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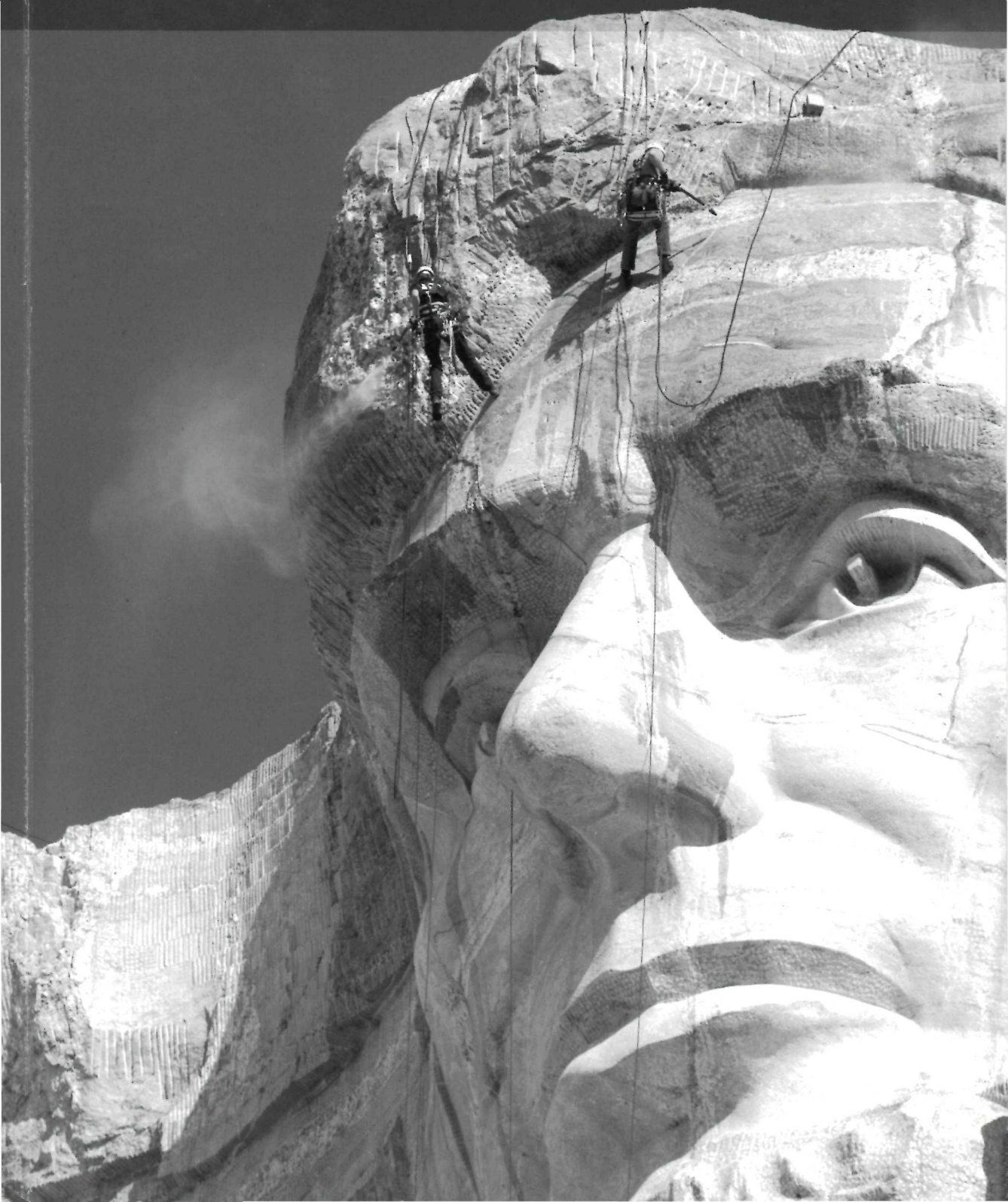

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Introduction

by Martin Perschler, Editor

Last July, the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research released a study on trends in public school names.[1] The report, which received national newspaper and television coverage, revealed a decrease in the number of new schools named after presidents and other historical and public figures and a corresponding increase in the number of schools named after plants and other natural features. The authors of the study noted that the shift to nature names was particularly striking in Arizona, where a public school built in the last two decades was "almost 50 times more likely to be named after such things as a mesa or a cactus than after a leader of the free world."

According to the National Center for Education Statistics at the U.S. Department of Education, the Arizona public school system had four schools named after former U.S. President Abraham Lincoln as of 2006; the Grand Canyon State also had four schools named after the ocotillo plant of the Desert Southwest. By comparison, Illinois—"the Land of Lincoln"—had 89 Lincoln schools and (not surprisingly) no ocotillo schools. Illinois also topped California—a state with a population nearly three times that of Illinois but with only 67 Lincoln schools among the more than 9,600 in the public school system there. California, incidentally, had only one school named after the ocotillo plant in the Department of Education's data set.

Lincoln stands out among world leaders for his commanding roles in permanently abolishing slavery and preserving a nation torn apart by the American Civil War during the 1860s. In 2002, the United States could boast nearly 700 public elementary and secondary schools named after him. A study conducted that year by David Rapaport, then a teacher at Bret Harte Middle School in San Jose, California, and published in the newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association, noted that the southeastern United States, specifically the 11 states in rebellion between 1861 and 1865, accounted for less than 9 percent of the schools named for Lincoln even though they accounted for 30 percent of the U.S. population in 2000.[2] As one might expect, those 11 states accounted for 84 percent of the public schools named after Robert E. Lee, general of the Confederate forces during the Civil War.

One of the questions the Manhattan Institute study did not answer was whether a student attending Lincoln Elementary School in Mesa, Arizona, has a better grounding in civics than a student attending Ocotillo Elementary in Tucson, or whether that student at Ocotillo has a stronger sense of regional identity and attachment to the Desert Southwest than his or her peer at Lincoln. The Rapaport study did not look at whether students attending Robert E. Lee Elementary in Hampton,

Virginia, have the same perceptions of Lincoln and Lee as their peers at Abraham Lincoln Elementary in Oak Park, Illinois. What may matter the most in the end is that students at any school have some sense of the history and context that gives their schools' names meaning.

The implications of this shift in public school nomenclature could preoccupy sociologists and education policymakers for years. But should heritage professionals be concerned about this trend? On the one hand, naming schools for natural features—in most cases, local or regional features such as ocotillos—can reap benefits. In new communities, for instance, which must rely almost exclusively on locally relevant street and place names to reinforce, if not invent, a sense of identity, the formal recognition of a distinctive local or regional feature in the name of a new school or other public building can help establish a shared sense of place.

On the other hand, the shift away from prominent public and historical figures in the naming of public schools, libraries, and even shopping malls, whether for political correctness or other reasons, erodes that opportunity to build familiarity and name recognition. This shift may mean that school teachers, museums, history organizations, and historic site managers, including managers of presidential sites, will need to redouble their efforts to impress upon students and their families the significance of an individual and his or her contributions to society.

The many groups across the United States dedicated to keeping the spirit of Abraham Lincoln alive can report progress in that regard: Over the past several years, the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, the National Park Service, the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky, and other institutions and organizations nationwide have invested tremendous amounts of energy and other resources towards marking the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth in February 2009 with public events and significant improvements at Lincoln related historic sites. Beginning with this issue, *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* will be featuring essays and reviews that focus on Lincoln, his life, contributions, and the sites dedicated to his memory for the duration of the bicentennial celebration period. That celebration, which runs through 2010, will ensure that Abraham Lincoln endures in American memory for the next 100 years and that Americans continue to recognize and respect the wisdom and selflessness of his actions.

Notes

1 Jay P. Greene, Brian Kisida, and Jonathan Butcher, "What's in a Name? The Decline in the Civic Mission of School Names," *Manhattan Institute for Policy Research Civic Report* no. 51 (July 2007), http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/cr_51.htm, accessed on December 29, 2007. The study looked at public schools in Arizona, Florida, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

2 David Rapaport, "Class Project: The Distribution of Schools Named After Abraham Lincoln," *For the People: A Newsletter of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 4 no. 3 (Autumn 2002), http://www.abrahamlincolnassociation.org/Newsletters/4-3.pdf, accessed on December 28, 2007; U.S. Census Bureau, "State Interim Population Projections," http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/ projectionsagesex.html, accessed on December 28, 2007.

Authenticities Past and Present[1]

by David Lowenthal

Authenticity will be the buzzword of the 21st century. And what is authentic? Anything not devised and structured to make a profit. Anything that exists for its own sake, that assumes its own shape. But...nothing in the modern world is allowed to assume its own shape. The modern world is the corporate equivalent of a formal garden, where everything is planted and arranged for effect. Where nothing is untouched, where nothing is authentic. And what is the most authentic of all? The past. The past is unarguably authentic. The past is a world that already existed.... The past is real. It's authentic. And this will make the past unbelievably attractive. *People...want to visit not other places, but other times...medieval walled cities, Buddhist temples, Mayan pyramids, Egyptian necropolises...the vanished world. And they don't want it to be fake. They don't want it to be made pretty, or cleaned up. They want it to be authentic.*

—Michael Crichton, *Timeline* (1999)[2]

Why is authenticity wanted? Who can say what it is? Are there useful guidelines for what is or is not authentic? No one is sure. And no one has cast more doubt on authenticity and its confusions than I myself over the past half century.

I began with concern about authentic American wilderness, which played an iconic role in the nascent environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Pristine nature was touted as priceless but dwindling, doomed by pollution and development. How authentically wild, I wondered, was that wilderness? Given thousands of years of Indian impress on the continent, little if any of it was untouched; the world we inherited was not wild or pristine, but one substantially refashioned by humans.[3] From nature I went on over the next three decades to query claims of cultural authenticity in sites, relics, memories, and chronicles attesting fabulous but dubious histories.[4]

My role in the 1990 British Museum "Fakes" exhibition taught me that judgments about authenticity depended as much on *where* as *what* things were. We displayed scores of original objects—manuscripts, paintings, drawings, sculptures, fossils, archeological remnants—next to long-credited simulations since exposed as forgeries. Lured by the comeuppance of know-it-all experts, visitors thronged to the show. We expected them to laud the true and scoff at the false. But instead they viewed *both* originals *and* frauds with reverential awe. Why? Because everything in the imposing British Museum showcases seemed

to them *ipso facto* estimable. Simply being there conferred on those fakes an imprimatur of authenticity.[5]

In the mid-1990s, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) revised the 1964 Venice Charter on heritage conservation. Birthed by states that traditionally built in stone or brick, the Venice Charter had been outdated by the global growth of heritage. Norway and Japan, whose historic buildings are largely of wood, queried criteria of authenticity based on material survival. In wooden structures apt to decay faster than stone or brick, original substance counted for less than faithfulness to form. Recurrently replaced with new timber, a stave church or a Shinto temple still adhered to proportions, techniques, and craftsmanship handed down from antiquity. Authenticity inhered in continuity of form and process, not in the survival of original material.

The farther afield we surveyed the world's heritage, the more we came to doubt that any criterion of authenticity would be valid for all times and cultures. What counted as authentic shifted continually from substance to form to process and to images and ritual performance. Indeed, the very quest for authenticity altered its nature, just as subatomic particles are affected by the act of observing them. Cultural relativity made authenticity a capricious will-o'-the-wisp, even a contradiction in terms.[6]

Faith in authenticity has since frayed still further. It is undermined by ease of replication, forbearance toward plagiarism, post-modern rejection of consensual truth, the abandonment of attested evidence for unvetted "wikipedian" opinion. Sham sells: Oprah Winfrey's rebuke made James Frey's exposed *A Million Little Pieces* still more lucrative as "non-nonfiction" than it had been as truth.[7] The forger Van Meegeren's fake Vermeers now fetch huge sums, because he "painted the pictures the old master ought to have painted, the pictures we wish he had painted."[8] Who can peer-review submissions to the new journal entitled *Plagiary: Cross-Disciplinary Studies in Plagiarism, Fabrication, and Falsification*? Mere mention of authenticity now conjures up its converse. Asked to value a diamond, a jeweler tells the owner it is a fake. "But it came with a certificate of authenticity," he protests. "That should have been your first clue," says the jeweler. In historic preservation, as in heritage generally, what is sought is apt to be the *semblance* of authenticity, a search that inevitably yields contrivance. Michael Crichton to the contrary, many enjoy the contrived as much as the authentic.[9]

Questioning authenticity led me to query related heritage tenets, notably excessive preservation. Just as remembering entails forgetting, so is conservation inseparable from getting rid of things, within the comprehensive sequence of inheriting, acquiring, making, reshaping, and dispersing everything around us. Every act of preservation transforms what is lost, as well as what is

conserved, in our own and others' eyes.[10] How to cope wisely with a heritage in constant flux has confounded stewardship in every realm and epoch.

Today's heritage dilemmas differ in many respects from those of the past. And despite our enhanced techniques they often seem less soluble. One reason is that durability is in growing disfavor: Karl Marx's 1848 maxim "all that is solid melts into air" seems truer now than ever. To curatorial dismay, deliberate evanescence is ever more fashionable among painters and sculptors. Not only are art and artifacts, buildings, and landscapes speedily and thoroughly swept away, ideas and information systems are also increasingly ephemeral. Reliance on electronic media, notably digital technology, threatens the utility and very survival of archives and the collective memories they store.[11]

Heritage today is beset by a bitter clash of values. A universalistic view opposes an exclusivist vision that accords prime agency to national states and ethnic and tribal groups. The first insists that heritage belongs to all, to the whole world together. Every global agency intones the internationalist mantra that heritage is global. And we are all together its collective caretakers. Yet the same agencies simultaneously sanction the exclusive heritage claims of nations, tribes, faiths, and minorities. Each is entitled to do just as it chooses with its own heritage, which need not be shown to, let alone shared with, others. Repatriation of heritage purloined or purchased abroad is morally and more and more legally mandated. The United Nations and UNESCO trumpet the essentialist diktat that heritage belongs to those whose ancestors made it. National laws such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the United States enshrine rights of possession based on common law.[12] The two contradictory imperatives pose grievous dilemmas. Heritage managers are caught between conflicting demands to keep or to let go, to display or to conceal, to laud or to lament.

Conflicting views about access confronted the anthropologist Gwyneira Isaac when Zuni leaders asked her to help organize archives in their new museum. Tribal precept determines who may view exhibits in the museum. Non-initiates are barred, much is off limits to women; men gain access as they come of age. To a Western heritage professional such rules are regressive, but Isaac accepted that she would not seek to see what was secret or seek to learn Zuni.[13]

What led Isaac to shelve her own open heritage credo in deference to a tribal precept that mandated exclusion? Beyond wanting to be of service, perhaps a feeling common among mainstream cosmopolitans that tribal heritage is more authentic—less hybrid, less self-conscious, less commodified, less individualistic—than their own. Tribes and minorities enshrine pre-industrial, close-to-nature modes of life whose diversity is at risk. With nostalgic

romanticism intensified by the desire to atone for past dispossessions, the heritage community bows to and even promotes subaltern exclusivity. Empowered by sanctimonious global agencies and self-denying scholarly ethics, history's victims become authenticity's victors.

Authentic tribes must, however, remain intact, uncorrupted by modernity. Recent UNESCO protocols on intangible heritage explicitly enjoin aloofness. But such cultural sanitizing flies in the face of historical reality and cripples contemporary agency. No pure, authentically uncontaminated cultures exist anymore, if any ever did. Every people is hybrid in descent and culture. And global technology, museology, archeology, and the art and antiquities market infuse mainstream heritage practice and precept into every tribal group. "Traditional" cultures are willy-nilly riddled with Western capitalistic individualism, along with antithetical Western notions of authenticity.[14]

Given these caveats, can it be authentic to rebuild or to replace what has ceased to be functional? Can it be authentic to preserve a designed or a vernacular landscape? In what sense can rehabilitation and adaptive reuse be authentic? Should previous alterations, no longer deemed authentic in terms of the original, be expunged or retained as part of an authentic history of trial and error? Such questions are vital and provocative. But they elicit no definitive answers. Time-bound and culture-bound, authenticity's ever-changing criteria make it defy generalization. And the diverse authenticities we appraise—substance, form, originality, creativity, emulation—are seldom compatible. Their dictates are antithetical and competitive.

Yet we cannot simply select one measure of value and ditch the rest; instead, we must weigh them anew for each case. What we find authentic depends not only on what and where but who is doing the work, who is paying for it, how long it is meant to last, and how it is marketed. Like other conservation values, the criteria of authenticity we choose reflect current views about how yesterday should serve and inform today.

To be sure, historic preservation by its very nature surpasses today's concerns. Our trade conspicuously transcends our lifetimes. We deal with creations begun some time ago, often before our own epoch; we save and interpret them for future generations. Reaching back to precursors long gone and far ahead to successors yet unborn, we find our task made especially arduous by their voiceless absence. Knowing how differently our forebears viewed things, we are forced to acknowledge our own time-bound limitations.

Unlike most of their precursors, today's conservators have lots of good practice but little firm philosophy. But practitioners now aware that there are no eternal truths keep asking for them all the same. They would like to serve the angels, not just their clients and themselves. But the guidance they seek must be or seem specific—explicit and precise answers, if possible quantifiable. And we aim to oblige, sometimes unwisely.

Here's an instance. When I taught conservation and preservation at University College London, I got heritage practitioners in the heat of combat to talk to my students. One day in the mid-1980s the secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) preached William Morris's and John Ruskin's anti-scrape dictum, never to restore or renovate, "Resist all tampering'" leave buildings alone, to age gracefully, save for daily care—an *1877 tenet SPAB members today still had to endorse.*[15] "Well, *I suppose that's* all right for old buildings," said a young architect in my class, "but what about new ones?" "Certainly not," replied the SPAB man; "nothing to do with modern buildings at all." "So," continued my student, "where do you draw the line?" The reply came at once: "1923." Later I asked him how he came up with that date so fast, and why. "I knew he had me," he said; "there *was* no answer; no old–new line makes sense. But if I didn't come up with a date right away I'd have lost all credibility. So I picked a year long before his birth but not so far back as to seem ancient." Beware the urge to seem explicit.

To be authentic now we can only sing the tune that suits today's angelic choir—our own song, sounding right for our time and place. We cleave to our here-and-now tune in the certain knowledge that posterity will find it out of tune, cloying, or cacophonous, just as our conservation remedies will seem blinkered, crude, or tasteless. All we can hope is that our successors grant we did our clumsy best by our own dim lights.

By our own lights. What are those lights? What seems to me authentically modern is growing awareness of three heritage insights—

1. the past is gone and irretrievable
2. it nonetheless remains vital and essential for our well-being
3. we cannot avoid changing its residues, especially when trying not to.

At first glance, these insights seem at odds. Why care about what's gone? In altering the past, do we not fatally falsify it? Would it not be better to forget it and move on?

Such doubts require closer scrutiny of the vanishing past. Thomas Carlyle, on reading Boswell's life of Johnson, remarked how little survived of their tangible existence—

Rough Samuel and sleek wheedling James were *and* are not. *Their Life and whole personal Environment has melted into air. The Mitre Tavern still stands in Fleet Street, but where now is its scot-and-lot paying, beer-and-ale loving, cock-hatted, pot-bellied Landlord; its rose-faced assiduous Landlady, with all her shining brass-pans, waxed tables, well-filled larder-shelves; her cooks, and bootjacks, and errand boys, and watery-mouthed hangers on? Gone! Gone!... The Bottles they drank out of are all broken, the Chairs they sat on all rotted and burnt; the very Knives and Forks that they ate with have rusted to the heart, and become brown oxide of iron, and mingled with the indiscriminate clay. All, all have vanished.... Of the Mitre Tavern nothing but the bare walls remain, and these also decaying, were they of adamant.*[16]

So indelibly does Carlyle imprint that scene on our minds that we can scarcely credit its demise. Yet we do accept the past's bleak irrecoverability. And in this we differ from those in earlier epochs, for whom the past remained alive and active.

In medieval times, for example, holy relics and the promised Resurrection embodied the past as a living force. It was a pervasive enduring influence—vital, potent, more often malevolent than benign, above all *authoritative*. What made relics authentic was what they *did*, how they performed. They *continued* to enact miracles. Those that ceased to function lost credibility. An authentic relic kept its ongoing promise.

Science authenticated the survival of a quite different Victorian past. Machine-age wizardry inspired faith that all history, hugely lengthened by geology and paleontology, could be retrieved. A record of all that had happened, even of every thought and memory, was stored in the rocks, in the oceans, in the very air. Nothing was lost. The whole past would in time be revealed, forecast computer inventor Charles Babbage.[17] And total retrieval implied total responsibility. Every malefactor would be held to account for every past misdeed; all sins would haunt their perpetrators.

Babbage's retroactive morality was consonant with pious architects who restored Gothic churches as they should have been built in the first place, given Victorian good sense and skills. For similar ends, the historical novelist Walter Scott and his successors lent verisimilitude to antiquarian lore, making their tales vividly authentic to their readers. And re-enacted medieval tournaments and banquets far eclipsed the splendor of the originals.

Retrieving an imperishable past also shaped approaches to memory, which like artifacts were considered material substances. Memory traces were authentic fossils, potential travelers from infancy. Memories forgotten or repressed persisted in the mind, and would some day be reawakened, via Marcel Proust's madeleines or Sigmund Freud's psychoanalyses. The mind was a permanent

storehouse of past experience. One had only to find a way of tapping into it. As late as the 1970s, most psychologists believed that original memories could be retrieved intact.[18]

Few any longer believe it, however. Psychologists now realize that memories are constantly eroded, overlain, subject to ongoing loss and accretion, just as heritage professionals recognize that all historic fabric is mutable and evanescent. Art conservators accept mutability as inevitable; museum keepers turn into curators of ephemera. Revision is the stock-in-trade of heritage stewards. The very elements are mortally unstable, transmuting over time into other isotopes. The dynamic processes of change are now more durably authentic than their transitory products.

But evanescence is a discomfiting, anxiety–laden truth, taken onboard reluctantly if at all. Memory's unaltered permanence remains a firm faith among the general public. And hunger for permanence spurs the nostalgia for simpler times past that lends heritage much of its appeal. Disquieted by uncertainty and evanescence, we become frantic to save traces, record narratives, confirm ancestries. We feel called on to secure past residues against the fragile forgetful future. In contrast to the unreliable shifting present, the past seems securely fixed; that is one reason we prize it for its authenticity. "People want the places they visit, whether museums or parks, to possess authenticity, to be real—and to stay that way," says landscape historian Charles Birnbaum.[19] This is true, above all, of our cherished heritage.

The past remains vital to our utmost being. That dependence is so apparent that the heritage profession tends to take it for granted; preservation needs no justification beyond its economic benefits. Heritage is popular and can be shown to pay. But its social and spiritual benefits are poorly understood. The public is little aware of the crucial role of our inherited makeup and milieus for the habits and the skills that we learn, for our sense of personal and collective identity, for our ambitions and ability to secure a viable future. Heritage underpins and enriches continuities with those who came before and those who will come after us.

The compact between the dead, the living, and the unborn was conceived in the 18th century by Denis Diderot and the Encyclopédistes. It received definitive expressive form in Edmund Burke's tirade against the parricidal French Revolution. It was buttressed with ecological significance by 19th-century conservationists George Perkins Marsh and Gifford Pinchot, lent social context and religious comprehension by Émile Durkheim, and economic validity by Arthur Cecil Pigou and John Maynard Keynes in the early 20th century. Mindful of forebears whose acts and beliefs shaped and supported us, we

transmit that trans-generational legacy of care to our heirs, both for their sake and for our own.[20]

Concern to understand and protect the past was initially the province of a few savants, then of a small elite. Renaissance and Enlightenment worthies wrote and took occasional action as self-appointed stewards for all. As popular interest mounted in the 19th century, the lay public came to share its mentors' appreciation of the past. But in recent decades elite and popular concerns have more and more diverged. For all today's indiscriminate nostalgia, for all the evocations of yesteryears in film and television, for all the roots and re-enactments and retro styles, for all the obeisance to ancestral claims in heritage and identity politics, the historically informed past has become *tabula rasa* to most.

The public throngs historic sites and heritage tours. But much on show is shallow entertainment, lacking historical context. We engage a public whose collective memory fades and abbreviates, whose desires are imperiously immediate, and whose tolerance for learning is curtailed. It is imperative for heritage stewards to demonstrate that the past is not a frill or an extra, to be enjoyed or dispensed with on impulse. We need to remind ourselves so as to persuade others that consciously informed use of heritage is essential to civilized life. Previous rationales for transcending the present require renewal for our own all-too oblivious times.

Yet everything done to the past, even mere contemplation, alters memories and residues, dooming many to oblivion. And loving protection can be even more lethal than benign neglect. That has always been the past's fate. Until lately, people were less aware or more tolerant of such change. Among medieval Europeans reworking the past was normal; things outworn were renewed or replaced for present purposes. Renovations, not ruins, were authentic. Rights to land or rule were affirmed not by old parchments but by new charters contrived to appear familiar, hence authentic, to contemporary eyes.

In art as in architecture, ruinations of time and misfortune were routinely repaired. Sacred relics apart, integrity inhered in wholeness. Broken statues and damaged buildings became admirable by being restored to entirety. Few cared if an arm or a leg was original or a torso bore its true head; authenticity meant completion. Only in the late 18th century did wholeness succumb to the contrary cult of fragments and ruins. Erosive and accretive stains of time, patinas natural or contrived, now lent beauty and truth to residues, including the romantic residues of life itself. To be authentic, an object, a structure, or a landscape must be truncated or fragmented.

In contrast, 19th-century conservators "restored" venerable structures and traditions to what they ought ideally to have been. Authenticity meant replacing defective original remnants with modern realizations of the *spirit* of antiquity. Anti-scrape advocates altered the principles of restorers more than the practices; most who claimed to respect original works were, consciously or not, beautifying, antiquating, or modernizing them, Not until the mid-20th century, in most of the arts, did improving the past give way to archeological exactitude, a scholarly purism that deplored tampering with what was original. Honest authenticity now came to mean intervening as little as possible and making manifest every unavoidable alteration, even to the sacrifice of visual integrity.

That their remade or remaindered past was authentically correct has been the fond faith of each successive conservation policy in turn. From this common delusion it would be folly to think that we ourselves are exempt. Yet recognition now dawns that tampering with the past is inescapable, its outcome neither true nor false, right nor wrong, but a matter of choice and chance. Not even God, it is said, can change the past; but we alter its residues and reminiscences and records all the time. Nothing can prevent such revisions. Nor is anything wrong with it, so long as we remain aware of them. The past will always seem different from what it initially was, each successive inheritor refashioning it in an up-to-date guise.

Flawed by present angst and ignorance, our remade past is soon shown up as defective. But imperfection is no longer the disappointment it used to be. Most propitious in heritage today is our ready admission that we never get things totally, eternally right. Our generation openly admits fallibility. And humility helps free us from the hubris of arrogant and self-defeating perfectionism.

Fallible ourselves, we become more tolerant of precursors whose own errors still bedevil us. For even long-discredited criteria of conservation remain active agents in the present. The past survives not only in things we safeguard and steward, but in outworn concepts of preservation and authenticity. Fossil ideas remain embedded in the public mind and mood. Old authenticities live on to shame modern rectitude. The British aristocracy inveighs against the marketing of "fake" titles, while modernity makes every title essentially fake. The Catholic Church denounces *The Da Vinci Code* as a fiction that defames its own historically authentic narrative.[21] Yet, modern religious exegesis disavows empirical authentication. Chemical dating of the Turin Shroud is no longer supposed to shore up scriptural truth. Yet some of the faithful still hunger for science to confirm religion.

Acknowledging that our own work is inherently imperfect, incomplete, and inconsistent, we reckon more readily with other inconsistencies. Conflicts among viewpoints past and present, traditional and cutting edge, declared and concealed, compromise all authentic ideals. "How Real Is that Ruin? Don't Ask,

the Locals Say" headlined the story on an Inca temple site in Chucuito, Peru, housing dubiously ancient stone posts, which has spawned lucrative tourism. It was not the contrivance of antiquity, though, that distressed one visitor, but the absence of hype: "You do wonder if it is historical, considering there isn't even a signpost."[22] Only a *declared certificate* would make the site authentic. Signposts serve as official imprimaturs. Chucuito is like many, if not most, ruins partly fake, partly contrived, partly recent, partly imaginary but, above all, seemingly authentic when so labeled.

Much once thought authentic now seems strange, even risible. And present criteria of authenticity will be as ephemeral as the rest. Our successors will deem them self-serving, biased by our blinkered gaze, even ludicrous. It would be helpful to have a museum of authenticity. Let us celebrate our tolerance for ambiguity by showing what (and explaining why) previous folk held authentic—saintly relics, invented medieval charters and pedigrees, neoclassical and neogothic restorations—alongside our own strange follies.

A striking parallel in the arts is the early music revival, long given to weird authenticities. Some devotees claimed to make pre-classical music as it had been, others as it had been imagined. But they hotly disputed what mattered most—authentic notation, original instruments, performance style, composers' intention, audience expectations. All were painstakingly recreated in period recitals that were heavy on history but manifestly unable to replicate much of the past. Authentic fidelity would have required true *castrati*, gelded for the purpose in childhood, and skilled boy sopranos, with voices still unbroken at 16, yet mature enough both to master the complexities of early music and to be "capable of entering into the spiritual world of their forebears five centuries ago."[23]

Early music facsimiles of ancient instruments often proved ill-suited to the modern concert stage. Some could scarcely be heard; others demanded discordant tuning or bowing. A prime instance of such pitfalls was the Vega bow, constructed in the 1950s to play three or four notes at once, as notated for solo violin by Johann Sebastian Bach. Since this could not be done with a modern or baroque bow, historical purists assumed Bach must have used something else, and Knud Vestergaard "reconstructed" it. His bow had a giant convex arch, a thick ribbon of hair, and a thumb-operated tension adjusting mechanism. Played with the Vega bow, the chaconne of Bach's D minor partita sounded like an organ or an accordion, depriving the broken chords of their rhythmic and expressive dynamism. That "no such bow ever existed in Bach's day. . . is a reminder of how the zealousness for historical accuracy can lead [to] sheer fantasy."[24]

However exhaustive and accurate their expertise, early music professionals came to realize that music made centuries ago could never be experienced as

it was initially. No ears that have heard a Verdi opera can hear a Monteverdi opera as 17th-century people did; subsequent auditory experience profoundly alters listener expectations.

