief, had direct charge of the new design initiatives as they applied to exhibits.

Hendrickson used his considerable design talents on exhibit plans in preparation. The new branch started out with some projects already under production. It was too late to redesign these, and funds were inadequate to permit a fresh start on all the approved plans awaiting execution. So for the



James M. Mulcahy and Russell J. Hendrickson. Artists and leaders in the Park Service museum program.

first year or two the laboratories had to continue turning out the familiar case and panel sequences. His guiding influence on some of these incorporated a degree of change, as in the case of the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site museum installed in 1966.

A new visitor center for Petersburg National Battlefield gave him the first opportunity to tackle one from the beginning. He established close collaboration with the architect of the building and called in a contract design firm for the mechanics of what he wanted as the focal point exhibit. The Petersburg museum opened in April 1968. It offered an exhibit room walled in the same dark brick as the exterior. Visitors mounted a ramp to a raised and partially enclosed central platform, from which they viewed a horizontal map of the siege operations animated with fiber optic lighting and synchronized, dramatized audio. Then they descended by a second ramp to the floor of the exhibit room. Large battlefield relics resting in an open moat around the central structure provided a stark mood display. Against the walls stood a few exhibit cases, some conventional in form but all purely topical in content. These few features comprised the museum exhibits.

Hendrickson spurred his growing staff of exhibit designers and planning curators into the new mode, not only by example but by advice and collaboration. Veteran in-house designer Edward Bierly welcomed the new exhibit concepts. Adapting readily to the wishes of the new leadership, he shared with Hendrickson innovative planning for the Lincoln Museum at Ford's Theatre. David McLean, a new designer, quickly introduced the preparation of design models in the exhibit planning process. Three new planning curators joined the branch staff during this period. Ellsworth R. Swift, formerly a park naturalist, transferred in 1966 from the U.S. Forest Service, where he had gone to work in its experimental Visitor Information Services program. In mid-1967 Keith A. Trexler also brought experience as a park interpreter. He served the museum development program with enthusiasm until early 1970. Robert F. Nichols transferred from Canyon de Chelly National Monument shortly after Trexler arrived. Contributing his solid anthropological background to a number of plans, he remained seven years before moving to the Denver Service Center. The exhibit design and planning group continued to expand to keep the preparation laboratories supplied with detailed plans for park museums that met the desired qualities of visual appeal and variety.

A division goal for 1965 challenged the Branch of Museum Development to experiment further with contracting for exhibit design. Contracting regulations forced the in-house planners to play an important role. They helped evaluate potential bidders, drafted careful statements defining the scope of work each contract would cover, and reviewed competing proposals to recommend those likely to produce a satisfactory plan. Each

contract typically required the designer to submit a concept for the proposed installation as the first phase. Staff planners studied this to see whether it would achieve the museum's intent. They might recommend acceptance, request a different approach, or suggest changes that the contractor could make as he transformed his creative idea into the finished plan and specifications. The final plan also demanded intensive review. Burdened with their own planning assignments, staff members sometimes felt that their part in the contracting process took as much time as they would have needed to design and specify the plans themselves.[9]

During the early stages of emphasis on contract design the Eastern Museum Laboratory moved for the fifth time, carrying with it the staffs of both museum branches. Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's campaign to beautify the nation's capital levered a decision by early 1966 to remove Temporary Building S and two adjacent structures from the Mall. Hendrickson undertook the search for new quarters. Knowing that his choice would also be temporary, he joined GSA officials in checking available and affordable rental space. They finally agreed on a light industrial building close to the Capital Beltway in Springfield, Virginia. The move took place during the first two weeks of September 1966.

The Springfield building had a number of disadvantages. Its distance from the director's office and reference sources in Washington made the frequent necessary contacts much more time-consuming. The new location, unreached by public transportation, forced many staff members to commute longer distances at higher costs. A specially installed vault door provided reasonable security for stored collections but not for offices and laboratory. Relative isolation from other federal offices minimized protection services. Employees of a cleaning firm had unsupervised access at night and on occasion left doors unlocked. The building lacked environmental controls that could meet standards for specimen preservation and the delicate work of conservators. In winter curators had to manipulate pans of water, wet towels, and electric fans on a daily basis in attempts to maintain reasonably satisfactory relative humidity levels in the vault. Conservators using cleaning solvents had to share the exhibit shop's paint spray booth to obtain tolerable ventilation. The staff accepted such conditions in anticipation that the laboratory would soon have a permanent home designed and built to serve its special requirements.

Out of the ferment generated in the new Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services had come an idea for housing the centralized creative aspects of interpretive development under one roof. The branches of Everhart's organization dealing with museums, audiovisual media, and publications snared many parallel projects and production schedules. They depended on similar skills in graphic design, writing, and other specialized talents. Yet in Washington they seemingly worked too far apart to

collaborate efficiently. The interpreters' conference that Everhart had convened in 1964 at Harpers Ferry contributed a locus to the dream of a consolidated interpretive design and production center. Vince Gleason's formulation of the proposal earned him a $400 award. Everhart agreed wholeheartedly and Director George Hartzog voiced strong support.

At a time when the federal government was looking for ways to dilute the concentration of its work force in Washington, the proposal to decentralize to Harpers Ferry found favorable reception. Economic conditions in West Virginia placed it high on the list of states considered eligible to benefit from such moves. The state had powerful representatives in Congress. And a suitable site there was available. Closure of Storer College at Harpers Ferry in the mid-1950s had led the Park Service to acquire its campus to protect the adjacent historical park. Two of the college buildings met the needs of the Mather Training Center and some other structures were demolished, leaving room for additional development. The training center, which then concentrated on interpretation, and the proposed design center seemed logical neighbors. Congress appropriated $650,000 to start the project in 1966. By January 1967 Everhart had contracted with Ulrich Franzen to design the new facility. That March the audiovisual branch moved to temporary quarters in one of the Storer College buildings, and near the end of August two exhibit planners from the Western Museum Laboratory in San Francisco moved their work stations to Harpers Ferry.

The western laboratory constituted a far from negligible part of the reorganized museum program, but fitting this distant component into the scheme posed problems. How could the division and branch in Washington transfuse the new design concepts and standards into exhibits planned and produced so far from the center of motivation? Could the budget support full workloads in both eastern and western laboratories without jeopardizing the kind of innovative and perhaps more costly developments anticipated? The western group had established an excellent record of efficient production, but various circumstances made it difficult to fund intractable overhead expenses.

The western shop continued to turn out exhibits during the transition, installing displays along conventional lines for the Mariposa Grove museum in Yosemite National Park and at Canyon de Chelly National Monument in October 1964. In December, three months after John Jenkins' death, Everhart wrote the western staff expressing his confidence in Floyd LaFayette's acting leadership of the laboratory but indicating that a search was underway for a permanent replacement from outside.[10] He followed up with a visit in January 1965 to explain personally the new thinking about park interpretation. March saw rejection of an exhibit plan for the Lodgepole visitor center at Sequoia National Park although it included some

imaginative proposals. During the balance of the year the laboratory installed exhibits in eight western park sites. The pace of exhibit planning slowed somewhat as two leading planners, Raymond Price and Paul Spangle, worked on special assignments for American Samoa and Jordan.

In early 1966, with the Harpers Ferry Center on the horizon, the Branch of Museum Development was directed to "prepare definite plans and schedules for phasing out the Western Museum Laboratory."[11] The first steps evidently consisted of closer contacts between leaders of the new exhibit approach and western laboratory personnel in efforts to influence their projects. The laboratory installed exhibits for five parks during the year. In June LaFayette was made chief of the laboratory, a deserved promotion after he had ably performed the duties of the position for more than two trying years. But his staff of planners, depleted by the resignation of Gerald Ober in February and Spangle's details elsewhere, still failed to provide the sort of new look Everhart hoped to achieve. Consequently the division chief wrote LaFayette in December 1966 assigning direction of all western laboratory planning and design to Hendrickson at the eastern laboratory, "effective immediately."[12] The western unit would henceforth concentrate on exhibit production. During 1967 it completed installations at Mount Rainier and Glacier national parks and Craters of the Moon National Monument and continued construction on several more projects.

Branch of Museum Operations, 1964-1967

The Branch of Museum Operations had a limited role in two aspects of the exhibit program. While the exhibit planners in the Branch of Museum Development decided what specimens they wanted to display, curators in Museum Operations still had responsibility for acquiring and authenticating them. These curators also systematically recorded both the transactions and the objects. Acquisition and authentication became Harold Peterson's primary duties as chief curator. Staff curators Vera Craig and Fred Winkler assisted him in locating and assembling the required specimens, and Craig accessioned and cataloged them. Although planners and preparators needed continual reminding to pass all specimens through the hands of the curatorial experts, the procedure worked for exhibits constructed at or contracted by the eastern laboratory.[13] The western laboratory could call on Peterson's services, but distance and his refusal to fly made close collaboration impractical. Laboratory curators in San Francisco gathered most of the objects used in the projects carried out there.

The Park Service museum development system, it will be recalled, created a corollary problem of maintenance. Exhibits of professional quality designed and built in central laboratories required equivalent artistic and craft skills to repair damage or make even minor changes. A park rarely

had such skills available from its local staff and needed expert outside help, generally from the museum laboratories. The exhibit maintenance problem intensified as the number of park museums grew, as wear and tear from spiraling visitor use increased, and as exhibit materials aged. New design concepts accelerated the obsolescence of older installations.

Park museums never achieved an ideal rate of rehabilitation or replacement, but three programs existed by 1964 for funding the most urgently needed work. The Branch of Museum Operations received an annual allotment to supplement park funds for maintenance and rehabilitation of physical facilities. Such money could finance exhibit repairs, small corrections, or revisions to and even replacement of a worn out or ineffective display as long as the work did not upgrade the facility or increase the capital investment. For more extensive exhibit changes the Branch of Museum Development received a lump sum of construction money for use on exhibits in existing buildings. Drastic museum revisions usually required programming as line construction items in the Park Service budget presented to Congress. Funds available under the three accounts never sufficed to perform all the jobs requested, so Museum Operations had the task of determining reasonable priorities.

In cooperation with the regional curators, the branch developed a weighted list of eight criteria to apply to an exhibit proposed for repair, alteration, or replacement.[14] Superintendents might use the criteria to set up a rational sequence for work needed in their museums. Regional curators consolidating the requests from many parks could make choices among them on the same basis. The criteria would apply again to fit the Service-wide exhibit maintenance program into museum laboratory schedules.

In the list as submitted the first criterion gave precedence to exhibits visibly deteriorating or out of working order, matters likely to be noticed by any visitor. Ranked second in need were exhibits that appeared hazardous or annoying to visitors because of faults in construction or placement. A display case, for example, might turn out to have a sharp corner at a child's eye level or bad reflections in the glass front. Factual inaccuracies came next. The fourth criterion moved ahead of the first three when the list was approved for use. This change responded to the emphasis then uppermost in interpretive theory by asking, "Does it [the exhibit] fail to communicate?" An answer to this question, in the absence of scientific testing, would rest on subjective judgment. Even the objective criteria required observation of the exhibits installed. The branch therefore supplemented this method of measuring need with a detailed, two-page Exhibit Room Inspection Checklist, filled out by staff curators during field visits.

