

PHILANTHROPY AND GUIDANCE, 1924-1934

The potential of park museums, particularly as instruments of outdoor education, captured the interest of several very able men in the 1920s. Their leadership and support transformed the scattered beginnings outlined above into an integrated chain of museums uniquely adapted to a defined purpose. What started as largely individual efforts by devoted amateurs to meet evident needs became a coordinated professional enterprise. These leaders moved the National Park Service program into the mainstream of American museum activity. They endowed it with a body of creative concepts, standards of practice, central direction, and a growing staff trained to develop and operate museums. This phase of Park Service curatorial history, largely financed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, culminated in the organization of the Museum Division in 1935. Its initial catalyst was Yosemite National Park naturalist Ansel Hall.

The Yosemite Museum

The High Sierra encounter of Ansel Hall and Francis Farquhar with the Hamlin party on August 27, 1921, may have been entirely fortuitous, although the party had apparently visited Yosemite briefly and met Hall en route to Sequoia. Hall and Farquhar evidently knew whose camp they were approaching. As Chauncey Hamlin remembered the occasion years later, he heard a voice calling out of the twilight, "Mr. Hamlin! Mr. Hamlin!" He then saw the two men coming toward the campfire. Hamlin did not recall that Hall expounded his hopes for a Yosemite museum better than the Jorgensen studio during their conversation that evening, but he opened doors and made an impression.¹ The nature of the man who in due course reacted to the impression is significant to the results.

Chauncey Jerome Hamlin, born in Buffalo in 1881, inherited adequate means to pursue his interests. At Yale he played football and won election to Phi Beta Kappa. Graduating in 1903, he studied law at Buffalo and was admitted to the bar in 1905. He went to the Mexican border with his National Guard regiment in 1916, rose to captain, and accompanied the regiment to France in 1918. Back in Buffalo in 1919 he decided that rather than reopen his law practice he would devote himself to some form of public service. His father-in-law, David Gray, had been a founder of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, and Hamlin had served briefly on its board of managers before his mobilization. He resumed his seat, and the next year the society elected him president. He held the office 28 years during which he gave much of his time and some half-million dollars to the society's major undertaking, the Buffalo Museum of Science.²



Chauncey J. Hamlin. As president of the American Association of Museums, he secured funding and organized projects to demonstrate the potential of park museums. (Courtesy Buffalo Museum of Science.)

Hamlin also became interested in parks. In 1920 he and his wife bought forty acres in the Giant Forest at Sequoia for donation to the park. If the Hamlins had not already met Stephen T. Mather, they soon did. Within a few months Director Mather paid a brief visit to Buffalo and declared the exhibits he saw in the society's museum "wonderfully informative."³ Mather also lent his support to the creation of Allegany State Park, in which Hamlin was deeply involved. The Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences published in its magazine articles by Mather and Farquhar on the

proposed Sequoia-Roosevelt National Park, then made a nationwide distribution of reprints as a favor to the Park Service.⁴ Ansel Hall happened upon fertile ground well prepared for sowing the seed of his Yosemite Museum dream.

Hamlin did not forget about Yosemite's museum needs in the two years following his meeting with Hall. A personal matter took precedence, however. After the Hamlins' son graduated from preparatory school in 1923, his parents felt that he should travel extensively in Europe before entering college. They needed a suitable companion for him and picked Hall. Given a leave of absence from the Park Service, Hall left Yosemite at the end of August 1923 and did not return to the park until the following August. In his absence Hamlin marshaled support for the Yosemite museum project.⁵

Having become a member of the American Association of Museums in 1921, Hamlin found himself promptly made a vice president and chairman of the committee on association finances. Within two years he secured a matching grant that enabled the AAM to set up a permanent paid staff with offices in space offered rent-free by the Smithsonian Institution. After the association elected him its president in 1923, he had a strategic base for rallying supporters of museums in parks.

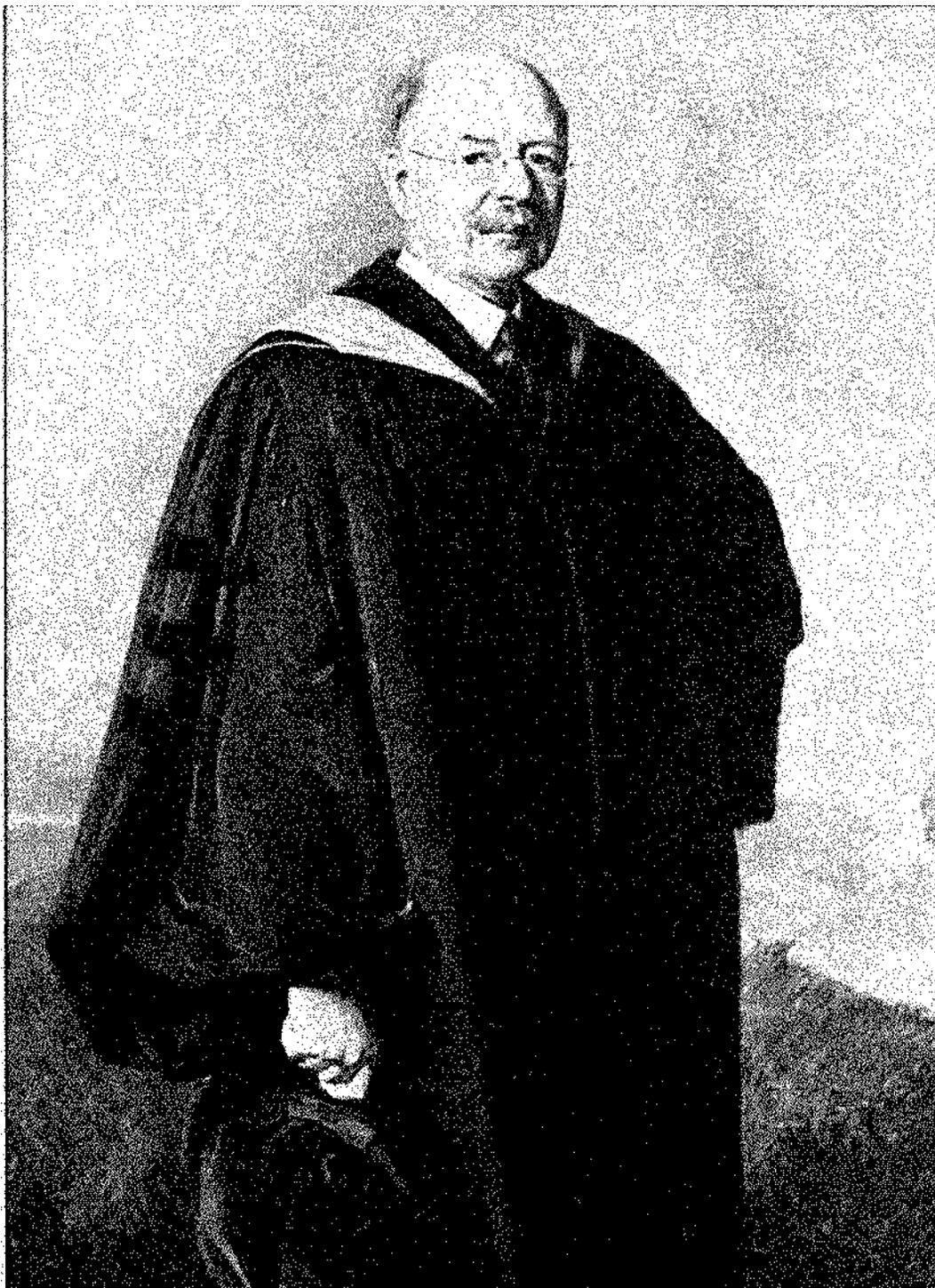
Association business took Hamlin to the offices of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. While sitting with its director waiting for some papers to be fetched, he spoke casually of Yosemite's museum needs. To his surprise the director expressed interest. Hamlin went straight back to Washington and set up an AAM Committee on Museums in National Parks, later called the Committee on Outdoor Education, with himself as chairman. Its membership included directors, curators, and scholars highly respected in the scientific world and the museum profession. The Park Service was to become particularly indebted to several of the members, including Hermon C. Bumpus, John C. Merriam, and Clark Wissler. The committee weighed the educational potential of the national parks "and developed certain concrete plans looking toward the establishment of small natural-history museums in a number of the larger parks."⁶

The AAM presented these proposals to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and secured two grants. One in the amount of \$5,000 enabled the committee to continue its work. The other, for \$70,500, was designated to build and equip a museum for Yosemite as an experiment and example of the committee's ideas. Hamlin radioed the good news to Ansel Hall in July 1924 as the ship carrying him and young Chan Hamlin approached New York. He then appointed Hall executive agent of the AAM for the Yosemite project.⁷ Hall was sent first to Duxbury, Massachusetts, to the home of Hermon Bumpus, who discussed plans and gave him explicit instructions on what to do as a start.