The point applies as much to the ocular as to the aural landscape. No eyes that have seen Frank Gehry's buildings can ever see ancient or Renaissance architecture in the way anyone did at the time, or for long after, because all the new scenes since then have accustomed us to anticipate quite other optical experiences. "The only way to respect the past," writes a disciple of Le Corbusier, "is to be authentically modern...with the technology and aesthetic sensibility of today."[25] Indeed, we cannot escape today's Zeitgeist and the ever-changing authenticities it entails.

The past, from which we learn and benefit so much, is in one sense truly old, in another altogether new. The old is irretrievable. But its sounds and sights, its artifacts and insights, continue to instruct and amaze our new eyes, new ears, new minds. These time-travel sorties immeasurably enhance our lives. Let us relish rather than regret being aware, unlike our self-confident forerunners, that what we do is in some ways wrong, in most ways imperfect, and in all ways ephemeral.

David Lowenthal is author of many books and articles on cultural heritage, including *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998) and *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (1985), both Cambridge University Press.

Notes

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Preparing for a National Celebration of the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial

by Sandy Brue

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not [sic] *remember when I did not so think and feel.*

—President Abraham Lincoln to Albert G. Hodges, April 4, 1864[1]

The United States is approaching two significant anniversaries in the nation's history: the bicentennial, in 2009, of the birth of former President Abraham Lincoln, and, in 2011, the sesquicentennial of the Civil War. These intertwined events bind the fabric of the U.S.'s national story, reconnect people to their frontier roots, remind them of a time when the nation was torn apart, and expose the evils of slavery and the challenges of race relations. As the 16th president of the United States, Lincoln, a complex man from humble beginnings, inherited the deeply rooted social, political, and economic contradiction of slavery passed over by the founding fathers.

Part of the British North American experience for 150 years by the time of the American Revolution, slavery was inherited by each successive generation until Lincoln, unwilling to compromise the issue further, confronted it.[2] Now, 200 years after Lincoln's birth, the issues of his personal and political life are still relevant. When the two-year commemoration closes in 2010, a multi-year Civil War national memorial period will open. These two epochal periods offer a forum for the observance of America's greatest national crisis. These tandem events remind us that Lincoln's solutions to the nation's still unresolved race relations problems were forever lost to an assassin's bullet.

In 2000, the United States Congress appointed a 15-member Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission to increase national and international knowledge of Lincoln, pay tribute to his accomplishments, and highlight his influence on the nation's development.[3] Co-chairs Senator Richard J. Durbin, Congressman Ray LaHood, and Abraham Lincoln scholar Harold Holzer were chosen as leaders for their knowledge and contributions to the study of the nation's 16th president. Other commission members are collectors of Abraham Lincolniana, scholars, educators, authors, and government officials. Other active organizations include the Lincoln States Bicentennial Task Force, a National Park Service work group, and local, state, and county commissions. The Organization of American Historians, the *Journal of American History*, universities, Lincoln museums, and other associations and groups are working

together on educational programming and community outreach for the commemoration period. Other plans and projects address the preservation of Lincoln-era artifacts, traveling exhibits, signature celebrations, statues and coins, and other memorabilia.

These collaborations, many of which include the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site in Hodgenville, Kentucky, promote the shared goals of strengthening the foundations of freedom, democracy, and equal opportunity, and encouraging public participation and scholarship on Lincoln and his legacy. The two-year celebration opens on the steps of the Memorial Building at the park on February 12, 2008.(Figure 1) A year of national signature events culminates with the rededication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, in 2009, the year of Lincoln's 200th birthday.

FIGURE 1
The Memorial Building at the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site in Kentucky marks the site of former President Lincoln's birth. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

The Lincoln Centennial

Preparations at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace include restoration of the Memorial Building, rehabilitation of the surrounding landscape and visitor center, and the installation of new interior exhibits and outdoor wayside interpretive panels. The complexity of these preservation projects is best understood through a historical review of the Memorial Building construction project and the preparations for the centennial of Lincoln's birth in 1909.

The Sinking Spring Farm, a 300-acre tract of land bought by Abraham Lincoln's parents, Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, for $200 in 1808, was sold, apportioned, and resold many times after the young family had left Kentucky to settle in Indiana. The property sale in 1905 attracted investor interest nationwide through articles published in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and other

FIGURE 2
The symbolic cabin inside the Memorial Building reminds visitors of Abraham Lincoln's humble origins. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

newspapers. On August 28, 1905, Richard Lloyd Jones bought the farm in the name of Robert J. Collier, editor of *Collier's Weekly*, to be held "in trust for the nation."[4] Incorporated on April 18, 1906, the Lincoln Farm Association planned to develop a memorial to Abraham Lincoln in time for the 100th anniversary of his birth.[5] The association's board of directors included the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens; political leaders Henry Watterson, William Jennings Bryan, and William H. Taft; journalists and editors Ida Tarbell, Samuel L. Clemens, and Albert Shaw; and other well-known figures. Robert Collier, also on the Board of Directors, used his magazine to promote the newly formed Lincoln Farm Association and encouraged contributions for a national Lincoln memorial on the site where the nation's 16th president was born. President Theodore Roosevelt, himself devoted to preserving Lincoln's memory, passionately endorsed the project.

Designed and built between 1906 and 1910—the time during which the United States ended its isolationist policies and became a world power—the Memorial Building is a fitting monument to one of the nation's heroes. The country, rapidly growing both economically and socially, needed strong, powerful role models whose personal traits were equal to the task of nation building, both at home and abroad.[6] President Roosevelt dedicated the building's cornerstone in 1909 only a month before the end of his second term. Roosevelt, who had always championed Lincoln as his hero, believed the values of the common man and progressive policies had eclipsed the power of the political machines—a sentiment Lincoln would have admired.

The Lincoln Farm Association selected the architect John Russell Pope to design a memorial to house the birthplace cabin. Pope, fresh from his studies of

FIGURE 3
This souvenir booklet from the Abraham Lincoln centennial celebration in 1909 included notes on the former president's life and his major public speeches. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

classical architecture in Europe, designed a building befitting a Roman emperor. The architect envisioned a two-story museum with an avenue of trees leading to the entrance and a central court featuring a copy of Saint-Gaudens's "Standing Lincoln" statue from Chicago's Lincoln Park. The Lincoln Farm Association approved Pope's design clearly intending for the birthplace to be the country's principal monument to the former president.

Driving Pope's design was the association's desire to return the Lincoln birth cabin to the very site on the knoll where it had supposedly originally stood.[7] Shortly after the Lincoln Farm Association had acquired the Sinking Spring Farm, they bought what people thought were the "original birthplace cabin" logs for $1,000. These logs had traveled on exhibit across the country and sat in storage at College Point on Long Island, New York, until the association acquired them.

Unfortunately, funds fell short of the anticipated goal, and Pope had to simplify his plans. He placed the Memorial Building on the knoll above the Sinking Spring and took advantage of the incline to create a dramatic and symbolic approach. The design as realized features four sets of granite stairs that ascend the terraced hill. Nearly 37 feet wide at the base, the 56 stairs—one for each year of Lincoln's life—narrow to 30 feet at the summit. A low hedge enclosed terraced panels on each side of the steps, and Lombardy poplars framed the building.[8] Beyond the one-story Doric portico, two bronze-panel doors open to the cabin with matching double doors at the north entrance.(Figure 2) A set of 16 rosettes crown the ceiling around a raised skylight and 16 stanchions encircle the cabin, symbolic of Lincoln's service as the nation's 16th president.

A cold rain fell on the centennial celebration day in 1909, but neither the weather nor the unfinished memorial deterred President Roosevelt who, with his party, slogged up the rain-soaked hill to deliver a roaring tribute to his hero on the spot where Lincoln was born. The celebration reverberated across the country. Speeches, formal dinners, and fireworks marked the celebration from New York to San Francisco, along with booklets containing Lincoln's most famous speeches, centennial coins, ribbons, and medals proudly worn at county, state, and national events.(Figure 3) Whereas President Roosevelt spoke about Lincoln at Hodgenville, his vice president, Charles Fairbanks, delivered a speech in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln's place of residence from 1837 until his move to the White House in 1861, Lincoln and Mary Ann Todd's first son, Robert, listened to speeches by William Jennings Bryan and the British and French Ambassadors.

The completion of the Memorial Building in 1910 provided another opportunity for celebration, which again brought the nation's president to Kentucky. President William Howard Taft traveled to Hodgenville in late 1911 and addressed thousands of people on the steps of the new memorial.

In 1911, the Lincoln Farm Association, its task complete, turned the park over to the State of Kentucky. In 1912, the first bills appeared in Congress to convey the park to the Federal Government. It was not until 1916, when President Woodrow Wilson signed the bill into law, that the Sinking Spring Farm became federal property. Wilson traveled to the park in September of that year to deliver an address, "Lincoln's Beginnings," on the acceptance of the deed of gift of the Lincoln farm to the nation, making his the third visit to Lincoln's place of birth by a sitting U.S. president.[9] The War Department administered the site, appointing Richard Lloyd Jones as commissioner during the early years. Congress transferred the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace from the War Department to the Department of the Interior in 1933.[10]

Over the years, people questioned the authenticity of the logs bought by the Lincoln Farm Association and now enshrined in the Memorial Building. Scholarly research into the cabin did not begin until 1949, when Roy Hays published an article in *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* titled, "Is the Lincoln Birthplace Cabin Authentic?"[11] In 2004, a dendrochronologist using core samples dated the oldest log used to build the cabin within the Memorial Building to 1848, thus establishing that the cabin could not have been the original birthplace cabin. Although not the original, the cabin is nonetheless significant for its role in perpetuating the image of Lincoln's dramatic rise from humble beginnings to the White House. Today, the park refers to the cabin as the "symbolic cabin."[12]

Preparing the Park for the Lincoln Bicentennial

The National Park Service began preparing for the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial in 2002 and developed an action plan in August 2006.[13] The Lincoln Birthplace and other Lincoln-related national parks anticipate significant interest and attention during the bicentennial period.[14] As steward of these sites, the National Park Service has a continuing responsibility to protect them, communicate their significance, and coordinate with the commissions and organizations working on the bicentennial observance.

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace began preparing for the bicentennial in 1999 with the development of a long-range interpretive plan that laid the foundation for programming, media needs, and exhibit and wayside development. The goal of the plan is to "commemorate the birth and early life of Abraham Lincoln and interpret the relationship of his background and frontier environment to his service for his country as president of the United States during the crucial years of the Civil War."[15] The challenge for Lincoln Birthplace is how the park can effectively convey the significance of Lincoln's first seven years living in Kentucky and how those years shaped the fundamental character he needed to lead the nation successfully though the trials of the Civil War.

Complicating this challenge is the formal memorial setting carved from the original farmstead by the Lincoln Farm Association. Few records of the original farm survive that document the period between the Lincoln family's departure in 1811 and the purchase of the farm by the Lincoln Farm Association in 1905. Furthermore, few traces of the farmstead itself survive from the Lincoln family days.

The two notable exceptions are the Sinking Spring and the Boundary Oak. The Lincoln family's primary source of water, the spring, also known as Rock Spring and Cave Spring, which appears in an 1802 farm survey, is an example of karst topography prevalent in this part of Kentucky. The Boundary Oak, a large white oak, likewise appears on early surveys. The construction of the Memorial Building and the development of the site into a park by the Federal Government after 1916 erased all other vestiges of the site's agricultural past.[16]

FIGURE 4
This circa 1884 photograph of the Sinking Spring is the earliest known image of the spring on the farm where Abraham Lincoln was born. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Until it died in 1976, the Boundary Oak was the "last living link" to Abraham Lincoln. This white oak served as a corner or boundary tree since the 1802 survey. It was 6 feet in diameter and approximately 90 feet in height. Its branches spread 115 feet. The tree, thought to be between 25 and 30 years old at Lincoln's birth, was located less than 150 yards from the cabin where he was born. Today, the site is marked with one of the newly designed wayside markers. A large slab of the white oak is on permanent exhibit in the visitor center.

FIGURE 5
The U.S. War Department built the steps and retaining walls shown in this 1934 photograph to facilitate public access to the Sinking Spring. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

The spring, located just west of the Memorial Building steps, is an excellent example of a karst window, a special type of sinkhole typical of Kentucky's karst topography and hydrologic systems. The water, flowing year-round, drains through the subsurface and empties into a branch of the Nolin River a short distance from the park. The earliest surviving photograph taken in 1884 shows the spring thickly covered with vegetation.(Figure 4) This site will have a new wayside marker that will illustrate karst topography, explain the importance of this water source for the Lincoln family, and include late 19th-century photos.

Construction of the Memorial Building directly above Sinking Spring created significant access problems for visitors and left a legacy of interpretive challenges for park staff. Annual flooding deposited several feet of water, mud, and slime at the foot of the memorial steps. During its administration of the site, the War Department made extensive changes to the spring to facilitate visitation, constructing stone retaining walls and steps to provide a safe way down to the spring.(Figure 5) Unfortunately, the spring's natural setting disappeared in the process, replaced by an artificial setting of steps and walls that make it difficult for park interpreters to connect Lincoln to his rural Kentucky roots. Visitors are immediately struck by the formal memorial setting, and only after ascending the 56 steps of the Memorial Building are they introduced to the one-room rustic cabin—a token of the harsh frontier life as the Lincoln family knew it—preserved in a classical revival shrine.

Recognizing the challenge of interpreting Lincoln's frontier life and how it influenced his later policies and politics, the park embarked upon major visitor center and exhibit upgrades in anticipation of the bicentennial. The park's new exhibits interpret the birth and early years of Lincoln's life, the Lincoln Farm Association, and the Centennial, and they provide an orientation to the park.[17]

Completed in 1959 as part of the National Park Service's Mission 66 modernization program, the visitor center is the public's first point of contact with the park. Entering the freshly painted and re-carpeted building, visitors now encounter life size figures representing the Lincoln family when Abraham Lincoln was about one year old. Figures of his father, Thomas, his mother, Nancy Hanks, holding the young Lincoln, and his sister, Sarah, about three years old, are present, their hands and faces sculpted in clay and their resin-coated fiberglass and foam frames clad in carefully chosen period clothing. Behind the figures and slightly to the right is the Lincoln quote, "I happen temporarily to occupy this big White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has."[18] The effect is stunning.

In the redesigned visitor center lobby, a new environmentally controlled exhibit case houses the Lincoln family Bible within view of the front desk. This Bible, which belonged to Abraham Lincoln's parents, is the only artifact in the park collection directly associated with the Lincoln family. Below the 1807 birth entry for his sister, Sarah, are the words, "Abraham Lincoln. Son of Thos & Nancy Lincoln was born February 12, 1809," in Lincoln's own handwriting.[19]

Passing the Lincoln Bible, visitors enter a hallway leading to a full-size cabin exhibit built according to the dimensions of cabins constructed in Kentucky during the early 19th century.(Figure 6) A fieldstone fireplace with mantel, cooking utensils, herbs hanging from the ceiling, red-ware plates, bowls, cow horn cups, candle molds, hand-made soap, a water bucket, dipper, wash tub, and other items provide the interpretive staff opportunities for Kentucky frontier life educational programming.

The cabin exhibit features a pole bed based on Dennis Friend Hanks's recollection of his cousin Abraham's birth. Dennis remembered that Nancy was lying in a pole bed looking happy on the day Abraham was born. Tom had built up a good fire and thrown a bear skin over them to keep them warm.[20] Period reproduction clothing hangs from pegs along the wall. A bearskin covers the bed, and a Kentucky long rifle and powder horn hang on the wall. A cross-buck table and bench sit in the center of the room. Since the only documentation relating to the cabin is the quote about the bed, the furnishings chosen for the cabin are period appropriate or typical of what one would find in a cabin in the early 19th century.

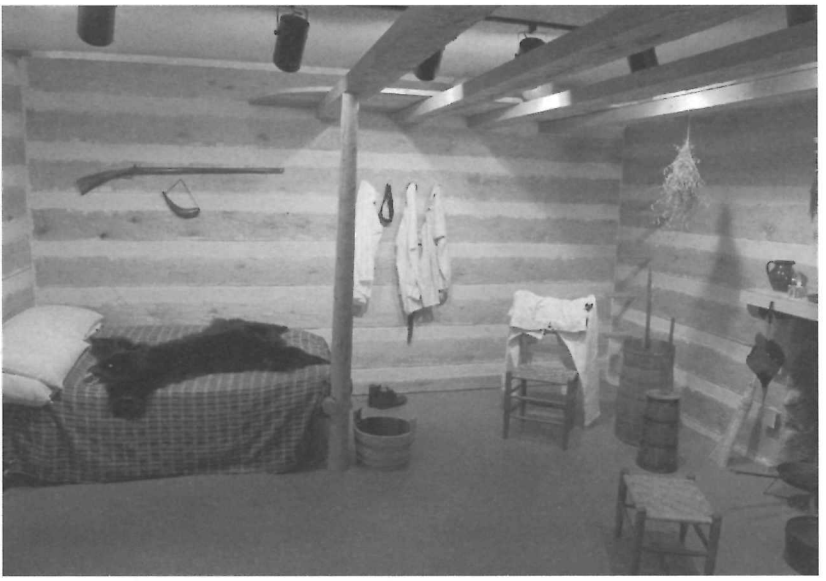

FIGURE 6
The full-size cabin exhibit in the park's visitor center recreates an early 19th-century frontier cabin interior that Abraham Lincoln might have known as a child. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Beyond the cabin exhibit, visitors encounter a family genealogy exhibit that traces the lineage of both parents and old photos of the cabin and Boundary Oak. On the opposite side is a large glass window framing a view of the Memorial Building.

According to a historic structure report completed in 2001, the nearly 100-year-old Memorial Building is in good condition.[21] The report outlines the efforts over the years to control the interior environment and their impacts on the overall visitor experience. The report recommends restoring the building to the 1909-1911 historic period.

In September 2004, the National Park Service contracted with an Atlanta architectural firm to determine the cause of mold, peeling paint, and suspected moisture infiltration from the exterior. The park followed up with an engineering assessment in the spring of 2005 and a preservation plan for cleaning and re-pointing the stone exterior, rehabilitating the original metal scuppers and downspouts, replacing the roof, and installing a new granite accessibility ramp. The building was now tightly protected from moisture intrusion; the interior work, however, proved to be a much larger project.

The Memorial Building's historic structure report recommends removing a wooden frame drop ceiling installed in 1959 and restoring the original skylight. It also recommends restoring plaster on the interior walls and redirecting airflow from the HVAC floor-mounted supply grille away from the cabin to provide more even circulation. These corrective measures will cost more than $1 million and require detailed compliance.[22] Since the extensive planning, design, and contractual work required could not be done before the 2008 kick-off event, a smaller cleaning and repainting project will give the building a temporary facelift until the more extensive work begins in 2009.

FIGURE 7
Architect John Russell Pope's original landscape plan included rows of Lombardy poplars flanking the steps leading to the Memorial Building. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Pope's original landscaping plan for the Memorial Building created terraces to complement the slope and location of the steps. Formal hedges of two different heights defined the grass panels and the Memorial Plaza. Lombardy poplars, common in classical landscapes, bordered the stairway.(Figure 7) In November 1935, these poplars, subject to disease and having a lifespan of approximately 30 years, gave way to evergreens. A 2004 cultural landscape report noted that the vegetation around the Memorial Building had lost its shape and compromised the formal design of the site.

Based on the cultural landscape report recommendations, the park replaced the split rail fencing surrounding the entire site beginning in the fall of 2006. It also planted new redbud and dogwood trees along the stretch of U.S. highway 31E that divides the 116 acres of the park in two, with the visitor center and Memorial Building on one side of the road and a large picnic area with hiking trails on the other. The dogwoods, subject to blight, were replaced with serviceberry trees as the blooms are similar and expected to produce the same effect.

The Bicentennial Celebratory Event

The Southeast Regional Bicentennial Planning Team, which includes representatives from the National Park Service and the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission, met on April 13, 2005, to begin planning for the park's February 12, 2008, bicentennial kick-off signature event. The park anticipates national and international attention and upwards of one million visitors over the course of the four-day celebration.

Preparing the park's infrastructure for the bicentennial is one aspect of the celebration; planning for the actual event and its legacy is another. The park has hired an education specialist to coordinate programming for state and local schools. An ongoing bicentennial speaker series, launched in the spring of 2005, is bringing renowned authors, scholars, and educators to Hodgenville, Kentucky. Michael Chesson spoke on the Civil War in Kentucky. Author and educator Margaret Wolfe gave a presentation on frontier southern women. Noted author Catherine Clinton presented her research on Harriet Tubman. Recently, Thomas Mackey presented a paper entitled, "They Belong to the Ages: The Enduring Values of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King, Jr.," in honor of King.

In the fall of 2006 and 2007, the park hosted "Walk through Lincoln's Life," an event for K-6 students. Re-enactors, demonstrators, musicians, and rail-splitters helped transport 1,500 children and teachers back to the early 19th century to encounter life as the Lincolns might have experienced it. In late June 2007, the park hosted a "Parks as Classrooms" grant-funded workshop for teachers and staff of Lincoln-related sites in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Teachers designed online lesson plans with pre-visit, post-visit, and long-distance learning options. They had the opportunity to interact with staff from the various Lincoln sites to determine what works best in the classroom and to design effective curriculum-based programs that will engage students in learning about history, math, science, and social studies. This workshop was hosted by the Kentucky Historical Society and featured Frank J. Williams, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Rhode Island, and founding chairman of the Lincoln Forum, as keynote speaker.

The Kentucky Historical Society began hosting statewide Lincoln commemorative events in June 2006 with the recreation of the Lincoln and Hanks wedding to celebrate Lincoln's parents' 200th wedding anniversary. The Kentucky Department of Transportation has erected welcome signs along the interstate highways that read, "The Birthplace of Abraham Lincoln," and a bicentennial license plate is now available.

Kentucky has also created a unique logo for the bicentennial featuring the log cabin motif. This logo appears on the state's website, stationery, and promotional materials. There will be commissioned artwork and three new Lincoln statues, including a seated Lincoln overlooking the Ohio River in downtown Louisville by Ed Hamilton, the sculptor who also produced other noted figures in this waterfront park. A statue portraying Lincoln as a young boy is underway for Hodgenville's town square. The Hodgenville boy statue will complement the Adolph A. Weinman adult statue of Lincoln placed on the square in 1909 to honor the centennial of Lincoln's birth. A third statue will go up in Springfield, Kentucky, where Thomas Lincoln, the president's father, grew up.

The anticipated interest in Abraham Lincoln sites located within eight rural Kentucky counties helped them qualify for a three-year grant to promote heritage tourism sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Preservation Kentucky, and the Kentucky Heritage Council and funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. As a member of this group's steering committee, Abraham Lincoln Birthplace has offered interpretive workshops and site assessments to assist statewide planning efforts.

The city of Hodgenville has devoted much time and energy to prepare for the influx of visitors and continuously updates the information about events on its website.[23] The cities of Elizabethtown and Bardstown meet regularly with the mayor and city council of Hodgenville to review logistics. A history symposium will take place on the afternoon of February 11 with Pulitzer Prize winning author Doris Kearns Goodwin as the featured speaker. The evening gala event on February 11 will include performances by the Louisville Orchestra and the Kentucky Opera. The orchestra will debut a new symphony commissioned by internationally recognized composer and musician Peter Schickele. Soprano Angela Brown and the Kentucky Opera will perform two spirituals and two prayers from *Margaret Garner*, an American opera based on the pre-Civil War story of a fugitive slave who sacrificed her child rather than see that child returned to a life of slavery.[24]

Regional leaders hope that these celebrations offer a positive lasting impression for visitors to the area. With CNN, C-SPAN, the History Channel, and other major networks planning to cover these activities, there is every opportunity for all Americans and international visitors to experience the legacy of Abraham Lincoln and his Kentucky roots.

Sandy Brue is the chief of interpretation and resource management at Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site in Hodgenville, Kentucky.

Notes

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3 The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission maintains a website at http://www.abrahamlincoln200.org/, accessed on August 23, 2007.

4 *Collier's Weekly*, February 10, 1906, 12-15.

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November 2, 1805. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln purchased the Sinking Spring Farm from Isaac Bush on December 12, 1808. These agreements were not recorded and payment was never made in full to Richard Mather therefore the farm remained on tax assessment records of Hardin County under the name of Mather.

Abraham Lincoln was born to Thomas and Nancy Lincoln in a cabin above the Sinking Spring on February 12, 1809. The couple with young Abraham and daughter Sarah lived on the farm until they were evicted in the dispute over ownership. Thomas Lincoln filed a counter claim against Richard Mather but the court decided against him and the land was sold at public auction. While the Lincoln's were suing to reclaim their farm they rented 30 acres along Knob Creek from George Lindsey. The Knob Creek farm was located along the west side of the Bardstown and Green River Turnpike about eight miles from the Sinking Spring Farm.

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9 The full text of President Wilson's address is available online from the American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65394, accessed on August 23, 2007.

10 Peterson, 33.

11 Roy Hays, "Is the Lincoln Birthplace Cabin Authentic?" *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 5 no. 3 (September 1948): 127-63.

12 Tri-Park Handbook, published by Eastern National (in production at the time of publication).

13 *Bicentennial of the Birth of Abraham Lincoln: An Action Plan for the Midwest Region* (Omaha, NE: National Park Service Midwest Regional Office, 2006).

14 The list of Lincoln-related sites in the National Park System is extensive. It includes memorials, sites directly associated with Lincoln, and Civil War battlefields and other sites that interpret historical events in which the 16th president played a part. The service's primary Lincoln sites are Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park in Hodgenville, Kentucky; Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Lincoln City, Indiana; Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, Illinois; and Ford's Theatre National Historic Site and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. The secondary sites are Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Keystone, South Dakota; Antietam National Battlefield, Sharpsburg, Maryland; Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire; Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site, Flat Rock, North Carolina; and Lincoln and President's Parks, Washington, DC. The National Park System also includes more than 40 Civil War era sites.

15 *Long-Range Interpretive Plan, Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site* (Harpers Ferry, WV: National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, 1999).

16 Lucy Lawliss and Susan Hitchcock, *Cultural Landscape Report* (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, 2004).

17 The park worked with exhibit design experts at the National Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia.

18 Abraham Lincoln, address to "One Hundred Sixty-sixth Ohio Regiment on August 22, 1964."

19 The Lincoln Family Bible was in the possession of the Johnson family, stepchildren of Thomas Lincoln, until 1893, when it was purchased for exhibition at the Chicago World's Fair. The Federal Government bought the Bible in 1926 and transferred it to Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site in 1959. The Chicago Historical Society preserves a few original pages with Abraham Lincoln's handwriting.

20 Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood: A History of the Kentucky Lincolns Supported by Documentary Evidence* (New York, NY: The Century Company, 1926), 104.

21 *Abraham Lincoln Birthplace Memorial Building, Historic Structure Report* (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, 2001).

22 The National Park Service's Denver Service Center will manage the project.

23 "Hodgenville, Kentucky," http://hodgenville.info/, accessed on August 23, 2007.

24 Visit "Margaret Garner: A New American Opera" for more information: http://www.margaretgarner.org/, accessed on October 2, 2007.

Adina De Zavala and the Second Siege of the Alamo

by Scott Zesch

FIGURE 1
This portrait of Adina De Zavala appeared in 1908 on the cover of the sheet music for "Remember the Alamo" by Jessie Beattie Thomas. (Courtesy of the University of the Incarnate Word)

During the dreary winter hours of February 11, 1908, the people of San Antonio, Texas, were chattering in shops and barrooms about a startling headline in a local daily, the *Light*: "Miss Adina De Zavala Enacts Siege of the Alamo Over Again and Defies Deputy Sheriff." The previous evening, the most vocal historic preservationist in the American Southwest had barricaded herself inside the famous Spanish mission to protect it from commercial exploitation.(Figure 1) Over the next three days, the diminutive woman single-handedly holding the Alamo made the front pages of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and the *Atlanta Constitution*. Americans from every region of the country applauded her fortitude. Her standoff ensured that the Alamo's *convento de monjes* (monastery)—believed to be the oldest surviving building in San Antonio today—would not disappear quickly or quietly.[1]

A century later, this remarkable episode is largely forgotten, even in preservation circles. For American conservationists, however, it was a seminal event. Adina De Zavala's seizure of the Alamo was one of the first nationally publicized acts of civil disobedience in the cause of historic preservation, the grandmother of every lying-down-in-front-of-a-bulldozer incident that has made news since. Overnight, De Zavala became the darling of the national press, and her fellow preservationists across the country learned a critical lesson about using publicity in support of the cause. A *New York Times* editorial celebrated her for "heroically reviving memories" of the Alamo siege of 1836.[2] John B. Adams, a descendant of former President John Quincy Adams, sent her a telegram that read: "Win or lose, we congratulate you upon your splendid patriotism and courage. We are proud of you. Texas should be."[3]

This 3-day spectacle was actually 15 years in the making. In 1893, De Zavala had founded the San Antonio chapter of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT), a statewide women's lineage society that was dedicated, among other things, to preserving historic sites. De Zavala summed up her lifelong preservation philosophy when she wrote that "true progress and culture remembers the past and profits by the memory."[4] She elaborated to one interviewer—

If people—especially children—can actually see the door through which some noble man or woman passed, or some object he or she touched, they'll be impressed, they'll remember, they'll be inspired to read everything they can find in

print about that man or woman. Inevitably they'll be filled with high ideals, the desire to emulate.[5]

Historian L. Robert Ables describes the fiery San Antonio preservationist as a small woman, about five feet three inches tall, with soft brown hair and blue eyes.[6] Born in 1861 of Mexican and Irish ancestry, De Zavala was considered Texas royalty. Her grandfather, the accomplished Mexican statesman and writer Lorenzo De Zavala, had cast his lot with the Texas independence movement and served as the first vice president of the Republic of Texas.[7]

The principal object of De Zavala's early preservation crusade was one of the last, endangered vestiges of the state's most revered historic site, the Alamo. Originally called San Antonio de Valero, the Spanish mission was founded by Franciscans in 1718 to christianize Native Americans. Its compound once occupied about three acres in what is now downtown San Antonio. After the Catholic Church secularized the mission in 1793, it was used as a military garrison. The property became better known as *El Álamo* (cottonwood) after a Spanish cavalry unit from Álamo de Parras, Mexico, occupied it in 1803. In 1836, the fortress was the scene of the most memorable siege and battle of the Texas Revolution, during which Mexican forces commanded by General Antonio López de Santa Anna felled all of the Texan combatants.