Exhibits selected for repair or alteration had to be shipped back to the laboratory or wait until a preparator could travel to the park. As the

principal exception to this, replacement of faded or damaged photographs usually entailed only sending detailed information from the park. The laboratory could then obtain a duplicate print, mount it to exactly the same size, and let the park staff place it in the exhibit over the old one. Occasionally the laboratories could handle label replacements similarly. Nearly all repair and rehabilitation depended on precise data regarding materials, sizes, colors, and other details of the exhibit as originally produced. The branch therefore undertook to retrieve and systematically file old exhibit plans and much related material.[15]

Museum Operations at the same time shared with the parks concern for another phase of exhibit maintenance. Keeping exhibits and their immediate environment clean required conscientious care along with some special methods and precautions. The 1941 *Field Manual for Museums* had addressed the problem briefly, but the parks now needed more guidance. The branch thus began to prepare a new section of the *Museum Handbook,* Exhibit Maintenance and Replacement (Part IV), released in October 1968. The instructions it contained on cleaning procedures applied to situations common in most park museums. Introduction of varied new design solutions for each fresh project, on the other hand, tended to create special situations not amenable to general guidelines. The branch therefore began a sustained attempt to prepare an individual maintenance manual for each new museum installation.[16] In preparing such a manual the staff curator had to ask the preparator many questions about the materials used in the exhibits, methods of attachment, and access. These queries may have helped make the preparators, and possibly the designers, more aware of maintenance requirements.

Division of Museums, 1967-1973

William Everhart assumed the title of Assistant Director, Interpretation, late in 1967. His promotion briefly restored to interpretation the position of high visibility in the Park Service organization it had enjoyed under Assistant Director Ronald Lee from 1951 through 1959. The action also enabled prompt elevation of most of Everhart's former branches to division status. His new unit consisted of four divisions: Audiovisual Arts under Carl Degen, Publications under Vincent Gleason, Planning and Interpretive Services under Marc Sagan, and Museums under Russell Hendrickson.

The first two represented simple upgrading of existing branches with enlarged opportunities for internal subdivision. Planning and Interpretive Services combined the former Branch of Interpretive Planning that Sagan had headed with the Visitor Services Branch. The merger freed Douglass H. Hubbard, Everhart's principal aide, to devote full time as deputy assistant director.[17] The Division of Museums reunited operations and

development, giving them combined supervision by a museum professional for whom exhibits formed the principal focus. It left the Branch of Museum Operations essentially unchanged in scope and staffing except for the release of Chief Curator Peterson from his temporary administrative responsibility for the development program. The former Branch of Museum Development was split. The planners and designers became a Branch of Planning and Development with Ellsworth Swift as chief. A Branch of Exhibit Production headed by Frank Phillips comprised the preparation staffs of the eastern laboratory and, fleetingly, the western laboratory.

Although two years had passed since the decree to phase out the western laboratory, January 1968 found it still busy producing exhibits. No one knew when its work would terminate. Staff changes occurred, only partially motivated by the impending closure. The Western Region, needing a regional curator, acquired Edward Jahns from the laboratory in May 1967. Jahns had given the museum program three years of effective support at the laboratory and would continue to do so as a regional representative. His place was quickly filled by Vernon Tancil, an experienced curator from Independence National Historical Park. Gilbert Wenger, another stalwart curator the laboratory had relied upon in exhibit planning, stayed on for the remainder of 1967. Like Jahns he was an archeologist by training and could give expert help with Indian exhibits still in production and Indian artifacts on hand.[18]

Meanwhile Floyd LaFayette faced growing exhibit production problems. Exhibit plans prepared by the eastern staff and sent to the western laboratory for execution did not always fit the facilities and funding available. When a scheduling crisis brought these matters to a head in October 1967, he spelled them out in a memorandum to Everhart. Hendrickson responded with a prompt visit, bringing Andrew Summers to help search for fiscal solutions. Their inquiries perhaps added to staff concerns for the future. In January 1968 Gilbert Wenger accepted a transfer to Mesa Verde National Park while veteran preparator Bernard Perry took a job with the Navy. On February 8 the laboratory's landlord precipitated a decision.

GSA had long wanted to vacate the deteriorating Old Mint. Now it proposed to do so as soon as possible, moving the laboratory to a building at Fort Mason. LaFayette informed the director's office at once and received a reply overnight. Mildred Fleming, the laboratory's secretary, reported the event: "On Friday morning bright and early Bill Everhart was on the phone to inform us that he and Mr. Hartzog had decided to move the western lab to Harpers Ferry without more ado and we were ordered to get going. Such a day of shock and consternation!"[19] With a June 1 target date the complex job of closing the operation began quickly.

The months that followed were hectic. Dick Morishige oversaw the installation of exhibits for Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, and Reginald Butcher installed exhibits for Capitol Reef, El Morro, Natural Bridges, and Walnut Canyon national monuments. During March and April Herbert Martin, John Segeren, and Joseph Rockwell transferred to Harpers Ferry. The laboratory's administrative officer, William Acheson, went to Point Reyes National Seashore and Richard Anderson to an Army base. At the end of April Morishige and Mildred Fleming moved into office space provided by the Western Region, where they functioned temporarily as the San Francisco Museum Support Facility to supervise the unfinished exhibit contracts and tie up other loose ends. LaFayette with curators Tancil and Lina Carasso and probably one or two preparators continued the laborious task of readying everything at the laboratory for removal.

In mid-April LaFayette notified the director that the Western Museum Laboratory would officially terminate on May 10. LaFayette himself, tired from the stresses of closing the laboratory that had undoubtedly taken toll of his frail health, scheduled his departure for Harpers Ferry to take place as soon as he could settle his moving arrangements. On May 20, the eve of his intended start, he died unexpectedly at the age of 53. He had dedicated his creative talents to the museum program of the Service for more than 17 years.

Western laboratory staff who did transfer to Harpers Ferry found makeshift facilities awaiting them. Bids for construction of the projected Harpers Ferry Center were not opened until March 19. Ray Price and David Ichelson needed only desk and drafting table space when they arrived the previous summer, but Martin, Rockwell, and Segeren required additional room for more varied duties. The historical park and training center cooperated to provide work places, some in partially rehabilitated historic structures. Price and Ichelson functioned as an exhibit planning team on projects assigned by the Branch of Museum Development and its successor in Springfield. Rockwell as a graphic artist did exhibit layouts and pictorial elements requested by the eastern laboratory. Segeren had woodcarvings to complete for the Yosemite visitor center. Martin had been shifted from exhibits to administrative operations because his work had not satisfied the new design concepts. When he reported to Harpers Ferry, the Branch of Museum Operations became responsible for his assignments.[20]

From the management standpoint the museum staff at Harpers Ferry, remote from supervisors and timekeepers, formed an awkward appendage. To solve the problem, this outstation of the Division of Museums became by June 1968 the Harpers Ferry Museum Support Group, with Ray Price as leader. It acquired a secretary, Jean Cooper, and submitted monthly reports until the division formally moved from Springfield to the Harpers Ferry Center in March 1970. The group gradually increased during this period.

David H. Wallace, newly appointed assistant chief of museum operations, set up his office at Harpers Ferry in September 1968. Ichelson returned to San Francisco in April 1969, but later that year Daniel Feaser, Walton Stowell, Ralph Sheetz, and Robert Nichols moved their work stations to Harpers Ferry. Most of the group worked on exhibit planning and development, including a thorough revision of the twenty-year-old visitor center exhibits at Manassas National Battlefield Park. The presence of Wallace, on the other hand, assured a sound curatorial basis for future programs.

Wallace had succeeded James Mulcahy as curator for Independence National Historical Park in 1959 when Mulcahy returned to the Museum Branch in Washington. At Philadelphia Wallace developed and led the strongest curatorial team in any park. It excelled in the expert care of large and unusually important collections and the preparation of complex historic furnishing plans.[21] As a member of the support group he moved quickly to establish curatorial control over a miscellany of collections likely to suffer from neglect in an operation centered on exhibit design and development. They included all the specimens shipped from the Western Museum Laboratory as it closed, a considerable volume of material left by Storer College, and objects arriving for new projects. He set up careful inventories and safe storage while beginning sensible measures for relocating many of the specimens in more logical repositories. At the same time he assumed his share in the ongoing program of the Branch of Museum Operations still headquartered in Springfield. He arranged and taught in the 1969 curatorial methods course, collaborated in planning and budgeting for branch projects, provided curatorial leadership to the field, and helped prepare and review historic furnishing plans.

The other branches of the division in Springfield also carried full workloads while waiting for completion of the new building at Harpers Ferry. In 1969 the laboratory completed installation of the Army-Navy Museum at Independence National Historical Park. Funded by the Association of the United States Army and the Navy League of the United States, the museum occupied the newly reconstructed Pemberton House. With this dual sponsorship and a building of domestic proportions into which to fit exhibits, the project involved reconciling varied interests and constraints. Demands of the new design emphasis created severe collateral problems of specimen preservation, caused particularly in this instance by much too much light on historic flags. As well as building new exhibits, the laboratory was activating its circuit rider program for exhibit repair and rehabilitation.

Museum exhibits did not constitute the only development concern. Park needs for wayside interpretive devices grew to require a continual flow of specialized exhibitry. To handle it a new Branch of Wayside Development

was split from the Branch of Planning and Development late in 1968. Edward Bierly served as its chief until he retired in 197O to free-lance as a wildlife artist rather than move to Harpers Ferry. Ray Price succeeded him. Margery Updegraff collaborated with Bierly and continued with the branch until she transferred to the exhibit program of the Library of Congress. Under Price the branch began to build its staff to keep pace with the demands of the rapidly expanding park system and to seek new solutions to the challenge of creating durable, versatile outdoor displays. Joseph Rockwell joined the new branch in October 1970 and Daniel Feaser followed at the end of the year. Both contributed strongly to the program until their retirement a decade or more later.

The Park Service during this period encouraged its program managers to compete for support in seeking increased funding. A division chief made his plea by means of an elaborately documented report defining and defending a specific "program issue." Russell Hendrickson undertook to present as an issue the seriously underfunded needs of park museums. Although small individually, in the aggregate they assumed impressive proportions. Hendrickson thus portrayed them as composing one great Museum of the National Park Service. A survey revealed that it contained about ten acres of exhibit space plus more than four hundred furnished historic rooms on display. Its study collections totaling several million specimens occupied more than 50,000 square feet. Statistics and photographs spelled out the Service's responsibility for one of the largest museum establishments in the nation. Its professional staffing and facilities could be measured against those of other big museums, and its shortcomings and critical needs stood clearly revealed. Although much staff time went into preparing the issue paper, issues presented for other programs gained precedence.[22]

Not at issue was development of the Harpers Ferry Center. As the new building neared completion, the Interior Department approved formal establishment of the center effective November 1, 1969.[23] This action abolished the position of Assistant Director, Interpretation, in the Washington Office. Everhart became instead director of the Harpers Ferry Center.[24] The memorandum of establishment assigned HFC five divisions. In addition to the interpretive design and production divisions—Audiovisual Arts, Museums, and Publications—these included a new and necessary Division of Administration and General Services and a Division of Environmental Projects. The last simply provided an organizational focal point for special task forces during a period when the Service gave more than normal emphasis to ecologically responsible policies and actions.[25] The building to house HFC did not become ready for occupancy until the end of the year. Even then Everhart and his staff spent the first two weekends of January 1970 painting the bare block walls of the interior.

In choosing the architect for the center's building Everhart had noted in particular two of Ulrich Franzen's special skills. He could express the modern design idiom in traditional materials—standard brick and cement block—and in so doing could achieve maximum functional space at minimal cost. The center would require his best efforts in the latter regard in spite of its reasonably liberal funding. Franzen set the three-story structure partially into the rim of the ridge-top site. When finished it succeeded in looking thoroughly modern while not clashing seriously with its older campus neighbors. The interior reflected ideas of architect and principal client on how the center should function. The only conventional offices in the building consisted of those for the director and his division chiefs. These were grouped at one end of the main floor around an open work space occupied by the director's secretary and her assistants. Cubicles on the periphery of the upper floor gave a modicum of quiet isolation to writer/editors and a few exhibit planning curators. Audiovisual Arts had half the lower floor cut into rooms for its technical heeds. Practically all the remaining work area, for museums and publications on the upper floor and for exhibit production on the lower, Franzen left open. These arrangements functioned well as planned for the most part.