Bumpus, who would provide the creative leadership for the Yosemite venture and monitor the quality of the work, was in active retirement at the age of 62. The descendant of an old New England family, he was already an ardent naturalist during his boyhood in suburban Boston and rural Maine. While an undergraduate at Brown University, he worked as an assistant in the university museum and made drawings to illustrate scientific papers. In 1886 he became the first professor of biology at Olivet College. After teaching there three years and developing a departmental museum, he enrolled at Clark University and received the first Ph.D. degree it granted. Brown called him to a professorship in 1890, a position he held until 1900. In 1895 the federal government asked him to take over the moribund Bureau of Fisheries laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, which he swiftly revitalized. His work in marine biology exhibited his capacity for well-conceived research along fresh lines and his marked ingenuity in the promotion and management of worthwhile projects.⁸

Bumpus spent 1900-10 at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. He went there with a dual appointment as curator of invertebrates and special assistant to the museum's president, Morris K. Jesup. Jesup, a wealthy railroad developer, turned much of the day-to-day management over to Bumpus along with the newly established office of museum director. Bumpus gave particular attention to the museum's exhibits, undertaking to transform the massive displays of study series, orderly but uninterpreted, to attractive presentations of ideas aimed to interest and educate the layman. "The exhibits in an institution of this nature should be made primarily for presenting in an ample manner various scientific subjects and not for the mere exhibition of specimens," he wrote. "The exhaustive collection of specimens belongs more to the workroom, where they should be available to visiting scientists. The so-called exhibition halls should be jealously preserved for imparting information and the specimens carefully selected." He also wrote: "There was a time when curators felt that an intelligible label was an administrative blunder. . . . The idea that a museum exists in order that certain collections may be exhibited has been found fallacious. It assumed that the specimen was of more value than the visitor; that the institution existed for things rather than for human beings."⁹

As a biologist and teacher good with his hands and experienced in scientific illustration, Bumpus was well equipped to tackle exhibit problems at both theoretical and practical levels. Colleagues gave him principal credit for the Northwest Coast Indian hall, an important breakthrough in display concepts. They also referred to him as originator of the curved background that added so much to the illusion of reality in habitat groups. He recruited preparators who would raise the artistic quality of exhibits and sent them on scientific expeditions to ensure the accuracy of their creations.



Hermon Carey Bumpus. A founding father of museum curatorship in the National Park Service. (Courtesy Brown University.)

He also set up an educational department in the museum and did much to develop its work with children.

Bumpus's success in reshaping the American Museum of Natural History along progressive lines had a disappointing end for him personally, but not before he had helped to organize the American Association of Museums in 1906 and served as its first president. Jesup's death in 1908 placed power at the museum in the hands of some trustees and curators who resented the changes Bumpus had fostered. They forced his resignation in 1910 and he left the museum field for a number of years. The University of Wisconsin called him to straighten out its business affairs, and he served as president of Tufts College from 1915 until his retirement in 1919. He was productively busy at his Duxbury home when Chauncey Hamlin enlisted his help for park museums.

When Ansel Hall reported to Duxbury in mid-July 1924, Bumpus gave him directions that must have come as a surprise. Instead of plunging into plans for the Yosemite Museum, Hall was to start a branch museum in the form of a lookout station at Glacier Point.¹⁰ Whatever prompted this preliminary assignment, it gave quick, concrete evidence of progress, tested the abilities of the project field staff, and allowed time for a more deliberate approach to the main objective. At the same time, the lookout represented a singularly creative concept. The little stone structure that shortly took shape constituted a magnet drawing visitors to a precise spot where the evidence of the geologic history of Yosemite Valley spread out before them in an unmatched panorama. It provided one trial answer to a question typical of Bumpus's thought: "How shall the magnificent specimens in these roofless museums of nature be adequately labelled?"¹¹

Hall's first step was to hire Herbert Maier, the architect who had drawn preliminary plans for Hall's proposed new museum two years before. The two men reached Yosemite in mid-August and had the lookout structure essentially completed by September 25. Bumpus traveled to California in September and spent two busy weeks on the job. Hall drove him to the park on the 11th, when park naturalist Carl Russell probably met him for the first time. Bumpus inspected the Glacier Point station, then used half the next day with Hall and Maier to sketch fresh plans for the new Yosemite Museum. Maier must have worked up the ideas with a swift, sure hand, for the architectural concepts were approved four days later.¹²

As soon as Bumpus left, Maier produced a preliminary set of scale drawings that went out for bid on October 4. Bids were opened on October 9 and a contract let on the 25th. Russell and landscape engineer Thomas C. Vint meanwhile staked the museum site. Maier and Hall completed the construction drawings and specifications by October 18, and the contractor started work promptly. Ansel Hall laid the cornerstone on November 16 in conjunction with the dedication of the new park headquarters complex.

Pouring concrete began on December 16, and the contractor finished construction by April 1, 1925. The museum opened to the public on May 29, 1926.¹³

By the beginning of the 1927 season, after the museum had served the first 150,000 of its visitors, Russell could describe it in full operation. Maier had designed an attractive but unobtrusive building. He made the ground floor a fire-resistant concrete box within an exterior of rough granite masonry. It housed the museum collections, most of the exhibits, and the library. Visitors moved logically from the lobby information center through a series of modest exhibit rooms. The first of these interpreted the park's geology with several relief models that illustrated progressive changes and directed people to where they might see the evidence. Displays of rock specimens, some available for handling, supplemented the models. The next two rooms addressed the park's natural history. In one of them habitat groups defined the five life zones visitors would encounter. A room on the life of the Yosemite Indians, embellished by the basket collection, came next. The last room, in which visitors tended to linger, presented a brief narrative history of the park. This led them to the exit onto a covered porch containing cut wildflower displays, a few cages of live lower vertebrates, and an old stagecoach. Adjacent were outdoor exhibits of Indian material including a large mortar stone in place. Visitors who wished could reenter the lobby and go upstairs to study additional exhibits of park trees and flowers.

The upper floor was of frame construction covered with shakes. Most of it contained work space. The park naturalist had his office there, as did the nature guides. There was a well-equipped exhibit preparation shop, a print shop for *Yosemite Nature Notes*, and a photographic darkroom. A caretaker had quarters on this floor. One room served as the laboratory classroom for the Yosemite Field School of Natural History and contained the extra flower exhibits. Another was a clubroom for the Yosemite Natural History Association and a meeting place for several organizations in the park.

The new Yosemite Museum was less an outgrowth of its predecessor in the old Jorgensen studio than the conscious prototype of proper headquarters museums for the national parks. It set policies and standards in size, scope, location, interpretive function, and exhibit quality. A park museum should be only large enough to tell the basic park story. As Bumpus put it, "To lead these people away from direct contact with nature, to beguile them into a building where they are surrounded by artifacts, and to subject them to the spell of the professional lecturer, is contrary to the spirit of this enterprise."¹⁴ The museum's scope was determined by the knowledge visitors needed to enjoy the park; in other words, the museum should explain those salient features the park was established to preserve. It

followed that park museums should not start out with collections to be exhibited, but with ideas to interpret through exhibits. Bumpus noted that this inverted, but did not upset, normal museum objectives.¹⁵ The headquarters museum should be placed where visitors would readily find it, close to the primary route of travel and near a natural concentration point. It required facilities to make it an effective base for the interpretive staff and a logical gathering place and starting point for interpretive activities.

The planning and preparation of exhibits are less well documented. Bumpus, who knew how and when to delegate authority, probably left much of the case design and installation to Maier and Russell, who had real aptitude for exhibit work. He did have some of the birds and small mammals for the new displays mounted at the Buffalo Museum of Science, where Joseph Santens was among the best taxidermists available anywhere. Egmont Rett, preparator at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, did the five life zone groups and Chauncey Hamlin and his wife, who inspected the new museum and the Glacier Point station in May 1927, gave \$100 to complete the last of these. Taxidermist Gus Nordquist of Oakland donated a coyote and skunk habitat group. Russell labored long and hard on the exhibit labels, which marked a particular improvement over the older Yosemite Museum.¹⁶

When Russell replaced Ansel Hall as Yosemite park naturalist in September 1923, he took over responsibility for museum work in the park. His preparation for curatorial duties involved more than what he had learned that summer as a ranger-naturalist under Hall. A native of Wisconsin, he had graduated from Ripon College in 1915 with a major in biology, then earned an M.A. in cytology at the University of Michigan in 1917. At Michigan he also worked on summer expeditions of the university's natural history museum under Alexander V. Ruthven, its director and one of the country's leading museologists, and helped move collections into the new museum building. After military service overseas as a lieutenant in 1918-19 the Army assigned him to special studies at the Sorbonne and to four months at the Museum of Natural History in Paris where he worked on European herpetology. Back home he found a job as a high school biology teacher in Reno, Nevada. In his spare time he studied the distribution of Nevada mammals and played an active part in the Nevada State Fish and Game Protective League. His ecological research involved correspondence with Joseph Grinnell at the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology in Berkeley and a trip to the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago to study the records on Nevada specimens. He continued spare-time ecological studies while a Park Service naturalist and received a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1931.¹⁷



Carl P. Russell. The Park Service's first staff museum expert.

During the winter of 1923-24 Russell did not neglect his curatorial functions. He set his wife to typing a card index of accessions. When a ranger brought him four skunks, he prepared one as a museum specimen and stretched and sold the other skins to pay for printing posters announcing the 1924 nature guide program. He obtained carbon disulfide and fumigated the museum collections. He went to the California Academy of Sciences and took instruction under Frank Tose, its chief taxidermist, to become familiar with the latest methods of natural history exhibit preparation. On the strength of this he prepared a small habitat group of chickarees for the museum in the old Jorgensen studio, and probably a second group of nesting white-headed woodpeckers.¹⁸ The new Yosemite Museum, the Glacier Point station, and a second branch museum in the Sierra Club Lodge at Tuolumne Meadows remained under his care as park naturalist until 1929, when he was promoted to the new position of field naturalist with broader museum responsibilities.

Early in 1928 Bumpus visited Yosemite "to ascertain to what extent the construction of the Yosemite Museum and its substation at Glacier Point has fulfilled expectations; how it is being operated by the National Park Service; to observe the reaction of the . . . public to the efforts at popular education therein and thereabouts, and particularly to test the instructional value of the exhibited material, the plan of installation, the style and content of the labels" ¹⁹ What he saw evidently pleased him. His report to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial included comments on the history room, which he found of "high educational value." This room had entailed extra work on Russell's part because he had to develop the basic story as well as devise exhibits to interpret it. The necessity fueled an interest in history that carried over to his subsequent assignments.