The United States Army later took over the deteriorating property for use as a quartermaster's depot. The Army started making repairs in 1847 and added the trademark bell-shaped parapet to the church in 1850. As downtown San Antonio expanded eastward, the land occupied by the Alamo became increasingly coveted for commercial purposes. By the turn of the 20th century, only two of the mission's many original buildings still stood. One was the large 1750s church, the structure most commonly identified as "the Alamo." The State of Texas had acquired it in 1883. The other was the adjacent monastery, an older limestone building constructed around 1727 to house the mission's clergy and later known as the "long barrack." Used as a store and warehouse since 1877, it was disguised behind a wooden facade.(Figure 2)

In 1903, Adina De Zavala and her DRT sisters rallied to prevent a hotel syndicate from acquiring the monastery-turned-warehouse at the Alamo. The stakes could not have been higher, for developers considered this site "the most valuable ground in the city."[8] De Zavala's chief ally in the DRT was Clara Driscoll, a young philanthropist and ranch heiress who garnered national acclaim when she bought the warehouse property for preservation in 1904. The following year, the State of Texas assumed the purchase and rewarded the women's organization with custody of the Alamo.

This "second battle of the Alamo" was part of a larger movement to save America's material heritage decades before the National Historic Preservation

FIGURE 2
This view shows the church and monastery of the Spanish mission of San Antonio de Valero, widely known as the Alamo, as it appeared before 1912. (Courtesy of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas)

Act of 1966 extended federal protection to historic structures. Early preservationists, mostly women, were motivated primarily by patriotism and viewed historic sites as shrines to American heroes. The movement began in earnest in 1853, when Ann Pamela Cunningham organized the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union to save George Washington's estate along the banks of the Potomac River in Virginia from being converted into a hotel and racetrack. Cunningham, who understood the importance of publicity, valued journalists as her allies. Her success fomented the creation of the Valley Forge Association (1878), the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (1888), the Ladies' Hermitage Association (1889), and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (1910). The DRT, founded in 1891, became the vanguard of historic preservation in Texas.

Although the two surviving Alamo buildings were safe from commercialization by 1904, a fissure soon developed among the DRT's members over how best to conserve the site. At that time, it was not at all clear whether the unsightly warehouse the women had rescued was the original monastery of the mission in shabby garb, or whether it was a more modern structure built on the site of the monastery. Proof was hard to come by. Moreover, the answer to that question would determine the building's fate. One faction of the women's organization wanted to restore the warehouse; the other wanted to level it and create a memorial park. Both sides in this very public controversy tried to win support through emotional appeals in the Texas press.

De Zavala firmly believed that the long rectangular warehouse, which she characterized as "the oldest structure in San Antonio," was in fact the original monastery. She sought desperately to prove that the building was "the Alamo proper," "the scene of the famous siege and massacre," and "the main building

of the Alamo."[9] In 1906 she obtained an affidavit from Juan E. Barrera, a San Antonio resident born in 1839, who testified that the monastery "or 'long barrack' of the fort, so called by some historians, and the walls of the church of the Alamo are still standing just as they were when I was a boy."[10] De Zavala's adversaries were unconvinced, however. They thought the warehouse did not contain "any portion of the original Alamo" and had "no historic interest."[11]

The Alamo dispute typified some of the growing tensions in the national historic preservation movement. By the early 20th century, preservationists had divided into two camps: those who were determined to save sites because of their historical association and those who thought a structure's architectural value was the more important concern. Most DRT activists fell into the former category. De Zavala, for instance, emphasized "the heroic deeds of the early Texans" and their "sublime sacrifice," calling the Alamo "the most sacred spot in America."[12] Hyperbole aside, she thought the monastery was significant not because its design was distinctive but because a large number of the Alamo defenders had died in hand-to-hand fighting there. In fact, De Zavala repeatedly emphasized throughout her career that the Alamo church played only a minor role in the battle of 1836, whereas the monastery was a key site.

She met staunch resistance from local businessmen who considered the Alamo warehouse a "highly objectionable structure" and lobbied to create a park in its place.[13] One of them maintained that it would be impossible to convert the stone walls "into artistic and pleasing design," as there was "nothing of the aesthetic in their original conception," only "unpoetic sand and mortar." He further queried, "Is it thought that a movement to restore the winter camp of Washington at Valley Forge, simply for its sentimental associations, would receive successful support? Or the log cabin in which the eyes of Abraham Lincoln first opened to the light?"[14] He was apparently unaware that both of these sites had already been the subjects of successful restoration campaigns.

American preservationists further disagreed over whether a landmark should be restored as it had been built originally or as it appeared during the most notable period in its history. In 1904, Fraunces Tavern in New York City, constructed as a private residence in 1719, was restored as it was believed to have looked at the time of George Washington's farewell to his officers in 1783. In contrast, Paul Revere's house in Boston was brought back to its original 1680 appearance rather than to the way it looked when Revere lived there a century later.[15]

De Zavala, despite her fervent patriotic sentiments, favored restoring the Alamo monastery "to the old arcaded type of architecture in which it was constructed during the time of the Franciscans," rather than to its appearance during the siege of 1836.[16](Figure 3) Other people, including one of De Zavala's good friends, F. F. Collins, thought the building should be "restored to its appearance when those brave Texans defended the honor of the young Republic there."[17]

FIGURE 3
This rendering, on which appears the notation "Copyrighted by A. De Zavala 1904," illustrates De Zavala's desire to restore the monastery as she believed it appeared in the 18th century. (Courtesy of the University of the Incarnate Word)

By 1907, the increasingly bitter controversy over whether and how to preserve the warehouse at the Alamo had divided not only the DRT but practically all of Texas into hostile camps. Highly-charged town meetings were held across the state to solicit public comment. The DRT's stormy convention in April of that year disintegrated into a free for all, resulting in a split in the organization and a court case awarding custody of the Alamo property to De Zavala's opponents. In her 1917 book *History and Legends of the Alamo and Other Missions in and around San Antonio,* De Zavala blamed various business syndicates for creating this sharp "division among the women" of the DRT that "has not been thoroughly healed to this day."[18]

Fearful that her opponents within the DRT would seize the slightest opportunity to demolish the warehouse, De Zavala kept a close watch over the property. A grocery company's commercial lease was due to expire on February 10, 1908, and the building's fate after that was uncertain. A local newspaper published a rumor that the premises might be rented for a vaudeville hall. The inflammatory headline predicted that a "Buck-and-Wing Dancer May Do Stunts Above the Spot Where Fallen Heroes of Texas Formed Funeral Pyre."[19]

It took very little to set off De Zavala, and that news article was more than sufficient. Actually, the vaudeville rumor may have just provided her with a convenient excuse. Anthropologist Richard Flores has suggested that her siege, "while impassioned, was premeditated and calculated."[20] A month beforehand, she had written to her attorney that she was prepared "to take possession bodily of the Alamo" when the lease expired. She reiterated, "I really believe I shall be brave enough to go ahead and take possession."[21]

Before the lease expired, she started taking steps in that direction. Around February 8, De Zavala hired three men to guard the property. She also had a telephone installed in the warehouse. Her standoff was not thoroughly planned, however, for she neglected to stash any bedding, warm clothes, food, or water in the building. Nor is there any evidence that she tipped off news reporters

in advance, although she had frequently given strong statements about the controversy to the local papers and was well known in San Antonio.

The showdown began on Monday, February 10, 1908. An attorney for the opposing DRT faction discovered that someone, most likely De Zavala, had placed new padlocks on the doors of the warehouse. Anticipating trouble, he enlisted Sheriff John W. Tobin's help in securing possession of the premises. At six o'clock that evening, De Zavala was at the warehouse, giving her guards instructions, when the attorney suddenly appeared with the sheriff and a couple of deputies. Also accompanying them were representatives of a business syndicate that hoped to build a hotel just east of the warehouse and badly wanted the structure removed.

Sheriff Tobin came armed with a copy of an injunction that a Houston court had issued the previous summer forbidding De Zavala's group from interfering with the Alamo property. He served the document on De Zavala's guards. Then, as she recalled in a 1935 interview, "The agents of the syndicate threw my men out bodily."[22]

Meanwhile, De Zavala had withdrawn to the shadows inside the shuttered, musty warehouse. Sheriff Tobin came searching for her. When he finally discovered De Zavala, she refused to accept a copy of the injunction. He tried to read it to her, but "she stopped her ears with her fingers."[23] He followed her to an upstairs room, where she slammed the door in his face and refused to come out. The sheriff finally left her alone.

Though her defiance of the injunction was an act of civil disobedience, De Zavala did not consider her behavior unlawful. Her attorney took the rather dubious legal position that the injunction either was invalid or applied only to the Alamo church. Therefore, she claimed she was justified in ignoring it.

After a short time, she went back downstairs to confront the representatives of the hotel company, asking by what right they had entered the warehouse. She had them trapped: If De Zavala's legal rights in the property were highly questionable, theirs were clearly nonexistent. As she remembered, "They withdrew outside the building for whispered consultation. The instant they stepped out, I closed the doors and barred them."[24]

Stymied, Sheriff Tobin took no further action to remove her. He had good reason for not wanting to draw attention to the woman inside the warehouse and possibly stir up sympathy for her cause. His mother, Josephine Tobin, was president of San Antonio's splinter DRT chapter that opposed De Zavala. When he left the premises that evening, the sheriff stationed a deputy on guard and told him not to let anyone enter the building or bring food to the lone occupant. The electric and telephone lines were also cut.

De Zavala's first night in the warehouse was the hardest. She had no bed, not even a chair in which to sleep upright. She tried, with little success, to rest sitting in one corner of a second-floor room. In the darkness, she could hear the rats scampering around her. According to the *Fort Worth Telegram*, "Miss De Zavala fears these rodents more than she does all of the representatives of the law."[25]

De Zavala came downstairs when she heard them rapping at the wooden door. Through a five-inch porthole, she told them, "Here I will remain until justice is done our cause. I'll stay here forever if needs be." The deputy on duty retorted, "You can't get anything to eat."

If Sheriff Tobin thought De Zavala's stunt would end quickly and without fanfare, his hopes were dashed the next morning when members of the press called at the Alamo. De Zavala came downstairs when she heard them rapping at the wooden door. Through a five-inch porthole, she told them, "Here I will remain until justice is done our cause. I'll stay here forever if needs be." The deputy on duty retorted, "You can't get anything to eat."[26]

One journalist reported that De Zavala was "weak from her long fast" and that "her lips were cracked and parched from thirst."[27] The "shamed looking deputy sheriff" finally allowed her to have a glass of water. However, the glass was too large to pass through the porthole, so she stooped while the water was poured into her mouth.

When her supporters arrived, they were permitted to speak to De Zavala at the door. One friend managed to sneak a couple of oranges through the porthole. However, "a promise to send breakfast brought forth the cheering information from the deputy that the sender of breakfast would be sent to jail."[28]

De Zavala's elderly mother became anxious because she could not communicate with her daughter by telephone. During the day, "Miss De Zavala found where the wire had been cut and fixed it herself."[29] At one point, she spoke by telephone with Governor Thomas M. Campbell in Austin, who was trying to resolve the crisis. De Zavala's followers also agreed to attend a meeting of the rival DRT chapter in San Antonio the following afternoon to try to reach a compromise and possibly reunite.

Soon the siege became a spectacle. Throughout the first day, people fought for position near the door of the warehouse. Every time De Zavala came within sight of the porthole, they shouted words of encouragement. However, she had no patience for curiosity-seekers. According to one newspaper, "she was plainly annoyed by the attention attracted and came to the door only when most urgently requested to do so."[30]

When Sheriff Tobin was interviewed that day, he stated, "She can stay there one hundred years and I will make no attempt to put her out unless so ordered by the court. I think that we are making a mountain out of a molehill."[31] But it was too late to downplay a story that made such excellent copy. Newspapers across the country were having a field day, reporting—often inaccurately but always breathtakingly—every development in the unfolding drama.

Due to "public indignation," the sheriff relented and allowed the electricity to be restored to the building before nightfall. During the second night, De Zavala fared better. The electric lights "kept away the large rats which had been a great source of annoyance the previous night."[32]

The following morning, February 12, De Zavala's friend Nellie Lytle arrived with coffee, which she poured through a tube inserted into the porthole. One journalist explained that De Zavala was "addicted to the coffee habit" and had been "suffering from a very bad headache."[33] Several packages of chocolates were also smuggled in newspapers through the porthole. According to news accounts, De Zavala was able to get water from a hydrant in the yard, which indicates that she crept out of the building occasionally during the siege.

She still faced the hardships of hunger and cold—but not for long. While De Zavala was standing on the second floor gallery, a friend in the crowd attracted her attention. She let down a long cord, and he tied a paper bag full of sandwiches to it. She also used the cord to pull up an oil stove for heat.

Later that morning, W. C. Day, the state superintendent of public buildings, arrived in San Antonio as the representative of Governor Campbell. Both sides in the Alamo fight were willing to turn over the property to the governor pending resolution of their dispute. However, negotiations broke down that afternoon over the terms of surrender, so De Zavala stood firm. Late the third night, her mother sent her a change of clothes wrapped in a blanket, which De Zavala retrieved using the cord.

Meanwhile, the incident had become a publicity disaster for her adversaries in the DRT, who had been legally recognized as custodians of the building. One of them issued a statement to the press in an effort to deflect negative attention from the organization. Claiming, quite inaccurately, that De Zavala was not in "the Alamo," she added—

I hope the good people of Texas will not condemn the Daughters of the Republic of Texas for that which they are not responsible, nor believe the many false statements published against them.... Miss De Zavala has been on the warpath for two years, determined to control our association in all its business departments.[34]

But it was useless. De Zavala, by her shrewd and flamboyant action, had won

the contest for public opinion. She and her followers seemed to know exactly how to keep journalists interested in the incident by staging an intermittent series of theatrics—pouring coffee through the porthole, smuggling food, delivering packages that she retrieved with the cord.

On the third morning of the siege, February 13, De Zavala replied to a telegram from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* asking her to send "a message to the women of St. Louis, who are watching with great interest your own gallant defense of the Alamo."[35] She stated that she was "willing to die for what I believe to be right.... The officers cannot starve me into submission."[36]

Later that day, De Zavala's attorneys assured her that they had finally reached a satisfactory agreement that would safeguard the building for the time being. She announced her intent to leave the warehouse. However, she would not come out until the sheriff's two deputies had departed and she was "in undisputed possession."[37] Superintendent W. C. Day, who was waiting nearby at the Menger Hotel, arrived at the warehouse at seven o'clock that evening. De Zavala greeted him pleasantly and gave him a tour of the premises.

When she exited the warehouse, De Zavala told reporters, "I did not surrender. I merely left matters in dispute to arbitration."[38] According to the *New York Times*, "She was so weak that she could hardly stand."[39] However, the *Washington Post* reported that she "came out with colors flying."[40] The *Austin Statesman* said that she "left in high spirits,"..."rather begrimed from exposure and rather weak from lack of food, but brave and defiant to the last."[41]

De Zavala won this highly publicized battle, but the war over the preservation of the Alamo dragged on another five years. In 1911, the Texas Legislature appropriated $5,000 for improvement of the Alamo property. Governor Oscar B. Colquitt, who thought that no part of the old mission predating the battle of 1836 should be demolished, favored De Zavala's proposal to restore the monastery by preserving the existing walls and rebuilding the missing portions on the original foundations. However, her opponents in the DRT were incensed by the idea, believing that a reconstructed monastery would detract from the Alamo church. The warehouse's origin had never been determined conclusively, and they now contended that any pre-1836 stonework in the building was merely an old fence, not the Alamo's monastery.

De Zavala was finally vindicated after workmen started stripping away the wooden additions to the warehouse on January 16, 1912. On the west side, they were excited to find walled-up arches where doorways had been. They discovered another door in the south wall.(Figure 4) The crew also uncovered the foundation of the missing east walls, which were eventually reconstructed.[42] The *San Antonio Express* reported, "Masonry such as is unknown to the present day builders forms the walls and even that portion where wood was used was so

FIGURE 4
This view of the Alamo, taken during the restoration of the monastery around 1912, shows the walled-up arches where doorways had once been. (Courtesy of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas)

protected from exposure that much of the original wood remains in fair condition."[43] According to J. B. Nitschke, state inspector of masonry, the reference points on two plats from the early 1840s established the "incontrovertible fact" that the stone walls of the warehouse were in fact part of the old monastery.

Governor Colquitt's $5,000 appropriation ran out after only a small part of the restoration had been completed. When the governor applied for a deficiency, De Zavala's opponents in the DRT went to court to stop him. In August 1913, Clara Driscoll, De Zavala's former ally turned foe, complained that the state should not spend any more money building "imitations of what might have existed."[44] She also threatened that most of Governor Colquitt's existing restoration work would "be annihilated."[45] Fortunately, it was not.

The sad final event in the struggle to preserve the Alamo occurred on October 8, 1913, while Governor Colquitt was away in Panama. The second-story adobe walls of the monastery, exposed to the elements for nearly two years and damaged by recent heavy rainfall, were suddenly torn down. An attorney who opposed De Zavala's restoration efforts claimed that the upper walls had become a "menace" and "should be removed."[46] De Zavala was apparently unaware of the impending demolition, which took only a couple of hours. She later complained bitterly that the Alamo had been mutilated by this "sacrilegious destruction," cryptically blaming the act on unnamed business interests and local officials.[47] With the second story gone, the first-floor walls of the monastery stood in a limbo-like state of partial restoration for 55 years.

De Zavala went on to found the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association, which marked numerous historic sites across the state. Her pioneer work inspired the preservation of other historically significant properties in San Antonio, including the Spanish Governor's Palace (1749) and the area

missions that now comprise San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.[48] Throughout her long career, she was a formidable foe. For the most part, her confrontational manner served her cause well. At times, however, she could be too territorial, and she burned some bridges that she should have tried to repair. Most regrettably, she never reconciled with the DRT, once even referring to her opponents in the organization as the "Daughters of Santa Anna."[49] When she learned about the formation of the San Antonio Conservation Society in 1924, De Zavala became highly agitated, according to historian Lewis F. Fisher. The president of the new organization, Emily Edwards, recalled, "Miss De Zavala called me up and told me that that was her field.... She was just furious."[50]

Even after she turned her attention to other preservation crusades, De Zavala never forgot the Alamo. For the rest of her life, she lobbied unsuccessfully for the restoration of the monastery. In 1935, she said that her "greatest dream" was "to see the main building of Alamo Mission restored.... [W]e still have the lower walls of the long barrack and of the arcades facing the *patio*."[51]

De Zavala did not live to see her dream realized. In 1955 her funeral procession passed by the Alamo in what writer Ann Fears Crawford describes as a "mutual salute between old friends."[52] Thirteen years after her death, the DRT finally restored the remnants of the first floor of the monastery. The simple stone building that De Zavala seized to protect in 1908 now houses the Alamo's Long Barrack Museum.

Today that museum's early champion, once described as "Texas' most-distinguished and best-loved woman,"[53] has fallen into obscurity. Most of the major histories of the American historic preservation movement do not even mention Adina De Zavala and her relentless efforts to protect the Alamo and other sites associated with Spanish and Mexican Texas. The Texas Historical Commission belatedly honored her with a marker in 1994. However, the tablet sat in the basement of the county courthouse for many months before it was placed inconspicuously on Alamo Plaza.[54]

Nonetheless, De Zavala's fighting spirit lives on in those who are willing to put themselves on the line to draw attention to parts of America's material heritage that are in danger of being lost forever. Californian Terry Sanders threatened to lie down in front of a bulldozer to save Oakland's eclectic Fifth Avenue Marina from developers in 2003.[55] The following year, Sherry Bartlett, armed only with a cell phone, sat for four hours on the historic Sheffield Hollow Bridge in Molino, Tennessee, to stave off its destruction. She was rewarded with a restraining order and a lawsuit.[56] Philanthropist Jane Dale Owen told the *New York Times* in 2006 that she would "lie down in front of a bulldozer" if necessary to defend Houston's Alabama movie theater.[57] The Medina (Ohio) Historic Preservation Board refused to allow the razing of three Victorian houses in 2007 even though the owner met the legal requirements for a demolition permit

because "somebody had to stand up for the rights of those homes," according to board president Pamela Miller.[58] In all of these courageous souls are shades of a trailblazing Mexican-Irish-American woman who never shied away from controversy and drew a line in the sand at the Alamo 100 years ago, proclaiming: "Many people fear to fight for their rights, owing to the notoriety. I am not of that kind."[59]

Scott Zesch is the author of *Alamo Heights* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1999), a novel inspired by the struggle to preserve the Alamo.

Notes

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3 *Dallas Morning News*, February 14, 1908.

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The Accokeek Foundation and Piscataway Park

by Denise D. Meringolo

Introduction[1]

In the spring of 2005, on the eve of its 50th anniversary, the Accokeek Foundation—one of the nation's oldest land trusts—was working to articulate its specific role as steward, with other stakeholders, of a complex cultural landscape along six miles of riverfront in Prince George's County, Maryland.[2] The property, approximately 11 miles from the District of Columbia line and directly across the Potomac River from George Washington's historic home, Mount Vernon, is jointly managed by the Moyaone Reserve (an environmentally conscious planned community), Piscataway Park (a unit of the National Park Service), and the foundation. The fields, trails, shoreline, and interpretive areas of Piscataway Park were shaped, not only by historical and environmental forces, but also by evolving relationships among the National Park Service, the Moyaone Reserve, environmental advocacy groups, historic site managers, farmland preservation groups, and others. The Accokeek Foundation was looking for ways to integrate multiple views and valuations of the landscape into a new vision to guide its mission.

The foundation's complex purpose was rendered somewhat invisible to most casual visitors, because the effort leading up to the founding of Piscataway Park magnified the importance of one very powerful view. By protecting the woods, fields, and watershed on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, Piscataway Park preserves the historic view from former President George Washington's Mount Vernon. National Park Service evaluations of the site tended to note its historical, architectural, natural, and archeological features, while at the same time downplaying the importance of those features to emphasize the park's role in preserving historically significant scenery. The National Register of Historic Places nomination form, for example, completed in 1979, noted that—

Piscataway Park is principally significant for its role in maintaining the vista across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon. As the only unit of the National Park System established specifically to protect the environment of a privately owned historic property, it is secondarily important as a new departure in the recent history of Federal conservation activity. The park itself is not significant for particular on-site landmarks or features excepting the separately nominated features referenced in section 7 [the Accokeek Creek site and Marshall Hall]; its value derives from its general scenic character as viewed from across the Potomac.[3]

The significance of the view across the river is not contrived: It is thoroughly documented that Washington loved his view of the Maryland shore. During a major renovation of the main house in 1774, he built a two-story piazza overlooking the river. Numerous guests to the mansion recorded their appreciation of the view. The American architect Benjamin Latrobe sketched the scene. The topographical writer Isaac Weld wrote of his visit in the mid-1790s, "The Maryland shore, on the opposite side, is beautifully diversified with hills, which are mostly covered with woods; in many places, however, little patches of cultivated ground appear, ornamented with houses. The scenery altogether is most delightful."[4] Significantly, Latrobe and Weld captured the scenic and aesthetic aspects of the view, including the houses and fields visible from Mount Vernon. The undeniable attractiveness of the landscape proved a valuable rallying point for galvanizing diverse groups and individuals around the common purpose of protecting the area from potentially unsightly development.

Most successful national parks and historic sites balance the interests of multiple stakeholders on constantly shifting ground. While it is often necessary to create strategic alliances to achieve some political purpose, the creation of common ground—whether intellectual or physical—carries a profound sense of authority that can unintentionally obscure the complexity of the past, limiting both the educational potential and social value of public space. This essay seeks to broaden perspectives about the meaning of nature, agriculture, and community in and around Piscataway Park by focusing on the Maryland shore itself. It examines the ways different communities valued the landscape—ways that George Washington and his peers could not have seen.

Agricultural Value

The agricultural heritage of Prince George's County, Maryland, dates back more than 1,000 years. When Captain John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac in 1608, he visited the area near Piscataway Creek and recorded the name of a Native American settlement: Moyaone. Nomadic people had lived in the area and returned repeatedly to the Potomac shoreline for some 4,000 years before the arrival of European explorers and colonists. But the Moyaone village was home to a specific group—the Piscataway people—who built a permanent enclosed village and developed an agricultural economy around the year 1200.[5]

English colonists and enslaved Africans began settling in the region shortly after Smith's voyage, and Maryland quickly became one of Great Britain's most successful colonies. The Maryland colonists produced agricultural goods and raw materials that provided a benefit to the royal economy and created little competition for British manufactured goods.[6] Corn and wheat grew well and were stable sources of income for most planters, but the colony's main cash

crop was tobacco. The poor planters and tenant farmers—indeed, the entire region—depended on tobacco for their livelihood. When tobacco was in high demand in Europe, Prince George's County prospered. When the tobacco crop failed or demand shrank, so did the fortunes of Prince George's County families.[7]

At first, the Piscataway people and other Native Americans co-existed with European colonists, but the two peoples viewed property differently, and cooperation quickly gave way to competition. Native American leaders made an effort to accommodate the colonial government, petitioning for formal recognition of their land rights and signing a number of treaty agreements. By the middle of the 17th century, European colonists in Prince George's County had acquired large tracts of land and established farms and tobacco plantations. The competition for fertile land eroded relationships among Native Americans and Europeans. It resulted in bloodshed on a number of occasions.[8] William Calvert patented property on the south shore of Piscataway Creek, hoping that setting aside the land for native people might ease tensions. Unfortunately, hostilities continued to escalate, and the Piscataway people formally abandoned Moyaone between 1675 and 1682, though some of them remained in the region.

Tobacco cultivation shaped the culture and landscape of Southern Maryland throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. It required attention year-round from all capable members of the plantation household and increased planters' dependence on slavery. By 1750, half of the households in Prince George's County included slaves. Wealthy planters owned between dozens and hundreds of enslaved Africans and African Americans, but most others operated on a smaller scale. Middling planters who owned property (and even some tenant farmers who did not) relied on the labor of at least one or two enslaved people. The wealthiest plantation owners in the county tended to build their family homes on crests overlooking the agricultural fields; slaves and overseers lived in cabins near the fields.[9]

By the 1770s, growth in Prince George's County had come to a halt. Up to that time, each generation of planters had subdivided their property to create farms for their sons, calculating 50 acres as the minimum size from which a tobacco planter could enjoy a measure of financial success. Endless subdivision was simply not sustainable, and by the late 18th century, it was difficult, if not impossible, for planters to pass land down to their sons. Furthermore, the demand (and price) for land in Prince George's County had increased by this time, making less land available for lease or purchase. Unable to establish new farms, many young men left the county.[10]

Rural Ideal

Beginning in the 1920s, a new group of people discovered the Accokeek shoreline. At first, they arrived as weekend guests, and a few stayed as boarders during the New Deal Era. By the mid-20th century, they had created a permanent community in Accokeek. This self-selected group of government scientists and middle managers shared a common interest in conservation and a similar view of the shape and meaning of the landscape. Bernie Wareham, one of the new residents, seemed to echo the sentiments of Weld when he described the moment he decided to build a house in Accokeek—

We. . . found our way through the valley, over to the old tobacco barn, a little further, a beautiful sight, beautiful place for a house, flat lands. . . . We came back to the road to this little hilltop. And that's where we found a little tree out there, a little tree I climbed up. Then I had a beautiful view of Mount Vernon over there.[11]

As Wareham's description suggests, this wave of newcomers experienced the landscape as passive rural space, a relaxing retreat from urban pressures. Within 40 years, they transformed their personal appreciation for the scenery into political action, spearheading a public campaign that redefined the value of the landscape and fostered the creation of Piscataway Park.

Although many of the men and women who moved to the area had experienced farm life as children, they mostly approached agriculture as a hobby, a personal venture that protected them from dependence on outside aid in an emergency but integral to attaining a rural ideal. They were not alone in harboring such ideas. Many people believed (and still do) that rural working landscapes had a rejuvenating power, that agricultural life signified independence, and that access to nature was a cure for fatigue, ill health, and other debilitating symptoms of a cosmopolitan lifestyle and urban existence.[12]

Henry Ferguson, one of the earliest to arrive, was a scientist employed by the U.S. Geological Survey. His wife, Alice, was a well-educated artist and entrepreneur. Longtime residents of Georgetown in Washington, DC, they counted scientists, ministers, and the politically well connected among their friends and colleagues. Seeking a quiet weekend refuge, they bought a 130-acre farm on the eastern bank of the Potomac River in 1922.

According to Alice's memoir, the lack of amenities was part of the farm's charm. They dubbed the place Hard Bargain, and spent many weekends there, enjoying the woods and fields and playing at rural living. Alice and Henry were hardly agricultural experts, but they held to romantic ideas about the purity and healthfulness of farming. They practiced farming during their stays at Hard Bargain but employed a resident farmer to do most of the work.[13] Their

appreciation for the aesthetic and playful pleasures of rural life helped fuel a small but significant interest in the Accokeek shoreline.

Suburban development pressures also played a role in fueling interest in the shoreline. Whereas urban sophistication and rural beauty were complimentary opposites, suburbanization magnified and focused the fears of both city dwellers and nature lovers.[14] During the early decades of the 20th century, most people thought of urban centers as cosmopolitan, intellectual, and exciting, and the rural countryside as an authentic representation of American values. Suburban areas occupied the zone between country and city and almost immediately came to symbolize a kind of cultural limbo. Social commentator Lewis Mumford described the suburbs in 1921 as a wasteland, and his contemporary, the writer and historian Frederick Lewis Allen, criticized the suburbs as hotbeds of conformity, a "socially and aesthetically empty" world.[15]

Suburban development brought significant changes to the social organization and appearance of the national capital region during the 1930s and 1940s. Increasing numbers of federal workers flooded Washington, DC, first to work in New Deal agencies and then to support the war effort. These transplants required housing and services. At first, temporary boarding houses seemed sufficient, but as more people established roots in the region, suburban development soared. Planned suburbs, including Greenbelt, Maryland, touted the benefits of a lifestyle in which transportation, services, and homes were functionally integrated and pleasantly landscaped.[16] Federal initiatives, furthermore, broadened opportunities for home ownership, which many middle class Americans embraced.[17] This suburban development had a profound environmental impact, replacing woods with pavement and reshaping natural landscape contours into a more artificially orderly environment. Some Americans found these trends disturbing.[18]

The Fergusons' most frequent visitors were predisposed to distrust suburban development. Throughout the 1930s, Hard Bargain attracted an eclectic group seeking escape from the increasing clamor of life in Washington. The Fergusons housed many visitors and a few boarders in Longview, a small farm building turned guesthouse. Prior to World War II, the Longview group included a particularly close-knit set of regulars, including Robert Ware Straus, then one of former U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes's staffers, an artist named Lenore Thomas who later married Straus, and an architect named Charles Wagner.