The building did suffer from one error in judgment. The idea that the creative teams would work best in undivided spaces proved impractical. Soon temporary partitions of various kinds began to invade the open areas. Another aspect of the building that later required change involved factors the architect could hardly have foreseen. The energy crisis of the mid-1970s rendered the operating costs of the forced ventilation heating and cooling system unacceptable. Modifications necessary to make the structure energy efficient cost much in turn. From the standpoint of the museum program, however, the principal fault of the new interpretive design center lay not in these shortcomings but in some deliberate omissions.

One of these concerned the provision for exhibit production. The lower floor contained two large adjacent undivided areas for this activity. The area next to a soundproof wall separating exhibits from audiovisual production housed the preparators working on graphic elements and labels and included upgraded equipment for silkscreen operations. The other area allowed for exhibit assembly, the critical job of mounting specimens with their accompanying graphics and labels, then preparing all the units of a project for shipment to the intended park. This section of the new laboratory had a spacious paint spray booth with powerful exhaust and a well-designed loading dock. The proper accommodation of these functions left no room for the essential, if noisy and dusty, business of fabricating the exhibit background panels, cases, and special constructions every project involved. Left out of the new building, exhibit construction had to borrow and adapt space in the park's maintenance shops. This awkward arrange-

ment complicated supervision and coordination. Each panel, case, and special device also had to travel by truck about four blocks to the exhibit assembly area in the new building to be finished and incorporated with the elements there before exhibits were ready to pack and ship. Four years later the maintenance building was enlarged to give the exhibit construction shop more space, but this did not eliminate the disadvantages of separation.

Museum Operations keenly felt the inadequacy of one important facility in the new building and the omission of another. The branch had asked for a proper specimen storage room or vault at least as secure as the one it would leave behind in Springfield. Hendrickson, thinking primarily of exhibit preparation, specified instead the provision of a few standard specimen cabinets mounted on a specially built dolly in the exhibit assembly area. He conceived the problem in terms of specimens coming in for a park museum exhibit project, being prepared and mounted in the laboratory, then being shipped out to the park with the finished exhibits. His solution discounted the problems of accountability, preservation, and security. It also failed to consider that not all the specimens received would fit into standard cabinets or follow the same routine.[26] As a result, the curator responsible for receiving, accessioning, and cataloging all specimens, checking their condition and authentication, arranging for their cleaning, repair, or preservative treatment, issuing them to designers and preparators for placement in exhibits, and assuring their safe shipment to the parks had to carry out these vital duties under considerable difficulty. The specimens stored under only moderate security in the open shop were two long flights of stairs below her work station. An electric dumbwaiter enabled her to transport objects a few at a time, but could save no steps. Vera Craig gave the specimens the best care possible under these adverse circumstances, but at the cost of much extra effort.

The decision on specimen storage had been reached openly after full discussion. Omission of another facility was unannounced. The branch operated several small laboratories for the conservation of museum specimens, each with special requirements dictated by the kinds of objects treated. It had submitted to the architect specifications for these, as requested. Members of the architect's staff inspected the existing facilities at Springfield and discussed the technical requirements of the conservation laboratories in some detail. It therefore came as a surprise that the architect did nothing with the information. While the branch hardly hoped to get the laboratories into the new building, it assumed he would adapt space for them in an adjacent existing structure. The lack of essential facilities delayed the move of the Division of Museums to Harpers Ferry.

The division did transfer its base of operations formally to the Harpers Ferry Center in March 1970. It left a few of the staff at Springfield until Hendrickson could get space assigned and renovated for their shops and

laboratories. Others remained behind on a more permanent basis. Chief Curator Harold Peterson had adamantly opposed the Harpers Ferry move from the outset. His work involved maintaining close contacts with material culture specialists in Washington and others from a distance whom he regularly hosted on their visits to the capital. His personal collection of arms and armor with its accompanying library served as a magnet to visiting scholars and collectors. The provisions he had made for the study and security of the collection in his suburban Washington home tied him to that as his place of residence. His health ruled out the possibility of commuting from there to Harpers Ferry.

Distance also made it impractical for anyone stationed at Harpers Ferry to carry on the almost daily use of reference sources in Washington upon which exhibit planning and preparation had depended heavily for many years. Marilyn Wandrus and research historian Lee Wallace therefore stayed on in Springfield to gather the necessary factual and pictorial data and relay them promptly to the new center. Peterson could supervise their work and also a collection of museum objects that had accumulated. The collection, considered to be in temporary storage and for which no space had been provided at Harpers Ferry, had grown to a point that demanded the custodial skills of a registrar.[27] When the curator attending to it moved to Harpers Ferry with the Branch of Museum Operations, Ron A. Gibbs joined Peterson's staff in this capacity. Gibbs had been a battlefield park historian and brought energetic interest to the task, although his concern centered more on the specimens than on their detailed recording and management. The Division of Museums organized these workers into a Branch of Curatorial Services with Peterson as chief.

After the museum branches had moved to Springfield in 1966, Hendrickson had recruited two secretaries who lived nearby and wished for part-time employment. Frances Ward and Doris Barber served the division efficiently while it remained there but had no intention of transferring to Harpers Ferry. Hendrickson kept them on duty at Springfield, where they continued to maintain the division's correspondence files, provided him supplemental secretarial support, and supplied such needs for the Branch of Curatorial Services. Their presence gave Hendrickson a base near his home where he could stop briefly en route to and from Harpers Ferry to leave instructions or pick up finished work. They also facilitated the consultations his assignments required with other agencies in the Washington area. Although it became necessary in November 1971 to move the Springfield activities to another light industrial building in the same development area, this Harpers Ferry outstation continued to function. The inconveniences of operating in two places some fifty miles apart exemplified the less advantageous aspect of the Harpers Ferry move for the museum program in particular.

Such stresses for the Harpers Ferry Center as a whole fell most observably on its director. Everhart's enthusiasm gave the center a running start, reinforced by the stimulus of new facilities and the interdivisional environment they provided. Increasing demands for his talents in the Washington directorate soon forced him to divide his time and attention between Washington and Harpers Ferry. As deputy director of HFC, Douglass Hubbard filled in for him until late 1970, then left to accept the directorship of the Admiral Nimitz Center (as now designated) in Fredericksburg, Texas. Able to spend less and less time in his Harpers Ferry office, Everhart thereafter used Marc Sagan to act in his absence as a committed advocate of his interpretive ideology.

The Branch of Exhibit Development, called Exhibit Planning and Development previous to the move, began operating as an HFC unit under Ellsworth Swift as chief. Its three designers, Daniel Feaser, David McLean, and Walton Stowell, continued the projects they had been working on in Springfield or with the support group at Harpers Ferry. Their curatorial counterparts were Robert Nichols, who carried an added responsibility for a new traveling exhibition program, and Saul Schiffman, an experienced park naturalist replacing Keith Trexler. Forrest Meader, a historian with museum experience outside the Service, soon joined the branch as a third staff curator. In October 1970 Robert G. Johnsson, an interpretive planner of outstanding ability, transferred from Sagan's division to become senior staff curator. He would lead the Service's museum exhibit planning with increasing authority throughout the remaining period covered in this study. James Mulcahy also served in this branch, lending his wealth of experience to the vital task of project management. His steady hand coordinated the multiple activities of planning and production branches with those of contractors to ensure the timely and successful installation of such complex projects as the American Museum of Immigration at the Statue of Liberty as well as tightly scheduled museums for Bicentennial parks. The branch added Sois Ingram to this basic staff as designer when Feaser transferred to the new Branch of Wayside Development. Richard H. Strand, who had worked as an exhibit planner at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial under Gilbert Wright, joined the branch in February 1971. When Schiffman accepted an interpretive planning assignment at the National Zoological Park in the spring of 1972, Lige B. Miller, Jr., filled the gap as staff curator.

The Branch of Exhibit Production experienced greater personnel changes. Frank Phillips continued as chief until September 1972. Realizing that a number of the veteran preparators would not move to Harpers Ferry, he began recruiting at Springfield. Among the artists and craftsmen the branch would lose were such valued workers as Kenneth Dreyer, Willie Liggan, Arlie O'Meara, Robert Scherer, and William Smith. It would retain

as mainstays of the operation Peder Kitti, Olin Nave, Frank Spagnolo, and Donald Swain. New employees broken in at Springfield with Harpers Ferry in mind included Bond J. Browning, Robert A. Fulcher, Clifton Funkhouser, Harry H. Harris, Joseph Leisch, and Paul Webb. Already at Harpers Ferry, Joseph Rockwell and John Segeren from the western laboratory and Frederick B. Hanson would augment the staff. Added at the time of the move or soon after were Robert L. Ainsworth, Walter H. Bradford, Ronald Dunmire, and Mary Berber. Somewhat later Phillips hired Vincent Marcionetti, and Ralph Warriner replaced Ainsworth as a transporter of exhibits to parks throughout the country. During Phillips' tenure the branch executed difficult and innovative work for the American Museum of Immigration, the Indian Arts Museum at Grand Teton National Park, and numerous visitor centers of more normal scope.[28]

Phillips also gave particular attention to problems of exhibit maintenance and replacement. By sending out preparators from the branch staff as "circuit riders" he got a hundred exhibits in ten visitor centers expertly repaired on site during the 1969 fiscal year. This effort to keep up with exhibit rehabilitation needs fell short because he could not spare enough manpower for such extra assignments and sustain the full schedule of new exhibit preparation. In September 1972 Grant A. Cadwallader, Jr., a Park Service architect, replaced Phillips as chief of the branch. Phillips in turn became contract manager for the growing number of exhibit projects being produced by shops outside the Service. As one of his first initiatives in the new job he negotiated a network of term contracts with exhibit production firms in various parts of the country to repair or rehabilitate exhibits for the parks on demand. A superintendent could call on the nearest contractor to do the specialized work required to keep his exhibits functioning. The term contractors supplemented and in time largely supplanted the circuit riders from the central laboratory.[29] This decentralization allowed the Branch of Museum Operations to spend less effort on programming exhibit maintenance.

Museum Operations also experienced significant staff changes during the 1967-73 period. As noted, the branch gained the expert help of David Wallace as assistant chief in 1968, and Herbert Martin was assigned to its staff when he transferred from the western laboratory to Harpers Ferry that year. In February 1970 the branch lost through retirement the highly valued services of staff curator J. Fred Winkler. He was replaced that November by Robert W. Olsen, formerly park historian at Whitman Mission National Historic Site. Branch secretary Thelma Wolfrey McDonald found it impractical to move to Harpers Ferry, and Jean Cooper succeeded her when HFC absorbed the Museum Support Group at Harpers Ferry.

Branch chief Ralph Lewis retired at the end of May 1971. Wallace was promoted to the vacancy in July, enabling the branch programs to maintain

momentum and assuring curatorial leadership of professional caliber. He obtained a new assistant chief for the branch in December from the interpretive planning staff. His choice, Arthur C. Allen, welcomed the opportunity to help manage museum operations. A geologist by training and an experienced park interpreter with graduate work in park management at Michigan State University, he had demonstrated vision and incisive analytical skills as a planner. He brought the branch vigorous managerial aptitudes as well, and at a critical time. The branch's need for work space left out of plans for the new Harpers Ferry Center had become unmistakably evident.

