

FURNISHED HISTORIC STRUCTURE MUSEUMS

Furnished historic structures compose a distinct category of museums worthy of separate examination. According to the National Park Service's *Manual for Museums*:

The peculiar requirements of furnished historic structure museums stem largely from two factors, one theoretical and the second purely practical. This kind of museum undertakes to recreate the environment of some historic person, event or period. An environment is a complex whole. Emphasis upon it rather than on individual specimens and simpler concepts affects development, operation and use at every turn. On the practical side the buildings these museums occupy were originally designed for other purposes Any museum that takes over a building secondhand has serious problems in adapting the space. When the structure is itself a specimen, the historic partitions, doors, stairways, windows, and other elements must remain or be restored as part of the setting. The preservation and display of objects and the handling of streams of visitors . . . under these relatively inflexible conditions demands adjustments that are seldom easy.¹

Furnished historic structure museums figure importantly in the history of historic preservation in the United States. After New York State saved George Washington's headquarters in Newburgh as a patriotic shrine in 1850, the conversion of revered old buildings to museums became for a century the normal way to preserve them from destruction or decay. Only later did preservationists move to rescue far more, if often less significant, structures by adapting them to new residential and commercial occupancies.²

Scant theorizing accompanied the early development of historic house museums. The incentive to save old buildings for public benefit generally arose from their association with famous persons or events. Less often structures were cherished because they recalled some period of national or regional importance, such as aspects of colonial or frontier experience. Perhaps still fewer buildings won redemption primarily on aesthetic merit; architectural exemplars lacking other historical associations seldom appeared to fulfill the commemorative intent. Making the structure a repository for objects related to its theme seemed to increase its interest and effectiveness.

The Jacob Ford House in Morristown, New Jersey, illustrates the historic process. The house served as Washington's headquarters during the bitter winter of 1779-80. In later years members of the Ford family kept one room furnished as they believed Washington occupied it. When the estate went on sale in 1873, four public-spirited citizens purchased the house with the room of historic furnishings and organized the Washington Association of New Jersey to preserve and administer it. New Jersey granted the association a charter that offered a state subsidy for "so long

as the building known as the Washington Headquarters shall be . . . held as an historic building, within which all the people of New Jersey may deposit articles of interest connected with the men and events of our Revolutionary struggle" ³ Association bylaws called for the collection and preservation of papers, documents, relics and objects of interest related to the Revolutionary War. As noted in Chapter One, the association operated the house as a museum for sixty years until it became part of Morristown National Historical Park.

Exhibiting a combination of furnished rooms and miscellaneous displays, the Ford House functioned as a museum in the opinion of the association and the public. In later years the association employed a curator to look after the collection, which had broken through the commendably strict limits of its initial scope to include post-Revolutionary and non-military items. In all these respects the house fairly represented the museums that had developed from New York's prototype at Newburgh. Characteristically small and specialized, often isolated and with minimal staffing, they had little contact with the mainstream of museum thought. Laurence Vail Coleman of the American Association of Museums gave them barely a paragraph in his 1927 *Manual for Small Museums*.

Soon after, however, Coleman observed a rapid increase in the number of house museums and undertook a study of their nature and needs. He concluded that the automobile accounted largely for their proliferation: cars gave many more people the mobility to visit them, and they provided attractive destinations for motor trips. In *Historic House Museums* Coleman gave these institutions a name, a broad definition, and guidelines based on sound museum practice. His book appeared just as the Park Service began to grapple seriously with museums of this sort. Coleman noted this and issued a challenge: "National ownership is a new development and one which promises much at the hands of the National Park Service Clearly the opportunity lies in acquiring houses of primary significance representing the high points of the whole of American history."⁴

Historic House Museums in the National Parks to 1941

With his challenging statement Coleman listed eleven historic house museums for which the Park Service already had responsibility. Seven of these were newly acquired from other federal agencies in the 1933 government reorganization. The other four, plus one that Coleman's informants had evidently overlooked, provide the baseline of Service involvement with museums of this kind. Their park staffs had previously had no recognized museological guidance.

Tumacacori Mission introduced the Service to their peculiar problems, although it would be interpreted primarily in a separate site museum rather

than made a museum itself. It had been under Interior Department care since the establishment in 1908 of Tumacacori National Monument, which became one of the places originally assigned to the Park Service in 1916. The mission ruin was a gem deserving the Service's best architectural preservation and museum conservation efforts. By 1921 Frank Pinkley, the resourceful custodian of Casa Grande National Monument, managed to get a new roof on the ruin using native materials and traditional methods. Later he enlisted professional help from Service field headquarters in San Francisco and Berkeley: architects Charles Peterson and Kenneth McCarter inspected the mission in January 1930. Peterson's report expressing alarm at its condition apparently helped win an exceptional line-item appropriation for repairs. Pinkley also got Carl Russell, the museum expert from the Service's educational headquarters, to visit Tumacacori in April 1933. In considering the proposed site museum, Russell could not have failed to appreciate the vital role historical research needed to play in developing historic structure museums.⁵

The Service took on another historic house museum in 1923, still unrecognized as a museological project. Pipe Spring National Monument included a fortified dwelling erected by Mormon pioneers in 1870-72. A member of the last ranching family at Pipe Spring became its custodian and continued in that capacity for years, collecting furnishings, equipment, and other artifacts from other families of Mormon settlers in the vicinity. What he gathered he exhibited, doubtless with scant benefit of curatorial or interpretive refinement.⁶ The resulting house museum typified the many that led Coleman to set new guidelines. Pipe Spring received some curatorial advice and help after it became part of Pinkley's Southwestern National Monuments group, and in the late 1930s a CCC camp provided the labor for stabilization of the structure. Professional help in the care and display of the collection would come much later.

In contrast to Pipe Spring's isolation the other baseline cases lay uncomfortably close at hand. Congress in January 1930 established George Washington Birthplace National Monument, located within easy driving distance from Washington. The Park Service became responsible for completing and managing a project undertaken by the Wakefield National Memorial Association. Its centerpiece was a historic house museum. The house, unfortunately, was a conjectural reconstruction based on inadequate research. Like Tumacacori, this situation underlined the Service's need for professional historians, historical architects, and historical archeologists. It taught the Service less about furnishing historic structures. Ladies of the association long retained control of acquiring and arranging the contents of the house, largely at their own expense. The park custodian naturally responded to their requests and suggestions concerning aspects of the furnishings rather than consulting Service curators.⁷

Before the end of 1930 establishment of Colonial National Monument brought early prospect of two more house museums. Coleman listed one, the Lightfoot House, that proved of only passing concern as a museum. After Service architects restored this 18th-century house in Yorktown, it afforded temporary space for interpretive exhibits and public contacts until reconstruction of the larger Swan Tavern and its outbuildings provided more adequate quarters nearby. Some chairs, benches, and other occasional pieces reproduced from 18th-century examples helped create the desired atmosphere for park visitors seeking information.

The Moore House at the edge of Yorktown, on the other hand, became a bona fide historic house museum. This modest plantation home fitted Coleman's concept of having primary significance related to a high point of American history. In its parlor representatives from the opposing armies had drafted the surrender terms ending the siege of Yorktown. The structure still stood in 1930, although altered and decrepit. With generous help from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Colonial Williamsburg the new park patched up the house enough to display it during the sesquicentennial celebration of the victory. Then the Service undertook its definitive restoration. The eminent architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, deeply involved in the Colonial Williamsburg project, volunteered to carry out the work beginning late in 1932.

Charles Peterson, newly transferred to Service headquarters, engaged in an intensive study of the structure. He located numerous old views of the building in public and private collections as well as pertinent written documents. As the removal of interior plaster laid bare the framing, he continued structural studies. Careful analysis of the documentary and physical evidence resulted in a restoration of high standard. Feeling a moral obligation to preserve essential information to guide future students of the building and architects responsible for its maintenance, Peterson completed his involvement by compiling a detailed report presenting the data upon which the architects based their decisions and describing and illustrating the work performed. This document became recognized as the prototype of Park Service historic structure reports.⁸ The park now had a finely restored but essentially empty house.

The Moore House under restoration, the neighboring Lightfoot House, the problematical reconstruction at George Washington's birthplace, the remote Pipe Spring fort, and Tumacacori Mission embodied what little the Service knew about historic house museum problems and techniques in 1933 when Coleman's professional guidelines became available. No evidence suggests a quick adoption of Coleman's advice. Instead work continued through the 1930s on the basis of expedient decisions made in response to particular situations by the directorate or more often the field.

Perhaps the decade saw some greater caution in decision-making as experience accumulated.

The refurnishing of the Moore House illustrates the trial-and-error procedures of the period. The park surely wished to furnish it to a standard that would bear comparison with Colonial Williamsburg, its neighbor. To do so would require both money and expert knowledge of antiques. For the latter it called on Alfred Hopkins, who joined the park staff in the mid-1930s as a curator. The park had only a Windsor chair and parts of a clock from the original furnishings. Hopkins searched the wills of Augustine Moore, his wife, and her parents finding few items of furniture mentioned. The estate inventories of Mrs. Moore's parents contained more, if secondary, information. With this evidence he used his familiarity with antiques to compile a room-by-room list of likely furnishings. Then he consulted standard books, principally Wallace Nutting's *Furniture Treasury* and Thomas Ormsbee's *The Story of American Furniture*, choosing examples that he considered appropriate to the Moore House. Period, regional style, his conception of the Moores' tastes, and the sizes and proportions of the rooms influenced his choices. His bulky report, completed in April 1936, combined floor plans, furnishing lists, and photocopies of illustrations for each piece.⁹

Buying suitable antiques was costly, and finding the right pieces might take years of searching and dickering. The items would come one-by-one from many antique dealers and private collectors unaccustomed to federal billing and payment methods. These processes fitted poorly into normal appropriation and purchasing procedures. Perhaps foreseeing the difficulty, the park in this instance hoped to use non-government funds. The Yorktown Sesquicentennial Association had raised money for the 1931 commemoration and had vested some of it in a Committee for the Restoration of the Moore House. The park superintendent was treasurer of the fund, in which a balance remained.¹⁰