As suburban development spread closer to the Accokeek shoreline, the Fergusons and the Longview group hatched a plan to avoid the throngs.[19] Unwilling to see the woods around Hard Bargain cleared and the fields subdivided for apartment buildings and businesses, Alice Ferguson began purchasing hundreds of acres of land around her property. Her real estate

venture, the Moyaone Company, was a nod to the first settlement on the Accokeek shore. Straus and Wagner were among the first to buy property.[20] Throughout the 1940s, the Fergusons, Straus, and Wagner continued to market and sell tracts of Moyaone property to carefully screened friends and colleagues. Wagner designed a number of houses in the area, modeling them on the open plan and site sensitive designs of the architect Frank Lloyd Wright.

Information about the community spread by word of mouth through government offices, from secretary to manager and back again. Alice Ferguson, interested in surrounding herself with like-minded conservationists and conversationalists, interviewed potential buyers. William Harris recalled his own meeting with her: "Alice said, 'What do you do?' And I said, 'I'm a metallurgist.' And she said, 'Oh, too bad. We wanted a botanist this time.'"[21]


THE WASHINGTON POST A 9

A CONSPIRACY OF NATURE ENTERED INTO BY MAN IS MOYAONE RESERVE'S MULTI-ACRE PLAN

Nature must have conspired to make this area of Southern Maryland as varied in terrain and beauty as it is. Rolling hills and wooded hillsides combine with natural clearings for proper home settings.

Residents living here for many years further conspired to keep the natural beauty of MOYAONE RESERVE intact. Existing parcels of land are not subdivided into checker board patterns.

If you wish to become a conspirator in this plan, where respect for the individual is a prime requisite, call Butler 3-2121 for information.

MOYAONE RESERVE
ACCOKEEK, MARYLAND

FIGURE 1
This advertisement for the Moyaone Reserve, appearing in the September 26, 1959, edition of the Washington Post, *aptly summarizes the residents' concern for preserving the area's natural beauty. (Courtesy of the Accokeek Foundation, Moyaone Collection)*

When Alice Ferguson died in 1952, she bequeathed land and mortgage notes to Straus, Wagner, and the other Moyaone residents. At first uncertain about how to proceed, the group used the money (about $40,000) to establish more formal channels for developing the rural reserve. They established three interrelated associations to administer the gift. The Piscataway Real Estate Company took over the business of real estate, advertising available lots, interviewing potential buyers, and helping to finance those who seemed most in tune with the community's conservation goals. The Moyaone Company became the Moyaone Association, a nonprofit group that took on the role of establishing common areas, issuing a community newsletter, and policing community standards. The Moyaone Association members also established committees—including a public affairs committee—that explored more serious conservation measures and other programs. Finally, the Alice Ferguson Foundation emerged as a nonprofit association dedicated to conservation and nature education.[22]

Significantly, all the Moyaone residents actively participated in defining and gradually formalizing the role of these organizations as conservation entities. What began as personal preference evolved into a private arrangement among the members of a planned community. Those who bought property agreed to abide by strict residential covenants that prevented unnecessary clearing of the woods and prohibited apartment buildings, billboards, and storefronts.

Their willingness to agree to these conditions grew out of a common set of formative experiences. Many had grown up on farms but had left behind a rural childhood for urban job opportunities. They had lived through the Great Depression as children and had survived as young adults through World War II. Taken as a whole, these experiences left them with a certain amount of nostalgia for an agricultural past and a measure of distrust in the ability of any government to ensure their security.(Figure 1) E. Lee Fairley summarized their common sensibility this way: "We were all city folk. The motivation essentially for coming out here was to get away from the city. And it was also recently

enough after the end of the war that there was concern about living in an urban area."[23] William Harris, another early resident of the Moyaone, recalled, "It was no utopian philosophy that brought us here. It was very practical Depression and World War II experience that said we wanted to be in a place that if worse came to worse we could just pull the land around us and survive."[24]

Not everyone living on the Accokeek shoreline between Marshall Hall and Piscataway Creek was a resident of the Moyaone. A number of farming families owned large parcels nestled alongside the new reserve, and the Depression and World War II affected them differently. As the population of the Moyaone increased, a rather subdued sense of uneasiness began to ripple through the farms. While Moyaone attracted people who appreciated the character of the landscape, their calculation of its value differed in significant ways from that of families who had operated farms in the area for decades. Unlike their new neighbors, the farmers viewed the land as an evolving resource. If the Depression had hurt their investment, then the boom in postwar suburban development could help recover the loss. Manning Clagett, whose family owned particularly valuable tracts of land on the river, including an area called Mockley Point,[25] recalled somewhat wistfully, "We had the best... waterfront area... and it could have been developed real nice... all the waterfront could have been developed into, well, a lot of things that are open to the public. You could have had golf courses, marinas and the whole works."[26]

Although farming families like the Clagetts were less likely than Moyaone residents to oppose recreational and suburban development on the Accokeek shoreline, they agreed that some forms of development were unacceptable. Rumors of industrial development at Mockley Point and elsewhere on the Potomac River shoreline made both groups uneasy because of its negative impact on the scenic and financial value of the land. When such change seemed inevitable in the 1950s and 1960s, farming families formed temporary, strategic alliances with the Moyaone residents. Their willingness to support some conservation efforts affected their ability to prevent other forms of conservation about which they were less enthusiastic. During the final decade leading up to the creation of Piscataway Park, farmers and Moyaone residents often found themselves at odds over the precise meaning and value of the Accokeek landscape.

Creating Piscataway Park

During the 1950s, it became increasingly clear that the restrictive covenants, screening of prospective buyers, and other private means of conservation adopted by the Moyaone Association were insufficient to stop suburban encroachment. As development pressures mounted, a third group became actively involved in efforts to extend permanent protection to the Accokeek shoreline. Cecil Wall, resident director of Mount Vernon in Virginia, kept

FIGURE 2
This page, taken from a guidebook from the late 1970s, stresses the importance of the historic view across the Potomac River from George Washington's Mount Vernon estate. (Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association)

a watchful eye on the quality of the vista from across the Potomac River. Concerned that the demand for housing and services would place unsightly developments in the background of every tour of George Washington's historic home, Wall began actively promoting the value of the view from Mount Vernon. He told a reporter in 1956—

This is what seems to impress our distinguished visitors most. You know the routine. The State Department brings them out, crowned heads, prime ministers, presidents of republics and foreign ministers. After their tour of Mount Vernon they stop here to be photographed. They all express amazement that the view is so unspoiled.[27]

Wall and the members of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MVLA) became the Moyaone Association's most visible champions in the effort to protect the landscape. Over the next decade, the MVLA undertook a massive campaign to promote the value of the view from Mount Vernon as a scenic and historic backdrop intimately associated with the nation's first president. (Figure 2)

The campaign began in earnest in 1954. That year, a tract of 483 acres of waterfront property and farmland bordering the Moyaone and within clear sight of Mount Vernon went up for sale. Rumors that a Texas oil company wanted to build storage tanks on or near the property caused a stir among conservation-minded residents on both sides of the Potomac. Many people worried that, without intervention from a conservation-minded buyer, the pristine shoreline would give way to unsightly industrial development.

Aware of the National Park Service's efforts to preserve the view along the George Washington Memorial Parkway and its interest in Mount Vernon as part of the cultural landscape, Wall contacted the Department of the Interior about the sale.[28] Meanwhile, Wagner independently searched for a private buyer willing to adhere to the Moyaone Reserve's land covenants. Neither man succeeded in solving the problem on his own; when they combined resources, however, they set in motion the events that led to the creation of Piscataway Park.

Although it is difficult to determine who made the first move, Wall's notes indicate that he began communicating with Wagner during the spring of 1955.[29] The two men discussed their mutual interest in protecting the character of the Accokeek shoreline and considered all options, from private purchase to federal intervention. Wall found a key ally in Frances Payne Bolton, a Congresswoman from Ohio and a regent of the MVLA. In a letter to Bolton he wrote—

I have been intending for some time to call you and urge some further action toward stabilizing the view across the river, but occasional conversations with [your assistant] have made me realize how many and pressing your other engagements have been and I have deferred from week to week. However, I have just had an informative telephone call from a neighbor, Mr. Charles Wagner, who

FIGURE 3
Frances Payne Bolton, a Congresswoman from Ohio, bought this 483 acre farm along the Potomac River in Maryland to help preserve the historic view across the river from Mount Vernon. (Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association)

lives across the river. This call, together with our failure to get the President out here and interest him, makes me feel that fresh approaches should be considered.[30]

Bolton appreciated the historical significance of the view from Mount Vernon and had already expressed support for Wall's efforts to involve the Federal Government in protecting it. Wall persuaded her to take a more active role. When her own effort to find another buyer failed, Bolton agreed to buy the property herself.(Figure 3) Once she owned the property, she, Wagner, Straus, Wall, and a handful of other advisors and Moyaone residents began to develop a plan to ensure the permanent protection of the Accokeek landscape and the view from Mount Vernon.

According to his memoir, Straus met with Bolton privately in Ohio in the summer of 1955. They agreed that private purchase alone would not protect the Accokeek landscape and discussed the need for a more comprehensive approach. Bolton gave the Moyaone Association a $5,000 grant to develop a strategic plan, and Straus hired historian Frederick Gutheim as a consultant. Gutheim recognized the importance of a unified front, and he recommended the creation of a single nonprofit entity to represent the different parties interested in saving the property from development.[31]

Acting on Gutheim's recommendation, Straus pushed the Moyaone Association to create yet another nonprofit entity that would hold private lands in trust and educate the public about the value of conservation. Chartered in 1957, the Accokeek Foundation became one of the nation's earliest land trusts. Bolton agreed to serve as the foundation's first president, effectively cementing the partnership between the MVLA and the Moyaone Association.[32]

Meanwhile, the Moyaone Association pursued other avenues for protecting the land in the reserve in perpetuity. Hopeful that zoning measures might protect open space and forest, Straus and others approached the Prince George's County government about including their community under the planning authority of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.[33] Both the Moyaone and the Accokeek Foundation also explored how they might formalize the terms of the reserve's land covenants. In 1956, they began to study the potential effectiveness of scenic easements, examining proposals made for the use of easements in protecting other scenic views.

At Accokeek, planners concluded that both the public view from Mount Vernon and the private property rights of Moyaone residents would be adequately protected if residents agreed to donate scenic easements to the Department of the Interior. At the time, easements were largely unknown or untested in private historic preservation situations.[34] No legislation existed in Maryland to compensate landowners who gave up specific rights to their property. Some of the Moyaone residents thought the easements were redundant, since covenant

agreements had already limited their ability to alter the landscape. The lack of an obvious economic benefit for preserving open space and scenic vistas made easements a tough idea to sell.

In 1960, new threats to private property on the Maryland shore made it necessary to come to agreement on the value of the landscape. The Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) announced plans to locate a sewage treatment plant on Piscataway Bay in clear view of Mount Vernon. The WSSC identified Mockley Point, a waterfront property owned by farmer Henry Clagett, as the likely location for the plant. To make matters worse, the WSSC, though it was not a government entity, had the power of eminent domain.

Very quickly, the Accokeek Foundation, the MVLA, and the Moyaone Association focused their energies on preventing the WSSC from taking Mockley Point. They assembled a coalition of nature conservancies, historic preservationists, community associations, farmers, politicians, and others to lobby the Prince George's County Commissioners for official intervention. In January 1961, representatives from dozens of groups crowded into a Commissioners' meeting to register their opposition to the plant. Although each group presented its own reason for opposing the plant, the argument that carried the most weight came from Mount Vernon. A reporter for *The Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin* described the meeting in the following manner—

Most of the 300 or more people jammed into the Upper Marlboro courtroom had quite a lot to say against the location of a sewage treatment plant at Mockley Point, but it wasn't their testimony that was deciding the issue. Nor was it the testimony of the WSSC, which presented engineering studies favoring a plant at or near the mouth of Piscataway Bay, just across the River from MV. The Big Man who dominated the entire evening settled the argument in his favor without saying a word, without even being present. No one could doubt that GW did not want a treatment plant obstructing the view from MV. And that was that.[35]

In the meantime, Bolton had won strong allies in Congress, including U.S. Representative John Saylor of Pennsylvania and Senators Clinton Anderson of New Mexico and Wayne Aspinall of Colorado. On October 4, 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed Public Law 87-362, the first of several to authorize the creation of a federal park on the Accokeek shoreline to protect the view from Mount Vernon.[36]

The residents of the Moyaone were committed to preserving the rural character of their community, but they shared with local farmers a hesitation about inviting the Federal Government to assert any control over their use and enjoyment of the landscape.[37] Both groups agreed only reluctantly that government intervention was necessary to prevent the WSSC from condemning

and seizing Mockley Point. Dixie Otis, a member of the Moyaone Public Affairs committee recalled, "I think, everybody would have preferred to be able to preserve the land without having to get the Federal Government involved, but there was just no other way."[38] Similarly, according to an editorial in the *Harrisburg* (Pennsylvania) *Patriot*, Henry Clagett had told the WSSC that he would never sell Mockley Point to them, and once the threat of losing his land to condemnation became more viable, he signed on to the conservation effort, joining in the appeal to Congress to acquire the land.[39]

As it turned out, cooperation between local farmers and the residents of the Moyaone Reserve was strategic but fragile. As plans for the park moved forward, conservationists began to define and popularize particular beliefs about the value of the Accokeek landscape. The view that seemed to best suit the framework of a National Park Service property differed considerably from the views held by most farmers. Further, the close alliance of the Moyaone residents with the Accokeek Foundation and the MVLA tended to amplify farmers' concerns that their land values were being threatened by outsiders who stood to benefit personally from the creation of the park.

Shortly after President Kennedy authorized the creation of a national park on the Accokeek shoreline, the Accokeek Foundation, the Moyaone Association, and the Alice Ferguson Foundation began to develop a plan under which private residents could remain on their property and participate in the preservation of the landscape. On New Year's Eve, 1961, members of the Moyaone's public affairs committee met with three representatives from the local farming families. The farmers felt that the proposed park was a project of the Moyaone, and that federal interest had only replaced the threat posed by the WSSC with a new threat. In either case, farm families faced the danger of losing rights to use and dispose of their own property and wanted to be able to develop their property without interference from either the Moyaone or the Federal Government.

The Moyaone Association continued to explore the possible effectiveness of scenic easements as a tool for protecting private property and the view from Mount Vernon. In January 1962, the association established a special committee on easements. A quick survey of Moyaone landowners indicated that 10 supported scenic easements, 10 opposed them, and 5 were undecided. As word about the Moyaone easement plan spread, opposition increased, and the relationship between the farm families and Moyaone residents deteriorated.[40] The Moyaone residents who hesitated to support the use of scenic easements and the creation of the park did so because they were concerned about the rights of local farmers. One resident, Rhonda Hanson, recalled her father's conflicted feelings this way—

My Dad loved the rural character of the land but I also know that... his populist roots made him nervous about scenic easements and the idea of giving the federal

government control of the land. I think it had to do with his own experience because Midwestern farmers didn't trust the federal government when it came to land. Too often they lost their land and I think that influenced his attitudes about it. It wasn't that he didn't want to preserve the rural character, but I think there was a level of distrust about what the government might do.[41]

Beyond the individual loss of property, the movement to create the park could not help but transform the meaning and values associated with the landscape. During the conservation campaign, attention shifted away from the agricultural heritage of Accokeek towards the land's scenic value, transforming it from a dynamic cultural landscape into a static, idealized natural one. In the spring of 1963, five families hired a lawyer to prevent the National Park Service from acquiring their land. The lawsuit portrayed the Moyaone Association as profit-motivated real estate developers hiding behind a façade of conservation.[42] Their opposition attracted notice from Congress, and it temporarily slowed the progress of land acquisition for the park. Ultimately, it was no match for the coalition of preservation entities or congressional supporters. The MVLA repeatedly stressed the historic significance of the view, and they succeeded in generating letters of support from across the country. By January 1963, a majority of Moyaone residents had donated scenic easements to the Accokeek Foundation, successfully pushing forward the creation of the park.[43] The foundation eventually deeded the scenic easements to the Federal Government.[44](Figures 4-5)

. . .the movement to create the park could not help but transform the meaning and values associated with the landscape. During the conservation campaign, attention shifted away from the agricultural heritage of Accokeek towards the land's scenic value, transforming it from a dynamic cultural landscape into a static, idealized natural one.

In the meantime, members of the Moyaone Association public affairs committee worked to change state law to enable local governments to provide tax incentives for the preservation of open space. Under the tax code of the State of Maryland, the value of land was determined by its development potential, not its actual use. Ironically, assessing land in this manner hurt farmers as well as historic preservationists because there was no incentive for maintaining open space or working the land. Moyaone Association members Belva Jensen and Dixie Otis made frequent trips to the state legislature in Maryland, educating politicians about the value of retaining open space and the potential use of scenic easements as a conservation tool. Prince George's County Delegate Raymond J. McDonough was so impressed by the presentation Jensen and Otis had made to the State House Ways and Means Committee that he reportedly told the Moyaone Association, "Send those

FIGURE 4
This photograph shows U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall and Frances Payne Bolton, President of the Accokeek Foundation, standing next to a map of the Accokeek shoreline in Prince George's County, Maryland. (Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association)

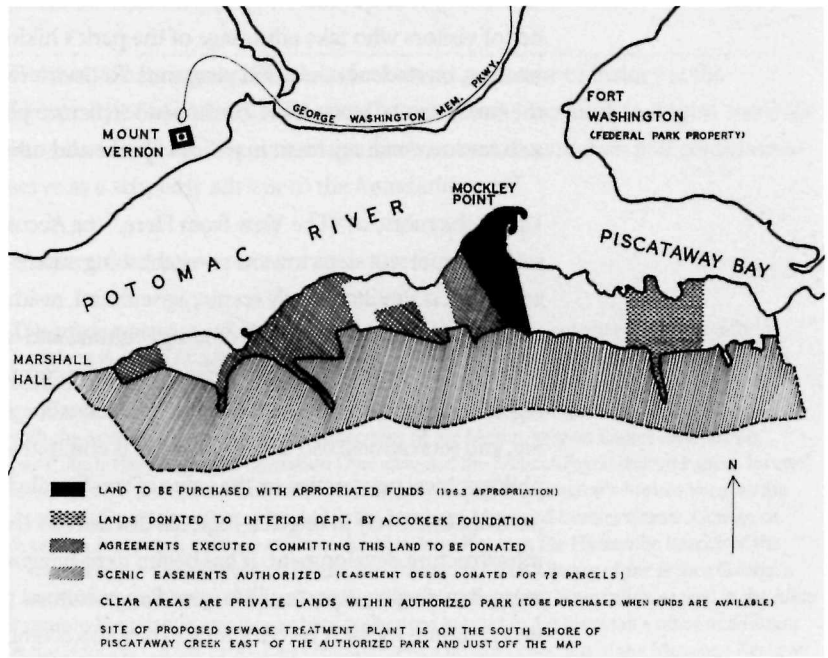

FIGURE 5
This plan shows the parcels of land along the Accokeek shoreline in Prince George's County, Maryland, and the scenic easements and other instruments used to preserve them and the view from Mount Vernon on the other side of the Potomac River in Virginia. (Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association)

ladies up to Annapolis often!"[45] Jensen and Otis found other allies, particularly State Senators Fred Wineland from Prince George's County, Gilbert Gude from Montgomery County, and John Thomas Parran from Charles County, who co-sponsored the bill that changed the state tax code in 1965 to allow property tax assessments to rest on actual use. The change in state law enabled a subsequent change in the county law. In 1966, Prince George's County became the first county in the nation to approve tax benefits for preservation, allowing landowners to claim a 50 percent deduction on land set aside for preservation.

The passage of Prince George's County's scenic easement legislation helped soothe tensions between farmers and members of the Moyaone by promising economic relief for conservation of the landscape. In 1966 and again in 1967, thanks to steady pressure from Frances Bolton, John Saylor, and others, appropriations finally reached the necessary level to create the park.[46] Their timing was impeccable. The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 signaled a new national commitment to preservation and established guidelines for the protection of other historically significant vistas and landscapes.

The Evolving View from Here

Nearly 40 years after the dedication of Piscataway Park and 50 years after the creation of the Accokeek Foundation, some of the residents at the park's doorstep still express reservations. One resident noted that "On balance, I think the concept of the Moyaone was very good. I think it probably would have been some hodge-podge development down there, and we're getting developed enough.... But I'm still not sure about the park.... How many people really get to use it?"[47] The question is an important one, and is not simply about the number of visitors who take advantage of the park's hiking trails, historical performances, or student education programs. Rather, it forces people to re-examine the fundamental stories that continue to structure programming, development, and resource management in national parks and other protected areas.

Under the rubric of "The View from Here," the Accokeek Foundation has taken several important steps toward re-establishing and re-defining its role on a landscape that is simultaneously scenic, agricultural, residential, and historic. In 2006, the foundation reorganized all of its agricultural and land stewardship activities under the umbrella of "sustainability," making a commitment to serve as the region's premier demonstration area for sustainable practices in farming, gardening, and recreational use. The foundation is committed to representing a strong philosophical perspective on the value of small-scale farming. It has begun to participate actively in ongoing regional discussions about smart growth and green infrastructure development. It has begun to re-imagine its interpretive programming, focusing on aspects of Maryland's agricultural past that resonate and remain relevant today. It is continuing to develop ecological and historical programs for students. Furthermore, the foundation is exploring the possibility of expanding the operation of its Ecosystem Farm and Institute for Land Based Training to provide hands-on learning opportunities for both experienced farmers who wish to transition from tobacco to food-based agriculture and inexperienced farmers who wish to experiment with intensive, small-scale techniques.[48]

The Accokeek Foundation is also honoring the important work its founders accomplished in influencing preservation law in Maryland. The state has renewed its commitment to smart growth, and the Accokeek Foundation has

the experience to participate in a meaningful dialog with professional planners at the state and county level. Closer to home, the foundation is encouraging residents of the Moyaone to work with the National Park Service to re-visit and update the terms of their relationship under the scenic easements.

The Accokeek Foundation has also taken steps to ensure that visitors and stakeholders are able to participate in conversations about the meanings and values that shape the cultural landscape. In June 2007, the foundation installed a series of interpretive signs. The signs help visitors recognize nature, history, and agriculture as interpretive frameworks, all of which actively create meaning on the park landscape. The signs also encourage visitors to participate in the evolution of a more sustainable infrastructure in the region. The foundation has also actively sought out new partnerships to encourage members of the Piscataway Nation, the African American community, and the remaining farming families to help ensure that their views are heard. As all of these projects and programs indicate, the Accokeek Foundation is working to ensure that Piscataway Park is not merely meaningful because it has preserved the view from Mount Vernon but also because it advocates a preservation vision that has relevance and resonance well beyond the park's boundaries.

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Notes

1 This article evolved out of research conducted for an exhibit to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Accokeek Foundation. The bulk of information came from the following collections: the records of the Accokeek Heritage Project, an oral history and local history project sponsored by the Maryland Humanities Council and conducted in conjunction with the Accokeek Foundation; the collections of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, particularly the Records of Operation Overview and the Frances Payne Bolton Papers, located in the Library and Special Collections Division of George Washington's Mount Vernon; the Accokeek Foundation Papers located in the Southern Maryland Studies Center, College of Southern Maryland; the collections of the Maryland Room at the Hyattsville Branch of the Prince George's County Public Library; the collections in the Library of the Prince George's County Historical Society; the collections of the Alice Ferguson Foundation as well as the Alice Ferguson Foundation website; archival collections located in the historian's office and library at the National Capital Parks-East Headquarters; a private collection of the Moyaone Reserve newsletter, *Smoke Signals*, held by Nancy Wagner; and the Moyaone Association Archives, a private collection maintained by the board of the Moyaone Association.

The author would also like to thank those who graciously shared their research, ideas, knowledge, and information: Scott and Dorothy Odell, who led the local history project from which "The View from Here" evolved; Wilton Corkern, Annmarie Buckley, Shane LaBrake, Matt Mulder, Laura Ford, Matt Mattingly, and all the staff of the Accokeek Foundation; Gayle Hazelwood, Kirsten Talken-Spaulding, Stephen Potter, Frank Faragasso, and everyone in the offices of National Capital Parks-East; George Hanssen, Belva Jensen, Nancy Wagner, Margaret Schmid, and Susan Jones of the Moyaone Reserve; and Jennifer Kittlaus and Barbara McMillan in the library at George Washington's Mount Vernon.

2 According to National Park Service guidelines, a cultural landscape is "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values." Piscataway Park fits the criteria for several reasons. It contains remnants of a 17th century settlement of the Piscataway people, historic fields and farms, and a landscape that developed through vernacular historical processes. For a useful summary of the criteria, see Charles A. Birnbaum, "Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes," *Preservation Brief* 36 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1994).

3 Paul Goeldner and Barry Mackintosh, "Piscataway Park," National Register nomination form, 1979. The copy to which this article refers is located at National Capital Parks-East Headquarters in the office of Frank Faragasso.

4 Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, England: J. Stockdale, 1799). Weld's comment appears among a series of collected observations in the Operation Overlook Collection Library at George Washington's Mount Vernon.

5 Robert L. Stephenson, *The Prehistoric Peoples of Accokeek Creek* (1959) reprinted with Stephen Potter, *A New Look at the Accokeek Creek Complex* (Accokeek, Maryland: The Alice Ferguson Foundation, 1984).

6 Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 148.

7 A series of short articles developed for the county's tercentennial and now online give a useful summary of the history of Prince George's County, particularly the centrality of tobacco in the county's development. See "History of Prince George's County," http://www.pghistory.org/PG/index.html, accessed on September 8, 2007. The Colonial Williamsburg website (http://www.history.org/, accessed on September 8, 2007) features excellent discussions of colonial life and economics. The very basic description in this essay is indebted to the material on these sites and to the interpreter training materials produced by the Accokeek Foundation for its living history performers.

8 For more discussion on the migrations and warfare created by European settlement, see Jack Forbes, "The Renape People: A Brief Survey of Relationships and Migrations," *Wicazo Sa Review* 2 no. 1 (Spring 1986): 14-20.

9 Some of the largest plantation homes were absorbed into the city of Washington, DC, upon its establishment in 1790. John Michael Vlach has written and lectured widely on these and other plantations in Southern Maryland. See John Michael Vlach, "The Quest for a Capital," http://www.capitolhillhistory.org/lectures/vlach/index.html, accessed on September 8, 2007.

10 Ironically, the exodus restored a measure of stability to the population: The names of plantation owners that appear on 19th-century maps of Accokeek remained on land records and mailboxes well into the 20th century.

For more on the history of Maryland's tobacco culture, see, for example, T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985); Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); and Daniel Blake Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth Century Chesapeake Society* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980).

11 Bernie Wareham, interview by Scott Odell, February 12, 2002, Accokeek Heritage Project Archives, Accokeek, Maryland.

12 For a discussion on the construction of wilderness, see, for example, William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996); Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of National Parks* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999).

13 Alice Leczinska Lowe Ferguson, *Adventures in Southern Maryland, 1922-1940* (Washington, DC: National Capital Press, 1941).

14 For more on the suburbs, see Rosalynn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen, *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened* (New York, New York: Basic Books, 2001); and Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). It is interesting to note that anti-suburban sentiments also permeate the work of urban planners. See, for example, James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape*, reprint edition (New York, New York: Free Press, 1994).

15 Baxandall and Ewen, *Picture Windows*.

16 The Greenbelt Town Program was a New Deal project designed to assist the poor in two ways: It hired the unemployed to perform necessary labor for clearing land and building suburban developments, and it provided housing to working families. The Greenbelt Program was administered under the Resettlement Administration and resulted in the construction of three towns: Greenbelt, Maryland; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenhills, Ohio. For more on Greenbelt, see Cathy D. Knepper, *Greenbelt, Maryland: A Living Legacy of the New Deal* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) and Mary Lou Williamson, ed., *Greenbelt, History of a New Town, 1937–1987* (Virginia Beach, Virginia: The Donning Company Publishers, 1997).

17 For a detailed analysis of housing policy, see Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1996). The creation of the Federal Housing Administration during the New Deal helped limit the risk of default on mortgage loans and changed dozens of state and federal laws to legalize long-term mortgages with low down payments. This trend made homeownership more accessible to many middle class Americans. Some legal historians argue that the expansion of homeownership had an unequal impact, however. See for example, Adam Gordon, "The Creation of Homeownership: How New Deal Changes in Banking Regulation Simultaneously Made Homeownership Accessible to Whites and Out of Reach for Blacks," *The Yale Law Journal* 115 no. 1 (2005).

18 Baxandall and Ewen, *Picture Windows*.

19 The post-war period saw the construction of Indian Head Highway and the Woodrow Wilson Bridge among other projects that made the Prince George's County area attractive for suburban development.

20 During the first two decades of its existence, the original group formed a number of companies and nonprofit organizations to manage the Moyaone. These were called the Moyaone Company, the Moyaone Association, and the Moyaone Reserve. Today, the development is called the Moyaone Reserve. This article uses the Moyaone Association and the Moyaone Reserve to describe the community.

21 William Harris, interview by Scott and Dorothy Odell, November 21, 2003, Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

22 It is challenging to unravel the history of these three institutions because the membership, boards, and staff overlapped, sometimes creating administrative conflict and often making it difficult to distinguish which entity was doing what work.

23 E. Lee Fairley, interview by Scott and Dorothy Odell, February 16, 2002, The Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

24 William Harris, interview by Scott and Dorothy Odell, November 21, 2003, The Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

25 Some historical documents at the Prince George's County Historical Society record a Clagget family, but those who live in Accokeek today generally spell their name "Clagett."

26 Manning Clagett, interview by Ann Chab and Scott Odell, June 11, 2003, Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

27 *The Washington Star*, August 27, 1956, newspaper clipping, binder 1, Operation Overview Collection, Collections of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, George Washington's Mount Vernon, Mount Vernon, Virginia.