The substitute spaces HFC belatedly rehabilitated for branch use soon proved inadequate. By December 1970 the paintings conservator moved into a makeshift laboratory in the park's historic Morrell House. An adjacent room even less well adapted for the purpose became a laboratory for a newly appointed paper conservator. The branch intended to use the basement rooms of the historic Armory Paymaster's House for other specialized conservation laboratories, but when it became available early in 1972 a more urgent need was evident. Suitable workrooms and storerooms were essential to establish control over the increasing flow of museum specimens to and from HFC. Many important objects from many sources continually arrived, some in dire need of preservation, some for incorporation into exhibits for the parks. Each required precise tracking through the processes of receipt, unpacking, examination, preservative treatment or restoration, exhibit design and production, and the intervening periods of storage before final repacking and shipment. For this purpose the branch set up a new position and hired David E. Warthen from HFC's administrative division as registrar. His reliability as a record keeper, insistence on following proper procedure, and expert care as specimen handler and packer would significantly improve the protection of the objects from damage or loss. Warthen entered on duty in February 1972, but with insufficient facilities distant from most phases of the procedure he monitored.

As of April 1972, Museum Operations was trying to function with its staff scattered among five buildings and specimens stored in eight separate locations, all far from ideal. Allen wrote Everhart to propose a solution. The sixty-year-old Shipley School building, conveniently near the new HFC building and soon to be vacant, could house the entire branch under one roof. Allen offered to use the branch's funds to rent the building, at least for the first year, and give up the space the branch occupied in the HFC building. The school had many defects, but Allen presented feasible plans for correcting them. His energetic and skillful defense of the proposal succeeded: the government rented the building when school closed for the summer. Essential rewiring, installation of new lights, interior painting,

and other needed work started on the heels of departing students. By July the branch started moving in. Work on the building and its proper equipment would continue through the next decade and beyond, but old Shipley proved its worth as an efficient focal point for the curatorial needs of park museums.[30]

Other initiatives engaged the Branch of Museum Operations during the period under discussion. The need to provide specific training for people charged with taking care of museum collections in the parks had again become all too apparent. The Mather Training Center accordingly agreed to schedule and underwrite a five-day Curatorial Methods Course in the spring of 1969 in lieu of the longer Museum Methods Course it had displaced after the 1964 session. David Wallace shouldered the main load of preparing the content and instructional plans in consultation with the training center staff. The center provided general supervision, logistical support, classrooms, and dormitory and paid travel and per diem costs. Branch staff ably reinforced by regional curators supplied most of the instruction. Unlike the older course, Curatorial Methods concentrated on the care and management of collections without considering their interpretive use.

A class of twelve attended the 1969 session. Sufficiently impressed by the quality and urgency of the training, the training center scheduled the course again in February and December 1970, with the class about doubled in size. In 1971 the center had to cut its training programs, but it offered Curatorial Methods again in December 1972 and October 1973. By the latter session the class had grown to more than thirty trainees. Geoffrey Stansfield, on sabbatical from the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, England, and several other outside experts instructed on special topics. Art Allen took over the course planning and preparation chores from Wallace, who had other pressing demands on his time.

Harpers Ferry Center's divisions had brought with them the books and professional journals they used on a regular basis but left behind the more extensive reference sources they had found it convenient to consult in Washington. The holdings of the separate divisions supplemented one another to some degree but also overlapped, and there were many gaps to fill. As divisional collections they remained largely inaccessible to the other units. To rationalize this chaotic and wasteful situation HFC's management appointed Wallace chairman of a library committee in September 1970.[31] Under his leadership the center developed in time a professionally staffed, well-equipped central library with control over specialized satellite collections in offices needing them. Wallace enlisted the expertise of the Interior Department's library to catalog the existing holdings and organize procedures for continued orderly growth.

Everhart also drafted Wallace for a project supported by George Hartzog designed to create a National Park Service archives. It would not duplicate the role of the National Archives but save in usable form many significant documents produced in the course of Service activities that did not qualify for retention as official records. Accepting the challenge with sincere interest, Wallace helped establish guidelines and assess material on hand. By January 1972 he started assembling documents from park files. That July he recruited from the field Richard W. Russell, Carl Russell's son, as full-time curator of the archives. The Branch of Museum Operations allocated a room in the old Shipley School building where Russell could assemble and organize the growing collection. Ten months later Wallace reminded Everhart that the branch was paying all costs from its overhead account and advised him that the project would require specific funding of at least $40,000 annually to continue at its current level.[32] Such expanding programs under Everhart's leadership kept the entire Division of Museums at full steam during the 1967-73 period.

Division of Exhibits, 1974-1980

Reorganization of the Washington Office under Director Ronald H. Walker, George Hartzog's successor, took effect in October 1973. Everhart became again Assistant Director, Interpretation, headquartered in Washington. As such he retained line authority over Harpers Ferry Center but gave up active management of its operations.[33] This function devolved upon Marc Sagan, who advanced to the position of HFC manager. He was succeeded by Alan Kent as chief of interpretive planning.

Sagan announced his plans for reshaping HFC's organization two months later. He split the Division of Museums in two while absorbing two of its longstanding functions within a new branch organizationally quite separate from the core of the museum program. A Division of Exhibits with Russell Hendrickson as chief contained three branches: Exhibit Planning and Design under Robert Johnsson, Exhibit Production still under Grant Cadwallader, and Wayside Exhibits similarly under Ray Price. The former Branch of Museum Operations metamorphosed into the Division of Museum Services, headed by Art Allen. In the process it lost its role in historic furnishing policy and planning but resumed responsibility for museum clearinghouse affairs (although not immediately). Furnished historic structure museum planning and procurement, the former Branch of Curatorial Services in Springfield, the HFC library, and the Park Service archival program were lumped together in a Branch of Reference Services. Conceived of as responding to the needs of the center as a whole, which was true only in part, it fell under program management rather than museums in the organizational scheme. Wallace, the staff member best

qualified to direct development in several of these fields, agreed to serve as chief of the new branch.

These changes occurred while the center carried a heavy load of American Revolution Bicentennial development projects for the parks. In reviewing what the Division of Exhibits accomplished during the 1974-76 fiscal years, Hendrickson cited impressive totals. The Branch of Exhibit Planning and Design provided exhibit plans for 92 museums. Exhibit Production accounted for 45 museums installed. Wayside Exhibits planned and produced fifty projects. These figures included the work of contract design and exhibit preparation firms, but such contracts required substantial time and effort by division staff. New visitor centers constructed at Independence, Minute Man, and Morristown national historical parks involved exhibit planning and preparation, and practically every existing museum in other parks associated with the Revolution underwent complete transformation to meet current interpretive concepts. Wayside exhibits in these parks also received fresh treatment in many instances.

At Independence, Franklin Court exemplified several characteristic aspects of Bicentennial development. The long-neglected site of Benjamin Franklin's home enlisted the creative concern of the Division of Exhibits in collaboration with historical architects, archeologists, contract design and production companies, and park, regional, and service center staffs. Among numerous interpretive components of this site development two stood out as truly innovative.

The historical architects used one of the 18th-century buildings facing Market Street to demonstrate brilliantly how an old structure preserves the record of its past and how architects, archeologists, and historians can painstakingly decipher the evidence. They retained intact the original walls of the building. From freestanding viewing platforms linked by stairs within the interior void, visitors could examine the structural evidence that revealed where floors, partitions, hearths, and other features had once existed. Artifacts and brief labels mounted nearby pointed out and helped interpret the structural clues. This direct approach challenged the viewer's intellect, apparently with signal success.

Archeologists had located the foundations of Franklin's house in the center of the court, but details of the structure's appearance were unknown. Rather than reconstruct a hypothetical building, the architectural firm of Venturi, Rauch, and Scott Brown chose to outline the form of the house over the foundations with stainless steel members. Paving stones, some engraved with verbal evidence, marked room locations. Viewing windows into the excavated foundations below revealed primary evidence. Again visitors could sense the authenticity of the presentation. Many found it a moving and enlightening experience.

A third component of the Franklin Court development stood in contrast to these two examples of studied restraint. A largely underground museum to interpret Franklin's life and role occupied one side of the court. It employed a mixture of current display devices such as bright lights and colors, animation, and recorded sound. Franklin would no doubt have been impressed with their novel mechanisms if not with their communicative effectiveness.

The division had other important projects to complete. The Museum of Westward Expansion beneath Saarinen's Gateway Arch at St. Louis finally opened in 1976. Complete revision of the Kilauea museum at Hawaii Volcanoes National Park and the historic Yavapai observation station museum in Grand Canyon National Park illustrated a Service-wide replacement program. Hendrickson pointed out in 1975 that 230 exhibit installations in the parks were at least 15 years old with more becoming obsolescent or outworn at a calculated rate of 22 per year.[34] But two new projects intrigued him especially, both involving Service response to the Indian rights movement.

With many prehistoric and historic Indian sites to preserve and interpret, the Service had a longstanding commitment to the cultural heritage of these peoples. During the 1970s Indian rights activists questioned the display of prehistoric human remains and objects deemed sacred. Conflicting scientific and cultural obligations had to be reconciled.[35] In general the Service removed human remains from exhibit in park museums and consulted with tribal representatives about the display of sacred objects. Even so, militant activists might not agree with decisions jointly reached.

At the new visitor center at Big Hole National Battlefield, Indian and white visitors would surely put to the test the fundamental rule that museum exhibits should present facts without trace of bias. The Big Hole museum should help all visitors understand what took place and assess fairly not only the causes and results of the battle but the sagacity and valor of the opposing combatants. The exhibits included prime specimens, some borrowed from the U.S. Military Academy museum at West Point. The park feared that dissident activists might try to claim possession of certain objects, and the division specified extra security measures in exhibit case design. Someone did break into the museum and penetrate an exhibit case, but it proved to be a drug user seeking a smoking implement, which the museum later recovered.

The second project that especially interested Hendrickson was a traveling exhibition of fine artifacts addressed to native groups lacking ready access to museums. Indian Pride on the Move, a large tractor-trailer modified to provide a safe environment for objects, carried specimens from the collection that had supplied Grand Teton National Park's Indian art

museum. The venture deeply involved curators and conservators in the Division of Museum Services as well as the Division of Exhibits. Manned by an Indian crew, the exhibition traveled successfully to reservations and neighboring communities in the western states during the summers of 1976 and 1977.[36] It was an expensive variation on the traveling exhibitions of paintings and photographs relevant to the national parks that the division and its predecessor had been circulating widely since 1968.

Throughout the 1974-80 period the Branch of Wayside Exhibits had all the planning and production work it could handle. While the staff continued to seek and try new ways to make outdoor exhibits more durable and versatile, it concentrated production on three well-tested types. Cast aluminum panels had proved sturdy and relatively easy to maintain, although the medium imposed limits on the designer. Etched aluminum panels could reproduce fine pictorial detail and text in lasting form but with very restricted color range. Silkscreened artwork and label copy laminated in weather-resistant plastic sacrificed ruggedness to gain much broader design potential. By screening multiple copies to laminate as needed the method allowed for inexpensive replacement.

The need for new museum exhibits in the parks required greater production. Two branches responded by hiring more staff. By mid-1978 Wayside Exhibits had expanded to eight professionals plus clerical support. Of its veteran artists, Daniel Feaser retired in 1980 and Joseph Rockwell in 1983. Exhibit Planning and Design by 1980 had 14 or 15 planning curators and designers, almost double the number in 1975. James Mulcahy retired in 1980 but returned to work for a time as a reemployed annuitant. Thirty-four people worked for the Branch of Exhibit Production in 1978, the majority of them career preparators. Of these Peder Kitti retired near the end of the period under review. Hendrickson made effective use of temporary and part-time workers in this branch, which also increased production by organizing project teams across specialist lines and by effective use of three thousand square feet of space added to the shop in the park maintenance yard. The Division of Exhibits as a whole during its very busy six years supplied the parks with a flow of new exhibits surely creditable in volume and quality.