Yavapai and Bear Mountain

With the Yosemite Museum nearing completion, the American Association of Museums obtained a second pair of grants from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. One provided \$2,500 for the continuing work of the Committee on Outdoor Education and the other \$20,000 to build two new park museums on a smaller scale than the one at Yosemite. The committee proposed to extend its experiment in two directions. It would develop more fully the concept embodied in the Glacier Point lookout. It would also explore the role of museums in state parks. Herbert Maier, who became the AAM executive agent when Ansel Hall took up his duties as NPS chief naturalist in June 1925, transferred from Yosemite to the association's Washington headquarters in August 1926 to begin work on these new projects.²⁰ He promptly began architectural plans for an observation station-museum at Yavapai Point in Grand Canyon National Park and a trailside museum at Bear Mountain in the Palisades Interstate Park.

Bear Mountain offered a large number of potential museum visitors different in many respects from the people traveling to the western national parks. Excursion steamers brought thousands of New Yorkers up the Hudson River for outings there. The crowds included many children and young people who lived and worked in the city. Most were out of touch with a natural environment and nearly all were in holiday mood.

Two committee members had special interest in the Bear Mountain proposal. William Welch was general manager of Palisades Interstate Park and Frank Lutz, curator of insects at the American Museum of Natural History, had set up a field station within the park not far from Bear Mountain. In 1925 Lutz developed a footpath there along which he labeled things of interest. He called it a nature trail, and it proved popular with visitors. Another development in the park also helped to set the stage. The five New York City boroughs had their Boy Scout camps around a park



Herbert Maier. Park museum architect, in Yosemite with Betty (Mrs. Carl P.) Russell.

lake. There about 1923 Benjamin T. B. Hyde established a camp museum—an informal, imaginative affair of temporary displays involving the young campers in nature study projects. Under the leadership of "Uncle Bennie" the idea spread to most of the group camps in the park and alerted park management to the possibilities of a museum for day visitors.²¹

From these ingredients Bumpus and his committee colleagues made plans for a nature trail and a small museum. The resulting trail opened invitingly to visitors as they started up the hill from the boat docks. Eventually it led into and through the simple stone-walled building Maier designed—the prototype of trailside museums. The exhibits inside continued the theme of the trail. In their informality and spontaneity the displays resembled those of the camp museums, but they also reflected the richer resources on which they drew. When the AAM had erected the building, the park asked the American Museum of Natural History to operate the integrated museum and trail. The Bear Mountain Experiment therefore continued as a project of the American Museum's Department of Education, headed by the man Bumpus had selected as its first curator almost twenty years before. He in turn assigned continued development and operation of the trailside museum to William H. Carr.²²

While ideas were jelling on the Hudson, the committee's project at Grand Canyon took shape. The complex story exposed in the canyon walls challenged the committee to devise museum methods that would interpret

it. Bumpus deferred to another member of the committee in this case, for he was not a geologist and needed to give his attention to the Bear Mountain project. He also had a concurrent and demanding assignment peripheral to the committee's work: Chauncey Hamlin persuaded him in 1925 to serve as consulting director for the new Buffalo Museum of Science. So John Campbell Merriam, a paleontologist accustomed to coping with geological concepts and as concerned as Bumpus with the effective interpretation of science to the public, put his mind to the Grand Canyon problem.

An Iowan by birth, Merriam joined the faculty of the University of California in 1894. He taught at Berkeley until 1920, holding the professorship of paleontology from 1912 and ending his academic career as dean of faculties. In 1919 he was chairman of the National Research Council. The remainder of his life he served the Carnegie Institution of Washington, as president 1920-37 and then as president emeritus, supporting and guiding major research programs in many fields.

At Grand Canyon Merriam produced what Ronald F. Lee a generation later held up as a classic example of interpretive planning, a standard against which to measure future Park Service efforts.²³ He started by defining the park's educational objectives. "The educational program of the park must arrange itself around the elements of principal interest," he felt; "it will involve a study of the means for giving the best opportunity to see and to understand these most significant features." His plan next identified the aspects of Grand Canyon that met this criterion, including the depth and magnitude of the canyon, the power of the river, the nature of the plateau into which it had cut, and the gap in time at the top of the Archaean inner gorge. It then became necessary to find a spot where visitors could see and at least begin to understand these prime aspects.

Yavapai Point won general agreement as the best location. There Maier designed an observation station very carefully sited on the canyon rim. Its proposed functions called for a larger structure than at Glacier Point. Its parapet was to hold 15 binoculars or telescopes, each fixed to give the viewer a closer look at a key feature. Explanatory labels and specimens along the parapet would integrate and interpret the concepts of time and change illustrated by the selected details of the landscape. As Merriam later expressed it, "All that we are concerned with is in turning your attention to the real things outside" ²⁴

Back from the parapet but still with a sweeping view of the canyon, an open space allowed visitors to sit while listening to a fuller interpretation of the scene. This setting dovetailed with Merriam's thinking on the sensitive role of the interpretive staff. "It is difficult for one not saturated with knowledge and with interest in the miracle of the place to present a statement measuring up to the opportunity evident in the face of nature,"



John C. Merriam. While president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington he put his mind to proper interpretation of the national parks. (Courtesy Carnegie Institution of Washington.)

he wrote. But saturation with knowledge would not be enough: "It will always be difficult to satisfy any intelligent person with a purely scientific statement regarding a picture which clearly requires philosophical interpretation, and which at the same time demands the highest type of spiritual appreciation."²⁵ In fact, a succession of park naturalists found this a place where they could most nearly achieve such standards in their interpretive talks. A fairly spacious exhibit alcove behind it rounded out the Yavapai station.

Merriam did more than conceptualize the Yavapai Museum. He gave close attention to every detail. To ensure that the specimens used precisely and effectively illustrated the ideas intended, he helped collect them. He also enlisted the aid of other scientists who had con-

ducted important research in the canyon in collecting specimens and in checking each statement of fact or scientific theory to be presented to visitors at Yavapai. When funds from the Rockefeller grant ran out, he personally paid for one of the large windows and persuaded the Carnegie Corporation of New York to grant \$3,000 to finish the project. He organized a Grand Canyon Committee of the National Academy of Sciences to facilitate the work in various ways.²⁶

Merriam's active involvement at Grand Canyon continued at least until mid-1935. By then he had applied the lessons of Yavapai to another observation station, the Sinnott Memorial at Crater Lake National Park. This new museum, funded by a congressional appropriation in 1930, indicated that the demonstration projects of the AAM Committee on Outdoor Education were beginning to achieve one of their principal objectives: persuading Congress to build and support museums in the national parks.

Merriam's influence at Yavapai had another dimension. He made good use of the park naturalist, Edwin McKee, in carrying out the work on site. In doing so he undoubtedly motivated McKee to become an outstanding geologist and one of the most profound students of the canyon. McKee in

turn set a pattern for his successor of responsible scientific collecting to study and document the park's resources. By the mid-1950s Grand Canyon had built up a collection so significant that it constituted the decisive justification for the government to erect a larger museum designed to assure its protection and facilitate its use. Merriam's reliance on McKee to complete and install exhibits at Yavapai carried with it the assumption that exhibits in the parks should meet truly high standards. Characteristic was McKee's request that Erwin J. Raisz of Columbia University redo charts attempted by less skilled hands.²⁷

The Yellowstone Museums

With the Yavapai Museum as well as Bear Mountain underway, the AAM Committee on Outdoor Education once again turned to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Having created model park museums of three different kinds, the committee was ready to develop its concepts further. In the 1926 proposal it had asked for \$400,000 to include museums for Yellowstone and other national parks. Although the foundation allowed only a fraction of this request, in 1928 it made a third pair of grants. The committee received \$6,000 for its operations and \$112,000 for projected work in Yellowstone.

Yellowstone's size and diversity presented a new set of conditions. The park has a rich variety of prime features calling for interpretation. Visitors can adequately experience only a fraction of them at any one place. People therefore tend to congregate at several points of interest, miles apart and each distinct in character. The situation required more decentralization than the developments at Yosemite had provided.

This did not become evident to Bumpus until he studied the problem on the ground. In April 1928 he was still giving precedence to a headquarters museum. "I am hoping," he wrote Russell, "that Messrs. Albright, Vint, Maier and myself will promptly agree upon a location and the character of the building at Mammoth, which will be our first piece of constructive work." After he and Maier reached Yellowstone in May, they decided instead to start on a branch museum at the park's best known focal point—Old Faithful geyser. It took Maier only about four months to design and construct a trailside museum building there. When Russell arrived in October to start planning exhibits for it, he "found the new museum to be a wonder."²⁸

Meanwhile, Bumpus continued to evolve his interpretive concepts for Yellowstone. He selected two more key locations for small museum development along the Yellowstone loop road. One at Madison Junction overlooked the 1870 campsite of the Washburn-Doane-Langford Expedition where the "national park idea" traditionally had its birth. An inspiring spot

at which to tell about Yellowstone history, it provided a logical first stop for visitors coming in the park's west entrance. The Norris Geyser Basin, differing significantly in aspect and action from the Old Faithful area, provided the third museum site. Sensing a need to point out and explain features that did not require such extensive interpretation, Bumpus also conceived of isolated exhibits placed beside the road. Each would need a minimal shelter and space for motorists to pull out of traffic for a brief stop. Perhaps thinking of the wayside crucifixes found in some European countries, he called these single exhibit shelters "shrines." He expressed the problem as a need to "label Yellowstone" for the enlightenment of visitors. These novel proposals required selling, not least to the park naturalists on whom he depended to put them into effect.²⁹

Before turning to the execution of Bumpus's plans it is worth following the progression of his ideas a little further. Like Merriam at Grand Canyon he faced the fact that the park, created to preserve certain salient features, held innumerable other things of potential interest to visitors. His focal point museums located at the sites of prime significance would provide "the exclamation and interrogation points of an informational recital." But, he asked rhetorically, "Should a museum at Old Faithful for example confine itself strictly to geyser activities, or should it broaden its function and embrace a wider range of subjects appropriate to the general locality?" His conclusion: "The wider the local range, the better."³⁰ This judgment legitimized exhibits on Yellowstone birds and other non-geothermal aspects of the park at Old Faithful. It recognized, no doubt, that similar dilutions of emphasis existed in the history room of the Yosemite Museum and were being included in the exhibits at Yavapai. It expressed a teacher's concern for making good use of an educational opportunity.