In April 1936 the Daughters of the American Revolution voted to sponsor the Moore House as a patriotic shrine and furnish the Surrender Room. Although this action doubtless followed discussions between the park and DAR officials, the two parties viewed the collaboration differently. The park assumed that the DAR would raise about \$5,000 from its chapters and asked that the money be deposited in the Moore House fund. The DAR on the other hand expected the chapters to donate furnishings found and purchased by interested members. In the spring of 1937 the Park Service director acquiesced in the DAR's selection of the furnishings subject to Hopkins' approval of the pieces chosen. To guide the ladies the park supplied a list of the desired furniture accompanied by pictures from Hopkins' report.¹¹

DAR officers and local dignitaries dedicated the furnished room in April 1938. About three months later Hopkins submitted an inventory. The ladies had provided a number of items not on his suggested list, and several of the pieces proved strikingly more elaborate than he had intended. DAR members had acquired and shipped most of the furnishings to the park without consulting him on their selection. He had rejected only four items as unsuitable. Unquestionably the room looked more richly stylish than he thought it should, but he expressed pleasure in the result. In keeping with the times he, like the ladies, viewed the room as a display of fine furnishings to be enjoyed as such. Any evocation of the tense atmosphere pervading the room at its moment of historical significance received scant consideration.¹²

The Daughters of the Cincinnati voted in December 1937 to refurnish the Moore House dining room. Hopkins suggested contributions of a dining table, four chairs, a serving table, a corner cupboard, a mirror, and a portrait. The Children of the American Revolution provided furnishings for a third room. The park acknowledged the help of each organization by mounting bronze tablets at the doors of the rooms. This well-meaning gesture violated one of Coleman's clearest guidelines—that warning against the intrusive effect of labels in a carefully recreated historical environment. Even more objectionable than identification or explanatory labels were those crediting donors or lenders, which Coleman called "monuments to human frailty."¹³

In 1933 the Service acquired seven properties classified by Coleman as historic house museums. Two came from the former Office of Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital. One of these, the Joaquin Miller Cabin in Rock Creek Park, was not developed as a museum, but the other clearly fit the category.

In 1896 Congress had directed the purchase of the house across from Ford's Theatre where Abraham Lincoln died. Osborn H. Oldroyd lived there rent-free and displayed his extensive and eclectic collection of Lincoln memorabilia. The association of the house with Lincoln and its central location served the museum well, but the difficulty of fitting the objects and visitors in the cramped domestic rooms exemplified Coleman's warning against ordinary museums in historic buildings erected for other purposes. In 1926 Congress bought Oldroyd's collection, and in 1932 the Public Buildings and Public Parks office moved it across the street to the main floor of the Ford's Theatre building, renovated as the Lincoln Museum. Five women's patriotic societies then helped furnish three rooms on the principal floor of the House Where Lincoln Died, as it became officially known. Aiming to make the rooms appear as they had on the night of the assassination, the refurnishers relied in part on a floor plan sketched by one of the upstairs tenants soon after the event.¹⁴ The Service

probably made few changes in the furnishings until the intensive restudy that accompanied the Ford's Theatre restoration in the 1960s.¹⁵

Another recently refurnished home across the Potomac from Washington became a Park Service historic house museum in 1933. In 1925 Congress had authorized the War Department to restore the deteriorating Arlington House in Arlington National Cemetery. The act further instructed the secretary of war "to procure, if possible, articles of furniture and equipment which were then in the mansion and in use by the occupants thereof" and "in his discretion, to procure replicas of the furniture and other articles in use in the mansion during the period mentioned, with a view to restoring, as far as may be practicable, the appearance of the interior of the mansion to the condition of its occupancy by the Lee family."¹⁶ The Quartermaster Corps began work on the project in 1929. Private individuals and patriotic societies gave and lent furnishings to supplement what the War Department purchased. Arlington House began attracting visitors as soon as the project started and drew thousands of admirers once restored and refurnished.

Although Congress had specified restoring it to its 1860 condition, the refurnishing failed to support this objective. Donors, dealers, and those who made the final choices wanted the house to have fine pieces, worthy of a museum and of the commemorative intent. The period styles they chose tended to be ones currently favored. Consequently the rooms on display looked more like what George Washington Parke Custis might have wished for, could he have afforded it, when he started building Arlington in the early 1800s.¹⁷ When the Park Service came to realize the discrepancies between the 1860 appearance and the idealized restoration, the popularity of the house as visitors knew it would make revision doubly difficult.

The 1933 government reorganization transferred three additional structures from the War Department that Coleman listed as historic house museums. Two of these were masonry coastal fortifications that the Army had done little to develop as historical exhibits. Refurnishing their many rooms would be expensive, create repetitious displays, and offer little aesthetic attraction. The Park Service local staff seems to have proceeded with restraint when it took over Castillo de San Marcos (then called Fort Marion) in St. Augustine, Florida. It developed effective signs and markers to interpret the various features and interior spaces. Objects were later placed on exhibit in two or three of the casemates to help fill in the historical background.

At Fort McHenry in Baltimore, circumstances tempted further development. Within this fort four freestanding buildings flanked the parade ground, dominating the view of visitors entering through the sally port. Two floors of empty rooms in each of these garrison quarters constituted a vacuum interpreters found hard to tolerate. When the Park Service

assumed administration of Fort McHenry, the park was offered custody of a large local private collection of military firearms. Carl Russell visited the fort in February 1935 and worked to support display of the collection there, although it had little to do with the fort's primary historical significance. He gave no indication that he thought of refurnished rooms or considered the fort a historic house museum subject to Coleman's guidelines.¹⁸

The park perhaps took a broader view. In April 1936, apparently at local initiative, the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812 gave the Service reproduction furnishings for some of the officers' quarters at Fort McHenry. According to a contemporary account, "Pieces presented were carefully reproduced from data and sketches assembled after months of research on the part of antiquarians, museum curators and historical technicians."¹⁹ Although Coleman's book advised against mixing formal exhibits with furnished rooms in historic house museums, the Service empirically concluded that it was acceptable to do so under specific conditions. A fort, for example, might contain so many similar rooms that appropriate formal exhibits might occupy some of them effectively separate from those furnished.

The third structure obtained from the War Department and listed as a historic house museum had only one room. At the site of Abraham Lincoln's birth a simple log cabin, then widely believed to have been the one in which Lincoln was born, had been enshrined in a classic memorial structure. As a symbol, the cabin did not call for the kind of interpretation to which refurnishing would contribute. Neither the War Department before transfer nor the Park Service afterward undertook to treat it as a museum.

The remaining museum on the 1933 list, the Ford House described earlier, came to the Service that year with the establishment of Morristown National Historical Park. Shortly after the new park received Public Works Administration funds for a new museum building, the acting superintendent announced plans "to remove most of the contents of the Headquarters Mansion to the new museum when completed and to refurnish the house as nearly as possible as it was during the Revolution."²⁰ This statement, made surprisingly early in development planning, indicates an intent to bring the existing historic house museum into step with Coleman's guidelines. Thomas T. Waterman, a historical architect of established reputation, undertook a careful analysis and restoration of the Ford House. Park historian Melvin J. Weig followed with a report aimed at improving the authenticity of the furnishings, but the house reopened looking much too fine and comfortable to reflect conditions during Washington's occupancy.

Park Service house museums tripled in number between 1933 and 1941. Especially notable additions included the Wick farmhouse at Morristown where General Arthur St. Clair had quartered during the winter encamp-

ment. After park historians and architects had done basic research and restoration, wealthy local patrons of the park contributed furnishings deemed appropriate. CCC enrollees tended a suitably designed garden beside the house.²¹

Secretary of the Interior and PWA Administrator Harold Ickes personally promoted a different sort of historic house museum in Washington, allotting PWA funds to restore Pierce Mill in Rock Creek Park. On a March Sunday in 1937 more than 1,400 toured the restored structure. Volunteer guides recruited by park naturalist Donald E. McHenry included staff from the Museum Division in one of the first occasions of its active participation in a house museum project. Visitors watched the water wheel turning, the millstones rotating, and the miller controlling the flow of grain and meal through the belt-driven conveyors. The ground meal was sold to the public and sent to government cafeteria kitchens.²²

On the heels of this success the Service acquired an entire industrial community to develop. Hopewell Village (now Hopewell Furnace) National Historic Site, established in 1938, required restoration of an iron furnace and numerous surviving auxiliary structures. CCC workers already had begun the task. The park developed interim interpretation of the complex site, but serious attention to refurnishing the structures came after the war.

Another new park accounted for two more historic structure museums. Designated also in 1938, Salem Maritime National Historic Site included the Derby House, already open as a museum. The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities had acquired this house in 1927, made necessary repairs, installed items of furniture, and begun admitting visitors in 1928. When the Park Service became responsible, historical architect Stuart Barnette supervised a more thorough restoration of the structure starting in 1938. Edwin W. Small, the park's able superintendent, skillfully guided the refurnishing.²³ Within the historic site the Salem Custom House also fitted the prevailing definition of a historic house museum. The park opened the building to visitors, partially furnished one room to recall Nathaniel Hawthorne's employment there, later installed formal exhibits in another room, and made various uses of the available space as development plans for the site matured.

The Custom House with its mixed and changing utilization typified two more of the new historic structure museums. The Philadelphia Custom House became a national historic site in 1939, and the Old Courthouse in St. Louis became part of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in 1940. Both were architecturally important structures that would be adapted to new uses. The list of old forts entrusted to the Service grew to include Fort Jefferson, Florida, Fort Pulaski, Georgia, and Fort Laramie, Wyoming. The latter, quite different from the coastal fortifications, would later tax Service expertise in historic furnishings.

During the prewar years historic house museums in the parks fitted a general development pattern marked by three aspects. The strong central architectural organization of the Park Service recognized its responsibility when a historic structure needed to be preserved and exhibited. Under its aegis a qualified historical architect analyzed and evaluated the building, planned and supervised necessary restoration, and to an increasing extent made a faithful record of the process. In the parks staff historians began to contribute their research in cooperation with the architect. When it came to refurnishing a building to complete the recreation of the historic scene, the Museum Division offered the park little help. Although Carl Russell had encountered the Tumacacori Mission, the Moore House, and Fort McHenry at early stages of development, furnishing problems had not fired his interest. His staff had their hands full planning and building other kinds of exhibits. Consequently park superintendents proceeded on their own initiative to get historic house museums refurnished. Following practices common outside the Service, they obtained installations tilted more toward decorative arts displays than strict historical verisimilitude.