The daily files of the division reveal, on the other hand, repeated glimpses of diverging opinions between its chief and HFC management. Perhaps thwarted in hopes for stronger development of park museums, Hendrickson chose to retire early in 1980.[37] The center did not fill his position. Instead it raised each of the three branches to division status, letting them operate independently without a museum professional as their common leader. They remained strong in staff who understood park interpretation and display methods from solid experience but lacked corresponding strength in the theory and practice of museum work. This

imbalance contributed to later changes that greatly reduced actual production of museum exhibits at HFC.

Branch/Division of Reference Services, 1974-1980

Creation of this branch fragmented to a further degree the museum responsibilities of the Harpers Ferry Center. It also removed David Wallace from the larger areas of the center's museum concern. Wallace was one of the few staff members who possessed a broad curatorial understanding based on sound professional experience in museums outside as well as within the Service. He would put this experience to good use, to be sure, in managing two distinct museum activities that accompanied the strictly reference services. To help with the latter he soon secured a professional librarian, David Nathanson, to devote full time to the equipment, organization, growth, and operation of the center library. Nathanson proved highly capable of this and later of supervising what came to be known as the National Park Service History Collection.

The museum aspects of the branch task involved the work of Chief Curator Harold Peterson and furnished historic structure museums. With Wallace administering the branch Peterson could focus on pressing Bicentennial curatorial matters. With William L. Brown's help, he advised on an ambitious and complex project to reproduce rare cannon for Revolutionary War sites. He also provided guidance to projects supplying accurate costumes and accessories for "living history" presentations in numerous parks. At the same time he continued his basic responsibility of leading procurement and authentication of specimens for park museum exhibits. In the latter work he still had good help from his colleague, Lee Wallace. Throughout this busy time Peterson battled severe chronic illness. With his death at the age of 55 on New Year's Day 1978—the day after he retired—the Service lost its most widely known and respected curator.

For the second museum activity assigned to the branch, furnished historic structure museums, David Wallace took direct responsibility. The following chapter will consider these special museums in more detail. Suffice it to say here that he started single-handed. A few months later staff curator Vera Craig transferred from Museum Services to work on the preparation of furnishing plans. In addition Wallace assembled a small staff of experts trained for the most part in the respected Winterthur program.

In 1976 Reference Services rose from branch to division status, perhaps reflecting a clearer appreciation of the scope and importance of the roles it encompassed. Four years later the division chief was able to establish three branches within the division: Graphic Resources, Historic Furnishings, and Library and Archival Services. He then made the difficult choice of early retirement when family needs took precedence over professional

interests. Again HFC did not fill the vacant position of division chief. A reorganization in 1984 made Historic Furnishings one of HFC's eight professional divisions and redesignated the other two units as an Office of Library and Archives under Nathanson and an Office of Graphics Research under Marilyn Wandrus. Concern for museums beyond their function as one among several interpretive media available to the parks meanwhile rested increasingly in Museum Services.

Division of Museum Services, 1974-1981

When Art Allen became chief of the new division, he clearly saw urgent curatorial needs facing the Service. David Wallace had opened his eyes to them during the two years Allen worked as assistant chief of the Branch of Museum Operations, and he had started on practical measures to address them. He had come to realize that in its museum collections the Service had a resource whose value was understood by few managers, and he was in a position to know in general how far short of its declared curatorial standards the Service had fallen. In seven years as division chief he tightened and extended practices not only at Harpers Ferry but widely in the parks.

The interrelated range of programs attacking various aspects of the problem accomplished an essential corollary objective. By 1979 top management had become more fully aware that park museum collections constituted a scientific and cultural resource of impressive value for which it held prime responsibility. The directorate in Washington and the regional offices along with superintendents in the parks consequently increased attention to and support for the assessment, protection, and care of specimens. This in turn made possible substantial improvement in the amount and quality of curatorial effort Service-wide.

The division actions that bore such fruit began on a smaller scale. One program aimed to establish proper accountability for specimens held temporarily at Harpers Ferry Center.[38] The appointment of a full-time registrar, David Warthen, had begun the process. Allen assigned Warthen one of the classrooms in the old Shipley School and equipped it for this specific function. A small office built into the room housed the records kept on all museum objects entering and leaving HFC custody. The remainder of the classroom was furnished with locked specimen cabinets. An adjacent room, the largest in the building, became additional space for keeping specimens in a well-organized manner. A third room made special provision for paintings on sliding screens and prints in cabinets. Warthen thus had the means for systematic, secure specimen storage under his immediate control. Allen negotiated written procedures with the Branch of Exhibit Planning and Design to ensure that all specimens it called for came first to the

Arthur C. Allen. Chief, Division of Museum Services.

registrar. Corresponding procedures applied to the Branch of Exhibit Production and to the conservators.

Through decades of operation the museum laboratories had accumulated a backlog of specimens sent in from parks for various reasons. Allen instructed Warthen to check every object on hand against existing records. If a specimen was not required for a currently scheduled project, the registrar returned it to the park. This exhaustive review of older transactions gave the records in his care a high degree of reliability. In returning objects Warthen also made himself an expert in secure packing. When he requested museum material from the parks he regularly included suggestions on how to pack and ship the objects safely, and he gave packing demonstrations to trainees at the Curatorial Methods course. The documentation that accompanied specimens sent back from the center also helped remind parks of their records responsibility.

In its concern for another category of objects the division focused wider attention on accountability. Allen worried about the scant documentation the museum clearinghouse at Springfield appeared to keep for its exchanges of Park Service artifacts with collectors and dealers.[39] As soon as responsibility for this operation shifted to his division, Allen recruited an experienced curator from one of the Army museums and placed him in charge. Beginning in 1978 the curator, H. Dale Durham, oversaw the physical transfer of the collection first to rented warehouses in Brunswick, Maryland, and Charles Town, West Virginia, then mostly into coveted space at Harpers Ferry released for this purpose by the secretary of the interior.[40] With Roger Rishel as a temporary assistant Durham got about 5,000 specimens into safe, orderly storage where the clearinghouse could function with reasonable efficiency. He also verified the processes whereby the clearinghouse could legally carry out its functions of removing unneeded objects from park museum collections and obtaining needed ones in exchange. Based on this study he drafted a procedural manual for

Service-wide clearinghouse operations. Meanwhile the division registrar accessioned the clearinghouse specimens in full detail, laboriously ferreting out missing data on artifacts and transactions. With this vital information in hand the clearinghouse could again anticipate actively serving park museum needs in the refinement of collections.[41]

One of Durham's inquiries along the way helped spotlight the spreading realization of being truly accountable for museum collections. Following discussion an Interior Department attorney wrote him, "You are correct in being concerned, not only because of the obvious practical need to account for a multi-million dollar collection, but also because accountability is legally required by statute and regulation."[42] The admonition referred specifically to national park museum collections as a whole and so pointed to practically every park superintendent. Ripples from such a reminder doubtless reached managers and curators at many levels. In 1981 the Justice Department's inspector general in response to some complaint found that property accountability for museum collections in the Service's National Capital Region, including Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, was clearly inadequate. The region had to take prompt action. The proximity of the park gave Allen an opportunity to set up a mutual training exercise in which the Division of Museum Services would help the park staff carry out the inspector general's requirements.

Allen's carefully planned attack on National Capital Region's problem of thoroughly accounting for a park's collection began in January 1982. Selected members of the division and park staff formed a team of at least eight workers who would spend at least two days a week on the task until it was judged completed. The team checked every accession record, visually established the presence of every specimen, cataloged all uncataloged specimens, updated location data, weeded out objects inappropriate to the park's defined mission and arranged for their proper disposal, and worked out practical solutions to longstanding questions of improved environment or security for exhibit and storage areas. After twelve weeks of sustained effort the division could step aside leaving the park with clear instructions for tying up a few time-consuming loose ends, such as two hundred hours worth of typing catalog records.[43] The drive to achieve Service-wide museum collection accountability continued throughout the period of this study and beyond.

The Division of Museum Services pursued several training initiatives for park staffs who had to record and care for collections. As the primary one it continued the Curatorial Methods Course described above. This collaborative effort with the Mather Training Center provided a week of intensive study and practice to approximately 24 Park Service employees at each session. A few trainees from parks and museums outside the Service increased the class size to about thirty and introduced a broader range of

experience that regularly enhanced instruction. Each year the division chief had to fight for funding the course. He also personally invested much time and thought in this ongoing program, as did many of his staff. Consequently the course evolved in substance and technique from year to year.

One significant change, aimed to strengthen the coverage of natural history collections, brought Christine Schonewald-Cox of the Service's science and technology staff into the cadre of instructors beginning in 1980. Her participation underlined the real importance of these often slighted collections. It also contributed authoritative knowledge and valuable insights on the proper care of scientific specimens. She and her colleagues, Jonathan Bayless and Timothy Halverson, continued to provide expert help to the curatorial programs. Near the end of Allen's tenure Curatorial Methods became one of Mather Training Center's routinely programmed courses and beginning in June 1983 its length was increased to two weeks.

Because only a fraction of candidates in need of the training could be accommodated at Mather, the training staff suggested a more concentrated course offered on a regional basis to reduce travel costs. By mid-1981 the division had provided key instructors for five sessions, such as a three-day Basic Curatorial Accountability and Collection Management Course at sites selected by the regional curators. Regional curators also organized additional courses, notably in the North Atlantic Region, which had more than its share of museum collections in need of knowledgeable care. In 1981 Regional Curator Edward Kallop developed a Museum Technician Training Curriculum in collaboration with the New England Museum Association. A single qualified instructor, Edward McManus, from the regional staff met with the trainees one full day a week for ten weeks. Between class sessions the trainees had assigned homework. The instructor presented the course first to museum workers from parks in the Boston area, then repeated it for those in and near New York City.[44] The region followed this with a Collection Management Conference, to which the division sent participants.

Technical aspects of caring for museum collections required training in more depth than the basic course at Harpers Ferry allowed. To address this need Allen proposed a follow-up course, Curatorial Methods—Phase II, which the training center agreed to support. Under Phase II individuals returned to Harpers Ferry for a further week. Each trainee reported to a key conservator in the division laboratories, where they proceeded through a full schedule of conferences and practical hands-on sessions focused on specific tasks the trainee's collection needed. Experts in the division worked with the trainee to diagnose causes of the problems affecting specimens and to apply safe techniques of preventive care. Between September 1975 and September 1978 66 individuals completed Phase II, at considerable cost to the heavy load of specimen treatment facing the

conservators. The training center stopped supporting Phase II in 1979 for its own financial reasons.[45]

Even the lucky staff members of park museums who had completed Phase I and II needed to refer to written instructions and guidelines as they tackled the care of their collections. Ned Burns' *Field Manual for Museums* served this purpose well in its time, but it had been out of print for a generation and many of its guidelines no longer applied. The Museum Branch followed by the Branch of Museum Operations had prepared in the 1950s and 1960s a mimeographed *Museum Handbook* designed to give specific guidance needed in the parks, but subsequent action by top management largely vitiated the entire Service handbook program. While Allen worked steadily to reestablish the status and promote the use of the *Museum Handbook,* he also reanimated the old dream of issuing a new edition of the Burns manual. He won full cooperation from the Division of Professional Publications in the Washington Office and managed to find the funding required. Ralph Lewis accepted the writing assignment. With its text based on the handbook but broadened as necessary to address needs of small museums generally, Lewis's *Manual for Museums* was published by the Government Printing Office in 1976.[46]

In a period when museums everywhere enlarged their concepts of collection care, technical advances in the recording, storage, and treatment of specimens accelerated as well. Allen saw that the manual would require supplementing with a flow of up-to-date guidelines on these techniques. From the outset the division received calls for help from parks asking specific advice on collection care. Some questions arose repeatedly. In discussing ways to provide this service more efficiently the division chief and his staff envisioned a series of brief, clear advisory statements that would apply to situations similar in several parks. Thinking in terms of quick response to what might often be emergencies, someone proposed calling the statements "Conserve O Grams."