Perhaps Bumpus realized that such inclusions had a less desirable side effect. They made it easier to let considerations of popular interest outweigh those of significance in determining the content of park museums, a continual temptation that park interpretive programs encounter. Against this danger he concurred in the strong recommendations of the Committee on Study of Educational Problems in National Parks: "The distinctive and essential characters of National Parks lie in the inspirational influence and educational value of the exceptional natural features which constitute the reason for existence of these parks. . . . The educational program in National Parks should relate itself primarily to the essential features. . . . Educational work should be reduced to the lowest limit that will give the visitor opportunity to discover the things of major interest, and to inform himself fully concerning them if he so desires."³¹ Official museum policy has adhered to the primacy of significance, but instances of divergent practice have created curatorial problems and compromised interpretive standards.

When Bumpus referred to a museum as part of an informational recital, he had clearly in mind another aspect fundamental to a proper park museum. It does not stand alone as an independent entity but forms part of an integrated interpretive program. Bumpus at Yellowstone was as concerned as Merriam at Grand Canyon with the whole spectrum of media, activities, and services that could be coordinated into the most effective interpretation of the park features possible. He worked with and through the park interpreters as vital elements in the demonstration project.

To carry out museum developments at Yellowstone Bumpus relied principally on the team of Maier and Russell he had broken in at Yosemite. Maier, as AAM executive agent and architect, came to the job with broadened and deepened experience. He had the Yavapai and Bear Mountain projects behind him and was acquiring a firsthand comprehension of exhibit design, preparation, and installation. Bumpus, in his role as consulting director of the new Buffalo Museum of Science, engaged Maier during the winter months to build a series of splendid miniature models showing reconstructions of outstanding archeological sites peopled with tiny figures for Buffalo's Hall of Civilization. In this assignment he learned standards as well as methods. Under the guidance of Bumpus he worked with recognized specialists including a leading anthropologist, the head of a university art department, and a successful sculptor.³²

Russell also received further training to hone his museological skills for the work at Yellowstone. As Bumpus wished, the Park Service detailed him to the Yellowstone project when the 1928 summer season at Yosemite ended. He spent most of October planning exhibits for the Old Faithful Museum. His diary for the month shows him reading industriously to get a grasp of the subject matter, groping for exhibit ideas, consulting long hours with Maier and Superintendent Albright, drafting case layouts with Yellowstone's new park naturalist, Dorr Yeager, and dipping into other curatorial activities at the park. Maier was winding up his work on the new museum building before returning to his exhibit preparation assignment for the Buffalo Museum of Science. Yeager, a former ranger-naturalist on Russell's staff at Yosemite, was fresh from his first summer with Yellowstone's problem-plagued interpretive program. Having allowed so much of a start on the Old Faithful exhibit plan, Bumpus shifted the emphasis to Russell's education.

For this purpose he used a technique that had worked well before. He summoned his trainee to Boston, where over 13 days he took or sent him to more than a dozen museums in the area. Together they analyzed the good and bad points of numerous exhibits. The study of current exhibit practice, which continued throughout his training trip, gave Russell a solid basis for quality standards as well as many practical ideas on exhibit design and technique. Bumpus also saw to it that he met people who were creative

leaders in the museum profession or scholars who might help assure accuracy and depth in his exhibit plans.³³

Then followed twenty days in New York, where the American Museum of Natural History absorbed most of Russell's time. He found it "such a mine as I had not visualized" while gathering "a wealth of ideas and plenty of notes." He studied the exhibits systematically floor by floor, sometimes in company with Bumpus. The museum also let him check through the duplicates in the library and select many useful publications for the park libraries at Yosemite and Yellowstone. He also visited ten other New York museums where he observed additional examples of museum practice and made valuable contacts. At the Museum of the American Indian he became acquainted with one of the curators, Louis Schellbach, who later played a significant role in national park museums. Other New York contacts included at least three members of the new Committee on Study of Educational Problems in National Parks and staff of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.³⁴

Early in December Bumpus sent Russell on to Philadelphia, Washington, and Pittsburgh. A day in Philadelphia gave him time to go through three museums and meet Charles Toothaker, the progressive director of the Commercial Museum. His six days in Washington included study visits to the National Museum and three others. In Pittsburgh the Carnegie Museum of Natural History provided not only fine exhibits to study but also the opportunity to meet and talk with the museum's outstanding director, Andrey Avinoff.³⁵

There followed a six-day assignment in Buffalo at the as-yet-unopened Museum of Science. What he found there made a strong impression. He did some practical work with the exhibit planners that broadened his experience in case layout and label composition but shied away from participation in actual installations. Chauncey Hamlin urged him to remain for a month to help with the exhibits, but his other commitments made this impossible. He did get to know another museologist of high caliber, Assistant Director Carlos Cummings, who would later train other curators for national park museums. Bumpus, Maier, and Russell conferred there on Yellowstone exhibit plans. "At Dr. Bumpus's behest we made many, and radical changes," Russell recorded.³⁶

From Buffalo he proceeded on the last lap of the study tour. A stopover at Cleveland allowed him to see three museums before going on Christmas leave. After that he spent a Sunday visiting the Milwaukee Public Museum before meeting Dorr Yeager in Chicago. Together they devoted a few days to analyzing exhibits and conferring with staff at the Field Museum of Natural History. They also discussed the revised Yellowstone plans, which the park naturalist found hard to accept. By mid-January Russell was back at his post in Yosemite faced with his own duties as park naturalist again,

but not for long. His exposure to at least 38 museums of various kinds and to many of the best minds in the profession had other ends in view.

Behind Russell's carefully plotted itinerary lay Bumpus's concern about a problem he saw coming. If the experiments of the AAM committee achieved their objective, they would persuade Congress to follow the example of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Congress would appropriate funds to build additional museums where needed throughout the national parks and monuments. This in turn would require the Park Service to undertake extensive museum planning, development, and operation. Bumpus raised a key question: "Will it be possible so to encourage members of the permanent educational staff that they, without special training, will collect, prepare, label, and exhibit museum material in such a way as creditably to meet the special requirements of the sightseer?" He had seen enough reluctance and amateurism to create doubts. So he went on to suggest a solution: "Much will be accomplished if within the service a competent technical staff can be organized."³⁷ With these words he planted the seed of what would eventually become a centralized professional museum staff to serve the park system as a whole.

Evidently in response to his prodding, the Service promoted Russell as of July 1929 to a new position of field naturalist specializing in museum work. His duties primarily involved exhibit planning and preparation for the parks, and he used the subtitle of museum advisor.³⁸ The position fell logically into Ansel Hall's Field Division of Education at Berkeley, but initially the ties were loose. Russell received his assignments largely from Bumpus, his travel orders from the director's office in Washington, and his pay from the Service's field headquarters in San Francisco. Hall asked for and received monthly reports of his work.

The summer of 1929 at Yellowstone found Herb Maier completing construction of the Madison Junction museum building and getting a good start on the one at Norris Geyser Basin. The Old Faithful Museum, built during the 1928 season, was open when Russell joined Bumpus there in July. It still lacked quite a few of the planned exhibits. More significantly, some of those already installed failed to satisfy Bumpus. Russell's first assignment therefore involved exhibit preparation to upgrade and complete this museum. He personally engaged in various practical tasks from collecting and processing specimens to lettering labels. A distasteful chore was to cast copies of the 56-square-foot Yellowstone relief model so Old Faithful and the other branch museums would each have one. By the end of July the museum was "functioning splendidly" and the director could report it ""successful beyond all expectations."³⁹

During the remainder of the summer Russell struggled with exhibit plans for the two new museums. He found them difficult. His background prompted him to focus on some ecological exhibits at Norris, treating a

secondary aspect of that site's story; at that time he appeared not to recognize Norris as primarily a geological site museum.⁴⁰

That December Bumpus called him east for the second time. Completing the Norris exhibit plan, his principal task on this trip, demanded that he become well grounded in geology. Bumpus had two ends in view. First, of course, the museum needed to tell its story with clarity and accuracy. He also hoped to counteract tensions that had developed within the Committee on Educational Problems in National Parks, particularly between Merriam and himself. The trouble thus involved the AAM committee as well. As Russell expressed it, "I am to secure a practical knowledge of petrology, mineralogy, and historical geology that will put me in a position to talk to Merriam, Day, Matthes, and the rest of the geologists who disapprove of a biologist attempting to plan park museum exhibits."⁴¹ For almost two months he studied under selected tutors in the geology departments at Brown University and Harvard. He also worked on exhibit plans, drafted label copy, and dickered for specimens that would be needed at Yellowstone. In Washington during March he consulted with geologists at the Carnegie Geophysical Laboratory, the Geological Survey, and the National Museum and completed an acceptable exhibit scheme. Back at the Buffalo Museum Bumpus reviewed the Norris plans favorably and Maier supplied detailed dimensions of the exhibit space.⁴²

The park's well-nurtured museum program operated in high gear during the 1930 season. Russell had help in carrying out the exhibit plans from the taxidermist, the map letterer, a new general assistant, and especially Dr. and Mrs. Erwin J. Raisz. The latter couple formed an exceptional team combining sound geological understanding with high artistic skills. The park naturalist staff also lent a hand. As a result the Norris Museum opened on July 5, although still lacking a few exhibits, and the Madison Junction Museum on July 11. Reactions to the Norris installation were gratifying. Ordinary park visitors evidently liked it. So did more critical viewers including John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Director Albright, and visiting geologists from the Geophysical Laboratory and Princeton University. In contrast, the Madison Junction Museum proved unsatisfactory. Its scope was too narrow. Bumpus was on hand and work started at once to add more exhibits carrying Yellowstone history up through the Hayden Expedition of 1871.⁴³