The park system expanded so much during the 1930s that no one had a clear grasp of the overall state of museums in it. The Museum Division did not know precisely how many museums the parks contained, their scopes, sizes, extent of development, staffing, or amount of use. In 1939 it launched a thorough survey to find the answers. Division staff tabulated and analyzed the returns to get a comprehensive view of Park Service museums as of June 1940.²⁴ Of the total of 114, 38 were historic house museums, defined as historic buildings of any sort—original or reconstructed and furnished or not—that were primarily on public exhibition as survivals of the past. To avoid an inflated list the analysis counted an organic group of historic structures such as Hopewell Village as a single museum. Thirteen of the 38 were furnished, 18 still needed to be, and seven were forts that did not appear to require furnishing. The historic house museums received about 1,250,000 visits annually.

The division could no longer overlook their needs. As a first step the *Field Manual for Museums*, in preparation while the survey was in progress, incorporated a chapter on historic house museums. It reinforced guidelines Coleman had offered in his 1933 book. Park Service house museums should meet the criterion of national significance. Each should be able to present particularly well a broad aspect of American life, or should have important association with the life of a great American, or should have been the setting of a memorable incident in American history. Architectural merit carried little weight. Assuming that most of these museums would be furnished, the chapter stated that interiors should represent the conditions that existed at the time of significance. It cautioned parks to undertake furnishing only in consultation with experts and on the basis of carefully

prepared and approved plans, newly required by implication in a concurrent directive. Parks should also ensure that outsiders who cooperated in furnishing projects agreed to abide by the decisions of the experts. Installation of formal exhibits in a house museum would require approval by the director as an exception to policy. The chapter clarified the status of historic furnishings as museum specimens subject to Service curatorial policies and procedures and included advice on maintenance and operational matters.²⁵

Events in the field soon drew the Museum Division into more active participation. In 1940 the Frederick W. Vanderbilt mansion in Hyde Park, New York, became a national historic site, the gift of Vanderbilt's niece. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose home stood nearby, showed interest in its preservation. The great house, its landscaped grounds, and its elegant furnishings posed many fresh problems of maintenance and interpretation. Superintendent Francis S. Ronalds of Morristown represented the Service in the transition to park management. Responsibility for the wealth of furnishings impressed him especially, and he sought the advice of division chief Ned Burns. Burns visited the site in April 1940 and underlined its museological problems in a statement of urgent needs he prepared for Director Newton Drury. He continued to advise and assist the new park with its curatorial concerns and had the museum laboratory prepare approach signs for the mansion as well.²⁶

Museum Branch Involvement, 1946-1955

Philosopher John Dewey, a founder of the progressive education movement, contended that students' interest needed to be aroused before expecting them to undertake the hard work of learning. (This concept may still influence modes of park interpretation.) Other educators believed instead that subjects grow in interest as students labor to master the fundamental details necessary to understand them. Certainly the lively and productive interest of the Museum Branch and its successors in furnished structure museums appears to belie Dewey. It developed slowly as a result of problems encountered and in some measure surmounted. Branch personnel found themselves drawn into laborious aspects of their development or operation as Service responsibilities expanded.

The Vanderbilt Mansion was a case in point. Another was the White House, for which the Park Service had received important housekeeping responsibilities in the 1933 reorganization. Its state rooms, containing treasured pieces from various presidencies, had been redecorated by a recent administration with the advice of a select committee of public-spirited citizens. In 1940, at Eleanor Roosevelt's request, the Service's National Capital Parks office undertook a special report on their furnish-

ings. It included floor plans indicating furniture placement, photographs of room interiors with the furniture in place, and individual photographs of each piece. Park historians set out to compile the history of each, digging through General Accounting Office records to find the acquisition documents.²⁷

National Capital Parks had no scholarly student of furnishings to analyze and identify the objects themselves. Knowledge in this field was rare because much basic research on furniture remained undone. Most people regarded as experts were antique collectors or dealers at best. An ill wind brought enough opportune help to emphasize the need. Hans Huth, a true scholar in such matters who had been forced out of Germany under the Nazi regime, became available to the Service's History Division for a time beginning in early 1940. While other assignments took most of his attention, Huth made a few discreet studies of White House furniture that clarified some points.²⁸

The war years intervened before the Service could expand its attention to White House furnishings. When park historian T. Sutton Jett returned from naval service, he received broad responsibility for historical work in National Capital Parks. Jett saw that the White House furnishings composed a nationally significant museum collection that needed cataloging and arranged for Ralph Lewis to be detailed from Jefferson National Expansion Memorial for the purpose. Reporting to Washington in June 1946, Lewis took part in the required annual White House property inventory with Jett and historian Stanley McClure to become acquainted with the collection, then developed a plan for the cataloging in on-site discussions with Ned Burns and Chief Historian Ronald Lee. He returned to Washington in August to spend a week with Jett and McClure applying catalog numbers to furnishings in the family quarters while President Harry S Truman and his family were away. Lewis's transfer to Washington that December in connection with the reopening of the museum laboratory enabled him to sandwich work on the White House catalog among other assignments. He continued on the project intermittently for the next year and a half before laboratory responsibilities left no further time for it.²⁹

Another involvement began in December 1946. Chief Historian Lee was deep in strategic planning that would lead to creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. He looked to David Finley, director of the National Gallery of Art, as a potential ally. Finley in turn had become interested in Hampton, a great 18th-century house near Baltimore from which he was acquiring two fine portraits for the gallery. Architectural historians considered Hampton a prime example of Georgian architecture, and Finley proposed its donation to the Park Service. Lee wrestled with two policy questions: Should the Service undertake to preserve a structure significant primarily for aesthetic qualities? If so, could the Service

justifiably depend on outside support to manage it? He could not foresee adequate congressional funding for this purpose. He finally concluded that legislative mandate and national interest justified Service acceptance of Hampton as a national historic site even if some private organization had to be found to operate it.³⁰

While pondering these questions Lee outlined to Lewis, as the Museum Branch representative at hand, the furnishings aspects of the proposal. They spent December 19 at Hampton viewing and discussing the furnishings with the aging owner. Lewis then drafted a skeletal inventory with recommendations for exhibition. Occasions continued to arise before and after Hampton's acquisition for Museum Branch assistance in furnishing matters.³¹

Sutton Jett had as much concern with Arlington House as with the White House. In December 1946 he consulted the Museum Branch on cataloging the furnishings there and continued to enlist help with the mansion's museological problems. Jett grasped the basic importance of solid research in solving the dilemma of Arlington's too-rich and too-early furnishings. He succeeded in releasing the site historian, Murray Nelligan, for some two years of intensive study at the Library of Congress. Nelligan's analysis in depth of Arlington's occupants and their life on the estate undergirded the future development and interpretation of the house. It also provided an object lesson for the Museum Branch in attacking future furnishing problems.

The return of Park Service headquarters from Chicago to Washington in October 1947 enabled Ned Burns as branch chief to keep in closer touch with the expanding activities of his staff for furnished historic structure museums. He had not forgotten how vulnerable to deterioration many of the furnishings at Vanderbilt Mansion were. Service acquisition in 1945 of full responsibility for the neighboring Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site reinforced his concern for such problems. In March 1947 he arranged the transfer of preparator Albert McClure from the reopened museum laboratory in the Ford's Theatre building to Vanderbilt Mansion. McClure would function as a curator and objects conservator, although the latter was still an unnamed and scarcely recognized field of specialization. He would maintain a close watch on the condition of the furnishings, provide hands-on cleaning, reinforcement, and repair of pieces at risk when he felt qualified to do so, and call in specialists as necessary. He performed other strictly curatorial duties, and the park took advantage of his skills as a fine letterer and craftsman.

Through such decisive actions Burns earned widening respect for his grasp of technical problems and judgment in matters of historic furnishings. Henry Francis du Pont, laying plans to convert his great collection of period rooms to a public museum, consulted him in December 1950. During

his visit to Winterthur Burns noted aspects of du Font's operation that might prove applicable to Service historic house museums like Vanderbilt Mansion. Soon afterward Burns visited Vanderbilt Mansion and the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt to review their furnishings care and share what he had learned at Winterthur.³²

In January 1951 the Park Service took over administration of Independence Hall and other structures in the nascent Independence National Historical Park. The buildings and the national treasures they contained remained in Philadelphia's legal ownership, but this only heightened Service responsibility for their stewardship. As noted previously, Burns promptly sent James Mulcahy from the museum laboratory to become curator of the Independence collections. Since McClure's transfer to Vanderbilt Mansion Burns had become much more aware of the scientific basis underlying the emerging profession of conserving historic and artistic works. He therefore did not expect Mulcahy to act as an objects conservator. Instead, when the need arose, the curator would call for thoroughly qualified help through the Museum Branch. As an early example, Mulcahy sent two important chairs to the laboratory where Burns could personally supervise the analysis of their condition and such restoration as they required.³³

The many complex problem areas facing the Service in the postwar years prompted the Washington Office to prepare and assemble better guidelines in a multi-volume *Administrative Manual*. A 1949 issuance had nothing new on house museums, but a 1952 volume expressly limited the term "historic house museum" to historic structures exhibited with furnishings. A revised statement of Coleman's stricture against putting systematic exhibits in a furnished structure followed. But if a structure did not require furnishing for its proper interpretation, it might in some circumstances house a regular park museum without serious loss. Similarly, if a large building needed only one or two rooms furnished to interpret its significance, museum exhibits might occupy other rooms. That year the Museum Branch listed 101 museums open to the public in the national park system. Fourteen of them met the new definition of historic house museum.³⁴

In Philadelphia the project staff developing the authorized but not yet established Independence National Historical Park faced the challenge of restoring and refurnishing Independence Hall. The Service needed to determine the nature and condition of the building inside and out as it was in 1775-87, then recreate as closely as possible the setting of the great events that occurred there. The work on this preeminent national treasure obviously had to meet the highest standards of accuracy.

Architects led by Charles Peterson and historians by Edward M. Riley undertook essential research. After three years of intensive study the historians estimated that they still needed to examine some ten million more

documents. As the magnitude of the problem became clear, so did the need to augment appropriated funds. In October 1952 project representatives conferred informally with officials of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Eight months later the federation and the Service reached a formal agreement. The federation would undertake to raise a considerable sum of money with which the Service would restore and refurnish the first floor of Independence Hall.