By the fall of 1974 Allen asked Fonda Randell (Thomsen) of the conservation staff to develop the idea.[47] Her assignment, which included only such funding as could be squeezed from existing programs, called for improvisation. At a nearby printing and binding company she obtained a stock of bright yellow, heavy-weight offset paper. The company punched it for three-ring binders and printed the series name in color on each sheet. She and her colleagues meanwhile wrote the first five or six Conserve O Grams, which ranged from a general statement on the work of conservators to details of a safe way to clean baskets. Printed by the Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center as a training exercise, the introductory set went out to the regional curators for distribution to the parks in March 1975.

The initial distribution generated two important suggestions from the field. One superintendent requested extra copies for a museum in the

community. Allen at once saw the potential value of Conserve O Grams in strengthening liaison with outside museums and encouraged free distribution at the discretion of regional curators. In the Southwest the regional chief of interpretation proposed that a numbering system would make the series easier to file and consult as it grew. The division put this recommendation into effect with the distribution of April 20, 1977. At that time a table of contents accompanied the new Conserve O Grams, listing 46 titles under 19 categories. The total had reached 36 when Betty C. Kerns of the division administrative staff, assisted by Carol Holler, took over the task. Obtaining more satisfactory production through the Interior Department printer, Kerns issued several new titles in May 1977 and 15 more plus two revisions in August 1978. The series contained 59 Conserve O Grams by March 1979. Later that year staff curator Diana Pardue took over responsibility for the program. Six more titles came out in February 1980 and five in August. By then each new Conserve O Gram went to 334 Park Service offices and by request to 168 other museums and related organizations including ones in Canada, Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, Australia, and New Zealand.

A later chapter will trace the development of centralized assistance to parks in selecting and procuring special equipment and supplies for proper care of museum collections. Robert Olsen continued this established service along with other duties until he transferred to a park early in 1976. Allen selected as his replacement a young park ranger who had graduated from the Virginia Military Institute and served in the Army Corps of Engineers. Donald R. Cumberland, Jr., applied his grasp of technical requirements to a review of existing specifications for curatorial equipment and supplies and the sources for obtaining them. As a result he found more companies willing to bid on the manufacture of specimen storage cabinets that met the Service's high standards. Increased competition and his urging led to development of a more durable gasket for sealing old and new standard cabinets.

Product development to meet Service needs did not stop there. Improvements in the quality and variety of specimen storage trays, acid-free document and print boxes, other specimen containers, and storage accessories resulted from Cumberland's efforts. He similarly increased the number, kinds, and sophistication of instruments available to the parks for monitoring environmental conditions affecting museum collections. To the extent possible he stocked the curatorial supplies parks needed. He persuaded procurement officers to get the most important equipment items on term contracts at favorable prices. These indefinite quantity contracts fluctuated in effectiveness with the adequacy of funding, which often failed to enable parks to buy as much as they needed. Nevertheless curators throughout the Service learned that a phone call to Cumberland's desk

would either bring prompt shipment or precise information on reliable sources and current costs.

Park museums lacked adequate housing for collections not on exhibit. Allen realized that this widespread situation jeopardized the integrity of the Service as custodian of significant resources. In part because of his efforts the director's policy council ordered a review of museum specimen management in the spring of 1976. Jack Pound, management assistant to the director, was unable to complete all proposed phases of the study, but he turned over to the division collection inventories submitted by each park and specimen lists from other Service offices. Allen's wife volunteered to tabulate the figures, a long and arduous task. The grand total of 9,701,959 specimens included nearly 200,000 on exhibit. The stored remainder was double the amount previously estimated.[48] The magnitude of the resource emphasized the need for decisive action in the parks.

In January 1975, in response to calls for help from the regional curator in Santa Fe, Allen sent Betsy Hunter of his staff to Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site. Despite the work of an able park curator who had nearly finished cataloging its large, valuable collection, conditions at the site made care of the specimens exceptionally difficult. Hunter's report led the new park superintendent to ask that Allen and his staff prepare a collection management plan for Hubbell Trading Post.[49] Allen, Betsy (Hunter) Bradley, and Fonda Thomsen spent a week at the park that July. After a frustrating day listening to reasons why improvements could not be made, they rolled up their sleeves and put some of the worst practices to right. Data gathering and analysis of the problem filled the rest of the week. Back in Harpers Ferry the team compiled a 59-page report with 173 pages of appendices. The Service's first collection management plan analyzed ten aspects of the Hubbell collection and recommended action on each.

Such plans proved useful tools, and many parks asked for this new service. When the division staff could not keep up with the demand, Allen contracted with Ralph Lewis and other individuals experienced in collection management. During the next seven years available manpower and funds permitted completion of plans for 32 parks. Beginning about 1980 and extending through 1983 the name changed to collection preservation guide, apparently to avoid review and approval procedures that seemed inappropriate.[50] Then the documents reverted to their original name, partly because unanticipated association with historic structure preservation guides implied that they were limited to housekeeping functions. Although having a plan did not obligate compliance, most superintendents who received them took action to improve collection housing and care. Regional curators supported development of the plans from the start, and following resumption of the initial name regional directors began giving them formal concurrence based

on staff review. This raised their status as yardsticks by which parks' stewardship of their museum resources might be measured.

A collection management plan also reviewed the state of a park's museum records. These constituted an essential element in collection care and formed the focus of another division program. Soon after he transferred to the Branch of Museum Operations at Harpers Ferry, David Wallace drafted a justification for establishing a national catalog of all Park Service museum collections.[51] Each park had its own catalog, but he felt the Service's need to know what, where, and how significant its total holdings of the many kinds of museum objects were. At the same time he visualized the advantages of computerizing the scattered data. His proposal remained in abeyance until the 1977 fiscal year, when the Division of Museum Service's budget unexpectedly contained initial funding for a national catalog because HFC management had assigned lower priority to other division needs.

Allen and museum technician Michael P. Paskowsky decided to have all parks deposit at Harpers Ferry the original copy of the catalog record for every specimen, retaining the working copies for park use. To ensure the permanent safety of these basic museum records, Allen obtained dedicated occupancy of sufficient space in the fallout shelter next to Mather Training Center, had it enclosed, and equipped it with shelving and special fire protection. In May 1977 the director's office ordered creation of "a central repository for museum records at the Harpers Ferry Center."[52] The division then called in an anticipated two-and-a-half million catalog cards.

As conceived at that stage the National Catalog would consist of two parts. The original records for each park would remain in numerical order in their post binders, which would be shelved alphabetically by park and region in the fallout shelter. The staff would photocopy each card upon receipt and file the copies by classification rather than by park and catalog number. The file of originals would assure permanence of the records, while the classified file would make the data much more accessible.

The division hired a new employee, Norma Rishel, as clerk of the National Catalog. She began her duties in June 1977 as the 23,593 records from the National Capital Region came to the center. With the help of two volunteers, Dorothy Lewis and Dorothy Sheetz, she reviewed and copied these cards and reported items requiring correction or completion. Records from other regions followed in steady succession. Rishel completed this phase of the project late in 1978 before family demands prompted her resignation. By the time Gordon Gay left the curatorship of the National Capital Region to become curator of the National Catalog that November, more than half a million original records were safely filed in the fallout shelter.

The effort to create the classified file of photocopied records demonstrated shortcomings in the existing classification system. In 1979 Gay convened a committee of regional, park, and archeological center curators to establish a more acceptable classification scheme for the National Catalog. For collections of historical objects the Service adopted the new functional classification proposed in Robert Chenhall's *Nomenclature for Museum Cataloging: A System for Classifying Man-Made Objects,* designed with computerization in mind. Christine Schonewald-Cox provided an updated classification list for natural history collections. These essential improvements helped the National Catalog staff in a sustained effort to find a practical means of getting the catalog computerized, but rapid changes in the data processing field complicated the task.

At this stage the story of the National Catalog passed beyond the time span of the present study. Under Ann Hitchcock, appointed chief curator in 1980 and charged with establishing accountability for museum collections, the work expanded. A National Catalog Steering Committee established in 1982 further refined the classification system and recommended other changes in the museum records procedures.

The Division of Museum Services started in 1974 with a staff of about 14. Nearly all were in permanent full-time positions inherited from the superseded Branch of Museum Operations. They could at best continue the carry-over functions assigned to the new division, a situation unsatisfactory to Allen. David Warthen as registrar found his time fully committed even with a young assistant, James (Mike) Wiltshire, whom he trained to pack objects expertly. The skilled conservators, who constituted half the staff, had large backlogs of specimens in need of preservative treatment, and some objects at risk in park collections lay outside their areas of expertise. Conservators with special knowledge and equipment would have to treat these specimens under contract. One of the two staff curators, Vera Craig, had to spend most of her time on the conservation contracts. Robert Olsen, the other curator, did what he could to furnish curatorial services to the parks. Museum specialist Herbert Martin could work part time on collection storage problems with growing attention to physical security, but a significant part of his time went to help organize the local Youth Conservation Corps summer program.

Allen successfully attacked the staffing problem. By 1980 he had increased the division to thirty permanent positions, 17 of them full time. Only five of the original 14 remained: Allen, Allen Cochran, Fonda Thomsen, David Warthen, and Mike Wiltshire. Of the rest two conservators, Walter Nitkiewicz and James Smith, had died and two others, Edward Brown and Ralph Sheetz, had reached retirement age. Betty Kerns, Allen's secretary, elected early retirement. The others—Craig, Olson, Martin, and Janet Stone—had transferred to positions outside the division. With growth

in work force and programs Allen won approval to subdivide his organization into two branches and two smaller units.

A Branch of Curatorial Services tentatively set up in 1979 encompassed the collection management, Conserve O Gram, and clearinghouse programs as well as the curatorial supply and equipment services. Dale Durham headed the branch briefly but soon left to become curator for the Southeast Region. The Branch of Conservation Laboratories had 19 employees, ten of them professional conservators. A senior conservator, Fonda Thomsen, served as branch chief for a time but preferred to exercise her professional skills. Thomas G. Vaughan left the superintendency of Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site to administer the branch after that. David Warthen assisted by museum aid James K. Lance continued to operate the Office of the Registrar while Gordon Gay and Florence E. (Libby) Allen maintained the National Catalog.

Allen also found valuable workers through temporary appointments, some of which could be renewed after a lapse. He made effective use of the Service's upward mobility, equal employment opportunity, intake training, and volunteer-in-the-park programs. The work/study and community intern programs of nearby high schools, Young Adult Conservation Corps, undergraduate intern programs of area colleges, and the graduate internships of university museum studies departments produced a significant number of willing hands. Although they number too many to name, the division owed thanks for outstanding work to such future park curators as Laura Feller, Carol Kohan, and Tyra Walker; conservators' aids and understudies Letitia Allen, Dale Boyce, Thurid Clark, Anna Johnson, Charles Shepherd, Carol Snow and Janet Werner; and interns Ann Barton, Brook Bowman, Lynn Carroll, Jeffery Goldstein, Sara Hammett, Nancy Hillery, Barbara O'Connell, Richard Rattenbury, and Richard Trela.[53]

In spite of his success in rallying extra workers, Allen reached a conclusion parallel to one that had apparently led Russell Hendrickson to retire. Both seemed to decide that the Harpers Ferry Interpretive Design Center's priorities would not adequately support the balance of functions and services required to meet the critical needs of park museums as they saw them. Allen's proposed solution differed from Hendrickson's: he reasoned that museums required direct representation in the Washington Office such as had sustained them from 1935, when Carl Russell transferred there, until 1969.