Exhibit work did not stop there. Apparently the dream of a new central museum at Mammoth Hot Springs was dead, but Bumpus was ready to see the existing headquarters museum in the old Army building revitalized. He personally worked on revising the exhibits in the front room. Russell and his crew made substantial progress on a second room that received new wiring, factory-built cases, and a set of exhibits about Yellowstone Indians and history as well as more geology. Development of this room led him to

obtain by transfer the Nez Perce artifacts in the Yosemite collection, where they had no pertinence. Later such cooperation between parks would constitute an element of strength in an integrated chain of museums. The Mammoth project also stimulated Russell's enthusiasm for fur trade history; here was an opportunity to include the subject in needed exhibits.⁴⁴

Work proceeded meanwhile on two other aspects of the museum program. Herb Maier started construction of a fourth branch museum located at Fishing Bridge on the shore of Yellowstone Lake. He also had the first of the trailside shrine structures, at Obsidian Cliff, ready to receive its cases. Russell got a good start on the Fishing Bridge exhibit plan. More surprisingly, he managed to find time for curatorial activities beyond the immediate demands of the exhibits, something that normally received low priority. Both the Park Service and the AAM committee thought of park museum collections as educational tools justified by their interpretive function. It would be many years before collection care and management received significant emphasis. Russell's work that summer nevertheless demonstrated a firm grasp of acquisition methods and a lively, knowledgeable concern for study collections.⁴⁵

Museum development in Yellowstone proceeded at an undiminished rate during the 1931 season in spite of the worsening Great Depression. Bumpus supervised the work personally for almost a month, with the exhibit staff operating out of a tent camp set up near the Fishing Bridge Museum. Russell concentrated on the bird room for Fishing Bridge, while Erwin Raisz worked on the geology room. Opened in early August, the two rooms exemplified quite different approaches.⁴⁶

A wealth of mounted birds provided the core of the bird room. In step with the best current practice Russell arranged the specimens interpretively, many of them in semi-habitat settings to bring out ecological relationships. He supplemented these displays with "related story" units on other aspects of bird biology. For the geology room Dr. and Mrs. Raisz produced a sequence of graphic panels containing diagrammatic illustrations and text. The panels told a story with outstanding clarity and interest. The relatively few specimens in the room played a secondary role because the real objects pertinent to the narrative were geologic features visitors would see out in the park. In this regard the room embodied the essence of park museum philosophy: to interpret the significant aspects and to consider the park itself as the museum.

On the other hand, such predominance of graphics over specimens could go too far and often did during the ensuing decade. This resulted especially because many of the new museums addressed historical subject matter and cultural objects had not established legitimacy as conveyors of historical data. No one quite knew how to use them in interpretive exhibits. Getting historians to appreciate objects became a continuing concern to

Russell.⁴⁷ Meanwhile the verbal, "flatwork" exhibits in Park Service museums earned the kindly censure of the leading American museum critic.⁴⁸

The Fishing Bridge Museum still lacked the exhibits for one main room when the 1931 season ended. Nevertheless, the AAM Yellowstone project was nearing successful completion. Already there were signs that it had hit its target. Congress had appropriated funds for a small museum in Rocky Mountain National Park as well as for the Sinnott Memorial at Crater Lake. Rocky Mountain superintendent Edmund B. Rogers and his park naturalist Dorr Yeager, who had transferred from Yellowstone, persuaded the Denver Museum of Natural History to provide specimens and the well-known taxidermy firm of Jonas Brothers to make them up into small habitat groups as a donation.⁴⁹

The American Association of Museums invited Russell to speak on park museums and the Yellowstone project at a general session of its 1933 annual meeting in Chicago. During the meeting the Committee on Outdoor Education also convened. Bumpus submitted his resignation, whereupon Chauneey Hamlin reorganized the committee keeping Bumpus as a member but replacing most of the others with younger men. His action kept the committee alive, but its role on behalf of the Park Service was substantially at an end.

Russell went to Yellowstone after the meeting and conducted Laurence Vail Coleman, the AAM director, on an inspection of the committee's five years of accomplishment under its final Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial grant. While appreciating and making good use of the museums and wayside exhibits produced, the park greeted with relief the termination of what must often have seemed outside interference. Superintendent Roger W. Toll avoided meeting Coleman during his several days in the park, and Russell reported that "the feeling against Bumpus and A.A.M. is general here."⁵⁰ Despite this sour note, fruitful collaboration between the organizations continued.

Park Museums and the Field Division of Education

In the decade 1925-35 two ideas on the management of the Park Service museum program underlay its continuing growth. Chief Naturalist Ansel Hall conceived of himself as the leader in park museum work and the educational division, as his operation was called, as its natural center. Hermon Bumpus, on the other hand, concluded that the museum program needed to be centered at the Service's Washington headquarters where authority for policy-making and budgeting rested. It was Carl Russell's sometimes uncomfortable situation to work with a foot in both camps.

It will be recalled that Hall received his appointment as chief naturalist of the National Park Service in 1923 but postponed entering on duty to accompany Chauncey Hamlin's son in his *Wanderjahr*. Work on the new Yosemite Museum further delayed his assumption of the position. While Hall was on the AAM payroll as executive agent for the Yosemite Museum project, he looked ahead to his role as chief naturalist. Director Mather had given him permission to set up headquarters in Berkeley, and he purchased land near the University of California campus and began constructing the quarters he expected to need. Besides a house to live in he proceeded with a facility for museum exhibit production. It would provide 2,316 square feet of space for an office big enough to house a technical museum library, a studio/shop for the messier stages of exhibit preparation, metalworking and carpenter shops for building cases and other display fabrication, a larger studio in which to do the final artwork and assembly, a photographic darkroom, and a combined garage/storeroom.⁵¹ All but the studio were partially completed during the winter of 1924-25. When the AAM abruptly terminated his assignment as executive agent, he assumed the duties of chief naturalist in June 1925. The new building in Berkeley became his headquarters, for which the Park Service paid him rent.⁵²

The next year Hall built two geyser models for Yellowstone that spewed water about once a minute to a height of thirty inches. His hands-on involvement in exhibit preparation, which he probably enjoyed, continued to some extent but not as his primary activity. His educational division had important tasks in interpretive planning, coordination, and training. His intent regarding park museum work at this stage shows in his proposed organization. As an assistant he wanted "an expert museum technologist who has had long experience in the preparing of all types of exhibits for display, in the preservation of material, and in the construction of models, groups, and museum equipment."⁵³ This versatile and highly skilled preparator would spend the winters at headquarters supervising and training park naturalists brought in during the off-season as they helped him build exhibits for their parks. In summer he would go out to install these exhibits and continue training the naturalists in museum preparation.

Such a program would have reinforced the natural inclination of many park interpreters to act as their own exhibit specialists. It thus would have encouraged the existing amateurism, although upgrading the results in the case of apt pupils. Hall did not obtain anyone to help with the museum work until 1929, however, when Carl Russell became field naturalist-museum advisor. Russell brought a somewhat different orientation bolstered by his continuing experience under Hermon Bumpus. His influence would lead toward making park interpreters discriminating clients rather than practitioners in the technology of museum exhibition. Some tension between the two approaches would linger, and occasionally flare up, long after

centralized exhibit design and production became established Service policy.

Delay in staffing was not the only snag Hall's new division encountered. Fiscal watchdogs did not take long to spot the conflict of interest in Hall's position as both landlord and tenant. The Service was forced to terminate the arrangement, and only strong support from the directorate saved Hall from having to refund the rent received for the building he had provided.⁵⁴ It took time to find another suitable place for his office and workshops, during which he worked out of the Service's existing field offices in San Francisco. Early in 1929 the educational division moved to rooms offered rent-free by the University of California in Hilgard Hall, centrally located on the Berkeley campus. This academic building remained its base until World War II. At first the available space did not allow for much, if any, shop work, but by 1931 the division had nine rooms. In 1933 growing needs, and apparently objections to the noise and dirt accompanying exhibit production, led to moving the Park Service activities to a more isolated location, the entire top floor of one wing.⁵⁵

Director Albright approved a "General Plan of Administration for the Educational Division of the National Park Service" on June 4, 1929.⁵⁶ Under this plan, undoubtedly drafted by Hall, the educational division comprised not only the headquarters in Berkeley but all the interpreters in the parks. The plan delegated to the chief naturalist considerable control over the selection of park interpretive personnel and over each park's "Plan of Administration of Educational Activities." The latter detailed the organization and operation of a park's current interpretive program. Any changes in it were to go through the chief naturalist to the director for approval. The educational headquarters would develop or approve all plans for museum buildings, equipment, collections, and exhibits. Park naturalists might carry out these plans with the advice and assistance of the chief naturalist or other technical advisors. The general plan spelled out the objectives and scope of park museums, briefly stated accession policies, and outlined the park interpreter's role in administering a museum.

Approval of this comprehensive document set the stage for the First Park Naturalists' Training Conference, organized by Chief Naturalist Hall. It was held at the Berkeley headquarters and lasted four weeks in November and December 1929, ending with a field trip to Yosemite. The trainees comprised all six of the full-time park naturalists and one superintendent's assistant, seven able and experienced interpreters from big, busy parks with museums in operation or prospect. Four days dealt with museum matters. Carl Russell began each of the museum sessions with a theme-setting paper. The trainees followed with papers on assigned topics interspersed with lively debates on the ideas expressed. Russell read aloud the brief chapter on the purpose of museums from Laurence Vail Coleman's *Manual for*

Small Museums, and most of the conference papers and recommendations drew to some extent from the same well-chosen source.⁵⁷

The conference proceedings demonstrate more specifically the concepts then characteristic of park museum work. The participants agreed, as a matter of course by then, that a national park is itself a museum, its features the prime specimens to be preserved and interpreted. This made the park museum an integral part of a larger enterprise, a cog in the wheel of the total preservation-interpretation effort. The potential disparity between a museum's fundamental objectivity and the parks' developing mission to promote an environmental ethic, creating a subtle line between the use of exhibits to interpret and persuade, did not surface. The conferees saw that a park museum differs from other museums principally in its limited scope, being concerned only with what makes the park significant.