Ronald Lee, charged with setting up a committee of outside experts to advise on this major project, involved the Museum Branch in selecting its three members. Louise du Pont Crowninshield (Henry du Font's sister) brought assets of long association with historic furnishing projects, including those at George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Salem Maritime National Historic Site, and was active in support of the National Trust. As curator of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Charles F. Montgomery ranked high among scholars refining available knowledge on the material culture of 18th-century America. Charles Nagel, an architect by profession, had much experience with American decorative arts as director in turn of the St. Louis City Art Museum and the Brooklyn Art Museum and curator of the great Garvin Collection at Yale. Lee and branch chief Ralph Lewis attended their meetings to keep in touch with their recommendations and reactions as work on the Assembly Room progressed. The committee received an extensive report from the project staff in January 1955.³⁵

The staff had already called on the Museum Branch for specific help. Project researchers became particularly interested in an old painting owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania showing the Continental Congress meeting in the Assembly Room and voting on the Declaration of Independence. Tradition attributed the painting to either of two Philadelphia artists who might have witnessed the event, Robert Edge Pine or Edward Savage. The historical society allowed the Service to borrow the painting and let the Museum Branch paintings conservator clean it. Close, critical examination during and after cleaning revealed to the fullest extent possible the valuable information it recorded.³⁶

Evolution of the Furnishing Plan, 1955-1982

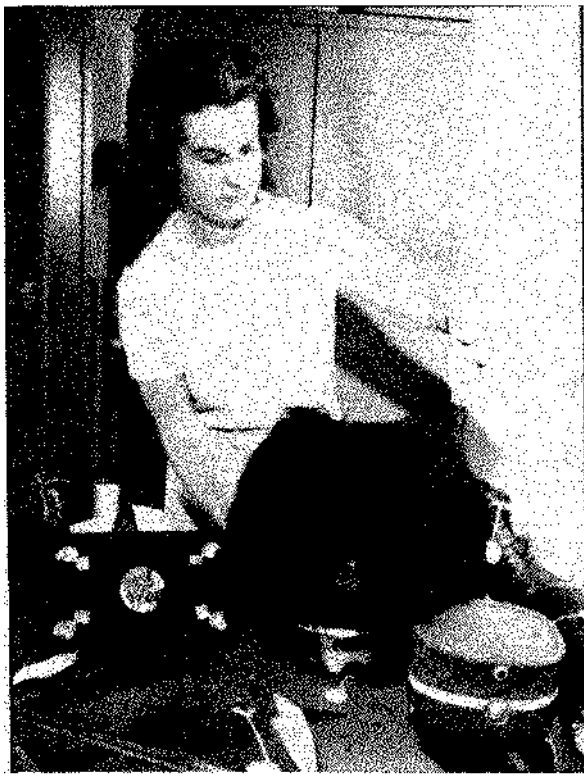
To consolidate the various statements of Park Service museum policy that appeared during the 1930s, the director issued a lengthy memorandum applicable to all types of museums in March 1940. It reaffirmed the official status of these directives prior to their fuller discussion in the forthcoming *Field Manual for Museums*. "The necessity for adequate museum exhibit plans cannot be stressed too strongly," the memorandum declared. The *Field Manual* in turn stated explicitly, "The furnishing of a historic

structure should be undertaken only . . . on the basis of a carefully prepared and approved plan."³⁷ Both specified that an exhibit plan should receive the recommendation of the park superintendent, the regional director, and the Museum Division plus concurrence by the chief architect, the supervisor of historic sites, and the supervisor of research and information before submission to the director for approval. Both also provided specific advice on the preparation and content of exhibit plans for park museums but none for historic house museums except to consult a specialist. No one in the Museum Division, or perhaps elsewhere, had a clear conception of what should constitute a historic furnishing plan.

In 1955, for the first time, a park superintendent asked the Museum Branch to help prepare a furnishing plan. Andrew Johnson National Monument owned and exhibited under unsatisfactory circumstances the house that Johnson had bought in 1851 and held until his death. Funds had become available to restore it properly, involving painstaking research by historical architects, and its furnishings needed to meet equivalent standards. Complicating matters was the fact that the President's great-granddaughter, employed by the park to help oversee and interpret the house, wanted the house and furnishings to memorialize her grandparents as well as the President. She still owned significant furnishings and skillfully pressed her claims through political channels.

Responding to the superintendent's request, Ralph Lewis was able to spend four days at the park in July. He viewed the current furnishings and discussed the complexities of the task with the superintendent, house custodian, regional historian, and architect Charles Peterson. On this basis he drafted a tentative document that defined the specific interpretive purpose the museum should achieve, recommended furnishing the whole house as Andrew Johnson occupied it during 1869-75, and justified doing so room by room. Five attachments accompanied it: a review of the occupancy of the house throughout its ownership by the family (1851-1948); a discussion of changing uses of the rooms; proposed lists of furniture for each room according to three options (conforming to the 1879 inventory, using the furnishings currently exhibited in the house, or using only those items owned by the Service); a copy of the 1879 inventory; and a list of what the park would have to acquire to match it. The director approved this sketchy submission and hoped that it could be carried out in coordination with the architectural restoration.³⁸

From this first attempt at preparing a furnishing plan the Museum Branch learned that it lacked both the time and the specialized knowledge to provide what the Andrew Johnson project needed. It therefore arranged to borrow for the park the services of Vera B. Craig, museum curator at Morristown, whom the branch considered especially well qualified for the task. Her assignment called for a more thorough furnishing plan that would



Vera B. Craig. Staff curator and expert furnishing planner.

link the objects with Johnson's occupancy. She would also catalog the furniture and designate the items needing restoration or repair. She spent two weeks of hard work at the park in March 1956 and much overtime refining the plan back at Morristown.

Craig's plan analyzed the 1879 inventory more expertly and correlated it with the rooms in the dwelling. A set of floor plans designated the historic use of each. She chose the items to go in them, listed them by catalog number, and gave reasons for their selection. Estimated costs accompanied a room-by-room list of additional furnishings needed. Floor plans showed the intended placement of the furniture and such added

details as window dimensions. The branch received this substantive plan in early May and routed it for review like a park museum exhibit plan. In doing so it acted in accordance with the previously unused directive for furnishing plans issued in 1940 and repeated in the *Field Manual*. The July 13 transmittal to the director stated: "This is the first formal furnishing plan submitted for any of the Service's historic house museums. We regard it as a museum exhibit plan which should receive regular review and approval. It is hoped that in the future historic houses will be developed in accordance with such plans."³⁹ Director Conrad Wirth's approval the same day signaled establishment of a regular furnishing plan procedure.

Craig's plan lacked the systematic structure that would later develop, but it stood in sharp contrast to earlier Service practice and common practice outside the parks. It undertook to recreate accurately a historic environment for its historical significance, the proper justification and purpose of historic house museums in the national parks. Such museums would no longer aim to display artifacts in congenial settings as antiques or works of decorative art.

Putting into effect the provisions of an approved furnishing plan also required specialized curatorial knowledge and skill not ordinarily available in a park's existing staff. In June 1957 Craig, who had by then transferred

to the Museum Branch as a staff curator, resumed active involvement in the Andrew Johnson project. She and Henry A. Judd, the restoration architect, set a fine example of interdisciplinary collaboration as they conferred on selecting interior paint colors, wallpaper, and lighting fixtures, features of concern to both professional specialists. As the park obtained funds in the 1958 fiscal year to purchase needed furnishings, she assisted at critical points. She secured from a disaffected branch of the family a suite of "cottage" bedroom furniture matching the 1879 inventory and oversaw reproduction in the museum laboratory of painted oilcloth floor covering for the entrance hall.⁴⁰ Continuing need for her support demonstrated the problem of staffing and funding furnishing projects over an unavoidably extended period of time. Finding qualified furnishing curators to prepare the plans remained the first essential hurdle.

The need for another curator arose soon after the Andrew Johnson request. Service historical architects had recently restored Mount Locust, one of the original taverns along the Natchez Trace Parkway. The restored building required a furnishing plan and the Museum Branch was again asked to help. Probably at the suggestion of the architects the branch chose Worth Bailey to prepare it. Trained as a landscape architect, Bailey had become an able student of American material culture while supervising CCC enrollees at Colonial National Historical Park. He left the Service in 1939 for twelve years of curatorial work at Mount Vernon and was later employed by the National Trust. Fortunately the branch found him available, and he accepted temporary appointment as a consultant in April 1956. His plan for Mount Locust, approved by the director after full review in January 1957, proved scholarly and thorough.⁴¹

As the Mission 66 development program got underway, the prospect of more restoration and refurnishing projects seemed assured. This would require more furnishing planners, and a tentative search began. At the same time the branch undertook to refine its ideas of what a furnishing plan should contain. A field order issued February 4, 1958, restated the rule that exhibition of the interior of a historic structure required an approved furnishing plan, then specified six elements the plan must contain.⁴²