28 Interestingly, there was a proposal—strongly opposed by the Moyaone Reserve—to create a Maryland loop for the parkway along the Maryland shoreline. Wall was encouraged to learn that the National Park Service's master plans included a discussion of the importance of views and vistas in landscape design. However, without a congressional mandate and significant appropriation for the purchase of private property, the agency could not act with sufficient speed.

29 The notes are located in folder 2, box 1, Archives of Operation Overview, Mount Vernon.

30 The letter is located in folder 2, box 1, Archives of Operation Overview, Mount Vernon.

31 Those interested parties included the Alice Ferguson Foundation, the Moyaone Association, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, the National Park Service, and the Smithsonian Institution. The details are based on the recollections of Robert Ware Straus and published in his memoir, *The Possible Dream: Saving George Washington's View* (Accokeek, Maryland: The Accokeek Foundation, 1988).

32 The Accokeek Foundation went to work immediately, developing a program of land management designed to document the scientific value of the Maryland shoreline. The foundation's earliest projects included plans for a colonial farm demonstration area and a genetic study of native crops.

33 The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission was created by the Maryland State Legislature in 1927 to "develop and operate public park systems and provide land use planning for the physical development of the great majority of Montgomery and Prince George's Counties," bordering the District of Columbia. "M-NCPPC," http://www.mncppc.org/, accessed on September 4, 2007.

34 Nancy McLaughlin, "Conservation Easements—A Troubled Adolescence," *Journal of Land Resources and Environmental Literature* 26 no. 1 (2005): 47-56. The National Park Service had been using scenic easements since the late 1930s to protect views from historic parkways such as the Blue Ridge Parkway. However, the concept was not widely recognized until the late 1950s, when the journalist William Whyte described the usefulness of a "conservation easement."

35 Newspaper clipping, binder 1, Operation Overview Collection, Mount Vernon. The commission was impressed by the show of opposition, but it was also interested in the economic benefits that might come from development. It ordered a study of alternative sites for the plant, and the WSSC did not formally give up its interest in the property until after the establishment of the park. Newspaper clippings in the binders of Operation Overlook indicate that conservationists were still wrangling with the WSSC until the late 1960s.

36 It took nearly 10 years and a concerted public relations effort to acquire enough land to establish Piscataway Park. Public laws authorizing the establishment and increasing the acreage for Piscataway Park were passed on October 4, 1961, July 19, 1966, and October 23, 1972. Hervey Machen, a member of the Maryland General Assembly's House of Delegates in 1961, was elected to Congress in 1964 and proved to be an important supporter of the park throughout this process. For a more detailed and personal administrative history of the creation of Piscataway Park, see Robert Ware Straus and Elinor B. Straus, *The Possible Dream: Saving George Washington's View* (Accokeek, Maryland: The Accokeek Foundation, 1988). Additional research in the papers of Frances Payne Bolton will reveal more about the ways in which her relationships with environmentalists in Congress helped foster the development of the park.

37 The Accokeek Foundation, which represented the interests of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association and residents of Moyaone, sought to retain some control over land use. Over the course of nearly three years, the Accokeek Foundation and the National Park Service, which had little experience sharing land management responsibilities, hammered out the terms of a public-private partnership that enabled the foundation to operate programs and steward 200 acres of land in Piscataway Park. One such program is National Colonial Farm, a living history

museum established in 1958 that depicts a Maryland family farm on the eve of the American Revolution. The agreement is still in place and is subject to renewal every 20 years.

Most of the park's supporters, staffers, and neighbors insist that the Accokeek Foundation-Piscataway Park management agreement was "the first" such agreement in the National Park Service. This aspect of administrative history requires further research.

38 Dixie Otis, interview by Susan Thompson and Milburn Butler, February 9, 2002, The Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

39 Newspaper clipping, binder 1, Operation Overview Collection, Mount Vernon.

40 At least 12 families sent letters to the easement committee, strongly opposing scenic easements and flatly refusing to support any plan that might infringe on their property rights. One opponent wrote—

I wish to state that I am not in favor of having easements on my farm or property and definitely will not donate such easements to the Federal Government. Furthermore, if certain members of the Moyaone Association wish to donate easements to the Federal Government, let them do so. However, the Moyaone Association should not be overstepping its boundaries and dictate to the other landowners in this area what should be done to their land.

This excerpt was taken from a handwritten note collected by the Accokeek Heritage Project and located in the privately held project archives.

41 Rhonda Hanson, interview by Nancy Wagner and Susan Hoffman, February 28, 2004, The Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

42 "Farmers Ask Congress to Block US Purchase of Their Land," *The Washington Post*, March 21, 1963.

43 A gap of several years separated the enabling legislation, the creation of a public-private management strategy for Piscataway Park, and the establishment of the park. The National Park Service now holds the easements and monitors compliance.

44 For a complete list of restricted activities and full conditions, visit http://www.moyaone.org/easements.php, accessed on September 8, 2007.

45 Nancy Wagner, [untitled], *Smoke Signals* (Moyaone Association newsletter), February 4, 1965.

46 Between 1961 and 1968, appropriations for the park were written into various pieces of legislation and then cut or reduced. A Congressman from Ohio briefly opposed the park because he felt it was more appropriately a state or county project. The farmers' protest also temporarily stalled appropriations. A politically connected and wealthy individual bought the Marshall Hall property and proposed to build an amusement park with an American history theme. Park supporters capitalized on President Lyndon Johnson's commitment to beautification and his particular interest in conservation along the Potomac River, which he announced in 1964. The owner of Marshall Hall eventually accepted a buyout.

47 Daniel Dyer, interview by Ann Chab and Scott Odell, June 18, 2003, The Accokeek Heritage Project Archives.

48 Wilton Corkern, Annmarie Buckley, Shane LaBrake, Matt Mulder, and Laura Ford, "Accokeek Foundation, 50th Anniversary Initiative Strategic Vision," February 11, 2006, internal memorandum approved by the Board of Directors.

Authenticity and the Post-Conflict Reconstruction of Historic Sites[1]

by Robert Garland Thomson

Introduction

Responses to the damage or destruction of historically significant buildings and sites as a result of armed conflict vary greatly, from precise reconstruction to memorialization of building fragments to a *tabula rasa* approach. Examples from around the world immediately spring to mind: Dresden's 18th-century Frauenkirche, razed by Allied bombing in 1945 yet painstakingly reconstructed in 2006; Hiroshima's Atomic Bomb Dome, a 1915 exhibition hall destroyed by the U.S. atomic warhead detonated above the city in 1945 and today preserved as a ruin; Rotterdam's medieval city center, erased by the German Blitz in 1940 and reconceived in an entirely modernist vocabulary beginning in 1946. (Figure 1) However, with the "new" histories taken on by buildings impacted by conflict come adjusted expectations for the degree of authenticity that the reconstructions will convey. These "revised authenticities" strongly influence the interpretation of post-conflict sites, often with far-reaching implications for significance and commemoration within their communities. These conditions present a distinct challenge to—and important role for—cultural resource stewards in helping communities navigate decisions related to conflict-impacted historic architecture.

FIGURE 1
Destroyed during World War II, the Atomic Bomb Dome (Genbaku Dome, formerly an exhibition hall) in Hiroshima, Japan, is preserved as a ruin. (Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons)

In a 1998 position paper for ICCROM, Jukka Jokilehto, the noted Finnish preservation scholar and theoretician, distilled a three-part framework for historic authenticity based on the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity. These three factors, which he describes as "tests of authenticity" for historic architecture, include genuine quality of human creativity, true representation of cultural tradition or representative type, and verifiable association with an interchange of values or association of ideas.[2] While sufficiently broad so as to include a variety of heritage types, the framework does not account for revised material and narrative authenticity issues that arise in a post-conflict environment, where a site's "antiquity value" might be lost or connections to original intent altered. This void calls for an expanded set of definitions for authenticity in a post-conflict setting, where reconstruction plans and stakeholder requirements for commemoration, revival, and continuity typically extend beyond the above tests.

This paper explores three examples that demonstrate this range of post-conflict responses: the Stari Most (Old Bridge) in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina; the World Trade Center site in New York City; and the Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtniskirche (Memorial Church) in Berlin, Germany. Each site's constituent community chose to respond to the destruction or damage of their culturally significant building in vastly different ways, raising challenging questions as to the "revised authenticity" of the present-day sites. As these discrepancies illustrate, any post-conflict reconstruction plan demands an informed discussion among various stakeholders within a community regarding the desired type of authenticity, accompanied by a robust understanding of the implications of each approach.

In order to provide guidelines for future discussion, this paper proposes three new categories of authenticity that may be applied to post-conflict sites. These categories should serve to better equip cultural resource professionals in their efforts to work with communities in determining the most appropriate treatments for conflict-impacted historic structures. Similarly, these new categories will ideally lead to the development of a more sophisticated framework for discussing other "revised authenticities" that might result from natural disaster or contextual changes, in addition to post-conflict sites.

Authenticity in the Post-Conflict Environment

For better or worse, conflict has always comprised part of the human experience. Because the impulse to build is similarly ingrained, the two phenomena have invariably intersected throughout history, resulting in countless examples of glorious architectural achievements reduced to rubble. Despite the timelessness of this dynamic, the combination of today's diverse built environment with new professional disciplines charged with interpreting, classifying, and preserving it have resulted in ever-more sophisticated responses

to the destruction of culturally significant architecture. Furthermore, the 20th century—widely regarded as the most productive *and* most destructive period of human history thus far—offers innumerable examples of community response to injuries inflicted upon the built environment.

In nearly all cases, post-war recovery involves extensive reconstruction either out of pragmatic necessity, defiance against aggressors, or maintenance of continuity with a pre-conflict time. For example, following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, construction schedules were accelerated in order to restore the building fully before the one-year anniversary as an act of defiant, patriotic resolve.[3] The degree of post-conflict reconstruction executed also varies widely and often takes place without regard to the integrity of original materials or, in the event of a *tabula rasa* approach, can involve the negation of a pre-conflict structure altogether. Take, for example, the 19th-century teakwood Royal Palace in Mandalay, Myanmar (Burma), which burned during fighting between British and Japanese forces in 1945, only to be rebuilt in concrete and corrugated iron by the national government. Both of these approaches stand at odds with the traditional, narrowly defined Western concept of "authenticity," which emphasizes material originality and a direct association with an author or particular time of origin, thus eschewing replicas, reproductions, and copies.[4]

As the field of historic preservation has become global in scope, however, this rigid concept of authenticity has come under intense scrutiny. The Nara Document on Authenticity in particular calls into question the Western-centric emphasis on material authenticity, stressing the variability of authenticity values between (or even within) cultures.

As the field of historic preservation has become global in scope, however, this rigid concept of authenticity has come under intense scrutiny. The Nara Document on Authenticity in particular calls into question the Western-centric emphasis on material authenticity, stressing the variability of authenticity values between (or even within) cultures. According to Nara, authenticity "may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors."[5] By delineating such an expansive spectrum of values, the 1994 document permits the recognition of historic significance according to a range of factors beyond pure material or age-related authenticity, thus potentially validating actions such as reconstruction following a conflict episode.

Other theoreticians within the field of historic preservation have teased out the implications of the Nara Document's variable take on authenticity,

in some cases highlighting how acceptable levels of authenticity can shift over time depending on events, community needs, or collective memory. Cesare Brandi, the esteemed Italian architect and historic preservationist, has acknowledged that the history of an artwork (including buildings) bears as much on that work's definition as its creation. Including factors external to a building's origins—such as alterations and wear—logically expands its definition beyond that of its creators' initial intentions.[6] Building on Brandi's cumulative understanding of how an object's experience through time impacts its meaning, Greek architectural historian Vasiliki Kynourgiopoulou notes how the collective memory of constituent communities plays a significant role in ascribing authenticity determinations. She goes on to point out that the authenticity of a particular object is contingent upon the context and time in which it was created, *in addition to* the particular need it has come to satisfy within a community.[7] Eman Assi, a Palestinian historic preservationist, further emphasizes this community-focused, variable view of authenticity based on her extensive work in Jerusalem. She observes that authenticity determinations constitute a community action forged through collaboration and compromise with professionals rather than a domain controlled solely by those professionals.[8]

Collectively, these opinions shed considerable light on the issue of authenticity in the context of a post-conflict environment. Episodes of conflict (among other things, of course) contribute to the histories of buildings, often in dramatic or catastrophic ways that can permanently alter—or even destroy—their material integrity. Although these episodes certainly compromise a building's originality and connection to a particular time or author, they can also imbue the structure with a new meaning or even enhance its previous significance. Community responses to conflict episodes take into account these shifts, and reconstructions therefore reflect collaborative community needs, rather than strict professional requirements. As a result, buildings reconstructed following conflict can contain authentic elements of the original structures (even if only in memory), in addition to an authenticity newly bestowed upon them by their constituents.

Paolo Marconi, the Italian restoration architect and academic, has noted in his writings that community-driven reconstruction decisions can produce multifarious results. These range from creating beacons of painful memory or celebrated defiance, or even encouraging a "ceremony of repression" of traumatic events, particularly in the event of complete reconstruction. Marconi calls upon historic preservationists to help translate community needs into appropriate reconstructions while helping to avoid inauthentic production of pastiche that can arise from ill-conceived interventions.[9]

Navigating the turbulent waters of constituent-based mediation and assignment of meaning has more frequently been the domain of anthropologists and eth-

nologists than of preservationists. Social scientists have even accused the field of historic preservation of disrupting the process of "place attachment," which involves communities' assignment of new meaning to a site over time, even when those communities are culturally or historically unattached to the "place" in question.[10] However, historic preservationists more than most understand "place" as a powerful retainer of historic authenticity.[11] Similarly, they frequently deal with individual sites that carry multiple layers of history and meaning and in most cases are specifically charged with preserving and interpreting them in sum. As proof, one need look no further than the fourth of the *U.S. Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, which states that "changes that have acquired historic significance in their own right shall be retained and preserved."[12] Most examples of post-conflict reconstruction are multivalent in precisely this way, with a conflict episode itself bestowing new historic significance upon an already meaningful place.

FIGURE 2
The 18th-century Frauenkirche in Dresden, Germany, shown here in ruins in 1991, was destroyed during World War II. (Courtesy of Heinrich Gimmler)

FIGURE 3
Reconstructed in 2006, the Frauenkirche closely resembles the original church, shown here in an 1880 photograph. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

The challenge for cultural resource stewards in facilitating community discussions related to post-conflict reconstruction lies not in skill sets or unfamiliarity with the relevant concepts, but in the complexity of the dialogues themselves. As the already-cited examples of reconstruction solutions demonstrate, treatment of these sites can be multi-layered, containing elements of old and new, revival and commemoration, side by side. Authenticity may be directly conveyed by the relationships between new and old, or between built structures and hollow voids. Furthermore, discussions around particular approaches frequently change dramatically over time, resulting in a solution that speaks to the social, political, or economic conditions of a specific era more than a clear consensus.

The previously mentioned Dresden Frauenkirche provides a particularly apt example of the shifting community dialogues that can accompany reconstructions. Destroyed in February 1945, the church was rebuilt in full by 2006 following a spirited nationwide debate.(Figures 2-3) For decades, the monumental structure sat as a pile of rubble, an implicit reminder to the residents of then-Communist East Germany of the Nazi era's horrendous folly. Not until after German re-unification in 1990 did the dialogue shift toward reconstructing the Frauenkirche—an idea opposed by many, including many in the German historic preservation community. Framed as a new nationalist effort for the freshly united country, the effort ultimately overcame its critics (not to mention the considerable engineering challenges associated with reconstruction), and in 2006 the new church re-opened concurrent with the 800th anniversary of Dresden's founding. What had once served as a poignant, painful reminder of a difficult time had, according to its supporters, become a new symbol of Germany's recovery.[13] Ultimately, the community dialogue and political climate that led to the reconstruction of the Frauenkirche had more to do with Germany's re-unification in 1990 than it did with Dresden's destruction in 1945.

As the Frauenkirche example demonstrates, authenticity dialogues surrounding post-conflict reconstructions can shift over time depending on prevailing attitudes and forces at work on a particular site. The three examples detailed below elaborate on the Frauenkirche example, demonstrating how community dialogues around post-conflict reconstructions can result in three broad categories of authenticity. These categories are not normative frames but rather points on a spectrum of responses, all of which are valid if properly understood, documented, and discussed. Community dialogues and reconstruction solutions are rarely egalitarian or democratic but more often propelled by dominant social, political, or economic aims. As such, reconstructions must be construed as authentic expressions of the prevailing discussions of the time, complete with the flaws and disparities that might have accompanied the original monument's creation. Nevertheless, historic preservationists bring to the table valuable perspectives gained by working with buildings that change over time and an acute understanding of how to validate each era of significance as its own authentic expression.

Examples of Post-Conflict Reconstructions

Although many individual examples exist that illustrate the range of responses to conflict-impacted historic buildings, this paper explores three indepth for their clarity in illustrating the primary categories of authenticity in a post-conflict environment. Each site consists of architecturally and culturally significant buildings that were catastrophically destroyed or heavily damaged during conflict, thus permanently changing their material integrity and altering their significance within their constituent communities. As such, discussions involving reconstruction at each site have been steeped in strong opinions from a variety of camps, including professional historic preservationists, the media, community leaders, economic interests, and laypeople. Reconstruction schemes stemmed directly from these discussions, each of which carries far-reaching implications for the authenticity of the buildings as historic artifacts and bearers of cultural significance.

The literal scale of the following examples varies dramatically. Whereas the collapse of the World Trade Center in New York City resulted in nearly 3,000 dead and billions of dollars of damage, the destruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar was relatively inconsequential by comparison. Nevertheless, for the sake of this discussion, the relative scale of cultural loss inflicted upon the people of the United States and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, respectively, is assumed to be roughly analogous. Precisely quantifying this metric is obviously quite impossible. As such, rather than focusing on the *offenses* that lead to the destruction of monuments, the below examples focus on *responses* chosen by their constituent communities.

Stari Most (Old Bridge), Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Constructed in 1566 by the Ottoman architect Mimar Hayreddin, the 29-meter white limestone, single-spanned Stari Most stood for centuries as a symbol for, and central architectural feature of, Mostar, a thriving, ethnically integrated community in the southwest Balkans.[14] The savage civil wars of the 1990s following the break-up of the former Yugoslavia involved numerous atrocities against cultural heritage, but few were as poignant as the non-strategic destruction of the Stari Most by Croat paramilitary tank fire on November 9, 1993.[15] Due to the nature of the intense, street-to-street fighting in Mostar's Stari Grad (Old Town), many of the city's historically significant buildings in the densely built Ottoman-era quarter were damaged or destroyed, either deliberately or collaterally in months of fierce conflict. In the case of the Stari Most, the message was clear: The bridge had been intentionally targeted, not as a strategic military site, but as the embodiment of a proud Muslim heritage and symbol of a united Mostar. As with the violent obliteration of culturally significant buildings in communities throughout the Balkans during the early 1990s, the removal of the centuries-old Stari Most represented an attempt to erase hundreds of years of ethnic identity and social history.

With the ratification of the Dayton peace accords in Paris on December 14, 1995, the Balkan War came to an end, initiating a massive social, economic, and infrastructure reconstruction project. In a bitter twist of circumstance, Mostar's Stari Grad had won the prestigious Aga Khan Award for architecture in 1986 following a much-admired restoration and revitalization program headed by Bosnian historic preservationist, planner, and architect Amir Pasic. Although the timing of the 1986 restoration seemed particularly cruel—with much of its work reduced to rubble only seven years later—the extensive documentation compiled during the project, along with the city's widely-reported tragic tale, helped spur the following decade's rebuilding effort.

Since the conclusion of the conflict in 1995, internationally aided rebuilding efforts have focused on the Stari Most due to its past significance, along with its newfound symbolism as a "bridge" between rival ethnic groups in the devastated country. A painstaking process of reconstructing the bridge based on the 16th-century plans using stone from the original quarry and employing traditional Ottoman construction techniques formally launched in 1997. In collaboration with UNESCO, as well as a number of other expert organizations, individuals, and donor countries,[16] the World Bank financed the bridge's reconstruction with a $15.8 million, 35-year "Learning and Innovation Loan" as a pilot project aimed at promoting social reconciliation and development through the reconstruction of Mostar's cultural heritage.[17] Acknowledging that reconciliation in a post-conflict environment was a prerequisite for economic regeneration, the pilot project specifically aimed to "improve the climate for reconciliation among the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina through recognition and rehabilitation of their common cultural heritage in

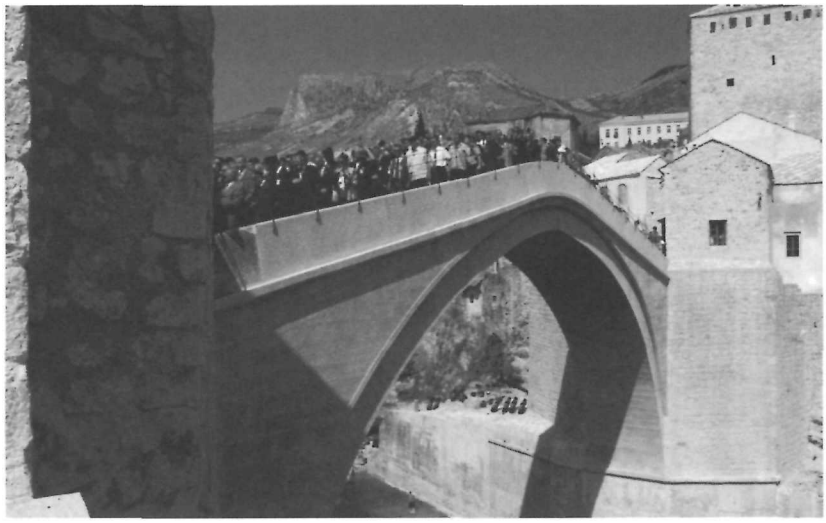

FIGURE 4
This 2004 view shows the opening of the reconstructed Stari Most (old bridge) in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which replaced the 16th-century bridge destroyed by Croat paramilitary tank fire in 1993. (Courtesy of the United States Air Force, Staff Sergeant Samuel Bendet, photographer)

Mostar."[18] Although the outside investment was largely welcomed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, foreigners' domination of the reconstruction discussions frequently was not. Amir Pasic's role as a Mostarian played a critical role in advancing many of the rebuilding efforts in the Stari Most but many decisions were highly disputed, particularly within the town's Croat community.

In July 2004, a "new" Old Bridge was rededicated with considerable fanfare, along with weighty expectations of its potential to heal old wounds.(Figure 4) The brand-new glimmering white replica today again graces the banks of the Neretva River, just as its predecessor had for more than 400 years, although with nary a speck of the patina carried by the original building blocks. While few would dispute that the authenticity of the Stari Most was revised by the reconstruction, the span now bears a new kind of historic importance and updated cultural significance to the community to which it has been returned. In July 2005, the "Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar" was inscribed onto UNESCO's World Heritage List as Bosnia and Herzegovina's first World Heritage Site.

Significantly, the site satisfied the World Heritage Committee's "Criterion VI," which requires that a site "be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" and is used in order to "justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural."[19] This nomination underscores the altered authenticity of the Old Bridge—which might have qualified for the List prior to its destruction under any of the other five criteria—as a result of its role in conflict.

World Trade Center, New York City, USA
Once the tallest buildings in the world, the World Trade Center towers were constructed between 1966 and 1977 at the southwestern tip of Manhattan based

on designs by the Japanese American architect Minoru Yamasaki.(Figure 5) Although initially spurned as intrusive, uninspired eyesores, the Twin Towers ultimately came to define the New York skyline, representing the financial might of New York, and, by extension, the United States. Terrorists destroyed the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, by flying hijacked commercial airliners into the buildings, resulting in an unprecedented level of destruction and loss of life. Within days of the towers' collapse, economic necessity and nationalistic defiance spurred heated debates about rebuilding on the site, a discussion that ultimately escalated to the international level given the nature and scale of the disaster and the prominence of the buildings.

This discussion probably represented the most widely publicized, highly contentious, and painstakingly scrutinized reconstruction process since the end of World War II. Like the Stari Most, calls for reconstruction sounded hours after the edifices fell. Unlike the Bosnian tragedy, however, the debate around the World Trade Center site involved millions of residents, the highest of financial stakes, and the political will of a military and economic superpower.

Initially, plans to rebuild the towers in-kind were widely considered, enjoying the support of figures such as former New York City Mayor Ed Koch.[20] Other voices came forward, such as Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, calling for the preservation of fragments of the World Trade Center's trademark skin *in situ* as a memorial.[21] But these proposals soon wilted in the face of the glaring requirements of commercial, economic, and political interests. Members of the architectural community eagerly stepped forward to throw their weight behind a full renewal of the site, minus any significant fragments of the now-ruined buildings.[22] Historic preservationists, for their part, rushed to list the World Trade Center site in the National Register of Historic Places, including in their nomination the original building components left behind by the clean-up effort. The National Register effort, led by New York State Historic Preservation Officer Bernadette Castro, was not the end of the preservation community's engagement at the World Trade Center site. The World Monuments Fund, along with other New York based preservation organizations, led an effort to protect neighboring historic buildings impacted by the towers' collapse from redevelopment projects in Lower Manhattan.[23]

By December 2002, the initial design competition for redevelopment of the World Trade Center site had yielded nine proposals, including several of the world's most recognizable names in architecture. The Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC), a joint state-city corporation created to oversee the revival of the site and surrounding areas, presided over the competition, ultimately selecting a design known as "Memory Foundations" by American architect Daniel Libeskind in February 2003. Best known for his Jewish Museum in Berlin, Libeskind's selection struck many as a revival

FIGURE 5
Designed and built between 1966 and 1977, the World Trade Center's Twin Towers, appearing in this 1978 photograph with the Brooklyn Bridge, were among the tallest buildings in the world. (Courtesy of the Historic American Engineering Record, Jack E. Boucher, photographer)

solution that combined architectural vanguard with an acute sense of tragedy and commemoration. Observers of the competition and selection results commented on the cathartic undertones of the committee's rejection of several designs that referenced pairs or explicit homage to the Twin Towers. Some critics went so far as to suggest that Libeskind's selection had more to do with the negation of the original World Trade Center's original form and meaning than the particular genius of his design.[24]

Criticism of the World Trade Center site has not been limited to Libeskind's designs. American architect Michael Sorkin has called the design competitions that produced the plans a "waste of energy and imagination."[25] Meanwhile, the LMDC has been subject to persistent accusations of ignoring public and neighborhood input (a climate that recalls the era of omnipotent state agencies that created the original World Trade Center).[26] In a study of Battery Park City residents conducted between 2002 and 2004, the American ethnologist Setha Low found that Libeskind's LMDC-approved plan incorporated none of the design features sought by residents despite the fact that the latter would literally live within the boundaries of the reconstructed site.[27]

The separate but concurrent memorial design competition, launched by the LMDC in early 2003 drew far more submissions, yet no fewer barbs. The LMDC narrowed 5,201 entries from around the globe to eight finalists, among them the eventual winning team of Michael Arad and Peter Walker with their proposal entitled "Reflecting Absence." Memorial competition guidelines included four program elements, the fourth of which encouraged submitters to "convey historic authenticity" by including elements of the old site in the new design.[28] Arad and Walker (among others) addressed this directive by using the

Twin Towers' footprints to frame reflecting pools, ramps and cascades designed to function as "large voids, open and visible reminders of [the World Trade Center's] absence."[29]

The use of "absence" to satisfy a historic authenticity requirement—even in a newly constructed memorial—underscores the variability in authenticity determinations at post-conflict reconstruction sites. While the Libeskind tower proposal as imagined by the LMDC clearly conveys renewal, the comprehensive site design that includes Arad and Walker's memorial sends the more complex message of renewal mixed with an authentic representation of loss. As cultural critic Marita Sturken puts it, "one could argue that the desire to rebuild the towers and the designation of voids where the towers once stood are essentially the same."[30]

The use of "absence" to satisfy a historic authenticity requirement—even in a newly constructed memorial—underscores the variability in authenticity determinations at post-conflict reconstruction sites.

By 2004, reconstruction officially commenced with the cornerstone setting for the new, so-called "Freedom Tower," a single edifice sharing nothing with its predecessors other than its aspiration to claim the world's tallest building title.(Figure 6) Although many questions remain regarding the success of the memorial and new building project, the *tabula rasa* decision carries significant implications as to the authenticity conveyed by the new structures, not to mention that maintained by the site itself. Concurrently, the few original materials or site features (including the memorial-tower footprints) that do remain will possess a profoundly altered level of authenticity, both in their new interpretive context and relationship to the new structures. The ongoing conflict between populism and elitism in the design process, and democracy and big-money real estate interests in the decision-making process, muddies the waters of clear, constituent oriented dialogue that can produce an authentic reconstruction. Use of the term "Ground Zero" seems to have preordained the *tabula rasa* approach to the site, and the remarkably aggressive reconstruction time frame speaks to the economic and political forces driving the process. Nevertheless, the result will represent an authentic response to the lost buildings themselves, as seen through the lens of the process that drove the site's revival.

Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtniskirche (Memorial Church), Berlin, Germany
Franz Schwechten designed this monumental neo-Romanesque church, completed in 1895, as a memorial to the glory of the short-lived German Empire and its leader, Kaiser Wilhelm I.(Figure 7) Ultimately viewed as a symbol of a united, greater Germany following the Kaiser's defeat in World War I, the Church also served as an important landmark and community resource in Berlin's sur-

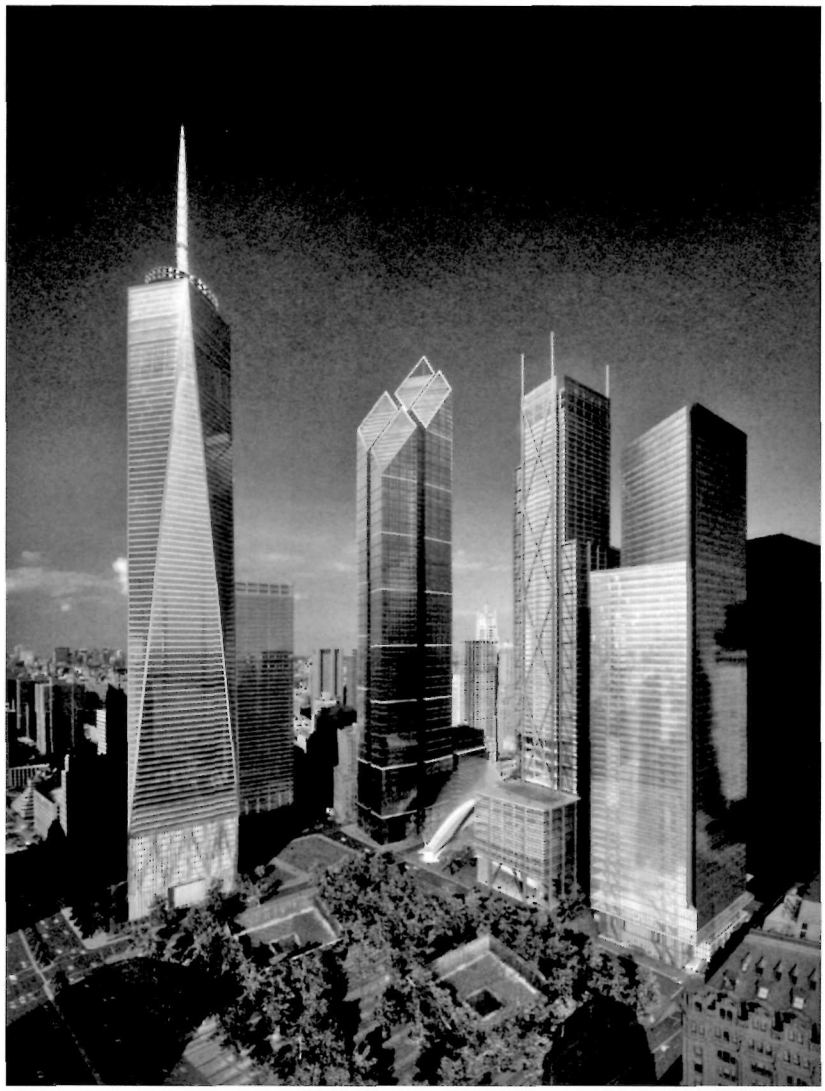

FIGURE 6
Once complete, the Freedom Tower will be the tallest building constructed around the memorial park on the World Trade Center site in Lower Manhattan. (Courtesy of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill LLP/dbox Studio, reproduced with permission)

rounding Kurfürstendamm neighborhood. British air raids destroyed most of the building on November 22, 1943, leaving only its central tower and a portion of the nave as a graphic, war-scarred reminder of the widespread destruction of Berlin during World War II.

After the war, debate swirled for a decade over how to deal with the church's congregation, and ultimately the ruins themselves. From the beginning, nearly all proposals called for demolition of the 19th-century remains and construction of a completely new structure. In 1955, the church was denied protection as a designated monument, thus underscoring the official historic preservation community's lack of enthusiasm for reconstructing it in its original form (or, for that matter, preserving the ruin).[31] Subsequent design competitions yielded several solutions that incorporated rubble from the site as a cladding for new buildings, but none seriously considered weaving the existing fragments into a new plan.

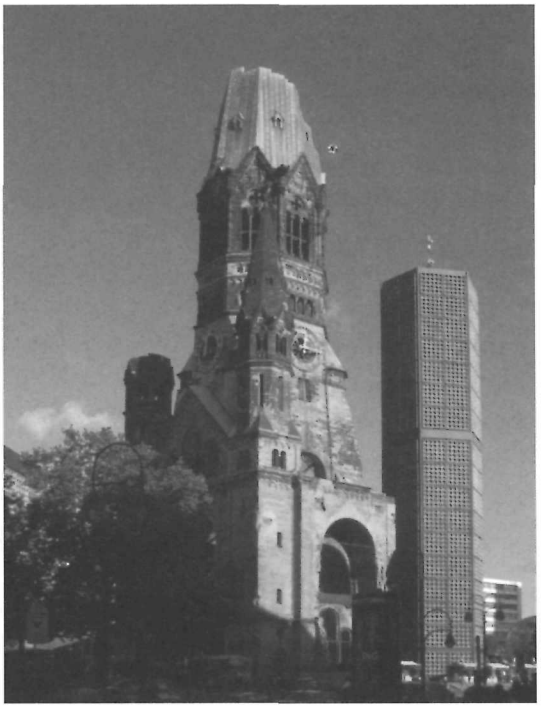

FIGURE 7
This circa 1900 print shows the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church (Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtniskirche) in Berlin, Germany. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

FIGURE 8
This 2006 view of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin shows the preserved tower ruin and architect Egon Eiermann's bell tower. (Courtesy of Manfred Brueckels)

After several false starts, a design by the Egon Eiermann surfaced in March 1957 as the preferred approach. A devoted modernist, Eiermann's initial solution—like its predecessors—called for the removal of all fragments of the ruined building except for rubble that the architect intended to use as paving. Within five days of the release of Eiermann's design, local residents of (then West) Berlin vociferously protested, spurring officials to request that the architect revisit his approach so that the old tower could be retained. Although Eiermann begrudgingly accepted his new instructions, he acknowledged the new composition's ability to act as a vehicle for carrying the original building's authentic experience well into the future. "My wish is for [future generations] to have an understanding for those who experienced the terror, and for whom the ruin symbolizes their own sufferings," he remarked at the time.[32]

Eiermann's response to the public's and competition organizers' demands is an octagonal concrete and blue glass church, bell tower, and associated buildings, which were completed in 1963 (a small museum memorializing the war damage and the building's former 19th-century splendor was later installed in the old tower).[33] Today, the striking composition stands as a reminder of the bombed out wasteland that was old Berlin following World War II.(Figure 8) Central to this presentation are the original church components, structurally stabilized, but still pocked and blackened as they were in 1943. Although Eiermann's new church, along with the surrounding area, effectively conveys the economic and cultural recovery of post-War Germany, the original Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtniskirche explicitly reminds present-day viewers of the city's traumatic experiences more than 60 years ago.

New Categories of Authenticity for Post-Conflict Sites

Each of the above examples reflects a post-conflict reconstruction process that involved considerable debate and discussion among community members, leaders, and historic preservationists, but it remains unclear whether the participants fully understood the authenticity implications of each decision. Recalling Brandi's emphasis on a building's history in addition to its creation, how can people define these reconstructed "artworks"—each of which possesses considerable cultural and historical significance, in some cases validated by leading cultural institutions such as UNESCO—to current and future stakeholders? Similarly, how can historic preservationists effectively convey these different shades of authenticity to community stakeholders as future discussions regarding damaged sites emerge? In order to address these challenges facing professionals and the public alike, this paper proposes the following three categories of authenticity that specifically apply to post-conflict reconstructions.

Authenticity of Connection

A building or site may possess authenticity of connection when it is faithfully and precisely recreated as an expression of continuity with its pre-conflict social, environmental, and cultural conditions. In cases such as the Stari Most, this approach can restore traditional use and perpetuate (or even enhance) the significance of the lost artifact, but it may imply a diminishment of the relationship to the historic period that resulted in its destruction.

Authenticity of Renewal

Authenticity of renewal may exist when a conflict-damaged site is wiped clean of its original buildings and an entirely new structure (or structures) is installed in its place. The "Freedom Tower" design, "Reflecting Absence" memorial, and limited preservation efforts around the World Trade Center's original building components likely will convey a powerful, somber, and complex message about the traumatic events that took place on the site. But, as with the *authenticity of connection*, the near-total absence of material authenticity combined with a singular emphasis on revival risks conveying a mixed message about the artifact's authentic historical experience. At the same time, the explicit void that is central to the planned memorial suggests its own kind of "reconstruction" of the lost structures.

Authenticity of Experience

This third category represents those buildings or architectural assemblages that explicitly reflect damage incurred through conflict as a graphic reminder of the traumatic episode. Eiermann's design for the new Kaiser Wilhelm church deliberately and evocatively leverages the original monument's materials, along with its painful past, to create a composition reflecting the authentic experience of Berlin's past 60 years. Although the burnt out 19th-century tower remains

agonizing to view, it hides little from present and future viewers regarding the site's creation, history, and new role within the community.

When accompanied by a sufficient level of historic documentation and discussion at the local level, each of the above approaches can result in a completely valid, "authentic" historic artifact. Furthermore, as discussed in the Nara Document (among other treatises), material authenticity must not hold a monopoly on authenticity designations from the perspective of the historic preservation discipline or the community at large. Indeed, the field should recognize community action in response to historic events as a product of its time that carries its own hue of authenticity.

The above categories place a high level of responsibility on cultural resource professionals in helping manage authenticity requirements for the communities in which they work. In order to do so, these professionals must apply their collective expertise in the fields of history, interpretation, and materials conservation as they pertain to historic buildings in order to help communities decide upon an acceptable level of authenticity in post-conflict buildings. Having aided in this decision making process, historic preservationists will be better equipped to interpret the sites for future generations. Communities, for their part, can better integrate the revised authenticity carried by the reconstructed artifact into post-conflict recovery processes.

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Notes

1 This essay is based on a paper, "From Mostar to Manhattan: Authenticity in the Context of Post-Conflict Reconstruction," presented at the Fifth National Forum on Historic Preservation Practice ("A Critical Look at Authenticity and Historic Preservation") held March 23-25, 2006, at Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland.

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12 *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (36 CFR 68.3).

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16 Donor countries included Italy, the Netherlands, France, Turkey, and (notably) Croatia. Donor and partner organizations included the Council of Europe Development Bank, UNESCO, AKTC, WMF, and the local municipality of Mostar.

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The Return of the Hall Chair to Lincoln Home National Historic Site

by Susan M. Haake

In January 1861, President-elect Abraham Lincoln and his wife Mary were preparing to move from Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, DC. Knowing they would not need most of their furnishings in Washington, the Lincolns planned to store selected pieces, give away others to friends and relatives, and sell the rest. A few days before the sale, Newton Bateman, Springfield's superintendent of schools for several years, stopped by Lincoln's downtown law office and asked Lincoln if he could have a few items before the sale. Lincoln invited Bateman to stop by the house that evening and take his pick. Bateman took two of the first pieces of furniture visitors would have seen when they entered Lincoln's home, a hat rack and chair.(Figure 1)

FIGURE 1
This photograph shows the Lincoln hall chair and its companion, the hat rack, in position at the Lincoln Home. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Nearly 100 years later, in 1950, Newton Bateman's granddaughter returned the hat rack to the Lincoln Home. According to a contemporary newspaper article, the Bateman family had always planned to return the items to the Lincoln Home when they "were through with them."[1] The State of Illinois, by then the owner of the property, was about to launch an extensive restoration of the entire building. The caretakers were happy to place the hat rack in the home once the restoration work was completed. The chair, however, remained with the Bateman family.

Years passed, the Lincoln Home became a national historic site in 1972, and the chair remained at large. National Park Service furniture conservator John Brucksch, who had worked on nearly all of the Lincoln-associated furniture when the home was again under restoration in 1988, made it his informal, decade-long quest to get a similar chair for the front hall. The big break came in June 2001, when Brucksch received an unusual and completely unexpected letter stating that it was the writer's "wish to return the chair that Abraham Lincoln gave to my great grandfather, Newton Bateman, to the Lincoln home."[2] The Lincolns' hall chair was finally coming home.

Well, almost. Based on the photographs of the chair that accompanied the letter, the National Park Service determined that the chair needed some significant restoration work. Brucksch arranged to transport the chair from Connecticut to the National Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia for conservation. The National Park Service accepted the chair as a donation on December 21, 2001, when Brucksch picked it up.

FIGURE 2
The tall proportions of the back and the turned stiles of the Lincoln hall chair, shown here after restoration, identify the chair's design as American Gothic revival. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Made in the American Gothic revival style popular in the Midwest from 1840 to 1850, the 44-inch high chair had what appeared to be a walnut frame with turned finials and an arched crest back.(Figure 2) Ball turnings accentuated the front legs and stiles. The back and seat were covered with modern upholstery, but Brucksch and his colleagues believed that the original upholstery lay underneath. The seat may have had the original springs, and the four legs were still supported by brass casters. Conservation of the chair began in October 2002, once Lincoln Home National Historic Site had secured the estimated $15,000 in funding required to cover the cost of the work.

Textile conservators Jane Merritt and Deby Bellman first had to determine the condition of the original upholstery. They removed the modern upholstery and revealed the original fabric, which was a patchwork in a tumbling block quilt pattern. Much like a quilt, the fabrics were both solid and patterned velvets; the materials were wrapped around a paper pattern and hand-sewn. Gimp ribbon was used to edge the fabric, including a plain brown woven fabric on the reverse of the chair back.

The velvets were worn, faded, soiled, and frayed. Tears along the corners and seams exposed the paper patterns underneath. The gimp had faded around the seat and was "shredded along the front edge."[3] The casters were tarnished, and one of them was bent. One of the finials was broken and had been poorly repaired several times. The webbing for the seat support was broken in several areas and sagged below the bottom framing of the chair. The overall finish was dull. The proposed treatment called for removal of the modern upholstery, cleaning and stabilization of the original upholstery, identification of all the original fabrics, stabilization of the gimp trim, and development of a system to reinforce the webbing so that it would not show below the chair framing.

The conservation team covered the worn places in the fabric with Stabilex, repaired the gimp trim, and created a detailed key, with photographs, that identified each of the 31 different velvets used in the upholstery.(Figure 3) Bellman dyed fabric to repair the covering on the back of the chair and suggested custom-fit dust covers to help preserve the delicate silk velvet fabric. A time period-appropriate green checked fabric was chosen for the dust cover. Separate covers were made for the back and seat to lessen the possibility of additional wear on the original fabrics when putting on or removing the protective dusters.[4] Next, the team stabilized or replaced the webbing under the seat and retied the springs into their original compression, which relieved the stress on the original webbing. An acrylic support was cut to fit over the webbing and attached to the chair frame with small brass tacks to provide support for the webbing and springs.

With the webbing stabilized, it was time to send the hall chair to conservator Al Levitan in the furniture lab. The proposed treatment included surface cleaning,

FIGURE 3
These photographic details were part of a key used to recreate the fabric for the Lincoln hall chair. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

covering abrasions and applying a thin coat of shellac over them, removing old adhesive residue from one finial and re-adhering it, fixing a split in a front leg and a break in a rear leg, removing the corrosion from the brass casters, and applying a protective coat of paste wax over all finished surfaces. Because the chair had been refinished several times, the use of a mild abrasive to get at the deep-set grime fell in line with conservation standards. All work done on the chair, and the materials chosen, were reversible.

Harpers Ferry Center staff not only cleaned and repaired the chair, but also took documentary photographs and produced condition and other reports. The only major change in the initial analysis of the hall chair was about the wood used. It was thought that the hall chair was constructed of walnut, but after cleaning, the would-be walnut was revealed to be mahogany.

The hall chair arrived in Springfield on February 8, 2005. Because Lincoln's birthday is February 12, the chair was considered a great "birthday present" for the park. It was exhibited in the visitor center during the birthday events before returning to the front hall, next to its long-time companion, the hat rack. After almost exactly 144 years, the hall chair was home again.[5]

Susan M. Haake is a curator at Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, Illinois.

Notes

1 *Springfield Illinois State Journal*, May 1, 1941.

2 Jane Ewart McCall to the staff curator, Division of Reference Services, Harpers Ferry Center, June 20, 2001.

3 Deby Bellman and Jane Merritt, "Object Condition Report and Treatment Proposal—Chair, American Gothic Revival" (proposal), June 11, 2003, Harpers Ferry Center Textile Conservation Lab, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

4 Since there is no evidence that the Lincolns used dust covers on their furniture, the park staff decided to use the dust covers only when the chair is in storage. For the short time the chair is on exhibit, the original upholstery is visible.

5 The chair is exhibited in the Lincoln Home for short periods annually, beginning on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12. Due to potential stress on the artifact caused by the front door being opened every five minutes for tours, the chair is no longer exhibited next to the door in the front hall but is instead in an upper hallway in Mary Lincoln's sewing area. A photo of the chair being worked on in the furniture lab is featured on the Harpers Ferry Center website at http://www.nps.gov/hfc/products/cons/con-lab-wood.htm, accessed on October 4, 2007.

Excavation of an Early Dugout Homestead at Nicodemus, Kansas

by Sherda Williams

In the summer of 2007, more than 140 volunteers participated in the Kansas Archeology Training Program (KATP) field school at an 1877 dugout homestead near the historic community of Nicodemus, in northwest Kansas. Cosponsored by the Kansas Anthropological Association and the Kansas State Historical Society, the annual field school has been working in earnest to document the lives of the African American settlers who created the town of Nicodemus in the final year of Reconstruction after the American Civil War. Many of the Nicodemus pioneers established farms in the surrounding townships using the provisions of the Homestead and Townsite Pre-emption Acts.[1] The excavations will shed light on their lives and reveal the ways in which their experiences were comparable to other groups who helped settle the High Plains region of the United States.

Contemporary interest in the geography and cultural remains of Nicodemus dates back more than 20 years. In 1983, a Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) team recorded the changes to the 160-acre platted town and mapped old dugouts and sod houses ("soddies")—a type of pioneer housing once prevalent across the Midwest.[2] The HABS team also conducted oral history interviews with local residents. The team prepared detailed site maps of a few of the properties, including the Johnson-Williams property.[3] Archeological research began in earnest in 2006 with a survey of sites where dugout or sod houses had been identified during the survey. One feature on the Johnson-Williams property was easily distinguished in the landscape—as the roof decayed on what turned out to be the dugout cellar, the structure collapsed into a bowl-shaped depression. The pedestrian survey led to a geophysical survey of the two most likely sites by National Park Service archeologists Steve De Vore and Jay Strudevant.[4] De Vore and Strudevant used magnetic, resistance, and ground-penetrating radar techniques at the Johnson-Williams sites. The magnetic survey technique proved especially useful in revealing concentrations of subsurface features at this site.[5]

During the summer of 2006, Margaret Wood, a professor at Washburn University and one of two principal investigators at the site, and 10 of her students tested for intact remains at the Johnson-Williams property. Over a period of three weeks, the Washburn crew excavated several meter-wide test trenches to define the features and sample the strata in the house and root cellar dugout. In June 2007, KATP volunteers increased the number of test

pits to define the size of the house site better. They also continued the deep exploration of the cellar and located other features of the homestead.

The past two years of exploration have provided valuable information about the homesteading experiences of Thomas and Zerena Johnson and their extended family. The Johnson family moved from Georgetown, Kentucky, to the Nicodemus area in September 1877 with more than 300 other African American settlers. The Johnson's adult daughter, Emma Williams, was eight months pregnant when she arrived, and she gave birth to a son, Henry—the first baby born in the new settlement. Thomas and Zerena Johnson (in their late 40s), Emma and her husband, Charles Williams, and other adult members of the extended family pooled their resources and established homesteads north of Nicodemus.[6] The Johnson's grandson, Henry, bought the homestead in 1906 after his marriage to Cora Ward in 1901. Most, if not all, of the six Williams children were "born and raised in a dugout and a sod house." The Williams family used the dugout home until the spring of 1920, when they moved into a newly constructed frame house on a hillside opposite the sod house.[7]

FIGURE 1
The bowl-shaped depression in the landscape indicates the location of the collapsed and filled former dugout cellar. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

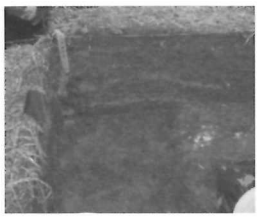


FIGURE 2
The light and dark stripes of soil may delineate former sod blocks used to construct a wall of the house. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

The Johnson homestead was located near a good spring and included a house partially dug into a slope. Although excavations of the site are not complete, it appears that the Johnsons built the house with a partial limestone foundation and at least some sod walls and a frame kitchen addition. They located a dugout cellar in the slope above the house. The KATP excavations also found what appears to be a midden. Archeologists and volunteers have been unable to confirm the location of a reported livestock shed or locate any privy sites.[8]

Artifacts recovered during the excavations and the personal recollections of Williams descendants have shed valuable light on the history and characteristics of the house and the cellar. The house measured approximately 40 by 33 feet in size. Juanita (Williams) Redd, a granddaughter of the Johnsons, remembered the dwelling as a "sod-and-dirt house. . . .The west side was built on the back, that was sod. . .on the front part where the kitchen [addition] was, now that was framed. There were boards [on the roof], and then they put the sod on top of it to keep it from leaking. . . ."[9] Redd described the house as having walls plastered with a solution made from crushed magnesia (limestone), a recollection corroborated by plaster found on the foundation wall of the house.[10]

The cellar measured approximately 19½ by 23 feet and was probably around 5 feet deep. It appears to have had shelving and bins built into the walls.[11] Wood's team found canning jar fragments, including one broken jar containing a cluster of peach pits, ceramic pieces, a door hinge, and frog bones. The next year, Flordeliz Bugarin (a principal investigator from Howard University in Washington, DC) and the KATP team found wood fragments of the cellar door, the base of a treadle sewing machine, more canning jar fragments, and skeletal remains of small animals. Bugarin will complete a full analysis of the 2007

findings and produce an excavation report next year. Both Wood and Bugarin have expressed interest in continuing the excavations in the future.

The Kansas Anthropological Association and the Kansas State Historical Society oversaw logistics, volunteer recruitment, and project management. The association also arranged a series of evening public lectures on archeology and history related topics. The field school organizers were particularly successful at engaging young people in the excavations—several teenagers and young adults were involved for the entire two weeks of the field school. Six members of a youth group from the Wichita Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People spent a day assisting with the excavations, and two Howard University students participated with Bugarin. Quite a few local Nicodemus residents—most of whom are direct descendents of the Johnson and Williams families—visited the excavations both years.

FIGURE 3
A member of the Kansas Anthropological Association guides members of the Wichita Chapter, NAACP youth group as they begin excavating a test pit on the midden feature. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

The U.S. Secretary of the Interior designated the town of Nicodemus a National Historic Landmark in 1976. Twenty years later, Congress established Nicodemus National Historic Site.[12] The National Park Service partially funded the 2006 and 2007 excavations for the benefit of the interpretive programs at the park. Information from these excavations will help park staff develop interpretive media about the life of the first Nicodemus settlers.

The information gained from these excavations will provide a level of detail not always transmitted by the community's oral traditions nor by photographic and written records. Combined with the recollections of family members and more detailed historical research, the excavated sites will help convey the significance of Nicodemus to visitors and connect them with the site through stories that, as much as possible, will echo the true voices of these intrepid pioneers.[13]

Sherda Williams is superintendent of Nicodemus National Historic Site in Nicodemus, Kansas.

Notes

1 The 1862 Homestead Act helped many people settle and ultimately own land in the American West. Before its repeal in 1976, about 270 million acres of land passed from federal to private ownership. Potential homesteaders, both men and women, had to be of age (21 years old) and a head of a household in order to stake a claim to a 160-acre parcel. Homesteaders registered their claims at the land office and paid a filing fee and small commission to the agent. The law stipulated that they had to live on the plot, build a house, make other improvements, and farm the remaining land. After five years, the homesteader gained legal title to the tract if they met the construction and agricultural requirements and neighbors could vouch for the improvements. An earlier urban counterpoint to the Homestead Act was the Townsite Preemption law of 1844 that provided for the private development of town lots prior to purchase. See Rita Napier, "Frontier Agricultural Settlements and Government Regulation: the Town Site Preemption Act of 1844," in *Working the Range: Essays on the History of Western Land Management and the Environment*, edited by J. R. Wunder (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 113-27.

2 Everett L. Fly and La Barbara Wigfall Fly, "Ethnic Landscapes Come to Light," *Landscape Architecture* 77 (July-August 1987).

3 This mapping proved invaluable in pinpointing the locations of the dugout house and cellar. Historic American Buildings Survey, "Nicodemus, Kansas—A National Historic Landmark Black Settlement," HABS No. KS-49 (1983). The maps are available online at http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/hhh.ks0077, accessed on October 4, 2007.

4 National Park Service archeologist William Hunt was instrumental in developing these projects.

5 Steven L. De Vore, "Geophysical Investigations of Two Dugout Locations Associated with Nicodemus National Historic Site, Graham County, Kansas" (Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 2007).

6 Margaret C. Wood, Dan Morrow, and Deborah Rumans, "Explorations of the Struggles and Promise of African American Settlement on the Great Plains: Archaeological Survey and Testing of Sites Related to the Settlement Period and Early History of Nicodemus, Kansas" (Nicodemus, KS: National Park Service, March 2007). The 1880 Census figures indicate the following probable family groups: Thomas and Zerena Johnson (50 and 48 years old respectively); Henry Johnson, wife Mary, and daughter Ella (24, 21, and 1 years); Ella Johnson (21 years); Charles Williams, wife Emma [Johnson] Williams, and adopted son Mack Schweitzer (32, 27, and 6 years); and Mary Johnson (possibly Thomas's sister-in-law), son Joseph Johnson, and granddaughters Lizzie and Clarinda Johnson (52, 27, 8, and 6 years).

7 Juanita [Redd] Williams, photocopy of hand written notes donated to Nicodemus National Historic Site by her niece, Yvonne Sayers, of Nicodemus, Kansas, August 2007. Woods notes that the original Johnson dugout may have been located elsewhere on the Johnson property and that Henry and Cora Williams built the house and cellar excavated by Washburn and KATP in 2006. Land record research indicates that Johnson owned the land until 1889, after which it changed hands several times. Henry and Cora Williams bought the land in 1906. Analysis of the cultural material from the first (2006) excavation of the domestic structure set an abandonment date after 1907, perhaps as late as 1915 (Wood, Morrow, and Rumans, 2007, Chapter 3).

8 Flordeliz T. Bugarin, "In the Midst of Wildflowers: KATP Searches for the Nicodemus Past," *Kansas Preservation* 20 no. 4 (2007): 7-13.

9 Fly and Fly, 38.

10 Wood, Morrow, and Rumans, 2007, 121.

11 Ibid, 101.

12 The historic site includes five properties in the town of Nicodemus.

13 More information on the 2006 Washburn University excavations at the Johnson-Williams homestead is available on the Nicodemus National Historic Site website at http://www.nps.gov/nico/parknews/index.htm, accessed on October 4, 2007. Articles relating to the 2007 KATP excavations are available on the Kansas State Historical Society website at http://www.kshs.org/resource/ks_preservation/kpjulaug07.pdf and the NPS Archeology Program website at http://www.nps.gov/archeology/sites/npSites/nicodemus.htm, accessed on October 4, 2007.

The Rhode Island State Home and School Project

by Sandra Enos

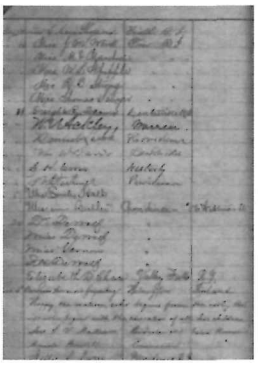


FIGURE 1
This entry in the State Home's visitors' log, "Happy the nation," represents public enthusiasm for the State Home's educational mission and attests to the breadth of the reform movement governing the welfare of orphans. (Courtesy of Special Collections, Adams Library, Rhode Island College)

FIGURE 2
This 1897 photograph of girls and their adult female caregiver at the State Home appeared in the home's Annual Report of the Board of Control of the State Home and School. *(Courtesy of the Rhode Island State Archives)*

Established in 1884 by the Rhode Island General Assembly after extensive public debate, the Rhode Island State Home and School for Dependent and Neglected Children was one of the first public orphanages of the post-Civil War era in the United States. The State Home took in parentless and other children who had been living on poor farms, in private orphanages, or private homes under indenture arrangements and provided care in a wholesome and nurturing environment. Assisted by the Rhode Island Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children and other overseers of the poor, the state-operated home attempted to break the cycle of pauperism by removing children from damaging environments, educating them, and placing them with good families.(Figure 1)

The State Home was based on an innovative child welfare model—called the Michigan model—that combined communal living with smaller "family" residential units. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, a Rhode Island reformer, wife of a textile factory owner, and a driving force behind the new orphanage and child welfare reform across the state, remarked of the model—

Life in it may be as much as possible like family life. There should be a large central building. . .a circle of cottages around the central house, all facing toward it, with plenty of space between them for free circulation of air. . .In each cottage I would place a good woman and a certain number of children: and this should be their home.[1](Figure 2)

The State Home also included a school and a working farm to support its operation.

Walnut Grove Farm, the site eventually selected for the new institution, was a considerable distance from the state's burgeoning welfare and correctional infrastructure. Over three decades, Rhode Island had constructed a state prison, workhouse, state poor farm, and a hospital for the incurably insane, all within a few miles of each other. Chace and fellow child welfare advocates felt strongly that in the interests of providing a wholesome environment for orphaned children the State Home had to exist separate and apart from any facilities having a taint of criminality or depravity.

Like many progressive reforms of the era, the home was born of great optimism. Within a few years, however, scandals related to the treatment of children

and misappropriation of funds beset the home's board of overseers, and seemingly never-ending crises ultimately defined its nearly 100-year history. Several reports commissioned by the Rhode Island Governor's Office in the 1940s argued alternatively to shutter or expand the home in response to the changing needs of children and their families. When the home closed in 1979 amid accusations of warehousing children, it was one of the few remaining institutions of its kind in the United States.

FIGURE 3
The recently renovated Yellow Cottage shown in this photograph is the State Home and School's only surviving wooden building. (Photograph courtesy of the author)

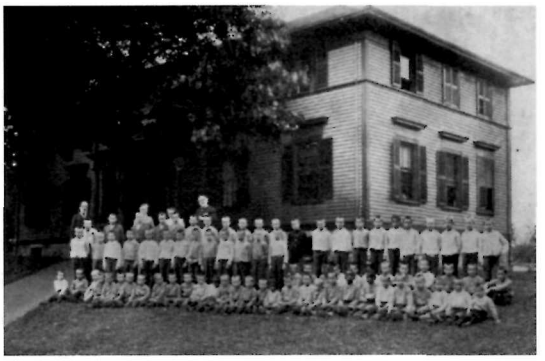


FIGURE 4
This 1902 photograph shows a group of boys, who outnumbered girls at the State Home, standing in front of their new accommodations at the home. (Courtesy of the Rhode Island State Archives)

In the late 1950s, Rhode Island College moved from downtown Providence to a site bordering the State Home. Although the College and the State Home, renamed in 1949 the Patrick I. O'Rourke Children's Center, were neighbors for more than 20 years, the two institutions had little interaction. The last residents left the O'Rourke Center in May 1979 when the state transferred the children to foster homes, independent living, or group homes. The Rhode Island Department of Children, Youth and Families used the cottages as office space for several years after the closure of the center. Rhode Island College took over the State Home property in 2002.