From their point of view parks needed two kinds of museums. One, the headquarters museum, introduced visitors to the park as a whole while providing a base of operations for the interpretive staff. The other kind was a smaller satellite located at a strategic point for interpreting a key aspect in greater detail. They called this type a trailside, branch, or focal point museum and usually included observation stations in the definition. Such a scheme of central and branch museums fitted the perceived needs of the big parks represented at the conference but would not prove viable Service-wide. The discussions affirmed that exhibits must both communicate understanding of park features and motivate visitors to experience them firsthand, that the exhibits should tell a sequential story, and that exhibit installation should aim toward high standards in design and construction.

It was further agreed that park museums should have study collections for reference and research. An admonition to the naturalists to program time for work on the study collections implies that it was already hard to fit curatorial duties into busy schedules. Hall advocated collecting archeological, ethnological, and historical artifacts ahead of natural history specimens, a practice inconsistent with the primary significance of natural parks and more often involving donations with conditions attached. The conference affirmed that park museums require complete, systematic, permanent records, although in discussing these the trainees failed to grasp adequately Coleman's careful analysis.

It seemed clear that in administering a park museum the permanent park interpreter would act as director, assigning curatorial duties to members of his staff. As de facto museum directors and curators the trainees noted their responsibilities under the American Association of Museums' published code of ethics. They also endorsed the idea that park museums should cooperate as fully as possible with other museums both within and outside the parks, a point stressed in Coleman's book. Finally, the conferees considered how the parks and Field Educational Headquarters should

collaborate in museum development but did not define the nascent relationships clearly.

Russell's appointment as field naturalist-museum advisor four months before the conference constituted an important potential factor in this collaboration that remained to be tested. Hermon Bumpus and Yellowstone left him little time at first to advise and assist other parks. After the training conference his next chance came in August 1930. He slipped away from Yellowstone for a Sunday visit to Grand Teton National Park. There he found in the seasonally employed park naturalist, Fritiof M. Fryxell, a kindred spirit and promising resource. Fryxell, geology professor and museum curator at Augustana College, had a lively and informed interest in developing a park museum. His dedication to science and teaching combined with curatorial interests extending to historical matters would benefit the Park Service museum program in the future.⁵⁸

Russell's second advisory involvement in the field came in November 1930. He went from Yellowstone to Rocky Mountain National Park to review briefly the superintendent's plans for a small museum to be built with appropriated funds. When the museum was nearly completed the following August, he returned to Rocky Mountain for a week to inspect the work, offer suggestions, and prepare a report. A few months later, en route from Yellowstone to Berkeley, he stopped three days at Mount Rainier to consult on the park's proposed museum plans. He found them promising and noted that he could usefully discuss the suggested building layouts with the Service architects stationed in San Francisco.⁵⁹ Back in Berkeley he occupied for the first time an office of his own in Hilgard Hall, becoming a visible part of the field headquarters organization.

The field trip Russell made to the Southwestern National Monuments in March 1932 explored more fully the service a museum advisor could render. At Casa Grande he dealt with an established museum grounded in Frank Pinkley's distinctive philosophy. It was about to move into a new building with more space, and he evidently succeeded in persuading Pinkley to accept some provisions for self-guidance. He was soon busy lettering labels and making charts to supplement the exhibited artifacts. A brief visit to Tumacacori with Pinkley and Robert Rose, the new park naturalist for the Southwestern Monuments, introduced him to a site rich in potential for museum development. He and Rose then went to Petrified Forest to prepare from scratch a small museum for the new headquarters. With local help they accomplished as much as time permitted, leaving some exhibits for Russell to work on in Berkeley during the winter. In the spring of 1933 he did some additional exhibit work at Casa Grande and Petrified Forest and traveled with Rose to become better acquainted with museum needs in several more of the monuments.⁶⁰



Homemade exhibit at Aztec Ruins National Monument, 1933. Photographed by Carl Russell.

Russell made a short advisory visit to Glacier National Park during the 1932 Yellowstone season and another in 1933. These did not achieve much. The park's rather grandiose museum proposals failed to materialize, and the park naturalist aimed to keep the reins with a minimum of input from educational headquarters.⁶¹ In a sense the field naturalist-museum advisor approach to museum development reached the apex of its effectiveness in Russell's 1932 and 1933 assignments to the Southwestern Monuments. By the time he was free to devote his full attention to this approach, external events would force a change.

Meanwhile, Hall resumed active participation in exhibit planning and production. In 1930 John Merriam called on him to carry out some of the assembling of materials and installation of exhibits for the Yavapai Museum at Grand Canyon. This collaboration produced good results, and Hall continued to assist Merriam with exhibits for the Sinnott Memorial observation station at Crater Lake in 1931. That year seems to have clarified his mandate as senior park naturalist to supervise "museum construction and installation of exhibits."⁶²

In 1932 the Park Service decided to take an active part in the Century of Progress Exposition, scheduled to open the next year at Chicago. Hall got the assignment to build most of the park exhibits for the fair. He used the limited facilities in Hilgard Hall, with Russell and most of the park naturalists as preparation staff, to produce a series of miniature models

illustrating features of several parks and monuments. This rather makeshift crew planned and constructed the displays in about three months and shipped them off to Chicago by mid-April 1933.⁶³

While they labored on this project, Congress enacted President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first emergency relief program. Called Emergency Conservation Work, it provided for quick mobilization of unemployed young men as a Civilian Conservation Corps. The first six-month enrollment period began April 1. Within a few weeks the Park Service had responsibility for some 30,000 men in 175 camps. Because planning and supervising their work projects required far more manpower than it possessed, the President agreed to hiring temporary employees for this purpose outside normal civil service procedures. Soon the Service had about 2,300 ECW technicians, some of whom later became key members of its permanent organization.⁶⁴

Assistant Director Conrad L. Wirth, placed in charge of the CCC program for state parks, divided his huge administrative task into districts, a decision that foreshadowed the regionalization of the Park Service. He promptly selected Herbert Maier to manage the large Rocky Mountain District. Maier remained an able Service administrator for the rest of his career, but the museum program lost direct access to his outstanding talents as a museum architect and preparator.

Wirth located one of the new CCC camps for the second enrollment period in Strawberry Canyon, just above the Berkeley campus. This placed a reservoir of unspecialized manpower at the doorstep of the Field Educational Division. The camp remained for only six months, but Hall obtained several enrollees for exhibit construction, and the demonstration of useful work opportunities led the ECW administrators to station a 35-man detachment at the abandoned camp facility. By the time the new enrollees were available, the Branch of Research and Education in Washington had in operation a topographic model shop at Fort Hunt, Virginia. CCC boys from the Fort Hunt camp manned the project under ECW technicians. The Berkeley detachment followed the Fort Hunt example, specializing in relief maps that involved labor-intensive methods and were still very popular as interpretive devices. Some of the Berkeley enrollees worked on other kinds of exhibits and a few became accomplished preparators. The employment of CCC labor in Hall's division justified having ECW technicians there as well, and in due course seven positions were allotted him.⁶⁵

By the fall of 1933 the Service knew it would receive Public Works Administration funds to build a number of structures housing museums, although the details were not yet clear. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who served also as PWA administrator, approved projects to construct combined headquarters/museum buildings for six of the new

historical parks in the East and for five smaller park areas west of the Mississippi.⁶⁶ PWA also funded conversion of the Moraine Park Lodge in Rocky Mountain National Park to museum use, an addition to the Mesa Verde museum, and the reconstruction of historic buildings in Yorktown providing museum space for Colonial National Monument. In addition, Ickes included a departmental museum in the plans for a new PWA-funded Interior Department building in Washington. PWA thus supplied the principal focus and support for the Service's museum program during the next few years. Most of the western projects became urgent problems for Hall's staff at Berkeley.

The Civil Works Administration allotted nearly \$2.5 million to the Park Service for expenditure between November 1933 and April 1934. Hall's office received enough of the money to employ 56 selected workers whose skills could be adapted to exhibit preparation or support services. By August 1934 the State Emergency Relief Administration began to supply workers, most lacking special training for the tasks involved. Their numbers grew, reaching a daily average of 150 within a few months. To these were added some University of California students hired part-time with Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds. The sheer number of workers required more space, so the field division set up additional laboratories in suitable buildings near the campus. To cope with the influx of untrained employees the Emergency Educational Program furnished instructors who not only taught craft skills but also produced illustrations and sculptures for use in park exhibits. The cumulative impact of ECW, PWA, CWA, SERA, FERA, and EEP challenged the administrative capabilities of Hall's division, as Depression programs did other Park Service units.⁶⁷

The rising tide reached the Field Division of Education in November 1933. A few weeks earlier Carl Russell was hoping for a modest increase in personnel to help him handle museum work the parks were requesting. He proposed adding a curator, two taxidermists, a modelmaker/sculptor, and a draftsman/artist. Now he found his regular duties interrupted to prepare justifications for a vastly enlarged staff. In collaboration with Hall he had to plan its organization and survey the projects it should undertake. Most of December and January were spent getting the Civil Works people interviewed and assigned to jobs and supervising the new workers as they began exhibit preparation or data gathering. By December some of the new ECW technicians became available to help.⁶⁸ Two of them, Louis Schellbach and Arthur Woodward, were curators of professional caliber with whom Russell had shared research interests.