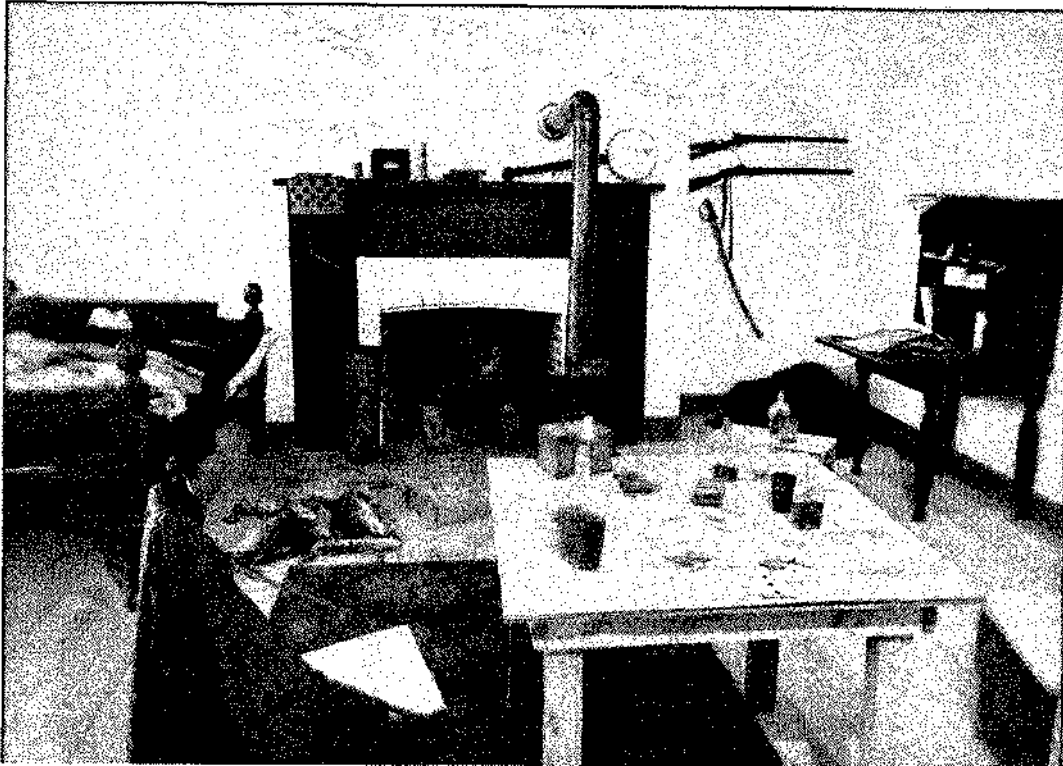
The first section (a) centered attention on the interpretive purpose, essential to justify development. The next section (b) defined the facts and ideas the furnished space would embody in a documented narrative of the historic occupants. All the evidence that could be found about furnishings present at the historic time composed the third section (c). With this foundation laid, the plan would proceed to specify in detail the furnishings to be exhibited (d). The fifth section (e) would supplement these specifications with floor plans and wall elevations to fix the location of each piece. Notes on sources and estimated costs for acquiring the furnishings (f) would complete the plan. The instructions suggested that the park historian would

usually prepare the first three sections but expert help from outside the park would probably have to supply the remainder. Plans drafted during the next several years followed this directive in general.

The plan for Philip Schuyler's house in Saratoga National Historical Park, among the first to do so, demonstrated the workability of the prescribed format. Vera Craig visited the park for preliminary discussions in June 1958. Prepared by Craig and Worth Bailey with excellent support from the park's able historian, the first four sections of the plan were submitted in May 1960 and the balance a year later. Saratoga also requested help with a furnishing plan for the small Neilson farmhouse, prominently located on the battlefield. For this the branch turned to a National Capital Parks historian, Agnes Downey, who tackled the Neilson House plan in February 1960 and submitted it in September.⁴³ Downey had shown initiative and skill in furnishing and interpretive matters at Arlington House and the Old Stone House in Georgetown and would break new ground at Manassas National Battlefield Park by restoring the Stone House rooms to their brief wartime appearance as a field hospital.

In December 1959 Mrs. Charles S. Hill of Evergreen, Colorado, proposed to give the Park Service \$100,000 over five years to refurnish ten of the restored buildings at Fort Laramie. Needing furnishing plans, the regional office moved quickly to recruit Sally Johnson, a curator with the Nebraska State Historical Society previously interviewed by Ralph Lewis and John Jenkins. Johnson drafted a strategic plan for the entire project, approved in July 1960. By January 1961 she submitted a thoroughly researched and detailed furnishing plan for Officer's Quarters F tailored to known occupants, Lieutenant Colonel Andrew S. Burt and his family. Upon its approval she began tracking and acquiring the specified furnishings, including some actual Burt pieces. Her success enabled the park to show Mrs. Hill the first fruits of her gift at the formal opening of the quarters in June 1961. Meanwhile she worked on additional plans, completing the difficult one for the Sutler's Store in August and for Officer's Quarters A in November. She continued work on the execution of these plans until July 1962 when family responsibility necessitated her resignation.⁴⁴

To fill her place the region hired Nan V. Carson, a talented student of western history and its material culture aspects. She undertook the remaining plans with vigor and imagination, continuing to emphasize accuracy in recreating settings of life at Fort Laramie based on careful research and close collaboration with the historians. Faced with furnishing a fourth set of officer's quarters, she obtained needed variety by postulating a typical post surgeon and his family. Characteristic of her work were many details she specified for the bachelor officers' quarters in Old Bedlam, the post headquarters. The unkempt masculine impression she strove to achieve in this instance had a fragility threatened by every visit of the park's house-



Refurnished bachelor officers' quarters, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

keeping staff. She therefore supplemented the Old Bedlam furnishing plan with an "interpretive maintenance plan" giving helpful instructions to the housekeepers. Cleaning should not remove the splatters of tobacco juice, graffiti, and overall griminess contributing to the historic atmosphere. The staff would need to keep rooms elsewhere in the same building as spotless as the commanding officer's wife would have expected in her quarters.⁴⁵

At Independence National Historical Park the planning responsibility fell particularly to David Wallace. As noted previously, he became the park's museum curator in 1959 when the Museum Branch recalled James Mulcahy to Washington. Independence Hall still needed furnishing plans for portions of the building and further work in the Assembly Room. Several other structures including Congress Hall, the Bishop White House, and the Todd House would also require furnishing as their restoration neared completion. Wallace assembled a staff capable of preparing the plans, finding and acquiring the furnishings, and sensitively installing them. His team included four unusually well-qualified furnishings curators: Frederick B. Hanson, Ruth Matzkin Knapp, and John C. Milley, graduates of the Winterthur Program, and Charles G. Dorman, a recognized authority on Delaware furniture from the Smithsonian Institution.⁴⁶ To meet target dates Wallace borrowed Agnes Downey for the Todd House plan. He and

his curators collaborated with several Independence staff historians in plan production and maintained close liaison with the architects restoring the buildings. The results of this team effort, alongside those at Fort Laramie and the work of Craig and Downey in Washington, demonstrated the value of furnishing plans patterned on the 1958 instructions.

Out of the experience gained came constructive changes. To speed review of needed interpretive plans of all kinds the Washington Office issued a field order in 1960 shifting their approval from the director to regional directors. Although this appeared to eliminate one level of critical examination, the order stated that a regional director's approval of a furnishing plan would carry assurance that the Museum Branch and other pertinent specialists had reviewed the plan.⁴⁷

More substantive changes affecting furnishing plans accompanied formal establishment of the historic structure report in 1957. This comprised three parts. Part I defined the park purpose the structure would serve and spelled out how the park intended to maintain and operate it after completion of the proposed development. If it was proposed to furnish the structure for exhibition, this part signaled the need for a furnishing plan and for programmed funds to execute it. It also provided a history of the structure based on documentary research and when relevant included any data found on its historic furnishings. Part II, the core of the report, presented the results of architectural and archeological research on the structure, including any evidence relating to its furnishings. Part III was a completion report recording precisely what had been done to the building.

Expanded guidelines for preparing historic structure reports accompanied the "Inventory with Classification and Work Code for Historic Buildings and Structures" issued in November 1960. This document left a gap in the instructions for Part II under "furnishings and exhibition data." At the chief architect's request the Museum Branch recommended the outline later inserted for this section.⁴⁸ It called for a statement of the evidence that architects or archeologists had found suggesting how the building had been furnished along with any documentary references to the furnishings they had encountered. The outline also requested the architect's appraisal of the tastes and style he found reflected in the structure itself that might have echoed in the occupants' choice of furnishings. Such information increased the linkage between the historic structure report and the furnishing plan.

The nature and extent of this linkage made it apparent that the furnishing plan should regularly be prepared after Part II. Only in this sequence could the furnishing plan safely analyze the conclusions of the architects, archeologists, and historians who had studied the building thoroughly. Even closer dovetailing of the historic structure report and furnishing plan became desirable. The furnishings curator who would work

on the plan could help the architect and archeologist as they searched for and interpreted clues to the nature or placement of furnishings left in the building fabric or unearthed on the site, and the historian who documented the structural history for the report could often most efficiently pursue the history of the building's occupancy for the furnishing plan.

In one respect the two documents differed conceptually. The 1960 inventory of historic structures under Park Service custody classified each structure in one of three categories. Class A structures had prime historical or architectural significance, Class B structures formed part of a historic scene, and Class C structures provided settings of typical lifeways. Because of the high costs and exceptional skills involved in architectural restoration, the three classes were made subject to different levels of research and restoration. The Museum Branch, however, could not accept anything other than one standard—the highest attainable accuracy—for furnishing plans and for the museums developed from them.⁴⁹ While this position reflected basic museum philosophy, the single standard encountered some difficulties in application.

Most problems in maintaining high quality for furnishing plans arose in parks faced with developing several historic buildings under pressure. In the early 1960s, for example, Yosemite National Park attacked the problem of overcrowding in Yosemite Valley by developing other points of interest in the park. One such project was the Pioneer History Center at Wawona, resembling in concept a European open air museum. The park moved seven of its smaller historic structures to the site and undertook to furnish them as exhibits. The park interpreters submitted brief furnishing plans for most of them, including an early superintendent's office, a Wells Fargo office, a cabin used by a cavalry detachment, a ranger patrol cabin, and an artist's studio. The Museum Branch concurred in the plans reluctantly in the hope that the park had on file much more historical data than the planners had included. The work proceeded without the careful study and preparation the refurnishing deserved. Seventeen years later and after many thousands of park visitors had viewed the installations, a collection preservation guide for the park could only conclude that all seven buildings still needed adequate furnishing plans.⁵⁰

Another example occurred at Appomattox Court House National Historical Park. Here historic buildings, original and reconstructed, constituted the principal park features. The reconstructed McLean House reproduced the parlor in which Grant and Lee had reached agreement on the terms of surrender virtually ending the Civil War. Ample evidence existed to refurnish it accurately, and the Museum Branch assisted in doing so. Although this was the proper focal point of the site, interests in the surrounding area pushed for fuller development. The park decided to furnish not only the rest of the McLean House but several other village

structures. Initial help from the regional office led to furnishing plans of sorts for a general store and a law office in addition to the surrender house. The plans appeared inadequate to the Museum Branch reviewers, as did the resulting installations. Stock displayed in the store, for example, failed to suggest conditions of deprivation caused by the war.⁵¹

A third park where furnishing plans fell short lay at the doorstep of interpretive planning headquarters. The Harper House at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park was the beneficiary of an excellent furnishing plan (1960-63) by Vera Craig in sometimes difficult collaboration with the local garden council.⁵² About a decade later the park launched a crash program to revitalize other historic buildings in the lower town. Much research and restoration remained to be done, but there seemed need to show immediate results. Pressure no doubt came from Harpers Ferry Center management, eager to demonstrate state-of-the-art interpretation. "Living history" was at its apogee and the park needed appropriate sites for such activity. The Service also realized the political expediency of a good show at Harpers Ferry. In consequence the park moved energetically to recreate in available buildings a general store, a pharmacy, a law office, a provost marshal's office, and a tavern. Installed without the formality of furnishing plans, they violated curatorial standards entailing time and patience.