This idea was nurtured in a succession of thoughtful discussions in which Allen had a hand. In May 1974 the newly organized Division of Museum Services convened a two-day conference of regional curators, the first such formal meeting of the group in ten years. After debating issues of collection management the conferees framed ten statements summarizing their recommendations. HFC management distributed the report to the

regions but without active support.[54] At this point Allen's idea had not surfaced: the recommendations included no reference to needing a museum voice in Washington.

Regional Curator Edward Kallop called together curators from parks in the North Atlantic Region in June 1976. He asked them to define the region's curatorial needs for the next five years and weigh the role of curators in the Park Service.[55] Task groups addressing these subjects produced two years later a carefully considered 17-page report backed by eight appendices containing unusually solid data. The report urged "recognition at the Washington level of the NPS curatorial presence by establishment of an office at a peer level with Interpretation and comparable offices."[56]

At a timely moment Regional Curator Edward Jahns of the Rocky Mountain Region requested a Service-wide curators' conference to offset what he felt was growing provincialism among Park Service museum workers. Allen strongly endorsed the idea, and the division carefully organized the affair.[57] More than a hundred participants met at the Mather Training Center in September 1978, having received beforehand copies of the North Atlantic report. Smithsonian Assistant Secretary for Museum Programs Paul Perrot, an internationally recognized authority on the profession, gave the keynote address. The attending curators and technicians labored with marked enthusiasm as a group and in seven committees, which refined current thinking on a number of problems and proposed solutions. The conference also endorsed some general resolutions, the second of which clearly expressed Allen's matured idea: "A Chief Curator position should be established in the Washington Office Division of Cultural Resources Management and corresponding positions should be established or realigned within each Region and at Denver Service Center."[58]

Harold Peterson's departure at the end of 1977 had vacated the title of chief curator. Allen proposed to use it for a new purpose. Where to try to locate it within the director's office was a more difficult question. Although curatorial work in the Park Service had traditionally fallen under the umbrella of interpretation, several factors suggested a change. Being part of interpretation had naturally fostered an emphasis on exhibits rather than collection care. Curators in the North Atlantic Region had in their recent report advocated independence from the interpreters. The interpretation unit in the Washington Office was then seriously understaffed. Coincidentally, creation of an assistant directorship for cultural resources under F. Ross Holland, Jr., in July 1978 reflected increased concern for cultural resource management. Although park museums and collections dealt with natural history as much as human history, the cultural resources office with its responsibilities for historical and archeological artifacts seemed the better

choice. Events justified it even before the conference resolutions could receive formal submission.

The House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs had staff members scrutinizing the Service's performance in cultural resource management late in 1978. Director William J. Whalen called a meeting on the subject at Mather Training Center in January 1979. House committee staff members attended, as did about fifty Service officials. The conference report submitted numerous recommendations for action by the director. One of them, starred as especially important, was to establish the chief curator's position in the Washington Office under cultural resources. In March the director announced his approval and listed ten actions the chief curator needed to take.[59]

To fill the position the Service sought applicants from the museum community at large. The choice fell on Ann Hitchcock, a highly qualified candidate, who began her duties early in June 1980.[60] Her development of staff and programs, which focused first on achieving high standards of collection care and management throughout the Service, lies largely beyond the time frame of this study. Even before her appointment, Allen promoted a reorganization that would give the chief curator staff support. With his encouragement, the assistant director for cultural resources recommended "that the Division of Museum Services and its conservation laboratory . . . be reassigned to [the Washington Office] and placed under the proposed Chief Curator of the National Park Service."[61] The directorate approved this action to take effect in mid-1981.

On the verge of execution, HFC management protested. It argued that the work the division performed did not constitute a proper function of the central policy and oversight office in Washington. It claimed that loss of the conservation laboratories would cripple HFC's exhibit production program, and it noted that an employee union being organized at Harpers Ferry had not been consulted. The chief of the Office of Park Planning and Environmental Quality, who held Washington Office responsibility for the center's mission, withdrew his consent to the transfer. The resulting impasse led to a management study.

Before the study began, the chief curator conferred with HFC's manager. They agreed that the chief curator had to ensure specimen conservation for museum collections Service-wide but that the center should control the timely treatment of specimens in its exhibit production and rehabilitation programs. This seemed to imply splitting the staff and facilities of the Branch of Conservation Laboratories. At that point center management averred that 85 percent of the conservation laboratories' work was on exhibit specimens while Division of Museum Services records indicated 45 percent with only 21 percent funded by exhibit projects.[62] The management study team approached the problem largely through

analysis of time and cost. Its report, submitted in February 1982, recommended leaving the Branch of Conservation Laboratories essentially intact as part of HFC. By implication at least the conservators would work on specimens in exhibits produced or rehabilitated by the center.[63] The report left to the chief curator the larger problem of conserving museum specimens throughout the parks. Despite challenges to the report's accuracy the director approved it. A second report in April, although sharply criticized, led to implementation of the recommendations.[64] In August the curatorial staff and programs of the former Division of Museum Services became part of the Curatorial Services Division, Washington Office.[65]

NOTES

1. Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services staff meeting minutes, Apr. 25, 1967, Interpretive Conferences folder, Storage Box 111, NPS History Collection. Although officially adopted, both new designs proved short-lived.

2. David D. McLean, an accomplished young designer, joined the exhibit planning staff in 1965, Walton D. Stowell transferred from the architectural unit of the Eastern Service Center in 1969, and Sois Ingram added his design talents to the in-house group at the end of 1970. Contract designers included the league group on the American Museum of Immigration, Kissiloff and Wimmershoff on visitor center exhibits at Morristown and Minute Man national historical parks, Imaginetics, Inc., on the Grand Teton Indian Arts Museum, Aram Mardirosian's Potomac Group on the Museum of Westward Expansion, and Barry Howard Associates on several projects.

3. William M. Blair, "At Ford's Theater, Tour Is the Thing," *New York Times,* Mar. 10, 1968, p. 62.

4. On November 6, 1964, Everhart wrote the Western Museum Laboratory's acting chief: "I must . . . admit that I am personally critical of our museum philosophy. I do not think it is inevitable that every Park Service area must have a visitor center with a museum containing panel and case exhibits. I am personally assured by the Director that this is his belief . . . ." (Exhibits and Museum Philosophy folder, Branch of Museums Dailies 1959-1962 storage box, NPS History Collection.) The 1965 goals of the Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services stated: "The enhancement of museum design is a major objective .... Avoid museum design that tells a narrative story by sequential panel and case exhibits . . . ." (Reports—Status of Programs, Projects, Goals folder, Branch of Museums General Files storage box, ibid.)

5. For example, the chief of exhibit planning and design explained in a September 8, 1975, memorandum: "New exhibits at Yavapai will avoid a complete or sequential treatment of canyon geology. They will aim rather at creating a moderate number of specific geological impressions or vignettes. . . . Each exhibit will stand on its own." Regarding a historic site museum, he wrote on April 19, 1977, "The exhibit cannot *tell* a story as suggested, it can only create some *impressions."* (1975 and 1977 binders, Division of Museums Dailies storage box, NPS History Collection.)

6. Reactions to the new installation ranged from approbation to "a dismal failure." As Ned Burns had warned, such technically complex exhibits tended to overtax local maintenance and repair facilities.

7. Memorandum, Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, Sept. 12, 1978, 1978 binder, Division of Museums Dailies storage box, NPS History Collection.

8. Memorandum, Chief, Division of Exhibits, to Branch of Exhibit Planning and Design, May 19, 1978, ibid.; memorandum, Chief, Division of Exhibits, to Regional Director, Midwest Region, May 23, 1978, ibid.

9. Memorandum, Ellsworth Swift to Director, Harpers Ferry Center, Mar. 19, 1970, 1970 binder, ibid.

10. Memorandum of Dec. 18, 1964, Museum and Exhibit Activities (General) folder, Branch of Museums Dailies storage box, NPS History Collection.

11. Memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museum Development, to Chief, Division of interpretation and Visitor Services, Feb. 15, 1966, Reports-Status of Programs, Projects, Goals folder, Branch of Museums General Files storage box, NPS History Collection.

12. Memorandum of Dec. 12, 1966, Museum and Exhibit Activities (General) folder, Branch of Museums Dailies storage box, NPS History Collection.

13. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Acting Chief, Branch of Museum Development, Aug. 14, 1964, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1965 storage box, NPS History Collection.

14. Report, Conference of Regional Museum Curators, Sept. 13-18, 1964, pp. 9-11, Museum History 1960-70 box, NPS History Collection.

15. When chief of the eastern laboratory, Frank Phillips programmed "circuit rider" trips by selected preparators to accomplish as much on-site exhibit maintenance as possible. David H. Wallace contributed particularly to making the old exhibit plan file effective after he became assistant chief of the Branch of Museum Operations in September 1968.

16. Historic furnishings curator Nan V. Carson (Rickey) pioneered the park museum maintenance manual concept when she prepared interpretive maintenance guides for Old Bedlam at Fort Laramie National Historic Site in 1965. When the Branch of Museum Operations discovered in 1969 that case builders in the laboratory could not describe how to open a new exhibit case at the Manassas visitor center containing artifacts needing periodic treatment, it began to supply specific exhibit maintenance manuals for new installations.

17. Hubbard had transferred from the position of supervisory park naturalist at Yosemite in 1966 to become deputy chief of the Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services as well as chief of the Visitor Services Branch. At Yosemite, demonstrating a productive enthusiasm that fit Everhart's and Hartzog's management style, he had led in creating an open air museum of historic structures moved from other areas of the park and reerected at Wawona. This Yosemite Pioneer History Center rapidly became a fresh point of interest supporting the park objective of relieving

overcrowding in the valley. It also illustrated the tendency of such directed developments to shortcut the scholarly research and planning essential to authentic preservation and interpretation.

18. Western Museum Laboratory monthly reports for May, September, October 1967, Harpers Ferry Center Division of Museums Dailies binders, NPS History Collection; memorandum, Chief, Western Museum Laboratory, to Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, Sept. 26, 1967, ibid. In October 1967 the laboratory received an important collection of ethnological specimens for the newly authorized Nez Perce National Historical Park.

19. Memorandum to Clair Younkin, Feb. 13, 1968, ibid.

20. Segeren's skill as a carver so pleased the museum development managers that they included carvings in enough park museums to keep him employed long after retirement age. Martin inventoried property, made record photographs of museum specimens, cleaned and repaired country antique furniture, and designed and built special specimen storage equipment.

21. Wallace's preparation for such tasks included graduate study at the University of Edinburgh, a doctorate from Columbia, curatorial experience at the New-York Historical Society, and co-editorship of a standard dictionary of American artists.

22. Issue paper, "The Museum of the National Park Service," Planning—Issue Paper 1970 folder, Old WML Files storage box, NPS History Collection.

23. Memorandum, Director, NPS, to Assistant Secretary, Administration, Oct. 20, 1969, Organization, Park Service, 1968-69 folder, Reorganization 1968- box, NPS History Collection. The memorandum received departmental approval October 22.