Russell's previous work at Yosemite and Yellowstone and in the Southwestern Monuments had taught him to plan thoroughly in advance of museum development. Before the burgeoning laboratories could produce



Field Division of Education, 1933. Technical staff in office at Hilgard Hall: (left to right) Louis Schellbach, Carl Russell, Ansel Hall, Arthur Woodward.

exhibits of acceptable quality, the museum planners and preparators would need much reliable data. ECW technicians, particularly Ralph L. Beal, and selected CWA workers promptly began the compilation of what would become an impressive number of background research reports drawn largely from published sources. Less specialized workers mimeographed and bound the reports for wider distribution. Over the years, also, Russell had spent much of his "leisure" amassing information on the western fur trade and park history and producing a definitive bibliography of scientific research conducted at Yellowstone. Not surprisingly, therefore, the CWA applicants he recommended included some librarians and experienced bibliographers. They began a massive annotated general bibliography of the national parks and monuments as well as projects for individual parks.

Russell's previous immersion in museum planning also doubtless contributed to a fresh formalization of that process. The Service had to construct several new museums without delay, and it had a large emergency staff of preparators ready to build exhibits. Both required well-conceived plans and precise specifications. A new Museum Development Plan was prescribed, closely linked with the evolving Master Plan concept.⁶⁹ The Field Division of Education and the Branch of Plans and Design were to collaborate in the preparation of this document, intended to fit museum functions and facilities into a park's total plan. The park superintendent would begin by defining the museum problem and proposing the facilities

needed. After approval of the development plan he would present his tentative requirements for the proposed museum building. The Field Division would review and refine these, in continued consultation with the park, and Plans and Design would prepare construction drawings and specifications. The Field Division of Education stood ready to help the park prepare and install the exhibits, but the procedure as laid down left responsibility for exhibit planning unassigned. During 1934 the burden of this step fell largely on Russell and Schellbach.

Because they could not keep pace with so many preparators, some minor chaos was unavoidable. Hall felt that every park could use a topographic model of its territory. With the Fort Hunt laboratory busy along the same line, the Berkeley shop produced a large relief map of Mount Desert Island, Maine, and shipped four heavy casts of it across the continent to Acadia National Park. Acadia unfortunately had no place to use even one of them. The Field Division also produced a large relief model of the area immediately east of San Francisco Bay, which had no direct usefulness in the interpretation of any national park. Questionably justified as an experiment to help train the map modelers and painters, it was displayed locally and probably represented an effort to publicize the operation.

Other measures to take up the slack had more utility. An assembly line began copying, hand coloring, and binding hundreds of lantern slides for use by park naturalists, although the diversion of the photographer to take innumerable promotional pictures of laboratory activities delayed production. Less skilled workers made wire tripods in assorted sizes to support round-bottomed Indian pots, many of which were likely to be exhibited in the new museums. Other workers stamped out thousands of metal nature trail labels.

In the midst of getting plans and production into full swing, Hall and Russell were summoned to Washington where the Educational Advisory Board was scheduled to consider museum matters. Russell left Berkeley in mid-February 1934 with instructions to visit en route several of the eastern parks proposed for new PWA museums. Vicksburg proved surprisingly attractive. "It would not be an unpleasant job to supervise preparation and installation of materials if a staff of preparators could be made available," he wrote his wife, envisioning the sort of field work he had done in the Southwest with laboratory support such as was developing in Berkeley. He noted that the three enthusiastic ECW historical technicians at Vicksburg had secured CWA workers to help with research but lacked any museum experience. Its absence showed in the "little tacky museum" they had assembled as a start.⁷⁰

Russell reached Washington on Friday, February 23, in time to spend the afternoon at Park Service headquarters. Reporting to the Branch of

Research and Education proved a deflating experience. Its chief, Assistant Director Harold C. Bryant, was noncommittal. He implied that the Washington office had been considering Russell for the museum program in eastern parks but doubted his executive ability. Verne Chatelain, the chief historian on Bryant's small staff who was pursuing a vigorous program with increasing independence, made it clear that he wanted Ansel Hall to have no connection with the eastern museums. He would accept Russell's assistance but made no definite offer.⁷¹

The Educational Advisory Board met Monday morning. Museums did not come up for discussion until late afternoon, by which time most of the board members had slipped away. Hermon Bumpus and Waldo G. Leland remained along with several Service officials. Hall made a half-hour presentation, which seemed to his coworker from Berkeley particularly egocentric. Russell himself put one cogent question to Director Arno B. Cammerer: How would the development of museums in the new PWA buildings be financed? Apparently no one had thought to provide funding for more than the structures. CWA money, which was paying preparators in Berkeley, would soon terminate.

At the end of the day Russell turned to Bumpus in discouragement. They walked together the few blocks to the Cosmos Club on Lafayette Square, where Bumpus had a dinner appointment. In those few minutes he asked Russell what he wanted in regard to the museum program. "I told him that I wanted a Div[ision] of Mus[eums] and the place in it of Chief," Russell wrote his wife. "He replied that that was clearly impossible because of Ansel and that I should tell him of a second choice. Of course I told him that I'd like an Eastern office, preferably in charge of museum plans with particular responsibilities connected with Eastern Historical Parks." Bumpus assured him that this proposal matched his own ideas, despite Hall's opposition to splitting the museum work between East and West, and advised him to seek Leland's support.⁷² Waldo Gifford Leland, director of the American Council of Learned Societies and successor to John Merriam on the Educational Advisory Board, stood in relation to Park Service historical programs much as Bumpus did toward park museums and interpretation.

The question of museum financing Russell had raised prompted the director's staff to ask the Public Works Administration to include furnishings in the museum building allotments. Furnishings necessarily implied exhibit planning, preparation, and installation. Bryant set Hall and Russell to drafting estimates and justifications for submission to PWA. The assignment took them the rest of the week, with Russell feeling he had done most of the work.⁷³

On Saturday night Bryant invited his two assistants along with Hall and Russell to dinner at his home. The five men met at a time when rapid New

Deal changes seemed to intensify the normal rivalries, animosities, and aggrandizing maneuvers of the bureaucracy. The discussions did not spare sensibilities. They established beyond question that Hall and Russell were on opposite sides and that Russell could not expect from Hall or Bryant independence in the Field Division of Education. Verne Chatelain declared for an eastern office of museums that he himself would supervise. He would take either Hall or Russell, but one of them should move east. Earl Trager, Bryant's other assistant, had his Fort Hunt laboratories to defend. Under pressure Russell cautiously stated his interest in the eastern museum position "if conditions would warrant the change." At the end of the evening that appeared to be the direction matters would take.⁷⁴

The following Monday Russell conferred briefly with Director Cammerer and his associates regarding the proposed move. Without a position established or funded, the only immediate prospect seemed to rest on finding expense money to support him in the East on detail. From this meeting he concluded that Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray and Conrad Wirth were the only men in Washington who really cared about his transfer and that Demaray, if anyone, would know how to effect it. The same day Bryant informed the director that he proposed assigning Russell to Fort Hunt in charge of an eastern section of Hall's field headquarters, "making a museum planner available near at hand so Chatelain can supervise the development plans."⁷⁵ Such an arrangement would leave him little chance for independent action.

The next day Bryant drove Chatelain, Hall, and Russell to Morristown National Historical Park, site of the biggest eastern PWA museum project. Chatelain concurred with Russell that Lafayette Hall, an available building adjacent to the Ford House in the park, would provide better facilities for a museum preparation laboratory than Fort Hunt. Besides, Morristown's proximity to the pool of unemployed artists in New York City outweighed Fort Hunt's convenient nearness to the director's office in Washington. They anticipated difficulty in convincing Bryant and Trager of these advantages, but Russell was ready to concede the existing relief model shop at Fort Hunt to Trager's control. When the others returned to Washington, Russell remained behind to lay the groundwork for an eastern museum operation.

He spent a day at the American Museum of Natural History in New York and met with James L. Clark, the man in charge of producing its widely acclaimed exhibits. Clark discussed optimistically the recruitment of preparators and offered his help in selecting qualified people. Probably at his suggestion, Russell stayed over to interview a man recommended as head of the proposed laboratory. After a long discussion Russell rightly concluded that in Ned J. Burns, chief of preparation at the Museum of the City of New York, he had found a valuable asset.⁷⁶

This significant encounter occurred on March 9, 1934. The following day, after mailing Bryant a proposed staffing outline, Russell took the train back to Berkeley. He probably anticipated an early return, but eastern museum matters lay largely dormant for the next nine months while the necessary papers made their slow way through official channels. The remainder of 1934 found Russell hard at work on western museum projects in Berkeley and in the field. Scotts Bluff National Monument and the Moraine Park museum at Rocky Mountain National Park, both fur trade stories, demanded most of his time, but at least twenty other parks called for his attention. He labored at museum development plans, exhibit layouts and specifications, data gathering, supervision of artists, and administrative chores.

Finally, in mid-December, the Service received approval to transfer \$65,000 from other PWA projects "to purchase and install equipment in various museum buildings which have been, or are being, constructed by this Service under the Public Works Program" ⁷⁷ This sum enabled allotments for 13 museums, eight of them in eastern historical parks. It also covered the salary and travel for a museum expert. Bryant acted promptly to have Russell called to Washington on detail to get the work started. His arrival began a new phase in Park Service curatorial endeavor.

NOTES

1. Letter, Ralph H. Lewis to Carl P. Russell, Sept. 10, 1949, Yavapai folder, Correspondence Files, Grand Canyon National Park.
2. Henry R. Rowland, "Chauncey J. Hamlin," *Hobbies* 10, no. 1 (July 1929): 1-3; George F. Goodyear, "Chauncey Jerome Hamlin," *Science on the March* 44, no. 2 (December 1963): 23-24.
3. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 50. Hereinafter cited as *Report of the Director for (year)*.
4. *Hobbies* 2, no. 3 (July 1921): back page; *ibid.* 2, no. 8 (January 1922): 3-16; *ibid.* 3, no. 2 (July 1922): 9; Francis P. Farquhar, "First Ascent of the Middle Palisade," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (1922): 270.
5. Lewis to Russell, Sept. 10, 1949; letter, Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926, folder 362, box 70, Carl P. Russell Papers, Washington State University Library.
6. *Report of the Director for 1924*, p. 8.
7. Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926.
8. Hermon Carey Bumpus, Jr., *Hermon Carey Bumpus, Yankee Naturalist* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947), pp. 3-53.

9. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
10. Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926.
11. Bumpus, *Hermon Carey Bumpus*, p. 103.
12. Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1916.
13. Ibid.; Carl P. Russell's diary, Russell Papers.
14. Bumpus, *Hermon Carey Bumpus*, p. 104.
15. Quoted in Russell note, folder 504, box 79, Russell Papers.
16. *Hobbies* 7, no. 3 (July 1926): 8; *Yosemite Nature Notes* 5, no. 7 (July 31, 1926): 53; *ibid.* 5, no. 12 (Dec. 31, 1926): 89-91; *ibid.* 6, no. 4 (Apr. 30, 1927): 30.
17. Biographical sketch, Yosemite National Park Library Separates, 921.2R; quotation from letter, Russell to C. Frank Brockman, Dec. 5, 1945, Yosemite National Park Library Separates 921.22p-7.
18. Letters, Russell to Harold C. Bryant, Oct. 2 and Dec. 6, 1923, folder 362, box 70, Russell Papers; *Yosemite Nature Notes* 3, no. 3 (Mar. 31, 1924): 2; *ibid.* 3, no. 6 (June 7, 1924): 2.
19. Carl P. Russell, "H. C. Bumpus Inspects the Yosemite Educational Project," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 7, no. 3 (March 1928): 20-23.
20. Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926. The change in executive agents resulted in part from Bumpus's dissatisfaction with some aspects of Hall's performance in that capacity; see letter, Francis P. Farquhar to Chauncey J. Hamlin, Mar. 25, 1926, Exhibit History before 1936 box, NPS History Collection.
21. Frank E. Lutz, *Nature Trails* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, Miscellaneous Publications 21, 1926); William H. Carr, *Ten Years of Nature Trailing* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1937), p. 6.
22. Carr, *Ten Years of Nature Trailing*.
23. Memorandum, Chief, Division of Interpretation, to All Field Offices, Aug. 21, 1957, Planning box, NPS History Collection.
24. Merriam, *Published Papers and Addresses of John Campbell Merriam* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1938) 4: 2198-2211; Merriam remarks Aug. 6, 1932, Yavapai Museum folder, Correspondence Files, Grand Canyon National Park.
25. *Published Papers of Merriam*.
26. Jesse L. Nusbaum, *Annual Report of the Consulting Archeologist* (Washington: Department of the Interior, 1931), p. 3; letter, Merriam to Minor R. Tillotson, June 18, 1929, Yavapai

Museum folder, Correspondence Files, Grand Canyon National Park; Lewis to Russell, Sept. 10, 1949.

27. Letter, McKee to Merriam, Nov. 9, 1931, Yavapai Museum folder, Correspondence Files, Grand Canyon National Park.

28. Letter, Bumpus to Russell, Apr. 18, 1928, folder 362, box 70, Russell Papers; Russell Diary, Oct. 2, 1928, red folder, Russell Museum Planning 1928-33 box, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.

29. Russell Diary, Nov. 15 and Dec. 17, 1928.

30. Merriam et al., "Individual Reports of the Committee on Educational Problems in National Parks," pp. 11-12, History of Interpretation to 1935 box, NPS History Collection.

31. Merriam et al., *Reports with Recommendations from the Committee on Study of Educational Problems in National Parks, January 9, 1929, and November 27, 1929* (Washington: Department of the Interior, n.d.), p. 3.

32. Maier, "Building a Maya City in Buffalo," *Hobbies* 9, no. 10 (June 1929): 333-41, 352.

33. Russell Diary, Nov. 1-14, 1928.

34. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 16, 18, 21-30, Dec. 1-2, 1928.

35. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5-12, 1928.

36. *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 15-18, 1928.

37. Merriam et al., "Individual Reports of the Committee on Educational Problems in National Parks," p. 12.

38. *Report of the Director for 1930*, p. 190.

39. Russell, Report of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for July 1929, Richard W. Russell Personal Files; letters, Russell to Betty Russell, July 7, 11, 14, 16, 19, 22, 23, 31, 1929, *ibid.*; *Report of the Director for 1929*, p. 16.

40. Russell, Reports of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for August-September 1929; letters, Russell to Betty Russell, July 25 and 31, 1929.

41. Letter to Betty Russell, Jan. 23, 1930.

42. Letters, Russell to Betty Russell, Jan. 5, 18, 22, 26, Mar. 26, 27, 1930.

43. Russell, Reports of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for April and July 1930.

44. Russell, Reports of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for April and September 1930.

45. Russell, Reports of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for April-November 1930.

46. Russell, Reports of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for June-August 1931.
47. Draft letter, Russell to Robert C. Wheeler, Apr. 9, 1963, folder 568, box 94, Russell Papers.
48. Laurence Vail Coleman, *The Museum in America* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 1939) 2: 265: "This method of display has its values and its dangers. It is thoughtful and awake. It can narrate—which is an important point for history museums. But it falls easily into making what is little more than an illustrated book—big and cumbersome and looking like an exhibit, but really a book all the same. This practice can lead on to indoctrination. It gets away from what museums are for—to give evidence, primarily."
49. Russell, "The Rocky Mountain Museum: A Report," September 1931, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.
50. Letter, Russell to Betty Russell, July 9, 1933.
51. Hall, "Some Suggestions for the Organization of the Educational Department, U.S. National Park Service," Jan. 19, 1925, Philosophy of Interpretation 1917-47 folder, History of Interpretation to 1935 box, NPS History Collection.
52. *Report of the Director for 1925*, p. 136.
53. Hall, "Some Suggestions for the Organization of the Educational Department," p. 7.
54. Letter, Horace M. Albright to Arno B. Cammerer, July 15, 1927, Philosophy of Interpretation 1917-47 folder, History of Interpretation to 1935 box, NPS History Collection.
55. *Report of the Director for 1931*, p. 134; letter, Betty Russell to Russell, May 10, 1933.
56. "General Plan of Administration for the Educational Division," Philosophy of Interpretation 1917-47 folder, History of Interpretation to 1935 box, NPS History Collection. The plan did not mention museological expertise as required of the field naturalists proposed to assist the chief naturalist.
57. "Proceedings of the First Park Naturalists' Training Conference Held at Educational Headquarters, Berkeley, California, November 1 to 30, 1929," Interpretive Conferences 1929-58 box, NPS History Collection; Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927).
58. Report of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for August 1930.
59. Reports of Field Naturalist-Museum Advisor for November 1930 and October 1931.
60. Letters Russell to Betty Russell, Mar. 3, 6, 10, 22, 1932, Apr. 19, 30, 1933, Russell Museum Planning 1928-33 box, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.
61. Letters, Russell to Betty Russell, July 17, 19, 1933, *ibid.*

62. Hall, "Report on the Development of Yavapai Station, Grand Canyon National Park, June 1930 to January 1931," Grand Canyon National Park Library; *Report of the Director for 1931*, p. II. Hall's change of title from chief naturalist followed his placement under the Branch of Research and Education in the Washington Office. During 1930 and 1931 Hall's relationship to Merriam paralleled that of Russell to Bumpus. Because Bumpus and Merriam were then at odds over specifics of park educational development, their disagreements threatened to affect the relationships between Hall and Russell, who was his subordinate. Russell wrote his wife on February 24, 1931: "Hall is to work with Merriam on museum projects. Things are rather tense and it is evident that Bumpus is incensed with Merriam and Atwood." She replied: "How can both of you work on museum work? And how can two organizations build museums in the parks without coming to blows?" (Letters in Russell Museum Planning 1928-33 box, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.) Merriam's resignation from the Educational Advisory Board in 1931 and his replacement as chairman by Bumpus defused the immediate situation.
63. Russell Diary, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.
64. Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 65-127.
65. Hall, "Summary of Activities, Field Division of Education, Berkeley, California, from July 1933 to March 1935," pp. 13, 19, Annual Reports, Branch of Interpretation box, NPS History Collection; "Progress in Research and Education" (draft material for 1934 annual report), *ibid.*
66. The western projects were for Aztec Ruins, Devils Tower, Scotts Bluff, and Tumacacori national monuments (the latter included later) and Hot Springs National Park; the eastern ones were for Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial, Guilford Courthouse, Shiloh, and Vicksburg national military parks and Morristown National Historical Park.
67. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1934* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), pp. 165-67; Hall, "Summary of Activities, Field Division of Education," pp. 11, 14, 16.
68. Memorandum, Russell to Hall, Oct. 23, 1933, Philosophy of Interpretation 1917-47 folder, History of Interpretation to 1935 box, NPS History Collection; Russell Diary; *Park Service Bulletin* 3, no. 8 (December 1933): 18.
69. Office Order No. 265, Mar. 15, 1934, Museum Policy binder, NPS History Collection.
70. Letter, Russell to Betty Russell, Feb. 20, 1934, Richard W. Russell Personal Files; Russell Diary, Feb. 19, 1934.
71. Letter, Russell to Betty Russell, Feb. 23, 1934, Richard W. Russell Personal Files; Russell Diary, Feb. 24, 1934.
72. Letter, Russell to Betty Russell, Feb. 26, 1934, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.
73. Letter, Russell to Betty Russell, Mar. 2, 1934, *ibid.*
74. Letter, Russell to Betty Russell, Mar. 3, 1934, *ibid.*

75. Russell Diary, Mar. 5, 1934; memorandum, Bryant to Cammerer, Mar. 5, 1934, 1934 Museums folder, Annual Reports, Branch of Interpretation box, NPS History Collection.

76. Russell Diary, Mar. 6-9, 1934.

77. Memorandum, unsigned but probably from Hillory A. Tolson to Bryant, Dec. 19, 1934, 1934 Museums folder, Annual Reports, Branch of Interpretation box, NPS History Collection.