Such failures in the system were not inevitable. Hopewell Village (later Furnace) National Historic Site also had several structures it needed to furnish. One of the specialists assigned to architectural restoration in the park, Norman M. Souder, obtained permission to work on furnishing plans as well. Thanks to his intimate knowledge of the structures and their occupancy, the office/store and later a tenant house received installations of first-rate integrity.

The contrast between furnishing projects thoroughly planned and those that stunted planning appeared obvious, at least to the Museum Branch. In its 1963 statement to the director's Long Range Requirements Task Force, the branch consequently urged "the preparation and critical review by experts of furnishing plans for all historic house museums in the parks." The branch had in mind existing as well as new installations. After reorganization of the central museum staff in 1964, the new Branch of Museum Operations to which furnishing matters were assigned could focus more thought and effort on them. A conference of regional curators it convened that September concluded that the Service was "falling behind the best current standards and practices in the maintenance, operation and interpretation of its historic house museums."⁵³ This statement supported branch staff in revising guidelines for the furnishing plan.

Concurrently another unit of William Everhart's Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services made a fresh start on an interpretive planning handbook aimed at incorporating Everhart's new approach to park

interpretation into the interpretive prospectus. The Branch of Museum Operations submitted a chapter containing revised furnishing plan guidelines in May 1965. It was never added to the handbook, which was never formally released; instead the branch distributed individual copies of its chapter as needed. This secured the effective application of the revised guidelines well before their Service-wide issue in January 1968 as part of the *Museum Handbook*.

Under the revised guidelines the furnishing plan still consisted of six parts, a through f. Part a, essentially the same, spelled out in more specific detail than did the interpretive prospectus the interpretive purposes the furnished structure should fulfill. Part b told how the park proposed to operate the museum in terms of visitor use, interpretive services, maintenance, and protection. The analysis of historic occupancy became c and the available information on original furnishings became d. Part e specified in detail how the structure should be furnished, consolidating the material formerly assigned to d, e, and f. Part f contained the curator's cautionary advice on special installation requirements, maintenance, and protection.

Organizational developments in the Service had by this time clarified normal production responsibilities for the various parts of the plan. The chief park interpreter ordinarily commanded the knowledge necessary to prepare parts a and b. Historical research had largely become the function of a centralized professional staff, and parts c and d became a programmed resource study normally assigned to one of its research historians. Completion of these four sections provided the basis for a furnishings curator to draw up parts e and f.

The validity of a carefully furnished structure as a historical document was especially vulnerable to erosion. If housekeepers and interpreters made small changes in arrangement or content as they performed their daily duties, cumulative results could undermine the installation's integrity. To control such alterations the guidelines offered two provisions. The furnishings curator should revise part e at the conclusion of the development project to match exactly the furnishings as installed. The approved plan would thus become a continuing baseline. Future changes in the furnishings (which might well be justified) would require approved revisions in the plan.

Responsibility for the plan's various parts remained rather flexible at first. Branch staff might prepare a draft for parts a and b to assist or prod a park interpreter in getting a plan started. The furnishings curator assigned to do e and f might also work on c and d if a historian were unavailable. Curators sometimes preferred to prepare all four of those parts. Establishment of c and d as a resource study to be carried out by a historian who might not understand the whole planning process complicated relations across organizational lines. A meeting in January 1973 between David

Wallace, chief of the Branch of Museum Operations and Harry W. Pfanz, chief of the Branch of Park History, clarified matters.⁵⁴ Both sides came to see that the historians dealt with a resource study and the curators with a development plan. The essential unity between study and plan counterbalanced such overlapping as occurred in their preparation.

Changes continued in Service planning procedures. Most planning came to emanate from the Denver Service Center. Under its methods parts a and b of the furnishing plan composed what DSC called a planning directive. DSC normally assigned one of its professional planners to prepare the directive in consultation with the park and, for a furnishing plan, with curators at the Harpers Ferry Center. Parts c and d became Part I of a historic furnishings report prepared by a DSC research historian. Parts e and f, redesignated as Part II of the furnishings report, remained the task of furnishings curators assigned by HFC. Essentially unchanged in function and content but with fresh names for its components, the plan reflected a more systematic division of labor undoubtedly intended to improve efficiency and increase the document's overall professional stature. Guidelines for the furnishing plan adjusted accordingly were reissued in 1976.⁵⁵

Procedure continued to be the most mutable aspect of the plan. When David Wallace took charge of the new Branch of Reference Services he retained responsibility for preparing and implementing furnishing plans. At first only he and Vera Craig had the knowledge required to do so. Without slighting the other undermanned services assigned to him, he set out to build a staff of well-trained furnishings curators such as he had earlier assembled at Independence National Historical Park. In June 1977 he hired John Demer, who had been trained at Winterthur and the Cooperstown Graduate Program and who had been curator of the venerable Concord Antiquarian Society and the Renfrew Museum. Three months later Katherine Menz, a Winterthur graduate, transferred to the branch from her position as curator at the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vanderbilt Mansion national historic sites. John P. Brucksch, a historian by training, came to Wallace's staff from the curatorship of the Andover Historical Society in early 1978. That November Sarah M. Olson transferred from DSC, where she had been one of the able historians assigned to work on furnishing plans. She also brought valuable experience from an internship in decorative arts at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The existence of this talented staff tended to shift the balance in the furnishing plan process.

Other factors as well no doubt lessened the involvement of DSC. Soon after 1980 park superintendents resumed responsibility for defining interpretive objectives and drafting an operating plan as the first step in developing a furnishing plan. The experienced furnishings curators stationed at Harpers Ferry, and by then organized as a Branch of Historic

Furnishings, found it efficient as a rule to carry out the historical research on the occupancy of the structure and its furnishings before they undertook to specify the furnishings to be exhibited. Thus the park again produced what had been parts a and b, later called a planning directive. The furnishings curators in turn prepared a historic furnishings report that duplicated in content old parts c, d, e, and f. One further procedural change followed: in 1982 the Branch of Historic Furnishings arranged to have a collections management specialist, usually a curator from the Washington Office Curatorial Services Division, draft the concluding section of the plan concerned with special maintenance and protection recommendations (old part f).⁵⁶

Earlier in the evolution of the furnishing plan two variant forms became necessary. Several of the most significant houses in the parks, including those of the Adamses, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Edison, and Vanderbilt, had come into Service custody with the furniture of their historic occupants largely in place. They required the faithful preservation of authentic historic environments rather than the recreation of such environments. The 1965-68 guidelines modified the furnishing plans for such museums. Sections a and b, the interpretive objectives and operating plan, remained relevant. The record of historic occupancy, section c, would assist interpreters and could be condensed from other documents. Section d would document the authenticity of the furnishings. The next section, e, would consist of a permanent record in photographic and inventory form of the furnishings and their arrangement. The concluding maintenance and protection section corresponded in importance to the unique value of the furnishings and their placement.

Other historic houses inherited by the Service as furnished museums or furnished by a park or cooperating organization without benefit of plan called for more skeptical treatment. The guidelines proposed that the furnishing plan for such a museum start from scratch, as though the structure were empty. Section e of the plan would then specify the furnishings the building ought to have. The plan would incorporate only those items of the existing furnishings that clearly fitted the historic setting determined by the thorough research of parts c and d. Both variants maintained the goal of the furnishing plan to make Park Service house museums reliable historical documents.

Operational Aspects, 1958-1982

Furnishing plans, although vital to the sound development of historic structure museums, proved only the first step. Implementing the plans resulted in museum collections that required maintenance, protection, and interpretation. In 1953 the Museum Branch asked Vera Craig to undertake

preparation of a housekeeping manual to help parks maintain the exhibited rooms. A year later the first regional curators' conference called for restraint in the proliferation of historic house museums and advised more care in executing cooperative agreements with outside organizations helping to develop and operate them in parks. By 1962 questions of interpretation in these museums were being raised. A year later the branch urged the director's Long Range Requirements Task Force to include "the establishment of standards and the provision of staff and funds for the . . . maintenance of the historic furnishings, and the development and application of imaginative and effective ways to present and interpret the structures."⁵⁷

Following reorganization of the museum program in 1964, the new Branch of Museum Operations lost little time in launching two initiatives. The first was an informal study of historic house museum practices involving visits to thirty of these museums, only eight of which were under the Park Service. Ralph Lewis made most of the visits with his wife while off duty; Vera Craig made the remainder. Acting as ordinary tourists without identifying themselves, they began each visit with the first roadside sign noted and considered more than thirty aspects before exiting. The project developed a broad picture of current practices, highlighted a variety of solutions to common problems, and permitted some comparison of their effectiveness. The effect of approach factors on a visitor's frame of mind seemed especially significant. Perhaps surprisingly, the observers found no correlation between the dress of interpreters and the quality of interpretation. The reports noted numerous intrusive features that tended to break the spell of recreated historic environments.⁵⁸

The second initiative stemmed from a recommendation of the 1964 regional curators' conference that the branch organize and conduct a seminar on the furnishing, interpretation, and operation of historic house museums. After an unavoidable postponement, the seminar was held in September 1966 at Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Site. Ten people participated full time; twelve others joined in particular sessions. Out of their deliberations came ten carefully weighed recommendations, which served to raise the visibility of these museums among Park Service management.⁵⁹

The first was for a change in nomenclature. "Historic house museum" poorly suited refurbished mills, offices, stores, and fortifications. To make clear that the standards, procedures, and guidelines for these museums applied to structures other than residences, the seminar recommended Service adoption of "furnished historic structure museum." While the old name remained in common use elsewhere, the Service gained precision by regular application of the new.