The State Home and School Project

Regional interest in the history of the State Home grew due to a series of seemingly unrelated events, now chronicled in the State Home and School website, that included the production of playwright Peter Parnell's adaptation of John Irving's novel, *The Cider House Rules,* by the local theatre company; the near demolition of the Yellow Cottage, the last surviving wooden building from the original State Home complex; and the discovery of log books, diaries, and infirmary journals that dated to the Home's establishment in 1884. These events led, in turn, to the formation in 2001 of a multi-year research, documentation, and preservation project. The project involved archeological excavations, special courses, conference presentations, reunions of former residents, oral history interviews, the reinstallation of replicas of the gates that once welcomed children to the home, a memorial to the State Home and School residents, an initiative to catalog and preserve the records of the State Home, the production of a new play by Sharon Fennessey, and the renovation of the Yellow Cottage.(Figure 3)

Former State Home residents have played a central role in the project, helping reconstruct the historical record and guiding project activities. They have expressed deep concern that people not forget about the State Home and School, and that people recognize it as part of the state's history. To that end, more than 30 former State Home residents, workers, and volunteers have shared stories and given oral history interviews of their experiences at the State Home. The interviews offer unique perspectives on the State Home and its legacy.

Through the oral histories, researchers can trace changes in institutional practices and child welfare policy and evolving concepts of childhood and children's needs. Former residents who spent considerable time at the institution referred to the State Home as their home and their neighborhood.(Figure 4) Others expressed the opposite, saying that although they had been a resident of the home, it was never their home and, as an institution, could never be. The home, it appears, simultaneously saved lives and made others terribly difficult.

The oral history effort culminated in the production of a CD of interview excerpts and an accompanying narrative titled "Let Us Build a Home for Such Children: Stories from the State Home and School."

With the research and documentation mostly complete, the State Home and School Project has shifted its focus toward drawing connections between the past and the present, between how people have cared for dependent and neglected children in the past and how people currently address the issue. The project plans to tell this story though its oral history and records archives, walking tours, public outreach, and continued research and development.

Sandra Enos, Ph.D., is an associate professor of sociology at Bryant University in Smithfield, Rhode Island.

Note

1 L.B.C. Wyman and A.C. Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace: Her Life and Its Environment* (Boston, Massachusetts: W.B. Clarke Company, 1914), 85.

Teaching American History in Baltimore, Maryland

by Abbi Wicklein-Bayne

The Baltimore Heritage Area (BHA), which encompasses the heart of the city of Baltimore, Maryland, promotes the discovery and stewardship of the city's heritage resources, the revitalization of historic neighborhoods, and the development of business opportunities in heritage tourism.[1] It was established in 2001 by the Maryland Heritage Areas Authority in recognition of the outstanding quality of the city of Baltimore's historic, cultural, and natural resources and its potential to foster greater understanding of the seminal role Baltimore has played in the nation's history. The BHA stands out among Maryland's 11 certified state heritage areas as the state's only major urban heritage area containing a large number of contributing cultural and natural resources within a small geographic area.[2] (Figure 1)

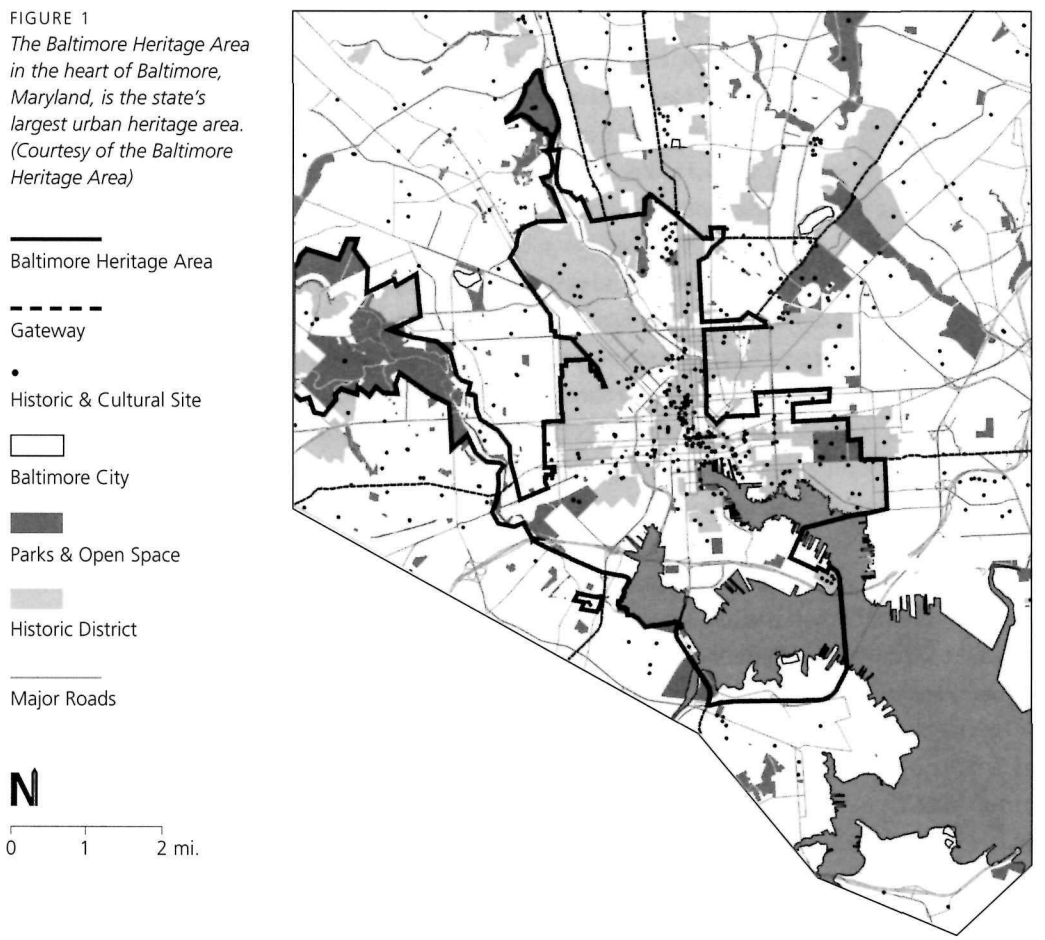


FIGURE 1
The Baltimore Heritage Area in the heart of Baltimore, Maryland, is the state's largest urban heritage area. (Courtesy of the Baltimore Heritage Area)

Soon after its establishment, the BHA began working with the Greater Baltimore History Alliance (GBHA), the city's consortium of history museums and historic sites, to identify concerns within the heritage tourism community and to determine how the BHA might help address those concerns.[3] Chief among them was the significant decline since the late 1990s in the number of students participating in field trips to museums and historic sites within the heritage area. Informal surveys revealed, moreover, that the number of students enrolled in the Baltimore City Public School System (BCPSS) who took advantage of local cultural resources lagged far behind those of neighboring jurisdictions. Some people have attributed this overall decrease in numbers to a shift in emphasis towards standardized testing and away from social studies and local and American history. In Baltimore City, budgetary constraints that precluded bus transportation to museums and historic sites and low household incomes among the student population only exacerbated the decline.[4]

FIGURE 2
Members of the Fort McHenry Guard demonstrate the teamwork necessary to fire a 19th-century cannon during the Young Defender's program at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine in Baltimore. (Courtesy of the author)

In response, the BHA created a staff position to act as liaison between the GBHA and the school system. That person's primary task was to find ways to help Baltimore City public school students gain access to the city's rich cultural heritage resources.

In 2004, the BHA, working in cooperation with the BCPSS social studies curriculum supervisor, the Friends of Fort McHenry, the Maryland Historical Society, the Flag House and Star-Spangled Banner Museum, and the Maryland State Department of Education, developed a pilot program for increasing public school student attendance at Defenders Day at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine in Baltimore.[5] In June of that year, the BHA and its partners invited 50 public school teachers from Baltimore City and surrounding Maryland counties to participate in a one-day teachers' institute at Fort McHenry.[6] Each participant received a small stipend for the day and a guarantee of bus transportation to the fort for their students during Star-Spangled Banner Weekend. On Friday, September 8, 2004, approximately 1,250 students, 800 of them from Baltimore, boarded buses to the fort for the Star-Spangled Banner Weekend's Young Defenders program.(Figures 2-3)

FIGURE 3
Students spend time with Francis Scott Key (played by National Park Service Ranger Alan Gephardt) at the Young Defender's Program at Fort McHenry in Baltimore. (Courtesy of the author)

The positive feedback from the teachers encouraged BHA and its partners to think about continuing and expanding the pilot program. BCPSS, especially the social studies curriculum supervisor, viewed the pilot program as an innovative way of providing professional development for city schoolteachers. As in other urban school systems, teachers in Baltimore's public schools face considerable challenges, and cultural institutions often overlook them as potential partners. The BHA and the GBHA quickly discerned the magnitude of the demand among teachers for professional development opportunities that enable them to take advantage of resources available locally for their students.

The BCPSS social studies office worked closely with the Baltimore Heritage

Area to secure financial support for an expanded program that included museum- and site-based lesson plans, on-site teachers' institutes, and field trips.[7] A second round of teachers' institutes took place at the Maryland Historical Society, the Baltimore Museum of Industry, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Museum, and the Jewish Museum of Maryland. Each session was limited to 20 secondary and 20 elementary school teachers and generated long waiting lists.

Prior to each institute, master teachers from the Baltimore City public schools worked with museum educators and other museum staff to create thematic lesson plans tied to school curricula using primary resources in the museum's collection. Each museum either prepared a collection of scanned images for classroom use or provided a museum membership for future visits. On the day of the institute, the teachers took a behind-the-scenes tour of the archives or collections space and had the chance to speak with museum professionals and volunteers about how their students could make use of research facilities and libraries. The BCPSS master teachers then presented their lesson plans, which can serve as a pre-visit lesson for a field trip or as a stand-alone lesson aligned with the curriculum if a field trip is not possible.

In early 2007, the BCPSS, the BHA, and the GBHA received a $75,000 National Endowment for the Humanities *We the People* grant for a series of six more teachers' institutes. In June 2007, the group, in partnership with the Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History and Towson University, received $1 million from the federal Teaching American History Program for "Teaching American History in Authentic Baltimore," a three-year professional development program for BCPSS teachers.

In less than four years, the BHA had achieved the goal of creating an exciting, partnership-based professional development program for public school teachers that involved museums, historic sites, and the city public school system. However, the final piece of the puzzle had yet to fall into place. Although some of the participating teachers had found ways to organize and carry out field trips, field trip transportation costs remained beyond the financial reach of many schools within the city.

The heritage area earmarked $10,000 in its 2007 budget for a joint project with the GBHA to create a transportation fund for public school students. The GBHA, which matched the funding dollar-for-dollar, made small grants available on a competitive basis to museums for bus transportation to their sites. Museums and sites that applied in partnership with one another, provided evidence of curriculum-based programming, offered reduced entrance fees, or waived the fees altogether received priority consideration. The GBHA awarded the transportation grants in August 2007 for field trips scheduled to take place between October and June during the 2007-2008 school year.

At the end of the school year, the BHA will compare public school student attendance numbers against those from the previous year to gauge the impact of its expanded teachers' institute program. The BHA is confident that the figures will show a marked increase in the number of students who benefited from improved access to Baltimore's historic resources.

Abbi Wicklein-Bayne served as heritage education and outreach administrator for the Baltimore Heritage Area during the "Teaching American History in Authentic Baltimore" grant period. She is currently the assistant director of the Mount Clare Museum House in Baltimore.

Notes

1 The Baltimore Heritage Area maintains a website at http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/government/heritage/, accessed on October 30, 2007.

2 Visit http://www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/hb-1.html (accessed on October 30, 2007) for more information on the Maryland heritage areas program.

3 The Greater Baltimore History Alliance maintains a website at http://www.baltimoremuseums.org, accessed on October 30, 2007.

4 Within the Baltimore City Public School System, for instance, approximately 75 percent of all students qualify for free or reduced meals. At some schools, the percentage is as high as 95 percent. The statewide average is 36 percent. Baltimore City Public Schools Department of Research, Evaluation, Assessment and Accountability, 2005.

5 Defenders Day and Star-Spangled Banner Weekend at Fort McHenry commemorate the September 13–14, 1814, Battle of Baltimore during the War of 1812. This battle resulted in an American victory over the British at the fort. During the battle, Francis Scott Key penned the lines to the poem, "The Defense of Fort McHenry," which is better known as the "Star-Spangled Banner," the national anthem of the United States. The BHA developed the pilot project to meet former Baltimore City Mayor Martin O'Malley's objective to increase public school student attendance at the event. For more information on the Star-Spangled Banner Weekend, see "Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine," http://www.nps.gov/fomc/, accessed on October 31, 2007.

6 The BHA reserved 25 of the 50 seats for Baltimore City public school teachers.

7 The BCPSS dedicated funds from a U.S. Department of Education Teaching American History grant to expand the pilot program.

The University of Virginia's Falmouth Field School in Historic Preservation

by Louis Nelson

The Caribbean is an architecturally complex, culturally dynamic, and remarkably understudied region. The indigenous peoples who have inhabited the region for millennia, the Europeans who settled there beginning in the 15th century, and the Africans who arrived in the region through enslavement beginning in the 17th century, all left their distinctive imprint on the built environment. Vulnerable to damage from hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanic activity, the architecture in the Caribbean has adapted to the region's challenging and often volatile climate. The rich yet fragile architectural heritage of the Caribbean speaks to its multiculturalism, the intensities of climate, and the struggle for economic survival.

For the last three years, the University of Virginia's Falmouth Field School in Historic Preservation has worked to document this fragile heritage. Each summer, approximately 15 advanced undergraduate and graduate students from the university and other schools (including Mary Washington and Columbia Universities) travel to Falmouth, a small port town located between the major tourist destinations of Montego Bay and Ocho Rios on the north coast of the island of Jamaica, for a month-long historic preservation experience.

Founded in the late 18th century to serve the lucrative sugar plantations along the north coast, Falmouth retains many of the spectacular colonnaded, two-story houses built by the town's prosperous merchants in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. A handful of the small, one- and two-bedroom frame buildings inhabited by the town's free black and enslaved artisans also survive. They stand as evidence of the town's complex economic and racial composition that dates back more than 100 years.[1]

After the emancipation of slaves in Jamaica in 1830, the town of Falmouth languished. The construction of a railroad later in the 19th century that bypassed the town accelerated the decline. Until recently, most new construction followed the model of smaller, one-story, timber frame houses reminiscent of those built by the town's early artisans. The concrete block construction that now characterizes so much of the Caribbean constitutes the town's most recent layer of architectural fabric.

Students enrolled in the field school spend most of their time examining and recording the town's surviving historic fabric in detail.(Figure 1) Working in teams

of three or four, they produce measured drawings—usually plans, elevations or sets of details according to Historic American Buildings Survey standards—of a threatened building in town. The field school faculty reviews the team drawings on a daily basis, at which time students have an opportunity to see each other's work. Depending on the complexity of the building, these field drawings may take several days, giving those with little drawing experience time to watch the process unfold.[2] Once the field drawings are complete, team leaders translate the field drawings into pencil drawings, which are later translated into drawings for the school's permanent collection.

FIGURE 1
Students in the Falmouth Field School in Jamaica take measurements of a small house before drawing it. (Courtesy of the author)

Each student team includes a public advocate who answers questions, communicates the significance of the buildings and the importance of their preservation to the public, and, increasingly, conducts oral history interviews. These interviews often uncover stories about the buildings and the towns that the teams otherwise would have missed during their research. Many of those interviewed spoke of the significance of the early 19th-century courthouse, for instance, not as a political but as a social center. They fondly remembered the dances held in the building's great courtroom in the evenings. One man reported that 10 shillings paid for a night of dancing until 4:00 am. Others noted the dramatic changes in the volume of vehicular traffic over the years. They remembered when people, horses, and carts, not motorcycles or automobiles, filled the streets.

Falmouth Heritage Renewal (FHR), a nonprofit organization that works to stabilize the town's fragile historic fabric, is the University of Virginia's primary partner in the field school. FHR provides safe, clean housing and local cuisine for students at a reasonable cost in a two-story, early 19th-century Masonic hall with a woodshop on the ground floor and dormitory space on the upper floor. The building's rear courtyard serves as a gathering place for school meals and social activities. Students directly benefit from this environment, which, located in the historic town center, exemplifies FHR's philosophy of preservation, technical training, and economic vitality.[3]

Through this partnership with FHR, students have an opportunity to participate in crafts training and hands-on historic preservation projects. FHR maintains a team of full-time Jamaican carpenters and masons who help restore small historic buildings to active use as housing for elderly and underprivileged Jamaicans. During the field school, each student spends at least one day under the tutelage of a Jamaican carpenter and a Jamaican mason, usually working on one of the town's small houses. The FHR's full-time artisans also oversee an apprenticeship program to train young Jamaicans in their trades. Not only do these young people learn foundational carpentry and masonry skills, they learn essential workplace survival skills, such as how to relate to supervisors and co-workers. This important program trains people for the hard work of hand-executed restoration, and promotes best preservation practices among those

entering the building trades. As observed by one of our interviewees, "without opportunities for young people, the town will die."

This past summer, the Falmouth Field School partnered with the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) Caribbean Initiative on a parallel field school in historical archeology that focused on the former slave village of Stewart's Castle, a major plantation just outside of Falmouth.[4] DAACS field school students from the University of Virginia and the University of the West Indies unearthed the material evidence of the lives of Afro-Jamaicans, while Falmouth Field School students examined the surviving architecture of the plantation slaves' urban counterparts. Students in both programs appreciated the opportunity to switch roles: Student archeologists learned about recording buildings and working with carpenters, and historic preservation students learned how to screen test pits and catalog artifacts.

The Falmouth Field School offers students an education in the complex technical, social, economic, political, and practical dimensions of historic preservation. The program continues to expand and hopes that other universities and institutions will join the University of Virginia, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Monticello, the University of the West Indies, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, and other organizations in the effort to stabilize and preserve Falmouth's remarkable architectural heritage.

Louis P. Nelson is an associate professor of architectural history and the director of graduate studies at the University of Virginia.

Notes

1 Falmouth Historic Town appears in the World Monuments Watch 2008 List of 100 Most Endangered Sites. The list is available online at http://www.wmf.org/pdf/Watch_2008_site_descriptions.pdf, accessed on January 3, 2008.

2 By the end of the field school, every student will have completed a field drawing.

3 FHR's goals are to record and restore the built environment, provide a laboratory for the training of local artisans in restoration technology, improve the housing stock for local residents, and build a foundation for heritage tourism and eventual economic vitality.

4 Based in the Department of Archaeology at Monticello, DAACS consists of archeologists and institutions engaged in archeological research in the Chesapeake region, the Carolinas, and the Caribbean. The institutions include Colonial Williamsburg, the Fairfield Foundation, Jamaica National Heritage Trust, James River Institute for Archaeology, Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, Mary Washington College Center for Historic Preservation, Robert E. Lee Memorial Association, the University of the West Indies at Mona, Mount Vernon, Nevis Historical and Conservation Society, North Carolina Office of State Archaeology, Poplar Forest, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, the College of William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, and DePaul University.

Reviews

BOOKS

E40°: An Interpretive Atlas

By Jack Williams. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2006; 277 pp.; illustrations, index; paper, $30.00.

The curious title of this book, *E40°*, refers to the deviation of the axis of the Appalachian Mountains from true north. The brevity of the title masks the rich and evocative analyses illuminating the geophysical and economic factors that shaped the urban form of 42 towns from Alabama to Maine within the Appalachian Mountain range. The urban form is the combination of the pattern of a town's street grid in relation to its residential, governmental, commercial, and industrial activities.

Despite the varied geophysical environments and economic circumstances of each of the towns appearing in the study, all developed compact centers organized in a regular geometric pattern. According to the author, the concise urban form creates a favorable figure to ground (built environment to undeveloped space) ratio. This ratio is seen as ecologically advantageous because it fosters physical diversity, which is inherently flexible and responsive to environmental change.

Varying characteristics of street grids such as shape, building density, and the patterns of relationships among the different residential, commercial, industrial, and governmental areas, encourages regional differences in our "collective culture." While the grid form was ubiquitous during the 19th century, its manifestation in specific locales varies considerably. These phenomena lead to the evolution of specific urban forms that the author labels the "Wagon town," "Courthouse Square," "River town," "Railroad town," "Alluvial town," "Coal town," and "Coastal town." The urban landscapes associated with each of these town types embody and frame cultural experiences and expressions that persist through time and in the collective memory of its citizens. In other words, these towns create a persistent sense of place.

Through the use of graphs and maps, visual representations of the various urban forms are presented in a clear manner. The author makes use of computer mapping technology (Geographic Information Systems, or GIS) to dissect the settlement pattern of each town into its component parts. Thus, building footprints, street grids, topography, and railroad alignments become separate map layers in the GIS. These map layers isolate individual aspects of the urban form that might otherwise be obscured when viewing a more traditional map.

In addition to GIS-generated maps, *E40°* is punctuated by evocative historic photographs of many of the towns presented in the study. One photograph in particular is worth noting: the rail yard in Williamson, West Virginia, from around the 1930s. In the photograph, row upon row of coal cars extending as far as the eye can see wait to be moved out to industrial centers. These long trains "moved out every hour, twenty-four hours a day." The photo communicates the dense urban form, even within a rural area of West Virginia.

E40° provides us with a deeper level of understanding of the ways that these towns evolved and the

lessons we can learn from studying them. After examining the urban form of the towns in six chapters, Williams presents a strong synthesis of the data in the final chapter, where he draws a key conclusion: that compactness of urban form is universally the most sustainable kind of settlement pattern. Ironically, while the compact urban form may be the most sustainable, all the towns in the study depended upon unsustainable extractive industries–cotton farming in Alabama, bituminous coal mining in West Virginia and Kentucky, anthracite coal mining in eastern Pennsylvania, and fishing off the coast of Maine—as their economic base. How, then, can modern economic bases be sustainable and at the same time foster the compact urban form? This reader did not find a clear answer in the book.

Historical factors such as the demand for housing by returning soldiers after World War II, the increase in mobility due to the automobile, and consumer information broadcast from televisions have stimulated and supported today's urban sprawl. Williams suggests that these factors have served to homogenize our landscapes and culture. However, recent economic and demographic trends may favor a return to the compact urban form. For example, the high price of gasoline may serve to restrict mobility. The retiring baby-boomers are increasingly moving out of the suburbs and into smaller urban neighborhoods.

Other GIS tools could have lent a more quantitative component to Williams's study. For example, GIS network analysis can model the connectivity of a street grid, thus making it easier to compare one town's street grid with other street grids. Viewshed analysis, another GIS tool, can identify the frequency with which areas in a town can be seen from selected vantage points.

A GIS viewshed map of the areas seen from the U.S. Customs House in Belfast, Maine, for example, could have supported the author's point that the Customs House was sited in such a manner as to keep a watchful eye on the harbor. Furthermore, nearest neighbor analysis can provide an assessment of the distribution of towns within a region in terms of whether they are clustered or evenly or randomly distributed. The *E40°* study provides a good dataset to apply these GIS tools.

The book challenges the reader to think more critically about land use development decisions and their consequences. Thus, future urban forms should be a conscious collective choice, not a de facto result. The contribution of *E40°* is the lesson that by examining and learning from past urban forms we are in a better position to choose future forms.

John J. Knoerl
National Park Service

From the Miner's Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town

By Karen Bescherer Metheny. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006; 360 pp.; illustrations, index; cloth, $45.00.

In his classic country ballad, "Sixteen Tons," Tennessee Ernie Ford laments the life of a coal miner, explaining to his listeners that despite loading 16 tons of coal, a worker can expect nothing more than to grow "another day older and deeper in debt." Indeed, even death cannot be counted on to end a man's suffering as his soul is owed not to the merciful St. Peter, but instead to the avaricious company store. In Ford's eyes, a coal miner is destined to be "born one mornin' when the sun didn't shine," and then inevitably head underground for a lifetime of hard toil and little reward.

The image of the long-suffering coal miner is familiar to many Americans, even those who have never lived near a mine tipple or brushed coal dust off their clothes. Coal towns, especially the

company towns of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are seen largely as unpleasant reminders of the nation's messy industrial past. Characterized by poverty, labor unrest, and deplorable working conditions, company towns represent the worst of the "Robber Baron" era, a legacy to be disparaged rather than commemorated.

However, in recent years scholars have begun to challenge such limited views of company town life, instead arguing for a more nuanced portrait of working class culture and society. Labor historians, in particular, have focused on the active resistance offered by workers to unfair company policies, including the taking up of arms in opposition to the hiring of private security forces such as the Pinkerton and Baldwin-Felts agencies. Thus, rather than simply dismissing miners and their families as powerless victims, these new studies instead emphasize worker initiative and power. Using a variety of tactics, scholars argue, coal town residents succeeded in coming together to challenge and, at times, even improve their living and working conditions.

In her work, *From the Miner's Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town,* archeologist Karen Bescherer Metheny adds to our evolving understanding of everyday life in a coal town by looking at, in her words—

issues of worker agency and working-class behavior within the setting of the company town, with particular emphasis on the role of landscape, material culture, and social action in the creation of a living environment and in the negotiation of place within the corporate landscape.

Focusing on the physical and cultural landscapes of Helvetia, a small mining community in western Pennsylvania, Metheny presents the reader with a detailed case study covering the years 1891 to 1947. The text uses documentary sources and oral history and material culture analyses to "reconstruct living and working conditions" for the miners and their families.

A well-researched and thoughtful study, *From the Miner's Doublehouse* makes good use of the archeological evidence. By highlighting the ways in which residents shaped their physical surroundings, Metheny makes an argument for the degree of power available to Helvetia's working class. Literally sifting through the remains of the now-abandoned town, she reveals insights about the day-to-day life of residents.

Of particular note is Metheny's discussion of the doublehouse, or duplex, the company-owned residential structures where the majority of Helvetia's miners lived. While ostensibly corporate property, residents nonetheless took the initiative in molding and shaping the interior and the exterior of these buildings. Recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe frequently used their backyards for the cultivation of vegetables from the old country, while other residents built additions for more kitchen or storage space. By taking ownership of their homes, residents asserted control over their immediate surroundings, imprinting the coal town landscape with their own working-class values and traditions.

In writing *From the Miner's Doublehouse*, Metheny has added another layer to an increasingly complex portrait of working class life in coal company towns. After reading her rich study, one wonders how much more could have been discovered had the research been conducted 25 or 30 years earlier. Not only would more residents have been available for oral histories, but the town itself would have been able to "speak" in a more resonant voice. The quality of the interviews in the book is adequate, but the scope of experiences covered is quite narrow. Had more of the immigrants who called the town home been available, the depth of Metheny's analysis might have been far richer.

Regarding the archeological record, Metheny herself admits that the degree of material available for study was severely reduced by both a gradual deterioration of structures and a more sudden

demolition of one half of the community, which occurred between 1990 and 1993. During those years, Helvetia's entire uptown district, once home to the town's immigrant residents, was strip-mined to a depth of 20 to 25 feet. The destruction limited the quantity of material available for study, an unfortunate circumstance given the capable analyses provided by Metheny on those areas of the town less damaged by the mining endeavor.

Despite these limitations, *From the Miner's Double-house* can be a valuable guide for historians, historic preservationists, and archeologists interested in the study and interpretation of industrial and post-industrial areas. The challenge of documenting the life of towns and cities where residents and businesses have largely departed is a very real one, and it demands a multi-disciplinary approach. When written records only reveal part of the past, oral history, material culture, and the built environment will of necessity become central to telling the story of vanished communities like Helvetia.

Eleanor Mahoney
National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers

The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory

By W. Fitzhugh Brundage. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005; xiii + 418 pp., illustrations; cloth, $29.95.

The readers of this journal probably take for granted that historical memory has important implications in the present. However, W. Fitzhugh Brundage's analysis of the contested nature of the southern past in the United States brings this truism home with tremendous power. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* is highly recommended for all historic preservation and cultural resource managers concerned with the broader social implications of the work they do on a daily basis.

In this volume, W. Fitzhugh Brundage, the William B. Umstead Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, builds on the notion that representations of history have always been, and still are, used as instruments of social power. He deftly chronicles the evolution of historical memories in the American South from the Civil War to the present. What is immediately clear is that struggles over the meanings and uses of the southern past mirrored the racial divisions of southern society.

As a recent transplant to Charleston, South Carolina, this reviewer can attest to the almost palpable presence of the past and its importance to identity and culture in the South. While many writers—William Faulkner among them—have appreciated the importance of the southern past in the present, few have acknowledged its contested and malleable nature or approached it as an object of study in and of itself. This work joins Brundage's earlier edited volume, *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, and monographs such as Stephannie E. Yuhl's *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston*, in analyzing the uses of history and manipulation of memory in the South.[1]

In the introduction, Brundage defines the South's past as a contested landscape of the mind where recent controversies over continuing use of the Confederate flag, the names of schools, commemorations of the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement, and other issues are only the latest manifestations of an ongoing struggle over regional identity and heritage. The legacies of slavery and the plantation economy, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow, for instance—all emotionally loaded and meaningful to different segments of the population—are bound up in defining the region's past and what it means to be a Southerner. Brundage argues that these concerns, as they have played out over time and into the present, are ultimately about who has the power to determine what we collectively remember (and

forget) of the past, and whether that remembrance will honor all Southerners or only some of them.

Alternating his focus between white and African American efforts to honor the past, Brundage works chronologically from the immediate post-Civil War period to the present. He describes the postbellum rise of white women's groups as organizers and fundraisers who successfully filled public spaces throughout the South with monuments to the glory of the Confederacy. He then describes African American celebrations of emancipation (Emancipation Day and Juneteenth events), which, he notes, "mobilized black communities to recall and reflect on the possible meanings of their past," and how such efforts lead to an alternative understanding of the past.

Brundage goes on to discuss the rise in the early 20th century of formal state institutions for promoting the study and preservation of the past (historical commissions, archives, museums, and so on) under the leadership of an emergent class of white male professionals who claimed authority and credibility by virtue of their academic credentials. Voluntary commemoration was no longer sufficient to advance the interests of white elites, and new state institutions provided the resources to insure that a particular version of the past was the one influencing public education and policy.

Brundage next examines the nature of African American remembrance in the context of Jim Crow segregated education. Teachers struggled to provide a history that was both meaningful and inclusive when almost all the resources available to them described a past in which the black experience was—at best—non-existent. A black history movement that celebrated African roots acted as a counterweight to some of the most insidious aspects of these white versions of the past.