24. Although Everhart was no longer an assistant director, Director Hartzog made it clear that he remained a member of his central staff. As HFC director Everhart also received supervisory control of the Mather Training Center next door and Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. Both centers occupied park land and the park provided them maintenance and protection services. It was expected also that the park would afford a testing ground and showcase for some of HFC's creative products. This combination was short-lived: MTC passed to the control of a new Training Division in the Washington Office in 1971, and the park was placed under National Capital Parks in 1974.

25. The list of divisions in the memorandum did not include Planning and Interpretive Services, most of whose staff had moved to Harpers Ferry in August. Perhaps the omission forecast the transfer of the interpretive planners on paper to the Eastern Service Center, then located in Washington. Physically and to a large extent functionally, however, the planning staff became and remained part of HFC.

26. During this period, for example, Christiansted National Historic Site sent in a collection of old Danish uniforms and accouterments. The curator had to identify and sort out the parts, have them cleaned and treated by conservators, catalog them in detail, and provide interim safe storage. About the same time Jewel Cave National Monument shipped examples of large and extremely fragile cave formations that required special handling and storage.

27. The Branch of Museums had developed a Service-wide clearinghouse procedure for the transfer and exchange of specimens. Although it had discouraged central repositories for objects of possible future use in park museums or surplus to their needs, the laboratory expanded its space at Springfield to accommodate a historic surfboat that Cape Hatteras National Seashore had acquired but could not store. Yellowstone asked a similar favor for furnishings the Army had used at Fort Yellowstone, and several parks sent cannon tubes for warehousing.

28. Among the latter the branch installed exhibits characteristic of the new design concepts at the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal's Great Falls Tavern. The 1970 Curatorial Methods class visited the new installation soon after and to the surprise of the instructors reacted quite critically. (Memorandum, Ralph H. Lewis to Russell Hendrickson, Dec. 28, 1970, HFC Division of Museums Dailies binder, NPS History Collection.)

29. Cadwallader continued in charge of museum exhibit production throughout the remainder of the period reported in this study. Phillips transferred to the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in July 1974 to oversee the Museum of Westward Expansion exhibit contract, then retired. Jean Cooper succeeded him in 1974 as museum contracts manager.

30. Memorandum, Assistant Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Director, HFC, Apr. 10, 1972, HFC Division of Museums Dailies binder, NPS History Collection. By the end of the decade the building contained nine well equipped laboratories or work rooms for conservators, three secure specimen storage rooms, curatorial and managerial offices, a well organized special library, and photographic facilities including x-ray.

31. Memorandum, Deputy Director, HFC, to Division Chiefs, Sept. 8, 1970, ibid.

32. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Acting Director, HFC, July 28, 1972, ibid.; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations to Director, HFC, Apr. 18, 1973, ibid.

33. After three years, following another change in the Service directorship, HFC and the Denver Service Center came under line control of an assistant director responsible for planning and development. Everhart became an assistant to the director, and interpretation no longer had its own assistant director.

34. Memorandum to Deputy Manager, HFC, Oct. 31, 1975, HFC Division of Exhibits Dailies binder, NPS History Collection.

35. Special Directive 78-1, Feb. 6, 1978. See NPS-28, *Cultural Resources Management Guideline,* December 1981, Appendix N.

36. Memorandums, Hendrickson to Manager, HFC, June 30, 1976, and May 18, 1978, and briefing notes, Mar. 30,1977, HFC Division of Exhibits Dailies binders, NPS History Collection.

37. See, for example, memorandums and briefing notes, Hendrickson to Manager, HFC, June 25, 30, July 22, 1976, Mar. 30, Aug. 12, 1977, Mar. 10, Apr. 10, 1978, July 25, 1979, Jan. 17, 1980, ibid.

38. HFC functioned for the most part as a development unit intent on planning and producing new exhibits, publications, and audiovisual programs. Vital preservation responsibilities seemed destined to secondary consideration under its aegis, especially as Bicentennial projects loaded the center with work and lent further stimulus to production. Field areas could observe where the emphasis lay when they received unasked-for Bicentennial material but could not obtain requested curatorial help. This fostered their perception of museum specimens as interpretive tools rather than basic park resources. Lean years would later provoke a crisis over center priorities.

39. In a July 23, 1981, memorandum to HFC's manager Allen stated: "Most of the materials with which we started the Clearinghouse came out of the mess from Springfield. . . . We picked up approximately 5,000 items that were accumulated virtually without benefit of paperwork or ownership records. While at Springfield the material was horribly stored. . . . All trades and transfers can [now] be ethically, legally, and documentarily accounted for. Believe me, that could not be said for the 'deals' that were made while the Clearinghouse was working out of Springfield." (Clearinghouse file, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.)

40. Occupation of the fallout shelter adjacent to the Mather Training Center involved many details illuminating less constructive aspects of the bureaucracy. Dedicated for high departmental use in case of nuclear attack, this inviting space lay largely idle. Allen persuaded the Office of the Secretary to release the shelter to the Park Service on condition that access would be limited to the critical collection storage operation and that the shelter would be maintained ready for quick reversion to its basic emergency function. HFC and the Mather Training Center nevertheless shared occupancy, and Museum Services obtained use of perhaps a third of the shelter, barely enough to house the National Catalog of park museum collections and a limited clearinghouse operation. Demands of the various operations that moved into the shelter led to breaching its protective wall for practical access. (Correspondence, 1975-84, in Bomb Shelter Space file, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.)

41. Durham served as clearinghouse curator 1978-80. In 1980 Allen combined three divisional programs into a Branch of Curatorial Services with Durham as chief. In this capacity he continued to oversee the clearinghouse with Elizabeth A. Holmes, a student assistant, doing the hands-on work. Durham became regional curator of the Southeast Region in 1981.

42. Memorandum, Attorney-Advisor, Parks and Recreation, to Staff Curator, NPS Clearinghouse, Dec. 3, 1980, Clearinghouse file, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

43. Memorandum, Chief, Division of Museum Services, to Regional Director, National Capital Region, Dec. 14, 1981, Harpers Ferry NHP file, ibid. Allen patterned this action on a similar helpful intervention for Antietam National Battlefield.

44. For background on this course see Kallop's significant "Progress Report on Museum Technician Training," 1980, Training-General-Misc. file, ibid.

45. An additional cause of Phase II's termination lay in the conservators' professional concern about the proper role of technicians and curators in object treatment, a matter still unresolved within the profession. Reference Services curators involved in the scholarly role of their profession sponsored a Phase III course. Mather Training Center funded one session in 1980 at the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

46. The book found a substantial audience. After a second printing was exhausted, GPO sold the plates to a commercial printer, who reissued it with a different title and slightly changed format.

47. Personal interview with Fonda Thomsen, Jan. 13, 1986. An information sheet on care of historic furniture prepared by conservator Ralph Sheetz for the curator at Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park in 1973 may have foreshadowed the Conserve O Gram idea (memorandum, Allen to Regional Director, Southwest Region, Feb. 23, 1973, HFC Division of Museums Dailies binder, NPS History Collection).

48. Memorandum, Acting Deputy Director to Directorate, Mar. 31, 1976, Artifact Management Survey (Jack Pound Report) file, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry; memorandum, Allen to Pound, May 25, 1977, ibid.

49. Memorandum, Superintendent, Hubbell Trading Post, to Regional Director, Southwest Region, May 8, 1975, Hubbell Trading Post NHS file, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry. Hunter's visit resulted from a casual visit Superintendent Thomas Vaughan had made to the Division of Museum Services during a Mather Training Center course in late 1974. A tour Allen gave Vaughan through the laboratories opened his eyes to the critical need of collections for proper care. As recipient of the first collection management plan, Vaughan appreciated its promptness and thoroughness and its innovative recommendation to shift curatorial care from a secondary responsibility of busy interpreters to the primary concern of a curator reporting directly to the superintendent.

50. Allen regarded the documents as "our 'best shot' of staff advice to park management on how to take care of their collection. They do not have to follow this advice, but it's there if they want it." Most HFC plans, on the other hand, required extensive multilevel review and top management approval. Memorandum, Allen to Manager, HFC, June 12,1980, Collection Preservation Guides folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

51. Memorandum to Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, Feb. 12, 1969, Harpers Ferry Museum Support Facility Daily File binder, HFC Division of Museums Dailies storage box, NPS History Collection.

52. Staff Directive 77-5, Acting Deputy Director to Field Directorate and All Park Superintendents, May 13,1977, National Catalog 1952-82 folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

53. The division had a particularly fruitful association with the museum studies program at Texas Tech University, which sent a succession of able interns to Harpers Ferry. Interns also came from the Cooperstown program and Antioch, Hood, and Shepherd colleges.

54. Memorandum, Chief, Division of Museum Services, to Manager, HFC, July 15, 1974, Regional Curators' Conference 1978 folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry; memorandum, Manager, HFC, to All Regional Directors, Aug. 5, 1974, ibid.

55. Parks in the Northeast had recruited curators well trained in graduate museum studies programs who had been taught to regard the scholarly study of objects as the prime function of their profession. The nature and state of museum collections in the parks at the time required them to devote most of their effort to more mundane aspects of collection care. The latter charge doubtless reflected their concern and frustration.

56. "Evaluation of the North Atlantic Region's Curatorial Activity and Personnel Needs," June 1978, p. 15, accompanying memorandum, Chief, Division of Museum Services, to All Curators' Conference Participants, Aug. 31, 1978, Regional Curators' Conference 1978 folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

57. Memorandum, Jahns to Allen, Jan. 12, 1978, ibid.; memorandum, Allen to All Regional Curators, Mar. 7, 1978, ibid.

58. Conference Committee Reports, ibid.

59. Memorandum, Director to Regional Directors and Managers, DSC and HFC, Mar. 12, 1979, Cultural Resources Conference 1979 folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

60. Hitchcock graduated with distinction from Stanford with major work in anthropology and art history, completed a master's degree in anthropology with a specialization in museum studies at the University of Arizona, gained solid collections management experience at the Museum of Northern Arizona, developed and taught a course in museum studies at Northern Arizona University, and became assistant chief curator in the progressive Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and assistant professor of museology in the University of Winnipeg. She received training in the conservation of archeological and ethnographic objects at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, the Institute of Archaeology in London, and the British Museum's Museum of Mankind.

61. Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director, Cultural Resources, to Associate Director, Management and Operations, Mar. 28, 1979, Reorganization (1981) folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Washington Office.

62. Memorandum, Chief Curator and Manager, HFC, to Deputy Director, Sept. 11, 1981, ibid.; memorandum, Assistant Director, Cultural Resources, to Deputy Director, Oct. 7, 1981, ibid.

63. Memorandum, Chief, Management Consulting Division, to Director, Feb. 1, 1982, ibid.

64. Memorandum, Chief, Management Consulting Division, to Director, Apr. 29, 1982, ibid.; memorandum, Assistant Director, Cultural Resources Management, to Deputy Director, June 17, 1982, ibid. The reports and responses suggest that the management experts reached conclusions without comprehending what purposes museums and their collections serve or what their needs encompass. The decision to leave the conservation staff and facilities as an adjunct of an exhibit design and production unit left the professional standards that bind conservators to "unswerving respect for the integrity of historic and artistic works" vulnerable when in conflict with exhibit proposals.

65. A 1983 reorganization in Washington placed Curatorial Services as a branch in the Preservation Assistance Division of Cultural Resources until 1987, when it again became a separate division. Allen as deputy chief curator and his staff remained at Harpers Ferry, moving from the old Shipley School to the upper floors of the park's visitor center. Thomas Vaughan left his position as chief of the conservation laboratories to work especially on policy development and curatorial training. Allen accepted the assistant superintendency of the Blue Ridge Parkway in June 1983, and Vaughan became superintendent of Chaco Culture National Historical Park in February 1985.