Another recommendation tried to address the problem of quality control over these widely dispersed and specialized museums. The Branch of Museum Operations, responsible for technical leadership in the development and operation of furnished historic structure museums, had no line authority over them. No procedure existed to pass expert judgment on the historical integrity of a furnished museum, the adequacy of its maintenance, or the effectiveness of its interpretation. Because the high professional competence of Chief Curator Harold Peterson extended to historic furnishings, the seminar report proposed that he be charged with conducting periodic studies of them in operation. As it turned out, Peterson could do little to carry out this recommendation: the perennial inadequacy of travel funds, insistent demands on him in connection with Bicentennial projects, and his failing health conspired to frustrate the plan.

More success came from another seminar recommendation regarding maintenance. Participants urged that furnished historic structure museums appear regularly on the agendas of regional maintenance conferences. Other training programs for maintenance supervisors followed similar practice. Some made a point of inviting a furnishings curator to take part. Such demonstrations of common interest tended to undergird the day-to-day collaboration between park maintenance staffs and curators essential to safe and effective housekeeping in these museums.

In preparing his *Manual for Museums*, Ralph Lewis found that historic housekeeping required the reconciliation of three different approaches. The maintenance approach normally applied to public buildings relied on established standards of cleanliness to prescribe cleaning schedules, materials, and techniques that would accomplish the purpose at minimum cost. It assumed that furnishings and building components wear out and are replaced as necessary. The curator on the other hand saw the furnishings and building as museum specimens that the Service was obliged to preserve and protect. Housekeeping methods must not put these often irreplaceable objects at risk. From the standpoint of the interpreter, current housekeeping needed to create the approximate appearance produced by the original housekeeper who might have used quite different procedures. Changes caused by modern cleaning methods would affect the integrity of the presentation.

Meshing these potentially conflicting requirements demanded further study. Lewis examined GSA's building maintenance manuals and those of other building management organizations that specified how often to clean interior spaces of different kinds and uses, what equipment and supplies to use, what standard techniques to follow, and the time required per unit area. Such instructions required much modification to fit the practices professional conservators had tested and found safe and effective for cleaning museum objects and historic surfaces. Cleaning agents, tools for

their application, techniques, and frequency had to be adapted to preservation imperatives without losing sight of cost-effectiveness. Then it became necessary to determine the cleaning methods and materials in common use during the 1600s, 1700s, and 1800s. Lewis consulted every old domestic housekeeping guide in the Library of Congress, then tried to discover the visual results of obsolete practices. How, for example, did a floor look when scrubbed regularly with sand, brushed with crushed herbs, or swept after a scattering of damp tea leaves? Next came the problem of what safe and practical modern housekeeping method would produce a comparable appearance. From such studies came the guidelines finally issued as Chapter 11 in the *Manual for Museums*.

Chapter 12 on protection also drew from seminar recommendations. Discussions made clear that concern for safety should pervade the operation of furnished historic structure museums. The seminar consequently proposed and the directorate agreed that the museum's curator or interpreter should serve as a member of the park safety committee to keep it alert to hazards in the museum. A particular risk involved the changed function of the building. As a museum it often contained many more people than the original builder had in mind. Could they evacuate the building safely in an emergency? If doorways, stairways, passages, and exits failed to meet the standards for its new occupancy, what could be done? To alter structural features would threaten the historical integrity of the museum's prime specimen. The seminar recommended that when safety conflicted with integrity, the solicitor should guide the superintendent to legally acceptable alternatives such as limiting the number of visitors allowed inside at a time.

Protection also applied to the collections in these museums. Room barriers were generally considered necessary to keep historic objects beyond the reach of too curious or acquisitive fingers, but these could detract seriously from visitor appreciation of the historic environment. A few parks had demonstrated excessive caution by erecting clear plastic panels or boxes that shut the visitor out of the room. Floor-to-ceiling barriers of chicken wire installed in at least one park did the same while conveying an impression of shoddiness. Rope or cord barriers with frayed ends tied to doorknobs made equally poor impressions.

Visitors in general appeared to accept barriers that assured them where they should stand or walk to view a furnished room. A good barrier would invite them to examine the room and would stay out of their line of sight as they did so. Museum Operations helped develop neat rope barriers for the Old Stone House in National Capital Parks using shorter, thinner stanchions and black nylon rope. For the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Shrine at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, the branch devised a free-standing iron barrier that required no damaging attachment to historic woodwork. On the heels of the

seminar it proposed a sample barrier incorporating desirable features. The prototype was built to fit a door in Arlington House. Adults found the narrow wood top rail at a convenient height to lean on as they observed the features of the room. The thin but sturdy iron frame left an open viewing space below the rail for young children. In an emergency an attendant could lift out the barrier for quick access.

Less tangible problems of interpretation in these museums also concerned the branch and the seminar. Seminar participants understood that furnished historic structure museums have relatively complex messages to communicate to visitors. Interpretive shortcomings generally stemmed less from what the visitors saw than from the kind of help they received during their visits. Park interpreters tended to treat their museums as self-operating devices rather than interpretive tools for active use. In contrast, such successful interpretation as achieved at Colonial Williamsburg relied on active attendants in the furnished structures who received intensive and continual training in technique and subject matter. How could the Park Service attain comparable quality?

Factors of dispersion and variety of content precluded centralized courses of instruction at the Service's existing training centers. The seminar concluded that the best hope lay in centrally assisted efforts at the individual parks. Although no specific training initiative resulted, the branch later prepared for park staff members an extended discussion of what and how to interpret in a furnished historic structure museum. This constituted the fourth chapter in Part III of the *Museum Handbook* issued in February 1969. The chapter concluded with brief consideration of the possibility of treating exhibited historic structures differently.

The Museum Branch believed that furnishing a restored building as an exhibit should never become a stock solution for its preservation or use. After a 1959 regional curators' conference it developed a set of four criteria any decision to refurnish should meet. When a furnishing plan proposal for the Mount Washington Tavern at Fort Necessity National Battlefield called Vera Craig there in 1964, what she saw led her to recommend against a furnished historic structure museum. Instead the branch proposed that symbolic objects be displayed in the barroom and parlor to evoke characteristic activities of a stopover during a stagecoach journey along the National Road.⁶⁰ Speaking before the National and State Parks Section of the American Association of Museums in 1966, Nan Carson suggested that when communication of impressions and feelings rather than factual history is the goal, impressionistic stage settings might succeed better than detailed refurnishing. When Part III of the *Museum Handbook* was released in January 1968, the branch's criteria for refurnishing stood at the head of its first chapter.

In spite of the criteria and the encouragement of different approaches, furnished historic structure museums in Service custody continued to multiply. When Director George Hartzog abrogated the Service's handbooks in July 1969, the criteria published in the *Museum Handbook* lost effective status. Comparable authoritative criteria did not reappear until publication of the Service's *Management Policies* in 1978. Clearly aiming to limit the development of furnished structure museums, they insisted on significant relationship to a primary park theme, prior determination that furnishing would constitute the most effective interpretive approach, and enough historical evidence to achieve defensible accuracy. These criteria, directly applicable to the Branch of Historic Furnishings established at Harpers Ferry Center in 1978, remained in effect through and beyond the period of this study.

During 1978-82 this branch produced or received historic furnishing studies, reports, or plans for at least 32 projects. About half these documents concerned structures in development programs initiated before the 1978 policies, but they generally seemed in step with the fresh criteria. They aimed at accurate furnishing of additional interiors at Independence National Historical Park; Hubbell Trading Post, Fort Davis, Fort Lamed, and Fort Scott national historic sites; and Grand Portage National Monument. Half the remaining plans and reports of 1978-82 addressed the furnishing of structures that seemed to meet the significance and interpretive criteria with little question, including Lincoln's home in Springfield, Dwight D. Eisenhower's at Gettysburg, William Howard Taft's in Cincinnati, Augustus Saint-Gaudens' home and studio, and John Muir's home. Application of the historical evidence criterion did reduce the extent of development in at least one case. A few projects of the period less clearly met the criteria, notably two small Hispanic houses at Castolon in Big Bend National Park, the Hornbeck Homestead at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument, and settlers' houses at Cumberland Gap National Historical Park and Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

The furnishings curators recruited by David Wallace carried on ably in the spirit of the 1978 policies. Their knowledge and skill enabled them to achieve the standards of quality toward which the furnished historic structure program had striven since Ned Burns and Ronald Lee had first given it serious attention. The museums planned and developed by the Branch of Historic Furnishings steadily added to the wealth of collections under National Park Service care.

NOTES

1. Ralph H. Lewis, *Manual for Museums* (Washington: National Park Service, 1976), pp. 182-83.

2. Advocates of this broader preservation of the "built environment" sometimes went too far to disparage museum use of historic structures. The role of historic structure museums in the preservation movement through 1949 is ably told by Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., in *Presence of the Past* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965) and *Preservation Comes of Age* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980).
3. *Charter and By-Laws of the Washington Association of New Jersey* (Morristown: Vogt Brothers, 1899). See Morristown box, NPS History Collection.
4. *Historic House Museums* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 1933), pp. 20, 32.
5. 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, 1918* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 49, hereinafter cited as *Report of the Director for (year)*; *Report of the Director for 1919*, p. 89; *Report of the Director for 1921*, pp. 273-74; *Report of the Director for 1922*, p. 156; Carl P. Russell Diary entries for late April and early May 1935, Richard W. Russell Personal Files.
6. Willis Peterson, "Pipe Spring National Monument, A Pioneer Heritage," *Arizona Highways* 33, no. 3 (March 1957).
7. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Chapters in the History of Popes Creek Plantation* (Washington: National Park Service, 1968), pp. 161-63; see also Chapter One.
8. Randall J. Biallas, "Evolution of Historic Structure Reports and Historic Preservation Guides of the U.S. National Park Service," *APT Bulletin* 14, no. 4 (1982): 7. Peterson had little regard for the ability of academically trained historians to dig out documentary information pertinent to structural problems in historic buildings; he preferred to rely on himself and his staff architects for such research.
9. Letter, Floyd Flickinger to Director, NPS, Sept. 8, 1937, Administrative Files, Colonial National Historical Park.
10. Letters, Floyd Flickinger to Director, NPS, Apr. 28, 1936, and Sept. 8, 1937, *ibid.*
11. Letter, Mrs. Julian G. Goodhue to Floyd Flickinger, Mar. 15, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Flickinger to Goodhue, Apr. 6, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Flickinger to Director, Apr. 9, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Director to Flickinger, Apr. 17, 1937, *ibid.*; Hopkins, "A Suggestion for the Refurnishing of the Surrender Room of the Moore House" (report, undated), *ibid.*
12. Hopkins, "An Inventory to Date of the Furniture and Furnishings Contained within that Room Known as the Surrender Room in the Moore House, Yorktown, Virginia, and Presented by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution to Colonial National Historical Park at a Dedication Ceremony Held within the House April 26, 1938," File 620-107, Colonial NHP.
13. Letter, Floyd Flickinger to Mrs. Gustavus Town Kirby, Sept. 3, 1937, Administrative Files, Colonial NHP; letter, Flickinger to Director, NPS, Sept. 8, 1937, *ibid.*; letter, Kirby to Flickinger, Dec. 8, 1937, *ibid.*; Hopkins, "A Suggestion for the Refurnishing of the Dining Room of the Moore House" (report), Nov. 17, 1937, *ibid.*; Coleman, *Historic House Museums*, p. 67.