Brundage then turns to Charleston's preservation and emergence as a tourist destination. For white Charlestonians, the city's heritage in decorative arts and architecture reaffirmed the civilized quality of the Old South. Offsetting the efforts to preserve and romanticize the city's colonial past were the struggles to save African American neighborhoods and institutions from wholesale "urban renewal" in the 1960s. The author reminds us that, "blinded by both hubris and racism, whites ignored the wholeness of black community life in targeted areas and saw only degraded environments that impeded their ambitions for their cities." The massive damage wrought is termed "a type of genocide of social life" by one observer.

In the final chapter, the author considers how African Americans have extended and consolidated political influence since the Civil Rights Movement to challenge white privilege and control of public life. The African American past has arisen as distinct from, yet intertwined with, the earlier white-controlled narratives.

In concluding, Brundage notes that the struggle over control of the southern past is not over. "[Claims] to material resources, political power, and moral high ground," he writes, "are at the center of contemporary debates over the South's history... there is ample reason to conclude that struggles over historical memory will remain conspicuous in southern public life." However, his assessment, though prescriptive, is optimistic—

Yet if southerners speak freely, respect difference, deliberate collectively, and reject categorical claims that employ stark oppositions, they may avoid the divisions that have contaminated southern public life for most of the past century and a half... as long as white and black southerners do not succumb to nostalgia, do not idealize an exclusionary past, and do not presume the inherent virtue of their idealized historical identity, they may fashion a fully democratic civic culture, an accomplishment that generations of southerners have longed for.

While Brundage's analysis is specific to the American South, he tackles fundamental issues

of power, memory, and identity that are not—and never really were—regional concerns. Many of the same considerations affected the controversy over New York City's African Burial Ground, where the local African American community wrestled control of ancestral remains and the story they tell from the U.S. General Services Administration, putting them in the hands of scholars the community trusted.[2] If all history, as former Speaker of the House Tip O'Neal said of politics, is local, the historic preservation and cultural resources managers ignore these fundamental issues at their own peril.

John P. McCarthy
S&ME, Inc.

1. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Stephanie E. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

2. See, for example, John P. McCarthy, "Who Owns These Bones?: Descendant Community Rights and Partnerships in the Excavation and Analysis of Historic Cemetery Sites in New York and Philadelphia," *Public Archaeology Review* 4 no. 2 (Spring 1996) 3-12.

EXHIBITS

Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum
Springfield, Illinois; Designers: Illinois Historic Preservation Agency and BRC Imagination Arts

Permanent

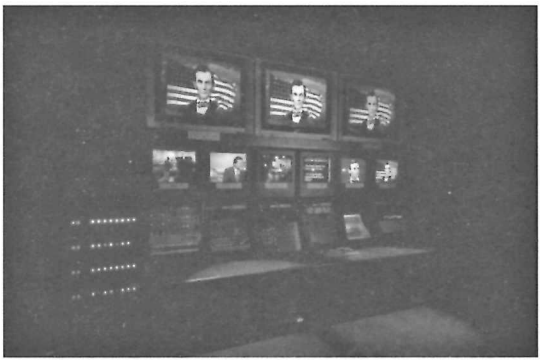
In Abraham Lincoln's hometown of Springfield, Illinois, places associated with the 16th U.S. president have been receiving a great deal of attention over the past few years in anticipation of the bicentennial of his birth in 2009. The State of Illinois completed one of the largest Lincoln-related projects, the more than $115 million Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum complex, in 2005. Operated by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, the facility describes itself as providing "scholarship with showmanship."

The concept of a presidential library and museum dedicated to Abraham Lincoln was not new. The National Park Service had conducted a feasibility study for an "Abraham Lincoln Research and Interpretive Center" in the early 1990s. Although the idea did not proceed beyond those early studies, the National Park Service shared the information gained during that process with the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency.

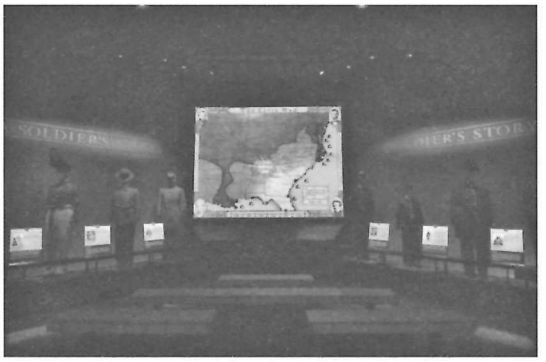
The library and museum project received funding from a variety of sources, including $50 million from the Federal Government. Construction took place in phases. The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library opened in October 2004. The Illinois Historic Preservation Agency transferred the holdings of the 118-year-old Illinois State Historical Library to the new facility. While some people are disappointed that the long and varied history of the State of Illinois, from French Colonial settlement, to Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, to the 1968 Democratic National Convention and beyond, is now housed behind the name of Abraham Lincoln, few can complain about the quality of the new facility.

The 3-story, 98,000 square foot library contains 33,000 square feet of storage space for the institution's 12 million items, including books, maps, broadsides, photographs, and other documents. The library's famed 47,000-item Henry Horner Lincoln Collection, named for the 1930s Illinois governor who donated his impressive Lincoln collection to the state, is one of the reasons why the State of Illinois took on the construction project in the first place. The Horner collection has been called "the most complete holding of Abraham Lincoln's pre-presidential materials" and contains letters, manuscripts, artifacts, photographs, prints, and broadsides that have drawn Lincoln scholars from around the world to Springfield for generations. The library also includes an attractive and comfortable reading room, classrooms, conservation labs, and a large multi-purpose room for broadcasting or hosting distance learning sessions.

The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum includes a life-size installation of a slave auction, which shows a father being torn away from his wife and young child. (Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum)



This installation at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum presents a "Meet the Press"-style analysis of the four-way 1860 presidential race. (Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum)



"The Civil War in Four Minutes" exhibit depicts major battles and the constantly moving battle lines of the Civil War. (Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum)

The Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum includes a holographic theater called Ghosts of the Library. *(Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum)*

The new Abraham Lincoln Presidential Museum is next door to the library. There, the goal was to create a new type of museum that would be, as the promotional video states, different from "ordinary museums that take wonderful objects of the living past and imprison them in row upon row of glass boxes." Its 46,000 square feet of permanent exhibit space features immersion exhibits such as Lincoln's Indiana cabin, the White House Cabinet Room, the White House kitchen, Ford's Theatre, and the Old [Illinois] State Capitol's Representatives Hall, where museum visitors file past Lincoln's casket as mourners did in May 1865. Not all of the immersion exhibits are to scale, which raises some questions about appropriateness and accuracy. The facility also includes a 250-seat multi-stage and screen presentation titled *Lincoln's Eyes*, a holographic theater called *Ghosts of the Library*, a *Treasures Gallery* displaying the Gettysburg Address and other artifacts, and a children's area called *Mrs. Lincoln's Attic* that features a large model of the Lincoln Home. Throughout the museum, a visitor comes in contact with a series of "Lincolns," full-scale life-like representations of Lincoln as a boy in Indiana or as president sitting at Ford's Theatre on that fateful April night. Visitors also encounter Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, George McClellen, Ulysses Grant, members of Lincoln's Cabinet, John Wilkes Booth, and other historic figures.

The Lincoln Museum claims to have set a new standard for museum exhibits in terms of entertainment value. The Illinois Historic Preservation Agency

paired an exhibit design team from BRC Imagination Arts of Burbank, California, with a team of Lincoln scholars to present the story of Lincoln from his boyhood in Indiana to his assassination in Washington, DC. Yet, the scholarship—such as the text describing the complex slave crisis, which is presented in traditional labels and artifact displays—can be easily overshadowed by the installations themselves. For example, a life-size installation of a slave auction, which includes a father being torn away from his wife as their confused young child looks on, and a Tim Russert "Meet the Press"-style analysis of the four-way 1860 presidential race, definitely divert attention away from the labels explaining the scenes to visitors. In the Russert studio exhibit, television commercials explaining the four candidates' positions as if their campaigns were taking place today predominate.

Another dramatic exhibit is a large animated map of the United States titled "The Civil War in Four Minutes," which depicts major battles and the constantly moving battle lines as the war progresses. The map includes a counter that constantly tracks war casualties, one tally for northern and another for southern. A subtle point is that the numbers continue to increase even when there are no battles, due to death by disease that claimed more lives than did combat.

Other scenes from Lincoln's presidential years portray Lincoln and his wife, Mary Todd, at the deathbed of their son, Willie, who died in 1862 at the age of 12. Lincoln's internal struggle over whether to issue the Emancipation Proclamation is represented in a series of audiovisual vignettes of people arguing both sides in mean and unpleasant language. Lincoln stands alone, to decide for himself.

The two elements of the museum that have generated the most interest are the theater programs. In *Ghosts of the Library*, an actor playing an historian enters a stage that appears to be a library reading room and talks about the importance of "all this old stuff." He answers the question of "who cares" by telling heart-wrenching stories of the Lincoln family and the Civil War amid holographic images or "ghosts" of Lincoln, Mary Todd, Civil War battle scenes, and other scenes. As the program closes, the actor reveals that he is a ghost of a Civil War soldier killed in battle as the library turns into a battlefield through holographic projections on the glass wall that separates the audience from the stage.

The second theater program is *Lincoln's Eyes*, narrated by an artist commissioned to paint a Lincoln portrait for the museum. The artist tells Lincoln's story as he explains how he tried to understand the various emotions he saw in existing images of Lincoln. The film is a multi-media presentation with moving screens, shaking seats, cannon firings, and John Wilkes Booth walking above the audience along a catwalk on his way to assassinate Lincoln, all provided through special effects, including real smoke rings floating into the auditorium.

The staff at Lincoln Home National Historic Site was unsure what to expect once the museum opened. Would visitors feel that seeing the new museum was enough and that they could continue their trip to Chicago or St. Louis? To its credit, the museum encourages visitors to go see the "real thing" at Lincoln Home after their visit, and, for the most part, visitors are heeding that advice. In anticipation of the museum opening, Lincoln Home staff spruced up the park's interpretive programming. The park installed new exhibits, regularly evaluates its interpretive programs, and is producing a new interpretive film. In the end, the main beneficiary of this good spirited "competition" among historic sites and museums is the visiting public.

Although some visitors wax nostalgic for the "traditional" museum, many love the new format, and they *are* coming to see the real thing. If, after a visit to the museum and other Springfield historic sites, visitors develop an interest in history or decide to pick up a book about Lincoln or the Civil War, then, together, the Abraham Lincoln

Presidential Library and Museum, Lincoln Home National Historic Site, and the other historic sites in Springfield will have made a difference.

Timothy P. Townsend
Lincoln Home National Historic Site

National Museum of the Marine Corps
Triangle, Virginia; Designers: Fentress Architects; Curators: Christopher Chadbourne & Associates

Permanent

Marine Corps Base Quantico, approximately 35 miles south of Washington, DC, in Prince William County, Virginia, is widely known among American military servicemen and women as the "Crossroads of the Marine Corps"—the epicenter of U.S. Marine Corps concepts, doctrine, training, and equipment.[1] Fittingly, the new National Museum of the Marine Corps, which opened its doors to the public in November 2006—in time to celebrate the 231st anniversary of the corps—is situated adjacent to the renowned base.

Designed by Fentress Architects of Denver, Colorado, and Washington, DC, the museum building is an architectural representation of the World War II flag-raising scene on Mount Suribachi on the island of Iwo Jima captured on film in 1945 by photographer Joe Rosenthal. A 210-foot central mast rises above a glass and steel shell that houses the museum. Although the museum has a 200,000 square-foot capacity, only 120,000 feet are currently in use, with other areas slated for future artifact restoration space and exhibit galleries.

Stepping through the front door, this reviewer was struck by the space's orderliness and crispness, values shared by and expected of those who serve in the U.S. military. The museum effectively conveys the *esprit de corps* of the Marines. In the central gallery—the "Leatherneck Gallery"—10 quotes carved in the marble walls reinforce the reputation of the Marines as a reliable and highly successful specialized force. One, from U.S. Army Major General Frank E. Lowe, reads, "The safest place in Korea was right behind a platoon of Marines. Lord, how they could fight." Eight "faces of the Marines" on display in the upper level of the gallery immediately humanize the history of the corps and showcase those who represent its core values.

The National Museum of the Marine Corps presents history through an interactive and engaging visitor experience. The "Legacy Walk," a semi-circular passageway that leads visitors to the main galleries, presents the early history of the corps and briefly covers different warfare themes, particularly air, land, and water combat. The central Leatherneck Gallery uses videos, artifacts, text panels, and lifecast figures to relate the general history and early evolution of the corps. Eight galleries present the history of the Marine Corps in depth. The three largest galleries cover the history of the Marine Corps in World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Each of the three provides background information on the origins of the war and illustrates the Marines' role in the significant battles. In each case, curators incorporated the home front situation and global politics into the overall telling of a multi-faceted story.

The largest of these three galleries, "Uncommon Valor: Marines in World War II," recounts the corps' transition from an ill-equipped small expeditionary force to the organization that triumphantly raised the flag on Iwo Jima. One of the highlights of this gallery is the actual flag raised at Mount Suribachi. An impressive wall of 6,000 miniature eagle, globe, and anchor insignias represents the lives lost in the battle for Iwo Jima.

"Send in the Marines: The Korean War," recounts the "forgotten war" and depicts such scenes as the end run at Inchon to the war-ravaged streets of

The exhibits in the "Leatherneck Gallery," the central gallery of the National Museum of the Marine Corps, reinforce the core values of the corps. (Courtesy of the author)

Seoul. This gallery includes one of the museum's most memorable exhibits about the Fox Company at Toktong Pass on the "Frozen" Chosin Reservoir in North Korea. Visitors enter a climate-controlled room where mural art, audio, lights, and lifecast figures simulate the harrowing conditions Marines faced during this battle. "In the Air, on Land and Sea: The War in Vietnam," presents the story of the nation's "longest war." This gallery also features multimedia war scene exhibits. Visitors can descend from a CH-46 helicopter onto Hill 881 South and get a sense of the landing as experienced by the Marines.

Another gallery, aptly titled the "Combat Art Gallery," is dedicated to art related to the Marine Corps and warfare and includes contemporary pieces and historic renderings of Marines. The last gallery on this level, "Making Marines," immerses the visitor in the basic training experience and the transformation of a Marine Corps recruit from the time they step down off the bus at boot camp until graduation day. Audio booths let visitors experience the deafening and disorienting barrage of drill instructors' orders. Visitors can also participate in interactive training scenarios, watch video testimonials of families during graduation day, and listen to audio clips on why recruits want to become Marines.

Many of the objects on display pertain to the hardware and accoutrements of warfare: uniforms, rifles, knifes, helmets, tanks, and aircraft.[2] The exhibits do an excellent job of incorporating individual war stories through video interviews and oral history "booths" that personalize the experience of specific campaigns.

The galleries also include information on the civilians affected by each war. In the Vietnam War gallery, for example, text and image panels relate the fate of the Vietnamese refugees who had arrived at Camp Pendleton in California. Each gallery culminates with tally of the casualties of the war, reminding visitors that heroic actions come at a very high price.

The new National Museum of the Marine Corps has set a high standard upon which future military museums, notably the U.S. Army National Museum scheduled to open in 2009, will have to follow. Undoubtedly, the Marine Corps museum will have a built-in visitor base among former, present, and future Marines, their families, and military history buffs, but the challenge is in attracting the general public. With its emphasis on making history interesting, engaging, and personally relevant to the average visitor, the new National Museum of the Marine Corps should have little trouble meeting this challenge.

Caridad de la Vega
National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers

1. United States Marine Corps Base Quantico, "About Quantico," http://www.quantico.usmc.mil/activities/display.aspx?PID+1685&Section+BaseInfo, accessed on September 19, 2007.

2. The museum has approximately 30,000 objects in its collection.

Temple of Invention: History of a National Landmark

Donald W. Reynolds Center for American Art and Portraiture, Smithsonian American Art Museum and the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC

July 1, 2006-January 21, 2008

Temple of Invention: History of a National Landmark, on exhibit in the renovated Smithsonian American Art Museum and National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC, is a loving portrait of the building, once the home of the U.S. Patent Office, and its long history in the nation's capital. Tucked away in a second floor space that is both intimate and open, this jewel of an exhibit explores the evolution of the building and its place in the city through daguerreotypes, prints, models, and letters pulled from the collections of the museum, the gallery, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives. Due to the fragility of the originals, many of the items on display are reproductions, which do not in any way detract from the impact of the content. The physical installation is complemented by an online exhibit that uses the best Web techniques, allowing visitors to zoom in on portraits, expand interpretive text, and revisit the exhibit multiple times.[1] Though the online exhibit can stand on its own, the physical installation of the exhibit is worth the trip.

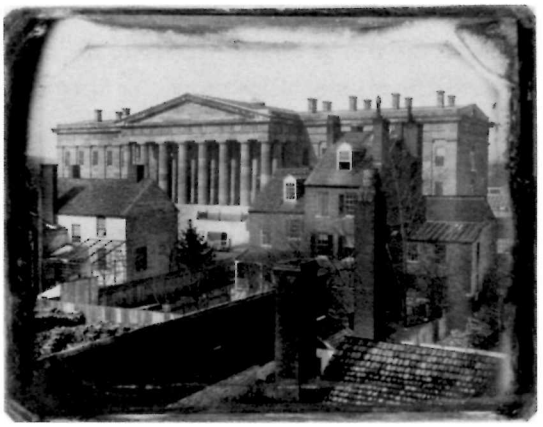
The title of the exhibit, *Temple of Invention*, alludes to the building's classic Greek revival style and the technical ingenuity inherent in the patent process. Begun in 1836 to house the Federal Government's growing patent office, the building consists of four wings with central halls for the collection and display of innovative machines and other patentable items. The exhibit uses images of two of the building's architects to provide insight into the human hands that shaped the structure. Robert Mills, architect of the south and east wings, poses formally with his wife, gazing directly at the viewer with a slight sparkle in his eye. Mills created glass cabinets to showcase the patent models—the best ideas of the growing nation—and designed the vaulted exhibition hall on the top floor. Thomas U. Walter, designer of the U.S. Capitol dome, replaced Mills on the project and oversaw construction of the north and west wings. His portrait shows a steely gaze, captivating the viewer and compelling contemplation of the vast contributions he made to the city.

In addition to patent models and drawings, the building housed historic artifacts such as the original Declaration of Independence and Benjamin Franklin's printing press. It became known as the "Museum of Models" and the "Museum of Curiosities" and attracted more than 100,000 visitors annually.

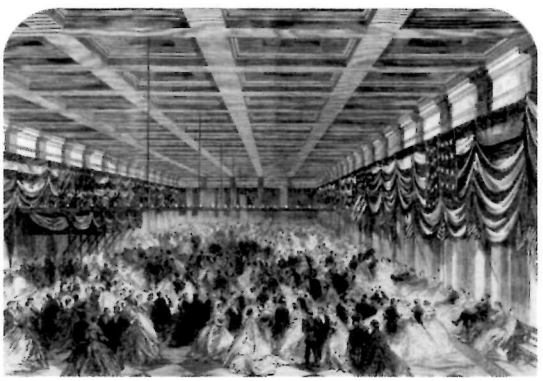
Portraits and archival materials illustrate the role the building played in the Civil War. Engravings show revelers filling the third floor for President Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural ball in 1865. First-person accounts describe the buffet and the rush of people to partake in the festivities. More evocative of the times are the Matthew Brady photographic portraits of President Lincoln and Mary Todd Lincoln, each with an expression that foreshadows the troubles that are to come to them and to the nation.

The Patent Office building also has a connection with other famous Americans of the Civil War era. Clara Barton became a confidential clerk to the patent commissioner in 1854. She was the first woman to serve in a permanent position in the Federal Government and to be paid the same wages as a man. Accompanying an engraving of her showing a strong, set jaw are quotations revealing her resilient spirit in the face of many insults from her male coworkers. When the Patent Office became a military hospital in 1861, Barton treated wounded soldiers there (she founded the American Red Cross 20 years later). Walt Whitman, seen in the exhibit in the quintessential image of his later years, gazing off thoughtfully into the distance, also worked in the war hospital.

In 1877, a huge conflagration nearly destroyed the Patent Office. Started by sparks from a chimney



This daguerreotype of the Patent Office Building in Washington, DC, produced by John Plumbe in 1846, is the earliest known photograph of the building. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)



This illustration of President Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural ball held at the Patent Office Building on March 6, 1865, appeared in the Illustrated London News *on April 8, 1865, one week before Lincoln's assassination. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)*

This early 20th-century photograph shows the west model hall as redesigned after the 1877 fire had gutted the building. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

flue, the fire spread quickly, much to the surprise of witnesses who thought that the Walter-designed wings were of fireproof construction. The office's large amount of flammable materials—basically, the patent drawings and models—fed the flames, and water pressure proved too weak to reach the roof. The fire gutted the model halls in the north and west wings. Engravings of the fire and photographs of the aftermath tell the tragic story. Although employees carried significant quantities of materials to safety, thousands of patent models were lost.

Rebuilding began almost immediately under the direction of Adolf Cluss, a prolific Washington architect. Completed in a "modern Renaissance" style, the west model hall featured fireproof iron cases and encaustic tiles. Recently renovated, the hall now houses the Luce Foundation Center for American Art, an open storage and study center for portions of the Smithsonian American Art Museum collections.

The Patent Office building's fortunes fell and rose again in the 20th century. A hand-colored postcard dating from 1929 depicts the Patent Office as a major tourist attraction worthy of writing home about. But by 1932, the Patent Office moved out, the Civil Service Commission moved in, and the public no longer visited the building to see patent models in glass cases. A 1939 political cartoon shows former President Theodore Roosevelt, a champion of civil service reforms, watching over the commission's headquarters. In 1953, the building was slated for demolition for a parking garage. Saved from this fate by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the building was transferred to the Smithsonian in 1958 to house the institution's growing collections of American art and portraiture. A photograph of President Lyndon B. Johnson speaking at the opening ceremonies of the newly renovated museums in 1968 evokes the building's return to grandeur.

The collections of both the Smithsonian American Art Museum and the National Portrait Gallery trebled in the intervening three decades, and

in 2000 the museums closed to begin a six-year restoration and renovation. A model showing the new canopy recently completed over the interior courtyard represents the current chapter of the building's history. Designed by Sir Norman Foster, the glass and steel construction floats over the courtyard, connecting the past and the future in a building whose hallmark has been inspiration and invention. This chapter hints at the life to come in this landmark building.

The final part of the exhibit—not to be missed—awaits beyond a pair of French doors in the room. The doors open onto a small balcony with a café, and it takes just a few steps for a vista of 8th Street to unfold. Framed by the classical columns is the venerable edifice of the National Archives building in visual conversation with the Patent Office. Among these stone giants, visitors can sip a coffee and drink in the changes in the city that surround the building. Percolating through one's mind is the sense that the Patent Office has undergone many changes of use and structure yet remains an enduring sentinel of human ingenuity.

Christine Henry
Institute of Museum and Library Services

1. The exhibit is available online at http://www.npg.si.edu/exhibit/pob/, accessed on December 2, 2007.

WEBSITE

Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress
http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/alhtml/malhome.html

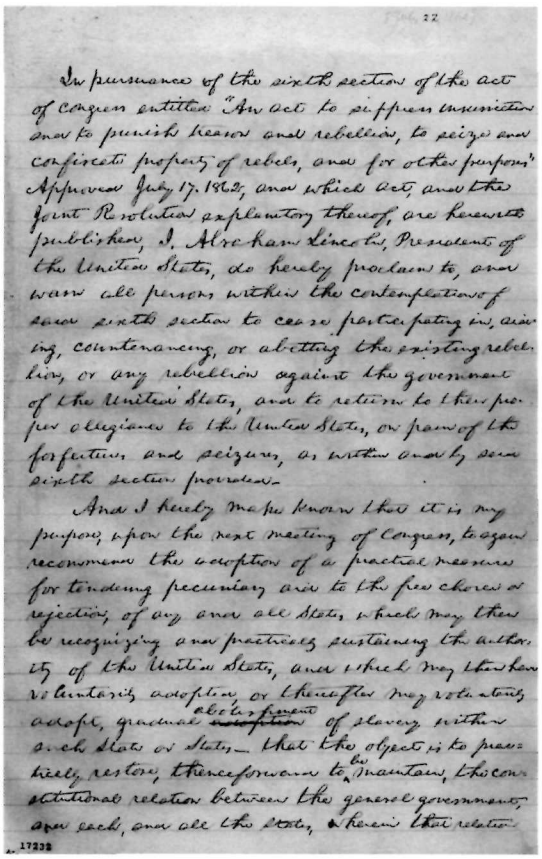
Maintained by the Library of Congress; accessed on September 24-26, 2007

The *Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress* consists of approximately 20,000 items associated with the life and career of the nation's 16th president, including incoming and outgoing correspondence and enclosures, drafts of speeches, and notes and printed material.[1] The collection consists of three series of documents, the first of which—and the core of the collection—was preserved by Lincoln's son Robert Todd Lincoln, who deeded it to the Library of Congress in 1923. The remaining two series consist of documents retained by John G. Nicolay, secretary to Lincoln during his presidency, which became part of the *Papers* in 1959, and a group of documents acquired independently by the Library of Congress.

Most of the documents in the *Abraham Lincoln Papers* date from the 1850s through Lincoln's presidency (1861-1865), although the earliest dates from 1833 and the latest from 1916. Their importance ranges from Lincoln's draft of the Emancipation Proclamation—arguably one of the greatest documents in human history—to relatively inconsequential correspondence from admirers. The website notes that the papers "are characterized by a large number of correspondents, including friends and associates from Lincoln's Springfield days, well-known political figures and reformers, and local people and organizations writing to their president."

In its online presentation, the *Abraham Lincoln Papers* is made available to researchers as approximately 61,000 facsimile (grayscale digital) images of documents scanned from microfilm copies of the collection made in 1947. These images are supplemented by 10,000 linked transcriptions created by scholars at the Lincoln Studies Center at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. The collection is searchable by keyword and browsable by series, each of which is arranged chronologically.

In general, the quality of the digital images is quite good, especially given the fact that the images were created, not from the original documents that the Library of Congress considered too fragile to digitize, but from a 1947 microfilm produced according to early and less than ideal standards. Users can download the images for further study.



The Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress preserves President Lincoln's first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation dated July 22, 1862. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

The documents transcribed by the project editors are either historically important or representative of the president's unsolicited incoming mail. Transcriptions are available for all documents in Lincoln's own hand and secretarial copies of Lincoln documents. Transcriptions also exist for approximately 50 percent of the other documents in the collection. Many of the transcriptions include annotations with contextual information on people and issues mentioned in the documents. Project editors have provided extensive background information on the transcription project and its procedures.

At the time of this review, the website had two special presentations on the Emancipation Proclamation and the Lincoln assassination that combine short narratives and timelines of each event, images of related documents from the *Abraham Lincoln Papers*, and supplemental images from other Library of Congress collections. Each presentation provides a concise introduction to these pivotal moments in Lincoln's life. For users who want to explore the life and times of Abraham Lincoln further, the website offers links to related Library of Congress and external websites. The site also provides bibliographies on Lincoln himself and the *Papers*.

The *Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress* is an excellent resource for Abraham Lincoln scholars and enthusiasts. Scholars will appreciate the website's search capabilities, and casual users will enjoy the presentations. Additional illustrated special presentations that draw on images from the *Papers* and other Library of Congress collections would definitely enhance the site. A general introduction to Lincoln's life and career would be especially useful for elementary and high-school students and general readers just beginning to learn about Lincoln's life and contributions to society. Special presentations aside, the site effectively helps advance the goal of the National Digital Library Program at the Library of Congress "to offer broad public access to a wide range of historical and cultural documents as a contribution to education and lifelong learning."

Terry Tatum
Chicago Department of Planning and Development, Landmarks Division

1. The *Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of* Congress website was a collaborative effort of the National Digital Library Program and the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress, the Lincoln Studies Center at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, and Online Computer Library Center, Inc., of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Donald G. Jones, Terri L. Jones, and the Jones Family Foundation provided financial support for the project.

Letters

Readers may submit letters to the editor (see contact information on the page facing the table of contents). Letters should include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number for confirmation. Letters may be edited for publication, and not all letters may be published. If a letter pertains to an article or review, the editor may forward the letter to the author for reply.

"Three Models for Managing Living Landscapes," Summer 2007

I was delighted to read the excellent article by Brenda Barrett and Michael Taylor.

Their authoritative comparative analysis of protected landscape models in France (Parcs Naturels Régionaux), the United Kingdom (Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty) and the United States (National Heritage Areas) is very useful in understanding the subtly different ways in which countries have developed landscape protection approaches that are adapted to local needs.

In my past work as director general of the Countryside Commission (a former government landscape protection body in the U.K.), and for IUCN, the World Conservation Union, I have long felt that there was a need for more international collaboration in the area of landscape protection. This applies especially to the management of Category V Protected Areas (that is Protected Landscapes, as defined by IUCN). The paper that Barrett and Taylor have assembled not only records the ways in which these three national Category V systems are similar–or different–but also provides an excellent reference paper for others who might wish to study issues of Category V management in the countries involved, or indeed elsewhere. In this context, it is especially pleasing to see the National Heritage Area model becoming better known at the international level, as well as throughout the U.S.

Renewed congratulations to all concerned.

Adrian Phillips
Evesham, Worcestershire, England

ON THE COVER

The colossal sculpted busts of Presidents Abraham Lincoln (shown), George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Theodore Roosevelt at Mount Rushmore National Memorial received their first comprehensive pure water steam cleaning in July 2005 thanks to Alfred Kärcher GmbH & Company. The German manufacturer of steam cleaning machines donated its services and worked with six National Park Service rangers and a volunteer from the nearby Crazy Horse Memorial on the project. The company has participated in 80 such cleaning projects around the world including the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, the Colonnades of St. Peter's Square in Rome, and the Colossi of Memnon in Luxor, Egypt. Carved between 1927 and 1941 by sculptor Gutzon Borglum and a team of 400 workers, the 60-foot-tall presidential heads in the Black Hills of South Dakota are 500 feet off the ground and among the most recognizable memorials in the United States. (Courtesy of Alfred Kärcher GmbH & Company)

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