14. Stanley W. McClure, *The Lincoln Museum and the House Where Lincoln Died* (Washington: National Park Service, 1960), p. 39; George J. Olszewski, *House Where Lincoln Died Furnishing Study*, Apr. 15, 1967, pp. 32-33, in National Capital Parks-Ford's Theatre box, NPS History Collection.
15. As remembered from visits in the late 1930s and 1940s, the death room achieved a reasonable approximation of the intended result. The front parlor was sparsely furnished around a sofa and chair Oldroyd had acquired in Lincoln's home at Springfield, Illinois. The back parlor, a tenant couple's bedroom in 1865, gave little impression of its everyday use or the critical activity centered in it during the assassination night.
16. Public Law 68-562, Mar. 4, 1925, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 43: 1356.
17. For example, visitors saw the large uncompleted room Custis used as a painting studio as a stately dining room with crystal chandelier. See also the bequest of furnishings from General William E. Horton reported in *Park Service Bulletin* 7, no. 9 (October 1937): 16.
18. Russell Diary, Feb. 6-7, 1935, Richard W. Russell Personal Files; letters, Russell to Betty Russell, Aug. 6 and Sept. 7, 1935, *ibid.*
19. *Park Service Bulletin* 6, no. 4 (May 1936): 4. The research apparently originated in the park.
20. Information sheet, undated but before August 1934, Jockey Hollow Exhibits folder, Morristown NHP box, NPS History Collection.
21. *Park Service Bulletin* 7, no. 6 (July 1937): 29, 32.
22. *Park Service Bulletin* 7, no. 2 (February 1937): 14; *ibid.* no. 3 (March 1937): 28.
23. Memorandum, Small to Chief, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Aug. 23, 1954, Salem Maritime NHS box, NPS History Collection.
24. Memorandum, Director to All Field Offices, Nov. 1, 1939, Museum Survey of 1939-40 folder, Exhibit History 1939-40 box, NPS History Collection; "A Survey of National Park Service Museums," *Museum News* 19, no. 7 (Oct. 1, 1941): 10-12.
25. Ned J. Burns, *Field Manual for Museums* (Washington: National Park Service, 1941), pp. 255-69; memorandum, Director to Washington and All Field Offices, Mar. 13, 1940, Exhibit History 1939-40 box, NPS History Collection.
26. Vanderbilt Mansion box, NPS History Collection; Monthly Reports Museum Division box, *ibid.*
27. *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 5 (September-October 1940): 13.
28. *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (January-February 1940): 28. Huth examined some furniture loaned to a museum by the White House and exhibited as pieces James Monroe had purchased from France. He found that it was manufactured in Philadelphia for James Buchanan. Privileged to have accompanied Huth on an inspection of White House public rooms, the writer recalls his deft identification of presumed antiques as later copies.

29. Stanley McClure continued the linkage of objects to their accession records. The application of catalog numbers was also essentially completed, and considerable progress was made on descriptive catalog entries. The effort was interrupted by the reconstruction of the White House interior. A later administration redecorated many of the rooms, secured legislation giving the Smithsonian Institution a share in curatorial management, and adopted cataloging procedures that largely ignored what had been accomplished.

30. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980), pp. 795-806.

31. Eastern Museum Laboratory monthly reports, December 1946, February, June, Oct. 15-Nov. 15, 1947, Monthly Reports Museum Division box, NPS History Collection; Museum Branch monthly reports, February, April, August 1948, *ibid.*

32. Museum Branch monthly reports, December 1950 and January 1951, *ibid.* Burns liked to tell of one thing that particularly impressed him on his Winterthur visit. As he lunched with du Pont he could see close by a small group of silver tankards wrought by Paul Revere whose value far exceeded what he would earn in a lifetime.

33. The pieces included the famous "rising sun" chair occupied by George Washington while he presided over the Constitutional Convention. Preparator Frank Urban treated them, strengthening weakened members with the minimum of new material skillfully inserted.

34. *Administrative Manual*, vol. 25 (Information and Interpretation in the Field), ch. 6, sec. 3, p. 3; Exhibit History 1941-59 box, NPS History Collection.

35. "A Summary Report on the historical basis for the partial refurnishing of the Assembly Room, Independence Hall," Box 14, Archives Section RoE6, Independence NHP Library. The committee continued to function for the Independence Square buildings at least until the early 1960s. As the park's curatorial staff became clearly competent in furnishings, consultation with it became unnecessary and occasionally irksome.

36. Museum Branch monthly report, October 1954, Monthly Reports Museum Division box, NPS History Collection.

37. Memorandum, Director to Washington and All Field Offices, Mar. 13, 1940, Museum Policy binder, NPS History Collection; Burns, *Field Manual*, p. 257.

38. Memorandum, Lewis to Chief, Division of Interpretation, July 12, 1955, Andrew Johnson NHS binder, Vera Craig Files, Division of Historic Furnishings, HFC; memorandum, Director to Regional Director, Region One, Aug. 26, 1955, *ibid.*

39. Memorandum, Acting Chief, Division of Interpretation, to Director, *ibid.*

40. Memorandum, Superintendent, Andrew Johnson NM to Craig, Feb. 8, 1957, *ibid.*; memorandum, Superintendent to Director, June 12, 1957, *ibid.*; Museum Branch monthly reports, June and July 1957, February and November 1958, April 1960, Monthly Reports Museum Division box, NPS History Collection.

41. *Mount Locust Furnishing Plan*, Decorative Arts and Material Culture Collection, HFC Library.
42. Field Order 7-58, Acting Associate Director to All Field Offices, Arch, and Hist. Structures folder, Storage Box 111, NPS History Collection.
43. Schuyler House plan in Decorative Arts and Material Culture Collection, HFC Library; memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Region One, Nov. 30, 1959, Branch of Museums Dailies 1954-62 box, NPS History Collection; Museum Branch monthly reports, February and September 1960, *ibid.*
44. Fort Laramie plans in Decorative Arts and Material Culture Collection, HFC Library. Johnson married Richard Ketcham, a Park Service engineer detailed to Fort Laramie, in December 1961 and returned with him to San Francisco in mid-1962. In later years she prepared several more excellent furnishing plans for the Service under contract.
45. Carson's plans *ibid.* Carson later served as regional curator and as a principal interpretive planner at the Denver Service Center. She married Don Rickey, a Park Service historian specializing in frontier military history.
46. The Winterthur Program offered by the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the University of Delaware provided graduate training in decorative arts scholarship and connoisseurship. The Museum Branch had been hesitant to recruit curators with this specialized training because of concern that their focus on artistic quality would conflict with Park Service objectives of historical accuracy and appropriateness.
47. Field Order 19-60, Acting Director to Washington Office and All Field Offices, Sept. 2, 1960, Interpretive Planning box, NPS History Collection.
48. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Chief Architect, July 20, 1961, Branch of Museums Dailies 1959-62 storage box, NPS History Collection.
49. *Museum Handbook*, Part III, p. 2; Lewis, *Manual for Museums*, p. 182.
50. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Western Region, Apr. 8, 1963, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1965 storage box, NPS History Collection; Diana R. Pardue, "Collection Preservation Guide, Yosemite National Park," March 1980, p. 42.
51. Memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Region One, Oct. 10, 1960, Branch of Museums Dailies 1959-1962 storage box, NPS History Collection; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Dec. 15, 1960, *ibid.*; memorandum, Acting Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Jan. 24, 1961, *ibid.*; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, July 26, 1961, *ibid.*; memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museums, to Regional Director, Southeast Region, Mar. 17, 1964, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1966 storage box, NPS History Collection.

52. Although erected in the late 1700s and the oldest surviving structure in Harpers Ferry, the Harper House had significance to the park primarily as an example of rental housing at the eve of the Civil War. Its furnishings reflected its known occupancy at that time by an Irish immigrant grocer's family. This shocked some of its first visitors who came on a National Trust tour evidently expecting to see the 18th-century furnishings so popular with collectors.

53. Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director, Conservation, Interpretation, and Use, to Chairman, Long Range Requirements Task Force, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1966 storage box, NPS History Collection; Branch of Museum Operations Special Objectives for FY65, Aug. 11, 1964, *ibid.*; Report, Conference of Regional Museum Curators, Sept. 13-18, 1964, Regional Curators Conference 1964 folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

54. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Chief, Division of Museums, Jan. 15, 1973, NPS Archives Ace. No. 31 storage box, NPS History Collection.

55. Lewis, *Manual for Museums*, pp. 189-95.

56. Memorandum, Chief Curator, WASO, to Manager, HFC, Nov. 9, 1982, Furnishing Plans folder, Curatorial Services Division files, Harpers Ferry.

57. Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director, Conservation, Interpretation, and Use, to Chairman, Long Range Requirements Task Force, Feb. 8, 1963.

58. Historic House Museums (Inspections) binder, Vera Craig Files, Division of Historic Furnishings, HFC.

59. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Chief, Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services, Nov. 14, 1966, enclosing seminar report, Branch of Museums/Museum Operations Dailies August 1962-December 1966 storage box, NPS History Collection.

60. Memorandum, Chief, Branch of Museum Operations, to Regional Director, Northeast Region, Nov. 19, 1964, Mt. Washington Tavern folder, Vera Craig Files, Division of Historic Furnishings, HFC; subsequent memoranda *ibid.* The proposal led to substantial modification of the park's initial scheme.